



G E O R G E R.

GEORGE the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Irela
Defender of the Faith, &c. To All to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.

WHEREAS Our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Woodward, Aaron Ward, Samuel Birt, Daniel Bro
Thomas Longman, Henry Whitridge, James Hodges, and Benjamin Dod, Citizens and Booksellers
London, have, by their Petition, humbly represented unto Us, that they have been at very g
Expence and Labour in procuring and purchasing Books in all Languages, and in having the
translated, and properly digested, for Improving and Continuing a most Useful and Comprehensive Work, intitled,

Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca: Or, A Complete Collection of VOYAGES and TRAVEL

Consisting of above Six hundred of the most authentic Writers, beginning with HACKLUIT, PURCHASS, &c. in Engl
RAMUSIO, ALAMANDINI, CARRERI, &c. in Italian; THEVENOT, RENAUDOT, LABAT, &c. in French; DE BR
GRYNÆUS, MAPPEUS, &c. in Latin; HERRERA, OVIEDO, COREAL, &c. in Spanish; and the VOYAGES under
Direction of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY in HOLLAND, in Dutch; Together with such other Histories, Voyages, Trav
or Discoveries, as are in General Esteem, whether published in English, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Portug
High and Low Dutch, or in any other European Language; Containing whatever has been observed Worthy of Noti
Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, in respect to the Extent and Situation of Empires, Kingdoms, Provinces, &c.
Climate, Soil, and Produce, whether Animal, Vegetable, or Mineral, of each Country; Likewise the Religion, Man
and Customs of the several Inhabitants, their Government, Arts and Sciences, publick Buildings, Mountains, Riv
Harbours, &c. illustrated by proper Charts, Maps, and Cuts: To which is prefixed a Copious INTRODUCTION
comprehending the Rise and Progress of the ART of NAVIGATION, and its successive Improvements, together with the Inven
and Use of the LOADSTONE, and its Variation: Originally published in Two Volumes in Folio, by JOHN HARRIS, D
F.R.S. Now carefully Revised, with LARGE ADDITIONS, and Continued down to the Present Time; inclu
particular Accounts of the Manufactures and Commerce of each Country: Which Work the Petitioners, with the ut
Submission, apprehend will be a Complete Body of VOYAGES and TRAVELS, tending to promote the Manufact
and Commerce of these Kingdoms, by shewing the vast Advantages of Trade and Navigation in general, and the M
of Improving and Extending our own in particular: And, being desirous of reaping the Fruits of their very
Expence and Labour, and of enjoying the full Profit and Benefit that may arise from Printing and Vending the s
without any other Person interfering in their just Property, which they cannot prevent without Our Licence and
testion; the Petitioners have therefore most humbly prayed Us to grant them Our Royal Licence and Protection
the sole Printing, Publishing, and Vending the said Work, in as ample Manner and Form as has been done in C
of the like Nature: We, taking the Premises into our Princely Consideration, and being graciously inclined to
Encouragement to all Works that may be of publick Use and Benefit, are pleased to condescend to their Req
and do by these Presents (as far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Case made and provided) grant to the
Thomas Woodward, Aaron Ward, Samuel Birt, Daniel Browne, Thomas Longman, Henry Whitridge, James Ho
and Benjamin Dod, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, Our Royal Privilege and Licence,
the sole Printing, Publishing, and Vending the said Work, during the Term of Fourteen Years, to be comp
from the Date hereof; strictly forbidding and prohibiting all Our Subjects within Our Kingdoms and Dominions
Reprint or Abridge the same, either in the like, or any other Volume or Volumes whatsoever; or to Import,
Vend, Utter, or Distribute any Copy thereof reprinted beyond the Seas, during the aforesaid Term of Fourteen Y
without the Consent or Approbation of them the said Thomas Woodward, Aaron Ward, Samuel Birt, Daniel Browne,
mas Longman, Henry Whitridge, James Hodges, and Benjamin Dod, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or Ass
by Writing under their Hands and Seals first had and obtained, as they will answer the contrary at their Peril: Wh
the Commissioners and other Officers of Our Customs, the Master, Wardens, and Company of Stationers of London,
all other Officers and Ministers, whom it may concern, are to take notice, that strict Obedience be given to Our Ple
herein signified.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the
23d Day of February 1743-4, in the
Seventeenth Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

C A R T E R E T.

Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca.

O R, A

COMPLETE COLLECTION

O F

VOYAGES and TRAVELS.

CONSISTING OF ABOVE

Six hundred of the most AUTHENTIC WRITERS,

BEGINNING WITH

Hackluit, Purchas, &c. in English; Herrera, Oviedo, Coreal, &c. in Spanish;
Ramusio, Alamandini, Carreri, &c. in Italian; And the Voyages under the Direction of the
Thevenot, Renaudot, Labat, &c. in French; EAST-INDIA COMPANY in HOLLAND,
De Brye, Grynæus, Maffeus, &c. in Latin; in Dutch.

Together with such Other

HISTORIES, VOYAGES, TRAVELS, or DISCOVERIES,

As are in GENERAL ESTEEM;

Whether published in *English, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, High*
and *Low Dutch*, or in any other European Language.

Containing whatever has been observed Worthy of Notice in

EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, and AMERICA;

IN RESPECT TO THE

Extent and Situation of EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, PROVINCES, &c.

THE

CLIMATE, SOIL, and PRODUCE, whether Animal, Vegetable, or Mineral, of Each COUNTRY:

LIKEWISE THE

RELIGION, MANNERS, and CUSTOMS of the several INHABITANTS, their Government,
Arts and Sciences, Publick Buildings, Mountains, Rivers, Harbours, &c.

ILLUSTRATED BY

Proper CHARTS, MAPS, and CUTS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

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With LARGE ADDITIONS, and Continued down to the PRESENT TIME;

Including Particular ACCOUNTS of the

MANUFACTURES and COMMERCE of Each COUNTRY.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. WOODWARD, A. WARD, S. BIRT, D. BROWNE, T. LONGMAN, R. HETT, C. HITCH, H. WHITBRIDGE,
S. AUSTEN, J. HODGES, J. ROBINSON, B. DOD, T. HARRIS, J. HINTON, and J. RIVINGTON.

M.DCC.XLIV.

Great Britain, France, and Ireland,
Presents shall come, Greeting.

Aaron Ward, Samuel Birt, Daniel Browne,
Benjamin Dod, Citizens and Bookfellers of
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in all Languages, and in having the same
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Our Royal Privilege and Licence, For
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within Our Kingdoms and Dominions, to
Volumes whatsoever; or to Import, Buy,
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n Ward, Samuel Birt, Daniel Browne, Tho-
rs, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns,
nswer the contrary at their Peril: Whereof
and Company of Stationers of London, and
strict Obedience be given to Our Pleasure

His Majesty's Command,

CARTERET.



TO THE

MERCHANTS

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN.

S the original Design of Dedications was either gratefully to acknowledge Assistance, or modestly to desire Protection, so both these Motives, GENTLEMEN, concur in leading me to this Address. If there be any Thing in the following Sheets, that is either New or Entertaining, Useful or Instructive, which, from the general Approbation the Work has met with, I have Reason to hope there is, I must confess it, in a great measure, due to the kind Communications I have received from Persons concerned in Trade; and as the main Point I have had in View, has been the setting the History and Advantages of Commerce in a true Light, I presume that I could not have inscribed this Performance to more proper Patrons. I have endeavoured likewise to avoid the Faults for which most modern Dedications are censured, which are a mean Attention to Interest, or the Vanity of placing great Names and high Titles in the Front of Books. It is true, I address myself to the richest Body of Men in this, or perhaps any other Nation, but without any farther Expectation than meriting their Favour and Acceptance. I have also chosen the greatest and most considerable Body of Men undignified with Titles; but with no other Ambition than that of procuring a good

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Reception for my Book, by those who must be allowed to be the best and most proper Judges. Such, Gentlemen, are truly and sincerely my Inducements to this Application, which I have the greater Reason to flatter myself, will not be unsuccessful, because I am confident you will meet with nothing that is dictated by any other than a publick Spirit in the Volume which I present.

We are taught, that the Separation and Disperſion of Mankind over the Earth, was owing to the juſt Diſpleaſure of their Creator upon their attempting to lay the Foundations of an univerſal Monarchy, which muſt have been destructive of their own Happineſs. But Reaſon and Experience ſhew, that we owe that Connection, which, at preſent, reigns between Countries far remote from each other, and that kind Intercourſe ſubſiſting between different and diſtant Nations, to a Spirit of Commerce. Trade, by the Divine Favour, has effected what Ambition vainly endeavoured; and the Deſire of carrying on mutual Traffick has overcome that Evil, which produced the Separation of Mankind; I mean the Confuſion of Tongues. The Deſire of reciprocally communicating the Fruits of various Soils and different Climates, is that Principle of Unity, which, agreeable to the Will of GOD, makes all the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Regions of the Globe, appear in theſe later Ages, what, in the earlieſt Times they were, but one People, and of one Language. Such are the wonderful, ſuch the happy Effects of Commerce, conſidered in this general Light, and as conducive to the common Benefit of the human Species.

In particular Countries, Plantation was the Effect of Neceſſity; Men were forced to till the Ground, that they might eat, and to invent the Arts relating to Veſture and Building, that they might ſecure themſelves againſt the Inclemency of the Weather. In this they acted but as other Animals do, and by a kind of natural Inſtinct: But when Neceſſities were thus attained, they had Time to exerciſe the Faculties of their Minds, and to look abroad for greater Conveniencies. This produced Trade, which is peculiar to our Species, and the primary Characteriſtick of rational Beings; by the Help of Trade, Conveniencies multiplied apace, and Men appeared in their proper Sphere, not as bare Inhabitants of the terraqueous Globe, but as the Sovereigns of Earth and Sea. Sovereigns not in Right of ſuperior Force, for Strength would never have given them Dominion over other Creatures; but from ſuperior Wiſdom, which appeared in nothing more than in the Invention of Shipping, as might be demonſtrated at large, if the Self-Evidence of the Fact did not ſupercede the Neceſſity of any Demonſtration.

In Proportion as the Art of Navigation grew and was improved, the Commodities that were derived from it increaſed; the Labour of Mankind, was greatly diminiſhed, and their Delights augmented; whatever was wanted in one Country, was eaſily, ſafely, and in the Quantities that were requiſite, brought from another. Knowledge and uſeful Arts were continually improved, great Discoveries daily made, and thoſe Works eaſily and fully accompliſhed in ſucceeding Times, of which the former had deſpaired.

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despaired. By this Means Posterity was encouraged to undertake still greater Things; and the farther this Art was extended, still the greater and more Benefits accrued therefrom: So that such as distinguished themselves by their Talents for Politicks, soon perceived how necessary it was to encourage Navigation in all its Branches; and this Necessity established, sooner or later, almost under every Government, this Maxim, *That whoever was Master at Sea, must be Master at Land likewise.*

But, at present, we will meddle no farther with Naval Power, as designing only to shew, that it derives its Being from, and can never subsist otherwise than by Commerce. Yet it is not the Sea only that is indebted to Trade; on the contrary, there is nothing contributes so much to the thorough Cultivation of Countries, as appears plainly from ancient and modern Histories, which shew that it is capable of rendering the most barren Soil fruitful, and the most desert Places pleasant. The following Sheets explain this sufficiently, with respect to the ancient Republick of *Tyre*, to which, if Nature denied most Things, Traffick brought all; as also in regard to *Palmyra*, which, by its Trade, became a Paradise, though seated in a Wilderness. And the same Thing may be said of the Province of *Holland* at this Day. But, without travelling abroad, the Truth of this Observation may be sufficiently known from the amazing Alteration which our Application to Trade has made in our own Country, with respect to the Improvement and Value of Land in the last and present Century. This is a Thing so apparent, and so certain, that, as on the one Hand, it does the greatest Honour to the Mercantile Part of our People; on the other, it demonstrates the great Consequence of Trade to the whole Nation: So that there can be no Division of Interest in this Respect, that of Land and Trade being reciprocal, or rather the self-same Thing.

To Commerce we owe our Wealth; for though Labour may improve, though Arms may extend, yet Commerce only can enrich a Country. It is this that encourages People, not barely to labour for the Supply of their own Wants, but to have an Eye to those of other Nations, even such as are at the greatest Distance. It is this that establishes and extends Manufactures, and while it employs all Ranks of People, provides suitable Rewards for their several Employments. It is this, and this alone, that can excite and encourage universal Industry, by providing, that all who take Pains, shall reap Profit, and that what raises the Fortunes of Individuals, shall prove at the same Time, and in the same Degree, beneficial to Society; so that an Application to their private Interests, in their several honest Employments, has, at the same Time, all the Effects, and is, in reality, the truest Testimony of publick Spirit.

Hence arises another great Advantage, which is the equal and just Distribution of Property, a Thing that Legislators have attempted in vain, tho' by attempting it, they have sufficiently shewn, how material, and how requisite it is, under all Governments. But Commerce performs this effectually, and tho' it may sometimes raise particular Fortunes to an envied Point of Greatness, yet this Envy, which can

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be said in no other case, is productive of good Consequences, for it heightens that Spirit of Industry, which can alone diffuse Wealth, and therefore we see, that a few very rich Merchants, in one Age, produces a Multitude of moderate Fortunes in the next. Thus the Evils created by Trade, are corrected by Trade, which, as it is the only natural Way of acquiring Riches, so whatever temporary Inconveniencies attend it, disappear of themselves, if we do not through Impatience interpose, but suffer Nature to take her Course.

We may easily conceive from hence, that as Riches and Commerce, so Commerce and Liberty are inseparable; for if the Property attained by the former, be not secured and preserved by the latter, Trade will quickly decay; as on the other Hand, such as have acquired Fortunes by long and hazardous Voyages Abroad, or by hard Labour in a constant Course of Industry at Home, will naturally have just Notions, and consequently set a true Value upon Freedom, which they will likewise be the more ready, and the more able to defend. So that on the Whole, we may safely affirm, that the greatest Differences between Nations, arise chiefly from the Degrees, and the Nature of their Commerce, and according as it is, either little or large, extended or confined; the People are Civilized or Rude, Rich or Poor, Powerful or Weak, Brave or Base, and finally, Free or Slaves: So from Reason we ought to judge, and so from Experience it appears.

The great End of Voyages and Travels is, to enquire into, and obtain Satisfaction as to these Particulars, and the principal Design of such Collections as this is, to represent them freely and fairly to the World: In doing this, I have used all the Care and Diligence that was in my Power, and have never let slip any Opportunity of recommending the Encouragement, Extension, and Protection of Trade, as the surest Means of making us a great, wealthy, powerful and happy People; of all these, GENTLEMEN, as I conceive, you must be the principal Instruments, I thought I had, in some Measure, a Right to expect your Patronage, of which, if you shall think this Work worthy, it will fully answer the Wishes, and gratify the Ambition of,

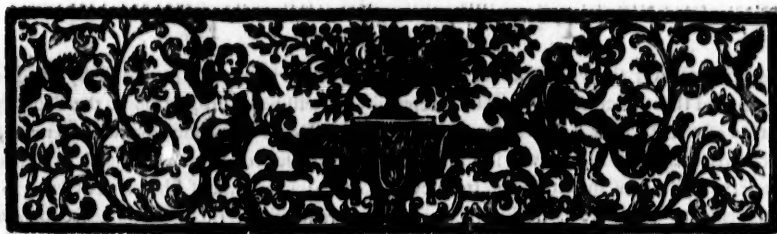
GENTLEMEN,

Your Obedient and Devoted

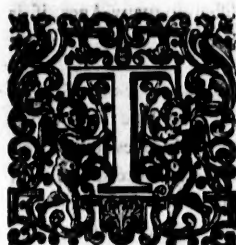
Shire-Lane, Decemb. 3, 1745.

Humble Servant,

The AUTHOR.



P R E F A C E.



THE peculiar Pleasure and Improvement that Books of Voyages and Travels afford, are sufficient Reasons why they are as much, if not more read than any one Branch of polite Literature: It may not therefore be amiss to inquire a little into the Sources of that Satisfaction and that Increase of Knowledge, which have so justly recommended Books of this sort to the universal Favour of Readers of every Taste.

The Mind of Man is so form'd, as scarce to admit of Amusement without Instruction; and though it may frequently happen, that the latter is imperceptibly conveyed, yet is this so far from being an Evil, that, in Truth, it is a very considerable Advantage. If we are delighted with the strange Things that are presented to us in Voyages and Travels, that Delight, when strictly examined, will be found to arise from learning what we knew not before; and, consequently, is a rational Pleasure. It is therefore a very happy Circumstance in this kind of Reading, that it charms us by a perpetual Variety, and keeps alive that Thirst of Inquiry, which we are apt to lose, when too closely confined to severer Studies.

An Instance will easily convey the Force of this Observation, and, at the same time, convince the Reader of the Truth of it. When we read in the Account of Countries, in the Neighbourhood of *Hudson's Bay*, that numerous *Indian* Nations pass their Time in Hunting, and other Exercises, in spite of that Cold, the very Description of which chills us here; and that they are able, even in the most rigorous Seasons, to make greater Journeys, in a much shorter Space of Time, than we can do in a warmer Climate, and when our Roads are best; it appears wonderful, and, at the first Sight, almost incredible. But then our Curiosity being prompted to inquire more narrowly into their Customs, Dress, and Manner of Travelling, we come to be satisfied, not only that the Fact is so, but why it is so; and thence discover the Folly of that Opinion which so long prevailed, that these frozen Regions were the wide Wastes of Nature, and, from their very Situation, absolutely uninhabitable. Again, when we learn, that at *Peru* it seldom or never rains, this astonishes us; but when we are likewise informed, that, by the hanging of thick Clouds continually over the People's Heads, they are so effectually defended from the Heat of the Sun, that the Climate is more temperate in *New* than in *Old Spain*, we are at once satisfied as to the Falshood of the before-mentioned Opinion with respect to the Torrid Zone; and thus a modern Reader of Travels becomes, without Trouble or Fatigue, better acquainted with the true State of Things, and the real Condition of the Universe, and its Inhabitants, than the wisest of the antient Philosophers with all their Study and Thinking. But, will any Man say, that the Knowledge we thus acquire, is the less certain, or the less valuable, for the Ease with which it is obtained? Or will any Idolater of the Antients assert, that their Ignorance or Mistakes were at all lessened by the Pains they took to reason themselves into Notions which Experience shews us to be false? No; certainly, the Facility on one Side is an undoubted Advantage, and their Toil and Labour an additional Misfortune on the other.

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We must however allow, that some Degree of Reflection is necessary, to profit by this Kind of Reading, and that therefore the Benefits received by it, will be in Proportion to the Capacity and Attention of the Readers. But what of this? If a small Degree of Reflection will do much, if a moderate Attention will do all, and if a Method can be devised to excite such a Spirit of Reflection, and preserve such a constant Attention from every Reader; what kind of Literature deserves so great Encouragement? Yet there is nothing easier than to demonstrate this to the Satisfaction even of the most stubborn Critic. For, without affecting to play with Words, what Way so likely to convey universal Knowledge, as exhibiting a complete View of the Universe? In other Branches of Learning, we may arrive at the Knowledge of abstruse Things, but in none can we come at what is more useful. *Homer* opens his *Odyssey* with observing, that Travel had made *Ulysses* the wisest Man of his Age; and the great View of that excellent Writer is, to instil Wisdom pleasantly by a poetical Description of that Hero's Travels. Can there be any thing more satisfactory, with respect either to Reason or Authority, than this? Can any Man doubt, that the seeing different Countries, considering the several Humours, Customs and Conditions of various Nations, and comparing them with each other, and our own, is the readiest Way to Wisdom? Or can we suspect, that the Reputation of *Homer*, and his Poem, would have subsisted so many Ages, if it had been built upon a false Position?

This Kind of Knowledge, of all others, most opens and enlarges the Mind. Some Studies ingulph and swallow us up, so that we have no longer Attention for any thing else; and this is that learned Distemper which the World calls Pedantry. But the Reading of Voyages and Travels is not only free from this Disadvantage, since it contains a perpetual Variety of Subjects, but is in Truth the best Cure for Pedantry; since, if a Man can be once induced to entertain himself this way, he must necessarily see the Folly of pursuing any single Scheme of Science too far. The Utility therefore, as well as Pleasure of this Course of Reading, cannot be disputed. But there is another Objection that presses more closely; and it is this, that the pretending to grasp the whole Circle of Science in this Way, by perusing the Voyages and Travels into and through all the Countries in the Globe, is altogether as endless, though, perhaps, a less tedious Method of acquiring Knowledge, than any hitherto proposed. Yet I venture to affirm, that even this Objection may be likewise answered, and the Truth of the contrary Proposition made most evident; which is the second Part of the Task I undertook to perform.

This Humour of Despairing on the remote Prospect of Hardships, and supposing Difficulties at first Sight to be insurmountable, has often proved a Bar to great and generous Undertakings. If *Columbus* could have been discouraged by such a Prospect, or diverted from his Purpose by the Encounter of many Difficulties, he had never succeeded so far as he did in his Project of Sailing round the Globe. Or if his Example had frightened *Magellan* from contemplating his Reasons from the Consideration of his Fate, the Tour of the Globe might have been yet unmade. But since we see that these magnanimous Men were not only capable of forming such vast Designs, but also of carrying them into Execution, it ought surely to encourage us in our Labours of another Kind; because it must convince us, that, with like Steadiness and Application, something of the same Sort may be performed in this Way, if a right Method be taken.

In order to come at this Method, it is requisite to consider what we would avoid, and what we would obtain. As to the former, we can easily discern, that the running through a Multiplicity of Books, most of them incumbered with Matters foreign to our Purpose, and all of them, from their very Nature, subject to tedious Repetitions, is what we ought to be most afraid of. Every Writer of Voyages and Travels pursues a particular Plan, which, however agreeable to his Purpose, must be wide of ours; for while he aims, either at a copious Detail of his own Adventures, or at a general Display of his Learning and Discoveries, we desire to hear no more than what relates to the Point, illustrated by such Circumstances as may enable us to conceive it fully, and come at it with Pleasure; hence it appears, that a voluminous Collection of different Voyages and Travels, though the best in their Kind that can be met with, and digested in the best Order that can possibly be invented, will scarce answer this End; because the very Perusal of them will cost more Time than most People have to bestow; and the comparing, collecting, and digesting their Contents, would demand such a Degree of Labour and Circumspection, as very few Readers would be inclined to

afford,

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afford. To obviate therefore these Difficulties, a Way must be found to reduce the Bulk of such a Collection within reasonable Bounds; and, at the same time, due Care must be taken to preserve the Substance and Spirit, when the superfluous and unnecessary Parts of their Relations are thrown out of the way.

If this could be done, and a sufficient Number of the best Writers thus collected, and fitted for general Use, drawn into a Body in a natural and easy Order, so that what they deliver should follow in such a regular Progression as that every Relation might appear in its proper Place, adding new Light to what went before, and preparing us for what ought to come after; I think there is nothing hard in apprehending, that a Work, thus digested, would answer the great End proposed, and produce a System of this Sort of Literature as regular and useful, and, at the same time, as pleasant and entertaining, as could be expected.

This great *Library of Voyages and Travels*, as it was originally contrived, came pretty near the Method which I have laid down; but then, as it was published in Two Volumes, it was compiled likewise in Two Parts, so that the Scheme is actually repeated, and, like Dictionaries improved at different times, there is a kind of double Alphabet, which renders each of the Volumes a distinct Work from the other. This might be, and, I dare say, was necessary, under the Circumstances in which that Work was composed; but this Inconveniency is now avoided. As this Collection is intended for a complete Body of Voyages and Travels, the Two Volumes have been reduced into their natural Order, and all the Parts so disposed, as to bring them into their proper Places. It was, besides, highly requisite to revise them, both with regard to Matter and Style; and therefore they have not only been compared with the several larger Works, from which they were originally taken, all Omissions supplied, and Errors corrected, but the Proprietors having been at great Expence in procuring such Helps as either were not, or could not be had, when the first Edition was published, this is so far augmented and improved, as to become, in some measure, a new Work.

The Reader will here meet with a complete System of Relations, drawn up by Eye-witnesses of what they deliver, with a proper Account of the Credit due to each; the particular Merit of his Accounts, their Deficiencies, and the Means by which they have been supplied from others. He will likewise see how succeeding Times have improved the Discoveries of past Ages; how the Spirit of Industry, in searching after useful Truths, and extending Commerce, has fled from Place to Place, and now adorned one Nation, and then another. He will perceive, that what was judged absurd and impracticable in one Age, has nevertheless been attempted and perfected in the next; and he will likewise see, that some great and noble Undertakings, which were long ago proposed, and in Part fulfilled, have since fallen back into Obscurity; from whence, however, they may very probably be drawn, by the Virtue and Spirit either of the present Generation, or of Posterity. He will find whatever relates to useful Points clearly explained, and sufficiently insisted upon; and, at the same time, find enough preserved of the Fortunes and Adventures of particular Persons to satisfy his Curiosity, without carrying him too far out of the great Road after Matters of less Consequence.

By these means, it is hoped, that this Library will appear agreeable to his Expectation, and capable of answering every End he could have wish'd; but that it may do this the more effectually, and that he may never be at a Loss about its Application, it may be proper, besides the common Helps of Tables and Indices, to give a short Description of the Manner in which its several Parts are ranged, so as that he may have Recourse immediately to whatever he wants, and know where to bring in whatever Improvements his own future Reading and Experience may furnish. Besides, by recollecting what has been already laid down, and comparing it with what we are now going to propose, he may form a proper Judgment of the Nature and Value of this Library, and of the Pleasure and Profit that may be reaped from it, so as to be under no Doubt as to its Worth, or how far it comes up to what we have promised for it. All this, I say, he sees at one View, and is enabled to make as ready a Use of upwards of *Six hundred Volumes*, the Substance of which are included in these *Two*, as if he was only at the Pains of finding out and taking down the Author he desired to consult.

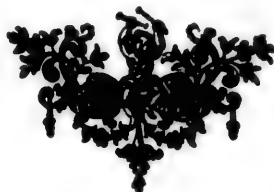
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P R E F A C E.

The Method in which these Voyages and Travels are now digested, is so natural and easy, that it is impossible it should be either mistaken or forgot. In the first Place, we give an Account, in Order of Time, of the most remarkable Voyages that have been made round the Globe; which afford us an Opportunity of inserting a great Variety of useful and curious Observations. We then enter into a distinct Recital of the Voyages made by several *European Nations*, for discovering and settling the Commerce of the *East and West Indies*, without which the subsequent Accounts could not be easily or clearly understood. We pursue next the common Division of the Globe; and, beginning with the Voyages that have been made to *Spitzbergen* and *Groenland*, go on to a Recital of what has been observed by Travellers of the greatest Note, in all the Northern Parts of *Europe*, and so through the Middle, Southern, and Eastern Countries, to the Frontiers of *Asia*. This leads us to give an Account of that Part of the World, and of all the Voyages made to its Maritime Coasts, as well as the Travels of such as have had an Opportunity to pass through its Inland Provinces. The like Care we take with respect to *Africa*, and therein consider at large the Trade upon its several Coasts, and the Manner in which it was formerly, and is at present, branched out amongst several *European Nations*. Last of all, we pursue the same Method in adjusting the Voyages to and Travels throughout *America*, so as to give the Reader full Satisfaction as to the first Discovery, original Settlement, past and present Condition, Commerce and Importance of all the *Spanish, English, French, Portuguese, Dutch* and *Danish* Colonies in that Country, together with all that can be known with Certainty as to the *Indian Nations*, which inhabit those Parts of it that are hitherto un subdued.

It will appear from hence, that the Design of this Undertaking is much more perfect in its kind than the Scheme of any Collection of Voyages hitherto offered to the Publick; for whereas They relate only to a few Countries, and are not disposed according to any regular Method, Ours will comprehend all, and in an Order which gives them a perfect Connection. If we had followed Chronology wholly, it would have intirely changed our Plan, and, instead of a Collection, it would have been a Chronicle of Voyages and Travels. If, on the other hand, we had paid no regard to Time, this would have created great Confusion, and rendered the Whole perplexed and unintelligible. But as Things now stand, all these Difficulties are avoided. We treat first of the Circum-Navigators, for this plain Reason, that as the Whole is greater than its Parts, so, among Travellers, those are certainly to be placed in the first Class, who have made the Investigation of the whole Globe their Aim, rather than the Discovery of particular Parts; and upon the same Principles we place the Discoverers of the *East and West Indies* next to the Circum-Navigators; because their Purpose was next in Point of Importance. These general Heads being fixed, all the component Parts follow in Order of Time, so that after perusing a whole Chapter, the Reader is possessed of the intire History of that Point, sees when it was first started, How, by Whom, and at what Time prosecuted, and in what Situation it stands at present.

I have now given the Reader all the Helps in my Power, towards the perfect understanding what is intended in the following Work; and from the Hope of his candid Reception of my Labours, I borrow that Degree of Confidence which is necessary to prosecute so arduous an Undertaking; and, provided I enjoy This, I shall think all my Care and Pains extremely well bestowed; since, to further useful Knowledge, is certainly a laudable Ambition.



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T H E

INTRODUCTION.



HERE are very few Points as to which the wise Men of Antiquity, and the best Judges among the Moderns, are so clearly agreed as in the Advantages that result from Travel, and the Benefits that arise from seeing the World. It is very evident from ancient Writers, that the greatest and most celebrated Philosophers thought it requisite to visit distant Nations, in Search of Wisdom. The Design of one of those excellent Poems, composed by *Homer*, whose Reputation is, at once, the most extensive, and the best-founded of any Poet's, was to shew that useful and universal Science was best attained in this Way, of which he gives us an illustrious Example in the Character of *Ulysses*, who is the Hero of that Work. In later Times, travelling is become a Part of Education, or rather a Thing necessary to polish and perfect Education, by instructing those in Men who have already acquired as much as can be acquired from Books. But these Advantages are confined to a very few, by which I mean, such as have it in their Power, either to indulge their Inclinations in visiting foreign Countries, or who, moved by the Advices of their Friends, take this Method of improving their Talents, by adding Experience to what they have learned in Schools. But, as to the Bulk of Mankind, though they stand as much in Need of the Benefits drawn from Travel, as those who move in the sublimer Spheres of Life; yet, by their Circumstances, they are disabled from this Manner of accomplishing themselves, or of obtaining the Knowledge they want.

But, because thus precluded one Way, does it follow that they shall attempt it no other, or because they cannot travel themselves, must they derive no Advantage from the Travels of others? That would be a hard Thing indeed, since Men reap the Benefits of History, and thereby gain the Benefit of Experience from Ages far beyond those in which they live. If unconfined by Time, why should they be confined by Space; if we may improve from the Knowledge of what was done by Men before us, why may we not inform ourselves, by enquiring into what those Nations do who live far from us? One is as rational, and not at all more difficult than the other; and there is this Advantage attends travelling upon Paper, that we may go whither, and in what Company we please. This is a very singular and a very useful Circumstance; for, very frequently, even great Travellers do not see what they seek. Their Inclinations would carry them one Way, but, perhaps their Fortune and Condition in the World will carry them another; but this can never happen in Books. We may add to this another Consideration; that there are many Voyages, which however a Man may be inclined to make, yet, in his whole Life-Time, he may never meet with any Opportunity of making: I will instance only in two. The first is a Voyage round the World; of which, in the first Book of this Collection, we have given a complete and particular Account from whence it appears how few of those Voyages have been made in a long Course of Time: Yet, I presume to say, that there are none, either of so great Use, or so entertaining. It is from these Voyages, that the greatest Discoveries have been made, and, which is more, the Possibility disclosed of making still greater Discoveries that hitherto have been made, as the Reader will be convinced, by perusing that Part of this Collection. My second Instance is in Voyages to *Japon*, which is now out of the Power of almost any Man to make, who is not a Native of a particular Country; and even those make them with far less Advantage now than they did formerly.

But this is not the only Benefit that results from reading beyond actual Sailing or Travelling; for in the latter, we are bound to one particular Course, and confined to the Fruits of a single Excursion, whereas, by the Help of a Collection of Voyages, we reap all the Advantages that result from the Experience of different Men, who have lived in different Countries, and in different Ages. We can, in this Way, sail with *Columbus* and *Magellan*, with *Drake* and *Le Maire*, as well as with *Rogers* or Admiral *Anson*. In like Manner we can, in this Method, go to *Japon* with the *Portuguese*, and the *English*, as well as with the *Dutch*, and thereby derive to ourselves that Experience which was reaped in past Ages, and from which we are absolutely precluded in the present. To us, in this Way, it is the same Thing, whether good or ill Fortune attend the Voyages, since, to an intelligent Reader, as to an able Philosopher, it is much the same with respect to Instruction, whether

the Experiment succeeds or not. For Instance, Commodore *Roggevine's* Expedition turned to no Account, with Respect to the View upon which it was made; but as to us it is, to the full, as useful as if it had succeeded, and we are as much satisfied, that the Scheme upon which that Voyage was founded, is just, right, and agreeable to Truth, as if the Persons who made the Voyage, instead of losing their Ship, and returning Beggars, had brought home with them half the Treasure of the Indies.

The Accidents to which Men are liable, who undertake such Voyages, are so many, so unavoidable, and often of such a Nature as to deprive those who make them, of much of the Experience which they might otherwise have reaped from them: But we run no such Hazards in Books, and there is nothing necessary to render them as useful to us as possible, but a Resolution of attending to, and reflecting upon what we read. But some speculative Man may object, that these Arguments prove too much, and if such mighty Things may be done by reading, it is a weak and foolish Thing to travel any other Way than upon Paper. The Fallacy however of this Objection, will be easily perceived, if we reflect upon how many different Motives Men travel, besides that of bare Observation, which, generally speaking, falls in accidentally, and is rarely the Ground upon which Men make Voyages by Sea, or spend their Time in passing through different Countries: So that as Books have some Advantages, and those very considerable too, yet it does not follow from thence, that they have all the Advantages derived from visiting foreign Countries. There is a wide Difference between that Treasure which we lay up in our Mind, and the Wealth that passes into our Purse; and yet the general Word Profit may include both. But what demonstrates not the Fallacy only, but the Falseness of the Remark before-mentioned, as if the reading Voyages would extinguish the Desire of undertaking them is the Evidence of Experience, which is directly opposite thereto; for as the Inclinations of Boys who are born in maritime Towns, naturally leads them to Sea, so there is nothing excites Men more strongly to visit distant Countries than reading good Accounts of them; for it is a very natural, as well as a very just Conclusion, that if so much Pleasure results from the Perusal of Voyages and Travels, there must be still a greater in Travelling itself.

But thus much, indeed, is true, that there cannot be either an easier or a safer Cure for boundless Curiosity than this Sort of Reading, which from thence, instead of Study, is become an Amusement; from which another Objection has started up directly opposite to the former, and that is, the Danger of kindling a wild and ungovernable Humour in the Minds of young People, by putting such kind of Books into their Hands. This may be, and I doubt really is true of Voyages and Travels, read purely to kill Time and to divert, by the Strangeness of their Recitals. Yet one may ask, whether this Mischief be found in Books alone, and not in the Things themselves? Do not young People often make long Voyages without Thought, and travel many Years to no Purpose? But was this ever alledged as a just Reason why Folks should never go abroad at all; or, if not, why should it be a good Objection against reading? But, granting it were so, I will venture to say, that this, and every other Mischief, is guarded against by Collections of this Nature, in which Care is taken to inform and to instruct, as well as to entertain and amuse. It is the Advice of the great Lord Bacon, that young Men should never be sent into foreign Countries but under the Care of some able Tutor, who may be able to correct their Extravagancies, restrain their Impetuosity, and oblige them to make such Observations as would otherwise escape them; and all this, that at their Return, they may not be barely able to tell what they had seen, but shew, by their Behaviour, and their Conversation, how much they have improved by their foreign Excursions.

Now let us apply this Advice to reading. It is very possible for young People to spend a great deal of their Time that way to very little Purpose; and it was from a Foresight of this that Collections of Voyages were devised by grave and discreet Men, as the proper Remedy for this Evil. It was what *Ramusio* intended by his large and noble Collection, the most complete in its Kind, and for the Time in which it was made, that is extant in any Language. He undertook to draw into one Body the best and most useful Voyages and Travels, that before his Time had been published, and he has enriched them with such curious and useful Prefaces, Observations and Remarks, as has, in the Opinion of the best Judges, rendered them an invaluable Treasure. The same Plan was pursued by *M. Thevenot* in French, and in a much greater Extent by the Authors of some Dutch Collections, from all of which we have borrowed, and to whom we therefore readily own our Obligations.

To make these Reflections the clearer, it may not be amiss to observe, that we have in our own Language, as good and as bad Collections as ever were made; one Instance of each may suffice. *M. Hackluyt* was an able, ingenious, diligent, accurate, and useful Compiler, and his Collections are as valuable as any Thing in their Kind. On the other Hand *Purchas's* Pilgrims are a very voluminous, and for the most Part a very trifling and insignificant Collection: His Manner, for I cannot call it Method, is irregular and confused, his Judgment weak and pedantick, his Remarks often silly, and always little to the Purpose. This shews, how much depends upon the Care and Skill of the Collector, who, on the one Hand, is to provide what may entertain and please, and on the other is to be careful, that Knowledge and Instruction be conveyed together with Pleasure and Amusement.

But as in travelling it is requisite, that the Person who is to be improved, should not go absolutely raw out of his own Country, but should carry with him, or rather in him, a Tincture of the Sciences, that he may be the more capable of Improvement: So in reading of Voyages there are certain *Præcognita* which must be first understood, at least in a tolerable Degree, before the rest can be perused with Pleasure or with Profit. But as the former, so these lie in a very narrow Compass, for tho' Science is often conveyed with great Difficulty; yet this hinders not that it may be conveyed in a short Time, and with great Ease, and this barely by ranging Truths that are necessary in their just and natural Order.

It has been a Thing usual in Books of this Nature, to take it for granted, that the Reader was as well skilled as the Writer in the Sciences requisite to be known, in order to the true Comprehension of the Work; we chuse, however, to avoid that Supposition, and to endeavour, within the Compaſs of this Introduction, to lay down all the Principles upon which the following Structure is raiſed; ſo that there ſhall be no Neceſſity of having recourſe to any other Book, to come at the Meaning of this; but the Terms being ſufficiently explained here, we ſhall be able to proceed, when we come to the Body of the Work, without any Danger of being miſunderſtood. We do not indeed intend here to lay down Systems of Geography, natural or civil Hiſtory, or Politicks, but to explain each of thoſe Sciences as is expedient for the Uſe we have made of them in the Compoſition of this Treatiſe. Coſmography is that Science which deſcribes this Globe, and the reſt of the ſolar Syſtem; Geography teaches the Knowledge of the whole Earth, as Hydrography does of the Water.

By Geography, we underſtand the particular Deſcription of a Kingdom, Province or Country. Topography deſcends more minutely to deſcribe ſmaller Places, Cities, Towns, Caſtles, &c. Theſe are all originally Greek Words, which for their Significancy have been made free of all Languages, and their Meaning, when once well known, can never be forgot. By the firſt of them, we are taught to conceive, that the World, on which we live, is a terraqueous Sphere, or in plain Engliſh, a Ball of Earth and Water; through this Ball, if you ſuppoſe a Spindle to paſs, it will be what the learned call the Axis of the Globe, and the Extremities of this Axis are its Poles, one of which is the arctic, or north Pole, and the other the antarctic, *i. e.* oppoſite to the north, or ſouth Pole. The Equator is an imaginary Circle, paſſing round, or rather, over the Globe, at an equal Diſtance from each Pole, and conſequently dividing the World into two equal Parts, whence it has its Name. It is likewiſe called the Equinoctial, becauſe, when the Sun is in this Line, which is twice a Year, *viz.* in the Months of *March* and *September*, the Days and Nights are every where equal, and from the ſingular Utility of this imaginary Circle, it is ſtilled by Way of Eminence the Line.

The Zodiac is another imaginary Circle, which paſſes croſs the Equator, and is diſtinguiſhed, or divided into twelve Signs, ſix of which, *viz.* *Aries*, *Taurus*, *Gemini*, *Cancer*, *Leo*, *Virgo*, are on the North of the Equator, and therefore called northern Signs; the other ſix, *viz.* *Libra*, *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius*, *Capricorn*, *Aquarius*, *Piſces*, are on the South of the Equator, and are therefore called ſouthern Signs. Within the middle of the Zodiac runs a Line called the Ecliptic, which is the Path of the Sun, and from thence we derive the Word Eclipse, or Failure of the Sun's Light to the Earth; and when the Earth intercepts the Sun there, the Moon is eclipsed, or fails of reflecting to us that Light which it receives from the Sun. The Obliquity, or Digreſſion of this Circle from that of the Equator, occaſions the Diversity of Seaſons; for the northern Part of the World has its Midſummer when the Sun is in *Cancer*, and the ſouthern Part enjoys the ſame Bleſſing, when the Sun is in *Capricorn*.

Hence it is, that two imaginary Circles are ſuppoſed parallel to the Equator, paſſing through the Point in which the Sun advances fartheſt North and South, and are ſtilled the Tropics of *Cancer* and *Capricorn*, from the Greek Word *Tropos*, which ſignifies Converſion, or turning back. The Meridian is another great Circle paſſing through both Poles, and over any given Place on the Globe, and is called the Meridian, becauſe, when the Sun reaches this Circle, it is Mid-day, or Noon, to all who live under it. The Horizon is a great Circle, which cuts the Meridian, and divides the Globe in half, *viz.* into an upper and lower Hemisphere, and it being the Line which terminates the Sight, the Sun is ſaid to be ſet, when he ſinks below it, and to riſe, when he mounts above it.

As but one braſs Meridian is repreſented on the Globe, tho' there are various, the Sun making Mid-day earlier or later to different Parts, as they lie more Eaſt or Weſt, ſo there is repreſented but one Horizon, called the rational, or true one, tho' the ſenſible Horizon is various, as the Limits of the Sight vary at every Step. Theſe Definitions, tho' they appear a little obſcure at firſt, yet being twice or thrice read over, their Meaning will be ſufficiently plain, or if the leaſt Doubt remains, it will be abſolutely taken away by the following Remarks, as to their Utility.

The principal Thing in Geography, is to have a perfect Knowledge of the Relation which any Empire, Kingdom, Province, Diſtrict or City, hath to any other Place, or to the World in general; Now, it was impoſſible, that this Knowledge ſhould ever be acquired, if ſome Method had not been found to mark every particular Point upon the Globe, ſo that it might be found without Difficulty or Uncertainty. This is performed by knowing the Latitude and the Longitude of Places, without a clear Comprehension, of which it is impoſſible for the Reader to conceive perfectly the Deſcription of any Country, yet ſo it is, that among the numerous Books that have been written on the Science of Geography, there are very few that have made this Matter ſo clear, as that a Perſon of an ordinary Underſtanding might be able fully to embrace it. As it concerns, however, my Undertaking in the higheſt Degree, that there ſhould be no Miſtake in this Matter, I ſhall labour to make it ſo plain, with reſpect not only to finding the Latitude and Longitude on Maps, but to the conceiving the Uſe of it ſo clearly, as to be able from thence, to judge how all Parts of the World lie from their Latitude, and their Longitude being known, which is indeed the great Thing aimed at, and when once acquired, the bare reading of this Book with Attention, will render a Man a perfect Geographer, without farther Study or Pains.

We will begin with the Latitude of Places, and ſhew what is meant by that, and how far it is of Uſe in diſtinguiſhing any Place on the Globe. The Latitude of any City is its Diſtance from the Equator, which is reckoned on the Meridian, and as every Circle is ſuppoſed to be divided into 360°, ſo a fourth Part of the Meridian 90°, muſt be always included between the Equator and either of the Poles. Hence ariſes the Diſtinction between North Latitude and South Latitude, that is to ſay, the Number of Degrees counted on the Meridian from the Equator towards the arctic Pole, is ſtilled North Latitude, and thus *London* is ſaid to lie 51° 32' North; as on the other Hand, the Number of De-

green counted on the Meridian towards the Antarctic, is filed South, and thus the City of *Lima*, which is the Capital of *Peru*, lies in $12^{\circ} 6'$ South.

It is easy to discern, that by knowing the Latitude of a Place, we know its Distance from both Poles, and from the Equator; but it is very evident, that knowing the Latitude of a Place, is very far from pointing out to us the Part of the Globe in which it lies, because, numberless Places lie at the same Distance from the Equator, or, which is the same Thing in other Words, lie under the same Degree of Latitude, it is requisite therefore, to have some other Mark, or Means of Distinction, and this is furnished by the Longitude, which is reckoned upon the Equator itself from a first Meridian.

Ptolemy, who was the first Geographer that made Use of this Manner of computing, laid down the first Meridian, as passing through the *Canary Islands*, and in order to keep as close to this as possible, *Louis XIII.* of *France*, by an Edict dated *April 25, 1634*, directed all the *French* Geographers to place their first Meridian in the Island of *Ferro*, the most western Island in the *Canaries*. According to this Computation, the City of *Paris* lies in the Longitude of $20^{\circ} 30'$, that is so far East from the first Meridian, and as the Latitude of this City is $48^{\circ} 45'$, the exact Situation thereof upon the Globe is fully and clearly determined. This Regulation of the first Meridian, was confined to *France* only, and has even there been long out of Date. The *Dutch* Maps generally place the first Meridian at the Pike of *Tenerif*. The *Arabians* fix theirs at the Straights of *Gibraltar*. The old *Spaniards* would needs have it at *Toledo*, because they said *Adam* was the first King of *Spain*, and the Sun at that Time of its Creation was placed in the Meridian of *Toledo*.

Here, in *England*, we generally reckon the first Meridian that of *London*, and instead of counting, as the old Method was, from the West to the East, we reckon both Ways: For Example, we say, that *Oxford* lies in the Longitude of $1^{\circ} 17'$ West from *London*, whereas the City of *Warsaw* in *Poland*, lies in the Longitude of $20^{\circ} 55'$ East from *London*. In like Manner, the *French* Geographers reckon their Longitude from *Paris*; for Instance, *Frezier* fixes the Longitude of *Lima* in *Peru* $79^{\circ} 45'$ West, by which he means, that the Difference of the Meridian of that City from the Meridian of *Paris* is so much. I hope by this Time, the Meaning of these Terms is so well fixed, that with respect to the Use made of them in this Work, the Reader can never be at a Loss, or in any Danger of falling into Mistakes about them.

There are, however, two Questions that have been moved with respect to Latitude and Longitude, which, for Satisfaction of the Reader, I shall examine. The first is, why, since the Circumference of the Globe is every Way equal, the Distance towards North and South, should be filed Latitude, or Breadth, whereas that from West to East is called Longitude, or Length? The Answer to this is, that in measuring the Latitude, we make use only of a Quadrant, or a Quarter of a Circle, so that the Latitude of a Place cannot exceed 90° , whereas in counting the Longitude, the old Geographers made use of a whole Circle, and the modern Geographers use the Semi-circle, so that one Place may lie in the Latitude of 180° East or West from the first Meridian. The other Question is, why we reckon the Latitude from the Equator towards the Pole? And the Answer to this is, because the middle Part of the Earth was first settled, and the Extremities of it, towards the north and south Poles, are not yet fully discovered, and it was most natural to reckon from the known to the unknown; or, because the Equator, and the Poles being two fixed Points, it was natural to measure from one to the other, and the Distance between them, being as we said, but a Quarter of a Circle, it was called Latitude, in Distinction to Longitude, which was at first measured round the Globe, afterwards round half of it only.

The different Temperature of the Air, and the different Length of Days, in the several Parts of the World, have occasioned the Distinctions of Zones and Climates, which are of very great Use. The Word *Zone*, if strictly taken, is no more than a Girdle, and the Reason that it is made Use of, is, because the several Zones are distinguished by Circles that pass round the Earth. Geographers reckon five, *viz.* the torrid Zone, the north temperate Zone, the south temperate Zone, the north frigid Zone, and the south frigid Zone. The torrid Zone is that Part of the terrestrial Globe which lies between the two Tropics; the north temperate Zone is that which lies between the Tropic of *Cancer* and the arctic Circle; the south temperate Zone lies between the Tropic of *Capricorn*, and the antarctic Circle; the north frigid Zone lies within the arctic Circle, and the south frigid Zone within the antarctic Circle.

The Ancients were of Opinion, that the torrid and frigid Zones were absolutely uninhabitable, the former on Account of its prodigious Heat, the latter, by Reason of their excessive Cold. But Experience has shewn, that they were mistaken, and with respect to the former, the Length of their Nights, the Freshness of their Dews, the Constancy and Regularity of the Winds, the Height of the Mountains, and the great Quantity of Vapours exhaled by the Sun, renders its Heat very supportable to its Inhabitants; on the other Hand, the Inclemency of the frigid Zone, is so far moderated by the Length of Time, that the Sun remains in their Horizon; that the Inhabitants are able to live very cheerfully, and to great Ages. It is true, that the Countries they inhabit, are far from producing the Necessaries of Life in such Abundance as in warmer and more temperate Climes; but then the People are more hardy, capable of greater Fatigue, and prefer that Liberty which they enjoy in an erratic Kind of Life, to all the Pleasures that are tasted in other Countries, and for this Reason they have a stronger Passion for the Places of their Nativity than any other Nations whatever.

The Ancients finding that this Division of the Surface of the Globe into five Zones, was too general; and, as they supposed several of these to be uninhabitable, that it was subject to many Inconveniences, they had Recourse to another Invention, the most useful indeed of any they introduced into this Science; and this was their distinguishing the World into Climates. A Climate may be defined a certain Space of the Globe, in which the longest Day exceeds, by half an Hour, the longest Day in the Climate behind it towards the Equator, and falls short, by half an Hour, of the longest

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Day in the Climate before it towards the Poles. In other Words, two Cities are said to lie in different Climates when the longest Day in the one exceeds the longest Day in the other by half an Hour. The old Geographers reckoned but seven Climates, from the Mistake they made in imagining only a small Part of the Earth to be inhabited; but the Moderns have corrected this Error, and carried the Distance of Climates to its utmost Perfection. They reckon twenty-four between the Equator and the Arctic Polar Circle, each of which encreases by half an Hour in the longest Day; and as the longest Day under the Line consists but of twelve Hours, so it is plain, that in the twenty-fourth Climate, or under the Polar Circle, the longest Day consists of twenty-four Hours; from hence to the Pole they reckon but six, each of which differs in the Length of its longest Days a Month: So that under the Pole, if it was habitable, the Day and the Year would be the same thing, the former consisting of six Months, and the Night of as many.

By this Distinction into Climates, we have an Opportunity of looking round, and comparing the several Countries of a like Temperature at once. By it we are enabled to judge how far one Country is preferable to another in its Products and Commodities, how far the Culture of the Fruits of one Country may be pushed by Art in another, what Commodities may be expected in a new-discovered Land, and a Multitude of other curious Particulars that must immediately occur to every Man of tolerable Understanding. To further such Reflections, and to enable the Reader to possess himself at once of all the Advantages hinted at above, I shall lay down a Table of the twenty-four Northern Climates, which more immediately concern us; and when he has contemplated these with due Attention, I persuade myself he will discover many more useful Circumstances than I am able to mention. For when the human Mind is once put into the right Tract of Enquiry, a small Degree of Diligence and Penetration will conquer all Difficulties, and open a Path to such a Field of Knowledge, as cannot but attract a generous and inquisitive Spirit.

A TABLE of CLIMATES, from the Equator to the Polar Circle.

I. This commences at the Equator, and ends in the Latitude of $8^{\circ} 34'$: At its Extremity the Day is twelve Hours and an half. Within this Climate lie the *Moluccas*, the *Maldives*, *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, and other smaller Islands in the *East-Indies*.

II. Extends from from $8^{\circ} 41'$ to $16^{\circ} 43'$. The longest Day in this Climate consists of thirteen Hours. In it lie *Abissynia*, or *Ethiopia*, the Kingdoms of *Aden*, *Siam*, *Corromandel*, and the Island of *Ceylon*.

III. Reaches $16^{\circ} 43'$ to $24^{\circ} 11'$. The longest Day here is thirteen Hours and an half. Within this Climate are the Kingdoms of *Meccha*, *Arabia Felix*, *Bengal*, *Mexico* in *North-America*, and *Tonquin*.

IV. Takes in from $24^{\circ} 11'$ to $30^{\circ} 47'$. The longest Day in this Climate is fourteen Hours. In it lies the famous Island of *Ormuz* in the *Persian Gulph*, *Agra* the Capital, and a great Part of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, *Fochu* in *China*, *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and the *Canary-Islands*.

V. Extends from $30^{\circ} 47'$ to $36^{\circ} 30'$. The longest Day is fourteen Hours and an half: In which Climate lie the Territory of *Babylon*, *Tunis* in *Barbary*, *Nicosia* in the Isle of *Cyprus*, *Nankin* and *Pekin* in *China*, *Rhodes*, and *Ispahan*, with the Country adjoining in *Perfia*.

VI. Commences in $36^{\circ} 30'$, and reaches to $41^{\circ} 22'$. The longest Day here is fifteen Hours. In it lie *Lisbon*, and the best Part of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, *Palermo* in *Sicily*, *Madrid* in *Spain*, the best Part of *Greece*, *Asia-Minor*, the *Persian* Provinces on the *Caspian-Sea*, *Meched*, the intended Capital of that Empire by the *Shah Nadir*, Part of *India*, and *Great-Tartary*, *Corea*, and *Japon*. In *North-America*, a Part of *California*, the Kingdom of *New-Mexico*, the *French* Provinces of *Louisiana*, *Spanish Florida*, *Georgia*, Part of *South-Carolina*, the *Babama-Islands*, and the *Azores*.

VII. Reaches from $41^{\circ} 22'$ to $45^{\circ} 29'$. The longest Day fifteen Hours and a half. In its Bounds are comprehended *Biscay*, and all the Northern Provinces of *Spain*, the Southern Provinces of *France*, *Milan*, *Rome*, *Venice*, *Belgrade*, *Constantinople*, the *Black-Sea*, *Georgia*, the *Caspian*, the Sea of *Aral*, *Great-Tartary*, *Tangut*, Land of *Yedso*. In *North-America*, *Nova-Albion*, and the hitherto undiscovered Part of the Continent, the Sources of the *Mississippi*, the Lakes and Country of *Iriquois*, *Boston* in *New-England*, and *Port-Royal* in *Nova-Scotia*.

VIII. Extends from $45^{\circ} 29'$ to $49^{\circ} 1'$. The longest Day sixteen Hours, under which Climate lie *Paris* and the middle Provinces of *France*, *Vienna*, *Hungary*, *Crim-Tartary*, *Great-Tartary*, Part of the Land of *Yedso*, the Company's Land and other Discoveries by the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*. In *North-America*, a vast unknown Continent, the *Upper-Lakes*, *Canada*, *Nova-Scotia*, and *Newfoundland*.

IX. Commences at $49^{\circ} 1'$, and ends at $51^{\circ} 58'$. The longest Day sixteen Hours and an half. In this Climate lie *London*, *Rouen*, *Amiens*, *Prague*, *Frankfort*, *Cracow*, the Southern Provinces of *Muscovy*, and both *Tartaries*. In *North-America*, Part of *Canada*, the *Streights of Bell-Isle*, and some of *Newfoundland*.

X. Beginning at $51^{\circ} 58'$, and reaching to $54^{\circ} 29'$. The longest Day seventeen Hours. In this Climate are contained *Dublin*, *Amsterdam*, *Lubeck*, *Dantzick*, *Warsaw*, Part of the *Russian* Territories, both *Tartaries*, and in *America*, Part of *New-France*.

XI. Extends from $54^{\circ} 29'$ to $56^{\circ} 37'$. The longest Day seventeen Hours and an half. In this Climate we find *Edinburgh*, *Copenhagen*, *Wilna* in *Lithuania*, *Smolensko* in *Russia*, and both *Tartaries*.

XII. Begins from $56^{\circ} 37'$, and reaches to $58^{\circ} 26'$. The longest Day here is eighteen Hours. In this Climate lie *Gottengurgb* in Sweden, *Riga* in Livonia, several Provinces in *Muscovy*, and both *Tartaries*.

XIII. Begins at $58^{\circ} 26'$, and extends to $59^{\circ} 59'$; The longest Day in it being eighteen Hours and an half. Within this Climate lie the City of *Stockholm*, the famous Part of *Revel* in Livonia, the Heart of the *Russia* Dominions in Europe and Asia, the Middle of *Great-Tartary*. In America Part of the River of *St. Lawrence*, *New South-Wales*, on the Coast of *Hudson's-Bay*, *Terra de Labrador*.

XIV. Commences at $59^{\circ} 59'$, and ends at $61^{\circ} 18'$. The longest Day under this Climate is nineteen Hours. Within it we find the *Orkney-Islands*, a great Part of Norway, Sweden, *Russia*, *Great-Tartary*, *Button's-Bay*, *Hudson's-Streights*, and some other Places in that Neighbourhood.

XV. Comprehends from $61^{\circ} 18'$ to $62^{\circ} 25'$; the longest Day being nineteen Hours and an half. In this Climate lie the City of *Bergen* in Norway, several Parts of *Finland*, and many Provinces of the *Muscovite* Empire in Europe and Asia, and the most Southern Parts of *Greenland*.

XVI. Begins at $62^{\circ} 25'$, and ends at $63^{\circ} 23'$. The longest Day is twenty Hours. The most remarkable Place in this Climate is *Perma-Welick*, a Town in *Muscovy*.

XVII. Commences at $63^{\circ} 23'$, and ends at $64^{\circ} 16'$. The longest Day is twenty Hours and an half. Under this Climate is Part of *Finland*, *Russia*, *Tartary*, particularly that of it to the N. W. discovered by the *Russians* in the Year 1726.

XVIII. Extends from $64^{\circ} 16'$ to $64^{\circ} 55'$. The longest Day is twenty-one Hours. In this Climate is the City of *Drontheim* in Norway.

XIX. Comprehends all between $64^{\circ} 55'$, and $65^{\circ} 25'$; the longest Day being twenty-one Hours and an half. The City of *Tobolski*, which is the Capital of *Siberia*, lies in this Climate.

XX. Begins at $65^{\circ} 25'$, and extends at $65^{\circ} 47'$. The longest Day is twenty-two Hours. In this Climate is the Town of *Vistum* in *Finland*.

XXI. Extends from $65^{\circ} 47'$ to $66^{\circ} 6'$. The longest Day is twenty-two Hours and an half. In this Climate lies the Part of *Torna* in *Botania*, so often mentioned by Mr. *Maupeirtuis*, in his Account of the Expedition of the *French* Academicians, for determining the Length of a Degree under the arctic Circle.

XXII. Reaches from 66° to $66^{\circ} 20'$. The longest Day is twenty-three Hours. Within this Climate lies the Town of *Caienebourg* in *Muscovy*.

XXIII. Commences at $66^{\circ} 20'$, and extends to $66^{\circ} 28'$; the longest Day being twenty-three Hours and an half. Within this Climate lies the Town of *Skalbot* in the Island of *Iceland*.

XXIV. Comprehends from $66^{\circ} 28'$ to $66^{\circ} 31'$. The longest Day is twenty-four Hours. Within this Climate lies the Town of *Hola* in *Iceland*.

Here ends the Climate of Days, that is the twenty-four Climates, that are distinguished by the different Length of Days. Perhaps it may not be amiss to give a short and easy Rule for finding the Climate, in which any Place lies, without the Assistance either of Globes and Tables, and this may be done with so much Ease, that I think it impossible, either to mistake the Rule, or to meet with any Difficulty in making use of it. The Rule is this: Subtract 12 Hours from the longest Day, and double the Remainder, which will give the Climate the Place is in. For Example, the longest Day at *Paris* is 16 Hours; subtract 12 from thence, there remains 4, double the Remainder, and it shews the Climate wherein the City of *Paris* lies.

Besides the Climates distinguished by Days, there are yet six other northern Climates, which are distinguished by Months. And, as the Knowledge of these is of some Consequence, we shall likewise give a concise Account of them.

I. Commences at $66^{\circ} 31'$, and ends at $69^{\circ} 48'$. In this Climate, the longest Day consists of a compleat Month; in it lies the *Muscovite Lapland*.

II. Reaches from $69^{\circ} 48'$, to $73^{\circ} 37'$; the longest is of two Months, or sixty-two Days Continuance. In this Climate lies *Greenland*, which is a Country so excessive cold, that the Sea upon its Coasts is almost perpetually frozen.

III. Begins at $73^{\circ} 37'$, and extends to $78^{\circ} 30'$. In this Climate the Day is three Months compleat; in it lies *Zembla Australis*.

IV. Comprehends from $78^{\circ} 30'$ to $84^{\circ} 5'$. The longest Day in this Climate takes in four Months; in it lies *Zembla Borealis*.

V. Extends from $84^{\circ} 5'$, to the very Pole; the longest Day here consists of five Months, or one hundred fifty-five Days compleat. In this Climate lies *Spitzbergen*, which we call *Greenland*.

VI. Immediately, under the north Pole, where there is six Months Day, and six Months Night; but whether there be any Land, or whether, if there be Land, it is at all inhabited, remains, and probably will ever remain a Question. These Points of Geography have, as I observed before, something in them at first Sight, very dry and unpleasant; but by the frequent Perusal of them, or having often recourse to them, as they lie here in the Introduction, the Reader will soon enter into the full Extent of their Use, and apply them with Pleasure in the Perusal of the Work. I will not detain him with the Definitions of Continents, Islands, Capes, Promontories, Seas, Bays, &c. because these, I think, are generally understood, and where-ever I mention them, shall be rendered so plain, as not to need any Reference elsewhere.

Thus much may suffice upon this Subject, and tho' it lies in a narrow Compass, yet the Reader will find it not only useful, but every Way sufficient to explain the Terms of Art borrowed from that Science,

Science, and made use of in this Book. As to Navigation, Care has been taken to avoid as much as possible, making use of such Terms in that Art, as are not commonly understood, and rather than do this, and thereby introduce a Multitude of harsh Words, and difficult Phrases, we have chosen to express Things more at large, so as to render them perfectly plain, even to ordinary Understandings. We may say the same Thing with regard to natural History, wherein we have studied chiefly Perpicuity, and thereby the Information of the Reader, which we conceived would be more acceptable, than if from a vain Affectation of Learning, we had used Words familiar in the Schools, and no where else. It is proper, and even necessary to mention these Things, that what was purely the Effect of Choice, may not be attributed to any other Cause. It is one Thing to write expressly upon a particular Science, and another to mention occasionally Things that relate to that Science, and our Business in this Collection is, not only to convey all the Instruction we can, but likewise to convey it in the easiest and plainest Manner we may, as not affecting to be thought learned, but desiring to make Knowledge as familiar as possible.

With this View, we have insisted largely on the Policy of Countries, in order to shew, both the Nature of several Kinds of Government, and their Effects, more especially in the *East*, the Spirit of which seems hitherto but indifferently understood. We have also had Occasion to represent very fully the four ancient Empires, the Influence they had on the Manners of Mankind, which we have likewise shewn, is not yet wholly effaced. By pursuing this Method, we flatter ourselves, that many great Advantages have been gained, and that the Reader will perceive, that what he has perused in this Volume, will throw a prodigious Light on what follows in the next, more especially with regard to the fundamental Principles of true and lasting Dominion.

The Power attained either by Policy, or Arms, is but of short Continuance, in comparison of what is acquired by Trade. If we reflect on the Reason of the Thing, it will appear, that Commerce is founded on Industry, and cherished by Freedom. These are such solid Pillars, that whatever Superstructure is erected upon them, cannot easily be overthrown by Force, but must be ruined by Sap: This too we find justified by History and Experience. The ancient Kingdom of *Tyre* owed its extensive and lasting Power to its Commerce, and all the Accounts we have of the Progress of *Alexander's Army* agree in this, tho' hardly in any Thing else; that the Destruction of *Tyre* cost him more than the over-running the *Persian Empire*, tho' the Territories of the former scarce entered into Comparison with the prodigious Dominions of the latter. *Carthage*, the most formidable Enemy of *Rome*, stood likewise indebted to Trade for that Strength which was so long reputed invincible, and which had always proved so, if the Virtues necessary to a State supported and ever subsisting by Commerce, had not been greatly impaired by that Luxury which her Riches induced before she was attacked by her formidable Enemy. The History of the middle Ages likewise shew the Republics of *Venice* and *Genoa* rising to an amazing Height, by the diligent Prosecution of foreign Trade, and Maritime Power, and sinking again into a low Condition, and that not so much by a superior Force of foreign Enemies, as by the Negligence of those Arts, and Diminution of those Virtues by which their Empire was attained.

According to the present System, Wealth is the Source of Power, and the Attainment of Wealth can only be brought about by a wise and happy Attention to Commerce. This it was that enabled the *United-Provinces*, not only to shake off the Dominion of *Spain*, but to raise themselves into the first Rank among the Powers of *Europe*. If we pursue this Thought a little farther, we shall find, that the peculiar Advantages which the little Province of *Holland* possesses in this respect, has rendered her in some Measure the Mistress of the other Six; and if we pry further into Things, we shall discover such a Degree of Wealth and Power in the City of *Amsterdam* alone, as might put her upon a Level with some Kingdoms. I shall but just mention the *Dutch East-India Company*, which, in a distant Part of the World, not only gives Laws to barbarous Nations, but has trampled upon those Powers that were terrible to the States at Home. It is indeed wonderful, that Truths so evident as these, should for a long Time escape, not only vulgar Observation, but the penetrating Eyes of the profoundest Politicians.

By Degrees, however, Experience has made almost all Nations sensible of the Importance of Trade, which is the Reason we see it pursued now with so much Ardour in every Corner of the *European World*. This being the Case, whoever would have a competent Knowledge of the Weight and Influence of any People, must be well acquainted with their Character and Circumstances in this respect; and yet this is a Point unaccountably neglected by almost all the Writers who have undertaken to set before their Readers the present State of Kingdoms and Commonwealths. They mention it, we must confess, but superficially; they throw it amongst a Groupe of inconsiderable Particulars, and if they just take Notice of a principal Port, or two, in any Country, they think they have done all that is requisite in regard to an Affair, the Knowledge of which, is of much more Importance than most of those on the copious Explication of which they value themselves.

As our Business lay in a great Measure with Authors that dealt not much in Reflection, we have, in the first Part of this Work, endeavoured to supply that Defect, in order to render it as systematical as possible, and in the succeeding Volume, we shall, for the same Reason, be more sparing on that Head, and leave Things more to the Reader's own Observation, taking Care, however, to supply them with proper Materials, for the ranging of which, in order to extract from this Collection a general History of Trade, a very few Rules may suffice, which, for that Reason, we shall here lay down, being thoroughly persuaded, that as they will be found both proper and useful in their Application, so they will be found even here both natural and agreeable.

The only Means, by which we can arrive at distinct and accurate Notices on this Head, is by following that plain and natural Method, which the Nature of Commerce in general points out. We must

must first examine what the natural Commodities are of the Country, the Trade of which we consider, the Quantity, Value and Demand for these Commodities in other Parts, and the Manner in which they are disposed of by the Natives of the Country where they are found. This is the first Step in the History of Commerce. The next is the Enumeration of their Manufactures, whether they are of their own Commodities, or of those imported from abroad: And with regard to this Head we must attentively consider the Number of the People employed, the Nature of their Employments, and the Effects which their Industry produces to themselves and to the State. The third Head in this Enquiry should be the Sea-Ports in the Country under our Consideration, the natural and artificial Conveniences of each of them, and the particular Advantages and Disadvantages attending them, in point of Situation and otherwise.

These three Things thoroughly and fully understood, we may, with tolerable Certainty, judge of the Probability or Improbability of their becoming considerable by their Commerce in Naval Power, since a Nation blessed with these Conveniences will be able to conquer almost any Difficulties, and for a Nation deficient in these Respects, it will be in a Manner to no Purpose that she struggles, because whatever the Power or Policy of one Administration might gain her, must be lost by the new Turn of the next; since whatever is unnatural, or contrary to the Genius of a People, can never last long. The fourth Head will be the Number and Nature of their Shipping, and the Seamen employed on Board them: For the Wealth and Power of a Nation is much effected by various Circumstances attending these. For Instance, *Spain* and *Portugal* derive great Riches from Commerce: And yet, by their Management of that Commerce, are far from being considerable, either by the Number of their Shipping, or of their Seamen, which is owing to their ill Policy, and to that ridiculous Distinction, between the Wealth of the Prince and the Wealth of the People; a Distinction that can serve no other Purpose than keeping the one weak, and the other poor.

The last Point that merits Examination, is that of Colonies or Plantations; with regard to which, we are to enquire, not how many, or how powerful they are, so much as how they contribute to the Wealth and Grandeur of their Mother State. There is in this something so commendable in the *Dutch*, that I cannot forbear speaking of it. The common Phrase for *Holland*, in all their Colonies, is *Father-land*, which is an Expression so pathetic, so full of true Patriotism, and so expressive of filial Affection, that we may from thence discern the true Use of Colonies, which is to feed and support the Country from whence they are derived. In this Respect we excel the *Spaniards*, and the *Dutch* excel us: For there is a Conformity between the Interest of that State and of all her Plantations, which is discerned no where else, and which is the true Source of the mighty Power and immense Wealth of that flourishing Republick.

So much for the commercial Part of our Work; let us now turn to the History. The original Settlement and subsequent Changes that have happened to every Nation, are the Subject of their History. This must be tolerably well known to have an adequate Notion of their Concerns, but at the same Time, there is no sort of Occasion for entering too deeply into this, in order to an Acquaintance with their present Circumstances. There cannot, certainly, be either a more useful, or a more pleasant Study, than the general History of all Nations. But then this requires much Leisure, the Knowledge of many Languages and great Abilities; a great Statesman, an accomplished Scholar may, indeed must, apply himself to this sort of Study, in order to attain that Excellence, at which he aims. But the general Knowledge of the World, which is so requisite to every Man, who would make a tolerable Figure in it, does not require any such laborious Course of reading, but may be acquired, by affording a reasonable Attention to a few of the most remarkable Facts. In this Work therefore, without totally omitting the antient History, we shall treat of it so concisely, as to connect it with, and yet leave sufficient Room for the Modern. The Spring of Action in one Age, seldom rises higher than the Transactions of that which went before it; and therefore it imports us more to be perfectly acquainted with what has fallen out within these last hundred Years, than with what was done many Centuries ago, tho' the Actions of those Times might be of greater Eclat than in these.

It was from a strict Attention to this, that we have taken so much Pains to enquire into, and set forth the State and Condition of the several trading Companies subsisting in *Europe*, the Nature of whose Commerce brings them within the Compass of this Part of our Work, as hoping thereby, not only to lay the Foundation of a competent Stock of Knowledge for the present, but to open to the industrious and intelligent Reader, a clear and easy Method of registering and preserving whatever shall occur of the like Nature in later Books. The same Care has been taken with regard to the Division of this Work in both Volumes, so as to render it not only as perfect as possible, by digesting therein whatever has been hitherto published of superior Value, and distinguished Worth, but also leaving the Road open to future Continuations, without any sort of Necessity of new modelling, or recomposing the whole; so that it is hoped, such as are possessed of this Work, need never find themselves obliged to purchase another Collection falling within the same Space of Time, but may be furnished with all they want, by proper Supplements, as future Discoveries are made, or new Books of Voyages and Travels are published, in our own, or in other Languages.

Another Advantage that will result from the plain and easy Method we have made use of, and which is fully described in the Preface, is, that as this Work will be perfect for the present, without any Supplement, so any Supplement that shall be made hereafter with Judgment, will likewise be perfect in its kind, and be a compleat Work in itself, and thereby totally remove an Inconveniency that has hitherto attended all Collections of this sort, from their not being properly digested. Thus we have compleated the first Part of this Introduction, which is intended to enable the Reader to understand all that is contained in the following Sheets, with respect to Discoveries and Descriptions of Countries, without having recourse to other Books for Instruction; it remains, that in the second Part, we shew how

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how future Discoveries may be made by a farther Improvement of those Helps, and those Instruments, which have rendered the modern Navigation so much superior, in Accuracy, as well as Extent to the Navigation of the Ancients.

This leads us to speak more particularly of the Properties of the Magnet, or Load-stone, the Discovery of which, if we may believe the learned *Kircher*, was originally owing to the Sagacity of an *Englishman*, but which have most certainly been better explained, and thereby rendered more and more useful, by several of our industrious Countrymen. There have, indeed, been Attempts made to shew, that the Ancients were acquainted with that wonderful and singular Property of this Stone, which our learned Countryman *Dr. Gilbert*, calls, its Verticity, or Power of pointing to the North; and it has been likewise asserted, that it was commonly known in the *East*, before it came to be practised in these Parts of the World; both which Opinions, in the Body of this Work, we have shewn to be but indifferently founded. The first Treatise upon this Subject, of any great Consequence, was written by a Person who stiled himself *Petrus Peregrinus*, who, if *Kircher* be not mistaken, and *Sturmius* likewise, was no other than our learned Friar *Roger Bacon*; but be this as it will, it is in a Manner agreed, that this Property of the Magnet, was reduced to practice about the Year 1300, that is about six or eight Years after Friar *Bacon's* Death, by one *John Goia* of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

After this great and most useful Discovery was known to *Europe*, there were soon many inquisitive Heads, that employed their Thoughts about making further Enquiries into the Nature of this celebrated Stone; so that in some time its Variation, or Deflection from the true Meridian, was discovered by *Sebastian Cabot*. The Declination (as it was at first called, whereas now the Variation often passes by that Name) or rather, the Inclination of the Needle, was first discovered by our Countryman *Robert Norman*, which is a surprizing Property, whereby it always dips under the Horizon, when placed upon a Pin like a Compass, except in such Places as are just under the Equator, and there it keeps always parallel to the Horizon exactly; and he found the greatest Inclination at *London* to be $71^{\circ} 50'$. *Dr. Wallis* in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 276, thinks that the Discovery of this Dipping of the Needle is owing to Mr. *Blagrove*, or some other *Greshamite*; and he describes this Property to be a Direction of Altitude above the Horizon; so that if it be duly poised on an Horizontal Axis, it will point to a determinate Degree, of Altitude, or Elevation above the Horizon; and he says truly that of this Discovery, though made so long ago, there hath not yet been any considerable Use made.

The Variation of the Variation is another considerable and very surprizing Property of the Load-stone; that is, that the Magnetick Needle in its Horizontal Position, doth not always retain the same Variation or Declination from the true Meridian, in the same Place, and at all Times, but doth successively vary in its Declination or Variation from Time to Time. This was first discovered by Mr. *Gillibrand*, about the Year 1635; tho' *Sturmius* saith, that this was taken Notice of also by *Helvetius*, *Auzout*, *Petit*, *Volckamer* and others, much about the same Time: So that our *English* Nation has had a very considerable Share in the Discoveries which have been made about the Magnet, and its wonderful and useful Properties. To make this Matter the clearer, and to reduce the Facts necessary to be known, within a narrow Compass, we will present them to the Eye of the Reader in the Form of a Table.

The PROPERTIES and PHENOMENA of the Magnet or Load-stone, from the best Authors.

- I. That in every Magnet or Load-stone, there are two Poles, one pointing North, the other South; and if a Stone be cut, or broke into never so many Pieces, there are these two Poles in each Piece.
- II. That these Poles, in divers Parts of the Globe, are diversly inclined towards the Earth's Centre.
- III. That these Poles, though contrary one to another, do help mutually towards the Magnet's Attraction and Suspension of Iron.
- IV. If two Magnets are Spherical, one will turn or conform itself to the other, so as either of them would do to the Earth; and that after they have so conformed, or turned themselves, they endeavour to approach to join each other; but, if placed in a contrary Position, they avoid each other.
- V. If a Magnet be cut through the Axis, the Parts or Segment of the Stone, which before were joined, will now avoid and fly each other.
- VI. If the Magnet be cut by a Section perpendicular to its Axis, the two Points, which before were conjoined, will become contrary Poles, one in one, the other in the other Segments.
- VII. Iron receives Virtue from the Magnet by Application to it, or barely from an Approach near it, tho' it do not touch it; and Iron receives this Virtue variously, according to the Parts of the Stone it is made to touch, or approach to.
- VIII. If an oblong Piece of Iron be any how applied to the Stone, it receives a Virtue from it only as to its Length.
- IX. The Magnet loses none of its own Virtue by communicating any to Iron; and this Virtue it can communicate to Iron very speedily, though the longer the Iron touches or joins the Stone, the longer will its communicated Virtue hold, and a better Magnet will communicate more of it than one that is not so good.
- X. That Steel receives Virtue from the Magnet sooner than Iron.
- XI. A Needle touched by a Magnet will turn its Ends the same Way towards the Poles of the World as the Magnet will do.
- XII. That neither Lead, Stone, nor Needles touched by it do conform their Poles exactly to those of the World, but have usually some Variation from them; and this Variation is different in different Places, and at different Times in the same Place.

XIII. That a Load-stone will take up much more Iron, when armed or capped, than it can alone; and that tho' the Iron-key, or Ring, be suspended by the Load-stone, yet the magnetical Particles do not hinder the Ring or Key, from turning round any Way either to the Right or Left.

XIV. That the Force of a Load-stone may be variously encreased or lessened, by the various Application of Iron, or another Load-stone to it.

XV. That a strong Magnet, at the least Distance from a lesser or a weaker, cannot draw to it a Piece of Iron adhering to such lesser or weaker Stone; but if it comes to touch it, it can draw it from the other; but a weaker Magnet, or even a little Piece of Iron, can draw away, or separate a Piece of Iron contiguous to a greater or a stronger Load-stone.

XVI. That in our North Parts of the World, the South-Pole of a Load-stone will raise up more Iron than the North-Pole.

XVII. That a Plate of Iron only, but no other Body interposed, can impede the Operation of the Load-stone, either as to its Attraction, or directive Quality. Mr. Boyle found it true by Glasses sealed hermetically; and Glass is a Body as impervious as most are to any Effluvia.

XVIII. That the Power, or Virtue of a Load-stone, may be impaired by lying long in a wrong Posture, as also by Rust, Wet, &c. and may be quite destroyed by Fire.

EXPERIMENTS on the Load-stone, by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; in his own Words.

I. Mr. Boyle found that by heating a Magnet red-hot, it could be speedily deprived of its attractive Quality.

II. If a Load-stone be heated red-hot, and then cooled, either with its South-Pole to the North, in a horizontal Position, or with its South-Pole downwards in a perpendicular one, it will change its Polarity, the South-Pole becoming the Northern, and *vice versa*.

III. By applying the Poles of a very small Fragment of a Load-stone to the opposite vigorous ones of a good large Magnet, Mr. Boyle found he could speedily change the Poles of the Fragment, but he could not effect it in a Fragment that was considerably bigger, tho' he tried many Hours.

IV. He observed, that well-tempered and hardened Iron-Tools, when heated by Attraction, turning, filing, &c. they would, while warm, attract the Filings or Chips of Iron and Steel, but not when cold; yet, says Mr. Maxon I remember once to have seen myself, and tried, that a Piece of a File, which was in the Hands of Mr. Farwell, the Spectacle-Maker, did retain such attractive Quality, that it would take up and keep suspended the Key of a Cabinet, or Eserutore, and needed no Friction to excite this magnetical Virtue.

V. The Iron-bars of Windows, which have long stood in an erect Position, do grow permanently magnetical, the lower Ends of such Bars being the North-Poles, and the upper the Southern; for, according to the Laws of Magnetism, we find the lower Ends of such Bars will drive away the North-End of such a Needle, and will attract the Southern; which shews, that by a continual Passage of the subtle magnetical Particles through them, they are turned into a kind of Magnet themselves.

VI. If a Bar of Iron that hath not long stood in an erected Posture, be only held perpendicularly, its lower End will be the North-Pole, and attract the South-Point of a touched Needle; but then this Virtue is transient, and will shift as you invert the Bar; for the other End, when held lowermost, will presently become the North-Pole: Wherefore, in order to render the Quality of Verticity permanent in an Iron-bar, it must remain a long while in a proper Position: But the Fire will produce this Effect in a very short Time; for as it will immediately deprive a Load-stone of attractive Power, or change its Poles (as in Experiment 1, 2.) so it will as soon give a Verticity to a Bar of Iron, it being heated red-hot, and cooled in an erect Position directly North and South; nay, it hath been observed often, that even Tongs and Pokers, by being often heated, and then set to cool in a Position near to erect, have gained this magnetical Property. The Reason of which very different Effects of the Fire on a Magnet and on Iron Mr. Boyle, with his usual Modesty, suggests to be this, That the peculiar Texture of Constitution, by which a Magnet differs from common Iron, one being accurate and fine, the other rough is spoiled by the rude and violent Attacks of the Fire. But this mighty Agent, by working upon Iron, softens and opens the Pores of the Metal (which is harder than Iron-Oar;) so that it becomes capable of being pervaded by the magnetical Particles, and by that Means gains a vertical Quality.

VII. Mr. Boyle found, that, by heating of English Oker red-hot, and placing it to cool in a proper Posture, it plainly gained a magnetic Power.

VIII. The same Noble Gentleman found that an excellent Load-stone of his own, having lain almost a Year in an inconvenient Posture, had its Virtues so impaired, that he, at first, thought that somebody had spoiled it by Fire.

IX. If a Needle be well touched on a good Load-Stone, 'tis known it will, when duly poised, point North and South; but if it hath one contrary Touch on the same Stone, it will immediately be deprived of that Faculty; and by another Touch it will have its Poles quite changed; so that the End which before pointed North, shall now point Southward.

X. Dr. Power, and Mr. Boyle, both found that after a red-hot Iron had gained a Verticity by being well heated and cooled North and South; and then also hammered at the Ends, the Virtues would immediately be destroyed by two or three Blows of a strong Hammer smartly given about the Middle of it.

XI. Mr. Boyle found, that by drawing the Back of a Knife, or long Piece of Steel-Wire, &c. over the Pole of a Load-stone leisurely once, or divers Times, beginning the Motion from the Equator,

tor, or Middle of the Stone towards the Pole, the Knife or Wire, will accordingly attract the End of a poised magnetical Needle: But if you take another Knife or Wire, and thrust it leisurely over the Pole towards the Equator, or Middle of the Equator, this Knife shall expel, or drive away the same End of the Needle, which the former Knife would attract, which Experiment makes it very probable, that the Operation of the Magnet depends on the Flux of some fine Particles, which go out at one Pole, then round about, and in again at the other.

XII. Because it is one of the universal Laws of Nature, that Action and Re-action are always equal: Therefore, it is plain, the Iron must attract the Magnet as much as that doth the Iron; and you may easily experiment it to be so in Fact, if you place a Magnet, or a Piece of Iron on a Cork, so as that it may swim freely in the Water, for then you will see that whichever you hold in your Hand will draw the other towards it.

This Table of Facts, and List of Experiments, have been very exactly transcribed, that the Reader might see as much as either Reason or Experience can teach concerning the wonderful Nature of this Stone, and the various Circumstances which attend the Exertion of that Faculty by which it becomes of such infinite Benefit and Advantage to Mankind. Without knowing these Circumstances, there would want many Grounds for enquiring into, and discovering, as perhaps there are still wanting, sufficient Grounds for fully explaining the Nature of Magnetism, that is to say, with such Clearness, as may satisfy the Understanding, and such Certainty, as may take away all Fear of Deception or Mistake in Practice. If this Doctrine of Magnetism was merely a Point of Natural Philosophy, it would be idle for me to spend so much Time about it; but as it is in Fact the great Secret which must sooner or later disclose the Perfection of that Science to which Books of this Nature belong, I mean the Knowledge of the entire Globe upon which we live, it becomes a most necessary Part of this Introduction, because the most valuable Voyages contain several Particulars relating to this Matter, which are in Danger of appearing either trivial or tedious, if their Use and Importance be not fully shewn.

The several Hypotheses that have been devised by speculative Men, in order to explain this Matter, have hitherto proved not only erroneous and unsatisfactory, but by being for a Time judged otherwise, have hindered such Enquiries as might have turned to the Benefit of Mankind; for, as Lord Bacon long ago observed, Ignorance is not near so great an Hindrance to Knowledge, as the Conceit of Knowledge: Thus for Instance, *Kircher's* Notion of magnetical Fibres in the Earth, might make a Man fancy he could account for the Verticity of the Load-stone. Again, *Mr. Bond*, a Countryman of our own, advanced something very plausible about the Variation; for he supposed there were two magnetical Poles, which terminated an Axis inclined to that of the Earth, from whence it would follow, that under the same Meridian, the Variation must be the same, and therefore as Experience shews the Conclusion false, it follows, that his Account of the Matter could not be true. *Dr. Gilbert*, our Countryman likewise, and whose Labours on this Subject can never be enough commended, guarded against this Error, by the Opinion which he advanced, which is indeed very curious, and very ingenious, but at the Bottom likewise unsatisfactory. He thought that the Earth itself being in all its Parts magnetical, and the Water not; the Needle, would consequently turn towards the Earth wherever it lay, as to the greater Quantity of magnetical Matter; but to mention one out of a Multitude of Instances that might be given, it is certain, that on the Coast of *Brazil*, the Needle turns quite the contrary Way, which is sufficient to destroy this Notion.

The famous *M. Des Cartes* invented another Scheme less liable to Contradiction, for he conjectured, that Iron and Load-stone, hid in the Bowels of the Earth, and the Bottom of the Sea, might be the Causes of the Variation of the Needle; but if this were true, how should the Variation of that Variation be accounted for? We know from Experience, that here at *London*, the Variation in one hundred Years has altered fifteen Degrees, and something more, for which none of these Notions account at all, and therefore the famous *Dr. Halley* took quite another Method, that is to say, he took the only right Method, by first collecting a large Table of Observations, and from thence endeavoured to raise a Theory.

By this Means he went much farther than any of his Predecessors, and his Scheme was this, that the Globe was a Magnet, having four magnetical Poles, two near each of the Poles of the Equator, and that the Needle was always governed by the nearest of these Poles. His Discourse upon this Subject was extremely well received, both at Home and Abroad, and perhaps, if it had satisfied its Author, it might have satisfied every body else; but the ingenious Gentleman who devised it, having a much greater regard to Truth than Fame, and to the general Advantage of Mankind, than his own particular Reputation, soon saw that his Scheme, tho' much better contrived, was at the Bottom as falacious as the rest; for he considered, that no Magnet had any more than two Poles, whereas the Earth had visibly four, and perhaps more; and he likewise observed, that according to his former Notion, these Poles shifted their Place, which, according to the Laws of Nature, and the particular Structure of the Magnet, was improbable and absurd.

He farther observed, that this Variation was regular, and had a certain Period, tho' not hitherto perfectly discovered; for, here at *London*, in the Year 1580, it was observed to be $11^{\circ} 15'$ East. In 1657, there was no Variation at all. In 1672, he observed it himself $2^{\circ} 30'$ West; and in 1692, he observed it to be exactly 6° West; so that in one hundred and twelve Years, it had changed 17° . To this it may not be improper to add, that in fifty-three Years, which have since elapsed, it has varied 11° more to the West. At *Paris*, in 1550, the Needle varied 9° East. In 1666, there was no Variation at all, and since that, its Variation has increased to 14° West. The most southern Promontory of *Africa* was, by the *Portuguese*, about the Year 1600, called the *Cape d'Agullas*, or *Cape Needles*,

Needles, because there they found no sensible Variation; and yet, in 1691, a very curious Observation being made there, the Needle was found to vary 11° West. At the Island of *St. Helena*, in the Year 1600, the Variation was found 8° to the East, which gradually declined to the Year 1667, when Dr. *Hally* himself observed it there, and found the East Variation no more than $40'$; and in 1692, it varied 1° West.

Having thus given the Reader as clear and historical an Account of this Matter as we could, we shall next give him the same Gentleman's Reasonings thereupon in his own Words, because it is impossible to say any Thing better, or more agreeable to Truth, than what he has delivered upon the Subject, as there is very great Reason to doubt whether we shall soon see a more satisfactory Theory raised for the Service of Mankind, than that which this able and ingenious Person has given us. After therefore laying down at large these several Observations, and many more which we have omitted, as tending only to prove what we apprehend is sufficiently proved by the Observations already set down, and the subsequent Experience we have had of the same Thing, he proceeds thus:

"These *Phænomena* being well understood, and duly considered, sufficiently evince, that the whole magnetical System is by one, or perhaps more Motions, translated whither Eastwards or Westwards, I shall soon discuss, that this moving Thing is very great, as extending its Effects from Pole to Pole, and that the Motion thereof is not *per saltum*, but a gradual and regular Motion.

"Now, considering the Structure of our terraqueous Globe, it cannot be well supposed, that a very great Part thereof can move within it, without notably changing its Centre of Gravity, and the Equilibrium of its Parts, which would produce very wonderful Effects in changing the Axis of diurnal Rotation, and occasion strange Alterations in the Seas Surface, by Inundations and Recesses thereof, such as History never yet mentioned; besides, the solid Parts of the Earth are not to be granted permeable by any other than fluid Substances, of which we know none that are any Way magnetical; so that the only Way to render this Motion intelligible, and possible, is to suppose it to turn about the Centre of the Earth. And there is yet required, that this moving internal Substance be loose, and detached from the external Parts of the Earth wherein we live; for otherwise; were it fixed thereto, the whole must necessarily move together.

"So then, these external Parts of the Globe will be reckoned as the Shell, and the internal Nucleus, or inner Globe, included within ours with a fluid Medium between, which, having the common Centre and Axis of diurnal Rotation, may turn about with our Earth, each twenty-four Hours only, the outer Sphere having its turbinating Motion, some small Matter, either swifter or slower, than the internal Ball, and every Minute's Difference in Length of Time, and in many Repetitions, will become sensible; the internal Parts will by Degrees recede from the external, and not keeping Pace with one another, will appear gradually to move either Eastward or Westward, by the Difference of their Motions.

"Now, supposing such an internal Sphere to have such a Motion, we shall solve the two great Difficulties we encountered in my former Hypothesis; for if this external Shell of Earth be a Magnet, having its Poles at a Distance from the Poles of the diurnal Rotation, and if the internal Nucleus be likewise a Magnet, having its Poles in two other Places, distant also from the Axis, and these latter, by a gradual and slow Motion, change their Place in respect of the external, we may give a reasonable Account of the four magnetical Poles, I presume to have demonstrated before, as likewise the Changes of the Needles Variations, which till now have been unattempted.

"The Period of this Motion being wonderfully great, and there being hardly an hundred Years since these Variations have been duly observed, it will be very hard to bring this Hypothesis to a Calculus, especially, since tho' the Variation do decrease and increase regularly, in the same Place; yet in different Places, and at no great Distance, there are found such casual Changes thereof, as can no Ways be accounted for by a regular Hypothesis, as depending on the unequal and irregular Distribution of the magnetical Matter, within the Substance, within the external Shell, or Coat of the Earth, which Defect the Needle supplies from the Position it would acquire from the Effect of the general Magnetism of the whole. Of this, the Variations at *London* and *Paris*, give a notable Instance; for the Needle hath been constantly about $1^{\circ} 30'$ more Easterly at *Paris* than at *London*, tho' it be certain, that according to the general Effect, the Difference ought to be the contrary Way, notwithstanding which, the Variations in both Places do change alike.

"Hence, and from some other Things of the like Nature, I conclude, that the two Poles of the external Globe, are fixed in the Earth, and that if the Needle were wholly governed by them, the Variations thereof would be always the same, with some little Irregularities on the Account I but just above-mentioned; but the internal Sphere having such a gradual Translation of its Poles, does influence the Needle, and direct it variously, according to the Result of the attractive, or directive Power of each Pole, and consequently there must be a Period of the Revolution of this internal Ball, after which the Variation will return again as before; but if it should in future Ages be observed otherwise, we must then conclude, that there are more of these internal Spheres, and more magnetic Poles than four, which at present we have not a sufficient Number of Observations to determine, and particularly in that vast *Mare del Zur*, or *South-Sea*, which occupies so great a Part of the Surface of the Earth.

"If then two of the Poles be fixed, and two moveable, it remains to ascertain, which they are that keep their Place; and though I could wish we had Experience of another Century of Years to found our Conclusions upon, yet I think we may safely determine, that our *European Pole* (which in the precedent Discourse I supposed near the Lands-end of *England*, and about 7° therefrom) is that, which is moveable of the two northern Poles, and that, which has chiefly influenced the Variation in these Parts of the World; for in *Hudson's Bay*, which is under the Direction of the *American Pole*, the Change is not observed to be near so fast as in those Parts of *Europe*, tho' the Pole be much farther removed from the Axis.

"As to the south Poles, I take the *Asian Pole*, which I place about the Meridian of the Island *Celebes*, to be fixed, and consequently the *American Pole* to move from the like Observations of the flow and reflux of the Sea, and near the Meridian of the *Asian Pole*; tho' I must confess to have no Account of the Effects of the other beyond *Magellan Straights*.

"If this be allowed me, it is plain, that the six Poles are the Poles of this external Shell or Cortex of the Earth, and the other two the Poles of the magnetical Nucleus, included and moveable within the other. It likewise follows, that this Motion is Westward, and by Consequence, that the aforesaid Nucleus has not precisely attained the same Degree of Velocity, with the exterior Parts in their diurnal Revolution, but so nearly equals it, that in three hundred sixty-five Revolves, the Difference is scarce sensible. This I conceive to arise from the Impulse whereby this diurnal Motion was impressed on the Earth, being given to the external Parts, and from thence, in Time, communicated to the internal, but not so as perfectly to equal the Velocity of the first Motion impressed on them, and still conveyed, by the superficial Parts of the Globe.

"As for the Quantity of this Motion, it is almost impossible to define it, both from the Nature of this kind of Observation, which cannot be accurately performed, as also from the small Time these Variations have been observed, and their Change discovered. It appears by all Circumstances, that this Period is of many Centuries of Years, and as far as may be collected from the Change of the Place where there was no Variation, by Reason of the Equilibrium of the two southern magnetical Poles, viz. from *Cape d'Agulhas*, to the Meridian of *St. Helena* (which is about 23° in ninety Years) and of the Place where the westerly Variation is in its *Acme*, or greatest Deflection, being about half as much, viz. from the Isle of *Diego Rios*, to the south-west Parts of *Madagascar*, we may with some Reason conjecture, that the *American Pole* has moved Westwards 46° , in that Time, and that the whole Period thereof is performed in seven hundred Years, or thereabouts; so that the nice Determination of this, and of several other Particulars in the magnetick System, is reserved for remote Posterity. All that we can hope to do, is, to leave behind us Observations that may be considered in, and to propose Hypotheses, which After-ages may examine, amend or reject. Only here I must take Leave to recommend to all Masters of Ships, and other Lovers of natural Truths, that they use their utmost Diligence to make, or procure to be made, Observations of these Variations in all Parts of the World, as well in the north, as south Latitude (after the laudable Custom of our *East-India Commanders*) and that they be pleased to communicate them to the *Royal Society*, in order to leave as complete a History, as may be, to those that are hereafter to compare all together, and to complete and perfect this abstruse Theory."

There has not hitherto appeared any Thing more curious, or more correct, upon this Subject, than the foregoing admirable Discourse of the late learned Dr. *Halley*, whose great Abilities, and indefatigable Diligence, have done the greatest Honour to this Nation, and fully supported that Reputation which we had before acquired, of having done more in respect to magnetical Discoveries, than any other Nation in *Europe*. His Theory indeed, is at once so sagacious, and so ingenious, and withal, is delivered with so great Modesty, such wise Precautions, and so laudable a regard to Truth, that one may justly affirm, it deserves much higher Respect, and a more attentive Consideration, than is usually due to Attempts of this Nature; and, if after longer Experience, and a more particular Knowledge of the Facts relating to the Variation in different Places, it shall appear capable of solving all the Difficulties, with which this Subject has been hitherto burthened, Posterity will, without doubt pay that due Veneration to the Memory of this Great Man, which his vast Abilities and singular Penetration have merited.

But supposing there should be such Deficiencies discovered in his second Theory, as this candid and ingenious Man himself discovered in his first; yet, before this can be done, we must have such Tables of Observations collected, as must enable us to form a better Theory, or, which is still of greater Value, enable us to come at the Thing itself; or, in other Words, we must be in a Condition to assign the true Period of Variation at any given Place: For, till this can be done, it will be simply impossible to say, whether Dr. *Halley's* Theory will account for these Appearances or not: And if once, whether by Experiment, or Theory, a Method be found to establish a certain Knowledge of the Period of Variation, the great End for which it is sought, will be attained, that is to say, the easiest Way of discovering the Longitude will be found.

As I look upon this to be the principal Advantage that would result from our having a perfect and certain Knowledge of the Variation of the Needle, it is on this Account that I have insisted upon it so largely, because this is the Thing which, of all others, we most want, towards completing the Science of Navigation, which, though greatly improved by the Moderns, and therefore much superior to the Navigation of the Ancients, yet, as we before observed, it is still deficient in many Points, and more particularly in this.

At the same Time that I mention this, I must take Notice of another Thing, which, at first Sight may seem to be a Paradox, but, at the same Time, is an indisputable Truth, and withal a Truth of the highest Importance. The Thing I mean is this, that the Defects of modern Navigation, though Disadvantageous to the Science, in respect to Practice, are, however, so far from being disadvantageous when considered in a speculative Light, that they are really and strictly so many Excellencies therein, when we compare the State of that Science now, to the State it was in amongst the Ancients; for it was their Misfortune to have so high an Opinion of their own Knowledge, as to charge upon Nature; or, to speak more like a Christian, upon the Conduct of Divine Providence, those Defects which were only in themselves. Thus, for Instance, they conceived, contrary to Truth, the greatest Part of the Globe to be uninhabitable; and from this Notion, pronounced those Discoveries impossible, which by the Industry of succeeding Ages have been made: Whereas with respect to

the Deficiencies confessed by the Moderns, they are really so many Points of Knowledge, as to which the Ancients had not the least Conception; and though we have not hitherto attained them, which is a Misfortune; yet we know what they are, and, in some measure, how they may be attained, which is a great Felicity.

As for Instance, we know the great Importance of discovering an easy and certain Method of finding the Longitude; and this in our own, and other Nations, has induced the Publication of great Rewards for the making of such Discovery. And if this Method were carried farther into Practice, and smaller Sums were offered for intermediate Discoveries, I do not at all doubt that much greater Things might, in a few Years, be attained, than were formerly reached in whole Ages.

There are, indeed, several Methods by which the Longitude may be discovered, besides this; and because it is impossible that the Reader should enter into the true Merit of such a Discovery as this would be of the Theory of magnetical Variations, without having a competent Notion of those Methods, I shall venture to discourse of them here, as I have done of other Things in an easy and familiar Way. The only Method the Romans had of settling the Distances of Places, and thereby framing Descriptions or Maps of Countries was, by actually measuring them; and by this Means that Map or Description of the World, which was depicted from *Agrippa's* Tables in the Reign of the Emperor *Augustus*, in a Portico erected for that Purpose, was made. It is generally believed, that the celebrated Itinerary ascribed to the Emperor *Antoninus*, was extracted from thence. A Work wonderfully exact and worthy of the greatest Commendation, considering the Time in which it was made. But *Ptolemy*, the Geographer, as we have before observed, was the first who introduced the Method of fixing the Distances by Longitudes and Latitudes, which has been since followed, as being both easier and more exact than the former. It is, however true, that there are many, and those very gross Mistakes in the Geography of *Ptolemy*; as, for Instance, he places the *Fortunate Islands* under the same Meridian, and yet gives them several Degrees of Longitude; and in point of Latitude, he is at least ten Degrees out in his Computation. He speaks of a City in *China*, lying in the Latitude of three Degrees South, whereas we now certainly know that the most Southern Part of *China* lies in twenty Degrees North-Latitude. He has so described the great Island of *Tapprobana*, that it is in a manner impossible to determine, at least with Certainty, whether it be *Ceylon*, *Sumatra*, or *Borneo*. Hence some very judicious Persons have doubted whether the introducing Astronomy has been of any Use to Geography, or whether on the contrary, it has not contributed to embarrass and perplex that Science, by which it is rendered much more uncertain than if the old plain geometrical Method had been still followed. But, in Answer to this, it may be very truly affirmed that the Errors of *Ptolemy* do not arise from his Use of astronomical Principles, but from his following bad Memoirs, and the great Inaccuracy of the Observations made in those Times for want of good Instruments.

The Moderns, who, without Question, have discovered much better Methods of making Observations, have, consequently, been able to correct these Errors, and establish a new Way of discovering the Longitude with Certainty, which is that of Eclipses. To set this Matter in a clear Light and in as few Words as possible, I shall have Recourse to an Example. As soon as it was certainly known that an Eclipse of the Sun or Moon was observed earlier at *Stockholm* than at *Paris*, it followed that *Stockholm* must lie East from *Paris*. When farther Observations had determined that an Eclipse was observed an Hour sooner at *Stockholm* than at *Paris*, it followed, from the same Principles, that *Stockholm* lay 15 Deg. East of *Paris*; so that, agreeable to the Edict of *Lewis XIII.* which fixed the first Meridian in the Island of *Ferro*, and consequently the City of *Paris* in the Longitude of 20 Deg. 30 Min. the true Longitude of the City of *Stockholm* was found by this Observation to be 35 Deg. 30 Min. To make this still plainer, let us take another Example. It has been found, that an Eclipse has been observed in the Island of *Caienne* three Hours and an half later than at *Paris*; from whence it is evident, that Island must lie 52 Deg. 30 Min. West from *Paris*, and that for this Reason: The Equinoctial being divided into 360 Deg. and making one Revolution in twenty-four Hours, there must consequently be fifteen Degrees allowed to an Hour, upon which this Calculation is grounded.

As this Method of ascertaining the Longitude of Places, by the Observation of the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, contributed greatly to the Improvement of Geography; so this very Method has acquired much greater Perfection since we have fallen into a Way of Observing the Eclipses of the Satellites of *Jupiter*, which the most learned Persons have pronounced to be, of all others, the shortest, easiest, and most certain Method of fixing the Longitude. In order to this, there is nothing more requisite than to have Tables very exactly adjusted for these Eclipses to any given Place, and by observing several of these Eclipses carefully at any other Place, the Difference in point of Time, will shew exactly, when reduced to Degrees and Minutes, the Difference of Longitude between the two Places, or, in other Words, how far one is East or West from the other. I must not, however, dissimble, there having been some Objections made to this Method, notwithstanding the sentiments of so many great Mathematicians in its Favour, particularly by the celebrated *Riccioli*, in his reformed Geography, who declares, that he will never consent to this Method of fixing the Longitude by Eclipses, unless it shall appear, that it agrees exactly with the Differences found by geometrical Methods, that is, by plain Measuring, which, tho' in small Distances, it may do, yet in greater, it has been known to fail. The Inferences made from hence, appear at first Sight, so clear, and so strong, that they seem to be conclusive, and to throw us back into that Degree of Uncertainty, from whence this Method promised to deliver us.

But, upon mature Consideration, we may, perhaps, suggest a Solution of this Difficulty, which may prove satisfactory, and thereby bring Things once more to Right. In order to this, I must take

Notice, that the Objection is founded in a Fact, and that Fact again, upon a Supposition, that the Earth is a perfect Sphere, which, however, some able Men have doubted, and assigned very probable Reasons for their Doubts. Sir *Isaac Newton* thought the Earth a flat Spheroid, and Mr. *Cassini* believed it to be a long Spheroid. It is plain enough, that if either of these great Men were in the Right, this would alter the Distances of Places, that have the same Longitude and Latitude, and consequently, take away the Grounds of this Objection; yet, instead of introducing any Certainty, would beget still greater Incertainties; for, it must be allowed, that if the latter of these Conjectures had been taken for Truth, while the former really was so, then in a Course of one hundred Degrees of Longitude, the most expert and cautious Seaman must have committed an Error of two Degrees, which shews the Importance of this Enquiry. His most Christian Majesty being informed perfectly as to this Matter, in the Days of Cardinal *Fleury*, when the Arts of Peace were his Care, resolved, that at his Expence, this Point should be put out of Dispute, by causing two Degrees to be measured, one at the Equator, and the other under the polar Circle, which has been accordingly done, and thereby the Truth of Sir *Isaac Newton's* Conjecture fully proved. Hence we have great Reason to expect, that the Figure of the Earth will very soon be perfectly known, and the different Lengths of Degrees digested into accurate Tables, so as to be shewn by bare Inspection, and then we have the greatest Room to hope, that as the foregoing Objection took rise from Facts falsely stated, it will, by the true true stating of Facts, be entirely taken away.

One Thing more we shall observe before we quit this Subject, and it is this, that the several Methods of finding the Longitude before-mentioned, depend upon astronomical Observations, and those too, very nice and exact, which at Sea it is very difficult, at any Time, and very often impracticable to make; whence arises the Necessity of finding out some other Way of discovering the Longitude, for which hitherto nothing has bid so fair as a perfect finding out the Variation of the magnetic Needle, which being adjusted to a Table of Longitudes, they would then reciprocally shew each other. This, however, we can never hope, till such Time as the Princes of *Europe*, laying aside their Jealousies and Animosities, unite in the generous and pious Design of promoting the common Advantage of all their Subjects, by encouraging the Study of those Sciences, which being perfectly understood, would open a Way to many concealed Branches of Commerce, which might make the Inhabitants of their respective Dominions as rich and happy as themselves could wish, whenever this true and laudable Ambition shall take Place of that false and feigned Ambition which now rules them, we may expect to see those great Events, and we may reasonably hope to see them first take Place, at least, in Part, in that Nation, where this blessed Change, so agreeable to the Maxims of Reason, the Laws of Nature, and the Doctrines of the Christian Religion shall first appear.

We are not, however, to hope this until such Time as the Minds of Men are, in some measure, cured of certain Prejudices which prevail but too generally at present. For Instance, while it is possible for any Nation possessed of, or vested with the Power of improving Commerce and Maritime Force, to be induced to imagine that any Thing else is more worthy her Study and Regard: For with respect to extensive Commerce, we may safely venture to assert, it is the one Thing necessary in Politics; and if we study and pursue this, all Things else will be added unto us. It is a ridiculous Thing for such a Nation to complain, that her Commodities lie upon her Hands, that her Manufactures decay, that Numbers of her People are idle, that Multitudes are poor, and that her Condition grows daily worse and worse. I say, such Complaints are ridiculous, because it is in her own Power to redress all these Evils, by minding her own Interest, and applying herself to that Thing which alone well minded, must certainly and absolutely cure them all: But the most ridiculous Complaint that can be made in a Trading Nation is, against Smuggling; for that plainly proves that she has minded her Business so little, that her Neighbours have got the Start of her, since it is impossible that foreign Commodities should be bought cheaper in one Country than another, unless the Laws of that other Country are so framed, as to oppress and discourage Trade.

The Remedy of all these Evils, is very soon found, and very easily applied, if once Mens Eyes are opened, and their Hearts enlarged; for if the Understanding be clear, and the Will right, a Nation, like a private Family, soon alters its Condition, and recovers, by a prudent Management, what was lost through want of Attention. The great Engine in both Cases is, Industry, and Industry rightly applied. By Industry, with respect to a Nation, we must mean Application to Trade, as in private Life, we mean Application to Business; for, both in publick, and in private Life, Men may be industrious, that is to say, may be active, eager and diligent, not only to no Purpose, but to bad Purposes; for Instance, the Gamester takes as much Pains to acquire Money, as the Tradesman, but with this Difference, that the more he labours, the worse he deserves, and the richer he grows, the greater his Infamy. Yet why is he infamous? Not surely because he seeks Wealth, but because he seeks it in a dishonest Way, in a Way, which though useful to himself, is destructive to his Neighbours, in a Way inconsistent with Society, and which truly renders him an Enemy to Mankind. But after all, is not Usury, or the Art of making Money beget Money, of the same Prejudice in Publick, as Gaming in private Life, and ought not the Maxims in Government which encourage the one, to be as universally condemned, as those that tolerate the other.

Let any Man, who considers the Consequences of both, speak what his Heart dictates, and he must say they ought; for if the bare Possession of Money, will produce Money; and if by watching the Necessities of the Publick, Men can grow as soon, and as certainly rich, as by applying themselves to Trade, it follows, that where-ever this happens, the Idle will eat the Bread of the Industrious, and those Men be at the Head of a Society, who are Enemies to Society, in Practice at least, if not in Principle. And now let me have Leave to ask, Wherein the Man who better his private Fortune, without advancing the Stock of the Publick, is better than a Gamester?

But Examples are better understood, and move more than Precepts. Let us look Abroad then for one, since it might be inconvenient to look at Home. The State of *Genoa* was once a most rich and powerful Republick, possessing large foreign Dominions, and prodigious Wealth in her own Coffers; it was this, that enabled her Subjects to build and plant, so as to establish, in the most barren Part of *Italy*, a City, which is still deservedly stiled *Genoa* the Proud. But how did she acquire her Fleets, her Dominions, and her Riches? If we look into her History, we shall find, by the very same Method, that these Blessings were acquired, and may be acquired in other Countries, that is to say, by Industry and Trade. But is she now possessed of them? Alas! No; from being the greatest, she is of late become the most contemptible State in *Europe*. And how has this Change been wrought? By forgetting her true Interest, by suffering the Wealth her Trade had produced, to corrupt the Manners of her People, by running into Luxury and Idleness, by entering into endless Negotiations, and fruitless Alliances; and finally, by these two fatal Steps, dealing in Money instead of Goods, her Merchant; becoming Bankers, and preferring Funds and negotiable Debts to Manufactures and staple Commodities; by neglecting her natural naval Strength, and depending upon her Allies; by engaging in other Peoples Quarrels, and thereby wasting her own Strength, and by preferring the pernicious Arts of Politicks to the noble and generous Arts of Commerce: Such have been the Causes of her Fall; and may her Fall prove a Warning, not a Precedent!

I call the Arts of Commerce noble and generous, because they extend to all Mankind. If we draw Gold and Spices from warmer Climates, we carry them Things more valuable, because more useful. What is it that constitutes the Splendor and Luxury of *Mexico* and *Lima*, but the richest Commodities, and the finest Manufactures of *Europe*; and what renders opulent those Countries which furnish these Commodities and Manufactures, but the Silver of *Mexico*, and the Gold of *Peru*? Does not that Change in Point of Cultivation, Magnificence in Building, and great Increase in Shipping, which, within these two last Ages, has happened in the old World, arise from the Discovery of the new? Why then do we not pursue this Track? Why not prosecute new Discoveries, at least, why not enlarge our Commerce by the Invention of new Branches? The common Answer is, because the Thing is impossible. Idle, ridiculous, and impious Assertion! Have we not Wool; have we not Cloth; are there not naked Nations enough in the World, who would gladly be covered; and was there ever a Nation yet found, that wanted Cloaths, and at the same Time wanted wherewithal to pay for them.

The Negroes on the burning Coast of *Africa*, have Ivory and Gold; the Inhabitants of the frozen Coasts of *Hudson's Bay*, send us Furs and Skins. The very *Laplanders* pay for what they want, and consequently, the more Wants any People have, the more it concerns us to find them out; besides, is not this falling back to the Errors of the Antients? Did not they fancy the same Thing, and were not they mistaken? Should not this put us upon a different Conduct, surely it ought. We have Commodities, we have Manufactures, we have Shipping, we have Seamen, we have Merchants, what can we possibly want, if we have the Will to employ those as we ought? Methinks I hear some modern Sceptick cry, This is very fine, indeed; but where, which Way shall we search; would you have us Freight and Man our Ships, and then turn them a-drift, in Hopes that Chance may bring them to some new World? No, the following Sheets will shew, that the Means of Finding are very well known; that the Methods of extending Commerce are natural and easy, and which is more, in a Manner certain; so that there is no need of employing Chance, the very Skill we have, will do the Business. It may, indeed, be requisite to remove ill-judged Prohibitions, and to break down illegal Exclusions, illegal, because the Terms upon which they were granted, have not been complied with; these may be, and indeed will be requisite, and therefore they ought to be done.

We see in a Time of War, what Encouragement for Privateering has produced, and can any reasonable Man doubt, that in Time of Peace, like Encouragements would not produce as strong a Spirit of Discovery; most certainly they would. Let us maintain Trade, and there is, no doubt, that Trade will maintain us. Let our past Mistakes teach us to be wise, let our present Wants and Difficulties revive our antient Industry. Let the Perusal of this Collection excite our Hopes, and dispel our Fears, and then the present Age may become as much the Admiration, as it is now in Danger of becoming the Scorn of Posterity. We want not Capacity, we want not Power; but we want Will, and therefore we want Vigour; let us supply this Deficiency, and all will be well. In fine, let us deserve, and we shall certainly succeed; for that divine Maxim will be found true in worldly as well as spiritual Affairs, *If we search, we shall find; if we knock, it will be opened.*

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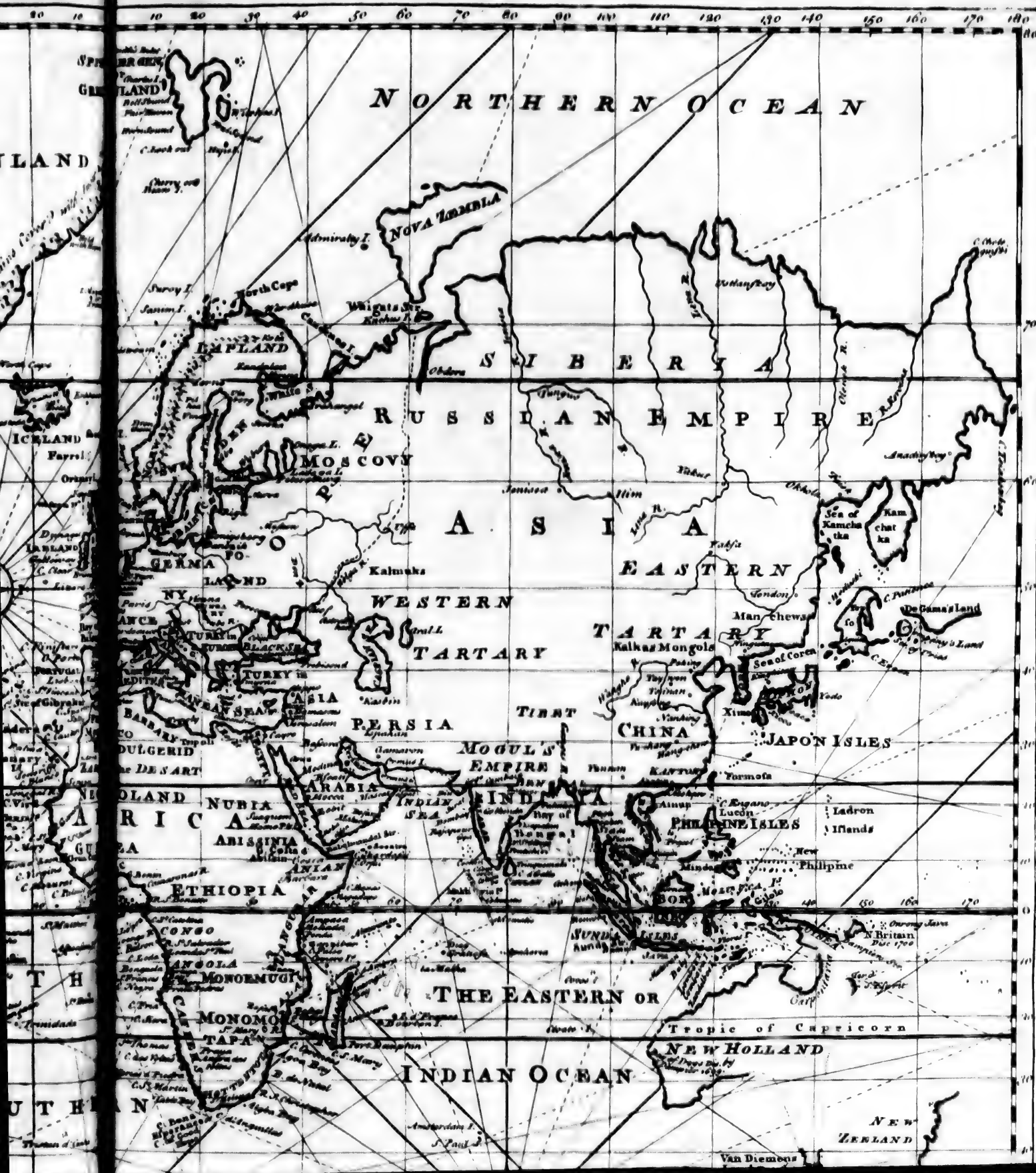
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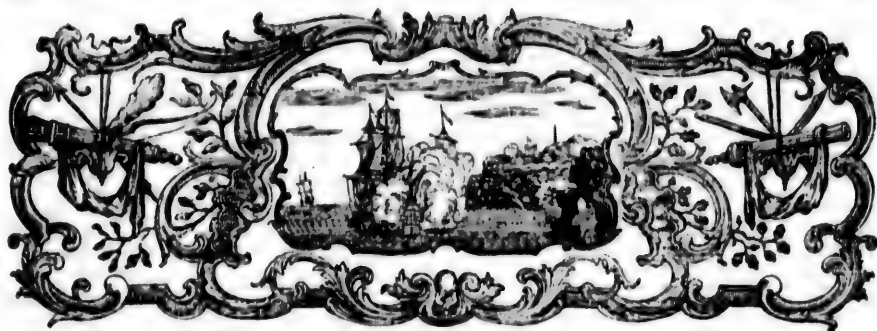
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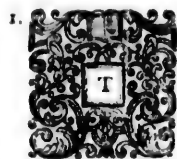
An Account of the Circum-Navigations of the GLOBE, and of
the Discoveries of the *East* and *West Indies*.

C H A P. I.

The HISTORY of the CIRCUM-NAVIGATORS.

SECTION I.

1. *The perfect Knowledge of the Globe due to Modern Inquiries.* 2. *Reasons why the Navigation of the Antients was imperfect.* 3. *They knew not with Certainty the Figure of the Earth.* 4. *Understood Astronomy but indifferently.* 5. *And were ignorant of the Use of the Needle.* 6. *The Moderns have overcome all these Difficulties.* 7. *Many of them have surrounded the Globe.* 8. *Introduction to the History of these Circum-navigations.* 9. *Our Reasons for including that of Columbus in their Number.*



THE accurate Knowledge of this Globe of Earth and Water in general, and of many of its Parts in particular, is owing to the superior Skill of the Moderns in Mathematical Sciences, and ought therefore to be considered as one of the noblest Trophies of the Force of human Understanding; I mean with respect to Reasoning right upon Principles once laid down, however those Principles might be discovered by Accident, or by Thought. I would not be understood to insinuate any thing to the Prejudice of those ancient Sages, who may with great Justice be stiled the Fathers of Science; but only assert a Truth which may be incontestably proved, that the Glory of discovering the terraqueous Globe, and bringing Navigation almost to Perfection, is due to the Moderns.

2. It is clear, that the Antients were under an absolute Incapacity of making great Discoveries by Sea for many Reasons, but particularly for these Three; First, That they had no just Notion of the Figure of the Earth; Secondly, They were very indifferent Astronomers, especially with regard to the practical Part of that Science; and, Thirdly, They were able to make no Voyages of Consequence for want of knowing the wonderful directive Property of the Loadstone.

3. With respect to the Figure of the Earth, almost every eminent Philosopher was of a different Opinion: *Thales* the Father of the *Greek* Philosophy believed, that it floated upon the Water like a Bowl; and *Anaximander* would have it, that it resembled a Column or Stone Pillar; *Democritus*,

otherwise a very great Man, thought it hollow, like a Dish; and *Anaximenes* taught, that it was flat, like a Table, and sustained by the inferior Air. *Leucippus* described it as approaching nearest the Figure of a Drum. In succeeding Times, *Laërtius* and *Augustine* thought the Earth infinitely extended downwards, grounding this Notion upon the Scriptures, or rather seeking Assistance from them, in Support of their Opinion. It is most evident from this Diversity of Sentiments, that they could draw no just Conclusions, either as to the Parts of it that were then undiscovered, or of the Means of discovering them; in order to which, nothing was so necessary as having true Notions as to the Figure of the Earth, or at least such Notions as came near the Truth.

4. In regard to Astronomy, they were likewise much at a Loss. *Hipparchus* was the first who made a Catalogue of the fixed Stars, and he flourished about 150 Years before *Christ*. About 300 Years afterward the famous *Ptolemy* corrected his Tables, and established a System which lasted many hundred Years, though there were great Errors in his Calculations; which were in part rectified by the famous *Tycho Brahe*, who flourished not much above 100 Years ago. I say nothing of later Discoveries, because they have been made by the Help of the Telescope, an Instrument as little known to *Tycho Brahe* as to *Hipparchus*; and yet the former has not been found to err much above Two Minutes, even by the best modern Astronomers, whereas *Hipparchus* often failed half a Degree in Longitude and Latitude; and every body knows how far such Imperfections must affect that Science, when applied to Navigation.

6. But the great Imperfection of the ancient Navigation was the not being able to solve that necessary Problem, the finding in any Place the Four Cardinal Points; and such intermediate ones as were necessary; without doing which, it was simply impossible to sail far. Now the Ancients had no certain way to find the North and South Points at any time, and therefore durst not trust themselves into the wide Ocean, but coasted only along the Shores, that they might by some Signs know where they were. In the Day-time they were able to find the North and South, or a Meridian Line, by the Sun's Rising and Setting; and besides this they had three other Methods. 1. By the Stars at Night, particularly the Little Bear, and the Star in its Tail, called the Pole Star, which was much famed with Antiquity, and served to shew them the North, and thereby all the other Points; for, turning their Face to it, the East was on the Right, the West on the Left, and the South behind; and they had a Circle with the Points on it; and, bringing the North and South Point to the Meridian Line, the other Points were seen at once. Another Method they had was by knowing the Situation of the Shores, and of one Promontory from another; for when one Point was thus known, either from the Maps, or by Observation and Experience, they could in Sailing find the rest; but then they could not go far from the Shores, which directed them as to these Points; for they could not at all times see the Sun and Stars for that End. A third Method they used was by observing the Points they had run in; for knowing how they first directed the Ship, and how much they turned again their Course from that Point, they knew the other Points. From whence the Reason appears of their imperfect and dangerous Sailing; viz. their not knowing the Points in the wide Ocean, so as to tell how to steer. This third Method, by observing the Ship's Course, is of no Use when the Ship is turned to a great many Points by the Violence of the Winds and Waves. Such were their Methods of finding the Meridian Line, which were so imperfect, that they durst never trust themselves in the vast Ocean; and therefore it is no Wonder that they never knew America.

6. These Defects are all remedied, and many other Advantages gained, by the Application of that wonderful Property in the Loadstone, of turning its Poles nearly to the North and South. This enables the Mariner to steer boldly, and with Certainty, to quit the old Method of coasting, and to force a Passage to the most distant Parts of the Globe, by the shortest and speediest Way imaginable. By these Helps the Portuguese, in the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century, made prodigious Discoveries towards the East, and thereby gave a Beginning to that Series of Voyages and Travels, by which the World in general, and every considerable Portion of it in particular, have been sought out and described. From whence it plainly appears, that all Parts of the Globe are inhabited; that there is not that mighty Disproportion between the Quantities of Land and Water, which there was formerly supposed to be; and that the Products of the Torrid and Frigid Zones

are rather more rich and valuable than those of temperate Climates.

7. In speaking of the great Men by whom, and of the several Methods by which, these Discoveries have been made, it is but just to give the Circumnavigators the due Place; since the Aim of their Voyages was general, having relation to the Whole, and making us sensible, that a new System was highly reasonable in Theory, so the Reasonings deduced from it were easily reduced to Practice. The Tour of the World seems to be one of the sublimest Enterprizes within the Compass of human Ability; and, if it could have been achieved in former Ages, would have been celebrated in a manner worthy the Undertaking by the Greek and Latin Writers.

But, as it was not, it seems to require in a particular manner our Care and Attention, especially since we are furnished with abundance of authentic Relations, which fully enable us to shew how this great Design was first conceived; how far carried into Execution by the first Inventor; how it was afterwards prosecuted, and what additional Discoveries have been made by each succeeding Circumnavigator.

8. This seems to be the more requisite, because hitherto, notwithstanding the numerous Collections we have, there has never yet been any tolerable Account given of this Matter; nay, I think it may be safely affirmed, that there never was so much as an Endeavour made of this Kind, at least in that Extent in which we propose it. For our Intention is to give a succinct Account of all the Circumnavigations, of which sufficient Memoirs can be procured, from the very first Attempt down to the present Times, distinguishing the Causes, Consequences, and most interesting Circumstances in every Voyage, and pointing out the several Improvements in the natural Order of Time in which they occurred, taking notice also of what yet remains to be perform'd by such as the Industry, Success, and Fame of others may inspire with a generous Thirst of Emulation.

9. In order to this, we are next to speak of that illustrious Genoese, who first framed an Idea of the Possibility of the thing; and then formed so many just and powerful Arguments in Support of his Notion, as brought over to his Opinion the most able and learned Men of his Time, even before he had demonstrated by his first Attempt, that it was not possible only, but practicable; and this too in spite of the many Prejudices that were raised against it. In treating of his Project, and of the Pains it cost him before he could engage any of the Princes of Christendom to enable him to undertake the Execution of it, we shall insist more largely; because, though it is a Story that has been often told, yet are there many Circumstances relating to it, which have been hitherto so imperfectly represented, as to take much from the Merit of that great Man, whose Steadiness and Felicity in performing, were not more admirable than his Wisdom and Penetration in contriving, so glorious an Action.

SECTION II.

The Voyages of DON CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

1. The Family and Character of Columbus.
2. The Stories told to his Prejudice by the Spaniards.
3. Facts which refute these Calumnies, and prove his Project to be the Effect of Study rather than Information.
4. Rejected by the Genoese, and afterwards by the King of Portugal.
5. Proposed to, and accepted by, King Henry VII. of England, though too late.
6. Columbus solicits their Catholic Majesties.
7. The many Difficulties he met with before his Proposals were accepted.
8. He undertakes his First Voyage in the Autumn of 1492.
9. His Crew become mutinous, and oblige him to promise to return, if, in Three Days, they discover no Land.
10. His Arrival in one of the Islands called Lucayas.
11. Sails from thence to Cuba.
12. Returns to Spain; his Reception there, and subsequent Voyages.
13. The Causes of his Troubles.
14. His Fourth Voyage, Return, Usage, and Decease, May 20. 1506.
15. Remarks on his Conduct, and the remarkable Story of Columbus's Egg.
16. His original Design mistaken, or overlooked, until revived and prosecuted by Ferdinand Magellan.

1. Christopher Columbus, or, as the Spaniards call him, Colon, was descended of an ancient Family in the Territory of the State of Genoa. But as to the Time when,

or the Place where he was born, they could not be exactly determined by his Son Don Ferdinand, who wrote his Life, and therefore it would be Time lost for us to inquire about

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2. His strict probably to the People, temp. Spaniards incl he did them, their Country with a View to fitted by the M to be a Pointe flatter myself, or mine all bet one Martin V. Torceras, had hundred and F and there took by Man's Han out Iron, which Island. Pedro had likewise seen the like wrought in the great Canes, v Two Gallons upon; which b the West, and supposed, that brought them of the Azores west Winds. Fayal, certain of Flores, with and quite a diff driven also by related, that b believed he saw had sued to the Licence to dis seen every Year had Forty Year there observed not far off, as riner told him which is sup Velasco had ob and Vincent D Return from Madeira, for v no Discovery f the greatest Str That in the Y the County of Columbus, in t from whence h his great Unc many Years tr thence to Mad carried out to

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about them. We shall content ourselves therefore with setting down only Certainties, among which we may reckon the Facts following: That he had an early Passion for the Sea, studied Navigation with the utmost Industry, and began both to trade, and make Charts for Sea Service, when he was very young. The Fame of the *Portuguese*, for their Skill in Maritime Affairs, brought him to those Parts; where he married, settled, and traded to the Coasts of *Guinea*. He had, throughout his Life, the Character of a Man sober, temperate, grave, and devout, of competent Learning in other respects, and very studious in the Mathematics.

2. His strict Application to these Sciences, joined very probably to the many Relations he had heard from Sea-faring People, tempted him to think of making Discoveries. The *Spaniards* indeed, who, notwithstanding the great Services he did them, envied his Reputation, because he was not their Countryman, have circulated abundance of Stories with a View to make the World believe, that he only profited by the Misfortunes of other Men; and, as this seems to be a Point that has never been thoroughly understood, I flatter myself, that the Reader will not think either his Pains or mine ill bestowed in clearing it up. They tell us, that one *Martin Vincent*, a Manner, who used the *Azores* or *Terceras*, had told him, that he was once carried Four hundred and Fifty Leagues to the West of Cape *St. Vincent*, and there took up a Piece of Wood or Timber, wrought by Man's Hand, and that, as far as he could judge, without Iron, which he imagined had come from some Western Island. *Pedro Correa*, who had married his Wife's Sister, had likewise informed him, that at *Puerto Santo* he had seen the like Piece driven thither by the Western Winds, wrought in the same Fashion; and, besides, he had seen great Canes, which, in each Knot, might contain above Two Gallons of Water, which he also sent to him to look upon; which being unlikely to grow in the known Parts of the West, and having read of such growing in *India*, he supposed, that some long and violent Western Winds had brought them thither from thence. The Inhabitants also of the *Azores* had told him, that strong West and North-west Winds had brought by Sea, upon *Graciosa* and *Fayal*, certain Pine-trees; Two dead Men also on the Coast of *Flores*, with larger Faces than are usual in those Parts, and quite a different Look; and Two Canoes another time, driven also by the Wind. *Antonio Lema*, of *Madeira*, had related, that being carried in his Caravel far Westward, he believed he saw Three Islands: And another of that Island had sued to the King of *Portugal*, in the Year 1484. for Licence to discover certain Lands, which he swore he had seen every Year over-against the *Azores*. *Diego Velazquez* had Forty Years before been carried far into the West, and there observed the Seas and Winds such as if the Land was not far off, as he affirmed to *Columbus*: And another Manner told him of Land he had seen far West from *Ireland*, which is supposed to be *Newfoundland*. *Pedro de Velasco* had observed the like in his going for *Ireland*, and *Vincent Diaz*, a *Portugal* Pilot, had tanished, in his Return from *Guinea*, he saw an Island in the Height of *Madeira*, for which also Search was afterwards made, but no Discovery followed. The Fact, however, upon which the greatest Stress is laid, remains yet untold, and is this; That in the Year 1484, one *Alonso Sanchez*, of *Huelva*, in the County of *Niebla*, died in the House of *Christopher Columbus*, in the Island of *Tercera*, and left him his Papers, from whence he acquired those Lights that directed him in his great Undertakings. This *Alonso Sanchez* had for many Years traded from *Spain* to the *Canaries*, and from thence to *Madeira*; in his last Voyage from whence he was carried out to Sea, and, after Nine-and-twenty Days Sail-

ing, arrived at a certain Island, supposed to be *Hispaniola*, where he landed, and took an Observation. He kept an exact Journal of all the Occurrences; and, after a tedious Voyage back, in which he lost Twelve out of Seventeen of his Men, he came to *Tercera*, where he and the other Five soon after died of mere Fatigue.

3. But that all this, or at least the far greatest Part of it, and particularly the last-mentioned Tale, is pure Invention, appears from hence; that *Columbus* had perfected his Scheme, and actually offered it to his Countrymen the *Genoese*, in 1484. The Reasons he went upon were these: That the Figure of the Earth being spherical, it was highly probable, that the Continent on one Side was balanced by an equal Quantity of Earth on the other. That the *Portuguese* having already discovered, first Islands, and then a vast Tract of Country, by sailing East, it was highly likely, or rather in a manner certain, that, by sailing West, it was equally possible to reach other Islands, and the other Side of that Continent; that this would be a new Discovery, of equal Value with that which then made so great a Noise; and that there was the greater Certainty of it, since it had been observed in the *Cape de Verde* Islands, that the Winds blew for a certain Season from the West, which must be owing to a great Tract of Land on that Side. It is evident enough from these Reasons, that his Project was to sail round the World, and so the very best Writer on this Subject * lays it down; which is the Reason that we place him among the Circumnavigators: For though he did not himself surround the Globe, yet he was, for aught we know, the first who thought it practicable, who attempted it, and who pointed out the Way by which it was afterwards effected, as will be shewn in its proper Place.

4. The State of *Genoa* rejected his Proposal, as being beyond their Power, and likely to draw upon them the Re- sentment of several Princes. He next proposed his Scheme to the King of *Portugal*, *John* the Second, in whose Dominions he had resided for some Years: Commissioners were appointed to treat with him, who, when, by provoking with Objections, they had drawn out of him all they could, advised the King to fit out a Vessel, and to send it to try if the thing was practicable; whereby they meant to rob *Columbus* both of the Honour and Advantage resulting from the Discovery. The Design miscarried, through the want of Courage and Conduct in Persons employed; but *Columbus*, finding out the Trick, was exceedingly incensed, so that though the King of *Portugal* would have treated with him a second time, being himself a better Judge of such Projects than any other Prince of his Age, yet he declined it, and resolved to apply elsewhere.

5. This was in 1485. In the same Year, having fully instructed his Brother *Bartholomew* in his intended Project, he sent him into *England*, with Directions to apply himself to *Henry VII.* who was justly reputed one of the wisest Monarchs in *Christendom*, in hopes that he would embrace a Proposal manifestly tending to his Profit; and in the mean time he prepared himself to go into *Spain*, on the same Account. *Bartholomew Columbus* was so unfortunate as to fall into the Hands of Pirates, who stripped him of all he had. On his coming into *England* in this poor Condition, he fell ill of a Fever; and, when he recovered from that, he spent some time in making Maps, and selling them, before he put himself into such an Equipage as enabled him to address himself to the King. This however he did in 1488. was well received, and actually entered into Agreement with that Prince, in the Name, and on the Behalf, of his Brother, several Years before he closed with their Catholic Majesties, as his Son tells us in his Life. By virtue of this Agreement, it should seem that our Title to the new World is prior to that of *Spain*. This

* *Herrera*, *Oviedo*, *Gomara*, *I di Barros*, *P. Martyr*.

† *The Royal Commentaries of Peru*. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1544.

‡ The Author here meant is *Peter Martyr*, who wrote at the very Time, and in a manner from *Columbus's* own Mouth. In his famous Epistle, addressing himself to Two of *Columbus's* Patrons, he uses these Words: "Attollite mentem, sapientissimi duo senectentes; audite novum inventum. Meminitis Colonom Ligurum institisse in caltris apud Reges, de percurrando per oceanum: Astipodes, novo Terrarum Hemisphario meminitis oportet. Qua de re vobiscum aliquando actum est. Nec fine vestro, ut arbitror, consilio rem hic aggressus est." This demonstrates the true Intention of this great Man, and evidently shews, that he did not derive his Notions from the hearsay Evidence of such Seamen as he conversed with, but from the Consideration of the Globe itself, and the Harmony observed throughout in what was perfectly known; from whence he rightly inferred, that the want of such Harmony in any Point of View, was an Argument, that the Whole was not entirely discovered; and that whatever was requisite to establish that Harmony, was most likely to be the Part concealed. There is another Account given of this Matter, viz. that Care was taken the Design should miscarry, in order that this Method of Discovery by the West should be pursued. Hacklitt.

is arguing in their own way; and, if they plead the actual Discovery of the Islands in Bar to us, I shall hereafter shew, that we may plead the same thing with respect to the Continent against them. But the Business is now to prosecute, in few Words, the Story of Columbus.

6. On his going into Spain, he first conferred with one of the ablest Pilots in that Country, whose Name was *Martin Alonso Pinçon*, who readily apprehended the Force of his Arguments, and agreed to go with him, in case he could bring his Design to bear. He next addressed himself to a *Franciscan Friar*, *Juan Perez de Marchena*, famous for his Skill in Cosmography, whom he likewise brought over to his Opinion, and to whose indefatigable Labours he was much indebted for all the Success he met with in the Prosecution of his Design. By this learned Monk he was recommended to the Two greatest Noblemen in Spain, *Don Henriquez de Guzman Duke of Medina Sidonia*, and *Don Lewis de Cerda Duke of Medina Celi*, who might, if satisfied with his Proposals, have employed him on their own Accounts. But they were so distrustful of him as an Italian Projector, and one who had already treated with several Potentates on this Subject, that they would not consent to his Desires, or undertake the Expedition at their own Expence. Yet the Gravity of his Behaviour, the Strength of his Arguments, and the Uprightness of his private Life, induced them to shew him great Respect, and even to countenance his Application to their Catholic Majesties, *Don Ferdinand*, and *Dona Isabella*, who were then engaged in driving the *Moor*s out of Spain, and who, of all Princes, were most likely to encourage so noble and generous an Undertaking. His old Friend *Friar Juan Perez de Marchena* assisted him also in this Application, and furnished him with Letters of Recommendation to the Queen's Confessor, *Friar Ferdinand of Talavera*, a Man of great Learning and Piety, and one who had the Ear of their Majesties to a great Degree; by whom he was very kindly received, and promised all the Assistance he could expect for the furthering him in his Applications; in which the Confessor kept his Word religiously, and never left soliciting on his Behalf, till he brought the Matter to bear.

7. It was in the Year 1486. that he began his Negotiations with their Catholic Majesties; which he did by presenting to them a Petition, setting forth the Nature of his Design, the Advantages that would flow from it, and the Reward he expected, in case he succeeded. The Singularity of the Project, joined to the plain Appearance of the Man, whose Circumstances were distressed, did not contribute to his meeting at first with so much Favour as he expected. However Columbus persisted in his Applications, and even procured some, who were near the Person of the King, to present him with a Discourse of his, in which his Project was more largely explained; which yet wrought no great Effect. There were however some grave and thinking People, who had a better Opinion of Columbus's Design; and amongst these was *Don Alphonso di Zúñiga*, Auditor of the Revenue, who very kindly supplied his Necessities, entertained him constantly at his Table, and encouraged him still to remain about the Court, though he grew visibly uneasy at the Usage he received at being scornfully treated as a Foreigner, used with Contempt on the Score of his Poverty, and often upbraided with the Vanity of his Projects; which bore sometimes too hard upon him, that he twice resolved to quit a Court where he had been to ungratefully treated, intending, the first time, to have gone over to England, to see what Success his Brother *Bartholomew* had met with, and proposing, at last, to offer his Discovery to the Crown of France. But his Friend the Auditor, with great Difficulty, restrained him; and, having procured him Admission to *Don Pedro di Gonzales di Mendoza* Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, who relished his Discourses, his Affairs began to have a better Aspect: And Queen *Isabella* interested herself warmly on his Behalf. Two Obstacles only remained to be overcome: The first was, the finding Money for defraying the Expences of this Expedition; which, though it amounted to no great Sum, yet were their Catholic Majesties Treasures so much exhausted, that some Writers say, the Queen offered to

pawn her Jewels to make up the Money. However this was soon removed; for *Don Lewis di St. Angelo*, an Officer in the Revenue, advanced the best Part of it. The other Obstacle was Columbus's Demands, which were thought very high, he insinuating to be Viceroy and Admiral of the Countries and Seas he should discover, and to have the Tenth of the clear Profits that should redound to their Majesties from his Labours; which at last he obtained, and the Articles of Agreement were signed at the little Town of *Santa Fe*, in the Kingdom of *Grenada*, on the 17th of April 1492.

8. These Preliminaries being thus adjusted, the necessary Preparations were made for his Voyage. In order to this, he had Three Vessels assigned him, the Admiral, called, before he had him, the *Gallega*, but by him named *Santa Maria*, a Carrack, or Ship with a Deck. The Second was called the *Pinta*, commanded by Captain *Martin Alonso Pinçon*, his Brother *Francisco Martinez Pinçon* being Master. The Third was named *Niña*, of which *Vicente Yanez Pinçon* was Captain and Master, who furnished one half of Columbus's Share of the Expence, which, by the Agreement, was to be a Fourth of the Whole. These Two were Caravels or Carvels, that is, Vessels without Decks; and all Three Ships carried about 120 Men: *Herrera* indeed says but Ninety, in which he not only disagrees with other Historians, who wrote from good Memoirs, but also from *Peter Martyr*, who wrote at the very Time the thing happened, and from his own Knowledge. All Things being ready by the latter End of July, Columbus repaired in Person to *Palos*, where he embarked on board the Admiral of his little Fleet, and, having a fair Wind, put to Sea on Friday the 3d of August 1492. The next Day the Rudder of the *Pinta* proved loose, which they fastened as well as they could with Cords, which however did not preserve it long; and this determined them to put into Port. Some of the Seamen would have interpreted this as an ill Omen; but Columbus told them, No Omen could be evil, where People went upon a good Design. He likewise took a great deal of Pains to instruct them in the Principles of Navigation, and to give them right Notions of the Undertaking in which they were embarked, in order to keep up their Spirits.

9. On the 11th they had Sight of the *Canaries*, where they stay'd till September the 6th, refreshing themselves at the *Ile Gomera*; but went off then for fear of the *Portuguese*, who had manned out Three Caravels to take them. September the 7th they lost Sight of Land, and with it their Courage too, a great many of them taking their Leaves of this, and expecting to be lost in another World. Columbus comforted these Cowards as well as he could; and, to do it effectually, was obliged to cheat them in his Reasoning, making them believe they were not so far from Home, as indeed they were. On the 14th they took notice of the Variation of the Compass, which was the first time that Phenomenon had fallen under Observation. On Sunday the 16th they saw Grails and Herbs floating on the Water, and some small Animals (Grasshoppers) alive among them; which made some of them believe they should see dry Land once more, and that quickly. The 19th and 20th these Prelages continued; besides which, they saw some Sea Fowl; all which, put together, considerably raised their Expectations. All this while the Wind favoured their Voyage; but on September the 22d it came cross at S. W. And now the Spaniards began heartily to repent them of their rash Attempt, in venturing so far from Home; and therefore expecting to become a Banquet to the Fishes in a very little time, they storm'd at their Admiral, upbraiding him that he had brought them thither, not sparing the very King and Queen themselves in their Passion, as Persons too easily and credulous; charging them with Indiscretion in listening to such wild Proposals, and sacrificing their Subjects, at the Motion of a Genoise, upon such trivial Occasions. As for Columbus, they told him plainly, That if he would not tack, and make homewards again, he should go overboard without more to do; for they were resolved to shift for themselves, and save their own Lives, if they could. The Admiral returned them good Words for bad, and answered their insolent Threatenings of the Rabble

* These Circumstances are collected from the Historians before mentioned, but especially *Herrera*, and the *Life of Columbus*.

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with fair Promises of great Rewards, upon Condition of a little more Patience. And though he made shift to cheat them into a little good Humour, by crying out Land, on the 25th of September, yet that Calm was quickly succeeded by a more outrageous Storm than before: The Result of which was, that after some farther Trials Columbus was forced to promise to return, if they discovered no Land in Three Days time, this being the utmost Space that the mutinous Sailors would allow him.

10. The first of those Days he found, by the Sun-setting, that Land was near; upon which they contracted their Sails; and the very same Night they saw Light. About Two Hours after Midnight, *Rodrigo di Triana*, one of the Company, discovered Land: This was on *October* the 11th, *A. D.* 1492. which they found to be an Island of Fifteen Leagues Compass, and is one of the *Lucayas*, called by the Inhabitants *Gayebani*, or rather *Guanabani*; but by them *San Salvador*, being about 950 Leagues from the *Canaries*. Here they went ashore, and, having sung *Te Deum*, they took solemn Possession of the Place, in the Name of their Catholic Majesties, King *Ferdinand*, and Queen *Isabella*. The Natives thought them to be very strange People, and much more wondered at their Ships, which they believed to be great Animals. The *Spaniards* gave them Caps, Beads, and other Toys, which they paid themselves for in more valuable Things. These People were naked, of a middle Size, well-proportioned Bodies; their natural Complexion of an Olive, but painted with other Colours, according to their Fancies. They knew not the Use of Iron, nor the Make of Weapons, but innocently laid their Hands on the Edges of the *Spaniards* Swords. Their Isle abounded with Parrots, besides which they scarce saw any other Animals; they trucked for Cotton-yarn, and told the *Spaniards*, that the Gold they wore in Rings at their Nostrils, came from the South, where they would find a Prince whose Subjects were very rich therein.

11. On the 15th of *October* they went to another Island, Seven Leagues from thence, which they called *Sta. Maria de la Concepcion*. The 17th they went to *Ferdinanda*, the Women of which Place had only short Cotton Coats, from the Navel to the Mid-thigh, to cover their Nakedness. After this they came to another Isle, which they called *Isabella*; of which, as of all others, they took solemn Possession; and, in all these Places, carried it justly and honestly towards the Natives. They proceeded hence to *Cuba*, which, the *Indians* told them, afforded Gold and Pearl, besides other rich Commodities. Two *Spaniards*, and as many *Indians*, were here sent to search the Country; and, lighting on an *Indian* Town of about Fifty Houses, they were well treated there, the *Spaniards* being honoured with Incense as they went along, as if they had been Deities; which the simple *Indians* indeed did almost believe, tho' Experience soon made them wiser. Here they saw Cotton grow of itself, with several Sorts of strange Birds and Trees: But the Commodity the *Spaniards* most minded, was the Gold which they saw the *Indians* wear in their Noses, about which they were curious to ask Questions: To which the *Indians* honestly answered, *Cubanacan*; that is, they had it out of the Midst of *Cuba*; the *Spaniards* thinking, (because of that Term *cana*) that they had talked of the Great Chan of *Catboy*. *Alonso Pinzon* left Columbus here, who quickly after went himself in quest of *Hispaniola*, which the Natives at that time called *Hayti*. They took here a Woman, a Native of the Island; and, treating her well, she became a servicable Agent on their Behalf, with the rest of the Natives: So that, at last, there was a very good Correspondence established between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* there, the King of the Place inviting Columbus to come ashore. A Fort was built upon this Island, to maintain the *Spanish* Pretensions and Authority, in which Thirty-eight Soldiers were left: And, after this Business done, Columbus made Provisions for a Voyage homeward, charging the *Spaniards* to carry it obligingly to the *Indians* and their King.

12. He sailed on *Wednesday* the 17th of *January*; and tho' he met with great Storms in his Passage, yet he arrived

on the 15th of *February* 1493. at the Island of *St. Mary*, one of the *Azores*, and soon after returned to *Spain*, where he was very kindly received by the King and Queen, who caused him to sit in their Presence, the highest Honour a Subject could receive in *Spain*. It is to be observed, that, on his Return from this first Voyage, Columbus himself was of Opinion, that the Countries he had discovered, were Islands on the other Side of the Continent to which the *Portuguese* traded; and this it was that determined him to bestow on these Islands the Name of the *West Indies*. To preserve the Memory of this Discovery in case he had been shipwrecked, he, in his Passage Home, wrote an exact Account of every thing, wrapt this Memorial in a Cerecloth, and put it into a Barrel, which he threw into the Sea. From the same Motive, after he came back to *Spain*, he drew a very exact Chart of his Discoveries, and left it with his Sons. The Success of this first Voyage engaged their Catholic Majesties to send him back in the Autumn of the same Year, with a Squadron of Eighteen Sail, very well equipped, with which he made farther Discoveries, which served to confirm him in his former Opinion, that he had really found a new Passage to the *Indies*. But in his third Voyage he gained some Knowledge of the Continent, and, hearing that there was a Sea on the other Side, he readily owned his Mistake, declaring, at the same time, it was his Opinion, that there was a Passage from these North Seas into those on the South, and from thence it might be very possible to sail to the *East Indies*. This was certainly the highest Proof that could be given of his Sagacity and Penetration, and fully justifies our placing him at the Head of the Circumnavigators; since it is evident from thence, that such a Passage round the Globe was the Thing he principally sought and intended. With good Reason, therefore, did the ingenious Mr. *Boyle* observe, that we are little less indebted to Columbus for the Discoveries made after his Death, than for those made by him while living, since they all followed from the Principles by him laid down, and were the Improvements of that Doctrine, which first, with great Prudence, he devised, and afterwards executed with wonderful Success. We may likewise hint, that some of those Discoveries in the Art of Navigation, which are thought of much later Date, were not unknown to him, particularly the constant Motion of the Sea from East to West, of which he took notice in his first Voyage, and explained from thence the Difference between the Time spent in going out, and in returning Home.

13. There never was, perhaps, a Man better qualified for the great Designs he undertook, than *Christopher Columbus*; but the Gravity of his Behaviour, and the severe Discipline he maintained while it was in his Power, raised him Enemies amongst a mutinous, licentious Crew; and these Disputes occasioned Appeals from both Parties to *Spain*; whereupon one *Francis Bobadilla* was sent over to inquire into these Matters, and to do Justice, according to the Light in which Things should appear to him. This Man, to gratify a Bishop, who had taken some Pique to Columbus, caused the Admiral to be seized, together with his Brethren, put them in Irons, and sent them in that Condition to *Spain*.

14. They arrived at *Cadiz* the 25th of *November* 1500. and as soon as their Catholic Majesties were informed of the Treatment the Admiral had met with, they ordered him to be set at Liberty, expressing great Concern for his Sufferings, especially the Queen, who was his very sincere Friend; but it was a good while before he could procure a new Governor to be sent to *Hispaniola*, which at last, however, he did. When he had carried this Point, he solicited Leave to make a fourth Voyage for Discoveries, which, with much ado, he obtained. It was in this his last going into the *West Indies*, that he first saw the Continent, lying some time at Anchor at the *Bastimentos*. This was in 1502. Some farther Discoveries he made on the same Coast; but before he could thoroughly inform himself of the State of the Country, he was obliged to alter his Course, and steer for *Hispaniola*. Some time he remained there, but at length, new Disputes and Disorders

* This occurs in a Treatise of his, intitled, *Some Considerations touching experimental Essays in general*, wherein he has this remarkable Passage: "It is obvious how much *Europe* is beholden to Columbus for the Detection of many Countries in *America*, which were not discovered by him, nor perhaps till long after his Death, because he first informed us knowingly, that there were unknown Regions beyond that vast Ocean, which severs the old World from the new."

arising, he resolv'd to return back into *Spain*, in order to give their Majesties the best Account he could of those Parts, that this Discovery might be made as advantageous to them as possible. It was towards the latter End of the Year 1504. that he came, for the last time, into *Spain*, where the first News he met with, was that of the Death of Queen *Isabella*, which struck him to the Heart, inasmuch that his Health apparently declined thenceforward. He did not, however, fail to apply himself to the Court, where he met with very indifferent Usage; for though he was treated with great Respect, and had many fair Words given him, yet the Sense he had of the King's Coldness, and of the Ingratitude of the *Spanish* Courtiers, made such an Impression upon him, as, after a few Months Illness, broke his Heart; this happened on the 20th of May 1506. at *Valladolid*. As soon as the Court was informed of his Death, Orders were given for his being buried with the utmost Pomp and Splendor. But the Admiral himself had given some Directions concerning his Interment, which serv'd to perpetuate the Memory of his ill Treatment; for he order'd the Irons which he had worn, to be put into his Coffin with him.

15. After his Death, that Spirit of Envy in a great measure ceased, which had pursued him while living, and which he had resist'd with a generous Resolution. Of this there cannot be a nobler Instance, than in the famous Story of the Egg. After it was once perceived at Court, that the King was cold towards him, many of the Nobility affect'd to lessen his Merit, by insinuating that he was rather fortunate than wife, and that his Success was more owing to good Stars, than to good Councils; to which Notions the *Pinçons* contributed not a little, by giving out, that it was through their Skill and Perseverance that the Discovery was made. *Columbus* was one Day given to understand as much, when invited to a public Dinner at Court; and, after having patiently endured this sort of Raillery for a long time without a Word of Reply, he at last order'd an Egg to be brought him; and, shewing it to the Company, ask'd, If there was any body who would undertake to set it upright upon its lesser End? To which they unanimously answer'd, That it

was impossible; and that he could not do it himself: Upon this he gravely crack'd the Shell, and, by striking it gently on the Table, enlarg'd the sharp End of the Egg, till it stood upright: They fell a laughing at this, crying out, that any body might have done as much: "I do not doubt it," replied he, and yet none of you thought of it; and thus it was that I discover'd the *Indies*. I first conceived the Design of steering that Course, and now every miserable Pilot can find his Way thither as well as I. There are many Things that appear easy when once performed, which before were thought impracticable. You ought to reflect on the Scoffs I sustain'd on the score of my Design, before I put it in Execution. It was then a Chimera, a Dream, a Delusion; and now it is what any body might have thought of, and put in Execution." The King, when he was told this Story, was extremely pleas'd, commended *Columbus* highly, and made no Difficulty of declaring, that he admir'd the Grandeur of that Spirit, which, at the same time, he endeavour'd to bring down.

16. This singular Circumstance of the Egg brings us naturally to the Close of this Section, by inclining us to observe, that what happened to his Discoveries in his Lifetime, fell out with respect to the Improvement of them after his Decease: For whereas *Columbus* always pursued a settled Plan, and, in every one of his Four Voyages, prosecuted his original Design of finding a Passage to the *Indies* by the West, the Particulars of which are constantly remark'd by *Peter Martyr*, all those who succeed'd him, and were employ'd by their Catholic Majesties to perfect his Discoveries, were led by no other Guide than their Avarice, and had no other Instructions than that what they received from the Reports of the *Indians*, who, to be rid of them, were continually founding in their Ears the Riches of distant Countries; at last, however, a Gentleman of *Portugal*, who had studi'd as well as practis'd Navigation, resolv'd to prosecute what *Columbus* had begun, to resume his great Design of surrounding the Globe; and was so happy as to effect this at his first Voyage, though he did not live to reap the Reward of his Discovery.

SECTION III.

The Voyage of FERDINAND MAGLIANES, or MAGELLAN, from the South Seas to the East Indies.

1. *The Country and Character of Ferdinand Maglianes, or Magellan.* 2. *His Reasons for quitting the King of Portugal's Service.* 3. *His Proposals accepted by the Emperor Charles V. Manner of putting them in Execution.* 4. *Arrives on the Coast of Brazil, and is compelled to winter in Patagonia.* 5. *An Account of the Patagons, their Manners, &c.* 6. *Further Account of them, and the manner in which Two of them were made Prisoners.* 7. *Called by the Admiral Patagons, which Name they retain.* 8. *Magellan sails from Port St. Julian, and discovers the Streights that bear his Name.* 9. *Description of the Ladrões, now called the Marian Islands, and their Inhabitants.* 10. *Account of the Island of Zamal, and its Inhabitants.* 11. *Discovery of the Island of Buthuan, its Products and People.* 12. *Various Islands described.* 13. *They arrive at Zubut, and are kindly entertained.* 14. *Description of the Island of Mathan.* 15. *The unfortunate End of Ferdinand Magellan.* 16. *The Island of Chippit described.* 17. *An Account of the great Island of Borneo.* 18. *Their Arrival at Cimbubon, and that Island described.* 19. *Discover the Frauds of the Portuguese in relation to this Navigation.* 20. *Description of the Island of Tidore.* 21. *Their Arrival and Admission to trade at Gilolo.* 22. *Prosecute their Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope.* 23. *Arrive after many untoward Accidents at Seville.* 24. *The Reward of Sebastian Cano, who brought the Ship Home.* 25. *The Importance of the Discoveries made by this Expedition.* 26. *A Day lost in the passing round the Globe, and the Reason of it.* 27. *Many great Seamen attempt passing the Streights of Magellan without Success.*

1. FROM the Time of the Discoveries made under the Catholic King's Commissions, the Portuguese were excessively jealous of their Possessions in the *East Indies*, till at length the Pope interpos'd, and by a Bull, which had a decisive Authority among Princes of his own Communion, decreed all Countries discover'd in the East to *Portugal*, and all such as were found in the West to *Spain*: Yet this rather smother'd than extinguish'd the Flames of Contention, both Princes continuing to listen willingly to any such Proposition, as tended to aggrandize one at the other's Expence; and this begat another Mischief, which

was, that such enterprising Men as were not gratified at one Court, immediately thought of applying themselves to the other; which, whether a greater Inconvenience to these Princes, or Advantage to *Europe* in general, is not easy to be resolv'd. Amongst those who took this Method of raising their Fortunes, the most remarkable was the famous *Ferdinand Maglianes*, commonly call'd *Magellan*. He was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Portugal*, and, having, from his Youth, addict'd himself to maritime Affairs, he acquir'd a very great Skill, both in the Theory and Practice of Navigation. He seem'd, indeed, to be form'd by Na-
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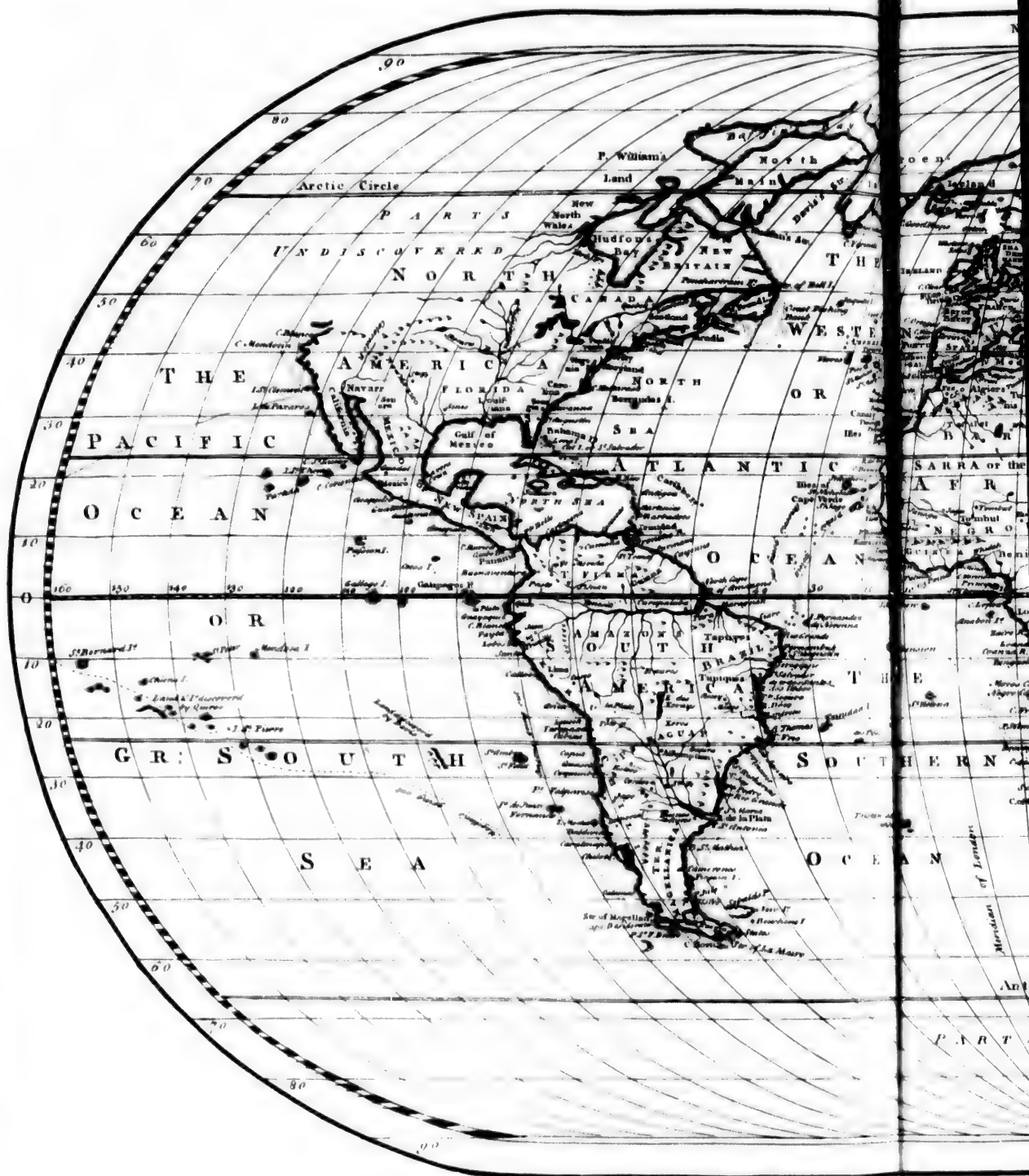
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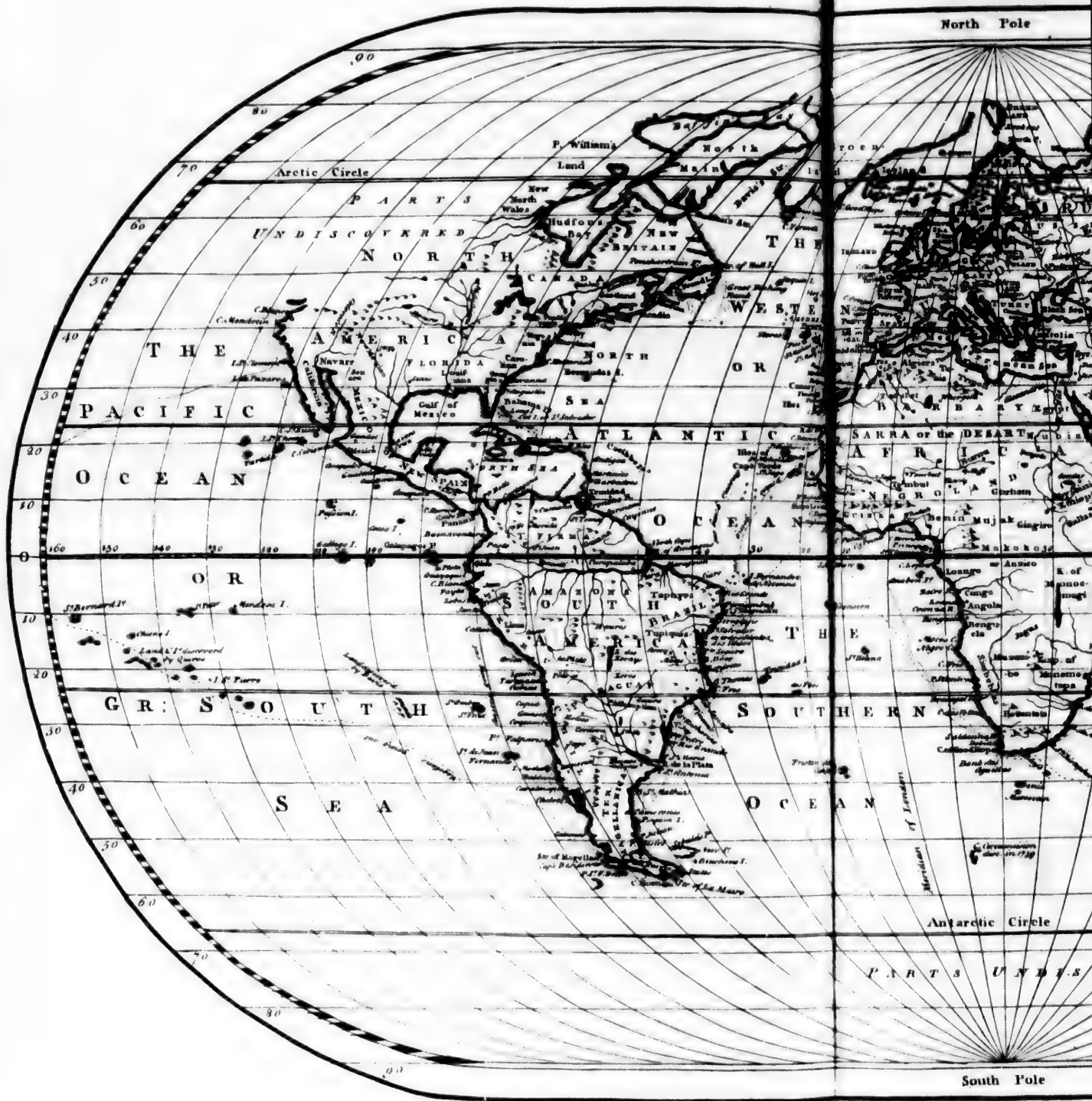
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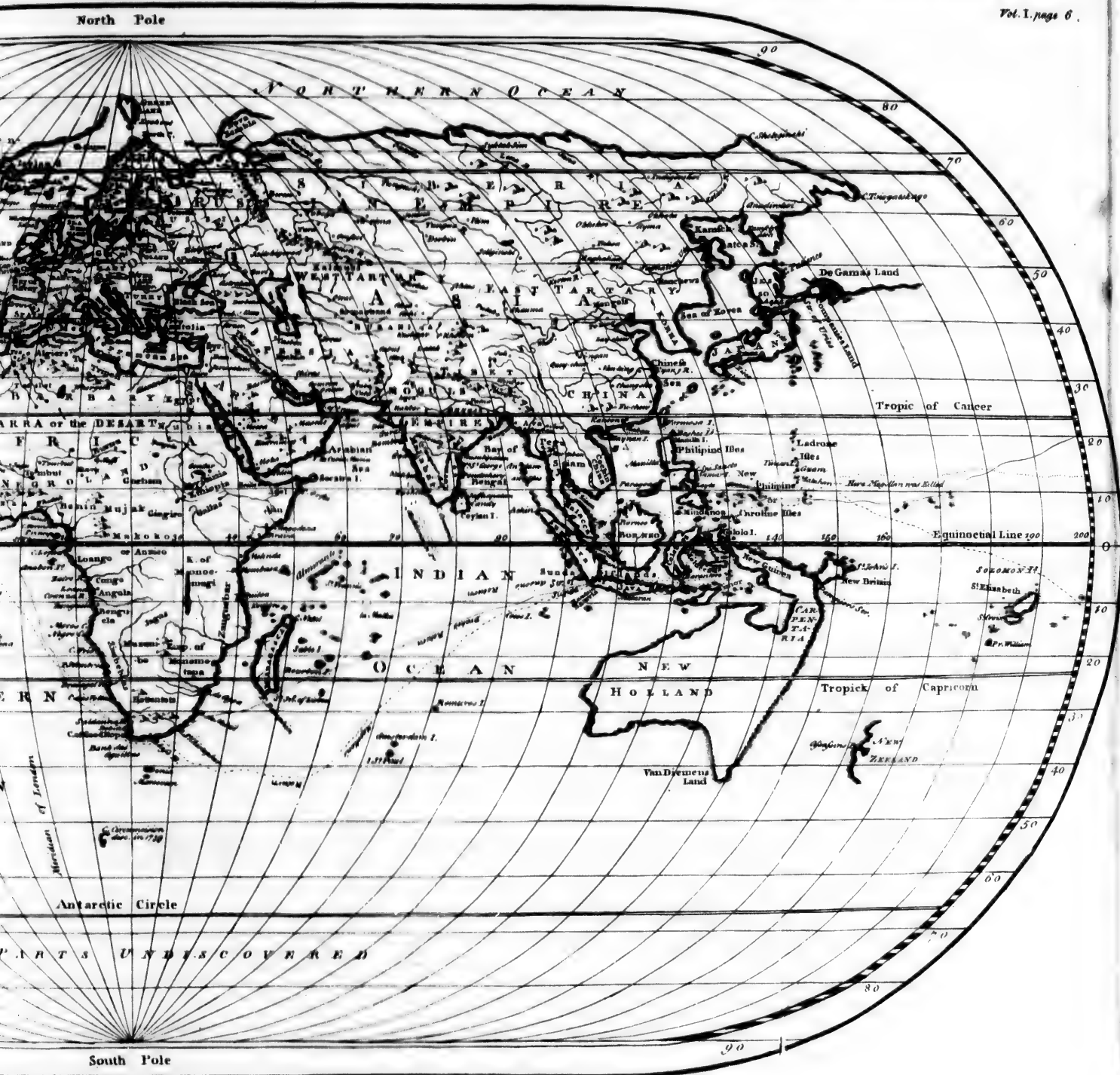
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JACOBUS DRAKE and COMMODORE ANSON.—By Eman. Bowen Geographer to His Majesty

Vol. I, page 6



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ture for great Exploits, having all the Qualities requisite to compose a truly great Man; for, with a Courage which no Danger could affright, he possessed a Calmness of Temper, and a Sweetness of Disposition, which engaged such as conversed with him to esteem and love him. He was naturally eloquent, either in proving what he asserted, or in drawing others from their own Opinions. But, above all, he had a Steadiness of Soul, and a Degree of manly Resolution, which not only enabled him to vanquish the greatest Difficulties, but withal gave such an Air of Success to whatever he promised or undertook, as drew all who heard him to confide in him. These extraordinary Talents, as they would have distinguished him in any Station of Life, so they were remarkably useful in that, by which he acquired immortal Reputation.^a

2. Don Ferdinand Magellan had served with great Credit in the Indies, under the famous Albuquerque, and thought he merited some Recompence for those Services. The Great, however, differed from him in Opinion, and treated all his Applications, not with Coldness only, but with Contempt, which, to a Man of his Spirit, was intolerable. He therefore associated himself with Men of like Fortunes; that is to say, Men of Merit that were neglected, particularly one *Ruy Falero*, a great Astronomer, whom the Portuguese, out of Hatred, have represented as a Conjuror; and, in Conjunction with him, retired to the Spanish Court, and made Propositions, and new Discoveries, to Cardinal Ximenes. The Portuguese Ambassador, who was a Man of Parts, employed all the Pains imaginable to defeat their Design. He solicited the Court to deliver them up as Fugitives; he got some Persons to inform the Ministry, that Magellan was a bold talkative Man, one ready to undertake any thing, but who wanted Capacity and Courage when it came to Performance. But underhand he caused Application to be made to Magellan himself, offering him Pardon, and great Rewards, if, desisting from his present Purpose, he would go back, and serve his own Prince. All this, however, signified very little; for these People expressed themselves to the Spanish Ministry, who were now very able Judges in these Matters, in such clear Terms, and with so much Probability as to the Discovery they proposed, that they were immediately received into Favour, made Knights of the Order of St. James, and had their own Terms granted them.

3. The Grounds they went upon were these: That the Position laid down by Columbus, of the Possibility of coming to the East Indies by sailing West, was certainly true, though he had not brought it to bear; and that such as derided that great Man's Notion, were not so well skilled in Navigation as he; that, without Question, it was very possible to sail from the South Sea, which was but just then heard of, to the Molucca Islands; and that it was very probable a Passage might be found into those Seas, through the *Rio de la Plata*, or some other Opening upon that Coast; that, in case this could be done, Spain might reap the Profit of both Indies, since this Discovery being made from the West, would fall expressly under the Words of the Pope's Bull. In consequence of these Proposals it was agreed, that the Undertakers should have the Twentieth Part of the clear Profits; that the Government of any Islands they should discover, should belong to them and their Heirs for ever, with the Title of *Adelantados*; and that, farther, the Crown should furnish them with Five Ships, and Two hundred and Thirty-four Men, with Provision for Two Years. This Fleet of theirs consisted of the *Trinidad*, which was the Admiral, having on board *Stephen Gomez*, a Portuguese Pilot; the *Santa Vittoria*, commanded by *Don Lewis de Mendoza*; the *St. Antonio*, under *Don Juan de Carthagena*; the *St. Iago*, of which *Don Juan Serrano* was Commander; and the *Conception*, under *Don Gaspar de Quesada*. The Number of their Men, according to some Authors, was 237: But most Writers make them 250, among whom there were Thirty Portuguese, and upon these the Admiral chiefly depended. In point of Skill he greatly relied on *Don Juan de Serrano*, who left the King of Portugal's Service in the same manner that Magellan

himself had done, after having served many Years in the Indies, and some Part of the Time in the Moluccas, of which they were now going in Search. Great Hopes were conceived of this Voyage, from the known Experience of the Commanders: But the Secret of it remained closely locked up in the Bosom of the Admiral, who declared no more to the rest, than that he was fitted out to discover new Countries, which, as it implied in the Opinion of his Companions; that they were going to fetch Home Gold, and other Riches, filled them with swelling Expectations, so that they left *Seville* with the most cheerful Courage.

4. They sailed from *Seville* the 10th of August, A. D. 1519. and October the 3d arrived between *Cape Verde*, and the Islands of that Name; they spent a great deal of Time about the Coast of *Guinea*, and by tedious Calms, which lasted Seventy Days, were so long labouring to cross the Line. But when they had done this, and the South Pole appeared above the Horizon, they held on their South Course, and came upon the Main of *Brazil*, about that Part of it which lies in 22 Degrees. They observed it to be all one continued Tract of Land, higher from the *Cape St. Augustin*, which is in this Part of the Country. They found good Store of Fruits, Sugar-canes, and divers Sorts of Animals, out of all which they had liberal Entertainment. Having made 2½ Degrees more of South Latitude, they fell in with a Country inhabited by a wild Sort of People: They were of a prodigious Stature, fierce, and barbarous, made a horrible roaring Noise, more like Bulls than human Creatures; and yet, with all that mighty Bulk, were so nimble and light of Foot, that none of the Spaniards or Portuguese could overtake them. Here was a fine River of fresh Water, that had Seven Islands in the Mouth of it, and was full Seventeen Leagues wide in that Part. The biggest of those Islands yielded them some Jewels, and they gave it the Name of *St. Mary*. They continued coasting along this Tract of Land towards the South Pole, and met with a Couple of Islands so full of Seals and Penguins, that, in an Hour's Space, they could have laden all the Five Ships. The Penguins are a black, heavy, unwieldy Fowl, extremely fat, covered over with a sort of Down instead of Fevers, and armed with a Bill like a Raven's; they maintain themselves altogether out of the Waters, eating nothing but Fish: Their next Advance was to 49½ Degrees South Latitude; here they were shut up by hard Weather, and forced to take up their Winter Quarters for no less than Five Months.

5. They passed their Time in this Place but very unpleasantly, and for a long time believed, that the Country was uninhabited: But at length they were undeceived as to this Point; for a Savage of the neighbouring Parts came up to give them a Visit, a brisk jolly Fellow, very merrily disposed, singing and dancing all the Way as he came: Being got to the Haven, he stood there, and threw Duit upon his Head; which they observing, sent some ashore to him, who making the like Signs of Peace, upon that Assurance he came along with them to the Ship, without any thing of Fear or Scruple. His Bulk and Stature was such, as would easily allow him the Character of a Giant; the Head of one of their middle-sized Men reached but to his Waist, and he was proportionably big: His Body was formidably painted all over, especially his Face; a Couple of Stags Horns drawn, one upon each Cheek, and great red Circles about his Eyes; his Colours were otherwise mostly yellow, only his Hair was white. For his Apparel he had the Skin of a Beast clumsily sewed together; but a Beast as strange as that was that wore it, every way unaccountable, neither Mule, Horse, nor Camel, but something of every one, the Ears of the first, the Tail of the second, and the Shape and Body of the last. 'Twas an intire Suit, all of one Piece from Head to Foot: As his Breast and Back were covered with it above, so his very Legs and Feet were wrapped up in the same beneath. The Arms that he brought with him were a stout Bow and Arrows; the String of the former was a Gut or Sinew of that monstrous Beast; and the latter, instead of Iron Heads, were tipped with sharp Stones. The Admiral made him eat and drink, and

^a The utmost Pains has been taken to give this Expedition in the clearest manner possible, by comparing all the different Relations of the Portuguese and Spanish Writers; but, after all our Care, we cannot but regret the Loss of the large History of it by *P. Martyr*, which was burnt in the sack of Rome by the Countess de Bourbon.

he enjoyed himself very comfortably on Ship-board, till he happened to peep into a great Looking-glass, that was given him amongst other Trifles: This put him into a Fright, which he could not easily recover; so that, starting back with Violence, he tumbled a Couple of the Men, that stood by him, to the Ground. However, this Giant fared so well amongst them, (notwithstanding the Fright by the Looking-glass) that quickly after they had the Company of more; particularly one came, and made himself mighty familiar, carried it pleasantly, and with so much good Humour amongst them, that our Europeans were also pleased with his Company. He gave them a Sight of one of those Beasts whose Skins they wear; but we have, in this Account, nothing of any particular Description of it added, to justify or disprove the former Surmises about it.

6. The General was desirous of making some of these gigantic People Prisoners; and, in order to it, his Crew took the following Method: They filled their Hands with Toys, and little Things that pleased them, and, in the mean time, put Iron Shackles upon their Legs, which they thought were very fine Play-things, as well as the rest, and were pleased with the jingling Sound of them, till they found how they were hampered and betrayed: But then they tell a bellowing like Bulls, and implored the Help of *Setebos* in that Extremity; they cried aloud for his Assistance, but he did not come to deliver them; and what Power it is they give that Name to, they best know. To desire his Help in Misery, implied some Notions conceived of his Goodness and Compassion; and 'tis not to be imagined, that they would thus crave Relief of an evil Spirit that used to vex and afflict them. It must be owned, that they report very strange Things of horrid Forms and Appearances frequently seen amongst these People; of horned Demons with long Shag Hair, throwing out Fire both before and behind; but these seem to be Dreams or Fables. This Account goes further as to the Inhabitants, and reports, that most of these People wear the same Sort of Apparel that the first appeared in, that is, the Skins of the fore-mentioned Beast: They go with their Hair short; yet that there is, they tie up with a Cotton Lace. They have no fixed Habitations, but certain moveable Cottages, which they carry from one Place to another, as their Fancy leads them; and the very same Materials which they use for the Defence of their Bodies, they use also for the Defence and Covering of these Cottages: What Flesh they eat, they bestow no Ceremony of dressing upon; but devour it fresh and raw as it comes to their Hands: Besides which, they have a certain sweet Root amongst them, called *Capar*, which is a considerable Part of their Food. They add also, that they are extremely jealous of their Women; but they don't tell us they saw any of them.

7. Amongst them the Practice of Physic is reduced into a very narrow Compass, and takes in no more than Vomiting and Phlebotomy: These Two Evacuations must answer all Varieties of Cases and Purposes; and, where this won't do, the Disease is incurable in that Land. Their way of Bleeding is to give a good Chop with some Edge-Tool or other in the Part that is affected, be it Leg, or Arm, or Face. But though 'tis odd to use a Chopping-knife instead of a Lancet, for letting Blood, yet it is more so, to thrust an Arrow, a Foot and an half down the Throat, to procure a Vomit. No doubt but this will prick the Fibre, and set a Man reaching to some Purpose. These Folks are very strong: When they made the Attempt of taking some of them Prisoners, one alone very near tired the utmost Force of Nine of their Men that were employed to master him; and though they had him down, and bound his Hands tightly, yet he freed himself from his Bonds, and got loose, in spite of all their Endeavours to hold him. And, proportionable to their Strength, is that also of their Appetite: One of them eat up a whole Basket of Ship Biscuit at a Meal, and drank a Bowl (they don't say how large) of Water at a Draught; but any thing of this kind is not so very strange, considering the large Carcases they have to maintain. One thing of them (which is something singular) is not to be omitted before we leave them; and that is, that, by reason of the vehement Cold, they truss themselves up to very close and tight, that the Genitals in the Men are not to be discovered,

lying hid intirely within their Bodies. The Admiral gave these People the Name of *Patagons*, and took notice of these few common Words: They call Bread, *Capar*; Water, *Oli*; Black, *Amel*; Red, *Cheiche*; Red Cloth, *Cheerai*. *Setebos*, and *Cheleule*, are the Names of Two Beings they pay a religious Respect to; of which the former is the supreme, the latter an inferior one: But whether they are proper Names, or only their Terms for a higher and subordinate Power in general, is not certain.

8. The Port they stay'd in these Five Months was called Port *St. Julian*; of which, as of the whole adjoining Country, they took solemn Possession, and left a Cross erected in Token of it; because it was the Beginning of *October* by that time they got up to the *Cape de Verd* Islands, and they were detained so long by the Calms, that they made it *December*, before they crossed the Line. But the main Reason of their staying so long here, was a Conspiracy that broke out among their Crew, not only some of the common Men, but some of the Captains also, and particularly Captain *Mendoza*, upon whom the General chiefly depended. The General acted in this Affair with great Spirit and Courage; for, having subdued the Conspirators, he brought them to a Trial for plotting against his Life, hanged *Lewis de Mendoza*, and some few, who were most guilty; and left Captain *Juan de Caribegena*, and some others, who were not quite so deep, amongst the *Patagons*. The Weather growing fine, and the Crew once more brought into Subjection, *Magellan* thought it high time to pursue his Course; which accordingly he did, till he arrived in 51 Degrees 40 Minutes South Latitude. Here they found a convenient Port, and met with good Provisions of Fuel, Fish, and fresh Water; they lingered away at this Place Two Months more, and then came to 52 Degrees South Latitude, where they discovered the Entrance into the Straights. They found them about 110 Leagues in Length, and as for the Breadth very uncertain, in some Places very wide, in others not more than half a League over; the Land on both Sides high and uneven, and the Mountains covered with Snow. When they came to the End of it, they found an open Passage into the great Ocean. *Magellan* was surpris'd at the Sight, with a Joy that exceeded all common Bounds; for this was the happy thing he looked for, and now he was able to demonstrate his sailing round by the West. The Point of Land from whence he first saw this desirable Prospect, he called, in Memory of it, *Cape Desiderato*; but it seems it was not so desirable to all the rest of the Company; for here one of the Ships stole away, and sail'd homeward by herself. They entered the *Pacific Sea*, for so they called it, *November* the 28th, A. D. 1520, and in this wide Ocean they sail'd Three Months and Twenty Days, without Sight of Land. The Miseries they endured for want of Provision, a good Part of this Time, were such as are seldom heard of; the fresh Water they had on board stunk, and was very loathsome; all their Bread was gone, and nothing left to eat but Pieces of Skins, and Bits of Leather. Nature will make any Shift, though ever so hard, to bear herself out in a Distress, when 'tis possible to be done; and the poor Seamen here, rather than starve, fell very greedily to work upon those dry tough Pieces of Leather that were about the Ropes of the Ships. But it being impossible to eat them, till they were some way softened, and fitted for chewing, they laid them asleep in salt Water for some Days, and then made the best of them, as long as they lasted. But then again, what with this impure sort of Feeding, which was but scanty too, and the daily Impoverishment of their Spirits wanting better Recruits, their Number shortened apace: Some died outright, others fell into pining Sickness, others had their Gums grow quite over their Teeth on every Side; by which means being totally unable to manage those tough Solids they were forced to feed upon, they were past all Help, and so miserably starved to Death. Their only Comfort, under all these direful Circumstances, was a Constancy of fair and good Weather. The Winds blew them smoothly and gently along, and, while they were thus exposed, the Sea was calm and quiet too, and by this got the celebrated Name of *Pacific*. In all this Time they saw nothing but Two uninhabited Islands, that gave no Prospect of any Relief. The Needle of their Compass varied sometimes,

and, at other times, forced to quit the South Star near it, and, at last, the small Stars, and the Distance; but the large or bright ones of the Galaxy at least the Distance of the Island of ex Degrees and They failed having made rule from the wards the East and were got for the Cape *Cattigara*; but count of the and came to Degrees.

9. *March* being then in Longitude from the Shore to Fatigues of But the they be quiet. The other world Ships, to themselves in any deliver them therefore will one of the Islands some of the might awe the Diposition; still; For who Stay there, but enjoy more than not the least every Man of Inclination: cheating Disposition should be any would never more Honesty never bear to saw do the before their Manners will establish a perfectly naked Modesty with People, to be That Distinction exposed to the Heads and reaching selves all over Complexion red; and the Palm-tree, a better favour all wear Cow tree; their trail upon the careful, and much better piliering about the Palm-tree goes towards the bulk of the Fig-leaves, Their Beds and the Blankets: 7

and, at others, moved so irregularly, that they were often forced to quicken it with a fresh Touch of the Load-stone. The South Pole they found to have no very remarkable Star near it, as the North has : There are Two Clusters of small Stars, and are separated from each other at a small Distance ; between those are a Couple of Stars, not very large or bright, which discover themselves, by the Smallness of the Circle they describe, to be pretty near the Pole, at least the nearest of any that are discernible. At the Distance of 20 Degrees from the South Pole they saw an Island of exceeding Height, called *Cipangu*, and at 15 Degrees another as high, the Name of which is *Sumbdi*. They sailed in one Gulph at least 4000 Leagues ; and, having made, by their Reckoning, 120 Degrees Longitude from their first Departure, they found they drew towards the Equinoctial. When they had passed that Line, and were got to 13 Degrees North Latitude, they designed for the Cape, called by the old Geographers the Cape of *Corrigare* ; but this they missed, going upon that old Account of the Latitude of it, which places it thereabouts ; and came to understand afterwards, that it lies in 12 Degrees.

9. *March 6.* they fell in with a Cluster of Islands, being then in 12 Degrees North Latitude, and 146 Degrees Longitude from their first setting out : Here they went on Shore to breathe and refresh a little after all the Fatigues of their tedious Voyage through the South Sea. But the thievish People of those Islands would not let them be quiet. While they were reposing themselves ashore, the other would be pilfering and stealing things out of the Ships, so that 'twas impossible for them to enjoy themselves in any measure, till they had taken some Course to deliver themselves from these Disturbers. They marched therefore with a small Party, pretty well armed, up into one of the Islands, burnt some of their Houses, and killed some of the Inhabitants ; but this Correction, though it might awe them for the present, yet could not mend their Disposition ; but they that were Thieves, would be Thieves still : For which Reason they resolved to make no longer Stay there, but find out some other Place where they might enjoy more Safety and Quiet. Amongst these People there is not the least shew of any Order or Form of Government, but every Man does what is agreeable to his own Humour and Inclination : Nay, considering how universally that thieving, cheating Disposition prevails, 'tis next to impossible there should be any thing of that kind ; for the governing Part would never fail to transgress the Laws of Justice and common Honesty, as much as the rest ; and the Inferiors would never bear to be curb'd and punished by those that they saw do the very same things, and set such an Example before their Eyes ; so that the general Corruption of their Manners will necessarily keep them all upon a Level, and establish a perpetual Anarchy among them. The Men go intirely naked, not discovering any thing of that common Modesty which obtains amongst the most barbarous People, to bestow some Covering upon the obscene Parts : That Distinction indeed ceases here, all Parts being equally exposed to View. Their Hair is very black, both on their Heads and Beards ; the former being generally very long, and reaching down to their Waists. They anoint themselves all over with the Oil of the Cocoa, but their natural Complexion is olive : They colour the Teeth black and red ; and some of them wear a Bonnet, made of the Palm-tree, upon their Heads. The Women are much better favoured than the Men, and more modest too ; they all wear Coverings made of the inner Bark of the Palm-tree ; their Hair black, thick, and long, and ready to trail upon the Ground : they commend them for very careful, industrious Housewives, spending their Time at a much better rate than the Men do ; for, whilst these are pilfering abroad, the others are making Mats and Nets of the Palm-tree at home ; but, of both Sides, the Work goes towards the Furnishing the House : These Houses are built of Timber, covered over with Boards, and large Fig-leaves, and divided into several Apartments : Their Beds are the Palm-mats, laid one upon another ; and the Leaves of the same are instead of Sheets and Blankets : They have no Weapons but Clubs, and long

Poles, upon which they put Heads of Horn : Their Food are Coconuts, Bananas, Figs, Sugar-canes, Fowl, and Flying-fish : Their Canoes are oddly contrived and patched up ; yet will they sail with them at a very great rate : The Sails are made of broad Date-leaves sewed together ; instead of a Rudder, they use a large Board, with a Staff at the Top ; and may, when they will, make the Stem the Forecattie, or the Forecattie the Stem : They are always painted over, either black, or white, or red, some one Colour, and some another, as they like. These People are mightily taken with any little thing that is new, and agreeable to their Humour : When the *Spaniards* had wounded several of them with their Arrows, nay, pierced them almost through and through, these being strange Things to them, they would pull them out of their Wounds, and hold them in their Hands, staring at them till they dropt down dead ; and, after all, though they had been so roughly handled, yet they would follow the Ships, as they were going away, to gaze at them, so that they had at one time 200 of their Canoes pressing about them, as near as they could, to behold those wonderful Contrivances.

10. *March 10.* they landed upon the Island of *Zamal*, which is 30 Leagues from the *Ladrones* ; and the next Day they went ashore at *Humuna*, an Island not inhabited, yet well deserving to be so : Here they found Springs of delicate clear Water, abundance of Fruit-trees, Gold, and white Coral. The Admiral called it the Island of *Good Signs*. The Inhabitants of some of the neighbouring Islands came up to them not long after, a People of much Humanity, and good Disposition ; very fair and friendly in their Carriage, and appeared to be mighty well pleased at their coming among them : They came laden with Presents of Fish, and the Wine made of the Cocoa-tree, and promised other Provisions in a little time. Since the Cocoa-wine is mentioned, it may not be amiss to shew the various Uses these People put that Fruit to ; by which it will appear, how very serviceable a thing it is, and how many of the Conveniences of Life are furnished by it : The Cocoa is the Fruit of a certain Tree like a Date, and supplies them at once with Bread, Oil, and Vinegar, and with Physic too. The Wine is drank from the Tree itself, but all the rest are made from the Fruit ; they cut off some Part of a Branch of the Tree, and fasten to the remaining Piece a good large Reed, into which drops a Liquor, like white Wine in Colour and Appearance, and of a Taste gratefully tart : A good Quantity of this, thus drawn forth, and put in a Vessel, is called their Cocoa-wine, without any farther Preparation. The Fruit, which is as big as a Man's Head, has Two Rinds ; the outermost of which is green, Two Fingers thick, and full of Strings and Threads, and of these they make all the Cords they use about their Boats ; under this Kind there is another, or rather a Shell, being considerably thick and hard ; this, burnt and pulverized, is used as a Remedy for several Distempers : To it adheres the Kernel, which is white, and of the Thickness of a Finger ; it has a pleasant Taste, almost like an Almond ; and, when it is dried, they make it into Bread : In the Middle of this Kernel there is a Hollow, full of a pure limpid Water, and that of a very cordial and refreshing Nature : It will sometimes congeal, and lie like an Egg within the Shell. When they would make Oil, they leave the Fruit to steep in Water, till it putrefies ; and then set it over the Fire, and boil it to an Oil ; and the Vinegar is only the same Water, exposed for some time to the Sun, which turns it into a Vinegar, like that of white Wine. Lastly, if they mix the Kernel, together with the Water that is lodged in the Cavity of it, and then strain it through a Cloth, they make a good Milk of it. The Cocoa-trees resemble the common Date-trees in all but this, that they are not so rugged and knotty as they are. They will hold out very well 100 Years ; and two of them will maintain a Family of Ten People with Wine very plentifully, provided they are used by turns, and each Tree, having been drawn Seven or Eight Days, be allowed as many to recover again, before any more be taken from it. With this Care such a Number of People may drink as much as they will, and the Trees bear them out. But to return to our Con-

¹ These Islands were called by *Magellan*, *Isas de los Ladrones* ; and, in the *Latin Relations* of his Voyage, *Insula Latronum*.

cerns between this People and them: According to their Promise, they came again with other Provisions, and enter'd into a farther Degree of Familiarity and friendly Correspondence with them; they invited the Admiral into their Barks, and were reciprocally invited aboard the Admiral's Ship, where a great Gun being discharged to entertain them, it put them into such Affright, that they were all ready to leap overboard; but good Words and Presents brought them to themselves again, and with much ado they were persuaded to keep out of the Water. The Name of their Island was *Zuluan*, of no very great Compass, but considerable for its Products: They had all manner of Spices in their Barks, Cinnamon, Cloves, Nutmegs, Ginger, and Mace, and several Things made up of Gold, all which they carry'd up and down and sold for Merchandize: They were without Apparel, but yet dressed at a more costly Rate than the *Europeans*, that had it: They had Earings of Gold in each Ear, and several Jewels, fastened with Pieces of Gold, to their Arms; besides, they had Daggers, Knives, and Lances, that were all very richly ornamented with the same Metal: But though they had nothing of any Garment on, yet they had something of a Covering before, and that of a sort of Cloth very ingeniously made out of the Rind of a Tree that grows amongst them. The most considerable Men are distinguished from the common People by a Piece of filken Needle-work wrapped about their Heads. They are gross-bodied, broad and well-set, of an olive Colour; and this Hue they maintain by constant Unction of their Bodies with the Oil of Cocoa. They departed from this Isle *March* the 25th, *A. D.* 1521. and directed their Course between the West and South-west, sailing between the Isles *Cenalo*, *Hunangban*, *Hibuffon*, and *Abarian*.

11. *March* the 28th, they came to the Isle of *Rubuan*; the King of which, and the Prince his Son, gave them honourable Entertainment, presenting them with considerable Quantities of Gold and Spices. The Admiral, in Return, presented the King with Two Vests of Cloth, one red, and the other yellow, made after the *Turkish* Fashion; and some of his Courtiers with Knives, Glasses, and Beads of Crystal. The Admiral sent Two of his Company ashore along with him, of which *Antonio Pigafetta*, who wrote this Relation, was one. When they were landed, the King and his Attendants all lifted up their Hands to Heaven, and then towards the Two Christians, in which Ceremony these also followed them; and this Custom they observed in drinking too. His Majesty's Palace was like a Hay-loft covered with Palm and Fig-leaves, mounted so high upon great Timber-posts, that they were forced to use Ladders to get in. Though they are no Christians, yet, at their Meals, they always make the Sign of the Cross, sitting in the same manner with their Legs as *Taylors* do. At Night, instead of Candles, they burn the Gum of a certain Tree wrapped up in Palm-leaves: The King and Prince, having entertained them in their several Palaces, and given them noble Presents, dismissed them, but not without new Admiration, and a firm Persuasion now rooted in their Minds, that they were above the Rank of common Mortals, having seen so many strange Things amongst them; and especially *Pigafetta's* writing, and reading what he had written, which were Mysteries they could not comprehend. In the Isle of *Rubuan*, as they sifted the Earth of a certain Mine, they found great Lumps of Gold, some as big as Nuts, others as large as Eggs; of which Metal were all the King's Vessels for his Table made. The King himself was a very comely Person, his Hair black and long, his Complexion olive, his Body perfumed with sweet Oils, of *Storax* and *Benjamin*, and painted with divers Colours; he had Rings of Gold in his Ears, and on every Finger Three; his Head was wrapped with a silken Veil, and a Piece of Cotton wrought with Silk, and Gold covered his Body to the Knees. He wore a long Dagger by his Side, with a Haft of Gold, and a Scabbard of fine carved Wood. His Country, it seems, is so rich, that one of his Subjects offered a Crown of massy Gold, with a Collar, for Six Threads of crystal Beads: But the Admiral would not permit such Bargains as these, that they might not appear to be too fond and covetous of their Gold. The People are of an active and sprightly Nature;

the Men quite naked, except a Covering of Paint; but the Women go clothed from the Waist downwards, and both wear golden Ear-rings: They are always chewing *Areeca*, and say, they cannot live without it; this is a Sort of Fruit like a Pear, cut in Quarters, and rolled up in the Leaves of a Tree called *Butea*, which are almost like Bay-leaves. As for religious Rites, they had, as far as they observed, no other in Use amongst them, but only to lift up their Faces, and Hands joined together, to Heaven, and call upon their God *Abba*. The Admiral caused a Banner, in which was the Portraiture of the Cross, and a Crown of Thorns with Nails, to be brought forth, and publicly revered by all his Men in the King's Presence, telling his Majesty, it should be set up in some high Mountain in his Country; not only for a Token of good Entertainment for Christians in that Place, but also for his own and Nation's Security and Defence; since, if they devoutly prayed to it, it would infallibly protect them from the Mischiefs of Lightning and Tempest, as well as from other Evils: This the poor Prince promised to do, knowing no better, and glad to be so defended from Thunder-bolts.

12. At their Departure from hence, this King's Pilots brought them to the Isles of *Zeilon*, *Zubut*, *Messana*, *Caleghan*, of which *Zubut* is the best, and has the best Trade. In *Messana* they found Dogs, Cats, Hogs, Hens, Goats, Rice, Ginger, Cocoa, Miller, Panic, Barley, Figs, Oranges, Wax, and Gold, in great Plenty: This Isle lies in $9^{\circ} 40'$ of North Latitude, and 162° of Longitude from their first Meridian. They stayed here Eight Days, and then, sailing to the N. W. passed by the Isles *Zeilon*, *Bokol*, *Cangbu*, *Barbai*, and *Caleghan*, in which last Isle there are Bats as big as Eagles, and that taste, when dressed, like a Hen; there are also Stock-doves, Turtle-doves, Papijnays, and a certain Sort of Fowl like Hens, which have little Horns, and lay their Eggs a Cubit's Depth in the Sand, where the Sun's Heat hatches them. From *Messana* to *Caleghan* is about 20 Leagues sailing to the West; and from *Caleghan* to *Zubut* about 50 Leagues, to which they now directed their Course, having the Company of the King of *Messana*, who, out of pure Friendship, went along with them; the Admiral having by many Services secured his Affection.

13. *April* the 7th, about Noon, they entered the Port of *Zubut*; and, coming near the City, fired all the great Guns, which put the Place into a very great Consternation: But all this Apprehension of Danger from the Ships was quickly removed, by the coming of their Embassador to the Town, who assured the King, that it was customary with them to discharge their Cannon, whenever they came in to any great Ports; and that it was a Piece of Respect they always paid to the Governors of Towns: He told him, how mighty a Prince they were Servants to; and that their Design was to find out the *Moluccas*; that they only came to visit him by the Way, hearing of his Fame by the King of *Messana*; and desired him to furnish them with Victuals for the Commodities they had brought. The King bid them welcome; but told them, that it was a Custom there for all Ships that came to pay Tribute; and that he expected the like Acknowledgment from them. This the Embassador positively refused, telling him, that his Admiral was the Servant of so great a King, that as he had never yet, so he would not now begin to make that Acknowledgment to any Prince in the World; and withal, that if he would accept of Peace offered to him, well; if not, he should quickly have his Hands full of the War. A certain *Moore*, that stood by, told the King, that these were the *Portuguese* that had conquered *Calcut* and *Malacca*; and therefore advised him to have a care how he provoked them. Upon this Consideration, the King concluded to refer the Matter to this Council, and to give them an Answer the next Day, sending them in the mean while Wine and Victuals. The King of *Messana*, who was a very potent Prince, went next ashore, and acted very generously on their Behalf with the King of *Zubut*; the Effect of which was, that the King, instead of demanding, was now almost ready to pay Tribute himself; which they not at all insisting upon, but desiring only Liberty to trade, he cheerfully granted it, and offered to seal the

Covenant

Covenant of this, the King's Nephew, sent, and suaded them, did, after for all afterwards influenced them, verily received the King's Mat made of baline Cotton Veil of Neck Chan, as a him several full of Dates at his Palace, and his and his wards dying in his Land. That since his Devotion, be, in all these People, another, kept their House, so that they gain Sort of which they swallow down Bird; by which afterwards Skin of the Spaniards in People, the and half each all sorts of those Prince Ordinance by the King, be King of *Zubut* nando; the and the late named *Jabari* sides the Port of interior were broke the Admiral Morning at the same time the Pri her Body co with a force Mal was c miral's Ship were ditcha became Ch would not Spaniard. th upon the R tagrous Eff embraced it King of *Z* The Admi date Recov and break a actions say, perfectly re initiated int

14. Not Inhabitants vering over great and being pierc as they plea the House, crifices to they spread certain Pla

Covenant of Peace and Friendship with his Blood. After this, the King of *Messana*, the King of *Zubut*, and his Nephew, came on board the Admiral, brought him Presents, and confirmed the League. The Admiral persuaded them to embrace the Christian Faith, which they did, after some religious Conferences, with Pleasure, being all afterwards baptized. This Example of the great ones influenced the whole Island, so that Christianity was universally received there. When they came to the City, they found the King in his Palace, sitting upon a sort of fine Mat made of Date-leaves, having no Apparel but a Bombazine Cotton about his Waist: About his Head he had a Veil of Needle-work, and about his Neck a very costly Chain, as also stately Jewels in his Ears: He had before him several Porcelain Vessels, some with Eggs, and others full of Date-wine. The Prince entertained them likewise at his Palace; and, for their Diversion, made his Daughters sing and dance naked before them. One of the *Spaniards* dying, they desired Leave of the King to bury him in his Land: To which the King replied very graciously, That since he, and all his, were at the King their Master's Devotion, much more should a few Feet of his Ground be so, in affording a Burying place to one of his Subjects. These People exercise Justice in their Dealings with one another, keeping to the Use of Weights and Measures. Their Houses are made of Timber, raised high upon Posts, so that they go up by Stairs to them. They talk of a certain Sort of Water-fowl in this Country, as big as a Crow, which they call *Lughan*, which the Whales sometimes swallow down alive, and have their Hearts eaten up by this Bird; by which means many of them are killed, and the Bird is afterwards found alive in the Carcase of the Whale: The Skin of this Fowl is black, but the Flesh good. The *Spaniards* had a very advantageous Bartering with those People, they giving them Ten Pesos of Gold (a Ducat and half each) for Fourteen Pounds Weight of Iron, besides all sorts of Provisions for very Trifles. The baptizing of those Princes was performed with very great Solemnity, the Ordinance being all discharged; which the Admiral told the King beforehand, to prevent his being surprised. The King of *Zubut* was named *Charles*, and the Prince *Ferdinando*, the former of those Names being the Emperor's, and the latter his Brother's. The King of *Messana* was named *Jabu*, and the Moorish Courtier *Christophor*: Besides the Princes and great Men, there were Five hundred of inferior Rank baptized at the same time. All the Idols were broken, and the Crosses set up in divers Places, which the Admiral engaged them to pray very devoutly before, Morning and Evening: The Queen was baptized too at the same time, with Forty of her Ladies, and her Daughter the Prince's Wife: She was young and handsome, her Body covered with a white Cloth, and her Head adorned with a sort of a triple Crown made of Date-leaves: After Mass was ended, the King and Court dined in the Admiral's ship, in Honour of whom all the great Ordinance were discharged. In Eight Days time most of the Island became Christians, except one Village of Idolaters, who would not obey the King's Command in this Matter: The *Spaniards* therefore burnt the Village, and erected a Cross upon the Ruins of it; and, to show the good and advantageous Effects of Christianity amongst the People that had embraced it, a very miraculous Cure was wrought upon the King of *Zubut*'s Brother, upon his receiving Baptism. The Admiral, it seems, pawned his Head for his immediate Recovery, if he would submit to this sacred Rite, and break all his Idols. And they who record these Transactions say, that the Admiral did save his Pawn, the Prince perfectly recovering of his Malady soon after he was thus initiated into the Christian Religion.

14. Not far from *Zubut* lies the Isle of *Matban*, the Inhabitants of which go quite naked, except a slight Covering over the Pudenda, at which Part all the Males, both great and small, hang certain Gold Rings, the Skin being pierced for that Purpose: They take as many Wives as they please, one of which only has the Government of the House. They use very odd Ceremonies in their Sacrifices to the Sun; they begin with ringing Bells, then they spread a Cloth upon the Ground, upon which are set certain Platters with Honey, Rice, and roast Fishes. The

Sacrifice they offer is an Hog, and the Managers of the Ceremony are Two old Women, who sing and dance about the Animal, and sound Trumpets made of Reeds. They mumble out certain Prayers to the Sun; and, after several antic and ridiculous Gestures, they pour a Cup of Wine upon the Hog: One of the venerable Priestesses strikes the fatal Blow with a Lance, and then puts a lighted Lamp into the Creature's Mouth, which continues burning all the Time of the Ceremony: The other dips the Reed Trumpet in the Blood, and with her Finger bestirs her Husband's Forehead, and then the Foreheads of the rest of the Men who assist at the Sacrifice: When they have done, they disrobe themselves of their priestly Attire, and fall to eating the Honey, Rice, and Fish, in which only Women partake with them: As for the Flesh of the Hog, that is not to be touched, till the Two Priestesses have craved a Blessing on it. As for their Funerals, their Ceremonies are almost as extravagant as those of their Sacrifices: When a Man of Figure dies, all the chief Women go to his House, and carry Boughs with Pieces of Cotton in them, which they tatten about the Corps; they sit round it clothed in white Cotton, fanning themselves with Branches of Palm, the Room being incensed with Myrrh and Storax all the while: Then a Person comes, and cuts off the Hair of the Deceased by little and little; and, at the same time, his chief Wife lies upon his dead Body with her Face, Hands, and Feet to his, crying and lamenting while his Hair is cut off; but she changes her Funeral Notes into a merry Song when the other has done cutting: The Ceremony lasts Five Days, after which they inclose the Corps in a Dormitory built of Wood, and made very fast on every side.

15. This Isle of *Matban* was governed by Two Kings; one of which refusing to pay Tribute to the King of *Spain*, the Admiral went out to reduce him. The *Indian* had between Six and Seven thousand Men furnished with Bows and Arrows, Darts and javalins, which Army the Admiral attacked with Sixty of his *Spaniards*, armed with Coats of Mail and Helmets. The Battle was for a long time doubtful: At last the Admiral's Heat and Courage carrying him too far amongst the Barbarians, he was there first wounded with a poisoned Arrow, and afterwards thrust into the Head with a Lance, which ended the Life and Actions of this noble Commander. About Eight or Nine of his Men were slain, and about Fifteen of the Enemy, besides many wounded. The *Spaniards* would very willingly have redeemed the Body of their Admiral, but the *Indians* would not consent to it upon any Terms. This, however, was but the Beginning of their Misfortunes; for the King, as he had embraced their Religion without understanding it, abandoned it upon this Change in their Circumstances; and made Peace with his Rival, notwithstanding one of the Articles insisted on was, that all the Strangers should be instantly put to Death. The barbarous Monarch was sensible enough, that by Force he should never be able to execute this infamous Article, and therefore he had recourse to Fraud. With this View, he invited all the *Spaniards*, that were on Shore, to a sumptuous Entertainment; and there, in the midst of their Feasting, he directed them to be most cruelly murdered, reserving only *Don Juan Serrano* alive, in order to have procured a Supply of Artillery and Ammunition by way of Ransom for him. With this Demand of his the *Spaniards* would willingly have complied, but found so much Prevarication and Treachery in his Management, and, at the same time, were so much intimidated by the Fate of their Companions, that they resolved to break off the Treaty, and put to Sea. The unfortunate *Serrano*, when he saw them about to weigh their Anchors, threw himself on his Knees; and, in the most moving Terms, begged of them not to leave him in the Hands of so base a People: But their Fears, or rather their Care for their own Preservation, made them deaf to his Intreaties, especially when, on a Muster, they found their whole Force consisted but of Eighty Men, that their Ships were in a miserable Condition, and that, in order to have a Probability of returning Home, it would be necessary to destroy One Ship, to make use of her Stores and Materials in repairing the other Two. What the Fate was of *Serrano*, after their Departure, is not known; but it is certain, the

Loss of him proved a very great Hindrance to the Voyage, since, next to the Admiral, he was the bravest Man, and the best Seaman, they had; one of the Projectors of this Voyage, and who, if he had lived to return, would have animated the Imperial Court to future Expeditions.

16. A little before the Admiral's Death, they received News of the *Moluccas*, the discovering of which this Way, was the great End of their Voyage: So that now leaving *Mathan*, they sailed to the Isle of *Bobol*; and here they burnt the *Conception*, furnishing the other Two Ships with the Men and Ammunition of it. Directing their Course from hence to the South West, they came to the Isle *Paviloghon*, inhabited by *Blacks*: From hence they came to *Chippit*, which is a large Isle; and it is about 50 Leagues from *Zubut*, in 8 Degrees of North Latitude, and about 170 Degrees of Longitude from their first Stage. It abounds in Rice, Ginger, Goats, Hogs, Hens, &c. and the King of it gave them a friendly Reception. In Token of Peace he marked his Body, Face, and Tip of his Tongue, with Blood, which he drew out of his Left Arm; and the *Spaniards* followed him in that bloody Ceremony. Sailing from hence about 40 Leagues, between the West and South West, they came to *Cagbaian*, a very great Island, but not well inhabited: The People are *Moors*, Exiles from *Borneo*, rich in Gold, and, for their principal Weapons, use poisoned Arrows, which is practised also in most of the Islands. Steering West and North West 25 Leagues, brought them to *Puluan*, a very fruitful Island, lying in the 9° 20' of North Latitude, and 179° 20' of Longitude, from their first Departure: It yields much the same Products as *Chippit*, besides very large Figs, Batatos, Cocoas, and Sugar-canes. The like Ceremonies also were here used in Token of Friendship between the King and the *Spaniards*, as were at *Chippit*: The People go naked, use poisoned Arrows, and are mighty Lovers of the Sport of Cock-fighting: They make a sort of Wine here of Rice, which is very intoxicating, but otherwise better than that of the Palm.

17. The famous Isle of *Borneo*, to which they came next, is a very large and rich Island: It lies in 5° 5' of North Latitude; the chief City contained no less than Twenty-five thousand Houses. The King was a *Moor*, a Prince of very great Power, kept a magnificent Court, and was always attended by a numerous Guard. He sent the Captains several Presents, and ordered a Couple of Elephants, trapped with Silk, to be led forth to bring the *Spanish* Messengers and Presents to the Palace: He has Ten Secretaries of State, that write his Affairs in Barks of Trees: His Household is governed by Women, who are the Daughters of his chief Courtiers: His Subjects pay him their Reverence, by lifting up their Hands closed Three times over their Heads, then lifting up their Feet one after the other, and lastly killing their Hands: They chew a great deal of the Betel in this Country, and drink a Rice-spirit called by them *Irac*. The Country affords Camphire, which is the Gum of the Tree *Capar*; also Cinnamon, Ginger, Myrobalans, Oranges, Lemons, Sugar, Cucumbers, Melons, plenty of Fowl and Beasts, and whatever can be expected in that Climate.

18. Leaving *Borneo*, they came to the Isle *Cimlabon*, which lies in 8° 7' of North Latitude: Here they layed Forty Days calking their Ships, and taking in fresh Water and Fuel. In the Woods of this Isle they found a Tree, the Leaves of which, as soon as they fall on the Ground, move from Place to Place, as if they were alive. They resemble Mulberry-leaves, and on the Sides of them there are certain Fibres produced, that seem like little Eggs. If they are cut or broken, there is nothing like Blood comes forth; but, if they are touched, they suddenly spring away. *Digafeta*, from whom we take the Account, tried this, keeping one of these Leaf-Animals in a Dish for Eight Days. The Isle abounds with Offranches, wild Hogs, and Crocodiles. They took here a Fish, headed like a Swine, with Two Horns; its Body all one intire Bone, and something like a Saddle on its Back. They sailed from hence by the West towards the South east for the *Moluccas*, and in their Way found the Sea full of Weeds and Herbs. This was near certain great

Mountains. This Course brought them to the Isles of *Solo Tagbima*, which afforded very fine Pearl: From hence it was that the King of *Borneo* got a Couple of Pearls, as round, and very near as big, as a Hen's Egg.

19. They came next to harbour in the Isle *Sarangani*, reported to yield both Gold and Pearl; and here they pressed Two Pilots for their *Molucca* Voyage. They passed the Isles *Cana*, *Canida*, *Gubiao*, *Camuca*, *Cabalu*, *Chiai*, *Lipan*, and *Naza*; and came to a fair Island, called *Sanger*, in 3° 20' of North Latitude, which Isle had Four Kings. Having passed Five other Islands, they at last espied a small Cluster of Five Islands, which their Pilots said were the *Moluccas*. This was the 6th of November, and the 27th Month alter their Departure from *Spain*. They tried the Depth of the Sea, with their Plumbet, about these Islands, and found it no less than 102 Yards, which shews, that the *Portuguese* designed none else should come thither but themselves, when they told the World, that those Seas were so shallow, that there was no sailing there, besides the other Dangers of Rocks and Shelves, and continual Darknes.

20. November 8. before Sun-rising, they entered the Port of *Tiridore*, which is one of the Chief of the *Moluccas*. The King was a *Moor*, but, notwithstanding the Prejudices of his Religion, so extremely fond of the *Spaniards*, and so much devoted to the Service of their Master, that he bid them come ashore into their own Country and Houses, called them his Brethren and Children; nay, in Compliment to them, changed the Name of his Kingdom from *Tiridore* into *Castile*. These *Moluccas* are Five in Number, *Ternate*, *Tiridore*, *Mutir*, *Maccbian*, and *Baccbian*; of all these *Ternate* is the chief, and the King of it was once Lord of all the rest. *Mutir* and *Maccbian* were then Commonwealths, but *Baccbian* a Monarchy. The Clove-trees here are very tall, and as big about as a Man; the Boughs large in the Middle, and sharp at the Top; the Leaves like those of Bay-trees, and the Bark of an olive Colour. The Cloves grow in large Clusters at the Tops of the Boughs; at first they are white, red when they come to Maturity, and grow black by after-drying; the Leaf, Bark, and Wood, being green, is as strong as the Clove itself: They gather them twice a Year, in *June* and *December*; and, if they don't take them in time, they grow very hard. Every Man has his own peculiar Trees, but they bestow but little Husbandry upon them. They have also in this Isle a sort of a Tree, the Bark of which, being steeped in Water, may be drawn out in small Fibres to the Fineness of Silk; and of this the Women make a sort of Aprons, which is all the Covering they make use of.

21. Near *Tiridore* lies the great Isle *Gilolo*, which is divided between *Moors* and *Hindus*: The Two Kings of the *Moors* have contributed themselves very liberally to the peopling of the Island, the one of them having 600, and the other 650 Children. The *Pagans* were more abstemious in these Matters, as well as less superstitious in other respects, than the *Moors*; yet they report of them, that they adore the first thing they see in the Morning. In this Isle there is a sort of a Reed grows as big as a Man's Leg, and full of a very limpid Water, which makes a wholesome Drink. November 12. a public Warehouse was appointed in the City for the Sale of their Merchandize: The Exchange at the following Rates; for Ten Yards of good red Cloth, they had one Bahar of Cloves, every Bahar being Four Canters, and Six Pounds, and every Canter 100 lb. Weight: For Fifteen Yards of a meaner Cloth, they had in *Cambie* one Bahar: For Thirty-five drinking Glasses, one Bahar: For Seventeen Cathys of Quicksilver, one Bahar. They brought all sorts of Provisions daily to their Ships, and a sort of fresh Water, which springs out of the Mountains where the Cloves grow. It is hot when it comes out of the Spring, but very cold when it has stood awhile in some other Place. They received here a very singular Present for the King of *Spain* from the King of *Baccbian*, which was a Couple of dead Birds, about the Bigness of Turtles, with very little Heads and Legs, long Bills, Two or Three long Feathers, parti-coloured at their Sides, instead of Wings; their whole Bodies besides of one Colour,

* This Account is not only improbable, but incredible. Yet I have retained it, because, on the Credit of *Pigafetta*, it has been taken into several

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and that near a Tawny; they never fly, but when the Wind blows to help them; the *Moors* fancy they come down from Paradise, and therefore call them the Birds of God. As for all the *Moluccas* in general, their Products are Cloves, Ginger, Rice, Sagu-bread, Goats, Sheep, Hens, Popinjays, white and red Figs, Almonds, Pomegranates, Oranges, and Lemons, and a sort of Honey which is made by Flies less than Ants; besides Sugar-canes, Oil of Cocons, Melons, Gourds, and a Fruit which they call Camulical, which is extremely cold. The Natives of these Islands were all *Heatbens*, the *Moors* having not had Footing there above Fifty Years before the *Spaniards* came. The Isle *Tiridore* is in about 27 Minutes North Latitude, and 170° Longitude, from their First Meridian, and about 9° 30' from the *Archipelago*, in which are the *Ladrones*, and run to the Quarters of South-west and N. N. E. *Ternate* is in Four Minutes of South Latitude; *Mutir* is directly under the Equinoctial; *Machian* is in Fifteen Minutes of South Latitude; and *Baccian* in One Minute; and this Isle is the biggest of all the *Moluccas*. When they departed from hence, they had the Kings of several Islands attending them in their Canoes. They were conducted by them to the Isle *Mare*, and there this Royal Company took their Leaves of them, not without great Sorrow. In this Isle they left a leaking Ship behind them, giving Orders, if it could be repaired, for its Return into *Spain*.

22. They directed their Course to the South-west from *Mare*, being now more in Number than Forty-six *Spaniards*, and Thirteen *Indians*. They passed the Isles of *Gbacuan*, *Lagema*, *Sico*, *Gieghi*, *Capbi*, *Sulacho*, *Lumata*, *Tenerum*, *Baru*, *Ambon*, *Budia*, *Celaruri*, *Benaia*, *Ambalao*, *Bandon*, *Zerobua*, *Zolot*, *Moccamor*, *Galian*, and *Mallua*, besides many others possessed by *Moors*, *Heatbens*, and *Canibals*. They staid at *Mallua* Fifteen Days, repairing their Ships. It lies in 8° of South Latitude, and 169° 40' Long. according to their Reckoning. There grows a vast deal of Pepper there, both long and round; the Leaves of the Tree like Mulberry-leaves, and climbing like Ivy. The People are perfect *Canibals*; the Men wear their Hair and Beards put up in Canes; and, for Weapons, use only Bows and Arrows. *January* the 25th, 1552. leaving *Mallua*, they arrived at *Tima*, which is Five Leagues distant between the South and South-west; here they found Ginger, the Wood of white Sanders, divers Fruits and Beasts, Gold, and plenty of all sorts of Provisions: The People of the *Moluccas*, *Java*, and *Lozen*, fetch their Sanders from this Island. It lies in 10° South Latitude, and 174° of Longitude. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, and have among them, which is also common to all the Isles of the *Archipelago*, the Distemper we call the *Feverish Disease*. Sailing a long Course from hence, between the West and North-west, they came to the Isle of *Eude*, which yields great Store of Cinnamon. In this Tract of Sea there is a long String of Islands lying in Order, behind one another, as far as the *Greater Java*, and the Cape of *Mallaca*. About half a League from this *Greater Java*, lies *Java the Less*, which is full as big as the Isle of *Madeira*. *February* the 11th, sailing from *Timor*, they got into the great Sea *Lantchidol*, and steered away between the West and South-west, leaving the North Coast on their Right Hand, taking care not to sail too near the Shore, lest the *Portuguese*, who were seated at *Malacca*, should chance to discover them; and, on this Account, they directed their Course without the Isle of *Sumatra*. And, that they might pass the Cape of *Good-Hope* more securely, they sailed about 42° toward the South Pole, waiting in those Parts Seven Weeks for the Wind. The Cape of *Good-Hope* they observed to be in 34° 15' of South Latitude, and 1600 Leagues from the Cape of *Malacca*.

23. But, having past all Dangers of the Cape, being smartly pinched with Hunger and Sickness, some of them were for putting in at *Mozambique* for a little Refreshment; but the major Part of the Company concluding, that the *Portuguese*, who were there, would prove but untoward Physicians for their Distempers, they resolved to sail homewards: This they did in a Course towards the South-west, for the Space of Two Months, without touching anywhere; in which time they lost Twenty one Men of their

Company, the Remainder being upon the Point of starving. They came in good time, under this Necessity, to *St. James*, which is one of the *Cape de Verde* Islands, and there they were forced to throw themselves upon the Mercy of the *Portuguese*; so that, venturing ashore, they opened their miserable Case to the *Portuguese*, who were so generous as to relieve them the first, and so barbarous as to detain them Prisoners the next time they came for Food. Those in the Ship, finding their Companions (Thirteen in Number) stopp'd by the *Portuguese*, and having no mind to bear them Company in Prison, made all the Haste they possibly could away; and, the Wind filling their Sails, they came *September* 7. into the Haven of *St. Lucar*, near *Seville*.

24. The Person who commanded this Vessel, which had the good Fortune to return, was one *John Sebastian Cano*, a Native of the Town of *Guetaria*, in *Biscay*, a Man of great Spirit, and equal Fortune, whose Success in this respect was very nobly rewarded by the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, who, to perpetuate the Memory of so glorious an Exploit, gave him for his Arms the Terrestrial Globe, with this Motto, *Primus me circumdedit*; that is, *Thou first surroundedst me*. Some Critics have remarked, that, instead of *circumdedit*, it should have been *circumvixit*, or *circumnavigavit*; but this was a kind of Exactness unworthy of so great an Emperor. The new-discovered Straights were for awhile called the *Straits of Victoria*, from the Ship that returned; but they soon lost that Name to assume another, which seemed much better to become them, I mean that of their Discoverer *Magellan*; which they are always like to bear, and thereby perpetuate the Memory of that worthy Man, who, in point of Courage and Conduct, shewed himself every way equal to the great Task he undertook, and who, though he did not live to come home in the *Vittoria*, ought to be considered as the sole Author of the Discoveries made in this Expedition, since the Course failed after his Death had nothing in it new, but was what the *Portuguese* had often done before.

25. By this remarkable Expedition, the Skill and Penetration of the great *Columbus*, who first formed an Idea of the Possibility of performing it, received new Lustre, and the World in general new Light. It was now no longer a Question to be disputed by Arguments, whether the World might be circum-navigated; this Voyage put it, as a Fact, out of Dispute. One of *Magellan's* Companions therefore, *Antonio Pigafetta*, a Native of *Vicenza*, in *Italy*, to whom we stand indebted for the best Account extant of the whole Voyage, had Reason to conclude his Relation thus: "These were Mariners, who surely merited an eternal Memory, more justly than the *Argonauts* of old, who sailed with *Jason*, in Search of the Golden Fleece, into the Region of *Colchis*, and entered the River *Phasis*, from the Sea of *Pontus*. The Ship too undoubtedly deserved far better to be placed among the Stars, than their Ship *Argo*, which, from *Greece*, discovered that great Sea: For this our wonderful Ship, taking her Departure from the Straights of *Gibraltar*, and sailing Southwards through the great Ocean towards the *Antarctic* Pole, and then turning West, followed that Course so long, that, passing round, she came into the East, and thence again into the West, not by sailing back, but proceeding constantly forward; so compassing about the Globe of the World, until she marvelously regained her native Country *Spain*, and the Port from which she departed, *Seville*."

26. This remarkable Voyage took up Three Years and Thirty-seven Days; for they departed *August* 10. 1519. and returned *September* 6. 1522. One thing however was discovered in it by Experience, which Reason has taught to explain, though by Reason it could hardly have been found out; for, on their Arrival at the *Moluccas*, they found themselves a Day mistaken in their Reckoning, which was not owing to any Negligence in them, but to the Course they sailed; for it is now a Truth, justified by Practice, as well as agreeable to the Principles of Geography and Navigation, that such as sail East, till they come back to the Place they left, have seen the Sun rise, pass the Meridian, and set, once more than their Countrymen they left behind them; and consequently gain a Day; and that,

in like manner, such as sail Westward round the Globe, lose a Day; which alters their Account, both with respect to the Day of the Month, and of the Week. *Magellan's* Crew could not avoid taking notice of so strange a Circumstance, though they knew not how to account for it; and yet modern Geographers explain it very naturally, and very precisely: From whence it is evident, how much Practice is improved by Learning and Study; for this intirely depends upon the diurnal Circumvolution of the Sun, which may begin at any meridian Circle, and so go round till it comes back to the same Meridian. This being once conceived, the Whole becomes immediately plain; since such as sail Eastward, advance to a Meridian which the Sun reaches sooner than he did that they left, and therefore they begin to count their Day so much the sooner: For Example, if they sail Fifteen Degrees, they will begin the Day an Hour sooner, and this Anticipation still increases as they go Eastward; and, being once come to the opposite Meridian, their Day begins Twelve Hours sooner; and, having gone round, they begin the Day Twenty-four Hours sooner than in the Place they came to, where it is Mid-day to both, when the Sun is in the South. And so they that go West, will have the Sun later in their Meridian by a whole Hour, if they sail Fifteen Degrees to the West, which postpones the Day an Hour for every Fifteen Degrees, which comes to Twenty-four Hours in sailing round. Since we are upon this Subject, it may not be amiss to observe, that they may differ a whole Day in some Places very near each other: For Instance, let us

suppose a *Spanish Ship* to arrive at the *Philippine Islands*, and, at the same time, a *Portuguese Ship* at *Macao*, a Port of *China*, possessed by that Nation, and under the same Meridian as some of the *Philippine Islands*: It may so happen, that the *Portuguese* may keep *East*, while, with the *Spaniards*, it is still *Len*. We may easily apprehend this, if we consider, that the *Portuguese*, sailing East, arrive a Day sooner at *Macao*, than the *Spaniards*, who came West, arrive at the *Philippines*; and thus, under the same Meridian, it is very possible they may differ a Day in their Reckoning.

27. Another Circumstance that served to heighten the Reputation of *Magellan*, was the Difficulty that other able Seamen met with in following his Course. The first that made that Attempt, were Two *Gruesse Ships* in 1526. but without Effect. *Ferdinand Cortes*, the Conqueror of *New Spain*, sent Two Ships, and 400 Men, in 1528. to discover the Way to the *Moluccas* through the Straights, but without Success. *Sebastian Cabot* tried it also by Commission from *Don Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, but could not do it. *Americus Vespufius* was sent by the same Prince, but could neither find the Straights, nor the River of *La Plata*. *Simon Alcazar*, a *Spaniard*, attempted it likewise with several Ships, and 144 Men; but came back without performing it, his Men having mutinied. All these several Attempts, as well by the *Spaniards* as other Nations, were made before the Expedition of *Sir Francis Drake*: An Account of which is to be our next Subject.

SECTION IV.

The Voyage of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE round the Globe.

1. *The Family and Character of Sir Francis Drake.* 2. *His Two first Expeditions against the Spaniards, and Resolution to sail through the South Seas.* 3. *His Strength when he sailed, A. D. 1577. on this Expedition.* 4. *His Adventures in the Cape de Verd Islands.* 5. *Description of the Islands of St. Iago, and Del Fogo.* 6. *Their Arrival on the Coast of Brasil.* 7. *Trade with the Inhabitants of the Country at the Mouth of the River La Plata.* 8. *Continue their Voyage to the Straights of Magellan.* 9. *Misfortune at the Island of Mocha.* 10. *Plunder the Town of St. Iago, on the Coast of Chili.* 11. *Other rich Prizes taken on that Coast.* 12. *A rich Spanish Vessel called the Cacafuego taken, and Guatulco plundered.* 13. *They sail Northward to the Coast of California.* 14. *Description of that Country, and its Inhabitants.* 15. *Their Course to the Moluccas, and Transactions there.* 16. *Description of several Islands.* 17. *Account of Java Major, and their long Run to Sierra Leona.* 18. *Departure from thence, and safe Arrival in England in Sept. 16. 1580.* 19. *Clamours raised against him on his Return.* 20. *Queen Elizabeth dies on board his Ship at Deptford, and confers on him the Honour of Knighthood.* 21. *Recapitulation of Things most observable in this Voyage of Sir Francis Drake.* 22. *A concise Account of his Actions to his Death.* 23. *The Consequences of his sailing round the Globe to Us, the Spaniards, and other Nations.*

IT has been observed of most of the Heroes of Antiquity, that they were of a dubious Descent; which gave an Opportunity of frequently fathering them upon their Gods: And in this, and well as in many other respects, *Sir Francis Drake* resembled these ancient Heroes. The learned *Camden* tells us, that he was the Son of a Clergyman, who, in the Time of *Queen Elizabeth*, became Vicar of *Upnor*, on the River *Medway*. But the industrious *John Stowe* says, that he was the eldest of Twelve Brethren, all Children of *Edmund Drake*, of *Tewisslock*, in the County of *Devon*, Mariner; and that he was born in the Year 1540. The only way to reconcile these Accounts, both of which I believe are true, is to suppose that *Edmund Drake*, being a zealous Protestant, suffering much for his Religion in the Days of *Henry VIII.* and, having likewise a competent Share of Learning, was ordained Deacon in the Days of *Queen Elizabeth*, and settled at *Upnor*. As for our Hero, he received the Christian Name of *Francis*, from his Godfather *Francis Earl of Bedford*: But it does not appear, that he obtained any great Benefit from that Nobleman's Patronage in his Youth; for I find, that, as soon as he was able, he was sent to Sea, Ap-

prentice to the Master of a small Bark trading to *France* and *Zeland*; who, having a great Affection for the Lad, and being himself a Bachelor, when he came to die, left him his Bark. At the Age of Eighteen *Mr. Drake* was made Purser of a Ship, which went to the Bay of *Biscay*; and at Twenty he made a Voyage to the Coast of *Guinea*. In all these Voyages he distinguished himself by his extraordinary Courage, and by a Sagacity very unusual in Persons of his Age. His laudable Desire of Glory induced him to venture all that he had in the World in a Voyage to the *West Indies* in the Year 1565. but in this he had no Success. In 1567. he served under his Kinman *Sir John Hawkins*, in the Bay of *Mexico*; but was still unfortunate, returning from thence rich in point of Fame, but, as to his Circumstances, in a manner undone. These Disappointments served only to heighten his Resentment; and therefore he made Two Voyages more into those Parts, the first in 1570. with Two Ships, the *Dragon* and *Swan*, the second in 1571. in the *Swan* alone, purely for the sake of Information, and that he might qualify himself for undertaking something of Importance in those Parts, which, by his Courage and Perseverance, he brought to bear.

¹ In his *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, A. D. 1595. where he says, that he had these Particulars from *Sir Francis Drake's* own Mouth. —
² In his *Histories of England*, p. 587. where he says nothing of *Mr. Edmund Drake's* being Vicar of *Upnor*, and yet shows abundance of Care in collecting the Dates and Facts. — This Account has been compared with all hitherto published, particularly *Mr. Fletcher's*, who was Chaplain during the Voyage.

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2. His Character being now sufficiently established, he found enow ready to venture Part of their Fortunes in a Voyage he proposed ; for which, having made all Things ready, he sailed *May* the 24th, 1572. in the *Paſſe of Plymouth*, which was of no greater Burden than Seventy Ton; having for his Conſort the *Swan*, of Two hundred and fifty Ton, commanded by his Brother *John Drake*, with Seventy-three Men and Boys, and Proviſions for a Year. Such was the Preparation he made for attacking the King of *Spain* in the *West Indies*, which he believed he had a Right to do, in order to make Reprisals for what he had ſuffered by his Subjects. In this Voyage he ſacked the famous Town of *Nombré de Dios*, and ſoon after ſaw, from an high Tree, the *South Seas*; which Sight inflamed him with a violent Deſire of carrying an *Engliſh Ship* thither, an Attempt never made, perhaps never thought of, before that Time. In this Expedition he acquired immense Riches for his Owners, as well as himſelf; being a Man of ſuch Generoſity, that he ſcorned to take even thoſe Advantages, which any other Man would have conſidered as his Right; of which we have a very remarkable Inſtance in his Behaviour, on a Preſent made him by a Captain or Prince of the *Free Indians* inhabiting the Iſthmus of *Darien*, who, in Return for a Cutlaſs preſented him by Captain *Drake*, gave him Four large Wedges of Gold, which he threw into the common Stock: "My Owners, ſaid he, gave me that Cutlaſs; and it is but juſt they ſhould have their Shares of its Produce." His Return to *England* was as fortunate as his foreign Expedition; for, in Twenty-three Days, he ſailed from the Capes of *Florida*, to the Iſles of *Scilly*; and, arriving at *Plymouth* on Sunday *Auguſt* the 9th, 1573. in Sermon-time, the News of Captain *Drake's* Return being carried into the Church, there remained few or no People with the Preacher, all running out to obſerve the Bleſſing of God upon the dangerous Adventures of the Captain, who had ſpent One Year, Two Months, and ſome odd Days, in this Voyage. The Wealth he had thus acquired, he generouſly ſpent in his Country's Service, equipping no leſs than Three Frigates at his own Expence, which he commanded in Perſon, and with which he contributed greatly to the Reduction of the rebellious *Iriſh*, under the Conduct of that worthy Nobleman *Walter Earl of Eſſex*. After his Death, he choſe for his Patron Sir *Chriſtopher Haſton*, at that time Vicechamberlain to the Queen, and afterwards Chancellor of *England*: By his Interceſt, notwithstanding great Oppoſition, Captain *Drake* obtained the Queen's Commiſſion for that Voyage, which he had lo long meditated.

3. He was no ſooner thus provided, than his Friends contributed largely towards this glorious Expedition; and Captain *Drake*, on his Side, applied with equal Diligence to the getting every thing ready for accompliſhing his Undertaking; and, with this View, equipped Five Ships, viz. the *Pelican*, called by him afterwards the *Hind*, Admiral, Burden an hundred Tons, *Francis Drake* Captain General; the *Elizabeth*, Vice-admiral, Eighty Tons, *John Winter* Captain; the *Marigold*, a Bark, of Thirty Tons, *John Thomas* Captain; the *Swan*, a Fly-boat, of Fifty Tons, Captain *John Coſſey*; and the *Chriſtopher*, a Pinnace of Fifteen Tons, Captain *Thomas Moon*. Theſe Ships he manned with One hundred and Sixty-four able Men, and furniſhed them with ſuch plentiful Proviſion of all Things neceſſary, as ſo long and dangerous a Voyage ſeemed to require, withal ſtowing certain Pinnaces aboard in Pieces, to be ſet up as Occaſion required; neither did he omit to make Proviſion alſo for Ornament and Delight, carrying for this Purpoſe with him expert Muſicians, rich Furniture, all the Veſſels for his Table, and many belonging to his Cook-room, being of Silver, with divers Utenſils of all ſorts of curious Workmanſhip, whereby the Civility and Magnificence of his native Country might, among all Nations, whither he ſhould come, be the more admired. Theſe are Circumſtances which ſhew how much this Gentleman had the Honour of this Nation at Heart, and with what generous Principles he was endowed; for which, however, ſome Writers have not ſcrupled to tax him with Vanity; ſo eaſy a Thing it is, for Men of little Minds to blaſt the nobleſt Purpoſes by their own baſe Suggeſtions! All Things being thus adjuſted, Captain *Drake* ſailed out

of *Plymouth Sound* *November* the 5th, 1577: about Five in the Afternoon; but by a fearful Storm, wherein they ſuſtained ſome Damage, he was forced to put back again; when, having, in few Days, ſupplied all Defects on the 13th of *December*, the ſame Year, with more favourable Winds, he once more hoisted his Sails, and put to Sea: He avoided, as much as he could, falling in too early with the Land; and, the Wind favouring his Deſign, they made none, till the 25th of the ſame Month they fell in with *Cape Caſtin*, on the Coaſt of *Barbary*, and, on the 27th, came to the Iſle of *Magader*, lying One Mile Diſtance from the Main, between which and the Iſle they found a very ſafe and convenient Harbour. Here the Admiral directed a Pinnace to be built, having brought, as we obſerved, the Hulks of Four ready framed from *England*. While they were upon this Work, ſome of the Inhabitants came to the Water-side; ſhewing Flags of Peace: Upon which the Admiral ſent out his Boat to know their Minds: One of his Men ſtayed as a Pledge amongſt them, and Two of their Company were brought a Shipboard. They told him by Signs, that the next Day they would furniſh his Ships with good Proviſions, which Civility he rewarded with Linen Cloth, Shoes, and a Javelin, Things very acceptable to them; and ſo they departed. The next Day they came as they had promiſed, and one of the Men, whole Name was *Fry*, leaping out of the Boat amongſt them, thinking to have leaped into the Arms of Friends, made himſelf the Priſoner of thoſe perſidious Wretches, who, threatening to ſtab him if he made any Reſiſtance, preſently mounted him a Horſeback, and carried him up into their Country; from whence, however, after Examination, he was ſent ſafely back into his own.

4. The Pinnace being finiſhed, they ſet Sail *December* the 30th, and *January* the 17th they arrived at *Cape Blanco*, where they found a Ship at Anchor within the Cape, having only Two Mariners in her: The Ship they took, and carried her into the Harbour, where they ſtayed Four Days; in which time the Admiral muſtered his Men aſhore, to prepare them for Land as well as Sea Service. Here they took of the Fiſhermen ſuch Neceſſaries as they wanted, and alſo one of their Barks of about Forty Ton, leaving behind them a little Bark of their own. They left this Harbour *January* the 22d, carrying along with them one of the *Portugueſe* Caravels, which was bound to the Iſles of *Cape de Verd* for Salt; the Maſter of the Caravel aſſured the Admiral, that in one of the *Cape de Verd* Iſlands, called *Moyo*, there was good Store of dried *Cabritos*, or Goats, which were every Year made ready for ſuch Ships of the King's as called there. They came to this Place *January* the 27th; but the Inhabitants would drive no Trade with them, the King's Orders having poſitively forbid it: Yet the next Day they went to take a View of the Iſland, the Admiral ſending out a Company of Men for that Purpoſe. They marched towards the chief Place of the Iſle, and, having travelled through the Mountains for Three Days, they came thither before Day-break: They found that the Inhabitants were all run away, but, as for the Country, by the manuring, it appeared to be more fruitful, than the other Part of the Iſland. They reſted themſelves here awhile, and banqueted upon delicious Grapes, which were in their Prime even at that Seaſon of the Year which is the Depth of Winter with us in *England*. This Iſland is ſtored with Goats, wild Hens, and Salt, which Nature makes ready to the Inhabitants Hands: It is brought together in great Quantities upon the Land by the flowing of the Sea, and the Heat of the Sun kers it. The People have no more to do, but to gather it into Heaps, and ſell it to their Neighbours, which they do, and reap great Profit from it. They found here alſo *Cocoa-trees*, which bear no Leaves nor Branches but at the Top; the Fruit grows in Cluſters, and each *Cocoa* is as big as a Man's Head: Having ſatiſfied themſelves with theſe Fruits, they marched farther into the Iſland, and ſaw great Store of *Cabritos*; but they could take none of them, though, if they had pleaſed, they might have furniſhed themſelves with ſome that were old, dead, and dried, which the People had laid out on purpoſe for them; but, not caring for the Refuſe of the Iſland, they returned to their Ships, with an Account of what they had ſeen.

5. *January*

5. *January* the 21st, they went from hence, and sailed by the Isle *St. Iago*; in passing by which, the People discharged Three Pieces of Cannon at them, but without doing Mischief. The Island is fair and large, inhabited by *Portuguese*; but the Mountains are possessed by the *Niños*, who, to deliver themselves from Slavery, fled to these Places of Refuge, where they have fortified themselves. Before this Island they saw Two Ships under Sail, one of which they took, and found to be a good Prize, laden with Wines: The Admiral retained the Pilot, but discharged the Ship and the Men, giving them some Victuals, a Butt of Wine, and their wearing Cloaths. The same Night they came to the Island *Del Fogo*, or the *Burning Island*, which is inhabited by *Portuguese*: On the North Side there is a fort of Vulcan, that is continually belching out Smoke and Flame: On the South Side lies a very delightful Island, full of Trees ever green and flourishing, and refreshed with cooling Streams, that pour themselves out into the Sea. Here was no convenient Road for their Ships, the Sea being so deep, that there was no Possibility of fixing an Anchor thereabouts. Leaving these Islands, they drew towards the Line, being sometimes becalmed for a long time together, and, at others, beaten with Tempests. They had continually great Plenty of Fish, as Dolphins, Bonito's, and Flying-fishes, some of which dropt down into their Ships, and could not rise again, because their finny Wings wanted Moisture.

6. From the first Day of their Departure from the Islands of *Cape Verde*, they sailed 54 Days without Sight of Land; and the first which they saw was the Coast of *Brazil*, in 38° of South Latitude. *April* the 5th, the barbarous People on Shore, having discovered the Ships, began to use their accustomed Ceremonies, in order to raise a Storm to sink their Ships: For this Purpose they made great Fires, and offered some Sacrifices to the Devil; but at present, it seems, he was not able to serve them. *April* the 7th, they had Lightning, Rain, and Thunder; in which Storm they lost the Company of a little Bark, the *Christopher*; but the 11th they found her again; and the Place where all the Ships, that were dispersed in the Search of her, met together, the Admiral called *Cape Joy*, and here every Ship took in fresh Water. The Country hereabouts was fair and pleasant, the Air sweet and mild, the Soil rich and fruitful. The Inhabitants seemed to be only some Herds of wild Deer, no others being to be seen, though they discerned the Footsteps of some People in the Ground. Having weighed Anchor, and run a little farther, they found a small Harbour between a Rock and the Main, where the Rock breaking the Force of the Sea, the Ship rode very safely. Upon this Rock they killed several Seals, keeping them for Food, and found them wholesome, though not pleasant.

7. Their next Course being to 36° of South Latitude, they entered the great River of *Plate*, and came into between 53 and 54 Fathom of fresh Water; but, finding no good Harbour there, they put out to Sea again. Sailing on, they came to a good Bay; in which Bay were several pretty Islands, one of which was flock'd with Seals, and the others, for the most part, with Fowls, so that there was no want of any Provisions, or of good Water there. The Admiral being on Shore in one of those Islands, the People came dancing and leaping about him, and were very free to trade: But their Custom was not to take any thing from any other Person, unless first thrown down on the Ground. They were comely strong-bodied People, very swift of Foot, and of a brisk lively Constitution. The *Marigold*, and the *Christopher*, (being sent to discover a convenient Harbour) returned with the happy News of such an one; in which they went with all their Ships. Here the Seals abounded to that degree, that they killed more than 200 in an Hour's Space. The Natives came boldly and confidently about them, while they were working on Shore; their Faces were painted, and their Apparel only a Covering of Beast-skins (with the Fur on) about their Waists, and something wreathed about their Heads. They had Bows an Ell long, but no more than Two Arrows apiece. They seemed to be not altogether destitute of martial Discipline, as appeared by the Method they ob-

served in ordering and ranging their Men; and they gave sufficient Proof of their Agility, by stealing the Admiral's Hat off from his very Head, which was a brave Prize among them, one taking the Hat, and another the gold Lace that was on it; neither of which could ever be got from them again. They were the Nation which *Magellan* called *Patagons*.

8. Having dispatched all Affairs in this Place, they sailed; and, *June* the 20th, they anchored in Port *St. Julian*, so called by *Magellan*. Here they saw the Gibbet on which *Magellan* had formerly executed some of his mutinous Company: And here also Admiral *Drake* executed one Captain *Doughby*, the most suspected Action of his Life. After which Execution, *August* the 17th, they left *St. Julian's* Port, and the 20th fell in with the Strait of *Magellan*, going into the *South Sea*. The 21st they entered the Strait, which they found to lie very intricate and crooked, with divers Turnings; by which means, shifting about so often, the Wind would sometimes be against them, which made their Sailing very troublesome, and not only so, but dangerous too, especially if any sudden Blasts of Wind came: For, though there be several good Harbours about, and fresh Water enough, yet the Sea is so deep, that there is no anchoring there, except in some very narrow River or Corner, or between the Rocks. There are vast Mountains, covered with Snow, that spread along the Land on both Sides the Straights; the Tops of which mount up in the Air to a prodigious Height, having Two or Three Regions of Clouds lying in Order below them. The Straights are extremely cold with Frost and Snow continually: Yet the Trees and Plants maintain a constant Verdure, and flourish notwithstanding the seeming Severity of the Weather. At the South and East Parts of the Strait there are various Islands, between which the Sea breaks into the Straights, as it does into the main Entrance: The Breadth of it is from one League, where it is the narrowest, to Two, Three, or Four Leagues, which is the widest; and the Tides rise high through the Whole.

9. *August* the 24th, they came to an Island in the Straights, where were Penguins, a sort of Fowls as big as Geese, that could not fly; and they were in such Multitudes, that they killed 3000 in less than one Day. *September* the 6th, they entered the *South Sea* at the Cape or Head Shore. And the 7th they were driven by a Storm back from that Entrance more than 200 Leagues Longitude, and 1° to the South of the Strait; from the Bay they were driven Southwards of the Straights, in 57° of South Latitude, where they anchored among the Islands, finding good fresh Water, and excellent Herbs. Not far from hence, they entered another Bay, where they found naked People, ranging from one Island to another in their Canoes, to seek Provisions. These traded with them for such Commodities as they had. Sailing Northward from hence, they found Three Islands, *October* the 3d, in one of which was such Plenty of Birds, as is hardly credible. *October* the 8th, they lost the Company of the Ship, in which was Mr. *Winter*. Being now come to the other Mouth of the Straights, they put away towards the Coast of *Chili*, which the general Maps place to the South-west, but they found afterwards to lie to the North-east and Easterly; so that those Coasts were either not fully discovered, or at least not faithfully described. They proceeded still in the same Course, till, upon the 29th of *November*, they came to the Isle of *Mocha*, where they cast Anchor, and the Admiral, with Ten Men, went ashore. The People that dwell there, were such as the extreme Cruelty of the *Spaniards* had forced from their own Habitations to this Island, to preserve their Lives and Liberties. They carried themselves at first very civilly to the Admiral and his Men, bringing them Potatoes, and Two fat Sheep, promising also to bring them Water; for which they received some Presents. The next Day Two Men were sent ashore with Barrels for Water; and the Natives, having them at an Advantage, presently seized them, and knocked them on the Head. The Reason of this Outrage was, because they took them for *Spaniards*, whom they never spare when they fall into their Hands.

* The Reason of taking these Ships was, that at this Time *Portugal* was annexed to the Crown of *Spain*.

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10. Continuing their Course for *Chili*, and drawing near the Coasts of it, they met an *Indian* in a Canoe, who, mistaking them for *Spaniards*, told them, that at *St. Iago* there was a great *Spanish* Ship laden for *Peru*. The Admiral rewarding him for his Intelligence, he very readily conducted them where the Ship lay at Anchor, which was Port *Val Pariza*, in $33^{\circ} 40'$ of South Latitude. All the Men they had in her were no more than Eight *Spaniards*, and Three *Negroes*; and they, supposing the *English* to have been *English*, welcomed them by Beat of Drum, and invited them to drink some *Chili* Wine with them. But they, resolving first to secure their Prize, and then drink, immediately boarded the Ship, and, driving all the *Spaniards* under Hatches, took Possession. One of the *Spaniards*, seeing how they were served, desperately leaped overboard, and swam to the Town of *St. Iago*, to give them Notice of the coming of the *English*; upon which, all the Inhabitants presently quitted the Town, and ran away, which they might quickly do, there not being above Nine Households in the whole Town. The Admiral and his Men entered, rifled the Town and the Chapel, taking out of it a silver Chalice, Two Cruets, and an Altar-cloth. They found in the Town also a good Cargo of *Chili* Wine, and Boards of Cedar-wood; all which they carried to their Ships. The General then having set all the Prisoners on shore, except one, whom he reserved for his Pilot, he left *St. Iago*, and directed his Course for *Lima*, the Capital of *Peru*.

11. As they were now at Sea, and had both Leisure and Opportunity to examine the Particulars of the Booty taken at *St. Iago*, they found 25,000 *Peceos* of pure Gold of *Baldovia*, which amounted to somewhat more than 37,000 *Spanish* Ducats: So, continuing their Course to *Lima*, they put into the Haven of *Cochimbo*, which lies in $29^{\circ} 30'$ S. L. Here the Admiral sent Fourteen Men ashore to fetch Water: But the *Spaniards*, happening to spy this small Company, and being resolved, for the Glory of their Nation, to undertake Revenge upon so daring an Enemy, they, with an Army of 300 Horse, and 200 Foot, attacked these Fourteen *English*; and, after some Dispute, by the Help of their Guns, made a Slaughter of one of them, the other Thirteen coming back to the Ship. After this, the *English* going again on Shore to bury their dead Man, the *Spaniards* put out a Flag of Truce; but they, believing their Fidelity to be no greater than their Courage, did not care to trust them, and so went off. From hence they came to a Port called *Tarapaca*, where, being landed, they found a *Spaniard* asleep upon the Shore with Eighteen Bars of Silver lying by him, which came to about 4000 *Spanish* Ducats: They did not think fit to disturb the *Spaniard's* Repose, but, taking the Silver, left him to take out his Nap. Not far from hence, going ashore for Water, they met a *Spaniard* and an *Indian* driving Eight *Peruvian* Sheep, laden with very fine Silver, every Sheep having Two Leather Bags (containing Fifty Pounds Weight each) on his Back. They delivered the poor Animals from their irksome Burdens, and lodged the Bags in their own Ships: After which, the *Indian* and *Spaniard* were permitted to drive on. They sailed hence to *Arica*, which is in $8^{\circ} 30'$ of South Latitude; and, in this Port, found Three small Barks, which, being rifled, yielded them Fifty-seven Wedges of Silver, each weighing about Twenty Pounds: They took no Prisoners in the Barks; for the Men that belonged to them, fearing no Strangers coming thither, were all gone on Shore to make merry amongst themselves. They did not assault the Town, having not Strength enough for it: So, putting out to Sea again, they met with another little Bark laden with Linen Cloth, Part of which the Admiral took, and so let her go, disclaiming to hurt others, where he could do himself no good.

12. February the 13th they came to the Port of *Lima*, which lies in $11^{\circ} 50'$ South Latitude; and, having entered the Haven, found there Twelve Sail of Ships lying fast at Anchor, with all their Sails down, without Watch or Guard, their Masters being all drinking and carousing ashore: Examining the Contents of these Ships, they found a Chest full of Rials of Plate, great Store of Silks and Linen; all which Plate they carried to their own Ships, and Part of the Silks and Linen. The Admiral here had notice of

another very rich Ship, called the *Cacafuego*, which was gone towards *Paita*, which they pursuing thither, found her, before their Arrival, gone for *Panama*: But, however, though they missed their intended Prize, another (which they took in their Pursuit of her to *Panama*) paid them the Charge of their Voyage: For, besides the Ropes, and other Tackling for Ships, which they found in her, she yielded them Eighty Pounds Weight of Gold, together with a fine Crucifix of the same Metal, richly adorned with Emeralds; all which, with some of the Cordage, they seized: But, resolving still to proceed in the Pursuit of the *Cacafuego*, the Admiral, to encourage his Company, promised, that whoever first saw her, should have his Gold Chain for a Reward; which fell to the Share of Mr. *John Drake*, who first descried her about Three o' Clock. About Six o' Clock they came up with her, gave her Three Shots, struck down her Mizen, and boarded her. They found her full as rich and valuable as she was reported to be, having aboard her Thirteen Chests full of Rials of Plate, Eighty Pounds Weight of Gold, a good Quantity of Jewels, and Twenty-six Ton of Silver Bars. The Place where this Prize was taken, was called Cape *San Francisco*, about 150 Leagues from *Panama*, and in 1° of North Latitude: Amongst other rich Pieces of Plate, which they found in this Ship, they met with a Couple of very large Silver Bowls gilt, which belonged to the Pilot of her: The Admiral, seeing these, told him, that he had Two fine Bowls, but he must needs have one of them; which the Pilot yielded to, not knowing how to help himself; and, to make it look less like Compulsion, he presented the other of them to the Admiral's Steward. The Pilot's Boy (when they went away) told the Admiral, that his Ship, and not theirs, should now be called the *Cacafuego*, since it had gotten all the rich Lading of the *Cacafuego* in it, and that theirs might be stiled the *Cacaplata*; which Jest of the Boy's made the Company very merry. After this, having intirely ransacked the *Cacafuego*, they cast her off; and, continuing their Course to the West, they met with a Ship laden with Linen Cloth, *China* Dishes, and Silks of the same Country; the Owner of it was a *Spaniard*, then on board, from whom the Admiral took a Falcon, wrought with mussy Gold, with a great Emerald set in the Breast of it; besides this, chusing what he liked of the Wares aboard this Vessel, and seizing the Pilot for his own Service, he turned off the Ship. This Pilot brought them to the Haven of *Guatulo*, the Town adjacent to which had but (as he said) Seventeen *Spaniards* in it: Having, therefore, put to Shore, they marched directly to the Town, and so up to the public Hall of Justice, where they found a Court sitting, and a Judge ready to pass Sentence upon a Parcel of poor *Negroes*, that were accused of a Plot to fire the Town: But the Admiral's coming changed the Scene of Affairs at this Court; for he, being Judge himself, passed Sentence upon them all, both Judges and Criminals, to become his Prisoners; which Sentence was presently executed, and they all carried away to the Ships. Here he made the Chief Judge write to the Townsmen, to keep at a Distance, and not pretend to make any Resistance: So the Town being cleared, they ransacked it all over, finding no other valuable Plunder than about a Bushel of Rials of Plate; only one of their Company took a rich *Spaniard* flying out of the Town, who paid him for his Trouble in pursuing him, with a Gold Chain, and some Jewels. Here the Admiral setting ashore some *Spanish* Prisoners, and his old *Portuguese* Pilot, whom he took at the Island of Cape de *Verde*, departed hence for the Island *Canna*: While they lay here, a certain *Spanish* Ship, bound for the *Philippine* Islands, came in their Way, which they only lightened of a Part of the Burden of her Merchandize, and so discharged her.

13. The Admiral, now thinking he had, in some measure, revenged both the public Injuries of his Country, as well as his own private Wrongs, upon the *Spaniards*, began to deliberate upon his Return home: But which Way he should take, was the Question to be resolved: To return by the Streights of the *South Sea* (and as yet no other Passage had been discovered) he thought would be to throw himself into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who

* This, I must own, is a very coarse Forecastle Joke, turning on the Words *Cacafuego* and *Cacaplata*, that is, *Fire* and *Fireplate*.

would probably there wait for him, with a far greater Strength than he could now cope with; for he had at this time but one Ship left, not strong, though it was a very rich one. All Things therefore considered, he resolved to go round to the *Moluccas*, and so follow the Course of the *Portuguese*, to get Home by the Cape of *Good Hope*: But, being becalmed, he found it necessary to sail more Northerly to get a good Wind; upon which Design they sailed at least 600 Leagues, which was all the Way they made from April 16. to June 3. June 5. being got into 43° of North Latitude, they found the Air excessive cold; and, the further they went, the Severity of the Weather was more intolerable: Upon which Score they made toward the Land, till they came into 38° North Latitude, under which Height of the Pole they found a very good Bay, and had a favourable Wind to enter the same. Accordingly here they had some Correspondence with the People of the Country, whose Houses lay all along upon the Water-side. They sent the Admiral a Present of Feathers, and Cawls of Net-work, who entertained them with so much Kindness and Liberality, that the poor People were infinitely pleased. Though the Country be cold, yet they to order the Matter in the framing their Houses, as to live out of Danger of starving; for they furround them with a deep Trench, upon the outmost Edge of which they raise up great Pieces of Timber, which close all together at the Top like the Spire of a Steeple; their Bed is the bare Ground, strewn with Rushes, and their Fire-place in the Middle, about which they all lie. The Men go naked, the Women wear a close Garment of Bulrushes, dressed after the manner of Hemp, which, fastened about their Middles, hangs down to their Hips, and upon their Shoulders they have a Deer's Skin; but their very good Qualities make Amends for their ordinary Dress and Figure, being extremely dutiful to their Husbands. The Admiral had, quickly after, another Present from them, which was Feathers, and Bags of Tobacco; a considerable Body of them waiting upon him at the same time: They were all gathered together at the Top of an Hill, from whence their Speaker harangued the Admiral, who lay below in his Tent pitched at the Bottom of the Hill: When this was ended, they left their Weapons, and came down, offering their own Presents, and, at the same time, civilly returning these which the Admiral had made them. All the while, the Women who remained above, possessed with a mad Fury, tore their Hair, and made dreadful Howlings, which is the common Music at their Sacrifices, something of which Nature was then solemnizing: But whilst these above were serving the Devil, the Men below were better employed, attending very diligently to Divine Service, then performed in the Admiral's Tent. These Circumstances, though trivial in themselves, are of Consequence in asserting our first Discovery of *California*.

14. The News of the *English* being there, having spread about in the Country, there came Two Ambassadors to the Admiral, to tell him, that the King was coming to wait upon him, and desired a Token of Peace to assure his safe Conduct. The Admiral having given this, the whole Train began to march towards them, and that in very good and graceful Order: In the Front came a very comely Person, bearing the Sceptre before the King, upon which hung Two Crowns, and Three Chains of a very great Length: The Crowns were made of Net-work, and artificially wrought with Feathers of many Colours, and the Chains were made of Bones. Next to the Sceptre-bearer came the King himself, a very comely proper Person, shewing an Air of Majesty in all his Deportment; he was surrounded by a Guard of tall martial-looking Men, who were all clad in Skins: Next to these came the common People, having (to make the finer Shew) painted their Faces, some white, some black, and some of other Colours, and all with their Arms full of Presents, even the very Children not excepted. The Admiral drew up all his Men in Line of Battle, and stood ready to receive them within his Fortifications: At some Distance from him, the whole Train made a Halt, and kept a profound Silence, at which Time the Sceptre-bearer made a Speech of half an Hour long: This being ended, the same Officer, of a Speech-maker, became a Dancing-master, and, at the same time, struck up a Song,

in both which he was followed by King, Lords, and common People, who came singing and dancing up to the Admiral's Fences. Being all set down there, (after some preliminary Compliments) the King made a solemn Offer of all his whole Kingdom, and its Dependences, to the Admiral, desiring him to take the Sovereignty upon him; and professing, that he himself would be his very loyal Subject: And, that this might not seem to be mere Compliment and Pretence, he did, by the Consent of his Nobles there present, take off the illustrious Crown of Feathers from his own Head, and fix it upon the Admiral's; and, at the same time, investing him with the other Ensigns of Royalty, did, as much as in him lay, make him King of the Country. The Admiral accepted of this new-offered Dignity, as her Majesty's Representative, in her Name, and for her Use; it being probable, that from this Donation, whether made in jest or in earnest, by these *Indians*, some real Advantages might hereafter redound to the *English* Nation and Interest in those Parts. The common People dispersed themselves up and down every-where amongst the Admiral's Tents, expressing an Admiration and Value for the *English*, to the Degree of Madness and Profaneness, coming before them with Sacrifices, which they pretended to offer with a profound Devotion to them, till they, by Force, kept them back, expressing their utmost Abhorrence of them; and directed them to the Supreme Maker and Preserver of all Things, whom alone they ought to honour with religious Worship. The Admiral and his People travelled to some Distance up in the Country, which they found to be extremely full of Deer, which were large and fat, and very often 1000 in a Heel. There was also such a vast Plenty of Rabbits, that the whole Country seemed to be one intire great Warren; they were of the Bigness of a *Barbary* Coney, their Heads like those in our Parts, their Feet like a Mole's, and their Tail resembling that of a Rat; under the Chin of each Side is fastened a Bag, into which the Creature injects what Food it gets Abroad, and preserves it for a Time of Necessity. The Flesh of them is a valuable Dish among the Natives, and their Skins afford Robes for the King, and all the great Men. The Earth of the Country seemed to promise very rich Veins of Gold and Silver, there being hardly any digging without throwing up some of the Ores of them. The Admiral called it *Nova Albion*, partly in Honour to his own Country, and partly from the Prospect of white Cliffs and Banks, which it yields to them that view it from the Sea. At his Departure hence, he set up a Monument with a large Plate, upon which were engraven her Majesty's Name, Picture, Arms, Title to the Country, the Time of their Arrival there, and the Admiral's own Name. In this Country the *Spaniards* had never set Footing, nor did they ever discover the Land by many Degrees to the Southward of this Place.

15. Sailing from hence, they lost Sight of Land till October 13. upon which Day in the Morning they fell in with certain Islands in 8° of North Latitude; from whence they met a great Number of Canoes coming laden with Cocoas, and other Fruit: These Canoes were hollowed within with a great deal of Art, and looked smooth and shining without like burnished Horn; the Prow and Stern both yielded inwards, Circlewise; on each Side of them lay out Two Pieces of Timber, about a Yard and an half long, more or less, as the Vessel was bigger or less; they were of a considerable Height, and, for Shew, set off in the Inside with white Shells: The People that were in them, had the lower Part of their Ears cut round, and stretched down a considerable Way upon their Cheeks, by the Weight of those Things they hang in them. They seemed to design their Nails for Weapons, letting them grow a full Inch in Length. Their Teeth are as black as Pitch; and they have a way to preserve them, by eating of an Herb, with a sort of Powder, which they ever carry about with them for that Purpose. October 18. they came to several other Islands; some of which appeared to be very populous, and continued their Course by the Islands of *Tagulada*, *Zelon*, and *Zewarra*; the first of which had good Store of Cinnamon, and the Inhabitants of all of them were Friends to the *Portuguese*. The Admiral, without making any Delay, steered the same Course still. November

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the 14th, they fell in with the *Moluccas*, and, intending for *Tiridore*, as they coasted along the Island *Mutry*, which belongs to the King of *Ternate*, they met his Viceroy, who, seeing the Admiral's Ship, without Fear came aboard him. He advised the Admiral by no means to prosecute his Voyage to *Tiridore*, but to sail directly for *Ternate*, because his Master was a very great Enemy to the *Portuguese*, and would have nothing to do with them, if they were at all concerned with *Tiridore*, or that Nation, who were settled there. The Admiral, upon this, resolved upon *Ternate*; and early next Morning came to an Anchor before the Town: He sent a Messenger to the King with a Velvet Cloak, as a Present, and to assure him, that he came thither with no Design, but purely that of trading in his Country. The Viceroy also by this time had been with the King, and disposed him to entertain a very favourable Opinion of the *English*, which wrought so far, that the King returned a very civil and obliging Answer to the Admiral's Messenger, assuring him, that a friendly Correspondence with the *English* Nation was highly pleasing to him; that his whole Kingdom should lie open to them, and whatever it yielded should be at their Service; and, more than that, that he was ready to lay himself, and his Kingdom, at the Foot of so glorious a Princess, as was the Queen, whom they served, and to make her his Sovereign, as well as theirs: And, in Token of this, he sent the Admiral a Signet, carrying it, besides, with a very great Respect to the *English* Messenger, who went to Court, and had been received there with much Pomp and Ceremony. The King, having a mind to make the Admiral a Visit on Ship-board, sent beforehand Four large Canoes, filled with the most highly dignified Persons about him; they were all dressed in white Lawn, and had an exceeding large Umbrella of very fine perfumed Mats, (borne up with a Frame made of Reeds) spreading over their Heads, from one End of the Canoe to another: their Servants, clad in White, stood about them; and, without these, were Ranks of Soldiers placed: In Order, on both Sides their martial Men, were placed the Rowers, in certain well-contrived Galleries, which lay Three of a Side all along the Canoes, and were decently raised one above the other, each Gallery containing Eighty Rowers. These Canoes were furnished too with all warlike Provisions, and the Soldiers well accoutred, having all manner of Weapons, both offensive and defensive. Rowing near the Ship, they all paid their Reverences to the Admiral, in great Order, one after another; and told him, That the King had sent them to conduct him into a safer Road than that he was in at present. Soon after came the King himself, attended by Six grave ancient Persons: He seemed to be much pleased with the *English* Music, and much more with the *English* Generosity, which the Admiral expressed to the full in very large Presents made to him, and his Nobles. The King promised the next Day to come aboard again; and that same Night sent them in Store of Provisions, as Rice, Hens, Sugar, Cloves, a Sort of Fruit they call *Frigo* and *Sago*, which is a Meal they make out of the Tops of Trees, melting in the Mouth like Sugar, but tasting like a sour Curd; but yet, when made up into Cakes, will keep so as to be very fit for eating at Ten Years End. The King came not aboard according to his Promise, but sent his Brother to excuse him, and withal to invite the Admiral ashore, and to be a Pledge for his safe Return: The Admiral declined going himself, but sent some Gentlemen of his Retinue, in Company of the King's Brother, and kept the Viceroy till their Return. They were received ashore by another Brother of the King's, and several of the Nobles, and conducted in great State to the Castle, where there was a Court of at least One thousand Persons, the principal of which was the Council, to the Number of Sixty, very grave Persons, and Four *Turkish* Envoys, in scarlet Robes and Turbants, who were there to negotiate in Matters of Trade between *Constantinople* and *Ternate*: The King came in, guarded by Twelve Lances, a glorious Canopy, embroidered with Gold, being carried over his Head. He had a loose Robe of Cloth of Gold hung about his Legs bare, but Shoes of Cordovan upon his Feet: he had Circlets of Gold wreathed up and down in his Hair, and a large Chain of the same Metal about his

Neck, and very fair Jewels upon his Fingers. A Page stood at the Right Hand of his Chair of State, blowing the cool Air upon him with a Fan Two Foot in Length, and One broad, curiously embroider'd and adorned with Sapphires, fastened to a Staff Three Foot long, by which the Page moved it. He kindly received the *English* Gentlemen, and, having heard their Message, sent one of his Council to conduct them back to their Ships. He is a potent Prince, and has Seventy Islands under him, besides *Ternate*, which is itself the best of all the *Moluccas*. His Religion, and that of his Country, is *Mahometanism*. They observe new Moons, and Fasts, as the Followers of *Mahomet* do; in which Fasts, though they mortify the Flesh by Day, yet they pamper it as much in the Night.

16. After this, the Admiral, having dispatched all his Affairs here, weighed Anchor, and put off from *Ternate*, failing to a little Island Southward of the *Celebes*, where they staid Twenty-six Days. This Island is extremely woody; the Trees are of a large, high Growth, strait, and without Boughs, except at Top, and the Leaves something like our *English Broom*. Here they observed a Sort of thining Flies, in great Multitudes, no bigger than the common Fly in *England*, which, skimming up and down in the Air, between the Trees and Bushes, made them appear as if they were burning. Here are Bats also as big as Hens, and a Sort of Land Cray-fish, which dig Holes in the Earth like Conies, and are so large, that one of them will plentifully dine Four Persons. Setting Sail from hence, they designed to have run for the *Molucas*; but, having a bad Wind, and being amongst a Parcel of Islands, with much Difficulty they recovered the Mouth of *Celebes*, where, being not able, for contrary Winds, to continue a Western Course, they altered to the Southward again; which they found very hazardous, by reason of the Shoals that lie thick among the Islands. This they proved by a dangerous, and almost fatal Experiment, on Jan. 9. 1579. when they ran upon a Rock, in which they stuck fast from Eight at Night to Four in the Afternoon of the next Day. In this Distress, they lightened their Ship upon the Rocks of Three Ton of Cloves, Eight Pieces of Ordnance, and some Provisions, very quickly after which, the Wind chopping about from the Starboard to the Larboard of the Ship, they hoisted Sail, and the happy Gale, at that Moment, intirely disengaged them from the Incumbrances of the Rock. February 18. they fell in with the fruitful Island *Baratene*, having, in the mean time, suffered much by Winds and Shoals. The People of it are of a comely Proportion in their Bodies, but of a far more beautiful Disposition of Mind, being very civil and courteous to Strangers, and punctually just in all their Dealings. The Men cover only their Heads, and the Pudenda; but the Women, from the Waist, down to the Foot: Besides which, they load their Arms with large heavy Bracelets, some of Bone, and others of Brails and Horn, weighing, the least of them, Two Ounces apiece; and of these they have on Eight or Ten at a time. Linen Cloth is a very good Commodity here; these People being fond of it, to make Girdles and Rolls for their Heads. The Island affords Gold, Silver, Copper, Sulphur, Nutmeg, Ginger, Long-pepper, Lemons, Cucumbers, Cocons, Frigo, Sago, &c. particularly a Sort of Fruit, in Nignels, Form, and Husk, resembling a Bayberry, hard, but pleasantly tasted, and, when boiled, is soft, and of good easy Digestion; in short, (except *Ternate*) they met with no Place that yielded greater Plenty of all Comforts for human Life, than this Island did.

17. Leaving *Boraceno*, they sailed for *Java Major*, where they met with a courteous and honourable Entertainment likewise: The Island is governed by Five Kings, who live in perfect good Understanding with each other. They had once Four of their Majesties on Ship-board at a time; and the Company of Two or Three of them very often. The *Javans* are a stout and warlike People, go well arm'd, with Swords, Targets, and Daggers, all of their own Manufacture, which is very curious, both as to the Fashion and Temper of the Metal. They wear *Turkish* Turbants on their Heads; the upper Part of their Body is naked; but, from the Waist downwards, they have a Pintado of Silk, trailing on the Ground, of that Colour which

which pleases them best. They manage their Women quite after another Rate than the *Moslems* do; for these latter will hardly let a Stranger see them, whereas the former are so far from that Nicety, that they will very civilly offer a Traveller a Bedfellow. And, as they are thus civil and hospitable to Strangers, so they are pleasant and sociable among themselves; for, in every Village, they have a Public House, where they will meet, and bring their several Shares of Provisions, joining all their Forces together in one great Feast, for the keeping up good Fellowship amongst the King's Subjects. They have a way peculiar to themselves of boiling Rice; they put it into an earthen Pot, which is of a conical Figure, open at the greater End, and perforated all over. In the mean time, they provide another large earthen Pot full of boiling Water, into which they put this perforated Vessel, with the Rice, which swelling, and filling the Holes of the Pot, but a small Quantity of Water can enter. By this sort of boiling, the Rice is brought to a very firm Consistency, and, at last, is caked into a sort of Bread; of which, with Butter, Oil, Sugar, and Spices, they make several very pleasant Kinds of Food. The French Disease prevails among them in this Island; but, instead of fetching out the Poison by a Salivation, they do it by a sort of Perspiration through all the Pores of the Body, and that by sitting naked in the Sun for some Hours, whose scorching Rays open those Passages, and give free Vent to the noxious Particles to discharge themselves. The Admiral here had News of some great Ships that lay not far off; so, not knowing what they might prove, he would stay no longer. From hence they sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the first Land they fell in withal, neither did they touch at any other till they came to *Sierra Leona*, upon the Coast of *Guinea*. They passed the Cape June 18. and, by the Pleasure of the Voyage that Way, found how much the *Portuguese* had abused the World in their false Representations of the Horrors and Dangers of it. July 20. they arrived at *Sierra Leona*, where they found great Store of Elephants, and Trees that had Oysters fastened to them, upon which they lived and multiplied, with which, and with the Lemons that grew there, they were much refreshed.

18. After Two Days Stay, which they spent in wooding, watering, and taking in Refreshments, they sailed from thence. July 25. they found themselves under the Tropic of Cancer, being then 50 Leagues off the nearest Land. On the 22d of the same Month, they were in the Height of the *Camaris*; but, being sufficiently stocked with all Necessaries, they made no Stay there, but continued their Voyage to *Plymouth*, where they arrived on Monday September 26. 1580. but, according to their Account, it was Sunday, the Cause of which different Computation we have before explained. In this Circumnavigation of the Globe he spent Two Years, Ten Months, and a few Days. The Report of his Return was very soon spread through the Kingdom; and, as that was an Age when Virtue might be said to be in Fashion, it made a great Noise, especially among such as affected to distinguish themselves either as the Patrons of Arms, or Arts, all of them striving to express their Sense of his Worth, by the Praises, and other Testimonies of Regard, which they paid to Captain Drake: And of the Epigrams, Songs, Poems, and such-like Performances, in Commendation of him and his Ship, several Collections were made, which extended his Fame still farther; though few or none of them can be truly said to approach in any Degree the Worth of their Subject, which might not perhaps be so much owing to the want of Genius in Poetry, as to the want of a competent Skill in other Sciences necessary to enable them to form proper Descriptions for the Illustration of their Poems; which has made me often wonder, that some modern Writer has not endeavoured to reach the Character of the *English Homer*, by displaying in Verse the Labours of Sir Francis Drake.

19. It was not, however, reasonable to expect, that so bold and brave an Action, attended likewise by such vast Applause, should pass altogether uncensured; and therefore we need not be surpris'd, that there were many who endeavoured to give a wrong Colour to this gallant Action. They gave out, that his surrounding the Globe served only to amuse

common Minds, and that the main Business of his Voyage was Plunder, of which, they said, he had acquired enough to exempt the Nation from Taxes for Seven Years: That, as there was no War proclaimed against Spain, it was a dangerous Thing to own such an Adventurer, since the Public might come to pay dear for the Prizes he had taken: That our Merchants had great Effects in Spain, and therefore Reason to doubt, that a Handle might be taken to seize our Merchants Goods to make good his Depredations. These Objections really weighed much with some People, and others thought fit to countenance them, though they did not believe them. The Spanish Embassador also attacked him by very warm Memorials, his Party styling him the Master Thief of the unknown World. The Friends and Patrons of Captain Drake, however, who found themselves wounded through his Sides, took abundance of Pains to vindicate his Conduct; alleging, on his Behalf, that he had the Queen's Commission to justify his making Repairs; that the more Wealth he had brought Home, the more the Nation was obliged to him; that the Spaniards had already done us very great Injuries, and therefore they had more Reason to fear us, than we them; that, in fine, if the King of Spain had a mind to seize our Merchants Effects, the Public would do well to receive this Indian Treasure by way of Equivalent; and that, if they did not, it would break the Spirit of that sort of Men, who were otherwise most like to break the Spirits of the Spaniards. Such were the Reasonings on both Sides, while the Thing remained in Suspense, as if Queen Elizabeth intended to hear every body's Sentiments, before she decided the Merits of so great a Cause.

20. Things remained for a considerable Time in this Situation, during which Captain Drake, no doubt, was extremely uneasy, as not knowing, whether, after all his Toils Abroad, he might not be declared a Pirate at Home. There is, however, Reason to believe, that the Queen delayed disclosing her Sentiments from Motives of true Policy, as inclining to see what Effects this Conduct of hers might have had upon the Court of Spain, which was certainly withheld from meddling, so far as was otherwise intended in her Affairs, by the Hopes of drawing so great a Treasure out of her Hands; and, to keep them in this Hope, she very artfully consented to part with some small Sums to *Mendoza* the Spanish Agent. At last, when Things were come to a Crisis, the Queen threw off the Veil at once; and Notice being given to Captain Drake of her Intention, she, on the 4th of April 1581. went on board his Ship at *Depford*, where she was magnificently entertained; and, after Dinner, was graciously pleased to confer the Honour of Knighthood on Captain Drake; telling him, at the same time, that his Actions did him more Honour than his Title. There was a prodigious Croud attended her Majesty upon this Occasion, so that they broke down the Bridge laid from the Shore to the Ship, by that time she was got on board it; yet of 200 Persons, who by this Accident fell into the *Thames*, not one was either drowned or hurt, which her Majesty was pleased to attribute to the Fortune of Sir Francis Drake. After this public Approbation of the Sovereign, all Ranks of People redoubled their Congratulations; and Sir Francis Drake himself is said thenceforward to have given for his Device the Terraqueous Globe, with this Motto, *Tu primus circumdeditis me*, i. e. *Thou first encompassedst me*; but not excluding his former Motto, *Divino auxilio*, i. e. *By the Help of God*. Henceforward the Reputation of Sir Francis Drake was continually increasing, till he came to be considered as a kind of Oracle in Maritime Affairs, both by the Country and the Court.

21. I have dwelt the longer upon these Circumstances, not only because they have a near Relation to the Affair before us, and a still nearer to the Man, of whom we are writing, but also because I have found them scarce taken notice of by any of those who have undertaken to record his Exploits. I shall next point out some of the most remarkable Advantages that arose from his successful Execution of this noble Undertaking, that the Benefit of this kind of Reading may appear; and that whoever peruses this Work, may be satisfied we do not barely transcribe the Writings of Authors, who have gone before us in this Way, but are inclined to add our Endeavours, to render these Relations

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lations not only more entertaining, but of greater Use. In the first Place it is worthy of Remark, that our Hero was so fortunate, as fully to achieve what others only attempted to perform. The great *Columbus*, who first pointed out the Way to others, lived not to become an Example himself. The famous *Ferdinand Magellan* went farther indeed, but had the Misfortune to be snatched away by a sudden Death, in the midst of his Discoveries, and of his Hopes. But *Drake* happily accomplished what he bravely attempted, and gave his Country the Honour of producing the first Commander who sailed round the Globe. We must not conceive, that this Honour is a mere empty Sound, serving only to gratify the Vanity of our Nation; for it is, on the contrary, a very solid Benefit, as will appear, if we consider, that a Reputation of this sort is of very great Consequence to a trading Nation. To be convinced of this, we need only look into the celebrated Collection of Voyages for the Establishment of the *East India Company* in *Holland*; where, speaking of *Oliver Van Noort's* Circumnavigation, it is said, that though the Profits of his Voyage were small, yet the Company were extremely well satisfied with the Event, because the *Dutch* could now boast, that a Subject of theirs had sailed round the World, as well as *Drake* and *Candish*. It is, indeed, much for the Reputation of *Sir Francis Drake*, that, even at his first setting out, he seems to have had the Honour of his Country as much at Heart, as his own Fame or Fortune, by providing every thing in his Ship which might strike the Eyes of Foreigners, and fill them with Admiration of the Country from whence he came. The same Spirit led him to proceed farther North in *America*, than the *Spaniards* themselves had done; that is, to the Height of 38° of North Latitude, beyond which we know nothing with Certainty even at this Day. The Description he has given us of the Country and People is very exact; and his taking Possession of it, and bestowing on it the Name of *Nova Albion*, was very prudent, and may some time or other turn much to our Account; since, if ever a Passage should be discovered by the North-west, the *Spaniards* can never dispute with us the Possession of this Country, which is probably the nearest to that Passage, even upon their own Principles; since they must allow us to have been the first Discoverers, and first Possessors; which gives us altogether as good a Right to that, as they have to any Part of their *Indies*. The same Generosity, and public Spirit, displayed itself in his Behaviour to these People, and to all the other Nations with whom he conversed; of which we have authentic Testimonies in the Letters sent by *Indian Princes* long after his Decease, speaking highly in the Praise of Captain *Drake*, and acknowledging, that they had conceived very respectful Sentiments of the *English Nation*, from the Usage they had met with from him. I must confess, I have always looked upon it as a great Misfortune, that he did not himself leave us an Account of his Voyages and Discoveries; because, from the Letters of his which are still preserved, it appears, that he was much more capable of recording his own Exploits, than any of those who have employed their Pens on that Subject: We should then have known, upon what Grounds he expected to have found a Passage back by the North; for, that he really did look for such a Passage, is certain; and the only Reason why he quitted the Coast of *California* to sail to the South-east, was, that he found the Weather grew extremely cold; and thought, therefore, that, in the Circumstances he was at that Time, it would be imprudent to pursue that Discovery any further in a Season so advanced. This surely was just and reasonable in him; but how it comes to pass, that, from that Time to this, no further Attempts have been made, in a Way that gave so early such great Hopes, is very unaccountable. The *Spaniards* are certainly in the right, not to make, or at least not to publish, any Discoveries upon this Coast for many Reasons; but, undoubtedly, it ought to have been our Business to have pursued the Hints given us by *Sir Francis Drake*, and to have satisfied ourselves, whether there was, or was not, such a Passage as he expected to meet with. In his Course from *California* to the *Ladrones*, he made no Discoveries; unless we account it a Discovery, that he met with no Islands in those Seas: But that he made his Passage in Sixty-eight Days,

shews him to have been a very able Navigator, which also appears from many other Incidents in this long Voyage, which, however, he performed in much shorter time than the *Spaniards* who sailed with *Magellan*; for, whereas they were Sixteen Months in their Passage from *Tiridore* to *Seville*, he arrived at *Plymouth*, from the same Island in the *East Indies*, in Ten Months. On the Whole, therefore, we may truly affirm, that this Voyage round the World, by *Sir Francis Drake*, was, in all its Circumstances, perfectly well conducted; and that as he made the best Use possible of the Lights he received from others, so he left, by his Prudence and Discretion, a great and glorious Example to succeeding Times. Here, strictly speaking, we ought to conclude our Account of this illustrious Person; but, as the Reader may probably expect, and will certainly be well pleased, to find a concise Detail of his succeeding Actions, it may not be amiss to indulge his Curiosity, by finishing with the personal History of *Sir Francis Drake* this Relation of his Voyage round the World.

22. The War with *Spain* being still prosecuted by the Queen his Mistress, we find him, in 1585. General by Land and Sea, in an Expedition to the *West Indies*, in which he took the Cities of *St. Iago*, *St. Domingo*, and *Carthagena*, as also the Fort and Town of *St. Augustin*; and returned with great Glory, as well as great Advantage; the Profits of this Expedition amounting, all Charges defrayed, to 60,000 *l.* of which 20,000 *l.* was divided amongst the Seamen, and 40,000 *l.* came clear into the Pockets of the Undertakers or Adventurers. In 1587. he had the Command of another Fleet, with which he sailed into the Bay of *Cadiz*, and from thence to the River of *Lisbon*, where he destroyed 10,000 Ton of *Spanish* Shipping, which had been drawn together for invading *England*. He likewise brought Home a very rich Prize, called the *St. Philip*, which, as the Writers in those Times say, was the first *Carrack* ever taken and brought into *England*. In 1588. he was, by the Queen's Commission, appointed Vice-admiral of the *English Fleet*, fitted out against the great *Spanish Armada*; in which Service he performed even more than was expected from his former Actions, taking, in the Beginning of the Fight, Two very large Men of War, the first commanded by the Vice-admiral *Oquendo*, the latter under the Command of *Don Pedro de Valdez*, who defended himself gallantly a long time, and surrendered at last on the Reputation of *Sir Francis Drake*, as appears by the Compliment paid him by *Don Pedro*, when he delivered him his Sword, which was to this Effect: That they were all resolved to have died fighting, if they had not fallen into his Hands, whose Felicity and Valour was so great, that *Mars* the God of War, and *Nepune* the God of the Sea, seemed to wait upon all his Enterprizes, and whose noble and generous Courage had been often experienced by his Foes. *Sir Francis*, to requite these *Spanish* Compliments with real *English* Kindness, set him at his own Table, and lodged him in his own Cabin, sending the rest of his Company to *Plymouth*. *Drake's* Soldiers were well recompensed with the Plunder of his Ship, wherein he found 55,000 Ducats in Gold, which they joyfully shared amongst them. He did, besides this, many great Things in that memorable Battle, and particularly distinguished himself by advising the Use of Fire-ships, though I dare not say, as some have done, that he invented them upon this Occasion. The next Year he was Admiral of a great Fleet sent to *Portugal*, in order to restore *Don Antonio* to his Kingdom; but this was a conjunct Expedition; and, it seems, even *Sir Francis Drake* had not Fortune enough for himself, and a General, so that it ended but indifferently: However, the *Spaniards* received great Damage, the Compliment of an Invasion was returned, and it was put entirely out of their Power to make, as they boasted they would, another Attempt of that Nature: In the Whole, therefore, *Sir Francis Drake* spoiled no less than Three *Spanish* Invasions. In 1595. he ventured on another conjunct Expedition to the *West Indies*, in which he performed great Things; but, aiming at still greater, and not meeting with his usual Success, the Thoughts of it broke his Heart in the Harbour of *Porto Bello*, January 28. 1595. where his Body, in a Leadn Coffin, was committed to the Sea, under a general Discharge of all the Cannon from the Fleet.

In his Person, he was but low of Stature, yet extremely well-made, his Complexion fresh and fair, his Eyes large and lively, his Hair of a light Brown, and his Countenance open and cheerful: He was naturally eloquent, expressing gracefully what he conceived clearly; very knowing, not only in his own Profession, but in all the Sciences relating to it, so that he was able to discharge every Office in a Ship, even that of a Surgeon; just to his Owners, kind to his Seamen, loyal to his Sovereign, and remarkably merciful to his Enemies. His many glorious Exploits justify his Title to extensive Fame, which, when we remember that he died at Fifty-five, will convince us, that he shewed the utmost Ardour in the Pursuit of Glory.

23. The Fame of this Voyage, the Wealth brought Home by Sir Francis Drake, and the Hopes of rivaling him in Credit and in Wealth, inspired Numbers of young People, of all Ranks and Conditions, with a Desire of trying their Fortunes at Sea, in such manner as their Abilities would permit. Men of Families and Estates fitted out Vessels at their own Expence, and filled them with their own Dependents; others, in a lower Situation of Life, chose to hazard their Persons, as little Officers, on board such Ships as these, or in some of the Queen's Men of War; and to such a Height at last this Spirit grew, that honest John Stowe, whose Industry was never surpassed, and whose Integrity was never called in question, tells us, of his own Knowledge, that, toward the latter End of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, there were many Lads, from Eighteen Years old to Twenty, capable of taking the Charge of any Ship, and navigating her to most Ports in Europe, or the Indies. The Spaniards were so alarmed, not only by the Courage and Conduct of Sir Francis Drake, as an Admiral or Commander in chief, but by his Skill also as a Seaman, that they ordered no Draughts to be made, no Discourses to be written, of their Discoveries in America, for fear of their falling into his Hands. But what most surprised them, was his finding and passing, with so much Ease, the Straights of Magellan, which hitherto had been out of their Power; and therefore they immediately resolved to send and discover that Strait perfectly, by Ships from Peru. One Pedro Sarmiento, who was looked upon as the very best Seaman in the Spanish Service, was sent for this Purpose from Lima; and actually past from the South into the North Seas, and thence to Spain, where he informed the King, that it was very possible to plant a Colony in those Parts, and to fortify the Straights in such a manner, as to prevent any other Nation from passing them. This Project was so well relished by Philip the Second, and appeared to him to be a Matter of such Importance, that he resolved immediately to carry it into Ex-

ecution. With this View he fitted out a Fleet of Three-and-twenty Sail, with 3500 Men on board, under the Command of Don Diego Flores de Valdez; and appointed Pedro Sarmiento, with 500 Veterans, to settle in the Straights. This Fleet was extremely unfortunate; and it was between Two and Three Years, before Sarmiento, with his People, arrived in those Straights, and on the North Side near the Entrance, built a Town and Fort, called Nombre de Jesus, where he left 150 Men; but his great Settlement was Fifteen Leagues farther in the Latitude of 53° 18' in the narrowest Part of the Straights; and this he called Ciudad del Rey Felipe: It was a regular Square, well fortified with Four strong Bastions, properly furnished with Artillery; and, in all respects, one of the best contrived Settlements that was ever made by the Spaniards in America. Here Pedro Sarmiento left Four hundred Men, Thirty Women, and Provisions for Eight Months, and then returned into the North Seas. These Transactions happened in the Years 1584, 1585, and 1586. But, notwithstanding all this Care, the Project came to nothing. Don Pedro Sarmiento, after many fruitless Attempts to succour and relieve his Colony, was taken by an English Vessel, and sent Prisoner to London. The Spanish Garrison, having consumed all their Victuals, died most of them of Hunger, in their Houses in Philip's City; and Three-and-twenty only quitted it, and endeavoured to get to the Spanish Settlements by Land, but are supposed to have perished in the Attempt. It will not be amiss to observe, that Sarmiento fell into Discredit with his Master, for deceiving him as to the Breadth of the Straights, which he asserted were not above a Mile over; whereas the King had certain Information afterwards, that they were a League broad; and therefore his Fortifications would have proved ineffectual for the Purpose he intended. But, however this might be, it is certain, that if Sarmiento's Report had been true, and the City and Citadel of Philip could have commanded the Straights, it would have done little or no Service to the Spanish Cause, since another Passage into the South Seas was soon after discovered without going near those Straights. The Nature and Expence, however, of this Settlement, is an ample Testimony of the Sense the Spaniards had of Sir Francis Drake's bold Undertaking, and of the Consequences that must attend it. Their Fears, in this respect, were fully justified by the Event; for not only our Nation, but the French and Dutch, began to think of imitating his Example, and following Sir Francis Drake into the South Seas. The first Instance, however, of the Kind, was that of a Countryman of our own, whose Voyage, as next in Order of Time, we shall now proceed to consider.

SECTION V.

Sir THOMAS CANDISH or CAVENDISH's Voyage round the World.

1. The Reason why Gentlemen of Family and Fortune undertook such Expeditions.
2. Mr. Candish's First Voyage to Virginia with Sir Richard Greenville, in his own Ship the Tyger, in 1589.
3. His Preparations, Strength, and setting out on this Voyage round the World.
4. Their Departure from the Cape de Verd Islands, and Arrival on the Coast of Brasil.
5. Agreement between Magellan's and Mr. Candish's Account of the Patagonians.
6. Great Storms at the Mouth of the Magellanic Straights in January.
7. A most accurate Description of those Straights, and of King Philip's City.
8. The District of Arunco, very rich in Gold, but never conquered by the Spaniards.
9. They have a brisk Dispute with the Spaniards at the Bay of Quintero.
10. Arrival at Morro Moreno, and Entertainment by the Indians.
11. Take several rich Prizes on the Coast, and sack the Town of Paita.
12. They land on the Island of Puno, Description of it, and its Inhabitants; the English plunder it.
13. They secure an excellent Pilot, who gives them first Notice of the Acapulco Ship.
14. Upon this they continue cruising to the Northward.
15. Arrive on the Coast of California.
16. Discover, fight, and take the St. Anne, bound from Manila to Acapulco.
17. A Mutiny on dividing the Booty, which is soon composed.
18. Departure from California for the Ladrones.
19. They arrive among the Philippine Islands.
20. Description of the Island Capul, and its Inhabitants.
21. Accounts of other Islands, and Departure from the Philippines.
22. Description of the Islands of Java.
23. They double Cape Falso, and the Cape of Good Hope.
24. The Island of St. Helena described.
25. Departure from thence, and safe Arrival in England.
26. His Reception on his Return, and

and Letter to Lord Hunsdon. 27. Observations upon his Voyage. 28. Other Circumstances of his Life, and the Occasion of his undertaking a Second Voyage. 29. A concise Account of that Voyage, his unfortunate Attempt at the Magellanic Straights, and Death through Grief.

IT was the constant Policy of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, to encourage, as much as possible, the Flame of public Spirit in the Nobles of private Men, by shewing, upon all Occasions, the greatest Readiness to honour all those who did remarkable Service to their Country, though she was very sparing of any such Marks of her Favour upon other Occasions. By this wise Conduct, and by her frequent Discourses in Public, on the Glory resulting from an active Life, she excited many of the young Nobility, and Gentlemen of easy Fortunes, to hazard their Persons and Estates for the public Service; making the Want of Fame to be as much a real Necessity, as the Want of Wealth; uniting thereby the Rich, who desired Honour, and the Indigent, who sought a Living, in the very same Pursuits. Thus it was brought about, that, in her Reign, such Men were of most Use to their Country, as, under other Reigns, are scarce of any Use at all: For, when it was once discerned, that Merit only could recommend a Man at Court, those were most ready to expose themselves in generous Undertakings, whose Situation in the World would, at any other Time, have excused them from such Labours and Fatigues. Thus the Earls of Cumberland and Essex, Sir Richard Grenville, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Robert Dudley, and many other Persons of like Rank, employed great Sums of Money, and exposed their Persons to the greatest Dangers, in equipping Squadrons against the Spaniards, making Discoveries in distant Parts of the World, planting Colonies, and such-like Undertakings, which were the Glory of those Times, and the Wonder of ours. Amongst these, no Man distinguished himself more, than the Gentleman of whom we are now to speak; whether we consider the Expence he was at, the Difficulties he went through, or the Success of his Exploits, all of which were due to that Greatness of Mind, and ardent Thirst of Reputation, which taught him to despise Danger, and to embrace Fatigues, at an Age, when other Men are not only fond of Pleasures, but think too, that the Season of their Lives is a sufficient Excuse for the Luxury in which they live.

1. Thomas Candish, of Trimley, or Tremley, in the County of Suffolk, Esquire, was a Gentleman of an honourable Family, and large Estate, which, lying in the Neighbourhood of Ipswich, a Place then of very great Trade, gave him an early Inclination to the Sea; which, as soon as he arrived at Age, he gratified, by converting Part of his Lands into Money, and equipping a stout Bark, called the *Vyger*, of the Burden of 120 Tons, in which he accompanied Sir Richard Grenville, in his Voyage to Virginia in 1585, in which he went through many Dangers and Difficulties, without any Profit; but, at last, returned safe to Falmouth, on the 6th of October in the same Year; which, however, did not discourage him from undertaking still greater and more hazardous Expeditions: For, having in this Voyage seen a great Part of the Spanish West Indies, and conversed with some who had sailed with Sir Francis Drake through the South Seas, and round by the East Indies, he began to be very desirous of undertaking a like Voyage, as well for repairing the Loss he had sustained by this Expedition, as to emulate that great and fortunate Officer, who was by this Time raised to the highest Honours of his Profession. As soon, therefore, as he returned home, he applied himself to the Preparations expedient for the accomplishing his Design; and either sold or mortgaged his Estate, to make up the Sum necessary for building and equipping Two such Ships as were requisite for the Voyage; and, though such kind of Matters usually take up a good deal of Time, yet so eager, and so impatient, was Mr. Candish, that, in the Space of a Month, his Carpenters were at work upon the largest Ship, and, in Six Months more, his little Squadron was entirely finished, and completely furnished with all Things necessary.

2. The largest Ship was called the *Defire*, of the Burden of 140 Tons; the lesser was named the *Content*, of about 60 Tons; to these he added a Bark of about 40 Tons, called the *Hugh Gallant*, all supplied at his own Expence, with Two Years Provision, and manned with an Hundred and Twenty-six Officers and Sailors; some of which had served under Sir Francis Drake, but most of them Men of Experience; and with whom, for their better Encouragement, he entered into a fair Agreement with respect to the Proportion in which all Prizes should be divided amongst them. He was likewise very careful in providing Sea Charts, Draughts, Maps, and such Accounts as could be obtained of Voyages already made into those Parts which he intended to visit. He likewise procured, by the Favour of his Patron the Lord Hunsdon, then Lord Chamberlain, a Commission from Queen Elizabeth: And thus, completely Master of all that he wanted, he set out from London, July 10. 1586. for Harwich, where he embarked on board the *Defire*, and sailed for Plymouth, where he arrived the Eighth of July, and continued there waiting for some of his Company till the 21st, when he hoisted Sail for his intended Voyage. On the 25th of the same Month died one Mr. Hope, of a Wound he received in a Duel he fought during their Stay at Plymouth. The next Day they fell in with Eight Ships from Biscay, well mann'd, one of which attacked the Admiral; but Mr. Candish gave her so warm a Reception, that she was glad to sheer off; and the rest, deterred by her Example, continued their Course, and gave him no Disturbance; and the Admiral did not continue the Chase, because it grew dark, and he was afraid to lose his Consorts. On August 5. they fell in with the Island of *Ferrieventura*, where they met with nothing remarkable, sailing thence to Cape Blanco, and so to the Coast of Guiney, with which Navigation Mr. Brewer, who was on board the Admiral, was very well acquainted. Here the Men began to complain much of the Scurvy, and therefore the Officers resolved to put some of them on Shore for their Recovery, as soon as an Opportunity offered with Safety. August 23. they made *Sierra Leona*; and, the 25th, fell in with the South Side of it, where they had Five Fathom Water at the lowest; and, for about Fourteen Leagues at the South-west, all the Way running into the Harbour, they had from Eight to Sixteen Fathom. Here they spoiled a Town of the Negroes, who killed one of their Men with a poisoned Arrow. September 3. some of them went up with the Boat Four Miles within the Harbour, where they caught plenty of Fish, and, going on Shore, they got some Lemons, seeing some Buffaloes too as they were returning. The 6th, they went out of the Harbour of *Sierra Leona*, and staid one Tide, Three Leagues from the Point of the Harbour's Mouth, the Tide there flowing at South-west.

4. The Seventh they departed from one of the Isles of *Cape Verd*, which is Ten Leagues from the Point of *Sierra Leona*; and the same Day they anchored Two Miles off the Island, and, landing, found only Plantanes upon it. The Eighth, one of the Boats went out, and founded. At the East End was a Town, to which the Negroes resort sometimes, as by their Provisions left there appeared. There is no fresh Water on all the South Side, at least that they could find; but, on the North, there is in Three or Four Places. The whole Island is a perfect Wood, except a few small Spots, where some Houles stand; and these are encompassed round with Plantane-trees, the Fruit of which is excellent Food. The Place is subject to Storms of Rain and Thunder in this Month of September. They left this Island on the 10th; and, on the last of October, sailing West South-west, about Twenty-four Leagues from Cape Frio in Brazil, they fell in with a great Mountain, which had a high round Top, standing aloft like a little Town. November 1. they went in between the Island St.

1 Maculair, Purchasi, Munson, Camden, Stowe, &c. ——— 1 See Stowe, Munson, and The Heroes of the Reign of Elizabeth, a MS. formerly belonging to Mr. Le Neve.

Sebastian and the main Land, where, carrying their Things on Shore, and erecting a Forge, they built a Pinnace, and repaired whatsoever was out of Order; which Work detained them till the 23d. Upon the 26th, they fell in upon the Coast of *América*, in $47^{\circ} 20'$ North Latitude, from which Place they ran along the Shore, till they came into 48° , finding it a very steep Beach all along.

5. *November 27.* they came to an Harbour, into which the Admiral first entered, calling it, on that Account (from the Name of his Ship) *Port Desire*. Near this Harbour there are an Island or Two, very full of Seals, and another as well stock'd with grey Gulls. The Harbour itself is very convenient for trimming and graving of Ships, because of the considerable Ebbing and Flowing of the Water there. Here the Savages wounded Two of their Company with their Arrows, which are made of Canes headed with Flints. A wild and rude sort of Creatures they were; and, as it seem'd, of a gigantic Race, the Measure of one of their Feet being Eighteen Inches in Length: When any of them dies, he is buried in a Grave of Stone upon the Cliffs by the Sea Side, all his Darts being fastened about his Tomb, and his Treasures of Shells laid under his Head. This Description agrees very well with that of *Magellan's*; though some Pains has been taken to represent that as fabulous; perhaps, for want of understanding it. He left this Country the Name of *Patagonia*, and gave the Inhabitants that of *Patagons*; by which he meant to signify, that they were Five Cubits, or Seven Feet and an half high; which, if we consider, that the *Portuguese* are not commonly very tall themselves, we need not wonder that they stiled them Giants. As to this Circumstance of the Footstep, if we take the usual Proportions of human Bodies, in which the Foot is between a Fifth and Sixth of the whole Body, then the Account given us here by *Mr. Cavendish*, agrees very exactly with that of *Magellan*; and, as will be shewn hereafter, is not falsified by any of our subsequent Travellers.

6. *December 28.* they left *Port Desire*, and anchored near an Island Three Leagues to the Southward, and kept along the Coast South-west and by South. The 30th they came to a Rock, (much like the Eddy-stone at *Plymouth*) lying about Five Leagues from the Land, and in $48^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude; and, sounding, they had Eight Fathom rocky Ground within a Mile of it. They kept on coasting South South-west, and found great Store of Seals all along the Coast. *January 2.* they fell in with a great white Cape in 52° , and had Seven Fathom Water within a League of the Shore. The 3d, they fell in with another great Cape in $52^{\circ} 45'$, from which Cape there runs a long Beach, about a League to the Southward, and reaches to the Opening of the *Magellanic* Strait: Under this Cape they anchored, and lost their Anchor in a very great Storm, which rag'd violently for Three Days together.

7. *January 6.* they put into the Straights, which they found in some Places Five or Six Leagues wide, and in other Places considerably more narrow. The 7th, between the Mouth of the Straights and the narrowest Part of it, they took a *Spaniard*, who was left there with Twenty-three of the same Nation; and these were all remaining of Four hundred, left Three Years before in these Straights. The same Day they pass'd the narrowest Part of those Straights, where the *Spaniards* shew'd them the Hull of a small Bark, suppos'd to be one left by *Sir Francis Drake*. The Mouth of the Straights is in 52° South Latitude, and 'tis from thence to the narrowest Pass Fourteen Leagues, and the Course is West by North; also from this narrowest Pass to *Penguin Island* is 10 Leagues, and the Course is West South-west, and a little to the Southward. Here in *Penguin Island* they anchored the 8th Day, and killed and salted great Store of *Penguins*. *January 9.* they left this Island, and sail'd South South-west *Ciudad del Rey Felipe*, or King *Philip's* City, built by the *Spaniards*: It had Four Forts, (or *Balcons* rather) and each Fort had one cast Piece in it, which were all buried, and the Carriages left standing in their Places: They dug for these Pieces, and recovered them all. The City had several Churches in it, and seem'd to be very well contriv'd, especially as to its Situation, which was in the most happy Place in all the Straights, for

the Conveniencies of Wood and Water. But miserable was the Life which this forlorn Remnant of *Spaniards* had lived there for the Space of Two Years, having hardly any thing but a few Shell-fish to support Nature withal, except they had the good Luck to take a Deer, at any time, that came down from the Mountains to drink. Their Design in coming to this Town, was to fortify these Straights, so that all other Nations, besides themselves, should be debarred of a Passage into the South Sea: But, besides the Badness of the Climate, the Barrenness of the Soil, and the Inclemency of the Weather, the *Indians*, their most implacable Enemies, broke in upon them by frequent and furious Expeditions; and by these means they were reduced to the last Extremities, all their Stores brought out of *Spain* being spent, and no more to be gotten abroad, the Country either not affording it, or the *Indians* falling upon them, and hunting the *Spaniards*, while they hunted a few Deer for the Preservation of their Lives: At last they died like so many Dogs, in their Houses, in great Numbers; and the Stench of the putrefying Carcasses infecting those that surviv'd, they were forced to quit the Town with one Consent, and go rambling upon the Sea Coasts, living upon Leaves and Roots, and Sea Herbs, or what Animals they at any time happily caught. They determin'd to march on to the River of *Plate*, and were, in this their miserable Progress, met by the *English*, as was before observ'd. The Admiral nam'd this Place (for the Scarcity of all Necessaries here) *Port Famine*: It lies in 53° South Latitude. The 14th, they left this Place, and ran 5 Leagues South-west to Cape *Froward*, which Cape is the Southernmost Part of the Straights, and lies in the Latitude 54° . From this Cape, sailing West by North Five Leagues more, they put into a Bay, which they call'd *Mussel Cove*, from the Store of Mussels found there. The 21st, they left that Place, and sail'd North-west and by West, 10 Leagues to a fair sandy Bay which the Admiral call'd *Elizabeth Bay*. The 22d, they departed from *Elizabeth Bay*, and, about 2 Leagues off, found a good River, in which the Admiral tow'd up the Boat for the Space of Three Miles: There was a pleasant champagne Country that lay about the River; but, except this, all near the Straights was craggy and mountainous, inhabited by a strong, well-made, but a very brutish sort of Savages, who, it was said, had eat up many a *Spaniard*, and would fain have made a Meal upon *English* Flesh too, but that they fail'd of bringing them into their Trap: The Admiral, finding the Plot they had laid to betray him, made his Men salute them with their Harquebusses, which did Execution upon several: So, leaving that River, they sail'd to *St. Jerom's* Chanel, which was 2 Leagues off. From this Chanel they sail'd Westward about 3 or 4 Leagues, to a Cape which lies on the North of it; from which Cape, to the Mouth of the Straights, the Course runs North-west, and North-west by West; and the Distance from thence, to the Entrance into the South Sea, is about 34 Leagues; so that the Length of the whole Straights is 90 Leagues. 'Tis farther observable, that the Entrance of the Straights into the South Sea is in near the same Latitude with the Passage out of the North Sea into the Straights, which is $52^{\circ} 40'$ South Latitude; and here between the fore-mentioned Cape and the Mouth of the Straights, they were forced to lie in Harb'our till *Febr. 23.* the Reason of which Confinement was, the stormy Winds, and excessive Rains that pour'd down with such Fury from the Mountains, that they were brought into extreme Danger thereby, being no less distressed for want of Food, than by the Badness of the Weather, which hardly permitted them to land, and range the Country for a Supply. As they lay here in the Straights, they observ'd (which had also been discover'd by the *Spaniards* before) that there were Harbours on both Sides the Shore, at every Mile or Two Miles Distance, tolerably convenient, at least for small Ships.

8. *February 24.* they entered the South Sea, observing on the South Side of the Entrance a very high Cape, with a low Point adjoining to it; and on the North Four or Five Islands, lying Six Leagues off the Main, with much broken and sunk Ground about them. *March 1.* they had a great Storm at Night, in which they lost the Company of the

* *Mr. Cavendish* was a Man of Sense and Learning, and was therefore more accurate than most Voyage-writers are.

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NUMB. III.

Hugh Gallant, being then in 49° South Latitude, and 45 Leagues from the Land. The Storm continued Three or Four Days, and the *Hugh Gallant*, having sprung a Leak, and beaten by the Storm, in Seas far from all Help, was ready every Moment to sink to the Bottom: However, she made a Shift to hold out, by the great Labour and Pains of her Crew; and, on the 15th in the Morning, she came in between the Isle *Saint Mary* and the Main, where she met the Admiral and the *Centius*, which Two Ships had, during the Storm, secured themselves Two Days at the Isle of *Mocha*, in 38° South Latitude. At this Place some of the Company, well armed, went ashore, where the *Indians* met them, and gave them a warm Reception with their Bows and Arrows. These *Indians* were of the District of *Aranca*, which being a Country rich as Gold, and consequently very tempting to the avaricious *Spaniards*, had been divers times invaded by them, but to no Purpose, the Inhabitants having always so briskly defended themselves, that their Enemies (though better provided than they) could never boast of being their Conquerors; and these desperate Men, mistaking the *English* for *Spaniards*, gave them that Entertainment which they always used to give the other. After the Skirmish they weighed Anchor, and ran under the West Side of *Saint Mary* Island, where they had good Riding in Six Fathom Water. The Island itself lies in 37° 30' South Latitude, and abounds in Hogs, Hens, and divers sorts of Fruits: The *Indians* that live here are in such absolute Slavery to the *Spaniards*, that they dare not so much as kill a Fowl or a Swine for themselves. And though the *Spaniards* have made them Disciples, yet they use them more like Dogs, than Men or Christians. The 16th, the Admiral went ashore with Seventy or Eighty Men well armed; they were met and welcomed by Two *Indians* of Quality, who conducted them to a Place, where was a Chapel built by the *Spaniards*; round about which were several Storehouses, furnished with good Wheat and Barley, as clean and fair as any in *England*. They provided themselves out of the Stores with sufficient Quantities of Corn, and laid in, besides, good Store of Hogs, Hens, Potatoes, dried Dog-fish and Maiz, which is *Guiney* Wheat: The Admiral invited the Two principal *Indians* aboard to an Entertainment; and the Wine having opened their Eyes to see clearly, that the Admiral and his Men were no *Spaniards*, (as they hitherto supposed them to be) they began to be very free with them, and to talk largely of the Gold Mines, telling them, that, if they would go across the Country to *Aranca*, they might get as much Gold as they cared for; but the Admiral, not perfectly understanding the Information, it being given partly by Signs, which were obscure, prosecuted not that Adventure, but went on with his Voyage.

9. The 18th in the Morning, they left this Place, and sailed all that Day North North-east, about 10 Leagues. The 19th, they ran in with the Land at East North-east, and anchored under an Island called the *Conception*. The 30th, they came into the Bay of *Quintero*, in 33° 50' South Latitude; and the last Day of that Month, a Company of Fifty or Sixty Men, well furnished, marched up into the Country Seven or Eight Miles: In their March, they saw vast Herds of wild Cattle, with Horses, Dogs, Hares and Conies, Partridge, and other Fowl; many fine Rivers, well stocked with all sorts of wild Fowl; but, having travelled as far as they could for the Mountains, and without any remarkable Adventure, after refreshing themselves awhile upon the Banks of a pleasant River, they returned in good Order to their Ships at Night: Yet was there a Party of 200 Horse abroad that Day to have taken them, and that upon the Information of the *Spaniards* that had escaped from them the Day before; but these valiant Soldiers, though they saw them, durst not make any Attack, but kept at a Distance, and so let them go off without any Disturbance. But the next Day, April 5. they were a little bolder; for some of the *English* being ashore, and very hard at work filling Water, the *Spaniards* (who had watched the Opportunity, and were then very eager to fight, when they saw their Enemies very busy) poured down Two hundred Horse from the Hills upon them, making a shift to kill some few of them, and take a small

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Number of them Prisoners: But the glorious Victory or the *Spaniards* had a sudden Period set to it, by the coming of Fifteen *English* more, who soon changed the Fortune of the Day, not only rescuing their own Company, but killing Twenty-four of the *Spaniards* upon the Spot, and driving the rest up the Mountains again. After this, they rid in the Road, and watered there, in Spite of the *Spaniards*, till the 5th Instant, when they left this Bay of *Quintero*, putting in at a small Island, about a League from the Bay, which is full of Penguins and other Fowl: They provided themselves with what Store they wanted, and so sailed away North and North by West, in order to prosecute their Voyage.

10. The 15th, they came to *Moro Moreno*, which lies in 23° 30' South Latitude, under the Tropic of *Capricorn*, and has an excellent Harbour, which is made so by an Island, which gives a Ship Entrance at either End of it. Here the Admiral went ashore with Thirty Men, and was met by the *Indians*, who brought fresh Water and Wood on their Backs: They are a simple sort of People, and live after a wild and savage manner, and in very great Awe and Dread of the *Spaniards*; they brought the Admiral and his Company to their Houses, which lay about Two Miles from the Harbour; these were composed only of a few Rafters laid across, supported by Two or Three Forks stuck in the Ground, with Boughs spread over them: Their Beds were the Skins of wild Beasts, laid upon the Floor; and their Food little else but raw stinking Fish. When any of them die, they bury them with all the Goods and Arms that belong to them, as Bows and Arrows, and their very Canoes: These Canoes of theirs are very artificially made, being formed of Two Skins like Bladders, which are blown full at one End with Quills: A Couple of these, being made fast together with the Sinews of some wild Beast, and then put into the Water, swell and puff up at that rate, that they are as firm and tight as can be. They make nothing of venturing to Sea in these Boats, and lading them with great Quantities of Fish, Part of which goes for Tribute to the *Spaniards*, and Part is kept to stink for their own eating.

11. May 3, they came into a Bay, where are Three little Towns, *Paracca*, *Cincha*, and *Pisca*, which latter Place lies in 13° 20' South Latitude; they landed here, and took some Provisions of Wine and Bread, Hens and Figs, out of some of the Houses; but they could not get ashore at the belt of the Towns, the Sea ran so extremely high. They made themselves Masters of Two rich Ships by this time, laden with Sugar, Melasses, Maiz, *Cordovan* Skins, Montego de Porco, Packs of Pintadoes, *Indian* Coats, Marmalade Hens, &c. One of them, which had the best Lading, would have yielded 20,000 *l.* had there been Opportunity to have made a Sale: And of all this, they took as much as they could conveniently bestow in their Ships, burning the rest with the Vessels, and setting all the People in them ashore. The 26th, they came into the Road of *Paita*, which lies in 5° 4' South Latitude; the Town itself is well built, very neat and clean in all Parts of it, and contains about 200 Houses. The Admiral landed here with Sixty or Seventy Men, had a Skirmish with the Inhabitants, the Issue of which was, that the *English* beat them quite out of the Town, and forced them up the Hills, from whence they played with their small Shot upon them; but would not venture a fair Battle out of their mountainous Refuges. When the *English* had possessed themselves of the Town, they marched after the Enemy up the Hills; and, after some Dispute, obliging them to retire still further, till it came to a thorough and complete Rout, they seized all their Baggage, which they had brought with them out of the Town, and lodged there for Security up and down in the Mountains. Here was plenty of all sorts of Household-stuff, Storehouses full of all sorts of Wares, and 25 *lb.* Weight of Silver in Pieces of Eight. They set the Town on Fire, and burnt it to the Ground; and also to the Value of 5 or 6000 *l.* in Goods, together with a Bark lying in the Road; and so, leaving the *Spaniards* the Blaze of their flaming Houses and Goods, to light them down from the Mountains at Night, they went hence, and directed their Course to *Puna*.

II

12. May

12. May 25 they arrived at the Isle *Puna*, which lies in 19° South Latitude; in the Harbour whereof they found a large Ship of 250 Ton, riding at Anchor with all her Furniture, which they sunk, and so went ashore. The Lord of this Isle is called the *Cafique* of *Puna*; he was an *Indian* born, but, having married a *Spanish* Woman, and being resolved to be of his Wife's Religion, he made his Subjects follow his Example. He had a sumptuous and well-contracted Palace near the Sea-side, with curious Gardens adjoining to it, and fair Prospects, both to the Water, and up into the Country. He kept all the *Indians* of the Island in continual Drudgery, their Work being to make Cables, such Plenty of which are made by those labouring *Indians*, that the South Sea is mostly furnished from hence. The Island is near as big as the *Isle of Wight*, and has a great Share of the Blessings of Nature; for, though it does not yield Mines of Gold and Silver, yet it affords those Things that are far more necessary for human Life: There is excellent Pasture-land here, and Variety of useful Animals to be maintained by it, as Horses, Oxen, Sheep, Goats, that are very tame, and yield abundance of Milk, besides very good Fowl, Pigeons, Turkeys, and Ducks, of a large Size. The *Cafique* had Orchards that yield most Sorts of useful Fruits, as Oranges, Lemons, Figs, Pomgranates, Pom-pions, Melons, Cucumbers, Radishes, &c. with divers Sorts of odoriferous Plants, as Rosemary, Thyme, &c. one of them set round with Trees that bear the Bombain Cotton, the Tops of which grow full of Pods, out of which the Cotton itself rises. In the Cotton lies a Seed, of the Bigness of a Pea, and in every Pod there are Seven or Eight of these Seeds, which, if the Cotton be not gathered when 'tis ripe, take root, and produce a new Plant. May 29. the Admiral went to a little Island close by *Puna*, into which the *Cafique* had conveyed all the valuable Furniture of his Palace, and other Moveables, necessary both for House and Ship. These Stores being all discovered, they took or plunder'd what they thought fit out of them, and conveyed it into their Ships. They burnt the Church also, which stood hard by the *Cafique's* Palace, and brought away the Five Bells that were in it. June 2. 100 *Spaniards* assaulted them, killing and taking Prisoners Twelve of the *English*, and losing Forty-six of their own, in that Encounter. The same Day, going ashore again, with Seventy Men, they met with a Party of 100 *Spaniards*, armed with Muskets, and 200 *Indians*, with Bows and Arrows; and, having intirely put them to Flight, they made Havock of their Fields and Orchards, and burnt Four great Ships upon the Stocks, as also the Town itself, which they left a mere Heap of Rubbish. This Town had no less than 300 Houses in it; besides which, there were Two or Three Towns in *Puna*, that contained 200 Houses each; so that it was the very best settled Island on all this Coast.

13. June 5. they weigh'd out of the Road of *Puna*, and sailed to *Rio Dolce*, where they watered; and, the 12th, passed the Equinoctial, continuing a Northerly Course all the rest of the Month. July 1. they had Sight of *Nueva Espanna*, being Four Leagues distant from the Land, and in 10° North Latitude. The 9th Instant they took a new Ship of 120 Ton, in which was one *Michael Sancius*, a *Provençal*, and Native of *Marseilles*, a very skilful Coaster in the South Seas, whom the Admiral took for his Pilot; and gave them the first Hint of the great Ship *Ana Maria*, when they took afterwards coming from the *Philippine* Islands; they took all the Men, the Sails, the Ropes, &c. out of this Ship of *Sancius's*, and then set her on Fire. The 10th they took a Bark that was going to give the Alarm all along the Coast of the Arrival of the *English*, but all the Men were gone out of her. The 26th they came to an Anchor in the River *Copalita*; and the same Night, with Thirty Men in the Pinnace, rowed to *Agualco*, Two Leagues from the River; and in 15° 40' North Latitude, they made a Defcent upon them, and burnt both the Town and Custom-house, which was a large and fair Building. Here were laid up 600 Bags of Anise, (for the Dying of Cloth) and 400 of Cacao, every Bag

of the former being worth Forty, and of the latter Ten Crowns. These Cacao serve amongst them both for Meat and Money. They are like Almonds, though not altogether so pleasant; they afford both Food and Drink, and pass in Trade instead of ready Money, 150 of them being in Value equal to a Rial of Plate.

14. The 28th, they set Sail from *Copalita*, the Sea running so high there, that they could not fill Water; and reached *Agualco* the same Night. The next Day the Admiral went ashore, with Thirty Men, marching Two Miles into the Woods, where they took a *Meftius* belonging to the Custom-house of that Town, and a considerable Parcel of Stuffs with him, and carried both the Master and the Goods away to their Ships. August 24. the Admiral and Thirty Men went in the Pinnace to the Haven *Puerto de Natividad*, which lies 19° North Latitude, where *Sancius* had informed them would be a Prize; but, before they came thither, he was gone Twelve Leagues farther to fish for Pearls. However, here they took a *Mulatto*, that was sent to give Notice of the *English* all along the Coast of *Nueva Gallitia*, together with all his Letters; and burnt the Town, and Two Ships of 200 Ton that were then building there, and so returned to their Ships. The 26th, they came into the Bay of *St. lago*, where they watered at a good River, that yielded them great Store of Fish, and some Quantity of Pearls: This Bay is in 19° 18' North Latitude. September 2. they left *St. lago*, and the 3d Day came into the Bay of *Malacca*, lying a League to the Westward of *Port Natividad*, and a very good Place for Ships to ride in. The same Day the Admiral, with about Thirty Men, went ashore to an *Indian* Town called *Atatlan*, which lies Two Leagues from the Road. It consisted of Twenty or Thirty Houses, and a Church, which they demolished, and went aboard again that Night. The 4th, they left the Bay of *Malacca*, and sailed along the Coast. The 8th, they came to the Road of *Chacalla*, which is Eighteen Leagues from the Cape *De los Corrientes*, having met with fair Winds, and fine Weather.

15. The 9th in the Morning, the Admiral sent out Forty Men, (with *Sancius* for a Guide) who, marching Two Leagues through the Woods, and desert Places, lighted of Two or Three Families, some of which were *Indians*, others *Spaniards*, and one *Portuguese*, all which they brought to their Ships. The Admiral made the Women fetch Plantanes, Lemons, Oranges, and other Fruits; and, for a Reward, set all their Husbands free again, except one *Sembrano*, a *Spanish* Carpenter, and *Diego*, the *Portuguese*, whom he retained. The 12th, they arrived at the Island *St. Andrew*, a very woody Place, and yielding vast Store of Fowl and Seals, and a sort of Serpents, (or Lizards rather) called *Iguanas*, which have Four Feet, and a sharp long Tail, but are very good Meat. Leaving *St. Andrew's* Island, they came the 24th into the Road of *Massailan*, which lies under the Tropic of Cancer. This River is large within, but much barred. There is great Store of fresh Fish in that Bay, and good Fruits up in the Country. The 27th, they departed from *Massailan*, and came to an Island, which is a League to the Northward of *Massailan*, where they heeled their Ships, and new-built their Pinnace, and found a little Island a Quarter of a League from it, on which are Seals. They found upon this Island where they heeled their Pinnace, fresh Water, by digging Two or Three Feet deep in the Sand, where no Water, or Sign of Water, was before to be perceived; otherwise they must have gone back Twenty or Thirty Leagues to water. But God raised one *Flores*, a *Spaniard*, who was a Prisoner with them, to make a Motion to dig in the Sands: Their General, having had Experience once before of the like, commanded to put this Motion in Practice; and, in digging Three Feet deep, they found very good and fresh Water. So they watered their Ships, and might have filled 1000 Tons more, if they would. In this Island they stay'd till the 9th of October, and then sailed for Cape *St. Lucar*, which is on the West Side of the Point of *California*, with which they fell in on the 14th of the same Month, observ-

* It had been more advisable to have treated these People well. These wanton Acts of Cruelty have been the Ruin of all our Expeditions into the South Seas. * That is, when made into Chocolate. It is right to leave such Descriptions, because they are Proofs of a Writer's Iniquity and Sincerity.

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ing, that it had very much the same Appearance with the *Needles* at the *Ile of Wight*, which had been before taken notice of by *Sir Francis Drake's* People, and has been confirmed by all who have sailed thither since. Within this Cape there is a very large Bay, called by the *Spaniards* *Aguada Segura*, into which Bay there falls a fine fresh-water River, and on the Banks of it there are commonly a great Number of *Indians*, who inhabit there during the Summer Season. Into this Bay they came, watered in the River, and remained there till the 4th of November, the Wind continuing all that time to hang Westerly. They waited here for the *Acapulco* Ship.

16. November 4. the *Desire* and the *Content* went beating up and down upon the Headland of *California*, which lies in $23^{\circ} 24'$ North Latitude; upon which Day, in the Morning, one of the Admiral's Company, going up the Top-mast, spied a Sail bearing in from the Sea with the Cape; which he presently signified to the Company, with the joyful Exclamation of, *A Sail, a Sail!* The Admiral, having put all Things in Readiness, set forward in the Pursuit of her; and, having chased her Three or Four Hours, in the Afternoon came up with her, and saluted her with a Broad-side, and a Volley of small Shot. They found her to be the *St. Anne*, belonging to the King of *Spain*, the Admiral of all the South Seas, and of 700 Ton Burden. Having boarded her, they found all Things in a good Posture of Defence; the Sails were laid close upon the Poop, the Mid-ship, and the Forecastle. All the Men stood close under Fight, which the Captain had raised, provided with Targets, Javelins, Swords, and great Stones, which they threw into the *English* Ship, and at them that had boarded theirs, forcing them to retire with the Loss of Two Men, and Four or Five wounded. But the Admiral, making a fresh Attack with his great and small Shot, raked them through and through, killing and wounding great Numbers, as the Ship was full of Men; yet they stood very tightly to their Business. But the next Broadside reduced them to the last Extremity, boring such wide Holes for the Water to pour in, that they saw they must either yield or sink. Whereupon, hanging out a Flag of Truce, they desired the Admiral to save their Lives, and they would yield their Ship, with all the rich Cargo, into his Hands. This he granted, but commanded them presently to strike their Sails, to hoist out their Boat, and come aboard; which was accordingly done by the Captain, the Pilot, and one of the chief Merchants. They told the Admiral what they had aboard, which appeared to be worth fighting for, since there were 122,000 *Pezos* of Gold, rich Silks, Sattins, Damasks, Musk, with divers other Sorts of Merchandize, and all manner of Provisions, almost as acceptable as their Riches.

17. This Prize thus gloriously obtained, on November the 6th, they put into the Harbour *Puerto Seguro*, where all the *Spaniards*, both Men and Women, to the Number of 150, were set ashore, the Admiral having chosen a very fruitful Spot for them to live upon; and, besides, gave them good Store of Wine and Victuals, with the Sails of their Ship, and some Planks, to build them little Houses in the Country. The Owners thus disposed of, the next thing was to share the Booty they had brought; and here this ungrateful Work of Distribution quickly involved the Admiral in the ill Circumstances of a Mutiny, every Man having a sharp Appetite to the Gold; but no Man ever thinking he had enough. This Feud and Avarice appeared most violently in the *Content*. But all was quickly and quietly compromised by the candid Behaviour and Generosity of the Admiral. November 17. being her Majesty's Coronation-day, they discharged all their Ordnance and small Shot in both their Ships, and at Night continued the Celebration of the Festival with Fireworks. The Admiral reserved of the Prisoners in the *Spanish* Ship, Two *Japanese* Boys, and Three that were Natives of the *Ile of Manila*, a *Portuguese* that had been in *China* and *Japan*, and a *Spanish* Pilot of perfect Knowledge in all the Parts between *Acapulco* and *Nueva Espanna*, to the Islands of *Ladrones*. This *Acapulco* is the Haven from whence they set out for the *Philippines*, as the Islands *Ladrones* are their rated Places of Refreshment.

18. November 19. the Admiral, having discharged the

Captain of the *St. Anne* with a noble Reward, and sufficient Provision for his Defence against the *Indians*, fired the Ship itself, having to the Quantity of 500 Tons of Goods in her, and saw her burnt quite down to the Water's Edge. And now this great Business being happily accomplished, which they had so long attended upon, they set Sail very cheerfully for *England*. But they had the Misfortune to lose the *Content*, their Vice-admiral. She staid some little time behind them in the Road; and they, expecting she would overtake them, went on before, but never had her Company again. However, pursuing their own Voyage, they directed their Course to the Islands *Ladrones*, which are distant from this Haven of *Aguada Segura*, near 1800 Leagues. And this took them up about Forty-five Days, viz. from November 19. to January 3. Upon this Day, early in the Morning, they had Sight of one of the Islands *Ladrones*, called *Guam*, which lies in $13^{\circ} 40'$ North Latitude; and, sailing with a gentle Gale before the Wind, came up within Two Leagues of the Island: Here they saw Sixty or Seventy Canoes full of Savages, that brought Cocones, Plantanes, Potatoes, and fresh Fish, to exchange for some of their Commodities. They gave them some Pieces of old Iron, which they hung on upon small Cords and Fishing-lines, and so let it vere to the Canoes; and, by the same Method, they got back to their own Ship what the Savages offered in Exchange. After the Traffick was ended, they came crouding with their Canoes about the Ship, and thrust in so close, some of them, that the Ship broke Two of their Canoes, though the Savages themselves were none of them drowned, the Water being almost as natural to them, as to the Fishes that live there: And so they continued following the Ship, and would not leave the Company of it, till the *Harquebusses* were discharged at them, though 'tis ten to one if they killed any of them; for, they are so very nimble, that they drop immediately into the Water, and dive beyond the Reach of all Danger, upon the least Warning in the World. They were very large Men, extraordinary fat, of a tawny Colour, and wear their Hair mighty long for the most part; though some have it tied up in Knots upon the Crown, like the wooden Images that stand at the Head of their Canoes. These Canoes were very artificially made, considering that no edged Tool was used about them; they are about Seven or Eight Yards in Length, and half a Yard in Breadth, and their Heads and Sterns were both alike: They are made with Rafts of Canes and Reeds on the Starboard Side, and have both Masts and Sails; which latter are made of Sedges, and that either square or triangular. They have this excellent Property, that they will sail as well against as before the Wind.

19. January 14. by Break of Day, they fell in with a Head-land of the *Philippine* Islands, called *Caba del Spirito Santo*. The Island itself is large, high in the Middle, and depressed to the East and West Parts, and running a great way into the Sea Westward: It lies in 30° North Latitude, and it is distant from *Guam* 110 Leagues, and about Sixty from *Manilla*, which is the chief of the *Philippines*. It is a woody Island, and its Inhabitants are mostly Heathens. They spent Eleven Days sailing to this Place from *Guam*, having some foul Weather, and scarce bearing any Sail at all for Two or Three Nights. *Manilla* is inhabited by *Spaniards*, who live there to the Number of Six or Seven hundred Persons. It is an unwall'd Town, and of no great Strength, though it has vast Riches in Gold, and several good Commodities; it has a constant yearly Correspondence with *Acapulco*, in *Nueva Espanna*, besides Twenty or Thirty Ships from *China*, and the Trade of the *Sanguelos*, which is very profitable. These *Sanguelos* are *Chinese* Merchants, very sharp and sensible Men in all Matters of Trade and Merchandize, extremely ingenious in mechanical Contrivances, and the most expert Embroiderers in Silk and Sattin that are in the whole World; they work any Form of Beast, or Fowl, or Fish, in Gold, Silver, or Silk, with all the just Proportion and Colour in every Part, and giving it all the Life and Beauty that an excellent Painter can do, or Nature herself bestows on the living Original: And 'tis plain, that these Men must bring a very gainful Trade to *Manilla*, since they made no more of Gold than they did; for, as they brought great Quantities

Quantities of that precious Metal along with them, so they exchanged it there Weight for Weight for Silver.

20. The same 14th Day in the Evening, they entered the Streights, between the Island *Lucon*, and the Island of *Cambai*. The 15th, they fell in with the Island of *Capul*, passing a very narrow Strait between that Island and another, in which the Tide was considerably great, and a Ledge of Rocks lay on one Side them off the Point of *Capul*, but they passed without Danger. Within the Point was a fair Bay, and a good Harbour, in Four Fathom Water, within a Cable's Length of the Shore. About Ten in the Morning they came to Anchor, and presently a Canoe rowed up to them, in which was one of the Seven chief *Casiques* of the Island; they passed for *Spaniards* with these People, who, according to their usual Way of trading with them, came and brought their Cocos and Potatoe-roots to the *English* in like manner. They gave them a Yard of Linen Cloth for Four Cocos, and as much for about a Quart of Potatoes, which, in that Island, are very sweet and excellent Meat, either roasted or boiled. The *Casique* that came aboard them had his Skin streaked, and painted full of very strange Devices all over his Body; they kept him with them, and desired him to send some of his *Indian* Servants, that managed his Canoe, to go and fetch his other Six Brother *Casiques* to the Ship too. The *Casiques* very quickly came according to their Request, and with them a large Train of the People of the Island, who brought vast Numbers of Hogs and Hens, and a whole Market of Cocos and Potatoes; and now the *English* had nothing else to do for all that Day but to deal with these People, who sold to them just as they did to the *Spaniards*, viz. Eight Rials of Plate for a Hog, and One for a Hen. Here a just Execution was performed upon a *Spanish* Pilot taken in the great *St. Anne*, who had plotted to betray them into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, for which he was hanged. They lay about this Island of *Capul* for about Nine Days, being all the while well furnished with fresh Victuals, good Water, and Wood. The People of the Island are all *Pagans*, and are said both to worship and converse with the Devil; they go almost naked, and are of a tawny Complexion. The Men wear a square Piece of Linen, woven out of Plantane-leaves, about their Waists, and another coming down their Backs, and so under the Twirl, which is fastened to their Girdles. The Rite of Circumcision is in Practice here amongst them; besides which, the Males undergo another Operation, which is far from being common, and hardly practised any-where else, except in *Pegu*. They make a Perforation quite through the Glans of the Penis with a Nail of Tin split in the lower End, and riveted, which they order so as to take out, and put in again, as they have Occasion. They invented this for a Prevention of a certain unnatural Crime, which the Men of the Island were it seems horribly addicted to; and it was done at the humble Petition of the Women, who laid the Case before the Magistrates, and obtained this Remedy. On the 23d, the Admiral summoned all the *Casiques* of this Island, and of One hundred more, (which had paid him Tribute) to appear before him; and here he discovered himself and his Company to them, telling them, that they were *English*, and the greatest Enemies the *Spaniards* had in the World. At the same time he generously gave them back in Money the Value of all the Tribute he had received, and which was paid by them in Hogs, Cocos, Potatoes, and the like. This unexpected Favour of the Admiral surprised the whole Assembly of *Casiques*; they admired his Bounty and Generosity, and engaged to assist him with all the Forces of their respective Dominions, whenever he would begin a War with the *Spaniards* in those Parts; and so, no less pleased with finding them to be *English*, than with the Kindness they had received from them, having rowed about the Ship awhile with their Canoes to give them for a Diversion, they took Leave, the Admiral giving them a Gun at their Departure.

21. June 24. they set Sail, and ran along the Coast of *Manilla*, steering North-west between that Island and the Island *Maibat*; and, in the Islands thereabouts, they perceived the *Spaniards* to keep a strict Watch, making great Fires, and discharging their Pieces all Night long, having

taken the Alarm of their coming. The Island *Panama* is a plain level Country in many Places, affording very fair and fruitful Trees for the making Ship-masts, and, besides, several Mines of very fine Gold, which are in Custody of the *Indians*. To the Southward of it lies the Island of *Negros*, a very large Island, almost as big as *England*, and in 9° North Latitude. It appeared to be the most Part of it low Land, and very fruitful; the People are neither Slaves to the *Spaniards*, nor any other Nation, but their own intire Masters. June 29. at Six in the Morning, they set Sail, passing through the Streights between *Panama* and *Negros* Island, when, having made about Sixteen Leagues, they found a fair Opening in the Streights, tending South-west and by South; about this Time their Boat, which they had sent out before them in the Morning, came up to them again, in which the Admiral sent a *Spanish* Prisoner ashore, with a Message to his Captain, who commanded a Ship that lay at *Panama* the Night before. The Message was to this Effect: That he should be sure to provide good Store of Gold against the Admiral came that Way again; for he intended to make him a Visit at *Manilla*, which, being a long Voyage, would deserve good Entertainment; and farther, that he had certainly come now and weigh'd some of his golden Bags in an *English* Pair of Scales, but that he wanted a bigger Boat to land his Men upon the Island. February 8. they saw in the Morning the Island *Batobina*, which lies near *Gilolo*, and is in 1° North Latitude. The 14th, they fell in with Eleven or Twelve small Islands, flat and low, and almost quite sunk into the Sea; they lie near the *Morotas*, and are in 3° 10' South Latitude.

22. March 1. having passed the Streights of *Java* Major and Minor, they anchored under the South-west Parts of *Java* Major, where they saw some People fishing in a Bay under the Island; the Admiral sent out the Boat to them, in which was a Negro, that could speak the *Moresio* Tongue, which is much used in *Java*; but they, being frighten'd at the coming of the Boat, got ashore, and run away into the Woods; yet one of them came to the Sea Side, when the Negro called, and directed them to find fresh Water, and carried a Message from the Admiral to the King, certifying him, that he was come thither to traffick for Victuals, or any valuable Commodities that his Island afforded. March 12. there came Nine or Ten of the King's Canoes, as full laden with all Sorts of Provisions, as they could swim. They brought them Oxen, Hogs, Hens, Geese, Eggs, Sugar, Cocos, Plantanes, Oranges, Lemons, Wine, and Aqua Vitæ. Two *Portuguese* that came to see them, and to inquire about their King *Antonio*, then in *England*, gave them a large Account of the Manners and Customs of these People. The King of that Part of the Island was a Man of whom his Subjects stood in exceeding Awe, and who exerted so absolute a Power over them, and all they had, that no Man dared so much as make a Bargain without his Leave; and, if any did presume to do it, he paid for it with his Blood. This Prince had One hundred Wives, (as his Son had Fifty) who may possibly be very happy as long as he lives, but cannot be so any longer; for, he being dead, the Body burnt, and the Royal Ashes laid up in an Urn, within Five Days after this, the Tragedy of his Wives begins and ends; they all of them go to an appointed Place, where, when they are come, the favourite Wife throws a Ball out of her Hand, which, where it rests, marks out the Place of their Death: Being come thither, they turn their Faces to the East, and, with their Daggers, stab themselves to the Heart, and, taking out Handfuls of their own Blood, besmear their Bodies with it, and thus they die. This barbarous Sacrifice of themselves to the Ghost of their dead Husbands are the Queens of *Java* obliged to make, by the Custom of their Country. The Men of this Island are very good Soldiers, hardy, valiant, and desperate, to the last Degree; they stick at nothing that their King commands them to do, be it attended with ever so great or certain Danger: Should he bid them plunge a Dagger into their Breasts, or leap off from a Precipice, or into a Den of wild Beasts, they immediately do it; because the Anger of their King is as certain Death as the Point of the Sword, or the Teeth of wild Beasts. They are of a tawny

tawny Colour; naked; but they wear a small parel. Affected the 2nd and received whenever them, the Pieces of Gold 16. they fail all the rest traversing South Africa, many of the Stars Bearing and

23. May North and that bore V Cape of Good Leagues from they stood the Wind 12th and 13th thick and his Land against short of the This Cape right over from each of and the Gro the Cape of Cape Falso. Hope, observed and, at the Hammocks into the Sea, This Cape Charts 2000 ing, they for up just Nine

24. June or Eight Le had just a G they could n all Night; they stood in the Harbour Water, in a Island, Two This Island l between the the Coast of between 5 and Here they had a fair Ca and a Crofs hung with pa Virgin, and ble: The V pleasant, fo that it appear den; there a and Pomgra Eye with Blo Trees are veral curious V Boughs, and is a sweet cry itself into man ing the severa Tree: There den; for wha taken care t itself affords which are m Turkeys too as big as ours white: They Goats; they Numb. 3

tawny Complexion, like the rest of the *Indians*, and go naked; but their Women are of something a better Hue, and shew more Modesty than the Men in the Use of Apparel. After this Relation of the *Portuguese*, having contented the *Javans* for the Victuals they had brought them, and received a Promise from them of good Entertainment whenever they came again, they took their Leaves of them, the Admiral making them a Present of Three great Pieces of Ordnance at parting. The next Day, viz *March* 16. they sailed away for the Cape of *Good Hope*, and spent all the rest of *March*, and the whole Month of *April*, in traversing the vast Ocean between *Java* and the Main of *Africa*, making many Observations as to the Appearance of the Stars, the Weather, the Winds and Tides, the Bearing and Position of Lands.

23. *May* 11. one of the Company spied Land, bearing North and North by West, and about Noon they saw some that bore West of them, which they believed to be the Cape of *Good Hope*, they being then about Forty or Fifty Leagues from it: But, by reason they had a scanty Wind, they stood off to the South-east till Midnight, and then the Wind coming fair, they hawl'd along Westward. The 12th and 13th Days they were becalmed, and the Sky was thick and hazy; but the 14th it cleared up, and they saw Land again, which proved to be Cape *Falso*, which is short of the Cape of *Good Hope* Forty or Fifty Leagues. This Cape *Falso* is very easy to be known; for there lie right over it Three very high Hills, but a little Distance from each other, the highest of which is the middlemost, and the Ground is much lower by the Sea Side; besides, the Cape of *Good Hope* bears West and by South from this Cape *Falso*. *May* 16. they discovered the Cape of *Good Hope*, observing the Head-land to be considerably high, and, at the Westerly Point, a little off the Main, Two Hammocks appearing, and Three others lying further off into the Sea, yet Low-land between them towards the Sea. This Cape of *Good Hope* is made in the *Portuguese* Sea Charts 2000 Leagues from *Java*, but, by their Reckoning, they found it to be 1850 Leagues, which took them up just Nine Weeks in their Run.

24. *June* 8. by Break of Day they came within Seven or Eight Leagues of the Island of *St. Helena*, which they had just a Glimpse of; but, having little or no Wind, they could not reach it that Day, but stood off and on all Night; the next Day having a pretty good Wind, they stood in with the Shore, (the Boat being sent before to the Harbour) and came to an Anchor in Twelve Fathom Water, in a good Bay, under the North-west Side of the Island, Two or Three Cubes Length from the Shore. This Island lies in the main Sea, as it were in the Midst between the main Land of *Africa*, and that of *Brazil* and the Coast of *Guinea*. It lies in 15° 48' South Latitude, and between 5 and 600 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*. Here they went ashore, and entered the Church, which had a fair Causey leading to it; a Frame with Two Bowls, and a Cross of Free-stone adjoining to it; within, it was hung with painted Cloths, having an Altar, with the blessed Virgin, and the Story of the Crucifixion, pictured in a Table: The Valley where the Church stands is extremely pleasant, so full of fine Fruit-trees, and excellent Plants, that it appears like some very fair and well cultivated Garden; there are long Rows of Lemon, Orange, Citron, and Pomgranate, Date and Fig-trees, that present the Eye with Blossoms, green Fruit and ripe all at once. The Trees are very nicely trimmed, and distinguished by several curious Walks, which have the Protection of their Boughs, and by them are made cool and shady. There is a sweet crystal Spring rising at a Distance, that diffuses itself into many pretty Rivelets, all thro' the Valley, watering the several Parts of it, and refreshing every Plant and Tree: There is hardly any empty Space in this great Garden; for what Places Nature has left unoccupied, Art has taken care to fill up to some Advantage. The Island itself affords great Store of Partridges and Pheasants, which are much larger and fairer than ours; there are Turkeys too both black and white, with red Heads about as big as ours, and their Eggs much the same, only quite white: There is also great Plenty of Cabritos, or wild Goats; they are as big as an Ass, have a Horie's Mane,

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and a Beard that reaches down to the very Ground: They go sometimes together in a Herd, that reaches a full Mile in Length. Here are also vast Herds of wild Swine, that keep chiefly upon the Mountains, as the Cabritos do; they are fat, and so very wild, that a Man can never come at them, except they be asleep, or rolling themselves upon their mry Beds.

25. *June* 20. having taken in all Necessaries here, they set Sail for *England*, and hawled away North-west and by West. 'Tis to be observed, that the Wind is commonly off the Shore at *St. Helena*. On *Friday August* 23. they sailed East and East by South, for the Northernmost of the *Azores*. The 29th, at Four after Midnight, they fell in Sight of the Island *Flores* and *Corvo*, lying in 39° 30' North Latitude, and so sailed away North-east. *September* 3. they met with a *Flemish* Vessel, that came from *Lisbon*, and told them the joyful News of the total Defeat of the *Spanish Armada*. *September* 9. having had the Winds Farewell in a most violent Storm, that carried away most Part of their Sails, they arrived at the long desired Haven of *Plymouth*. As there never had been any Voyage of this Consequence attended with such an uninterrupted Series of Success, as appeared plainly from the Difference of Time in which it was performed, *Magellan's* Voyage having taken up Three Years and a Month, *Sir Francis Drake* upwards of Two Years and Ten Months, and this less than Two Years and Two Months, we need not wonder, that a young Gentleman like Mr. *Candish*, whose Soul was intirely possessed with an Appetite for Glory, should adventure upon some extraordinary Methods of displaying his good Fortune. Some Accounts, indeed, tell us, that he went so far, as to bring his Ship into the Harbour of *Plymouth* under a Suit of Silken Sails, which, if true, I conceive may be thus accounted for. We are told by Mr. *Candish*, in his own Relation, that, just before his Arrival, he met with a violent Storm, which tore all his Sails to Pieces; in which Distress, he might very probably make use of some of those he had taken in the South Seas, or in the *East Indies*, but most probably of the former, which being made of what is called *Silk Grass*, having a very strong Gloss, and a most beautiful Colour, might easily deceive the Eyes of the Vulgar, and pass upon them for Sails of Silk. This, however, is certain, that though he might be vain and expensive in such Matters, yet all came fairly out of his own Pocket; and those who went abroad with him, from a Prospect of raising their Fortunes, had not the least Reason to complain, since he came to a fair and full Distribution of the Value of the Prizes, which gained him universal Credit and Esteem; of which we shall quickly afford the Reader a remarkable and very convincing Instance.

26. To shew, however, his Duty and Diligence, as well as to discharge respectfully the Obligations he was under to his Patron, he wrote, the very same Day that he arrived at *Plymouth*, to the Lord *Hunsdon*, then Lord Chamberlain, Queen *Elizabeth's* near Relation, and great Favourite; which Letter, equally remarkable both for Style and Matter, the Reader will probably be well pleased to see, especially as it is very concise, and yet contains some Particulars not to be found elsewhere.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Hunsdon, &c.

Right Honourable,

"AS your Favour heretofore hath been most greatly extended towards me, so I humbly desire a Continuance thereof; and though there be no means in me to deserve the same, yet the uttermost of my Services shall not be wanting, whensoever it shall please your Honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to desire your Honour to make known unto her Majesty the Desire I have had to do her Majesty Service in the Performance of this Voyage; and, as it hath pleased God to give her the Victory over Part of her Enemies, so I trust, ere long, to see her overthrow them all: For the Places of their Wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their Wars, are now perfectly discovered; and if it please her Majesty, with a very small Power, she may take the Spoil of them all. It hath pleased the Almighty to

suffer

"suffer me to circumpass all the whole Globe of the
 "World, entering in at the Streight of *Magellan*, and
 "returning by the Cape de *Buena Esperanza*. In which
 "Voyage, I have either discovered, or brought certain
 "Intelligence of, all the rich Places of the World, that
 "ever were known or discovered by any Christian. I
 "navigated along the Coast of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Nueva*
"Esparna, where I made great Spoils; I burnt and sunk
 "Nineteen Sail of Ships, small and great: All the Vil-
 "lages and Towns that ever I landed at I burnt and spoiled;
 "and, had I not been discovered upon the Coast, I had
 "taken great Quantity of Treasure. The Matter of most
 "Profit unto me, was a great Ship of the King's, which
 "I took at *California*, which Ship came from the *Philip-*
"pines, being one of the richest for Merchandize that ever
 "passed those Seas, as the King's Register, Accounts, and
 "Merchants did shew; for it did amount in Value to ***
 "in *Mexico* to be sold; which Goods (for that my Ships
 "were not able to contain the least Part of them) I was
 "enforced to set on Fire. From the Cape of *California*,
 "being the uppermost Part of all *Nueva Esparna*, I na-
 "vigated to the Islands of *Philippines*, had upon the Coast
 "of *China*, of which Country I have brought such Intel-
 "ligence, as hath not been heard of in these Parts: The
 "Statelines and Riches of which Country I fear to make
 "Report of, lest I should not be credited; for, if I had
 "not known sufficiently the incomparable Wealth of that
 "Country, I should have been as incredulous thereof, as
 "others will be, that have not had the like Experience.
 "I sailed along the Islands of *Maluccas*, where, among
 "some of the Heathen People, I was well intreated, where
 "our Countrymen may have Trade as freely as the *Portu-*
"gals if they will themselves. From thence I passed by
 "the Cape of *Buen Esperanza*, and found out, by the Way
 "homeward, the Island of *St. Helena*, where the *Portugals*
 "used to relieve themselves; and from that Island God
 "hath suffered me to return into *England*: All which Ser-
 "vices, with myself, I humbly prostrate at her Majesty's
 "Feet, desiring the Almighty long to continue her Reign
 "among us; for, at this Day, he is the most famous
 "and victorious Prince that liveth in the World. Thus,
 "humbly desiring Pardon for my Tedioufness, I leave
 "your Lordship to the Tuition of the Almighty.

Your Honour's most Humble to command,

Plymouth, this 9th of
 September 1588.

THOMAS CANDISH.

27. There were many Circumstances in this Voyage, besides the wonderful Felicity of it, that deserve to be considered: As, for Instance, the passing a second time into the South Seas, not only after it was known, that the *Spaniards* were excessively alarmed by the former Passage of *Sir Francis Drake*, but also that they had received Succours from *Spain*, and had actually fortified themselves strongly in the South Seas. The nice Search he made into, and the exact Description he has given us of the Streights of *Magellan*, are very noble Proofs of his Skill and Industry, and of his Desire, that Posterity might reap the Benefit of his Labours. The Attack of the *Acapulco* Ship, considering the small Force that Captain *Candish* had with him, was a noble Instance of true *English* Bravery, which was justly rewarded by the Queen with the Honour of Knighthood. His Account of the *Philippines*, and his Descriptions of several Islands in the *East Indies*, are very clear and curious, and at that time must have been very useful, but particularly his Map and Description of *China*, which gave great Lights at that time of Day. We may add to all this, the Care he took in the Instruction of his Seamen, many of whom afterwards distinguished themselves, by navigating other Vessels in the same stupendous Couric, and thereby filling all the known World with the Fame and Reputation of *English* Seamen. It is not, therefore, at all surprising, that we find our best Judges, both in our own and other Nations, bestowing very high Praises upon this worthy Gentleman, who shewed, in the whole Conduct of his Voyage, the Courage and Discretion of a great Commander, with all the Skill and Diligence of an able Seaman, of both which

he has left us the strongest Testimonies in his accurate Accounts of his Expeditions.

28. The Wealth he brought from so successful a Voyage, must have been very considerable. One of our ancient Writers says, it was sufficient to have purchased a fair Earldom, which is a general Expression, the Meaning of which cannot be determined with any Certainty: But whatever the Sum was, which he acquired with so much Hazard, and with so great Honour, it is certain, that he did not make so prudent a Use of his good Fortune as might have been expected; for in the Space of Three Years time the best Part of it was spent, and the rest of it he determined to lay out in a Second Expedition. We need the less wonder at this, if we consider what the Writers of those Times tell us with respect to his great Generosity, and the prodigious Expence he was at in procuring and maintaining such People as he thought might be useful to him in his naval Expeditions, upon which his Mind was continually bent. Such Things require the Revenues of a Prince; and, as he looked upon this Voyage round the World as an Introduction only to his future Undertakings, we may easily conceive, that what the World took for Extravagance, might appear to him in the Light only of necessary Disbursements, which, instead of lessening or running out, he proposed should have laid the Foundations of a more extensive Fortune. Neither was this, when all Circumstances are considered, a rash or improbable Expectation; since there were many Examples in that Reign of very great Wealth obtained by this very Method by which he hoped to increase his Estate: Besides, it very clearly appears by his Will, that he did not die in Debt, but left behind him very considerable Effects, notwithstanding all the Expences to which he was put, and the many Misfortunes he encountered in his Second Expedition to the South Seas. Add to all this, that, from the happy Success of his former Voyage, and the superior Strength with which he undertook the next, he had very good Reason to believe, that the Profits of this Enterprize would have fully compensated the Charges to which it put him, and have enabled him to have spent the Remainder of his Days in Quiet, in case he had returned to his native Country as happily as he did before. But without spending more Time in such kind of Reflections, which, however, are not unnecessary, considering the Character and Reputation of the Person they concern, let us now proceed to an Account of that unfortunate Voyage, which shall be the more concise, because we shall have an Opportunity of entering into many Particulars of it in another Place, where we shall give the Reader a large Account of the curious Travels, and surprising Adventures, of Mr. *Anthony Knivet*, who was the Companion of *Sir Thomas Candish* in most of his Misfortunes, and who left the World a very copious and distinct Account of that memorable Voyage.

29. The Ships which he fitted out at his own Expence for this Voyage, were the Gallion *Leicester*, which was Admiral, the *Roebuck*, Viceadmiral, the *Desire*, the *Dainty*, and the *Black Pinnace*; with which Squadron he sailed from *Plymouth*, August 6. 1591. On November 29. they fell in with the Coast of *Brasil*, where they took the Town of *Santos*, and burnt that of *St. Vincent*; and then continued their Voyage for the Streights of *Magellan*, meeting thenceforward with nothing but Storms, Disappointments, and Misfortunes, various Accounts of which are still preserved; but the most copious is that of Mr. *Candish* himself, addressed to *Sir Tristram Gorges*, whom he made sole Executor of his last Will; wherein he affirms, the Misfortune happened thus: "The running away of "the Villain *Dart* (says he) was the Death of me, and "Decay of the whole Action, and his only Treachery in "running from me, the utter Ruin of all." He complains also of Mutinies; and that, by South-west and West South-west Winds, he was driven from Shore four hundred Leagues, and from 50° to 40°: That he was taken with Winter and Storm in the Streights, and such Frosts and Snows in *Mexico* as he never saw the like; so that, in Seven or Eight Days, Forty died, and Seventy sickened. *Dart* in the *Desire*, and his Pinnace, left him in the Latitude of 47°, the *Roebuck* kept with him to Thir-

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ry-six ; Captain *Barber*, transgressing his Directions, was slain with Five-and-twenty Men on Land, and the Boat lost ; and, soon after, Twenty-five others followed the like Fortunes ; Ten others by the Cowardice of the Master of the *Reebuck*, forsaken at *Spirito Santo*, which stole away with Six Months Victuals for an hundred and Twenty Persons, they being but Forty-six. At *Sebastians* happened another Mutiny by Treachery of an *Irishman* (where Mr. *Knivet*, and other sick Persons, were set on Shore) : Intending again for the *Streights*, he was beaten up and down those tempestuous Seas, and came within Two Leagues of *St. Helena*, but could not attain it ; and, in his last Epistle, professed he had rather have put himself on an Island, if he could have found one, which the Charts place in 8°, than return ; and was scarce able to hold a Pen when he wrote this. Soon after the writing of this Letter, he died of mere Grief. The *Black Pinnace* was lost, but the *Desire* arrived July 11. 1593. at *Beer-haven in Ireland*, after having suffered incredibly. The Admiral's own Ship also returned, but what became of the *Reebuck* I cannot find. It is very certain, that the Misfortune of this Voyage was, in some measure, prejudicial to the *English Trade* ; for, upon the Return of Mr. *Candish's* Ships, abundance of able Seamen were turned abroad in the World to get their Livings as they could ; and the Ruin of Mr. *Candish* having thrown a Damp on these sort of Undertakings here, those Seamen went into other Countries ; and, as Knowledge is a portable Commodity, made the best Market of it they could in *Holland* and elsewhere. Amongst the rest, one Mr. *Melish*, who had been a Favourite with Mr. *Candish*, and had been his Companion in all his Voyages, offered his Service to the *Dutch East India Company*, which was then in its Infancy, and his Proposals being accepted, he was employed as Pilot in the Expe-

dition, of which I am next to speak. I have dwelt the longer upon these Points, from a Principle which, I hope, will not expose me to Censure, I mean a Jealousy for the Honour of the *British Nation*. I would not, however, have any of my Readers suspect, that this Principle will ever carry me too far, or betray me into Prejudices against Foreigners : I shall always endeavour to do them Justice, without doing Injustice to ourselves ; for in this I am clear, that, with respect to the Undertakings of single Persons, we have excelled all Nations. *Columbus* had the Support of their Catholic Majesties ; *Magellan* was fitted out by the Emperor *Charles V.* and both were encouraged with a Prospect of great Rewards ; whereas Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *Thomas Candish*, undertook their Expeditions at their own Expence, and on their own Risques. What they performed, the Reader has seen. With regard to collective Bodies, or trading Companies, I must as freely acknowledge, that the *Dutch* seem to me to have had the Advantage of all Nations, not only in respect to the Wisdom shewn in their Undertakings, but also in their Steadiness and laudable Concern for the public Interest in the Pursuit of them ; but that they were more early, or more fortunate, than we, in their Discoveries, I absolutely deny ; they were so far from being our Masters in that Point, that in reality we were theirs ; and this, I think, is a Matter of too great Consequence not to be fully insisted on. I will, therefore, freely own, that the bare Amusement, or even the Instruction, of my Readers, is not all I aim at : What I farther propose, is attempting to restore that glorious Spirit, which formerly distinguished our Nation, and which I am firmly persuaded, if set in its proper Light, may be some time or other revived ; and then I do not doubt, but some future Writer may record the Actions of as great Heroes as *Drake* and *Candish*.

SECTION VI.

The Voyage of OLIVER VAN NOORT (the first attempted by the Dutch) round the World.

1. The Rise of the Dutch Company which formed the Design Oliver van Noort was sent to execute.
2. The Nature of this Project, and the Preparations for it.
3. Their Departure from Holland for the South Seas, September 13. 1598.
4. Arrive on the Coast of Brazil, after meeting with many Misfortunes.
5. Enter the *Streights of Magellan* in a sickly Condition.
6. Account of the Savages inhabiting those *Streights*.
7. Meet with Captain *de Weert*, who sailed in the Fleet fitted out by *Verhagen*.
8. Inclemency of the Weather in those Parts.
9. Enter into the South Seas, and cruise on the Coasts of *Chili*.
10. Account of the Indians on this Coast, and their Rebellion against the Spaniards.
11. Continue cruising on the Coasts of *Chili* and *Peru*, where they miss a vast Booty in Gold.
12. Their Course for the East Indies, and Arrival at the *Ladrones*.
13. Their Arrival at the *Philippines*.
14. Engage the Spaniards off *Manila*, and, after an obstinate Dispute, sink their Admiral.
15. Arrive in the Port of *Borneo*, and trade with the Inhabitants.
16. The Danger of sailing in those Seas without having an experienced Pilot.
17. Their safe Arrival in *Holland*, August 26. 1601.
18. Remarks on this Voyage, and the Accounts we have of it.
19. The Reason of adding the Voyage of Captain *de Weert*.

THE Inhabitants of those Countries, which are now stiled the *United Provinces*, found themselves, after their Separation from the *Spanish Monarchy*, extremely at a Loss how to supply the necessary Expences, which so long and vigorous a War, as the Struggle for their Liberties occasioned, constantly required. This gave them the more Uneasiness, because their Enemy *Philip II.* carried on the War against them, rather by the Length of his Pursue, than by the Force of his Arms ; and yet these Riches were derived from a Commerce prohibited to the People of this Country, even if they had submitted themselves again to the Yoke of *Spain*. The Sense therefore of these Difficulties, joined to the mighty Advantages that might be certainly reaped by overcoming them, induced the Government and People of *Holland* to prosecute Trade in general, and all Attempts to establish a Commerce with either the *East or West Indies* in particular, with the greatest Vigour. Among other Inducements to this Course, the Progress made by their Neighbours the *English*, did not a little encourage them ; for they saw, that even private Persons, and with a small Force, were able to

disquiet the *Spaniards* exceedingly, at the same time that they acquired great Riches to themselves. Another Cause of their attempting such Expeditions, I mean of interfering with the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, was their failing in their first Scheme of finding another Passage to the *East Indies* than that with those Nations were acquainted, I mean by the North-east, which they often endeavoured with great Hazard and Expence, though without Success. Their first Voyages to the *East Indies*, proving more fortunate than even themselves expected, tempted them to proceed still farther, and to aim at distressing their Enemies likewise in the South Seas, which hitherto none but the *English* had done. We are not to imagine, however, from hence, that the distressed States of *Holland* were already become so powerful at Sea, as to act offensively against the Catholic King ; for that was not at all the Case : But, what they had in View was, granting such Power and Authority to any of their Subjects, who were inclined to venture upon Expeditions of this Nature at their own Risque and Expence, as might enable them to conciliate their private Advantage, and the public Good, by fitting

out Squadrons for these distant and hazardous Voyages: A Policy, which, however it might spring from Necessity, they conducted with such Wisdom and Address, that the King of Spain soon found himself more distressed by the Armaments of the Dutch Merchants, than by all the Forces employed by the States of Holland. A plain Proof, that the shortest Way to render any Government powerful, is to interest the People in general in its Support; for this raises by degrees such a Spirit, and that Spirit produces such unthought-of Consequences, as no Art or Force are able to oppose. After this Introduction, we come naturally to speak of that Company of Merchants, at whose Expence the Expedition was undertaken, which is to be the Subject of our present Discourse.

2. About the Beginning of the Year 1598. some very eminent Merchants of the Low Countries, among whom the principal were *Peter van Beveren*, *Hugo Gerrits*, and *John Bennick*, formed a Design of sending some stout Ships through the Straights of *Magellan* to cruise in the South Seas upon the Spaniards, to which they were chiefly instigated by the Reports of many English Seamen, who had served under *Drake*, *Candish*, *Hawkins*, and other enterprising Officers, in those Parts. The End of this Expedition was the common one of cruising on the Spanish Coasts, and obliging the Enemy of Peace to bear the Expence of those Wars in which he obliged other People to engage against their Wills; as also to gain Experience; and, if it should be found practicable, to continue their Voyage to the *Philippines*, and so by the Cape of *Good Hope*, round the World. As the Success of this important Project depended, in a great measure, on the Capacity of the General, for so in those Days the Dutch, and indeed most other Nations, called the Commander in chief, either by Land or Sea, they took care to provide themselves with a Person of established Character, as well in point of Conduct as Courage, whose Name was *Oliver van Noort*, a Native of *Utrecht*, in the Flower of his Age, and who had a strong Passion for Glory. To this Man they communicated their Scheme, which he readily embraced; and their Terms being speedily settled, they proceeded to equip Two stout Vessels, the one called the *Maurice*, the other the *Henry Frederic*, and Two Yachts, called the *Concord*, and the *Hope*, manned by 248 Persons of all Ranks: Of this little Fleet *Oliver van Noort*, in the *Maurice*, was Admiral; *James Claasz*, of *Ulpenda*, was Captain of the *Henry Frederic*, and had the Title of Vice-admiral; Captain *Peter van Lint* had the Command of the *Concord*; and *John Huidecoper*, of the *Hope*. These were all Men of Experience, capable of maintaining their Authority upon all Occasions, and who were themselves interested in the Success of the Voyage; a Precaution then, and ever since, taken by the Dutch in such Cases, to prevent their Expeditions suffering from the private Views, or want of Heartiness, in their Officers; which is often the Case among other Nations, and for which this Method of theirs perhaps is the only Cure.

3. When all Things were in Readiness, and the Crews of their respective Vessels absolutely complete, the Proprietors presented a Petition to the Board of Admiralty at *Rotterdam*; upon which, all Parties concerned were summoned thither; and, on the 28th of June 1598. the Rules and Regulations for their Government in this Expedition, which had been drawn up for them by the Company, and then revised and approved by the Stadtholder *Prince Maurice*, and the Board, were publicly read to them, and every Man sworn to their Observance. These kind of sailing Orders the Dutch call *Artykelbrieven*, and never suffer them to take place till they have received this kind of Sanction from the State; and then they become the Laws of the Voyage, which whoever breaks, must suffer the Penalties mentioned in them. This is another Circumstance worthy of Remark, and a very great Proof of the Attention paid by that Republic to the Commerce of their Subjects, as well as a Check upon others, who might attempt to abuse their Authority. On the 13th of September 1598. the *Maurice* and the *Concord* sailed out of the Port of *Goeree*, and the *Henry Frederic*, and the *Hope*, having joined them from *Amsterdam*, they continued their Voyage together for *Plymouth*, where their English Pilot Mr. *Mellish*, who had

been the Companion of Sir *Thomas Candish's* Fortune, was to take in his Apparel, and other Necessaries. On the 21st, they sailed from *Plymouth*, the Wind blowing a fresh Gale at North-east. The next Morning, when they were out of the Channel, they perceived that the Vice-admiral's Shallop was missing with Six Men, which gave them a good deal of Concern, inasmuch that they had some Thoughts of returning to *Plymouth*; but an English Privateer, coming up with them, soon cured them of their Pain, by assuring them, that these Six Men were lewd, good-for-nothing Fellows, who embarked for the Sake of what they could get, and had taken this Opportunity to run away with the Boat: Upon which it was resolved, not to trouble themselves any further about them. Some Jealousies, however, at that Time, sprung up, as to the Capacity and Conduct of their Vice-admiral, which were quickly increased by his losing his other Shallop, which he had in Tow with a Man in her, and which, notwithstanding all the Care that they could take, was actually lost; which Piece of Carelessness occasioned much Murmuring and Discontent amongst the Seamen, which the Vice-admiral daily increased by his haughty Behaviour, and by his Contempt for Advice, which, however, no Man wanted more than he.

4. On the 4th of October they met a small Fleet of Dutch, English, and French, which were coming from *Barbary*, and gave them an Account of the horrible Pestilence raging there, which had swept away 250,000 Persons in a very short Space. On the 6th, they came between *Teneriff* and the great *Canary*. November 3. they had Sight of the Coasts of *Guinea*. December 4. they came off Cape *Palma*, which lies in 3° 30' North Latitude. The 10th, they had Sight of *Princes* Island, which lies 1° of North Latitude. They sent their Boats before to make some Discovery of the Isle, where, having entered with a Flag of Truce, they were met by a Negro, bearing the like Sign of Peace. They demanded only a Supply of Provisions, which was granted in very fair and friendly Terms; but, while they were settling this Point, a Party that lay in Ambush surprised them in a Moment, and cut off several of them, amongst which was the brave English Pilot Captain *Mellish*. The Portuguese pursued them to their Boats, which they very briskly attacked, killing the Admiral's Brother, and were very near taking all the rest Prisoners. In Revenge of this Outrage, it was concluded in a Council of War, to attack the Castle; which Experiment being tried, and found too hazardous, they took their Revenge in burning all their Sugar-houses. And so, having provided themselves with fresh Water, they set Sail on the 17th. The 25th they reached Cape *Gonjalo*, where the Wind generally blows from the Land at Night, and from the Sea in the Day. Here they found Two Dutch Ships, which informed them of the Misfortune of Captain *Sleerwagen*, who was lost, with most Part of his Company, upon *Prince's* Island, as they had like to have been; as also of the Voyage of *Peter Verhagen*, who had entered the River of *Congo*, and, putting in at this Place, had here buried Thirty-eight of his Company, and was gone some time before for *Amboin*. January 1. 1589. they passed the Island *Amboin*, which they found in 2° South Latitude; and the 28th of the same Month they had the Sun in their Zenith. The 5th they reached Cape *St. Thomas*, (upon the Coast of *Brazil*) which lies 22° South Latitude. The 6th, they passed the *Fair Cape*, and in the Evening Cape *Prio*. On the 9th, they came to *Rio Janeiro*. After some Loss of Time, and Company too, by the Treacheries of their grand Enemy the Portuguese, they went to *St. Sebastian*, where the Comforts of a good Harbour, fresh Water, and plenty of Wood, attended them; but no Fruits were to be had at that Season.

5. March 14. a dreadful Storm surprised them, the Fury of which parted the Vice-admiral, and the *Hope*, from the rest of the Fleet; but they had the good Luck to meet them again on the 17th. And now the Scurvy increased amongst them, which, together with the Approach of Winter, made them resolve to put in at *St. Helena*; but, missing that, they concluded upon the *Ascension*, or some other Island, that was capable of giving them a tolerable Entertainment. But hard Fortune brought them to a very barren

barren and which they had therefore put off to have reach the Continent to land their pafs, and in 21° pafs, and afforded them in Plums, with the 16th, Latitude, September Fifth and P South of the 50,000 (w of their Eg their sick the 5th, an like Stags some of wh teen Eggs. serve the C the Boats, having a m small Ram who killed These Sava armed with headed with 6. The the 24th, t and plain, England, T Straights, a by Tempest lost their A tion (w of their Cal so far, that Commencem Way into th South-well Straights to half a Mile Men upon who bid Def pons at the fiance, pursu from the de upon the Sp Wives and Mothers, w themselves a their own B selves. But taking of Fo them, which Boys, having licence; Th Castme, an les Island was with Penguin their Clothi but these Cav with Ostliche were distinc distinct Relic the Kenekin which People breasted, and up with a St with a Penguin the latter shav of Penguin-sk also a Fourth NUMB. 3.

barren and desolate Island in $20^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude, where they had nothing but a few Fowl, (called *Malle Merwen*) which they knocked down with their Clubs. Having therefore quickly had enough of this barren Place, they put off to Sea again; and the First of June, thinking to have reached the *Ascension*, they found themselves on the Continent of *Brasil*; but the *Portuguese* not suffering them to land there, they failed to the Isle of *St. Clara*, which lies in $21^{\circ} 15'$ South Latitude; it is about a Mile in Compass, and as much distant from the Continent. The Island afforded them little else but Herbs. But what it denied them in Food, it paid in Physic, yielding a sort of four Plums, which in Fifteen Days cured all their Sickness. June the 16th, they failed for Port *Desire*, in $47^{\circ} 40'$ South Latitude, which (after much bad Weather) they reached September 20. They furnished themselves with Store of Fish and Penguins in an Island that lies Three Miles to the South of this Place. Of the latter sort of Creatures they took 50,000 (which were as big as Geese) with a vast Quantity of their Eggs, that proved good and refreshing Meat to their sick Company. They went up the River *Oslober* the 5th, and, going on Shore, found Beasts in the Country like Stags and Buffaloes, with a Multitude of Ostriches, some of whose Nests they lighted on, in which were Nineteen Eggs. The 20th, the Admiral went ashore to observe the Country, leaving Orders with them that guarded the Boats, not to stir a Foot from their Charge; but they, having a mind, it seems, to see the Country too, took a small Ramble, and fell into an Ambuscade of Savages, who killed Three of them, and wounded the Fourth. These Savages were very tall portly Men, painted, and armed with short Bows and Arrows, which latter were headed with Stone.

6. The 29th, they failed from hence; and, November the 24th, they made Cape *Virgins*, where the Land is low and plain, and, by its Whiteness, yields a Prospect like *England*. They made many Attempts to have entered the Straights, and were as often frustrated, being beaten back by Tempests of Wind, Rain, Hail, and Snow. They lost their Anchors, broke their Cables; Sickness and Contention (worse than any Distaste) were added to all the rest of their Calamities; and all these retarded their Progress so far, that it was very near Fifteen Months (from the Commencement of the Voyage) before they could make their Way into the Straights. They observed the Land to lie South-west from the Cape *Virgins*, and the Mouth of the Straights to be about Fourteen Miles Distance from it, and half a Mile in Breadth. November 25, they saw some Men upon Two Islands that lay near the Cape *Nassau*, who bid Defiance to the *Hollanders*, and shook their Weapons at them; but they landing, notwithstanding this Defiance, pursued the Savages to a Cave, which they stubbornly defended to the last Man, dying every one of them upon the Spot. The *Dutch*, being got in, found their Wives and Children in that dark receptacle; and the Mothers, who expected nothing but present Death to themselves and their Infants, covered the little ones with their own Bodies, resolving to receive the first Stab themselves. But the *Dutch* did them no more Injury than the taking of Four Boys and Two Girls of their Number from them, which they brought on Ship-board. One of the Boys, having learnt to speak *Dutch*, gave them this Intelligence; That the greater of these Two Islands was called *Castellum*, and the Tribe that inhabited it *Enoo*; that the less Island was called *Talcke*; and that both were well stor'd with Penguins, whose Flesh was their Food, and the Skins their Clothing; and, as for Habitations, they had none but these Caves: That the adjoining Continent abounded with Ostriches, which also served for Food: That they were distinguished into Tribes, which had their several distinct Residences, the *Kemenetes*, that dwell in *Kasfay*; the *Kenuckin*, in *Karamay*; the *Karaiks*, in *Morina*; all which People were of the common Size, but broader breasted, and painted all over; the Men tying the Pudenda up with a String, and the Women covering those Parts with a Penguin's Skin; the former wearing long Hair, and the latter shaven; but both Sorts naked, except a Cloak of Penguin-skins, reaching to the Waists: That there was also a Fourth Tribe of them, called *Tirimenen*, that dwell

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in *Cash*; and these were of a gigantic Stature, being Ten or Twelve Feet high, and continually at War with the other Tribes.

7. The 28th, they passed over to the Continent, and saw some Whales at a Distance, having Sight too of a very pleasant River, about which are very delicate Trees, and Store of Parrots: Upon the score of this pleasant Prospect, they called this *Summer Bay*. The 29th, they set Sail for Port *Famine*; here the Land tends so far to the South, that the Islands of *Pantagons*, and *Terra del Fuego*, seem afar off to meet together. They found no remaining Tokens here of the late famous *Philip's* City, but a Heap of Stones, to shew, that once there had been a Building. The *Magellanic* Straights are in Breadth here about Four Miles; the Hills on both Sides of which are vastly high and deep, and all the Year long covered with Snow. Here, at Port *Famine*, they cut down Wood to make them a Boat, and found the Bark of the Trees to be hot, and, in Taste, biting like Pepper. Having no good Watering here, they left this Place, (doubting, indeed, whether it were Port *Famine* or no) and, after Two Miles past, found a good River. This was *December* the First. The next Day they doubled Cape *Froward*, with some Danger, by reason of unsafe Anchorage, and contrary Winds; so passing Four Miles further into a large Bay, they anchored there. Here was a Plant like *Sneeze-wort*, good against the Scurvy; and another, which caused Madness, making some that tasted it almost distracted for a time. Here they had a Sight of *Sebastian de Weert's* Ship, who was one of *Perkagen's* Company, with which another of the same Fleet had been driven back out of the South Sea. He told them he had spent above Five Months in the Straights, and had but Thirty-eight left out of One hundred and Ten Men, and, not being able to endure the Storms of the South Sea, was forced to put in there, while the rest of the Fleet held on their Course.

8. January 2, 1600, they set out again, directing their Course to *Maurice Bay*, which they observed to extend very far Eastward, and to receive several Rivers into it; in the Mouths of which were vast Quantities of Ice, that seemed never to melt all the Year round: For though this was near the Midsummer Season in that Southern Climate, yet the Ice was so thick, that at Ten Fathom Sounding they could not reach the Bottom of it. The Land also seemed to be an Heap of broken Islands, which the Height of the Mountains made appear like one firm and continued Piece. Here they had the Distresses of Hunger, and continual Rains, and the Loss of Two of their Company, who were killed by the Savages as they were picking Mussels, which were their chief Sustainance. Having weathered out many Storms which endangered them in *Menifee Bay*, and some Encounters too with the Savages, they set Sail on the 17th, and were driven by a Storm into *Goose or Penguin Bay*, Three Miles distant, and receiving the Name from the Multitude of that Sort of Fowl found there; of which they observed, that they could both dive and swim very well, but not fly at all. Here the Vice-admiral, for divers Crimes, was condemned by a Council of War to be turned ashore, there to hunt for himself amongst the wild Beasts, and wilder Inhabitants of the Country; which was executed accordingly.

9. February the 1st, they entered another Bay, which they called *Popish Bay*, and in which they run many Hazards. On the 27th, they saw at a Distance a huge Mountain of Ice in *Penguin Bay*; but the next Day, viz. the last of February, they bid adieu to all those distant Prospects, and passed Cape *Desire* into the South Sea. Their Company was now 147, but quickly lessened by the Loss of the Ship of the Vice-admiral, whom they dropt. March the 12th, expecting her in vain, they failed to the Island *La Mocha*, which is about Six Miles from the Continent, and lies in 38° South Latitude. It is remarkable for an high Mountain in the Middle of it, that cleaves at Top to make Way for a Course of Waters into the Valley underneath it. Here they barter'd Knives and Hatchets for Sheep, Hens, Maize, Bartulas, and other Fruit. They went to see the Town, which consisted of about Fifty Houses of Straw, where they were entertained with a four sort of Drink called *Giel*, which is made of Maize steeped in Water, and

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and in the choice Liquor used at their Feasts. Polygamy is much practised amongst them, and they buy as many Wives as they can keep; so that a Man that has a good many Daughters, may chance to get an Estate by them, especially if they prove handsome. If one Man kill another, the Kindred of the murdered Person are his Judges and Executioners; for they have no Laws, nor public Magistrates, to keep up any Form of Justice amongst them: But yet a Man may possibly buy off his Punishment too, by making a Drinking-bout of Cici. They make their Clothes of the Wool of a very large sort of Sheep, which Creatures they also use to carry Burdens. They would not sell any of these, though they did of another Sort, not much differing from the common. *St. Mary's* Island lies Eighteen Miles from hence in $37^{\circ} 15'$ South Latitude. Here they met with a Spanish Ship that was carrying Lard and Meal to *Arauco* and *Concepcion*, which they chased and took. The Pilot of this Ship told them, they could not get back to *St. Mary's* Island because of the South Winds, and that there were Two Men of War waiting for their coming in *Arica*: Upon which Information, they concluded to sail to *Val Paraiso*, and, by that means, quite lost their Vice-admiral, which might have otherwise come up to them at last. Besides, they concluded, that she mistook the Island *St. Mary*, upon the wrong placing it in *Plancius's* Map, as high as 38° , when indeed it lies in $37^{\circ} 15'$. And this Error they themselves had fallen into, had not Captain *Melish* set them right by his Observations. And it farther confirmed them in their Resolutions not to sail back to *St. Mary's* Island, to hear of the Misfortune of *Simon de Cordes* there, who was in a friendly manner invited ashore, and then butchered by the *Indians*, together with Twenty-three of his Men, the treacherous *Spaniards* endeavouring to get his Two Ships into their Hands, and sending Intelligence to *Lima*, and all the Country about, of the Arrival of the *Dutch*, and the Names of their Captains and Commanders. For these Reasons, they bent their Course to *Val Paraiso*, where they took Two Ships, and killed some *Indians*, but the *Spaniards* were all gone. This *Val Paraiso* lies in 33° South Latitude; and, up in the Country, about Eighteen Miles distant, lies *St. Iago*, a Town that affords good Store of red Wine and Sheep, which they kill only for the Suer, with which alone they lade many Vessels. Here they received Letters from the Captain of the *Flying Hart*, one of *Verbagen's* Company, who was treacherously taken by the *Spaniards*; which hard Fate, he informed them, he had avoided, he had not been misguided by the wrong placing of *St. Mary's* Island in the Map.

10. At *St. Iago* they intercepted some Letters, which gave an Account of the Wars between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in *Chili*: The former, being, it seems, in Rebellion, had sacked the Town of *Baldria*, putting vast Numbers of the *Spaniards* to the Sword, and carrying off many Troops of Captives: They burnt the Houses and Churches, and struck off the Heads of the Popish Images, crying, Down go the Gods of the *Spaniards*. They crammed their Mouths with Gold, and bid them satisfy themselves with that, for the Sake of which their Votaries had made so many barbarous Massacres amongst them. Besides all this, they laid close Siege to the City *Imperial*, and almost starved the Spanish Garrison there. The valiant *Indians* that undertook this Action were about 5000, of which 3000 were Horse, 100 Shot, and 70 Corslets, all which Furniture were Spanish Plunder. They so mortally hate the *Spaniards*, that they rip up the Breasts of all they overcome, to have the Pleasure of tearing out their Hearts with their Teeth; and it adds very much to the Taste of their Liquor, to drink it out of a Cup made of a *Spaniard's* Skull. They are for the most part very stout and skilful Soldiers, and commit all their military Affairs to the Management of one supreme General, whose Orders they continually obey: But their Method of Election to this Honour is something odd; for he that carried a Timber Log on his Shoulders the longest, and with the least Degree of Weariness, was saluted General by the Army; several in this Trial bore it for Four, Five, Six Hours; but, at last, one carried it Twenty-four Hours outright, and was General at this time. All this Country of *Chili*, from

St. Iago to *Baldria*, is one of the most fertile and delightful Spots in the World: There are all sorts of Cattle and Fruits, Gold Mines in abundance, an Air sweet and wholesome to that Degree, that it is itself Life and Medicine, and excludes the Use of all other Physic.

11. April 1. they entered the Bay *La Guafio*, and left it the Seventh following. The 11th, they came into a great Bay, called *Moro Gorib*; Ten Miles from which is *Morro Moreno*, from which the Shore runs to *Arica*; and all this Tract, up to *St. Francis's* Hill, is very much subject to South Winds, though in the adjoining Sea they are very variable and uncertain. The 20th, the Air was all darkened with an *Arenal*, which is a Cloud of Dust raised so thick, that a Man cannot see a Stone's Cast from him; they are brought off from the adjacent Shores, and are very common in those Parts. The 25th, they were within View of the famous City of *Lima*, and now they came to understand the Value of the Treasure which the Malice of the *Spaniards* had robbed them of, and which otherwise they had found in those Ships they took at *St. Iago*. This Discovery was thus made: *Nicolas Peterfon*, who was Captain of the Prize, acquainted the Admiral, that a Negro he had on board, whose Name was *Emanuel*, had informed him, that there was a great Quantity of Gold on board the Ship, to the Amount, as he believed, of Three Tons, with which he was the better acquainted, because himself had helped to carry a great Part of it on board. The Admiral, upon this Information, examined his Spanish Pilot very closely, who at first refused to own any thing; but another Negro, whose Name was *Sebastian*, having admitted the Fact, and acquainted them with some farther Circumstances, the Spanish Pilot at last owned, that they had on board Fifty-two Chests, containing each Four Arbors of Gold, and, besides this, 500 Bars of the same Metal, weighing from Eight to Ten and Twelve Pounds apiece; all which, together with whatever private Stock any of the Ship's Company had, the Captain caused to be thrown over-board the Night he was first chased, amounting in the Whole to about 10,200 lb. Weight of Gold, and, from its Fineness, worth about 2,000,000 of Pieces of Eight. The Admiral, upon this, ordered the Ship to be searched, and then the Prisoners, but to very little Purpose; for, except a single Pound Weight of Gold-dust, tied up in a little Bag, in the Spanish Pilot's Breeches, there was not a Grain to be found. The Prisoners owned, that all this Gold was brought from the Island of *St. Mary*, where the Mines were discovered about Three Years before; and that there were not, on that Island, above Three or Four *Spaniards*, and about 200 *Indians* armed only with Bows and Arrows.

12. September 5. they had Sight of the *Labrones*; and, the 16th, came to *Guana*, which is one of them; an Island Twenty Miles in Extent, and yielding Fish, Coconuts, Bananas, Sugar-canes, which the *Indians* brought in a great Number of Canoes up to their Ships. Sometimes they met with Two hundred of these Canoes, with Four or Five Men apiece, which would come all hollowing together, *Hiero, Hiero*, that is, Iron, Iron, and with very Eagerness run their Canoes upon the Ships, and overturn them, Goods and all. They were very sly, subtle sort of People, honest with good looking to; but otherwise they would sell a Man a Basket of Coconuts, with a little Rice a Top, for a Basket of Rice, and whip a Sword out of the Scabbard, and so skip into the Water, and away to the Bottom, whither a Man must go after them, if he mean to have Satisfaction: And the Women were as good at these Rogueries as the Men; they would steal as impudently, and dive as well to hide it.

13. The 17th, they sailed for the *Philippines*; on the 20th, they met with Ice, yet were then in 3° North Latitude: On October 16. they came to *Bayla* Bay, a very fertile Land; at which Place, by pretending that they were *Spaniards*, they got Store of all necessary Provisions for their Ships. The *Spaniards*, who are Lords here, make the *Indians* pay Ten single Riels a Head for every one above Twenty Years old. These poor Creatures are mostly naked, and mark their Skins with Figures so deeply impressed, that they never wear out. Being discovered, but after having obtained their Ends, they sailed for the

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14. Nov. Provision for them this In great Ship, and a Dutch the Town w secure the Trade from every Year, be that Two S with Iron, a they took T were the Sp as it happen room of it. dore, right Miles distant Island, by v Island *Luffo* a Cluster of Trade, than it enjoys. Expectation one of them spent Twen her was for Chimney, a the Sails be the Cables bald, except Mode of th one laden w with Hens a Ships return ing commen ing overpow Circumstan *Spaniards*, She was ju nish Admira Day) when very resolut all, if they at a better Rage, Fear other Way time, they Admiral, a more than by Woun Thirty-five dreds that and knock greatest Lo which end by her; w but Twent ards and h 15. Of the 150 and lies in $14^{\circ} 40'$ Island 180 putting int

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Streight of *Manilla*; all the Tract approaching to which, they observed, was waste, barren, and rocky. Here a sud- den Gust of Wind from the South-east carried away their Masts and Sails, and treated them with more Fury, than any thing they had before met with. The 23d, some of them went ashore, and eat Palmitos, and drank good Store of Water, after which they were seized with the bloody Flux. The 24th, they entered the Streight itself, and sailed by the Island in the Midst; and, in the Evening, passed the Island *Capul*, Seven Miles within the Streight, near which they found Whirlpools, as far as they could dis- cover, bottomless. They now crowded Sail for *Manilla*, which is Eighty Miles from *Capul*, wanting both Wind to carry, and good Maps and a Pilot to direct them.

14. November 7. they took a Junk of *China*, laden with Provision for *Manilla*; The Master of this Vessel gave them this Intelligence; that there were then at *Manilla* Two great Ships, that came every Year from *New Spain* thither, and a Dutch Ship also, that was bought at *Malacca*; that the Town was walled about, and there were Two Forts to secure the Ships that ride there: That there was a vast Trade from *China* thither, no less than 400 Ships coming every Year from *Chincheo*, with Silk and other valuable Things, between *Esster* and *December*; and particularly, that Two Ships were shortly expected from *Japan*, laden with Iron, and other Metals, and Provisions. The 15th, they took Two Barks laden with Hens and Hogs, which were the *Spanish* Tribute, but became Meat for the Dutch, as it happened, who sent them a few Linen Bolts in the room of it. They passed the Islands *Bankingle* and *Min- dore*, right against which is the Isle *Lou-bon*, at Two Miles Distance; and, between them both, is another smaller Island, by which there is a safe Passage for Ships. The Island *Lasson* is bigger than *England* and *Scotland*, and has a Cluster of smaller Islands about it: It is more beneklen to Trade, than to the Happiness of its own Soil, for the Riches it enjoys. Lying at Anchor in 15° North Latitude, in Expectation of these *Japan* Ships, December 1. they took one of them: She was of Fifty Ton Burden, and had spent Twenty-five Days in the Voyage. The Form of her was something strange; her Fore-part being like a Chimney, and her Furniture very agreeable to her Shape; the Sails being made of Reeds, the Anchors of Wood, and the Cables of Straw. The *Japanese* aboard her were all bald, except one Tuft of Hair left behind; and this is the Mode of that Country. The 9th, they took Two Barks, one laden with Cocoa-wine and Aqua Vita, and the other with Hens and Rice. The 14th, they met with the *Spanish* Ships returning Home from *Manilla*, upon which Meet- ing commenced a very smart Engagement: The Dutch, be- ing overpowered by Multitudes, were reduced to very bad Circumstances, their Admiral being boarded once by the *Spaniards*, and almost got intirely into their Possession. She was just upon the Point of yielding herself to the *Spanish* Admiral, (who had pressed her very hard almost all the Day) when her own Admiral, seeing all was lost without a very resolute Push, threatened to blow up Ship, Men and all, if they did not beat the *Spaniards* off again, and fight at a better Rate: The Dutch, at this, hurried on with Rage, Fear, and Despair of preserving themselves any other Way, fought to so good Purpose, that, in a little time, they cleared their own Ship, boarded the *Spanish* Admiral, and at last sunk her. This Action cost them no more than Five Lives, and Twenty-six more endangered by Wounds, the whole Company left being now but Thirty-five. But of the *Spaniards* there were several Hun- dreds that perished, partly in the Fight, and partly drowned and knocked on the Head after the Fight was over. The greatest Loss the Dutch had was that of their Pinnace, which encountered the *Spanish* Vice-admiral, and was taken by her; which was no strange Thing, considering she had but Twenty-five Men to fight against Five hundred *Spani- ards* and *Indians*.

15. From hence they set Sail for *Borneo*, the chief Town of the Isle of that Name, which is 180 Miles from *Manilla*, and lies in 5° North Latitude, as *Manilla* does in about 14° 40'; and, in their Way to it, passed by *Bolutan*, an Island 180 Miles long. The 26th, they came to *Borneo*, putting into a great Bay, Three Miles in Compass, where

there was good Anchoring, as also good Fishing in a neigh- bour River, and the Fishermen very ready to barter their Fish for Linen Cloth. The Admiral, by a Messenger, craved Leave of the King to trade there; but he, suspect- ing them to be *Spaniards*, would come to no Terms with them, till his Officers had searched, and found the contrary; so they traded here for Pepper with the *Palanues*, a Sort of People of a *Chinese* Original. The *Borneans* and they were fond of *China* Linen; but that, which came out of *Holland*, was a mere Drug. In the mean time the *Borne- ans* laid a Plot to surprize their Ship; and, to effect it, Ja- nuary the 1st 1601. they came up to them with an Hundred Praws, and, pretending to bring Presents from the King, would have boarded them; but the Dutch, smelling what those Presents were, desired them to keep from their Ves- sel, or they should be obliged to make them do so with their Shot; which Resolution of theirs the *Borneans* seeing, desisted from the Attempt. *Borneo* is the greatest Island in the *East Indies*. The capital City, bearing the same Name, contains 3000 Houses; but stands in a dirty, marshy Soil; so that they may go in their Praws from one House to another. The Inhabitants all go armed from the Nobleman to the Fisherman; and the very Women have so much of the Soldier in their Composition, that, if they receive any Affront, they presently revenge themselves with Dagger or Javelin upon him that gives it. This a Dutch Man had like to have proved to his Cost; for, having some Way disgusted one of these *Bornean* Viragoes, she set upon him with a Javelin, and had dispatched him, if she had not been prevented by main Force. They are *Mabometans* in point of Religion, and so very superstitious therein, that they'll sooner die than taste any thing that comes from a Swine; neither will they keep any of those Creatures about them. The better Sort of them have a Covering of Linen from the Waist downwards, and a Cotton Turbant on their Heads; but the common People go all naked. They chew a great deal of Beetle and *Anacca* in this Island, which is also a mighty Fashion in many other Parts. The Dutch, seeing little Hope of profitable Trade here, sailed for *Ban- tam*, not extremely well pleased either with the Country, or its Inhabitants.

16. January the 4th in the Night, Four *Borneans* came to the Ship, with a Design to have cut their Cables, and so to have brought the Ship aground; but, being disco- vered, and pelted with Shot, they marched off, leaving their Prow behind them; which the Dutch took instead of their own Boat lost at *Manilla*. The next Day they met with a Junk from *Japan*, bound for *Manilla*, which inform- ed them of a great Dutch Ship forced by Tempests into *Japan*, all the Company of which, by Famine and Sick- nels, were dead, to Fourteen; that they came first to *Bongo* in 14° 40' North Latitude, and afterwards, by the King's Order, removed to *Atonza* in 36° 30'; that they were there in a safe Harbour, and had Liberty to trade, and build a new Ship; which done, they might dispose of themselves as they pleased. By this Account, they doubted not but this Ship was *Verbagen's* Admiral; so, dismissing the *Ja- ponesse* Vessel, they went on, and passed the Line a Third time, sailing in no little Fear and Danger for want of a Pilot, and good Charts. The 16th, they took a Junk of *Jor*, and in her a skilful Pilot, who came in good Time to save them from Shipwreck, which otherwise, in all Likeli- hood, had been their Fate in those Seas; for now they had but one Anchor left, and the Cable of that almost worn out; and, besides, had so many Shoals and Islands about them on every Side, that it was an easy Matter for a Ship, a Stranger there, to have miscarried. Some of these Islands were *Binta* and *Crinfata*, which yield Diamonds, that are sold at *Malacca*. The 28th, they came to *Jortan* upon the Isle of *Java*, where they had News of Dutch Ships at *Ban- tam*. The City consists of about 1000 Timber Houses. The King commands a considerable Part of that End of the Island, and had lately conquered *Balambuan*, a little Island, that lies just by the South-east of *Jorten*. They are said to be *Mabometans* in the Country thereabouts, tho' the Pagods in Use still seem to argue some Kind of Mix- ture of the old *Indian* Superstition with that of *Mabomet*, or at least a Toleration of it in the Whole amongst the com- mon People. Their chief Priest is an old Man of 120,



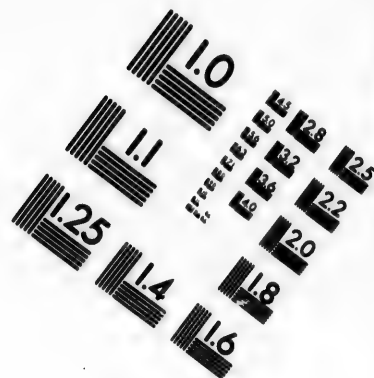
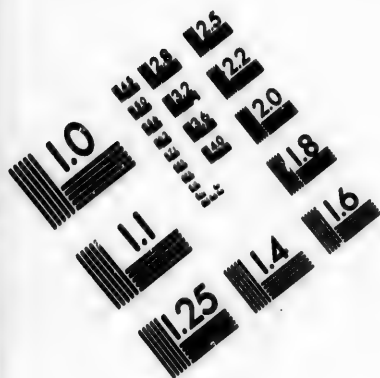
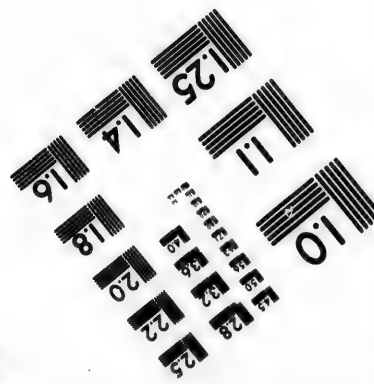
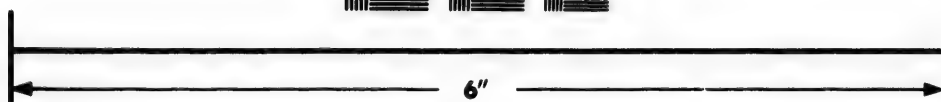
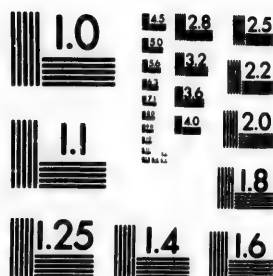


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who has a good round Family of Wives; and the old Man lives on nothing but the Milk, which he sucks from his Wives Breasts. Sailing hence, they saw a great Portuguese Ship of 600 Ton stick on the Shoals. She was going to *Amboina*, on a Design of ingrossing all that Trade to herself, and was thus stopped by the Way; at least, this was the Account the Portuguese gave of her, tho' the General suspected, that she actually put to Sea in order to cruise for them; and therefore they were the less concerned for her Misfortune, and the less careful in assisting her Crew, consisting originally of 6 or 700 Men, of which many were still on board her, and in Danger of perishing.

17. February the 5th they passed the Straights between *Balambou* and *Baty*; and, leaving *Jave* North-east from them, on the 11th they found themselves in 13° South Latitude, and then directed their Course to the Cape of Good Hope. On the 18th they had the Sun vertical at Noon, being then in 11° 20'. and here a Calm began that lasted Eleven Days. March the 11th they came into 24° 45'; and the 24th into 28° 10'. April the 1st they made 30° 50'; and the 19th (having been considerably retarded between cross Winds and Calms) they were forced to lessen their Measures of Water; but the 24th at Night they saw a Light like Fire about Four Miles to the North-west, Land now being near; whereas they reckoned themselves 200 Miles from the Cape, and not being aware of their Approach to any other. The 25th they were in 34° 35'; and now the Calms gave them Liberty to mend their Sails. At Night they saw another Fire, and the next Morning Land, bearing North-easterly. The 27th they came into 34° 40'; and within Six or Seven Miles of the Land. May the 20, they made 35° 15'; and the next Morning saw, between the East and North, something like the End of an Island, about Six Miles off, by which they fancied themselves near the Cape. And then they directed their Course to *St. Helena*, where they arrived the 26th, and refreshed themselves with good Water, Fish, and some Flesh; but no Cabritos, nor Fowl, (which are both hard to be taken) nor Oranges, could they meet with here. They left this Island the 30th, and June the 14th passed the Line the Fourth Time. The 16th they met with Six Dutch Ships bound for the East Indies, *James Hermiskirk* Admiral. These had fought Thirteen Spanish Ships near the Salt Islands, and had lost both their Pinnace and Vice-admiral, the former taken by the Spaniards, and the latter gone from them; but they hoped secure. July the 8th they came into 27° North Latitude, and met with Store of the Weed *Saragossa* floating in the Water. The 13th they were in 32° 30', and then had Fifteen Days Calm, and a very weedy Sea. The 22d they were driven to a very short Allowance of Bread, and that worst-eaten too, their Stock being almost spent. August the 1st they made 40° North Latitude, and left the Island *Flores*, which comes about Forty-five Miles to Westward. The 18th Three Ships of *Emboen* met them, and exchanged Bread and Flesh for Rice and Pepper with them, and withal shewed them, that they were not so near *England* as their Master had told them, who had promised to make the *Lizard* the next Day. On the 26th of August, about Noon, they arrived safely before the City of *Rotterdam*, where they were received with the utmost Joy, as

having performed so perilous a Voyage as cost them near Three Years Time.

18. The Company, at whose Expence General *van Noort* had been fitted out, were extremely well pleased with his Conduct through the whole Affair, tho' attended with no great Success to them; for his Returns were far short of what had accrued from former Expeditions; but the Glory of sharing with the Spaniards, Portuguese, and English, the Honour of making new Discoveries, and even of surrounding the Globe, made the Dutch better pleased with General *van Noort*, than with any of their Navigators: Yet it is apparent, that he met with greater Difficulties, and performed his Voyage more slowly, than our English Captains had done, tho' assisted by many Lights, which they wanted, as well as much better furnished at his first setting out. One thing is extremely remarkable, which is the rigorous Discipline observed throughout the Voyage, and which was felt not only by inferior Seamen, for such Faults as detain the Meanness of their Temper might prompt, or the Sharpness of their Miseries excuse, but by the Second Person in the Fleet, and who, in case any Accident had befallen the General, would have become the First of course. This Act of Justice was performed with much Solemnity and Circumspection: He was proceeded against for Breach of the Articles established and sworn to before they proceeded on the Voyage, had Time allowed him for his Defence; and, on a fair Hearing, was condemned to be deserted in the Straights of *Magellan*, having only a small Quantity of Provisions put on Shore with him; so that he was quickly destroyed by Hunger, or fell a Victim to the Rage of the Savages, who were implacable Enemies to Foreigners. The Dread of such a Punishment keeps those within due Bounds, whose Errors are most fatal in such Voyages. For want of a Power of this Nature, many great Undertakings have been overthrown, a Competition between Commanders being naturally attended with Factions in the Fleet; and then the Gratification of private Ends is constantly preferred to the Good of the Whole.

19. We meet, in this Voyage, with an Account of Captain *de Weert's* being found in the *Magellanic* Straights, and of his being left there by General *van Noort*, because he found it impracticable to stay for him. In the original Account of this Voyage, we meet with frequent References to that of *de Weert's*, who was one of the best Seamen in *Holland*, and lived to distinguish himself by many more successful Expeditions. It has been found necessary therefore by all who have attempted Collections of this Sort, to add this Voyage of *de Weert*, tho' he was no Circumnavigator, to that of *van Noort*, and, I think, with good Reason: First, because it is certain, that Captain *de Weert* was fitted out with an Intent, that he should have gone by the Straights of *Magellan* to the Indies; and next, because it is very difficult to find so good a Description of those famous Straights, as he has given us. From these Motives, I have been led to the Pursuit of the same Method, and I persuade myself, the Reader will be as well pleased to see the Firmness of an able Commander struggling with a long Series of Misfortunes, as with the Felicity of other Captains, who have achieved, with less Difficulty, what, with equal Courage and Conduct, was attempted by him.

SECTION VII.

The remarkable Voyage of Captain SEBALD DE WEERT to the South Seas, and the Straights of Magellan, intended as a Supplement to the former Section.

1. The Occasion of this Voyage, and the Departure of the Five Ships from Holland June the 27th 1598.
2. Their Arrival at the Island of Brava.
3. Their Disputes with the Portuguese Inhabitants of that Island.
4. The Death of their Admiral, and his Supercargo.
5. The Regulations that ensued upon these Accidents.
6. Shape their Course for the Island of Annobon.
7. They proceed to the Coast of Guiney, where their Vice-admiral falls sick.
8. They land, and are well received by a Negro King; but afterwards differ with him, and obtain Refreshments by Force.
9. Their Arrival at the Island of Annobon, and the infirm State of their Men.
10. The Difficulties they met with there, and Disputes with the Portuguese.
11. Proceed to the Coast of Brasil, and from thence for the Straights of Magellan.
12. The Difficulties they met with there, and a Description of the Coast.
13. Their Disputes with the Savages.
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14. *The Institution of a new Order of Knighthood of the Lion set free.* 15. *The Barbarity of the Savages of this Country.* 16. *They enter the South Seas, where they meet with greater Storms than before.* 17. *Are obliged, by Strefs of Weather, to put back into the Streights.* 18. *Suffer prodigious Hardships there for Nine Months.* 19. *A Female Savage and Two Children taken by them in an Island in those Streights.* 20. *They discover the Fleet under the Command of Oliver Van Noort, and resolve to join it.* 21. *Are obliged however to remain in the Streights, for want of Provisions.* 22. *Methods taken by them to subsist in those Streights.* 23. *They discover some small Islands without the Streights, which, in Honour of their Captain, they call the Sebaldine Islands.* 24. *Arrive on the Coast of Guiney.* 25. *Come safely into the Maefe, July 13. 1600.*

1. **T**HE Inhabitants of the United Provinces being very desirous of promoting, to the utmost of their Power, such Discoveries as might prove beneficial to their Navigation and Commerce, the City of Rotterdam procured Leave from the States to fit out Five stout Ships for the Streights of Magellan. Of these the largest was called *The Hope*, of 500 Tons, which had 130 Men on board, *James Mabou*, the Admiral of this little Fleet, being aboard of her. The Second Ship, named *The Love*, (or *Charity*) of 300 Tons, had on board 110 Men, *Simon de Cordes* Vice-admiral Commander. The Third, called *The Faith*, of 320 Tons, with 100 Men, was commanded by *Gerard Van Beuningen*. The Fourth was named *The Fidelity*, of 220 Tons, with 86 Seamen, *Jurian Bockholt* Captain. The Fifth was a Yacht called *The Merry Messenger*, of 150 Tons, and manned with 112 Men, under the Command of Captain *Sebald de Weert*. These Five Ships were well provided with all manner of Provisions and Ammunition, with Cannon, Money, Merchandize, and all Necessaries whatever for a long Voyage. The Pilot, upon whom they chiefly depended, was one *William Adams* an *Englishman*, a Person of great Experience, and of whom we shall have Occasion to say much in another Place; and they had, besides him, Three *Englishmen* more on board the Admiral. June the 27th 1598. the Fleet sailed out of the Chanel of *Goeree*; but, the Wind being contrary, they were forced to lie at Anchor in the *Dowms* upon the *English* Coast till the 15th of July. Then, the Wind being fair, they sailed again; and, having consumed Part of their Provisions, the Commanders were so provident, as to take in more, for fear of Want. On the 19th of July they were on the Coast of *Barbary*; and, towards the latter End of August, they arrived in the Harbour of *St. Iago*, which is one of the *Cape de Verd* Islands, where they remained till the 10th of September, notwithstanding the Country was very unwholesome, and their Pilots, particularly Mr. *Adams*, remonstrated strongly against their continuing there; which so much offended their Officers, forder of Authority, it seems, than Safety, that they resolved never more to call their Pilots to Council; which seems to have been the Source of all their subsequent Misfortunes, and of that restless Spirit of Mutiny and Discontent, which possessed the Seamen on board their Fleet*.

2. The 11th in the Afternoon, they were off the Island of *Brava*, which is desert; but, the Bottom being rocky, they could not fasten the Anchors; so that they tacked all Night, till the next Morning, coasting along, they found some fresh Water; but it was very hard to be got, because the Bottom was not good. However, the Sloops of *Beuningen* and *Bockholt* landed with empty Casks, and filled them with Water, and returned safe on board, tho' it was in the Night, and the Ships were under Sail the mean time. Captain *de Weert*, embarking in the Admiral's Sloop, went into a little sandy Bay, where he landed; and, roaming about to find some fresh Water, he saw some *Portuguese* and *Negroes* coming to him. He spoke to them at a Distance, because they would not approach him, and desired them to shew him where there was fresh Water, and to sell him some Fruit, if they had any. They told him, that the *French* and *English* Ships used to come and fetch some fresh Water near that Place; but they were always under Sail. As to the Refreshments, they had none; but they might find enough in the Island *del Fuego*; and that, if they had any, they durst not sell them without the Governor's Leave, who resided upon the Mountain. After that they retired. Captain *de Weert*, having viewed several

Places, found at last Four or Five little ruined Houses. The Door of one of them being shut up with Stones, he broke it open, and found it full of *Turkey* Wheat. He staid himself in the House, with Three of his Men, to keep it; and sent the Sloop on board, to give notice of it to the General, fearing the *Portuguese* would come in the Night to take it away; but, by good Luck, the small Ship belonging to the Bishop of *St. Thomas*, taken by the *Dutch* in *Praya*, being arrived in the Bay, and lying at Anchor, *de Weert* transported all the Wheat thither. They were all Night doing it, because there were but Eight of them to carry it; and, having no Sacks, they made use of their Breeches. They also took in the same Place Two great Tortoises, which had above 600 Eggs in their Bellies, and made many good Meals of them. The *Portuguese* and the *Negroes*, having Notice that same Night, that the *Dutch* were carrying away their Corn, came down the Mountain, and made a heavy Noise; but *de Weert*, who had but Two Fusils, fired on them, and made them retire.

3. When the Wheat was on board the Ship, the Captain and his Men went to rest themselves. The next Day, *de Weert* landing again, the *Portuguese* came down to speak with him. They complained, that he had taken their Corn without Reason; that they had no Victuals, and were reduced to the Danger of starving with Hunger. The Captain told them, That he was very well informed, that this Wheat lay there near the Road, to be transported to *St. Iago*; that he could not believe, that, living upon the Mountain, they would keep their Provisions near the Shore; however, he was ready to pay for it dearer than they could sell it at *St. Iago*, provided they would shew him fresh Water; that they might easily excuse themselves to the Governor, and say, the *Dutch* had taken their Corn by Force, and so might keep the Money to themselves. The *Portuguese*, seeming to like these Reasons, promised the Captain to shew him a Place of fresh Water on the other Side of the Island, whither they would go, and make a Signal with Fire; but they were not as good as their Words. *de Weert*, coming on board again, found the Admiral very sick, and the Council assembled; and that his Opinion was, not to stay any longer. He also resigned his Command to the Vice-admiral, and desired the whole Fleet to obey him, ordering, that his Ship should bear the Flag in the Day, and have the Light hung out in the Night. The Vice-admiral, having taken Advice of the Captains, was informed of the Quantity of Water that was in each Ship; and it was ordered, that those, that had the most, should give to the others; and that the Proportions of Victuals should be lessened: But, because they could not get fresh Water in Three or Four Months Time, without a long Stay, the Seamen had Orders to gather the Rain-water, and be good Husbards of it. The Proportions of Wine were also abated, and, because the greatest Part of the Admiral's Ship's Crew were sick, they resolved that each Ship should take in Two or Three of them, and exchange them for the same Number of sound Men.

4. September 15. the Fleet sailed South-east with a North-east Wind. The 22. the Admiral fired a Gun, and put up the Stern-flag, as a Signal for the Captains to come on board his Ship. There they found their Admiral very sick of a Burning Fever, and out of Hopes of Recovery. His Supercargo *Daniel Resseau* was also very sick; and both of them died the next Night.

5. The Loss of the Admiral was lamented by the whole Fleet. He was of a mild and sweet Temper, honest, careful, diligent, and very kind to the Seamen. He was put

* This has been always esteemed one of the best written, and most curious, of all the *Dutch* Voyages; but what has been hitherto published from it in our Collections, has been miserably imperfect: We therefore give it at large.

into a Coffin half-full of Stones, and thrown into the Sea, with the usual Ceremonies. The Council being assembled, they opened the Letters of the Directors, and other Parties concerned, which were ordered to be opened in such a Cafe; and found, that the Vice-admiral was to succeed the Admiral, if he should die; therefore he was acknowledged Admiral, and *Beuningen* Vice-admiral; *Sebald de Weert* was made Captain of *Beuningen's* Ship, and *Dirk Gernitz* *China* Captain of the Yacht.

6. On the 28th, the new General, being on board his old Ship, gave the Signal to come to him, where all the Officers took the Oaths, and the Captains their Posts. The 29th, the General went on board the Admiral, and each Captain on board their new Ships. Such an Alteration did not please the Seamen, who were very well satisfied with their old Officers. After that, the Ships sailed South-east by South, and South-west, till *October 4.* at which Time they ran West South-west; and, the 6th, they stood East South-east. The same Day the *Fidelity* made a Signal to call the Captains on board her; but, the Wind being too strong, the Vice-admiral only went to visit him. The Scurvy raged so much amongst the Seamen, and especially on board the Admiral, that most of his Men were sick of it. This obliged the General to appoint a particular Day of Prayer in each Ship, to implore God's Mercy, and a happy Voyage. They were then in $1^{\circ} 45'$ South Latitude. At length the Scurvy increased so much, that the Admiral had not Men enough to work his Ship. The other Ships were almost in the same Condition; therefore the Council resolved to stand in to some Island, in order to get fresh Provisions. Accordingly they steered towards the Island of *Amboin*, or *Nobon*, where they thought to find fresh Meat and Oranges. About Night, the Admiral, who sailed before, fired a Gun, to let them know he saw the Land, tho', according to the Opinion of all the Pilots, they ought to have been 100 Leagues off it. As soon as the Gun was heard, the Ships discovered Land, and anchored upon the Coast of *Manicongo*, in 3° South Latitude. There they lost the little Ship belonging to *St. Thomas*, with Eleven found Men, who were seen no more. Some thought they had deserted; others believed they run aground, and were drowned: But they heard afterwards, that, having sailed a long while in those Seas, they arrived at the Cape of *Lopes Goncalves*, where they quitted their Ship, and went on board the Ship of *Baltazar Moucheron*, who was bound for *America*.

7. *November 4.* in the Morning, the Captains went on board the Admiral, and the Vice-admiral was commanded to land with his Sloop and Canoe to view the Country, and see whether he could find a good Road for the Ships: Approaching the Shore, he found the Sea breaking with such Violence, that the Sloop had much ado to go over the Waves, and rowed along the Shore all Night without discovering any thing but Trees. The next Day he returned on board the Admiral; and, after he had given an Account of what he had seen, they resolved to steer for Cape *Lopes Goncalves*, situate in 30° South Latitude. They had anchored in a very bad Bottom, where the Ships were driven from their Anchors, and one of the Flukes of the Anchor of the *Faith* was broken. The 6th, at the Break of Day, they sailed again, coasting along, and casting Anchor every Night. On the 9th, they arrived on the Coast of *Guney*, where they saw some Negroes, and spoke to them: The *Dutch* gave them small Glass Wares; but, seeing too many Men, and being afraid, they ran away in the Night. The General, having found a convenient Place for the Sick, sent them thither, and each Captain had his own Quarter. Captain *Beckholt* commanded the little Camp, and he had, besides the sick, some found Men to defend it. The next Day, the Admiral sent the Vice-admiral to wait on the King of that Country with some Presents, in order to procure Provisions: But he came back the 12th, and brought nothing but a Hen, and a few Plantains or Bananas; so that they were forced to be contented with a few Herbs they found in the Fields, as Cressies, Sea Parsley, some Apples without any manner of Taste, and such-like Victuals; they had indeed Plenty of Fish, and more than they could eat. The 20th, the Vice-admiral fell sick of a Burning Fever, that every body depaired of his Life; however, after a long Illness, he recovered.

8. On the 23d, *Dirk Erkinson's* Sloop came into the Road, the Pilot of which was a *Frenchman*, and had lived a long while with the Negroes, and in the Service of their King; so that he could speak a little of their Language. He promised the *Dutch* to obtain of the King all the Provisions they wanted; upon which, the General sent Captain *de Weert*, with Two Sloops along with him, to speak to the King. His Majesty, having Notice of the designed Visit, put himself in the finest Dress and Equipage he could to receive him: *De Weert*, being introduced to the King, found him, with his Attendants about him, sitting upon a Stool a Foot high, like a Shoemaker's Stool, and a Sheep's-skin under his Feet; he had a purple Cloth Coat, embroidered with false Gold without Lining, which looked like a Pilot's Watch-coat; he had no Shirt, no Shoes, no Stockings, but a kind of a Cowl or Cap upon his Head, which was yellow, red, and blue: He had his Face powdered all over with Ashes to appear whiter; but one might for all that see, that he was black. For a royal Ornament, he had about his Neck a Glass Bead Necklace; his Gentlemen sat round about him, their Skins were all over painted with Red, and their Heads covered with the Feathers of Cocks. By the King's Seat was another little Stool, covered with a Mat for the *Dutch* Captain, who, having saluted him after the Fashion of the Country, sat down by him. He told him, by his Interpreter, the Occasion of his coming thither; and complained, that the Inhabitants, without any Pretence or Reason, had left their Habitations, and run away: That the *Dutch* were their Friends, and only came into his Country to trade fairly with them, inasmuch that they might safely return to their own Dwellings again: That the *Dutch* offered to make an Alliance with them, and with the King, whom they would visit often; that they would bring all Things the Inhabitants wanted, and desired them to let them have the necessary Provisions and Refreshments, such as Fruit, Fowls, Sheep, and other Cattle, offering to give to the Natives in Exchange any of the Merchandize they had on board their Ships. The King, having heard, with great Attention, Captain *de Weert's* Speech, told him, that the *Dutch* were very welcome into his Country, and that he would order they should be supplied with all Necessaries they wanted. Then he brought *de Weert* into his Palace, which was more like a Cow-stall: There the King gave him a Kid, and a few Bananas, for small Pieces of Linen Cloth and Iron. While they were preparing something to eat, the Captain's Five Trumpeters and Musicians sounded and played merrily: The King was mightily pleased at that; but *de Weert*, who was hungry, would have been better pleased to have had some Victuals. After a long while, the King's Wives brought, in a wooden Dish, some Bananas roasted, and dried or smoked Fish, or rather Pieces of a Sea-horse, of which the King eat but soberly, and the Captain hardly tasted them, being not as yet used to such Victual. Then they presented him Palm-tree Wine, a sort of Drink that is very unpleasant to those that are not used to it. The King intreated *de Weert* several times to eat; the Dish being taken away, they served nothing else. The Captain was the more surprised at so slender a Feast, because he saw the King strong, and in better Health than those who live in Plenty of all Things, and eat the best of Victuals. *De Weert*, who was very hungry, told the King he would treat him with some of the Provisions he had brought with him: So the *Dutch* laid a Napkin, and served up a Piece of Bread, with smoked Beef, Cheese, and a Bottle of Sack. The King liked their Victuals so well, that he eat heartily, and drank so much, that he was obliged to go to sleep. In the mean while, the Captain took a Walk about the Town, which had not about 200 Houses in it. About Evening, not seeing the King, he thought to have returned on board his Sloop with his Men, in order to stay there all Night; but he saw a great Number of Negroes, armed with Bows and Arrows, who had possessed themselves of the Avenues, and would not let them go. The Captain, who had no Arms but his Sword, was extremely surprised, and asked them what was the Matter: They told him, it was because one of his Men had committed some Disorder in a House: *De Weert* then desired them to shew him the Man, and he would punish him.

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nish him. But it was only a Pretence; the true Meaning was, they were afraid the *Dutch* would come in in the Night, and take away the King, and his Retinue. The *Dutch* Captain went back into the Palace; but they told him, the King was not there: Upon which, fearing the Negroes had an ill Design, he resolved to force his Way to his Sloop. The Noise awakened the King, who came out of his Palace naked, and quarrelled with them, but they did not seem much concerned at his Anger. *De Weert* told him the Occasion of their Dispute: The King desired him to stay with him, on Condition that his Men, or Part of them, should have the Liberty to go on board their Sloop. So he staid in the Town with Eight of his Men. The Negroes, thinking themselves not safe enough, would not permit *de Weert* to be with the King; therefore they conducted him into another House, and kept a Watch all Night about him. The next Morning, the Captain going out of the House to wait on the King, an old Woman came to him, and looked him in the Face: She had a Box in her Hands, covered with loose Leather, which was fastened to it like the Leather of a Pair of Bellows, and, turning Three times round about him, muttered some Words, and beat at the same time the extended Leather with her Hand, which occasioned the flying of some Ashes out of the Box upon the Captain's Cloths; nobody knew what she meant by it, or what she intended to do; but *de Weert* and the Negroes laughed at her. At last the Negroes brought some Bananas, Two Goats, and Four Pullets, to exchange with the *Dutch*: The Captain took them, and, seeing he could expect nothing else from such a People, took his Leave of the King, and went on board again: But, while he was in the Town, some of his Men went into the Woods, and killed a wild Boar, Two Buffs, and some Birds, which were distributed to the Sick.

9. The General went ashore every Day to visit these poor Men Morning and Evening, taking an extraordinary Care of them, and supplying them with all Necessaries. December 4. a Ship named the *More*, arrived in the Road from the *Illa del Principe*, and the next Day the Yacht of *Laurence Christian* came into the same Road from the same Island. Some of the Sick recovered, but many that were well fell sick, because the Air was very unwholesome; therefore the General, having lost Sixteen of his Men, who died there, resolved to quit the Country. December 8. the whole Crew came on board, and the same Day Captain *de Weert* fell sick of a Fever, which kept him Two Months a-bed. The 9th, the Fleet sailed towards the Island of *Annobon*, with a Design to land in it, because the Sickness continued and increased among them. On the 26th, in the Afternoon, they arrived under that Island: The Admiral having detached Two Sloops with Captain *Dirrick* to go on Shore, the *Portuguese* and the Negroes opposed them: But *Dirrick* telling them they were come as Friends, and only to buy Refreshments, they promised to supply them; but it being too late to go and speak to the Governor, they desired the *Dutch* to stay till the next Day, and then they would certainly furnish them with Provisions.

10. On the 17th, in the Morning, they sent Two Sloops ashore; but they found a great many Men armed with Fufils, who told them, that, if they came near the Shore, they would look upon them as Enemies. The General, having Advice of it, armed all the Sloops, and sent them ashore under the Command of Captain *Backholt*, and the Sergeant major; the Sloops made to the Shore in Order, Two on the Left Hand, and the rest on the Right: But the *Portuguese*, and the *Blacks*, who had carried away every thing out of their Huts in the Night, set them all on Fire, and, abandoning their Port, retired into the Mountains. The Shore being free, the Admiral ordered, that all the Sick should land: The Seamen, who longed to eat some Fruit, went about the Island to get some Bananas and Oranges, which are plentiful there: But the *Portuguese*, who spied them, killed some of them: And the 19th of the same Month they murdered one, whom they exposed in the Highway to insult the *Dutch*. The General, to prevent such Accidents, forbade any Seaman to go alone and disarm to seek for Fruit without Leave: But his Command being not obeyed, to the great Prejudice of those

that slighted his Order, he caused a Gibbet to be set up, to fright those who should be so bold, for the future, as to disobey him. Then he sent a Party of his Men, well armed, who brought into their little Camp Twenty-seven Head of Cattle, which Prize was more agreeable to them, than if they had taken some of their Enemies Prisoners; however, they were so careless, they lost the best Part of their Booty. The 24th, the Admiral detached another Party of 150 Men, with Orders to advance into the Country, and to the Mountain, where they found the *Portuguese* intrenched, who fell upon them, and put them in Disorder: However, the *Dutch*, losing no Courage, continued their March up the Mountain, and found Two Passages; upon which they divided in Two Companies, who got up to the Mountain by each of these Ways, with much Fatigue: Being advanced pretty nigh, the *Portuguese* shot at them, and threw down many Stones; Captain *de Weert's* Ensign, who led them, was killed with a Musquet-shot, and many more were wounded: But the *Dutch*, not discouraged, got up the Mountain, put the Enemies to Flight, and took the Fort, where they found a Ton of Biscuit hid under Grass, Two *Dutch* Cheeses, and some Earthen Pots full of Spanish Wine. They burnt the Two Houses that were near the Fort, which were full of Cotton; and, after this Expedition, returned to their own Camp.

11. The Air of the Island of *Annobon* being worse than that of *Guinea*, the Diseases among the Seamen increased every Day; therefore January 2. 1599. they resolved to put to Sea; but, before their Departure, they buried their Dead, and burnt the Huts, and the Church. The next Day they sailed for the Streight of *Magellan*, with a Design to stop no-where else. The 22d, they passed the Shelves and Rocks of *Brasil*, called by the *Portuguese* *Accolbos*. March 9. one of the Vice-admiral's Seamen, who had several times broken open the Cook's Cupboard, and stolen Bread, was, by Council, condemned to be hanged on the Bowprit Mast. About that Time the Sick began to be better, and they got so good Stomachs, that their Share was not sufficient. The 12th, the Fleet being near the *Rio de Plata*, the Sea appeared as red as Blood: They drew up some of the Water, and found Abundance of small red Worms in it, which leaped out of it like Fleas; some are of Opinion, that these Worms come out of the Whale's Belly in certain Seasons of the Year. Eight Days after, an English Seaman died strangely on board the *Fidelity*: He was eating very heartily, when, on a sudden, he fell down upon his Back, rolling his Eyes, foaming and speechless, and expired in that Condition. Two Days after, a young Man of *Urrechi* fell sick of the same Distemper, and was like a Madman, biting, fighting, and scratching every body: He was carried into his Cabin, where he was Three Days and Three Nights without eating: The fourth Day he began to mutter some Words, and devoured a Biscuit they gave him, but at last he died miserably; for he was so senseless, that he could not clean himself, or void his Excrements in a regular Way: and it being then very cold, the Moisture that was about him froze, and benumbed his Flesh, insomuch that they were forced to cut off his Legs.

12. April 6. the Ships got into the Streight; about Evening they cast Anchor under the least of the Two Islands of *Penguins*, Fourteen Leagues off the Mouth of the Streight; there they saw great Quantities of those Birds called Plungeons, because they dive into the Water to catch Fish: They killed Thirteen or Fourteen with Sticks, and could have killed enow for the whole Fleet, but that they would not lose Time, nor the Opportunity of the fair Wind. The 9th, they put to Sea again, and the next Day the General sent Fifty Men ashore, to see whether they could find any Inhabitants and Cattle; but, having walked about Three Leagues along the Sea Side, they found nothing. On the 13th, they arrived in a fine Bay, One-and-twenty Leagues off the Mouth of the Streight, called by the English, *Mussel Bay*, because of the great Quantities of Mussels found there. In that Place they provided themselves with fresh Water and Wood, which are there very plentiful. The 17th, they sailed between Two rocky Coasts, and lay so close, and so high, that they thought they

they should never get through. The Mountains were covered with Snow. The 18th, they cast Anchor in a Bay to the Northward in 54° Latitude, called the *Great Bay*: In the Middle of it are Three small Islands, the least of which lies to the Eastward; the Ground in that Bay is very good, and of a fine Sand. In these Places there grow a great Quantity of Trees, (Pimento) resembling Bay-trees, only they are a little higher, and the Bark is much bitterer, having as strong a Taste as Pepper. Here they saw abundance of Mussels, some of them were a Span long, and, when they were boiled, the Flesh of Three of them weigh'd a Pound. The Wind being contrary, the Ships lay at Anchor till the 23d of *August*, without taking the Sails off the Yards, that the Ships might be ready to set Sail. In the mean while they suffered much by the cold Weather; they lost above 100 Men, and, amongst others, Captain *Beckholt*, who was succeeded by *Baltazar de Cordes*: Besides, the Storms were so frequent and violent, that the Ships could not lie at Anchor, and the Seamen were forced to be continually at work to keep them right: They were likewise obliged to go ashore in the Rain, Snow, and Hail, to get in some fresh Water, Wood, Mussels, and such other Provisions as they could find, which fatigued them extremely. The Scarcity of Victuals was so great, and the Climate so sharp, that they were almost starved with Hunger and Cold, the rough Climate rendering their Appetites so keen, that they were almost insatiable, and eat Roots and other Things raw, without staying to have them dressed. The greatest Part of the Seamen wanted Watch-coats, and other Cloathing, to support the Fatigue of the Watch, and the daily Work; for they had made no Provision of them, thinking to go into an hot Country, where they should have no need of them. To redress this Grievance, the General distributed to every one Pieces of Cloth; and all the Captains were ordered to be present, with a Cane in their Hands, when their Seamen eat their Meals, because many of them would sell their Share of Victuals at a great Rate, and, upon that Score, chose rather to be without it, and fill their Stomachs with raw Mussels, and green Herbs, which occasioned Dropsies, and reduced them at last to a languishing and dying Condition. But the Officers were so careful, and so exact, in distributing the Proportion of Victuals, that the 22d of *April* Two Seamen of the Yacht were condemned to Death for having stolen some Oil in the Hold of the same Yacht; however, there was but one of them hanged, and the other was whipt.

13. *May* 7. the Vice-admiral was detached with Two Sloops into an Island over-against the *Green Bay*, to catch some Sea-dogs. He found Seven Canoes, or small Boats, with Savages on board, that were Ten or Eleven Foot high, as well as he could observe, of a reddish Colour, and with long Hair. As soon as these Natives saw the Sloops, they ran ashore, and threw so many Stones at the *Dutch*, that they durst not come near the Shore; when they saw that the *Dutch* durst not approach, they got into their Boats, and rowed with great Outcries towards the Sloops. The Vice-admiral let them advance within a Musquet-shot, and then commanded his Men to make a general Discharge; they killed Four or Five of them, which so frightened the rest, that they ran ashore again; then they pull'd up, with their Hands, some Trees, which afar off appeared to be a Span thick; but the Vice-admiral chose to let them alone, and to return on board. The 26th of the same Month, some Seamen went ashore to look for Mussels, Roots, Herbs, and such Victuals as they could find. Being separated one from another, a Company of Savages fell on a sudden upon them, killed Three, and wounded Two. They tore in Pieces the first Three, and were going to do the like to the wounded Two, if Captain *de Cordes* had not come to their Relief. These Savages were all naked, except one, who had a Sea-dog Skin about his Shoulders. They had wooden Javelins, which they threw with great Strength and Dexterity; the Point was like a Cramp-iron, tied to the Arrow with Sea-dogs Guts, and would run so far into the Flesh, that it was almost impossible to get it out. While the Fleet was in that Island, the General ordered the Sloop to be put upon the Stocks to be altered

into a Pinnace: She was named the *Papillon*, and the Second Pilot of the Admiral was Master of her: Captain *de Weert*, having no more Provisions for Broth, and being obliged to give Biscuit to make some, landed *July* 17. to catch Sea-dogs; while he was ashore, so great a Storm arose from the North-west, that he was obliged to stay Two Days and Two Nights without being able to come on board his Ship again, and could catch nothing.

14. *August* 2. the General ordered all the Officers and Seamen to Land; and, though the Snow was pretty thick upon the Shore, he would have the Minister to say Prayers, and make a Sermon, to thank God Almighty, that he had preferred them in so dangerous a Voyage, and to beg his Assistance for the Time to come. The great Sufferings they had endured in that Bay, then called the *Green Bay*, and the Loss of 120 Men who died there, made them name it the Bay of *de Cordes*, because *de Cordes* was their Admiral, when they were afflicted with these Accidents: And, in effect, they went through the greatest Hardships in the World; for, besides Hunger and Cold, they were exposed to the Injuries of the Air, Winds, Rain, Snow, and Hail, till the 23d of *August*: Then they set Sail with a North-east Wind; but the next Day the Weather was so calm, that they were obliged to put into a great Bay lying Southward. To perpetuate the Memory of so dangerous and extraordinary a Voyage into a Streight, into which no other Nation had yet ventured to sail with so great and so many Ships, the General erected an Order of Knighthood, and made the Six chief Officers Knights of it. They obliged themselves by an Oath, never to do or consent to any thing against their Honour and Reputation, whatever Dangers or Extremities they should be exposed to, not excepting Death itself; or to do any thing prejudicial to the Interest of their own Country, or to the Voyage they had already begun. They also solemnly promised, they would freely expose their Lives against all the Enemies of their Nation, and to use all their Endeavours to prosper the *Dutch* Arms, and conquer the *Spanish* Dominions, from whence the King of *Spain* got so much Gold and Silver to make War against them in the *Low Countries*, and oppress them. This Ceremony was performed ashore upon the Easterly Coast of the Streight, as well as the Place and the Occasion would permit it, and the Order was named the Order of the *Lion set free*: They also erected a Table upon a high Pillar, on which the Names of the Knights were written, and the Bay was called *The Bay of Knights*.

15. The 28th, they sailed out of that Bay, and put into another little one a League off. There they were becalmed again. Then the Admiral commanded *de Weert* to go ashore with his Sloop, to remove the Table that was set up in the Bay of *Knights*, and transport it to a more convenient Place. But as he thought to double the Point of the Bay, he saw above Eighty Savages sitting upon the Ground, who had near them Eight or Nine Canoes, or little Boats; as soon as they saw the Sloop, they made a dismal Noise, and Signs to invite the Seamen ashore. But the Captain, who had but a small Complement of Men, returned on board the Ship. The Savages, seeing him go to his Ship, ran as fast as they could across the Woods along the Shore, hallowing still, and making Signs to the *Dutch* to come ashore. The General, being informed of this Adventure, sent immediately Three Sloops, well armed, to the Shore, but they found nobody: Yet they saw the Marks of the Inhabitants; for they had taken out of the Ground the Corpse of the *Dutchmen* who had been buried there, and had barbarously disfigured them: And the Table, which Captain *de Weert* went to remove, was broken by the same Savages.

16. *September* 3. early in the Night, the Ships got out of the Streight of *Magellan*, and sailed into the South Sea with a fair Wind. The 5th and 6th, they sailed still with a North-east Wind to the West North-west, and kept all Six together, reckoning the *Papillon* one, till the 7th of the same Month, at which time they had fine Weather: But it did not last long; for the Sea, which, in those Parts, is often stormy, began to swell and rise so high, that the Vice-admiral was forced to lie by, and hale his Sloop

on board, Captain *de Weert* was before the Yacht, that him to furl the *Fidelity*, the his Courser, that the Fog Vice-admiral his Sails; in they could together. but these T Admiral gave Two Yacht after they did Joy. When the Pinnace, him to fend they were sic *de Cordes* was Ships, viz. their Carpenter Then the Sea forced to furl also, who was like: But in put up their S was seen by the being persuaded the same. B the Two first the Two other to have no M a few Seamen and Dampn Fire Night an 17. On the that the Two sinking. The Inch, and the *Fidelity*, that The other Shi a Leak, and pump Night At last, after stop it. The this deplorabl the while, an Seamen were them had Tw able Share of was not suffic Mussels in the them, so that The 26th in the North Sid thought they the Morning Land, were i Ship towards them, which the *Fidelity*, had not been f in time, the Leagues off the Welterly Win off, the Two again, to find Then they d other Ships, v agreed togethe stay Two Mo another. Ab Point of the the Currents S where they and fair Weather e Gulfs of Sou NUM. IV

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on board; and the *Fidelity* was obliged to do the same: Captain *de Weert* was sailing close after the Admiral, who was before, when an Accident happened in the great Yacht, that had the Wind of the *Fidelity*, which obliged him to furl his Sails, and lie by with the Yacht, and the *Fidelity*, that had lost her Sloop. The Admiral continued his Course, thinking the other Ships sailed after him, and that the Fog hindered the Watch from seeing them; but the Vice-admiral, who followed them, was also obliged to furl his Sails; immediately after, the Fog was so thick, that they could not see one another, though they kept close together. September 8. the Two Yachts lost their Ships, but these Three kept together till the next Day; then the Admiral gave the Signal to sail with all the Sails, thinking Two Yachts were gone before. Two or Three Hours after they discovered them, and staid for them, with great Joy. When they were joined again, *Dirchs Geritsa* sent the Pinnace, or the *Postilion*, to the Admiral, to desire him to send him his Carpenters; but he could not, because they were sick: However, those of Captain *de Weert* and *de Cordes* went, which proved a great Damage to their Ships, *via*, the *Faith*, and the *Fidelity*; for they never saw their Carpenters again, the Wind shifting on a sudden: Then the Sea began to be so stormy, that the Yacht was forced to furl her Sails again, as well as the Vice-admiral also, who was ahead of the *Faith*; and the *Fidelity* did the like: But in the Night the Yacht, and the Vice-admiral, put up their Sails again, without making any Signal that was seen by the Two other Ships, who continued to lie by, being persuaded that the Vice-admiral, and the Yacht, did the same. But, when the Day came on, the Captains of the Two first Ships were extremely troubled, at not seeing the Two other Ships: *De Weert* was very much concerned to have no Master with him, and but Two old Pilots, with a few Seamen, who were sick and weak through the Cold and Dampness of the Weather, though they had a good Fire Night and Day.

17. On the 16th, the North-east Wind was so violent, that the Two Ships were every Moment in Danger of sinking. The Gallery of the *Faith* cracked above an Inch, and the Waves of the Sea beat so much upon the *Fidelity*, that the Seamen were in Water above the Knees. The other Ship was in no less Danger; for she had sprung a Leak, and so full of Water, that they were obliged to pump Night and Day, and could hardly preserve her. At last, after an exact Search, they found the Leak, and stoppt it. These Two Ships were Twenty-four Hours in this deplorable Condition in the South Sea, spooning all the while, and going without Sails; besides that the Seamen were discontented, and grumbled, though each of them had Two Ounces of dry Fish a Day, and a reasonable Share of Biscuit. But they were so hungry, that this was not sufficient. They used to fill their Bellies with Mussels in the Streight, and could not brook the want of them, so that the Captains had much ado to pacify them. The 26th in the Night, they fell in with the Coast upon the North Side of the Streight by a Mistake; for they thought they were Twenty Leagues off the Land. In the Morning, the Crew of the *Faith*, discovering the Land, were in great Danger; for the Wind driving the Ship towards the Coast, they saw Two Rocks just before them, which they could not avoid, but by doubling them. The *Fidelity*, that was a great Way before, and now lay by, had not been so exposed; for, having discovered the Rocks in time, she sailed on the other Side. They were Three Leagues off the Streight when they saw the Land, and the Westerly Wind blowing so hard, that they could not bear off, the Two Captains resolved to get into the Streight again, to find a good Road, and stay for a fair Wind. Then they did not doubt, but they might overtake the other Ships, which could not be far gone, seeing they had agreed together, that, in case of any Accident, they should stay Two Months in the Island of *Santa Maria* one for another. About Evening they arrived in the Southerly Point of the Mouth of the Streight, and were driven by the Currents Six or Seven Leagues off into the Streight, where they anchored in a very good Road, and had pretty fair Weather till the last of September: Then the furious Gusts of South-westerly Winds forced them to drop

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Three Anchors. The Summer approaching, they were in Hopes of fairer Weather; but, for the Two Months time they staid there, they had scarce a fair Day to dry their Sails. They called that Bay the *Bay of Trouble*, because they endured therein for Twenty Days the greatest Trouble and Danger imaginable, being obliged continually to go ashore to fetch some sorry Nourishment, such as a few Birds, and some Mussels and Snails, that they found in the Rocks.

18. October 18. the Two Ships, not being able to subsist any longer in that Bay, sailed again a League farther into the Streight, where they found a better Bay than the last, and cast Anchor upon the Coast. The 22d, they were in Danger of perishing by a violent Storm; but, about the Break of Day, a Calm succeeded. The constant Work of the Seamen was to go ashore to get some Victuals, when it was low Water, and to fetch in some Wood and fresh Water, when the Tide came in; so that they had no time to dry themselves, though they had a good Fire Night and Day: In a Word, during the whole Nine Months they spent in that Streight, they had scarce an Opportunity to take the Sails off the Yards to dry them, so frequent were the Returns of Rain and Storms. In so deplorable a Condition they waited for better Weather; but, in the mean time, were exposed to Wet, Cold, high Winds, and such other Inconveniences, which kept them continually at Work. But, after all, they did better by sailing into the Main, which was smooth, and where nothing was to be feared but Winds; whereas, if they had anchored in any Place, they would have been exposed to the Surges and violent Waves of the Sea, and the Anchors could not preserve them from imminent Danger. The chief Cause of the Seamen's murmuring was, that some of them gave out, that there would not be Biscuit enough for their Return into *Holland*, if they continued here longer. The Captain, having Notice of it, went into the Bread-room, and came out of it with a cheerful Countenance; and told the Seamen, that there were Biscuit and Provisions enough for Eight Months, though, in Fact, there were not Provisions for above Four Months. But the Captain was resolved to stay rather a whole Year for the fair Weather, than to go; and, in case the Weather should continue as bad as it was, he designed rather to sail to the *East Indies* to look for the Fleet. At length, after they had staid in the Streight till the 2d of December, the Wind turned North-east, and immediately they weighed Anchor. But, being got ready to sail, they could not get off into the Main, because of the Whirlwinds rising between the Hills and the Bottom of the Bay. The *Faith* was driven so near the Land, that one could step to the Shore from the Gallery, so that they were in great Danger, and would have certainly been lost, if the Wind had continued strong. The next Day the Storm was quite over, and, at Ebb-water, the Two Ships got out of the Bay, which they called the *Close Bay*: But they went out unexpectantly; for, after that, they never cast Anchor together, and that very Day they anchored Three Leagues farther under the Wind than they had done before, and at a League off one from another.

19. The 8th, they endured a more violent Storm than ever; the Wind was so strong, that the Waves were sometimes higher than the Masts; and the Storm lasted Two Days. On the 10th, the Wind sinking, Captain *de Weert* went into his Sloop, in order to board the *Fidelity*; but, having doubled the Point, he saw no Ship, or any Signs of a Shipwreck; so he went back, full of Sorrow. The next Day, he rowed towards a Gulph, where he saw a Mast near a low Point. Then his Sorrow gave place to Joy; for he went on board the *Fidelity*, and told them what Apprehensions he had been under. He was obliged to leave his little Boat, to help to hale the Anchors and the Cables, which the *Fidelity* had lost. Then he took his Leave, in order to return to his own Ship; but he little imagined, that it was the last Farewell, and that he should never see Captain *de Cordes* again. The frequent Storms, and other Inconveniences, having discouraged the Seamen, who were out of Hopes of ever returning into *Holland*, and who thought they should starve for want of Provisions, Captain *de Weert*, the next Day, which was Sunday, invited them

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all, but those that were sick, to a great Dinner of 'Geese, Ducks, and other Birds, that they had killed. While they were merry at Dinner, the Captain exhorted them to have Patience; and represented, that God Almighty never forsakes those, who put their Trust in him. He also thanked them for their Fidelity, and the Services and Hardships they had run thro' till now. This Speech proved very effectual; for the Seamen took Courage again, and rowed towards the Westerly Part of the Bay, to go ashore, and fetch some Victuals. As soon as they had doubled the Point, they saw Three Canoes, with Savages on board them; who, perceiving the Sloop, went immediately ashore, and scrambled up to the Tops of the Mountains, like Monkeys. The Dutch went on board the Canoes, and found only a few young Plungeons, wooden Grapples, wild Beasts Skins, and other little Things of no Value, which they left in the Boats. Then they went ashore, to see whether the Savages had hid any thing. They saw, on the Foot of the Mountain, a Woman, with Two Children, who did what she could to run away; but she was taken, with both her Children, and carried on board, without shewing any Concern at all. She was of a middle Size, with a big Belly, of a reddish Colour; her Countenance was very fierce, and her Head was shaved, according to the Fashion of that Country: But the Men have long Hair, and never cut it. For Ornament, she had Snails Shells hanging about her Neck, and a Sea-dog's Skin about her Shoulders, tied under her Throat with Gut-strings. The rest of her Body was naked, her Breasts hanging down like Cows Udders. Her Mouth was wide, her Legs crooked, and her Heels very long. She would eat no boiled or roasted Meat, and therefore they gave her some of the Birds they caught in the Canoes; which she took, and, having plucked the long Feathers, she opened them with Muffel-shells, cutting them first behind the Right Wing, and then above the Stomach. After that she drew the Guts out, and, having laid the Liver a little upon the Fire, eat it almost raw. She cleaned the Gizzard, and eat it quite raw, as well as the rest of the Bird. Her Children eat after the same manner; one was a Girl about Four Years old, and the other a Boy Six Months old, who had the greatest Part of his Teeth, and could go alone. She looked very grave and serious, while she was eating, tho' the Seamen burst out with laughing. After her Meal, she sat down upon her Heels, like an Ape; and, when she slept, she was all in a Heap, holding the young Infant between her Arms, with his Mouth to her Breast. They kept her Two Days on board; but, the 14th, the Weather being fair, the Captain sent her ashore again, and gave her a Gown, a Cap, and Glass-beads for a Necklace and Bracelets. He also presented her with a little Looking-glass, a Knife, a Nail, an Awl, and other Toys of small Value, with which she was extremely pleased. They also clothed the Boy with a green Gown, and trimmed him finely with Glass-beads of all Colours; but they carried the Girl to *Amsterdam*, where she died. The Mother was very much concerned at the keeping of her Girl: However, she went into the Sloop, without any Resistance, or any Noise to have the Girl again. They carried her ashore a League Westward off the Ship, to the Place she pointed at. There the Seamen found Fire, and some Arms and Utensils; which made them believe, that the Savages ran away at the Sight of the Sloop. When they were come on board again, so violent a Storm arose on a sudden, that they were all frightened out of their Wits. The Surges of the Sea rose higher than the Masts, and tossed the Ship with such Force, that it was a Miracle she was not overturned, and split to Pieces. However, by the Grace of God, she got out of that Bay, which they called the *Unfortunate Bay*. The next Day about Evening, they cast Anchor in the Channel; but they were surprised to see the Anchor without a Buoy; but the Weather was so violent, that they durst not venture to put one to it. This Accident obliged the Seamen to sail before the Wind into the Bay of *de Cordes*, situated in the Middle of the Streight, and about Fourteen or Fifteen Leagues off the Place where they were, because they knew that Bay had a good Bottom for Anchorage. With this View they coasted along Southward, that they might be seen by the *Fidelity*. When they got into the Mouth of the Bay, they fired a Gun, to give Notice to

the Captain, that they were come; and they imagined he had also fired another Gun, as a Signal of his hearing them. Upon this, the *Faith* continued her Course, thinking the other Ship followed her. Altho' they carried only a Fore-sail, the Strength of the Wind drove them so fast, that they were forced to fasten the Sloop to the Ship with Two great Haliors or Cables, to make their Course slower; but the rolling Waves broke the Two great Cables, and they never saw the Sloop again.

20. This was a great Loss; for the Seamen, having no Sloop, could not go ashore to get any Provisions. The next Day, December 16. they discovered a Sloop to the Westward, making towards them. Some of them thought it was Captain *de Cordes*'s Sloop; others imagined it the Sloop of a Ship belonging to the Fleet, that was come into the Streight, or an *English* Sloop; but others guessed better, thinking it was *Oliver de Noort*'s Sloop going to meet the *Faith*, which he had seen from behind a Point Three Leagues off that Place where he lay at Anchor. This unexpected Meeting was Matter of great Joy to the Seamen, who were in Hopes, that the General was well. The Captain received with a great deal of Respect the Sloop's Crew, who were all vigorous, and in perfect Health, and who, amongst other things, told him, that they had catched above 2000 Birds in the great Island of *Penguin*. These Words made the other Seamen's Teeth water, and every one wished himself in that Island. Many of them were bold enough to tell the Captain, that they must go thither, where they might as well stay for the fair Wind, as in any other Place; and that it was but One League out of the Way: But the Captain declared to them, that he would not depart from the General. The next Day, the General himself came to visit the Captain; and, the Day following, the whole Fleet joined him. The 2d, the Wind turning to the South-west, all the Ships set Sail. Having sailed Two or Three Hours, *de Weert* desired the General to lend him his Sloop, and Three or Four of his Men, to go before, and tell Captain *de Cordes* to get himself ready to sail with the Fleet. The General freely gave him his Sloop; and *de Weert*, rowing along a small Island, about which he had sailed before, perceived Two Fires; and, because he never saw any Savages in the Island, he thought some of Captain *de Cordes*'s Seamen were there: Therefore he went ashore; but met with nobody, and went on board again, and joined the Fleet. His Ship was now become very foul, and could not follow the other Ships; and, for that Reason, when she was off the Bay of the *Knights* at Ebb-water, she was forced to sail back into the old Place. The next Day, she was exposed to the same Accident within a Cannon-shot of the other Ships, and that because she was to pass through a very narrow Channel, into which ran Two Currents, one from the East, and the other from the West of the Streight, which, meeting together, made a rising Surge, that the Ship could not matter. December 24. they tried again to double the Point, behind which the Fleet lay at Anchor; but they could not do it; for, when the Tide came in, it drove them into the same Place again. The Captain, seeing it impossible to double the Point with that Wind, resolved to stay till it changed, lest he should fatigue his Men too much: But the General, tho' the Wind was contrary, sailed away, to look for a more convenient Road. Then *de Weert* lost Sight of the Fleet, tho' he was not far off, because he anchored behind a rising Ground. *de Weert*, despairing to join the Fleet again, and seeing he could not subsist without a Sloop, or a little Boat, ordered, that the Pieces of a large old Sloop, which were in the Hold of the Ship, should be taken out, in order to build another that very Day, which was *Christmas* Day; but, the next Day, the Wind being North, he put off the Work, in Hopes of getting into the little Bay, which was a League farther than the Bay of the *Knights*, and in which he might build the Sloop with more Convenience and Safety; but the Violence of the Wind forced him back again into the Bay of *de Cordes*, Five Leagues off, where, the 26th and 27th of the same Month, they endured so great a Storm, that the Seamen began to murmur again, particularly because they had been a Fortnight without eating Muffels, and had had nothing but a small Proportion of Biscuit and Oil to subsist on. The Captain, seeing them so insolent, called them all together

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In his Cabin, gave them good Words, and desired their Advice as to what was best to be done in this difficult Con-juncture. Some were of Opinion, they should go to *Rio de Plata* with the Sloop only, and leave the Ship, telling the *Portuguese* they were forced to it, because the *English* gave her Chace; others were for sailing into *St. Helena*, to take in fresh Provisions; but they did not consider, that it was impossible to get to that Island by the West. *John Outgate* the Pilot said, they could not do better than to go upon the Coast of *Guinea*, or upon the Gold Coast, where he was known, having made Five Voyages into that Country. These different Opinions did not please the Captain; and therefore he told them, he could resolve upon nothing without Captain *de Cordes's* Consent. In the mean time, he ordered that the Sloop should be built; and *January 1. 1600.* he went on board his new Sloop, and steered her himself ashore for the better caulking of her.

21. In the Afternoon, having doubled the Southerly Point, he discovered the Two Sloops of General *Oliver van Noort*; who, being put back to the Bay of *Knights*, and come to see whether the *Faith* was still in the Bay of *de Cordes*, brought a Piece of Ice Three or Four Foot thick, and said, he had seen many much thicker, though it was in the Middle of Summer, and the *Savages* were all naked. The next Day the General returned back, and promised to send his Sloop in Quest of the *Fidelity*. The Captain sent his Sloop all with his Ensign, and one of his Pilots, for the same Purpose; and, as they were going by the Fleet, he charged them with a Letter for the General, to desire him to send him Biscuit for Two Months. The Sloop came back *January 5.* with the General's Answer, that he did not know whether he had Biscuit enough for the Fleet, nor how long he should be at Sea; and therefore he could not spare any. This Answer afflicted Captain *de Weert* the more, that he had no Hopes of meeting again with Captain *de Cordes*; therefore he resolved to return into the Island of *Penguins*, and make a large Provision of them, that he might be able to follow the Fleet, in case the Wind was fair. Before he sailed away, he writ a Letter to Captain *de Cordes*, which he left in the Foot of a Tree, upon which the General had writ the Date of his Fleet passing by that Place; and nailed a Board to the Tree, with these Words written upon it, *Look into the Foot of the Tree.*

22. *January 11. 1600.* the Ship sailed towards the Island of *Penguins*, and the 12th they anchored under the least Island; immediately the Captain landed with Thirty-eight healthy Men, leaving the Pilots and the other Seamen on board: Coming near the Shore, they saw prodigious Quantities of Birds; and, leaving only Three Seamen on board the Sloop, went to kill as many Fowl as they could. In the mean while, the Wind grew so high, and the Sea so stormy, that the Sloop was driven up the Shore, and was so full of Water before the Seamen could get into her, and cast so far upon the Rocks, that all the Seamen could not heave out the Water, or hale her to Shore; in fine, she was so much tossed by the Surges of the Sea, that they expected every Minute to see her split in Pieces: In such an Extremity the Seamen had no Hopes of saving their Lives; for they could by no means return on board their Ship again: They had no Carpenters, no Tools, no Provisions, and no Wood; that Island producing none: They were all over wet, and starved with Cold; for every one went into the Water to the Shoulders to draw the Sloop: In fine, at low Water, the Sloop being aground, they found an Ax, and other Tools, with Nails, which gave them some Hopes of returning on board their Ship again; but, it being impossible to draw the Sloop ashore before Night, they were forced to be quiet till the next Day: So they passed the Night in the open Air, and made Fires with some of the broken Planks of the Sloop, and eat a few Birds half-roasted, without Bread, and with so little Water, that they could not quench their Thirst: As soon as Day-light was come, every one went to work so cheerfully, that one Side of the Sloop, which was the most damaged, was quite refitted before Night: The next Day the other Side was also refitted, and Four Men laved the Water out of her with Pails; then they laded her with 450 *Penguins*, and, about Evening, they went on board the Ship, after they had been Three Days ashore. While they were

catching the *Penguins*, they had found, in one of their Holes, a Savage Woman, who had hid herself there all the while the Seamen remained on the Island. When General *Oliver* landed in that Island, the *Savages* killed Two of his Men; upon which he destroyed them all but this Woman, who was then wounded, and threw her Wounds to the Sloop's Crew. Her Face was painted; she had about her Body a kind of a Cloak, made of the Skins of Beasts and Fowls, neatly sewed together, which reached down to her Knees. Her privy Parts were also covered with a Skin, so that the *Savages* on the North Side of the Strait are more modest and sociable than those that inhabit the South of it. This Woman was tall and well proportioned, and her Hair was cut short; but the Men wear it prodigious long, as they saw by the Corpses of one of these that had been killed, who had fine Feathers on his Head, and about his Body. They make use of Bows and Arrows, at the End of which a hard Flint is inlaid very neatly: The Captain gave a Knife to that Woman, who, in Acknowledgment, told him, he would find a greater Abundance of Birds in the biggest of the Two Islands; so they left her where she was, though she wished to be transported to the Continent. They went to this Island, in order to get greater Numbers of these Birds, of which, in this Place, it may not be amiss to enter into a more full Description. The Penguin does not receive its Name from its Fatness, as the Author of the *Dutch Voyage* believed; and, to favour his Opinion, calls these Birds *Pinguins*, in order to make the Derivation from the Latin Word *Pinguedo*, Fatness, more apparent: Neither is the Conjecture of the Editor of the *French Voyage*, grounded on a Mistake of Sir *Thomas Candish's* Senie, any better; for he supposes, that they were called *Penguins* by the *English*, because of their white Heads. The Truth of the Matter is, they were so called by the *Savages*; and because *Penguin* in the *British* (vulgarly called *Welsh*) signifies white Head, and these Birds have white Heads, it has been argued from hence, that these *Savages* are descended from a Colony of *Britons*, supposed to be settled in *America* by *Mados*, Prince of *North Wales*, about the Year 1170. I do not mean by this Remark to establish the Truth of that History, but barely to clear up the Meaning of the Word, and to shew how reasonable it is, in different Voyages, to preserve the different Orthographies of their Authors, because, in many Cases, they may be of much greater Use than is commonly imagined. But to return now to the Birds, which gave Occasion to this Digression: The old ones weigh from Twelve to Sixteen Pounds, and the young ones from Eight to Twelve; they are black upon the Back, and white under the Belly; some have about their Neck a white Ring, so that they are almost half-white half-black; their Skin is much like that of the Sea-dog's, and as thick as the Skin of a wild Boar; their Bill is as long as the Bill of a Raven, but not so crooked; their Neck is short and thick, and the Body as long as a Goose, but not so big: Instead of Wings, they have Two Fins hanging down, and covered with Feathers, with which they swim with great Strength: They seldom come ashore but when they brood, and then they nestle Three or Four together in a Hole; they have black Feet, like those of a Goose, but not so broad; they walk upright, with their Fins hanging down like a Man's Arm, so that, afar off, they look like Pygmies: They live upon nothing but Fish, and, for all that, they have not the rank Relish of Fish, but are extraordinary well tasted: They make their Holes in the Downs as deep as Rabbit-borrows, and the Ground about it is so full of them, that you can hardly walk along without falling into those Holes up to the Knees. *January 5.* the Ship reached the great Island of *Penguins*, a League off the small one: There they found so great Quantities of them, that they might have furnished 25 Ships with them; for they took above 900 in Two Hours time. The next Day, while they were busy in salting them, a great Storm rose from the North-west, which carried the Ship out of Sight of the Island, and so great a Way off, that the Captain was quite out of Hopes of making the Island again. Then he reduced the Proportion of Biscuit to a Quarter of a Pound to each Man a Day: However, the 17th of the same Month in the

Afternoon

Afternoon they made the Island again: But, when they were going to land, the Storm rose again with such Violence, that they refused to weigh Anchor, and get out of the Strait; but the Sea was too rough, that they could not do it: They were afraid, that the Captain would fly; at last the Ship's Anchor slipped; and, to save the Ship, they cut the Cable, and so they continued under Sail, not without great Sorrow for having lost their Anchor, because they had but one more left.

23. This bad Accident obliged the Captain to depart the Strait without Delay : Accordingly, *January 21. 1600.* he sailed out of the Mouth of the Chanel with a South-west Wind, chopping sometimes to East North-east, after having spent Nine Months in those Seas in a dangerous and dismal Condition. In the Afternoon, having got to the Main, they left the Sloop to drive into the Sea, because the stormy Weather had made her unfit for Service. The 24th in the Morning, they found Three small Islands to the Windward, which are not marked in the Map; they named these the *Sehaldine Islands*: They are Sixty Leagues off the Continent, in 50° 40'. There was plenty of Penguins in those Islands, but they could catch none, because they had neither Sloop nor Boat. *February 1.* a Seaman, born at *Bruffelers*, named *Nicolas Bliok*, was condemned to be hanged, for having stolen out of the Hold a Bottle of Wine, and a Bag of Rice: Upon the Point of his Execution, the Seamen interceded for him, and got his Pardon, on Condition that no Seaman, for the future, should beg any body's Life that should be guilty of such a Crime. On the 3d about Evening, the same *Nicolas Bliok* was accused of having made himself drunk, so that consequently he must have stolen the Wine; and was convicted of stealing not only Wine, but Victuals also, more than he wanted for his Necessity; for which he was hanged, and his Body thrown into the Sea with the Rope about his Neck.

24. March 15, the Ship passed the Equinoctial Line; they began that very Day to distribute no more Wine, because they had but one Pipe left, which they kept for the Sick. The 28th, they saw the Cape of *Morie* upon the Coast of *Guiney*; but the Captain was very angry with the Pilots, because they had steered another Course than he designed: The Seamen, on their Side, were also discontented with the Captain, who, having no Sloop nor Boat, and but one Anchor, would not land; but, being satisfied he had Biscuit enough for Four Months, at a Quarter of a Pound

a Day each Man, and Two Ounces of Rice, he caused them to tack about, and stand to the Sea. April 1. in the Night, they discovered some Fire, and thought at first 'twas a Ship; but, in the Day-light, they saw the Fire on Shore, and that they had run very near the Coast, being driven by the Currents. At that time their Penguins were all gone, so that, if God's Providence had not been exerted for them, they would have been forced to have been contented with a small Proportion of Biscuit and Rice; but, during Five Weeks that they steered along the Coast, without advancing much farther because of the calm Weather, they found Plenty of all sorts of Fish, both great and small. The Captain, being uncertain how long he should stay in that Place, and fearing that the want of Provisions would force him at last to land, ordered a small Boat to be built, which was finished, in Twelve Days time, by the Direction of *Ouziger*, the Pilot, who had formerly practised the Trade of a Ship-carpenter: But they had no need of her, for, the 24th of the same Month, the Wind being fair, the Ship sailed towards the *Azores* Islands.

25. May 3. they celebrated a public Thanksgiving-day; and, the 21st, they passed the Tropic of Cancer, catching every-where so great a Quantity of Fish, that they had enough both for salting and drying: But, when they were off the *Apore*, they found no more Fish; but were forced to eat those they had salted, and that new Food caused many Distempers amongst the Seamen, and especially the Scurvy: They were parched with in, and thirst, that they could never quench their Thirst; and their Bodies were all over covered with red Spots like a Leprosy. The 7th, the Captain was informed, that some of the Seamen had stolen some Bilcuit; but he durst not punish those that were guilty of it, because they were vigorous and healthy, and nothing could be done without them. July 6. the Ship got into the *English* Channel, the Captain landed at *Dover* to buy an Anchor, and a Cable; but, finding none, he failed the same Evening. On the 13th, while he lay at the Mouth of the *Mase* waiting for the Tide, with a Pilot on board, the Wind became contrary on a sudden, and forced him to go into the Channel of *Goeree*, where a Seaman died, being the Sixty-ninth that died in the whole Voyage; the other Thirty-six who were alive, gave Thanks to Almighty God, who had preserved them from so many Dangers, and brought them safe Home.

SECTION VIII.

The Voyage of GEORGE SPILBERGEN, in Quality of Admiral of Six Dutch Ships, round the World.

1. *The Occasion of the Voyage, and the Departure of the Fleet August 8. 1614.* 2. *Their Arrival on the Coast of Brazil.* 3. *Treacherously attacked, and a great many of their Men massacred by the Portuguese.* 4. *They take several Portuguese Prisoners, but could not procure the Discharge of their own Men in Exchange.* 5. *They pass through the Streights of Magellan into the South Seas.* 6. *They meet with the Spanish Fleet on the Coast of Chili.* 7. *A warm Engagement ensues, in which the Spanish Admiral, Vice-admiral, and another great Ship, were sunk.* 8. *They continue cruising upon that Coast.* 9. *The Account they received of the State at that Time of Peru and Chili.* 10. *They continue their Voyage to Acapulco.* 11. *Continue their Course from thence for the East Indies, and arrive at the Islands of Ladrones.* 12. *Proceed in their Voyage for the Moluccas.* 13. *Arrive safely at the Dutch Settlement at the Island of Machian.* 14. *Return from thence into Holland, and enter the Maese, July 1. 1617.* 15. *Remarks upon the Voyage.*

1. **T**HE Directors of the *Dutch East India Company*, having still very much at Heart the making an effectual Voyage through the Straights of *Magellan* to the *East Indies*, they, in the Spring of the Year 1614. granted a Commission for this Purpose to *George Spilberg*, or *Spilbergen*, a Man of established Reputation for his Knowledge in maritime Affairs; and ordered Six Ships to be equipped for that Service, viz. the *Great Sun*, the *Full Moon*, the *Huntsman*, a Yacht called the *Sea Mew*, all Four from *Amsterdam*, the *Aeolus of Zealand*, and the *Morning Star of Rotterdam*. They were all equipped in the best manner possible, and the Admiral had, in a great

measure, the Choice of his own Officers, which, in long Voyages, is a Thing of the utmost Consequence, in order to prevent unnecessary Disputes. The Ships were ready a little after *Midsummer*; but the Admiral having declared his Opinion, that they should, in case they failed then, arrive at an improper Season in the Streights of *Magellan*, the Directors thought proper to postpone the Voyage till the Month of *August*; and, on the 8th, the Fleet failed out of the *Texel*, with a strong Gale at South-east.

2. They continued their Voyage without any other remarkable Accident, than enduring several Storms and Tempests, till *October 3.* when they found themselves in the

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Height of Madeira. On the 10th, they lost Sight of the *Canaries*, and, on the 23d, they had Sight of the Islands *Brou* and *Pago*. They observed, in passing the Cape de *Verde* Islands, that they were wrong placed in the Maps, and even in such as were in the highest Esteem in those Days, as standing in them in 17°, whereas they ought to be in 14° 30'. On December 9. 1614. the Admiral appointed a Day of Thanksgiving, for th^e having happily passed the Danger of Shoals of *Abrolhos*, which run very far into the Sea, and have been very fatal to the *Portuguese* Ships in their Voyages. On the 12th, they discovered the Continent of *Brazil*, the Coast appearing high at a Distance, with many Hills, having very sharp-pointed Tops rising into the Clouds, others broader and well covered with Trees, but the Land close to the Sea was all flat. On the 19th, the Coast appeared very high, and the Pilots concluded, that it must be Cape *Fris*, but the *Sea Mew* having been sent before to discover, reported, that they were at the Mouth of *Rio Janeiro*, which has Three little Islands in the Opening; and this gave them Hopes, that before Evening they should have Sight of the *Ilas Grandes*, and therefore the *Sea Mew* had Orders to lead as before. On the 20th in the Morning, they anchored in the Road of *Ilas Grandes*, between Two large fine Islands, covered with Trees, in Thirteen Fathom Water. On the 21st, they anchored at another Island, at the Distance of about half a League, where they diverted themselves with Fishing, in which they had good Success; and here they caught many Crocodiles, each of the Length of a Man. On the 22d, they anchored behind another Isle, where they found Two little Huts, and a Heap of Mens Bones on a Rock. The next Day they set up Tents on Shore for the Sick, which were all landed that Night, and the Admiral appointed Three distinct Corps de *Garde* of Soldiers for their Security, as being in continual Apprehension of the *Portuguese*, who, they knew, were at no great Distance.

3. The Admiral, on the 28th, hoisted a white Flag as a Signal for holding a Council; in which it was resolved, that the *Huntsman* should escort the Shallops that were to go to take in Water at a River about Two Leagues off. The Admiral gave express Directions to the Captain of the *Huntsman* to anchor as close to the Shore as possible: But, when he was out of Sight of the Fleet, he anchored as he thought proper, which was at such a Distance from the Land, that it was in a manner out of Cannon-shot. On the 29th, the Admiral's Shallop and Canoe went to take in Water, and a Body of Seamen were landed upon the Island to cut Wood: About Noon they brought as much as their Vessels would hold on board, and in Two or Three Hours went back to fetch more. In the Evening they would have come on board again, but their Vessels were aground, and they were obliged to stay for the Flood. They passed their Time but very indifferently all Night under a Hut erected by the Crew of the Yacht; and they reported, when they came on board in the Morning, that they had heard a confused Number of Voices, and a great Trampling of People, in the Woods. On the 30th, the Shallops of the *Moon*, the *Morning Star*, and the *Huntsman*, were sent to the Watering-place with Nine or Ten Soldiers under the Command of *Francis du Chesne*, Lieutenant to Captain *Rowland Phillips*, whose Company was on board the Admiral; as for the Seamen, they went unarmed, contrary to express Orders, and notwithstanding what their Companions had told them, of their hearing a great Number of People in the Wood. They had not been gone long from the Fleet, before several Cannon-shot were fired from the *Huntsman*; upon which the Admiral immediately ordered out Three Shallops, full of Soldiers and Seamen, well armed, to see what was the Matter. These no sooner came on board, than they were informed, that Five Canoes, full of *Portuguese* and *Mestizo's*, well armed, had attacked the Three Shallops, and murdered every Man there was in them. The *Dutch* armed Shallops went in Pursuit, and soon came within Sight of them, and were not a little surpris'd, that the Men did not row very hard to get out of their Way. On their doubling a rocky Cape, they soon found the Reason; for there they saw Two stout Frigates riding at Anchor, to

which the Boats retired for Shelter, and the *Dutch* Shallops were forced to return to their Admiral with a dismal Account of what had befallen their Companions.

4. January 1. 1615. a Conspiracy of certain mutinous Persons, who were inclined to run away with the Ship, was found out; for which, Two were executed, being hanged up at the Yard-arm, and shot through with Six Muskets, and were afterwards buried on Shore, the Preacher having all the Night before laboured to fit them for a more happy Life; others were put in Irons, and distributed to different Ships. Before their Departure they called a Council, and therein gave Orders, that, if any Ship lost the rest, they should set up a Mark in *de Cordes* Haven, or some other usual Landing-place; and likewise fixed how long they should stay for each other, directing them after to sail on to *La Moiba*. They agreed to remove thence, for want of fit Provision for their Sick, to the Isle of *St. Vincent*: There the *Portuguese* delayed and shuffled with them, trifling away Time. On the 26th, they took a Bark with Eighteen *Portuguese*, whom they denied to exchange for fewer *Hollanders*, although they offered also many fair Manuscripts, Pictures, Plate, and other Things, taken in the Prize pertaining to the Jesuits. They found also, that Intelligence of their Coming had been given by some Traitors of their own Countrymen out of *Holland*. And, in the Beginning of February, they departed, freeing Four of their captive *Portuguese*, and detaining the rest; for one of which, also, another *Portugal* had offered himself, with several small Presents, pretending himself a Batchelor, and the other, his Kinsman, to have a Wife and Children; but was not accepted. They burned the Prize, and some Buildings belonging to the *Portuguese*, and furnished themselves plentifully with Oranges and Pomcitrons. March the 7th, a cruel Storm distressed them in 52° 6', which continued several Days, and separated them: And, on the 21st, a worse Tempest happened amongst some mutinous Persons; and some of them (to still that Tempest) were cast into the Sea. It was the 28th before they entered the Streight, whence the Wind and Tide forced them out again. The Winds being contrary, some desired to winter in Port *Desire*; others, to hold their Course to the Cape of Good Hope, which was utterly impracticable.

5. April 2. they re-enter'd, and anchored, because of Shoals, one of which they founded the next Day a Quarter of a League, and found but Three Fathom Water. They saw here a Man of gigantic Stature climbing the Hills, to take a View of them. This was the Land called *del Fogo*, or *Fire*, which is the South of the Streight. The 7th, they went ashore, found no Men, but Two Ostriches, and a great River of fresh Water, with Store of Shrubs and sweet Blackberries. On the South Sides they found pleasant Woods, full of Parrots, in 54° the Mountains full of Snow. They called one Place *Pepper Haven*, the Bark of a Tree there biting like Pepper. On the 16th, they conferr'd, and entered into Commerce, with the Savages, and gave them Sack, and certain Knives, for Pearls joined together: But some of the Company going on *May-day* ashore to take some Birds, they were surpris'd by the Savages, and Two of them slain. On the 6th, they passed into the South Sea, not without Terror, both from the Want that Day of Anchorage, and afterwards the dangerous Shoals and Islands between the Northern and Southern Shores, at the Mouth of the Straights opening into the Sea. They were welcomed into this *Pacific* Ocean by a terrible Storm, which they feared would have split them on the *Sorlings* (so for Likeness of those Isles to ours they called the Islands in that Sea a little without the Straights). These Straights are dangerous for high Islands, Shoals, and Want of Anchorage: Also tedious Storms attended their Ingrefs and Egrefs. On the 21st, they had Sight of *Chili* and *La Moiba*: This Island is low and broad to the North, full of Rocks to the South. On the 26th, they sent out Boats to try if it was possible to traffick with the People. The Governor and his Son dined with the Admiral, and seemed glad to see such Ships, and so well provided with Artillery and Ammunition against the *Spaniards*; as likewise did all the Inhabitants of *Chili*, at Sight of their mustering of their Soldiers. They exchanged Hatchets, Coral, and the like, for great Plenty of Sheep, of which

they had Two for one Hatchet, with great Courtesy: But they brought all to the Boat, nor would suffer any to go to their Houses, because of their Jealousy of their Wives, which exceeds even that of the *Spaniards*. One of those Sheep was of the Kind resembling a Camel, their Legs and Neck very long, Hair-mouthed, and Bunch-backed, which they use for Carriage and Culture, as Asses. They had many Hens, and other Fowls. On the 27th, they set Sail, and, the 28th, came near the Shore, not far from the Island of *St. Mary*, broken and rocky. On the 29th, they came into Harbour, where a *Spaniard* came on board them, having a Person, by way of Pledge, left for him on Shore: But, inviting them to Dinner on Shore, one of the Boats discovered a Body of Soldiers marching to that Place where they should have dined; whereupon they returned aboard with the *Spaniard*, whom they made Prisoner. The next Morning they went ashore with Three Ensigns: The *Spaniards*, at the Sight of them, set their Church on Fire, and fled. In the Skirmish, Two *Hollanders* were wounded, and Four *Spaniards* slain. Their Houses, built of Reed, yielded a good Flame. They found many Hens, and took 500 Sheep, with other Spoil. Here they had Intelligence of Three Ships which had departed thence in April to seek these *Dutch* Ships, manned with a Thousand *Spaniards*; the Admiral carrying Forty Brass Pieces of Cannon, the rest proportionable. Hereupon the *Dutch* were determined to seek them in the Isle of *Conception*, and after that in *Valpariso*, and then on the Coast of *Arica*. The *Spaniards* also reported much of the like Preparation making in *Lima*. Having *Dutch* Gunners, they enacted certain Orders of military Discipline, how each Ship, and each Person, should conduct himself in the Fight, if they encountered the Enemy; and resolved to die rather than yield.

6. June the 1st, they sailed thence, and passed not far from *Auroca*, a Town with 500 *Spaniards* in Garrison, which are continually disquieted by the Inhabitants of *Chili*. On the 3d, they approached the Isle *Quimquirina*, near the Continent, and behind it came up to the Town of *Conception*, wherein, besides many *Indians*, were 200 *Spaniards*. On the 12th, they entered the safe and commodious Road of *Valpariso*. There was a *Spanish* Ship, to which the Mariners set Fire, and fled. On the 13th at Noon, they were in 32° 15', and in the Afternoon came to the fair and secure Harbour of *Quintero*. They went ashore, and saw many wild Horses, which fled. Here they watered, and took many Fish; and for Wood, and other Things, found the Place very commodious. Every-where, on approaching the Coast, they found the People aware of them, which caused *Spanish* Preparations for unwelcome Entertainments, so that no Matter of Weight was effected. July the 2d, they came to *Arica*, in 12° 40', whither the Silver is brought from *Potosi*, and carried thence to *Panama*; but finding no Ships there at that time, they departed. On the 10th, they had a Calm, yet rainy Day, not without Wonder to them, because the *Spanish* Prisoner had reported a perpetual Fairness of Weather in those Parts. On the 16th, they took a small Ship, with a small Quantity of Treasure, most of which was embezzled by the Mariners: They afterwards took out the Commodities, and sunk her. They had Sight of Eight Sail, which, as soon as he discerned them, the *Spanish* Master of the former Ship said were the Royal Fleet come out to seek the *Hollanders*, against the Opinion of the Council of *Peru*, which would rather had them stay: But *Roderigo de Mendoza*, the Viceroy's Kinsman and Admiral, conceited of himself, said, *That Two of his Ships would take all England, and much more those Hens of Holland, after so long a Voyage, which had spent and wasted them: Nay, he was sure they would yield to him at the very first Sight.* Whereupon the Viceroy gave him Leave to go and bring them bound unto him; and the Admiral *Mendoza* swore, he would never return till they were taken or slain. Thus he departed out of the Road of *Calao* on the 11th of July. The *Jesu Maria*, Admiral, carried Twenty-four Brass Pieces, 460 Men, of all Sorts, and had cost the King 158000 Ducats. The Vice-admiral, *St. Anne*, 300 Men, the Captain *Alvares de Piger*, which had taken an *English* Ship in the South Sea before; this Ship had stood the King in 150000 Ducats,

and was the fairest that ever was seen in the *Indies*. The *Carmelite*, of Eight Brass Pieces of Cannon, 200 Soldiers and Mariners, besides the Commanders, and their Retinue. The *St. James*, of equal Force. The *Refary* had 150 Men, and Four Brass Ordnance. The *St. Francis* had no Ordnance, but Seventy Musketeers, and Twenty Mariners. The *St. Andrew* had Eighty Musketeers, and Twenty-five Mariners. The Eighth was sent after the rest, uncertain with what Furniture.

7. July 17, they came near each other in the Evening; and his own Vice-admiral sent Word to the *Spanish* Admiral, that, if he pleased, he might forbear to fight that Night, and begin the Attack next Morning. But *Roderigo de Mendoza* could not be so patient, but, about Ten of the Clock, set upon the *Great Sun*, in which the *Dutch* Admiral himself was; and they immediately exchanged mutual Broadsides. The *St. Francis*, being next, attacked the Admiral; but was forced to sheer off. She fell then on the Yacht, and by her was sent to the Bottom. At that Instant the Yacht was warmly attacked by the *Spanish* Admiral, and had soon followed to triumph over the *Francis*, her new Conquest, in the Chancel's Bottom, had not her Admiral succoured her with a Boatful of Men, and caused the Vice-admiral to do the like. The Admiral's Boat, being mistaken, was, by a Piece of Cannon discharged from the *Hunfman*, sunk, one Man alone escaping. The next Morning, Five Ships sent Word to the Admiral, that they would do their best to escape; but the *Dutch* Admiral and Vice-admiral set upon the *Spanish* Admiral and Vice-admiral, and an obstinate Engagement ensued. The *Aelus*, another *Holland* Ship, came in also. The Two *Spanish* Ships were fastened together, and gave greater Advantage. At last they forsook the Vice-admiral, and leaped into the Admiral, not finding therein above Fifty Persons alive, as, by their Confessions, after appeared. Mean while the Seamen hung out a white Flag of Peace, which was very often plucked in by the Gentlemen and Officers, chusing rather to die than yield. The *Dutch* pressing them, the Vice-admiral's Men returned again, and renewed the Fight, and the *Dutch* Vice-admiral was in great Danger, the *Spaniards* leaping into her out of their Admiral; but were repelled or slain; and the *Spanish* Admiral, not being further able to maintain the Fight, fled, and, by Benefit of Night, escaped the Pursuit of the *Dutch* Admiral; but her Safety was of short Continuance; for her Leaks were so many and great, that she went to visit the *St. Francis*, as also did another of them called the *St. Mary*. The *Dutch* Vice-admiral and *Aelus* bestirred them so very briskly, that the *Spanish* Vice-admiral, past Hope of escaping, set up a white Flag, and yielded. The *Dutch* Vice-admiral sent Two Boats to bring the Commander aboard; but he refused, saying, he would stay that Night, except the Vice-admiral himself would fetch him, or send some Captain to remain in Pledge; and rather desired Death than Disgrace. One of the *Aelus's* Men, in this Time, had taken away the Flag, and the Boats departed, Ten or Twelve staying on board, contrary to Command, that they might be first in the Spoil. They did, together with the *Dutch*, what they could do in the Night to preserve the Ship from sinking; but, seeing their Labour vain, they lighted many Lights, and, with horrible Clamours, cried for Help; but it was too late, and they sunk together, in the *Hollanders* Sight. The next Morning, they sent out Four Boats, which found Thirty swimming on the Boards, crying for Mercy; which, to some of the chief, they shewed, leaving the rest to the Mercy of the Sea, tho' some of the *Dutch*, against Command, in this Distress, murdered several of the *Spaniards*. Their Commander the Vice-admiral perished before of his Wounds. Forty *Dutchmen* were wounded, and Sixteen slain, in those Three Ships. In the rest Eighteen were wounded, and Twenty-four slain. The same Day, they sailed for *Calao de Lima*; but were becalmed. The 20th, they passed by the Island, and saw, in the Haven, Fourteen Ships in Motion near the Shore; but could not come nigh for the Shoals, and therefore went to the Road of *Calao de Lima*, to seek for the *Spanish* Admiral, which afterwards they learned, at *Peyta*, was sunk. From the Shore the *Spaniards* fired their great Ordnance, one of which carried a Bullet of Thirty-six Pound, and had almost sunk the *Hunfman*. They also saw on shore a great Army, in which

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which the Viceroy himself was in Person, with Eight Troops of Horse, and 4000 Foot. They agreed to return out of the Reach of their Shot, and cast Anchor at the Mouth of the Haven, where they staid till the 25th, with Intent to take some of their Ships; but in vain, because they were better Sailors. On the 26th, they took a little Bark laden with Salt, and Eighty Vessels of Syrup: The Men all fled. They ordered, that, if they met with the Fleet of *Panama*, in regard they were in the Enemy's Country, where they could not repair their Losses, and were also bound to the *Manillas*, they should act cautiously, and avoid being separated, which had much endangered them in the last Fight; and, if any Spanish Ship should yield, the Master and chief Officers should not leave their own Ships, but cause the Enemy to come in Boats aboard them, lest Confusion, as lately through Greediness of Spoil, should happen. The 27th, they set Sail. The 28th, they came to the Road of *Guarime* in 10° beyond the Line, a pleasant Place, with a large Port. Near unto it is a Lake of standing Water. They went on shore; but found the People all fled, who had left little Pillage, except some Hens, Oranges, Hogs, and Meal; which they took.

8. August 3. they dismissed some of their Spanish Prisoners. They passed between the Isle *Loube*, (so called from Fish of that Name) and the Continent. The 8th, they cast Anchor near to *Peyta*. The 9th, they set 300 Men ashore, who, after a few Skirmishes, returned aboard, the City being too strongly defended. They took an Indian Ship of strange Sails, with Six lusty Indians, which had been Two Months a fishing, and had many delicate Fishes dried, which they distributed through the Fleet. The 10th, the *Aeolus*, *Morning-Star* and *Huntsman*, battered the Town with their Ordnance, and sent a greater Number of them on shore, who found the City forsaken, and the People, with their Goods, fled to the Mountains. They sent Five of their Indians on shore, to get Fruits, and to learn more Certainty of the Spanish Admiral; who brought Word of her being swallowed by the Waves, only Six escaping. The Indians also brought the Letters of Captain *Gasper Galdron* to *Paula* the Commandant's Wife of *Peyta*, who had fled to the Town of *St. Michael*, Twelve Leagues from Shore. She sent the *Hollanders*, in Commiseration of the Captives, many Citrons, with other Provisions. This Woman, for Beauty, Wisdom, and Virtue, was of singular Reputation in all those Parts. *Peyta*, towards the Sea, is strong, and, in a manner, impregnable. There were in it Two Churches, One Monastery, and many good Buildings, an excellent Haven, to which all the Ships of *Panama* resorted. Then their Cargoes paid by Land to *Lima*, because of the perpetual Rage of both Elements, the Wind and Water, in that Place. They took in the Island *Loube* Two Fowls of enormous Size, in the Beak, Wings and Talons not unlike the Eagle; their Necks somewhat like a Sheep; their Heads combed as a Cock; they were Two Ells in Height, and Three in Breadth, when their Wings were displayed.

9. The learned *Pedro de Madriga* of *Lima* said, that *Peru*, *Chili*, and *Terra Firma*, were commanded by Don *John de Mendoza*, Marquis des *Montes Claros*, the Viceroy, which Office the King conferreth for Six or Eight Years, with a yearly Allowance of 40,000 Ducats, with an Addition of 1000 Pesos, for extraordinary Expences on the Feasts of *Christmas*, *Epiphany*, *St. Spirito*, and *Easter*, each of Twelve Rials and a half, because, at those Times, he is to entertain all the Counsellors of the Audience; 2000 Pesos also yearly, when he furnishes the Silver Fleet. The Viceroy is served with great Pomp in this Place, never stirring abroad without his Guard; and, if he goes into the Country, hath 100 Lances and 50 Muskets attending. There are Courts or Audiences in *Panama*, *Quito*, *Charlas*, *Lima*, one also in *Chili*. In them are the King's Counsellors, to whom both Civil and Criminal Causes are committed; but with Appeal in Civil Cases to the *Oyders* (certain Commissioners), and in Criminal to the *Alcalds*. These all go in one Habit, and are allowed 3000 Pesos annual Pension. The Viceroy resideth in the City of Kings, or *Los Reyes*, called also *Lima*, situated in a pleasant Valley, extended a Mile and half in Length, in Breadth Three-quarters, having above 100,000 Inhabitants, besides Merchants of other Places. It hath Four Market-places. There are 3000 Indian Arti-

ficers dwelling in the *Cercado*. Here resideth the Archbishop *Bartholomew Lobo Guorero*, who hath 60,000 Pesos of Revenue. The Cathedral hath Twenty-four Prebends, one Archdeacon, besides Schoolmasters and other Priests. There are Four principal Rectors, to each of whom are assigned 15,000 Pesos. Besides this Church of *St. John the Evangelist*, are Four other; One of *St. Marcellus*, with Two Pastors, and 1000 Pesos Revenue; the Second of *St. Sebastian*, the Third of *St. Ann*, with like Stipend; the Fourth is an Hospital of Orphans, with 500 Pesos. Monasteries there are of *St. Francis*, *St. Dominic*, and of *St. Augustin*, and of our Lady *de las Mercedes*, each of which hath Two Cloisters of their own Order, that of *St. Francis* Three; viz. One of bare foot Friars of our Lady *Guadalupe*. They have here Two Colleges of Jesuits, which the Spaniards call *Teratinas*, both there and in *Europe*. In each chief Monastery are 250 Religious. There are Five Monasteries of Nuns, called of the *Incarnation*, *Conception*, *Trinity*, *St. Joseph*, and *St. Clare*. Our Lady also hath her Churches by the Titles of *Monferrat*, and *del Prado*, and *de Loretto*. They have Four Hospitals for the Poor; of *St. Andrew*, in which are 400 Sick; of *St. Anna* for the *Indians*; of *St. Peter* for the Ecclesiastics; of *Charity* for Women; another of *Sto. Spirito* for Sailors; and one of *St. Lazarus* for inveterate Diseases. There are 600 Priests, and 1000 Students. Allowance is given to Twenty-four in the King's College by his Majesty, to as many in *St. Torine's* by the Archbishop. There are also 200 Doctors in the Universities, of all Faculties. The Professors receive of the King 1000 Pesos Pension. The Two Professors of Civil Law have each 600 Pesos. There are 400 Masters of Art. Every Year they chuse a new Rector or Chancellor. In this City and Suburbs are above 20,000 Slaves. There are more Women than Men. The Indians are free, as well as the Spaniards, saving, that they pay every Six Months Two Pesos, a Hen, a Tanega of Eight Rials, and a Piece of Cloth or Cotton. They are bound to serve the King yearly in the Mines or Husbandry certain Days, beginning in *May*, and continuing their Service severally till *November*. Those of *Arica* bring to *Potosi* Beasts, Wheat, Meal, Mays, *Axicoca*, an Herb which they perpetually chew. They use for Carriages a certain Camel-fashioned Sheep. By this City the River runneth close to the Walls, which, by Showers, sometimes so swells, that it hath carried away the Stone Bridge of Nine Arches. Here is the King's Pontractation-house, and his Treasury, the Court also of Inquisition, with Two Inquisitors, each of which also has 3000 Pesos Pension, and a Prison peculiar. The Two Notaries have 4000 Pesos apiece. Here is the Court or Office of the *Crusado*, or the Popes Bulls, with Officers, and like Stipends. This City is Two Leagues from the Sea, hath Eight Companies of Foot, and as many Troops of Horse, in Garison. The next Port is called *Calao*, in which are some 800 Inhabitants. From the City to *Potosi* are all Spanish Merchandize conveyed. *Potosi* is called *La Valla Imperial*, comprehending a great Mountain, in which are Silver Mines. Into them is a horrible Descent of 400 Steps into the Veins, which exercise about 20,000 Indians digging, and 100 more in carrying, grinding, and other Works of that Kind. This Place is so cold, that nothing grows within Four Leagues, but an Herb called *Ylbo*. Their Provision is all brought from *Arica*. A Pound of Bread is there worth Two Rials. The Haven of *Arica* is 180 Spanish Leagues from thence; but there are many Villages well inhabited by the Way. Not far hence is *Conquisaca*, the Bishop whereof hath 30,000 Ducats Revenue. There are the like Monasteries to those at *Lima*; but not so full of Monks. At *Potosi* there are said to be 1500 Sharpers, who live by their Wits. Seventy Miles from thence is another Silver Mine, called *Eruco*. Near *Lima* is *Chococa*, another Mine, cold as *Potosi*, where dwell 5000 Spaniards. *Cusco* is like to *Lima*, hath 6000 Spanish Inhabitants, a Bishop, and Monks, and Two Colleges, with some 600 Students. *Arequipa* hath also a Bishop, 2000 Spaniards, and a Corrigidor. The Capital of *Chili* is *St. Jago*, where there is a Gold Mine. *Cochimbo* hath Store of Brals. *Baldivia* is rich in Gold. In the Year 1599. the Natives of the Country killed the Spaniards, and made their Wives Prisoners, 800 in Number, whom they offered to exchange

exchange, if they might have for each a Pair of Shoes, a Bridle, a Sword, and a Pair of Stirrups; but the King forbade Armour to be carried to them. They poured molten Gold into the Governor's Mouth, made a Cup of his Skull, and Pipes of his Shank-bones, in Memory of their Victory. *Aroca* hath near it a Fort, with a Spanish Garison; but very poor. *Conception* is mentioned before. It hath 400 Soldiers to keep it, with some Ordnance.

10. Let us now, with our *Hollanders*, put to Sea, which they did *August* 21. but easily perceived the next Day the Strength of the Currents to be such, that, without a fair and stiff Gale, they prevailed little or nothing. On the 23d, they anchored before *Rio de Tumba*; for the Bar and Tide forbade them Entrance. They agreed to return to the Isle of *Coches* in 5° Southerly, to refresh themselves; but Storms, Rains, and Thunders, so distressed them to *September* 13. that they could not find the Island; and in the mean time they grew very sickly. On the 20th, they had Sight of Land in *Nova Hispania*. They had 13° 30', and the Weather became again very tempestuous. *October* 1. after much bad Weather at Sea, they had Sight of pleasant Land; but the Sea wrought so, that they could not have safe Landing, and so beat off and on till the 11th, that they entered the Haven of *Acapulco* within Shot of the Castle; and, hanging out a Flag of Peace, Two *Spaniards* came on board, and they agreed to exchange Prisoners for Sheep, Fruits, and Provision; which was accordingly performed. On the 15th, *Melchior Hernandez* came aboard, to take a View of the Fleet, which had vanquished the King's. He was Nephew to the Viceroy of *New Spain*, and was kindly entertained by the Admiral. The Castle here was well defended with Seventy Brass Guns, having had Intelligence of their coming Eight Months before. The 18th, they set Sail again; but, being becalmed, they did nothing of Moment, except the taking a Bark bound for Pearl-fishing; which they manned, and took into the Attendants of their own Fleet.

11. *November* 1. they anchored before Port *Salagues* in 19° North Latitude. Here they heard of a River, that yielded Variety of good Fish, and Meadows well stocked with Cattle, together with Citrons, and other Fruits, all which Conveniences they wanted; but the Company they sent, fearing a Surprise by the *Spaniards*, returned as they went, after a smart Engagement with the Enemy. On the 11th, they sailed for Port *Nativity*, where they furnished themselves with Necessaries, and from whence they parted on the 20th. The 26th, they had 20° 26' North Latitude; and there they concluded upon the nearest Course to the Islands of *Ladrons*. *December* 3. to their no little Wonder, they saw Two Islands at a great Distance in the Sea, and, the next Day, a mighty Rock in 19°, and Fifty Leagues from the Continent. The 6th, they saw a new Island, with Five Hills, that appeared like so many distinct Islands. The new Year came on with Distempers, that proved fatal to many of their Company. *January* 3. 1616. they had Sight of the *Ladrons*, and the next Day they landed there. They set Sail for the *Manillas* the 26th, where they happily anchored *February* 9. Here the *Indians* refused to trade with them, because, they said, the *Dutch* were Enemies to the *Spaniards*; for which very Reason, some others would freely have transferred all the Trade and Riches of the Country to them. But, in *Capul*, to which they came on the 11th, the People were of a better Temper, giving them fat Hogs and Hens for very Trifles. This profitable Trade they left the 19th, passing from thence through the Streights towards the *Manilla* Port or Bay. The *Indians* of *Capul* wear long Coats like Shirts, and are noted for the extraordinary Respect they pay to all Clergymen, before whom they will prostrate themselves on the Ground, and take it for a mighty Honour to be admitted to kiss their Hands.

12. The 19th they anchored before the Island *Luconia*, the principal of the *Manillas*, and in which is the City *Manilla* itself. Here was a curious Fabric, artificially erected upon the Tops of Trees, that looked like a Palace at a Distance, but what sort of Creatures were the Inhabitants there, they could not imagine. The 28th, they passed by the high and flaming Hill *Albaca*. The 24th, they saw the other End of the Streight, but the Calm would

not allow them to pass it. The 28th, they anchored before the Island *Mirabelles*, remarkable for its Two Rocks, that lift their Tops to a vast Height in the Air. Behind these the City of *Manilla* lies, and from hence they watch the coming of Ships from *China* to pilot them safe to the City, because of the great Danger of the Passage. *March* 5. they took several Barks, that were dispatched to gather in the Tribute paid to the City of *Manilla* from the adjoining Places. They had now Intelligence of a Fleet of Twelve Ships, and Four Gallies, manned with 2000 *Spaniards*, besides *Indians*, *Chinese*, and *Japanese*, all which were sent to the *Moluccas* to drive out the *Dutch*, and reduce those Islands to the Obedience of the King of *Spain*: Upon this News they discharged all their Prisoners, and resolved to go after them. The 11th, they got in amongst so many Islands, that they hardly knew how to deliver themselves again, but their Spanish Pilot brought them out safe the next Day. The 14th, they rid at Anchor all Night before the Island *Paney*, by reason of the Shoals. The 18th, they sailed close by the Island of *Mindanao*; but, in the Evening, put off further into the Sea, because of dangerous Shelves thereabouts. The 19th, they came close by the Shore again, and bought Provisions of the Islanders at a very cheap Rate. The 20th, they reached Cape de *Cadera*, the *Spaniards* Watering-place, in their Way to the *Moluccas*. Till the 23d they sailed no farther than just as the Tide forced them along, having a perfect Calm; but between *Mindanao* and *Tayamo*, a contrary Tide met and stoped them. The People here professed a great Enmity to the *Spaniards*, and offered the *Dutch* the Assistance of Fifty of their Ships in that Quarrel. The 27th, they passed the Island *Sanguin*, and the 29th came to *Ternate*, in which the *Dutch* possessed the Town *Macia*, where these unlooked-for Countrymen of theirs were made very welcome by them. The Streight of *Bouion* they observed to be full of Shoals, without which the Water is deep: On the East there is good fresh Water, and Two Leagues to the West lies a very rocky Shore. *April* 8. *Cornelius de Vicanese* went for *Banda*, and the Soldiers landed there after a very long and tedious Life a Ship-board.

13. On *May* 2. they sailed with Six Ships for *Macbian*, in order to prevent the *Portuguese* from lading Cloves. The Wind proving very fair, they soon arrived under Fort *Maurice*, which the Admiral immediately visited, as he afterwards did the Forts *Taffur* and *Tabillala*, and so on, till he came to the Fort of *Nabaca*. On the 12th, they received Intelligence from Mr. *Castleton*, who commanded Four English Ships, that the *Dutch* General, *John Dirckson Lam*, had sailed from the Island of *Banda*, in the Spring of the Year, with Twelve Men of War, well manned, and a Body of Soldiers on board; with which Force he landed, *April* 10. on the Island of *Pulo Wai*, the richest of all the Islands in those Parts, of which he made himself Master with great Ease, and that the Inhabitants of the adjacent Islands, being summoned, submitted themselves immediately, and entered into a Treaty with him highly advantageous to the Company, inasmuch as it secured to them the sole Trade in the best Nutmegs in the *Indies*. On the 16th, the Governor of *Tidore* went to *Malaya*. On the 18th, the *Dutch* Admiral delivered Seven *Dutch* Seamen out of the Prisons and Gallies of the *Spaniards*, where they had been confined no less than Four Years. The Prisoners exchanged for these were a Monk, a Spanish Pilot, Two *Spaniards* taken in the South Seas, and One that they brought from the *Manillas*. A few Days after, another *Dutchman* joined them, whose Name was *Peter de Viceri*, he had been Prisoner among the *Spaniards* several Years, at first on board the Gallies; but, being an excellent Goldsmith, and having married a Spanish Wife, they gave him Leave to come on Shore, and work at his Trade, allowing him, at last, so much Liberty, that he found means to escape, bringing his Wife away with him. This Man was of very great Use; for, having an excellent Understanding, being perfectly acquainted with the Spanish Trade, and knowing exactly the Nature and Value of all the Commodities in the *Indies*, he gave the *Dutch* Governors better Intelligence, than it was possible for them to have obtained any other Way. They returned afterwards to *Macbian*, and proceeded thence to *Malaya*, whence they went upon a Cruise.

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a Cruise. On May 30. they sailed for that Purpose, but were soon after recalled, and found, on their Return, Twelve large Dutch Ships from Amboina, in the Road of Malaya; and, as they were then a very formidable Fleet, it was debated whether they should attack Tidore, or any other of the Enemy's Settlements in those Parts; but it was debated only, and, their Chiefs differing, there was nothing put in Execution. These Debates shewing the Necessity of having a Commander in chief, the Council General of the Indies, June 19. proceeded to the Election of a Governor and General; and the next Day Laurence de Real was installed in that Command. Soon after Admiral Spilbergen received this Governor's Orders and Commission to sail with the Two Ships, viz. the *Amsterdam* and *Zeland*, to the Island of Java, and City of Bantam, with Instructions to settle the Trade there, on such Terms, and in such manner, as he should think fit. On June 27. they put into Japan for a Supply of Provisions, and then proceeded to Jacatra (now Batavia) where they arrived September 7. and where they found it necessary to careen their Ships, and provide them with double Sheathings, which, notwithstanding they did with great Caution, on account of the near Neighbourhood of Don Juan de Sylva, who was expected to sail from Malacca, in order to cruise upon the Dutch. They were, however, very soon set at Liberty from these Apprehensions, by certain Intelligence, that came the last of that Month, of his dying suddenly, not without Suspicion of Poison, at Malacca; and that, in consequence of this Accident, his Fleet, which was before much weakened, was returned to the *Manillas* without performing any thing; so that Four Years Trouble and Expence, which the Spaniards had been at in order to equip it, were all thrown away, which exceedingly lessened their Reputation and Influence in the Indies; as will always be the Case of maritime Powers, when they suffer their Affairs to sink in this manner, by attending more to the amassing of Wealth, than the Support of Government. While they were thus employed at Jacatra, they had the Satisfaction of perceiving the mighty Increase of the Dutch Trade; for, in that small Space of Time, there arrived no less than Four Ships from the *Maluccas*, laden with the richest Spices, and Four more from *Holland*, with very rich Cargoes; and, what in those Countries was of much greater Consequence, well manned, with several hundred Soldiers on board for the Supply of their Garrisons. There came in there also a very rich Ship from Japan, having on board a large Quantity of Rials of Plate, uncoined Silver, and other valuable Goods taken out of a Portuguese Prize, in its Passage to Macao. On the 20th, arrived there a Vessel, called the *Concord of Horn*, commanded by *Jaques le Maire*, which had passed round by the Straights of *Magellan*, and by that Route was arrived in the *East Indies*. But as it was known, that he did not make this Voyage on Account of the *East India Company*, or so much as by their Participation, the President, *John Pieterse Coen*, caused his Ship and Cargo to be confiscated, and his Crew distributed amongst the Ships in the Company's Service. I cannot help observing here, how very soon exclusive Corporations begin to exercise Acts of Severity. This *East India Company* had not been founded above Fourteen Years, and yet they already took upon them to break the Spirits, and cramp the Trade, of their Countrymen: And, to shew this Spirit in its full Extent, I shall translate literally the very next Sentence in this Voyage, giving a very injurious Account of this Expedition of *Jaques le Maire*, with whose Merit the Reader will be quickly better acquainted, on purpose to possess the whole Dutch Nation with a Notion, that Encouragement was only due to the *East India Company*. "In the Course of their long Voyage, says the Author of Admiral Spilbergen's Expedition, these People discovered no new Countries, no new Nations, with whom we might trade. They only pretended to have discovered a new Passage, different from that through which Ships had hitherto sailed; but there was little Appearance of this, since, according to their own Account, they had spent Fifteen Months and Three Days in their Passage from the Straights to the Island of *Ternate*, though they had fair Winds all the Way, and notwithstanding the vast Advantage a single Ship has over a Fleet, where the quickest

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"Sailor must stay for the slowest. These pretended Makers of Discoveries, therefore, who boasted of having found out a new Streight, were very much surprised to hear, that Admiral Spilbergen had waited so long at *Ternate*, and arrived so much sooner, than they, notwithstanding his Fleet was composed of such large Ships, and had been so much and so often retarded, had fought so many times, had been put back, stoped, and trafficked in so many Parts, and yet came out but bare Eight Months before them, and spent only a Year and Seven Months in all their Expeditions, to the Time of their Arrival in the *Moluccas*." There is a great Mixture of Vanity and Injustice in this Account; for though, without Question, great Commendation is due to Admiral Spilbergen, and his Voyage ought to be regarded as one of the most successful, all Things considered, that ever was undertaken by the Dutch, or any other Nation, yet there is less Reason sure for his undervaluing the Labours of another, or pretending to call in question a Fact that was so well attested, and which has been verified by future Experience, especially when the Man was under Misfortunes, which, as we shall presently see, had such an Effect upon him as to break his Heart.

14. The Admiral on December 14. 1616. hoisted Sail at Bantam, in order to proceed for *Holland* with the Two Ships under his Command, of which the *Amsterdam* was of the Burden of Fourteen hundred, and the *Zeland* of Twelve hundred Ton. On the 22d of the same Month died *Jaques le Maire*, a Man justly renowned for his great Skill in the Art of Navigation, and for his excellent Temper, as well as unblemished Character. On January 1. 1617. the *Amsterdam* lost Sight of the *Zeland*. On the 24th, they anchored at the Island of *St. Maurice*. On March 6. they doubled the Cape; on the 30th, they arrived at *St. Helena*, where they found the *Zeland*, which had anchored there some Days before. On April 6. both Ships put to Sea; on the 24th of the same Month, they passed the Line; and on July 1. 1617. they arrived safely in *Holland*, having been out near Two Years and Eleven Months. Their Return was extremely grateful to the Company, the Directors of which bestowed the highest Commendations on the Admiral, who had indeed behaved with the utmost Prudence, and so conducted this Voyage, as that it contributed alike to the Advantage of the Company, his own Reputation, and the Glory of his Country. Multitudes of People resorted to see him, and his Ships; an Extract of his Voyage was immediately made public, and the Dutch *East India Company* may be said to have dated their Grandeur, in respect both to Reputation, and Power, from the Day of his Return: The former, in some measure, resulted from his very Act of surrounding the Globe; and the latter took Rise from their Conquests in the *Moluccas*, in which he not only assisted, but likewise brought Home the first Account.

15. It is observable, that this great Commander took the utmost Pains, not only to have an exact Account of his own Voyage drawn up, but to examine closely into what Discoveries had been made by others. On his Return to *Holland*, he justified the Report of *Magellan*, with respect to the gigantic People that inhabit the Straights, and known to the World by his Name. Admiral Spilbergen said, that they had gone ashore in their Voyage, and had examined several Graves of those People that inhabit them; and always found their Bodies of the ordinary Size, or rather below it; and that the Savages they saw, from time to time, in their Canoes, were likewise of the ordinary Size; but that they had one Day observed a Man on the Shore, who first climbed one Hill, then another, to look at the Fleet; and came at last to the Sea-side for the same Purpose; so that he was seen by every body, and they unanimously concluded him taller than *Magellan* speaks of; which confirms the Account given to *Oliver van Noort*, and *Sebauld de Weert*, by the Boy they took from the Savages, viz. that there are but Two Tribes of these Giants, and that the rest of the Savages are of the common Size. He likewise reported, that on the South Side of the Streight he had observed an open Passage into the South Sea; but, as his Instructions directed him to pass through the Straights of *Magellan*, he would not risque the Prosecution of this

Discovery.

Discovery. Indeed some *Spanish* Writers have mentioned the same Thing, and all agree, that, by this new Passage, a Ship might come much sooner into the South Seas, than by that of *Magellan*. They place it, as well as he, about the Latitude of 54° ; and if the Reader is desirous of knowing the true Reason, why Admiral *Spilbergen* neglected this new Passage, which might have been attended with some Advantages, I believe it will not be difficult to assign it. The exclusive Privilege which the *Dutch East India Company* had so lately obtained, and of which they were so jealous, expressly mentioned the Strait of *Magellan*, and the Passage that Way to the *East Indies*; and therefore, if the Admiral had made a Discovery of another Strait, a Doubt might have arisen, whether this Passage fell within the Description of their Charter; and therefore his Masters might very possibly have thought the whole Merit of his Voyage cancelled by his making such a Discovery public. I must, for my own Part, confess, that I very much doubt whether we should have heard a Word of it, if *le Maire's* Voyage had not been soon after published, which made the concealing of it a Point of little Importance. To shew, however, that both he and the *Spanish* Writers were perfectly in the right as to Matter of Fact; and that the new Passage of *St. Barbara*, so much boasted of by the *French*, and said to be discovered by them in the Year 1713, is this very Passage; I shall cite a few Lines from Mr. *Frezier's* Voyage into the South Sea, in which we have the whole Story at large. I must first observe, that the *St. Barbara* was only a Tartan, commanded by one *Marcant*, and went from *France* on a trading Voyage into the South Seas; and now let our Author speak for himself. "On April 15, 1713, about Six in the Morning, says he, they failed from *Elizabeth Bay*, steering South-west and South-west by South, they took the common Chandel for that of the River *Massacre*, and were standing to South-west on an Island, which they took for the *Dauphins*: Assisted by the Currents, which favoured them, and a good Gale at North-east, they ran along that Island; and, an Hour after they had passed it, they found themselves in a large Chandel, where, on the South Side, they saw no other Land, but a Number of small Islands among Breakers. Then perceiving they had missed their Way, they fought for Anchorage, to gain Time to send the Boat to discover where they were; they found a little Bay, where they anchored in Fourteen Fathom Water; the Bottom grey Sand, and white Gravel. The next Day, being May 26, they made ready at Seven in the Morning, and after making some Trips to get out of the Bay, which is open to the East South-east, they stood South and South by West, and South South-west, and at Noon were got in from between the Lands. They took an Observation with very fair Weather, and found $54^{\circ} 34'$ Latitude. This Observation was confirmed by that they took the next Day in Sight of a small Island, which bore East from them: According to the Globe, they found $54^{\circ} 29'$. That little Island was to the Southward of a great one, the South-east Point whereof was called *Black Cape*, because it is of that Colour. The little Island here spoken of, is a Rock shaped like a Tower of an extraordinary Height; close by which there is a smaller, much of the same Shape; by which it appears, that it would be impossible to miss that Chandel, if it were sought after by its Latitude, upon such singular Land-marks. The Ship's Crew say, that there is a good Bottom, and that great Ships may pass there without any Danger, the same being about Two Leagues broad. This Strait is perhaps the same as that of *Jelouchie*, which *Monfieur de Lisle* has laid down in his last Map of *Cebili*: But as the *English* Memoirs, which he has been pleased to shew me, seem to place it South of *Cape Frenart*, it may be supposed, that they are Two different Straights. Perhaps also it

"is the same through which the Squadron of *Monfieur de Genes* passed out in the Year 1696." The Latitude in which both these Passages are said to lie, shew them very plainly to be the same, and demonstrate, to every sensible Reader, the Danger of granting too extensive Powers to exclusive Companies. One thing more I shall remark on the History of this Expedition, and then proceed. The Defeat of the *Spanish* Armada in the *West Indies*, by this Squadron of *Dutch* Adventurers, is the clearest Proof of the great Superiority the free Spirit of a Republic will always have over the most refined Politics of an arbitrary Court. No Prince knew better than the King of *Spain*, the Consequence of his *American* Plantations, or had the Support of them more at Heart than he: And yet we see in how short a time the Subjects of the State of *Holland*, who, but very lately, were in a manner Slaves to the Crown of *Spain*, were able, on their own private Accounts, and without any other View than the Benefits that were to flow from the Courage and Conduct of their Commanders, to fit out Squadrons capable of proceeding, in an hostile Manner, to the *West Indies*, and of giving Battle to the greatest Strength, that, upon fair Notice of their Arrival in those Seas, the Officers of the Crown of *Spain* could draw together. This, when attentively considered, will appear to be a most surprising thing; inasmuch as that it makes it evident, there is nothing requisite to raise a maritime Power in any Country but Freedom, a wise and honest Administration of Government, and the People's having a moral Certainty, that they shall enjoy undisturbed what by their Labours they acquire. This encourages them to exert their utmost Force in such Armaments, to bear Disappointments with Patience, to repair them with Diligence, and to persevere, with unshaken Steadiness, in the Prosecution of what appears to be their own Interest, at the same time that it is acknowledged by the State to be the public Interest also. We may likewise learn from hence, how very soon a Maritime Power is raised, and how suddenly naval Force declines, when the Spirit, necessary to support it, begins once to decay. At the End of the Sixteenth Century, the *Dutch* had scarce learned the Way to the *West Indies*, and were obliged to have recourse to their *English* Neighbours for Pilots skilful enough to navigate their Ships; but, in the Space of Twenty Years, we see the same People sending thither powerful Squadrons, aiming not at Plunder, but at Conquest, defeating and defeating that Maritime Power which had acquired such mighty Reputation by the Discovery, and such a prodigious Strength by the Possession, of both *Indies*. But Reputation will vanish, and Power must necessarily decline, when Men grow wanton with Wealth, and employ the Gifts of Providence for other Purposes than they were designed. As the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* lost their Virtue, and slackened their Industry, converting the Rewards of it to the Maintenance of an empty Magnificence, and effeminate Luxury, priding themselves in being absolute Masters of other Nations; instead of being active and free, they sunk alike in Credit and Dominion; that Poverty and Distress, for which they condemned the *Dutch*, proving the immediate Causes of their own Destruction, by the means of those whom they so much despised. These are Reflections which naturally arise from the reading such Relations, and happy are the People who make such Reflections in time. Luxury and Corruption are equally fatal to all; and, whenever we see them prevail, especially in a Nation which owes its Safety, Prosperity, and Grandeur, to Maritime Power, we may, without pretending to the Gift of Prophecy, venture to foretel, that such a Nation is not far from being undone. But it is time to quit Reflections, however just, to pursue the Thread of our History, which leads us to another Subject.

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SECTION IX.

The remarkable Voyage of WILLIAM CORNELISON SCHOV TEN, of Horn, and JACQUES LE MAIRE, round the World, by a new Passage into the South Seas.

1. *The Rise, Progress, and true Design, of this Undertaking.* 2. *The strange Reports spread concerning it in Holland, and the Reasons which make it probable, that it was grounded upon Intelligence from England.*
3. *The Unity and Horn sail from the Texel, June 24. 1615.* 4. *Their Arrival on the English Coast, where they take in a Gunner and Carpenter.* 5. *Proceed, without any remarkable Accident, to the Coast of Africa.* 6. *Land at Sierra Leona for Refreshments.* 7. *They careen their Ships on King's Island, where by Accident the Horn is burnt.* 8. *They continue their Voyage cheerfully in the Unity, and have a Sight of the Sebaldine Islands.* 9. *Discover the new Streights, and call the East Shore States Land, and the West Maurice Land.* 10. *They discover Barneveldt's Islands, and pass round Cape Horn.*
11. *Description of the Islands of Juan Fernandez, and Dog Island.* 12. *An Account of the Island Without Ground, and of its Inhabitants.* 13. *Description of Water Island, and Fly Island.* 14. *They make Prize of a strange Bark, with a great many Indians on board it.* 15. *Account of Coco Island, and Traitors Island, inhabited by Negroes.* 16. *An Account of Hope Island, and its Inhabitants.*
17. *Discovery of Horn Island, and a large Account of the Manners of the People.* 18. *Description of Green Island, and St. John's Island.* 19. *Arrive on the Coast of a Continent, which they take to be New Guiney.* 20. *Discovery and Description of Vulcan's Island.* 21. *A large Account of farther Discoveries.* 22. *They pass the Line a Second time, and leave the Coast of New Guiney.* 23. *Arrive safely in the East Indies.* 24. *Anchor in the Port of Jacatra, in the Island of Java.* 25. *Their Ship seized by their own East India Company, and their Effects confiscated.* 26. *Their Arrival in Holland, July 1. 1617.* 27. *Observations on this Voyage, and the Discoveries made therein.*

THE States General of the United Provinces having granted to the East India Company an exclusive Charter, prohibiting thereby all their Subjects, except the said Company, from carrying on any Trade to the Eastward beyond the Cape of Good Hope, or Westward through the Streights of Magellan, in any Countries either known or unknown, under very high Penalties, this Prohibition gave very great Distaste to many rich Merchants, who were desirous of fitting out Ships, and making Discoveries, at their own Costs, and could not help thinking it a little hard, that the Government should thus, against the Laws of Nature, bar those Passages which Providence had left free. Amongst the Number of these Merchants, there was one of Amsterdam, who then resided at Egmont, very rich, well acquainted with Business, and who had an earnest Desire to employ a Part of that Wealth, which he had acquired by Trade, in acquiring Fame as a Discoverer. With this View he applied himself to William Cornelison Schovten, of Horn, a Man in easy Circumstances, and who was deservedly famous for his great Skill in maritime Affairs, and for his perfect Knowledge in the Trade to the Indies, having been thrice there himself, in the different Characters of Master, Pilot, and Supercargo, or, as the Phrase in those Days was, of Merchant. The great Question proposed by Mr. le Maire to this intelligent Man was, Whether he did not think it possible to find another Passage into the South Seas than by the Streights of Magellan; and whether, if this was possible, it was not highly likely, that the Countries to the South of that Passage might afford as rich Commodities as either the East or West Indies? Mr. Schovten answered, That there was great Reason to believe such a Passage might be found, and still stronger Reasons to confirm what he conjectured as to the Riches of these Southern Countries. After many Conversations upon this Subject, they came at last to a Resolution of attempting such a Discovery, from a full Persuasion, that the States General could not intend, by their exclusive Charter to the East India Company, to preclude their Subjects from discovering Countries on the South by a new Route, distinct from either of those mentioned in that Charter. In consequence of this Agreement, it was stipulated, that le Maire, and his Friends, should advance one Moiety towards the necessary Expence of the Voyage, and Schovten, and his Friends, the other. In pursuance of this Scheme, Isaac le Maire advanced his Part of the Money; and Cornelison Schovten, with the Assistance of the following Persons, viz. Peter Clementson, Burgermaster of Horn; John Janson Molenvwerf, one of the Schepen or Aldermen of the same Place; John Clementson Keis, Senator of the said

Town; and Cornelius Segesfon, a Merchant of Horn; laid down the Rest. It is certain, that so many People of Substance would never have embarked in such a Project, if they had so much as suspected, that the East India Company had a Right to confiscate their Vessels and Effects whenever they had it in their Power: And we shall hereafter see, that the States General themselves were of the same Opinion in a Case that has happened in our own Times, founded not only on the same Reasons, but on the very Discoveries that were made in this Voyage. As soon therefore as these Matters were adjusted, which was in the Spring of the Year 1615. the Company engaged in this Undertaking began to apply themselves to the carrying it into Execution, proposing to equip for that Purpose a larger and a less Vessel, to sail from Horn at the proper Season of the Year. And that all Parties might be thoroughly satisfied, it was determined, that William Cornelison Schovten, on Account of his Age and Experience, should have the Command of the larger Ship, with the sole Direction of the Voyage; and that Jacques le Maire, the eldest Son of Isaac le Maire, should be the first Supercargo. The Company were so eager in the Prosecution of their Design, and so attentive to whatever might be necessary to promote it, that in the Space of Two Months all Things were ready, and a sufficient Number of Men engaged for navigating both Ships. But, as Secrecy was absolutely necessary, the Seamen were articulated in general Terms to go wherever their Masters and Supercargoes should require; and, in Consideration of so unusual a Condition, their Wages were advanced considerably; which was a Circumstance of such Consequence, and there were in those Days so many adventurous Spirits, that they did not find it at all difficult to make up their intended Complement; which gave them an Opportunity of chusing none but experienced Mariners, on whose Skill and Fidelity they could depend, a Circumstance of the utmost Consequence in a Voyage of this Nature, where the Tempers of Men were sure to be thoroughly tried.

2. These extraordinary Preparations, but, above all, the mighty Secrecy that was observed, caused a great Noise, not only at Amsterdam, but all over Holland, where People reasoned on the Intention of this Voyage, according to the several Degrees of their Capacity and Experience, some fancying they were bound to one Place, some to another; but the common People thought they hit upon their proper Title, in calling them the Gold-finders; whereas the Merchants, who were better versed in such Matters, called them, with greater Propriety, the South Company, and indeed that was their true Designation; for the real Design of Isaac le Maire was to discover those Southern Regions,

to which few People had hitherto travelled even in Imagination, and which, by an unaccountable Indolence, remain, in a great measure, undiscovered to this Day. To speak the Truth, this was the Age of Discoveries, one Man's Success whetting the Wit of another; and perhaps this very Undertaking might spring from some Accounts that *Juan le Maire*, who was the first Author of the Voyage, might have had from *England*. I do not say this, from a childish Fondness for our own Country, from any Prejudice against the *Dutch*, or Desire of robbing Foreigners of their due Praise; but I speak of what was then suspected, and I shall give the Reader my Reasons for it. I intimated, in speaking of *Sir Francis Drake's Voyages*, that it would have been happy for us, and for Posterity, if he had written an Account of them himself. *Sir Richard Hawkins*, who knew him well, tells us, that it was the Opinion of *Sir Francis*, that what was generally called the South Shore of the Straights of *Magellan*, was, in reality, no more than a Clutter of Islands, or broken Land. Nay, he goes farther, and affirms, that he heard *Sir Francis Drake* say, that, having passed the Straights, a Storm took him at North-west, and afterwards veered about to the South-west, continuing many Days with such Violence, that his Ship could carry no Sail: When the Storm was over, and he had an Opportunity of taking an Observation, he found himself in 50° of Longitude; from whence he justly conjectured, that he had been blown quite round the Straights; for, as we have observed more than once, both the Entrances of the Straights of *Magellan* are in the same Latitude, which is about 52° 50'. *Sir Francis Drake* was so strongly persuaded of this, that, finding it difficult to double the Southernmost Island, he anchored under the Lee of it; and, going ashore with a Compass, he found the South Point of the Island, over which, laying himself flat upon his Brest, he hung for a Minute or Two; and then, returning on board his Ship, told his Seamen, that he had been farther South than any Man had ever been before. It is very probable, that some of those who envied *Sir Francis*, made light of these Particulars when he first related them, and treated them as Travellers Stories are often treated; but *Sir Richard Hawkins*, who had been in those Straights, and was a very judicious Man, as a great Navigator, kept these Sayings in his Mind; and, after he had compared what *Sir Francis* said with the Appearance of those Straights, he readily concurred with him in Opinion. Yet, supposing this to be the Case, there was no less Merit in *le Maire's* Project, than there would have been without it, since it required great Sagacity to distinguish a true Report, in a Case of this Nature, from a flying Tale; and besides, *Sir Francis Drake* never advanced any thing with regard to a Southern Continent, that was intirely guessed at by the Contriver of this Voyage, from the Laws of Nature, and a just Consideration of the Harmony, which is, in other respects, observed in the Distribution of Land and Water. In the Beginning of the Month of *May* 1615, the South Company drew their Men together; and, on the 16th of that Month, they were mustered before the Magistrates of *Horn*, took their Leave of their Friends and Relations, and prepared to embark on board their Ships.

3. The biggest of these Vessels was called *The Unity*, of the Burden of 260 Ton, carrying Nineteen Pieces of Cannon, and Twelve Swivels. She had on board likewise a Pinnace to sail, and another to row, a Launch for landing of Men, and a small Boat, with all other Necessaries whatever for so long a Voyage; and of this Vessel *William Cornelijson Sebouten* was Master and Pilot, and *Jacques le Maire* Supercargo. The lesser Ship was called *The Horn*, of the Burden of 110 Ton, carrying Eight Cannon, and Four Swivels, *Joan Cornelijson Sebouten* Master, and *Aris Clavijon* Supercargo. The Crew of the former consisted of Sixty-five Men, and the latter of Twenty-two only. The *Unity* sailed *May* 25. for the *Texel*, where the *Horn* likewise arrived *June* 3. following, that being judged the properest Season of the Year for them to proceed on their Voyage. On *June* 14. they sailed out of the *Texel*, and, passing in Sight of *Danirk*, between *Dover* and *Calais*, anchored on the 17th in the *Downs*, when *William Cornelijson Sebouten* went on shore at *Dover*, in order to get fresh Water, and

to hire an *English* Gunner; which accordingly he did, and that Day sent him on board. They sailed again in the Evening, and met with several large *Dutch* Ships laden with Salt. In the Night between the 21st and 22d, they were grievously ruffled by a Storm; which obliged them to put into the Isle of *Wight* for Shelter, where Captain *Sebouten* endeavoured, if possible, to have hired a Carpenter, but without Success, which obliged them to sail on the 25th for *Plymouth*, where he arrived on the 27th, and there hired a Carpenter of *Maidenbick*. This shews the great Esteem that the *English* Artificers were then in; for it cannot be presumed, that Persons of such Knowledge in Maritime Affairs, as *Sebouten* and *le Maire*, would have neglected hiring such necessary Officers as Gunners and Carpenters in *Holland*, if they had not believed it for their Interest to have *Englishmen* in those Stations; which strongly confirms what *John Stowe* tells us in his History, that, towards the latter End of the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, there were vast Numbers of Ship-carpenters here, who were esteemed the best Workmen in *Europe*, and were withal accomplished Seamen likewise; which is also taken notice of by *Sir Richard Hawkins*, in his Observations.

4. On *July* 28. they sailed from *Plymouth* with a North North-east Wind, and very fair Weather. On the 29th, Captain *Sebouten* made a Signal for all Officers to come on board; when it was resolved in a Council, to settle the Rate of their Sea Allowance in such a manner, as that the Men might have no Reason to complain, and their Officers be in no Apprehensions, of their wanting Provisions during the Course of so long a Voyage. The Rate they fixed in the following Portions; viz. a Can of Beer a Man every Day, Four Potnds of Biscuit, half a Pound of Butter, and as much sweet Suet, for the Week, together with Five large *Dutch* Cheeses, that were to serve them the whole Voyage. This was exclusive of Flesh or Fish: And we may, from hence, form some Notion of the Frugality the *Dutch* vitualled with in those Days, and from which they have deviated very little ever since. They likewise made the necessary Orders for the due Regulation of the Voyage, directing, that, in case of landing Men, one of the Masters should always command; that, in Ports where they went to trade, the Supercargo should go on shore, and have the sole Direction of the Commerce; that, on board, every Officer should be strict in the Execution of his Duty; but without putting unnecessary Hardships on the Men, or interfering with other Officers in their Commands; that none of the Officers should hold any Conversation with the Seamen, in relation to the Design of the Voage, which being solely in the Brest of the First Captain and Supercargo, Conjectures must be fruitless, and might be dangerous; that any Embezzlement of Provisions, Stores, or Merchandize, should be severely punished; and, in case of their being reduced to short Allowance, then Offences of this Nature to be punished with Death; that the Two Supercargoes should keep clear and distinct Journals of all Proceedings, for the Use of the Company, that it might plainly appear, how far every Man had done his Duty, and to what Degree the End of the Voyage had been answered. All these Rules were very exactly observed, and particularly the last; so that, from these Journals kept by the Supercargoes, this Account has been taken. On *July* 8. being in the Latitude of 39° 25', their Carpenter's Mate died. On the 9th and 10th, with a North North-east Wind, and a stiff Gale, they stood on their Course, without putting in to *Porto Santo*, or *Madeira*, of which they had Sight on the 11th. The Reason was, that, having, as they conceived, Vituals sufficient for the Voyage, they determined not to lose Time, by going needlessly on shore, especially since hitherto their Men were vigorous, and in good Health; which Resolution was founded on an Observation made by Captain *Sebouten*, that many Voyages had been lost, by lingering in Port without any urgent Cause, when the Winds and Seasons were fair, and their Course might have been prosecuted without Delay. On the 12th, they had Sight of many of the Natives of those Islands in their Boats, following them at the Distance of about Two Leagues, with Goats, Fowls, Fruits, and other Refreshments, which they usually carried on board Slaps, that appear in Sight; but the *Dutchmen*, in pursuance of the Regulations they had established, did not slack

Sail, but continued they very steady.
5. On *July* 19. they sailed from the Gulf of *Calcutta* and a swift Current followed. The 20th Side of Cape South from the not suffer the Anchor all the on board the Night States left the Cape they saw the of *Madras* Land of *Sier* Jan's Island. all, that lies between that the Point have landed, Shallows of 5 Fathom Water lower to the with a High-tide and at Night *liam Sebouten* steering North which Course and got into went to the L and lie all the a League from had shallow muddy Ground which appeared all over waste other Inhabitants to have any River there, Sands, and it; yet, with Breadth such wind herself. saw Tortois of Birds. They met with which they left Noon, they went ward, along had Twelve ing, got aboard. 6. On the Current, the Road of *Sier* Water, a little The Village covered with willing to come ashore, to see that came from them: Several staid there a for Lemons, beads; and an Interpreter Here they had with fresh Water from a very their Barrels. There were made Lemons. Knives, they drove away at the Mouth took an Antelope; and had Master brought Shape of a Snake. Nums.

Sail, but continued their Course; and the same Conduct they very steadily pursued through their whole Voyage.

5. On July 13. they failed from the Island *Teneriff* and the grand *Canary*, with a stiff North North-east Wind, and a swift Current. About the 15th, the same Wind and Current following them still, they passed the Tropic of *Cancer*. The 20th in the Morning, they fell in with the North Side of Cape *Verd*. At Sun-riising the Cape lay West by South from them; so that the North North-east Wind would not suffer them to get beyond it; but kept them there at Anchor all that Night. The 25th, the *Moorish* Alcaid came on board them, with whom they agreed at the Price of Eight States of Iron for a Supply of fresh Water. They left the Cape August 1. and the 21st of the same Month they saw the high Land of *Sierra Leona*, and also the Island of *Madrabomba*, which lies on the South Point of the high Land of *Sierra Leona*, and North from the Shallows of *St. Ann's* Island. This Land of *Sierra Leona* is the highest of all, that lies between Cape *Verd* and the Coast of *Guiney*; so that the Point is very easy to be known. Here they would have landed, running up to the Point over the Baixos or Shallows of *St. Ann's* at Ten, Nine, Eight, Seven and Five Fathom Water, it being still deeper to the North, but shallower to the East; so that, in the Evening, they anchored with a High-water at Four Fathom and a half fath Ground, and at Night at Three Fathom and a half. The 22d, *William Schovten*, in the *Horn*, led the Way off the Shallows, steering North North-east, with a North-west Wind; by which Course they were intirely disengaged from the Baixos, and got into Thirteen Fathom Water. From hence they went to the Islands of *Madrabomba*, which are very high, and lie all Three on a Row South-west and North-east, half a League from *Sierra Leona* to the Seaward. Here they had shallow Water at Four and Five Fathom, and soft muddy Ground. They anchored a League from the Island, which appeared to be very full of Bogs and Marshes, and all over waste like a Wilderness, scarce fit to entertain any other Inhabitants than wild Beasts, and indeed not seeming to have any other. Going ashore the 23d, they found a River there, the Mouth of which was so stopped up with Sands, and Cliffs of Rocks, that no Ship could get into it; yet, within, the Water was sufficiently deep, and the Breadth such too, as to give a Ship free Scope to turn and wind herself about, as she should have Occasion. Here they saw Tortoises, Crocodiles, Monkeys, wild Oxen, and a Sort of Birds, which made a Noise, barking like Dogs. They met with no Fruit but Lemons, some few Trees of which they found, after a tedious Search. The 29th about Noon, they got above the Islands of *Madrabomba* Westward, along to the North Part of the high Land, till they had Twelve and Fifteen Fathom Water, and, in the Evening, got about the Point.

6. On the 30th, being assisted both by the Wind and Current, they arrived before the Village, that looks upon the Road of *Sierra Leona*, where they anchored at Eight Fathom Water, a little from the Shore, in a very sandy Bottom. The Village consisted of about Eight or Nine poor Houses, covered with Straw; the Moors that dwell there, were willing to come aboard, only demanding Pledges to be left ashore, to secure their safe Return; because a *French* Ship, that came thither before, had perfidiously carried off Two of them: So *Abis Clawson* the Merchant went ashore, and staid there amongst them, driving a small Trade with them for Lemons and Bananas, which they exchanged for Glasse-beds; and in the mean time they came on board, bringing an Interpreter with them, who spoke all sorts of Languages. Here they had a good Opportunity of furnishing themselves with fresh Water, which pouring down in great Quantities from a very high Hill, they had nothing to do but to place their Barrels under the Fall of the Water to receive it. There were also vast Woods of Lemon-trees here, which made Lemons so cheap to them, that, for a few Beads and Knives, they might have had 10,000. September 1. they drove away before the Stream, and anchored that Evening at the Mouth of the Sea, before a small River. Here they took an Antelope in the Woods, with Lemons and Palm-trees; and had good Success in their Fishing. The 3d, the Master brought in a great Shoal of Fish, that were of the Shape of a Shoemaker's Knife, and as many Lemons as came

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to 150 for every Man's Share. The 4th, they failed from *Sierra Leona* early in the Morning. October 5. they made 4° 27' South Latitude; and, the same Day at Noon, they were strangely surpris'd with a very violent Stroke given to one of their Ships in the lower Part of it. No Adversary appeared, no Rock was in the Way to be encountered with; but, while this amused them, the Sea all about them began to change its Colour, and looked as if some great Fountain of Blood had been opened into it; this sudden Alteration of the Water being no less surpris'ing to them, than the Striking of the Ship; but the Cause both of the one and the other they were equally ignorant of, till they came to Port *Desire*, and there set the Ship upon the Strand, to make her clean; for then they found a large Horn, both in Form and Magnitude resembling an Elephant's Tooth, sticking fast in the Bottom of the Ship. A very firm and solid Body it was, and seemed to be equally so all over, there being nothing of a Cavity, or a light and spongy Matter in the Midst of it, but all over as dense and compact a Substance, as that in the exterior Parts. It had pierced through Three very stout Planks of the Ship, and razed one of the Ribs of her; so that it stuck at least half a Foot deep in the Planks; and there was about as much that appeared without the great Hole up to the Place where it was broken off. And now the Riddle was completely solved, this Horn being the Spoil of some Sea Monster, that had thus rudely assaulted the Ship with that piercing Weapon; and, after the Thrust, not being able to draw it out again, had there broke it; which was attended with such a plentiful Effusion of Blood, as had discoloured the Sea to that Degree. Having now failed so far, that none in the Ships, but the Master, knew where they were, or whither they intended, upon the 25th, they discovered their Designs to the rest of the Company, of going to find out a new Southern Passage into the great *Pacific* Sea. This they had kept very close to themselves before, but now thought it Time to reveal the Scheme, there being no Danger of defeating it; and the Company appeared to be very well pleased with it, hoping to light on some golden Country or other, to make them Amends for all their Trouble and Danger. The 26th, they made 6° 25' South Latitude, failing the rest of that Month mostly Southward, till they had made 10° 30'. November 1. they had the Sun North of them at Noon. The 3d in the Afternoon, they had Sight of *Martin Vads* Island, called *Ascension*, under 20°; and here they observed the Compass to vary to the North-east Twelve Degrees. The 21st, they came under 38° 25', and had a deep Water, whose Bottom they could not reach with their Lead. Here the Variation of the Compass was Seventeen Degrees to the North-east. December 6. they had a Prospect of Land, not very high, but flat and white; and, quickly after, fell in with the North Side of Port *Desire*, and, that Night, anchored within one League and an half from the Shore, in Ten Fathom Water with an Ebb, that ran Southward as strongly as the Sea runs between *Flushing* Heads.

7. The 7th, keeping a South Course, at Noon they came before the Haven of Port *Desire*, which lies under 47° 40'. At the Entry of it they had very high Water; neither did any of those Cliffs appear, which *van Noort* had described, and which he left Northward in sailing into the Haven. If there were any, they were all under Water; but the Cliffs lay open and visible enough towards the South Point, which therefore might be those, which *Noort* intended. Upon this they went on, sailing so far Southward, as to miss the right Chanel. They came into a crooked Bay, where, at High-water, they had but Four Fathom and an half, and at Low but Fourteen Feet; by which means the *Unity* lay with her Stern fast aground, and, if a brisk Gale from the North-east had blown, the mull infallibly have been lost; but, the Wind blowing West from the Land, she recovered again. Here they found Plenty of Eggs amongst the Cliffs; and the Bay afforded them Mussels, and Smelts of Sixteen Inches in Length, and therefore they called it *Smelt-bay*. Their Shallop went to the *Penguin* Islands, and came back with 150 Penguins, and Two Sea Lions. The 8th before Noon, they sailed out of the *Smelt-bay*, and anchored just before Port *Desire*. The Shallop was employed before-hand to sound the Depth of the Cha-

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nel; which proving to be Twelve or Thirteen Fathom, they boldly entered, having a North-east Wind to carry them along: But, after a little more than a League's Sailing, the Wind began to veer about, and they anchored at Twenty Fathom; but, the Bottom they were upon being only slippery Stones, and the Wind now blowing hard at North-west, their Anchors could not preserve them from driving away with that rough Wind upon the Southern Shore; so both these Ships were like to be wrecked together. The *Unity* lay with her Side upon the Cliffs; but still kept the Water, and, by the Fall of the Sea, was gradually sidden down lower and lower into it; but the *Horn* stuck, so as that her Keel was above a Fathom out of Water, and a Man might have walked dry under it at Low Water. She was, for some time, obliged to the North-west Wind, that, by blowing hard upon her Side, kept her from falling over; but, that Support being gone, with the Wind that gave it, she sunk down upon that Side at least Three Feet lower than the Keel: Upon which Sight they gave her over for lost; and yet the succeeding Flood, which came on with still Weather, set her upright again; and both she and her Companion got clear of that Danger. The 9th, they went farther into the River, and came to *King's Island*, which they found full of black Sea-mews, and almost covered over with their Eggs. A Man, without straining to reach, might have taken between Fifty and Sixty Nests with his Hand, each of which have Three or Four Eggs apiece; so that they were quickly furnished with some Thousands of them. The 11th, the Boat went in Search of good Water lower down the River, on the South Side; but found it all of a brackish unpleasant Taste. They saw Ostriches here, and a Sort of Beasts like Harts, with wonderful long Necks, and extremely wild. Upon the high Hills, they found great Heaps of Stones, under which some monstrous Carcasses had been buried. There were Bones of Ten and Eleven Feet long. In all Probability they were (if of rational Creatures) some Bones of the Giants of that Country. No Water was to be found here for several Days together; so that, tho' they had Plenty of good Fish and Fowl, they could meet with no Drink to wash it down. On the 17th, they laid the *Unity* dry upon *King's Island*, in order to clean her; which they performed very successfully. On the 18th, they likewise haled the *Horn* on shore for the same Purpose, and placed her about 200 Yards from the other Ship. On the 19th, a very dreadful Accident happened; for, while they were busy cleaning both Ships, in order to which it was necessary to light a Fire of dry Reeds under the *Horn*, it so fell out, that the Flame got into the Ship, and set it on Fire; and, as they were Fifty Feet from the Waterside, they were forced to stand still, and see her burn, without being able to do any thing towards extinguishing it. On the 20th, at High-water, they launched the *Unity*, and the next Day carried on board her all the Wood, Iron-work, Anchors, and Pieces of Cannon, and whatever else they were able to save out of the *Horn*. On the 25th, some of the Sailors found certain Holes full of fresh Water, which was white and thick, but well tasted, a great Quantity of which they carried on board in small Casks upon their Shoulders. They met here with great Numbers of Sea Lions; the young ones they eat, and found them pretty good Food. The Sea Lion is a Creature as big as a small Horse; their Heads resemble Lions exactly, on their Necks they have long Manes of a tough strong Hair; but this is to be understood of the He-lions only: For the She-lion is without Hair, and not above half as big as the Male. They are a bold fierce Animal, not to be destroyed but by Musket-shot.

8. *January* 13. they sailed out of Port *Desire*; but, having a Calm, they anchored before the Haven, till the Rising of the Wind invited them to pursue their Voyage. The 18th, being in 51°, they saw the *Sebaldis* Islands; which they observed to lie in that Position and Distance from the Strait, that *de Weert* had determined. The 20th, being then in 53°, they observed the great Current, that runs South-west; and now they reckoned about Twenty Leagues Southward from the *Magellanic* Straights. The 23d, they had an uncertain shifting Wind, and the Water appeared white, as if they had been within the Land. They held their Course South by West, and the same Day saw Land,

bearing West and West South-west from them, and quickly after to the South. Then attempting, by an East South-east Course, to get beyond the Land, the hard North Wind, that blew then, constrained them to take in their Top-sails. The 24th in the Forenoon, they saw Land a Starboard, about a League's Distance, stretching out East and South, with very high Hills, all covered with Ice; and then other Land bearing East from it, high and ragged as the former. They guessed, the Lands they had in these Two Prospects lay about Eight Leagues asunder, and that there might be a good Passage between them, because of a pretty brisk Current, that ran Southward along by them. About Noon, they made 54° 46', and then began to make towards the afore-mentioned Opening; but the succeeding Calm prevented it. Here they saw an incredible Number of Penguins, and such huge Shoals of Whales, that they were forced to proceed with a great deal of Caution, for fear they should run their Ship upon them.

9. The 25th in the Forenoon, they got up close by the East Land, which, upon the North Side, reaches East South-east as far as the Eye can follow it. This they called *States Land*; and to that, which lay West, they gave the Name of *Maurice Land*. They observed there were good Roads and sandy Bays, good Store of Fish, Penguins, and Porpoises, and some Sorts of Fowl; but the Land adjacent seemed quite bare of Trees and Woods. They had a North Wind at their Entrance into this Passage, and directed their Course South South-west; so that, going pretty briskly on, at Noon they made 55° 36', and then held a South-west Course, having a good stiff Gale to blow them forwards. The Land, upon the South Side of the Passage, at the West End of *Maurice Land*, appeared to run West South-west, and South-west, as far as they could see it, and all very craggy uneven Ground. In the Evening, having a South-west Wind, they steered Southward, meeting with mighty Waves, that came rolling along before the Wind; and the Depth of the Water to the Leeward from them, which appeared by some very evident Signs, gave them a full Assurance, that the great *South Sea* was now before them, into which they had almost made their Way by a Passage of their own Discovery. The Sea-mews thereabouts were larger than Swans, and their Wings, when extended to the full Length, spread about the Compass of a Fathom. They would come and very tamely sit down upon the Ship, and suffer themselves to be taken by Hand, without any Endeavours to fly away. The 26th, they made 57°, and were there ruffled by a brisk Storm out of the West and South-west. The Water was also very high, and blue. They still held all this Day their Course to the Southward, but chang'd it at Night for a North-west one; in which Quarter they discovered very high Land. The 27th, they were under 56° 51', the Weather very cold, with Hail and Rain, the Wind West and West by South. They went a Southern Course, and then crossed Northward, with their Main-sails. The 28th, they hoisted up their Top-sails, and had great Billows out of the West, with a West and then a North-east Wind, and therewith held their Course South, and then West and West by South, which brought them under 56° 48'.

10. The 29th, they had a North-east Wind, and held their Course South-west, which gave them the Prospect of Two Islands, beset round with Cliffs, and lying West South-west from them; they got up to them at Noon, but could not sail above them, and therefore held their Course to the North. They gave them the Name of *Barneswell's Islands*, and found their Latitude to be 57° South. Taking a North-west Course from hence in the Evening, they saw Land again, lying North-west and North North-west from them; this was the high hilly Land, covered with Snow, that lay Southward from the *Magellanic* Straights, ending in a sharp Point, which they called *Cap Horn*, and lying in 57° 48'. They held their Course now Westward, in which Course they found a strong Current that ran that Way too, yet had the Wind in the North, and great Billows rolling out of the West upon them. The 30th, the Billows and the Current still ran as before; and now they gathered a full Assurance from hence, that the Way was open into the South Sea; this Day made the Latitude of 57° 34'. The 31st, they sailed West, with the

the Wind turning to the *Horn*, John lows working Blueness of South Sea. west, they North-west to the South there 12° N a hard West South; and very uncertain North-east westerly Current, but w

11. The Straights, I secure of the to good F times round sage had a Straights, t been done t the Straights all the Time about the So of bad Wea rents, all w tedious in th and the Ho with the aux off the Sen ing Dangers titude, havin ward. The *Fernando*, to Refreshment Evening the Land, which *March* 1. the the North N under 33° 4 smallest, to Place, but yet is well affords Plent it such excell their while vast Quant East Point c not as they Side of it, convenience Land to an found the D and Forty F lessened still They spoke Thickets, r from the H pleasant Pla They brou of them 11 saw a gre successfully anchor close ever Endeas Men follow successfully with Hook went to set they determ puffed the their Count and East S North-west then they c they made

the Wind in the North, and made 58°; but the Wind turning to the West and West South-west, they passed Cape Horn, losing all Sight of Land, and still meeting the Billows working out of the West, which, together with the Blueness of the Water, made them quickly expect the main South Sea. February 1. a Storm blowing out of the South-west, they failed with their main Sails North-west and West North-west. The 2d, with a westerly Wind they failed to the Southward, and made 57° 58', the Variation being there 12° Northward. The 3d, they made 59° 25', with a hard West Wind, but saw no Signs of any Land to the South; and the next Day 56° 43', turning to and fro with very uncertain South-west Winds, and finding 11° of North-east Variation. The 5th, by reason of a strong westerly Current, and a hollow Water, they could bear no Sail, but were forced to drive with the Wind.

11. The 12th, they plainly discerned the *Magellanic* Straights, lying East of them; and therefore, now being secure of their happy new Discovery, they rendered Thanks to good Fortune in a Cup of Wine, which went Three times round the Company. And now this new-found Passage had a Name given it, which was that of *Maire's Straights*, though that Honour (in Justice) ought to have been done to *William Schouten*, by whose happy Conduct the Straights were discovered. And 'tis observable, that all the Time of their Sailing through these Straights, and about the Southern new-found Land, they had a settled Course of bad Weather, a thick and foggy Air, and strong Currents, all which, put together, made their Sailing very tedious in these Straights. But the Joy of this Discovery, and the Hopes of a farther Improvement of it, together with the auxiliary Comforts of the Bottle, helped to carry off the Senie of all that tedious Voyage, and the mortifying Dangers of it. The 27th, they made 40° South Latitude, having fair Weather, and held their Course Northward. The 28th, they determined for the Island of *John Fernando*, to give their sick and weary Company a due Refreshment; and that Day they made 35° 53'. In the Evening they made but small Sail, fearing to fall upon the Land, which, effectually to avoid, they failed North-east. March 1. they saw the Islands of *Fernando* before them, to the North North-east, and about Noon got up to them under 33° 48'. Both these Islands lie very high; the smallest, to the Westward, is a very barren and rocky Place, but greater to the East; though it be full of Hills, yet is well shaded with Trees and fruitful. The Island affords Plenty of Hogs and Goats, and all the Coast about it such excellent Fishing, that the *Spaniards* think it worth their while to come thither, from whence they transport vast Quantities of Fish to *Peru*. The Road lies on the East Point of this Island, and they shaped their Course, not as they should, to the Eastern, but to the Western Side of it, by which means they were reduced to the Inconvenience of not being able to get near enough the Land to anchor. This made them dispatch their Boat to sound the Depth, which gave them an Account of Thirty and Forty Fathom sandy Ground, close by the Land, which lessened still to Three Fathom, very proper to anchor in. They spoke, too, of a very lovely Valley, full of Trees and Thickets, refreshed with Streams of Water running down from the Hills, and Variety of Animals feeding on those pleasant Places, all which they saw in this greater Island. They brought good Store of Fish along with them, most of them Lobsters and Crabs; and reported, that they saw a great many Sea-wolves. The Two next Days, successively, they repeated their Attempt to come up and anchor close by the Land; but were still frustrated, whatever Endeavours they used to accomplish it. But still their Men followed the Fishing Trade, which they managed so successfully, that they took almost Two Ton of Fish only with Hooks, in the small time that some of the Company went to fetch Water; finding the Island thus inaccessible, they determined to pursue their Voyage. The 11th, they passed the Tropic of *Capricorn* the Second time, holding their Course North-west. Here they had the general East and East South-east Wind, and held their Course North North-west to the 15th Day; and, when they made 18°, then they changed their Course, and failed West. April 3. they made 15° 12', and had then no Variation of the

Compass, but a considerable Variation of the Temper of their Bodies from a good State of Health, by reason of the Flux, which had seized the best part of their Company. They saw a little low Island, 3 Leagues Distance, which they got up to at Noon; here they heaved the Lead, but could find no Bottom, and therefore put out their Shallop; the Men that went ashore found nothing for Refreshment, but some Herbs that tasted like Scurvy-grass; but gave an Account of a very silent sort of Dogs they had seen there, that would neither bark nor snarl, nor make any Noise at all; for this Reason they called it *Dog Island*: It lies in 15° 12', and they judged 925 Leagues distant from the Coast of *Peru*. The Ground is so low, that, at High-water, it seems for the most part to be overflowed, and has nothing round about it but a sort of Ditch, beset with Trees, between which the salt Water breaks in in several Places.

12. The 14th, they failed West and West by North; and the same Afternoon, they saw a large but low Island, reaching North-east and South-west a considerable Way: At Sun-set, being about a League from it, an *Indian* Canoe advanced to meet them; the Men naked, with long black Hair, and their Bodies of a reddish Colour; they made Signs to the *Dutch* to come ashore, and called to them in their Language; and though they answered them in their own, the *Spanish*, *Moluccan*, and *Javan* Tongues, yet the *Indians* understood them not; so that both Sides were in the Dark as to each others Mind: When they got up to the Island, and founded, they found no Bottom, neither was there any Change of Water, tho' they were within a Musket-shot of the Shore: Here the *Indians* and they had another unintelligible Conference; but they would not be persuaded to come on board the Ship, by any Signs the *Dutch* could make to invite them to it; neither would the *Dutch* go ashore to them, though still they kept talking and pointing to one another, while neither Side understood what was spoke by the other. Leaving these People, therefore, to those that could understand them, they failed away South South-west, to get above the Land; and, having made that Night Ten Leagues in a South South-west Course, the 15th in the Morning, they failed close along by the Shore, on which stood several of those naked People calling to them (as they guessed) to land; presently after, one of their Canoes came towards the Ship, but would not come near it, yet ventured to the Shallop, where the *Dutch* and these *Indians* fell to their Conferences again. The *Dutch* gave them Beads, and Knives, and several Things that pleased them, which Kindness emboldened them at last to come a little nearer the Ship; but still they would not go aboard her, but got back into the Shallop; neither had they any great Reason to be fond of their Company there, for they are a Parcel of light-fingered Fellows, and have much the same Degree of Conscience and Honesty as the People of the *Ladrões*: They love Iron, as the Inhabitants of those Islands do, and they love to steal it like them. The very Nails in the Cabin-windows, and the Bolts upon the Doors, could not keep their Places for them, but they would have them off: This they found to be true, by one of them who had cunningly slipped into the Ship, and pulled out all the Window-nails, which, for Security's Sake, he had stuck into his Hair: Nay, they are so very impudent, that whatever they lay Hands on is their own, if the Owner does not recover his Right by Force. When the *Dutch* gave them some Wine, they drank the Liquor, and kept the Cup; so, when they threw out a Rope to bring them to the Ship, they would neither use the Rope, nor return it; and their Qualities are not more odd than the Figure they make; for, besides that they are all naked, (except the Pudenda, which is covered with a small Mat) their Skin is all over pictured with Snakes and Dragons, and such-like Reptiles, which are very significant Emblems of their own subtle and mischievous Nature. The *Dutch*, having a mind to try if any thing were to be done with them, or to be gotten in the Island, sent their Shallop, with Eight Musketeers, Six Soldiers, besides other of the Ship's Company: They were no sooner landed, but Thirty of those People rushed out of a Wood upon them, and with great Clubs and Slings, and long Staves, they would have seized the Shallop,

Shallop, and taken away the Soldiers Arms; but the Muskets being let fly amongst them, kept them from Robbery at that time. This Island they called the *Isle without Ground*, because they could not anchor there. It is not broad, but something long, and full of Trees, which they guessed to be Cocos and Palmitos. It is a white sandy Ground, and lies in 15° South Latitude, and about 100 Leagues from *Dog Island*. Seeing nothing to be done here, they set Sail, and held their Course West to Seaward; here having but a flight Water, and no Billows, as the Day before out of the South, they guessed that Southward there was more Land.

17. The 16th, they came to another Island that lay Northward, and was about 15 Leagues distant from the other: This appeared to be all drowned Land, though, on the Sides, well set with Trees; and here also they found no Bottom for anchoring. It yielded them nothing for Food but a few Herbs, like those in *Dog Island*, with some Crabs, and other Shell-fish, which were well-tasted Meat: But it afforded them some good fresh Water, which they found in a Pit not far from the Shore. The Pottage, made of the Herbs they gathered here, proved very serviceable to those of their Company that were troubled with the Flux. They called this Island *Water Island*, because it supplied them with Water. They left it presently, and sailed Westward, making that Day 14° 46' South Latitude. The 18th, they came to another Island, lying to the South-west, about 20 Leagues distant from the last, and stretching out North-west and South-east a considerable Way. The Boat, being dispatched to sound the Depth, brought Word, that they had found a Bottom by a Point of Land, from whence they came to a gentle Stream of Water, at Twenty-five and at Forty Fathom, about a Musket-shot from the Land: This News of Water made them send their empty Cask in the Boat, in hope to have it well filled; but after they had taken a great deal of Pains to land, and had been a good while beating up-and-down in the Wood to find some Spring or other to supply them, the Sight of a wild Man frightened them away, and put an End to their Inquiry after Water for that time: And quickly after they were got into their Boat, there came Five or Six more of those Savages, and shewed themselves upon the Shore; but, seeing they were gone off, presently retired into the Woods. But though they got clear of these more formidable Adversaries, yet there were others very troublesome that stuck very close to them, of which they brought many Millions along with them out of the Woods. These were a sort of black Flies, of which there were such prodigious Swarms thereabouts, that they came Home covered over with them from Head to Foot; their Hands and Faces so beset, that there was no seeing what Complexion they were of; their Cloaths intirely hidden by the Multitudes of those Animals crawling upon them, which did themselves compose another sort of Apparel; besides, their very Boat and Oars were all over in the same Dress as themselves; so that, when they came back, the Plague of Flies began to rage in the Ship, and every Man was busy to defend his Face and Eyes as well as he could: 'Twas the best Part of the Day's Work to be flapping the Flies away; and 'twas hard for a Man to open his Mouth, either to speak or to eat, without taking in a Mouthful of these Vermin at the same time. This dreadful Persecution lasted about Three or Four Days, in which time the Flaps did such Execution, that their Suffering was pretty well at an End, and few of the Flies left alive to torment them. They called this Island, for this Reason, *Fly Island*, and, by the Help of a good Gale of Wind, left it as fast as they could.

14. The 23d, they were under 15° 4', and there again had great Billows out of the South, which continued also the next Day: Here they concluded, that the *Terra Australis*, which they sought for, lay yet 250 Leagues further. The 25th, the hollow Billows out of the South still continued, such as are commonly in the *Spanish Seas* out of the North-west. May the 3d, they sailed Westward, and made at Noon 15° 3'; and that Day they saw several great Dorraodes, which were the first they had seen in the South Sea. The 9th, they made 15° 20', and guessed they were 1510 Leagues from the Coast of *Peru*: The

same Day they perceived a Bark coming towards them, which they went to meet, and gave her a Gun or Two, to make her strike; but those that were in her, either not understanding the Language of the Guns, or refusing to do what they commanded, the *Dutch* sent out their Shallop, with Ten Musketeers, to take her; upon which she endeavoured to make her Escape, but the Shallop intercepted her; some of her Men, in a very great Fear, threw themselves overboard, and disposed of their Goods the same Way that they did their Bodies. When they had boarded her, those that were left made no manner of Resistance, but quietly resigned themselves to the Disposal of the Conquerors, who used them very kindly, dressed those that were wounded, and saving the Lives of some that had leaped over-board, and entertaining all of them in their Ship. There were, besides the Men, Eight Women, and several Children; so that the whole Number amounted to about Twenty-three. They were a cleanly neat sort of People, of a reddish Colour, quite naked, except the obscene Parts, which were covered. The Men had long curled black Hair, and the Women short, like the Men in *Holland*. The Bark they were in was of a very peculiar Figure and Structure; it consisted of Two Canoes fastened together, in the Midst of each of which were laid Two broad Planks of red Wood to keep out the Water, and several others went cross from one Canoe to the other, which were made very fast and close above, and hung a good way over on both Sides. At the End of one of the Canoes, on the Starboard-side, there stood a Mast with a Fork in the End of it, where the Yard lay; the Sail was made of Mats; and the Ropes of such Stuff as the Fig-frails in *Spain* consist of. They had no Compass nor Chart, nor any Furniture for the Sea, but only a few Fishing-hooks, the upper Part of which was Stone, and the other black Bone, Tortoise-shell, or Mother of Pearl: They had no need to lade their Vessel with fresh Water, for they satisfied themselves with the Liquor of a few Cocos; and when that was spent, they had recourse to the great Ocean for Supply, themselves, and their smallest Children, drinking the Salt Water very heartily. The *Dutch* sent them all back to their Vessel again, where the Women welcomed their Husbands with joyful Embraces, and thus happily freed, they sailed away to the South-east: But to return to our Discoverers.

15. The 10th, they held a West and South-west Course, and that Day saw very high Land on their Larboard, lying South-east by South, about Eight Leagues off; but, though they had a good Gale, they could not reach it that Day. The 11th, they came up with a very high Island; and, about Two Leagues Southward, with another much lower, and the same Day sailed over a Bank of Fourteen Fathom deep, and a stony Bottom, lying about Two Leagues from the Land, which, being past, they could find no more Ground. About this Time, another of the same kind of Barks came up to them, which had (as they generally have) a loose Canoe in her, to put out upon Occasion. She sailed at that Rate, that few *Dutch* Ships could out-strip her; her Men steered behind with Two Oars, in each Canoe one; and, when they had a mind to tack, they rowed before: But all these Vessels wind themselves, by only pulling the Oars out of the Water, and letting them go. Sending their Shallop to sound by one of the Islands, they were informed, that there was Ground, though shelvy, at 12, 14, and 15 Fathom, about a Cannon-shot from the Land; so they resolved to anchor there. The Negroes, indeed, by Signs, directed them to go to the other Island, and sailed thither before them; but they anchored at the End of the former Island at Twenty-five Fathom sandy Ground, a Cannon-shot from the Land. This Island lies in 16° 10': It is one intire Mountain, and looks like one of the *Moluccas*; 'tis all covered over with Coco-trees, for which Reason they called it *Coco Island*. The other Island is much lower than this, but longer, lying East and West: Being at Anchor, there came Three Ships, and Nine or Ten Canoes, which had Three or Four Men in each, about them; some of which had put out white Flags, in Token of Peace, as they did the like. The Canoes were flat before, and sharp behind, hewed out of the whole Piece

of red Wood came near to the Water, Cocos and and Beads, small String for 180 Cocos aboard, that they sent more conveyed just got out Canoes, filled great Clubs, Men; they, at by the Sea done so little one of them making Spots Distance a little lusty well-provided, thieves Hair; some others platted 12th, they Bananas, U was a great to the Ship, them before they jumped holding Bun up the Side such Swarms Staves: The Cocos, which being Eight very much of them creep of it with S of those Sa Present, cha quickly after Fashion, and a little Way aloud, and way of bidding them with I and surpris Honour that bowing their over them, calions. T for a Present of an old H of Linen Cl with, and known from the Reverer naked, so he gave him: though the there. Th a whole Ar there himse and Forty- then Seven first to com by Signs, t would fail should find But, notwit some Misch were their S themselves Side; and a Gun, the foremost in the *Dutch* fore it wer Shock; th N. C. M. B.

wards them, un or Two, either not refusing to their Shallop which great Fear, their Goods When they manner of the Disposal dly, dressed es of some all of them Eight Wo- hole Number re a cleanly quite naked, The Men short, like in was of 2 ed of Two ch of which keep out of ne Canoe to e above, and e End of one flood a Mast lay, the Sail Stuff as the Compass nor only a few Stone, and her of Pearl: fresh Water, a few Coco- course to the smallest Chil- The Dutch the Women ces, and thus east: But to west Course, aboard, lying es off; but, reach it that high Island; mother much of Fourteen about Two they could mother of the had (as they out upon Dutch Ships ad with Two ad a mind to Vessels wind of the Water, to found by at there was 15 Fathom, y resolved to gns, directed thither before former Island on-shot from is one intre as; 'tis all Reason they much lower st: Being at ine or Ten each, about ggs, in Taken es were that whole Piece

of red Wood, and sailed exceeding swiftly. When they came near the Dutch Ship, they leaped some of them into the Water, and swam to it, having their Hands full of Cocoas and Ubes-roots, which they barter'd for Nails and Beads, giving Four or Five Cocoas for a Nail, or a small String of Beads, so that the Dutch traded that Day for 180 Cocoas; and this Trade bringing so many of them aboard, that they knew not how to stir in their Ship, they sent their Shallop to the other Island, to see for a more convenient Place to lie in; but the Shallop, being just got out, was presently beset by a vast Number of Canoes, filled with a mad Sort of People, armed with great Clubs, that forthwith boarded her, and attacked the Men; they, firing their Muskets upon them, were laughed at by the Savages, in that, with so much Noise, they had done so little Harm; but, at the next Discharge, when one of them was shot through the Breast, they had done making Sport with the Muskets, and learned to keep their Distance a little better for the Time to come. They were lusty well-proportioned Men, and excellent Swimmers; but naked, thievish, and very fantastical in dressing of their Hair; some wore it short, others long, some curled, and others platted and folded up in several Fashions. The 12th, they came in their Canoes again, laden with Cocoas, Bananas, Ubes-roots, Hogs, and fresh Water; there was a great Contention among them who should get first to the Ship, and those that were behind being shut out by them before, since they could not leap over their Heads, they jumped into the Water, and swam under the Canoes, holding bunches of Cocoas in their Mouths, and climbed up the Side of the Ship like so many Rats, and that in such Swarms, that they were forced to keep them off with Staves: The Dutch bartered with them that Day for 1200 Cocoas, which made Twelve to every Man's Share, they being Eighty-five in Number. The Negroes wondered very much at the Strength of the Dutch Ship, and some of them crept under it, and knocked at the Bottom of it with Stones, to try how strong it was. The King of those Savages sent a black Hog to the Ship for a Present, charging the Messenger to take no Reward; and quickly after he came himself, in a large Ship of their Fashion, attended with Thirty-five Canoes: When he was a little Way from the Ship, he began to call and cry out aloud, and all his Company did the like, this being their way of bidding Strangers welcome. The Dutch received them with Drums and Trumpets, which mightily pleased and surpris'd them; and they, to testify their Sense of Honour that was done them, used all their Ceremonies of bowing their Heads, and clapping their Hands together over them, which they are accustomed to upon such Occasions. The King, out of his Ship, sent them a Matien for a Present; which Kindness they requited with the Gift of an old Hatcher, rusty Nails, Glass Beads, and a Piece of Linen Cloth, Things which his Majesty was highly pleased with, and made many a fine Bow for. He was not to be known from his Subjects by any Ensign of Dignity, but the Reverence they shewed him; for, as they were all naked, so he had no other Apparel but that which Nature gave him: He would not be persuaded to come on board, though the Prince his Son did, and was well entertained there. The 13th at Noon, the Ship was surrounded with a whole Armada of Ships and Canoes, the King being there himself in Person; and in the Twenty-three Ships, and Forty-five Canoes, that composed the Fleet, no less than Seven or Eight hundred Men. They pretended at first to come only upon Design of Trade, and told them by Signs, that they were their very good Friends, and would fain have them sail to the other Island, where they should find much better Accommodation in all respects: But, notwithstanding all their fair Pretences, they suspected some Mischief was hatching by these Barbarians: Neither were their Suspicious unjust; for they quickly began to cast themselves all round the Ship, and inclosed it on every Side; and then, with a great Outcry upon the Alarm of a Gun, they gave the Assault: The King's Ship was the foremost in the Action, and rushed in with such a Force at the Dutch Ship, that the Heads of the Two Canoes before it were dashed to Pieces with the Violence of the Shock; the rest came on as well as they could, and

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showered in great Stones upon them: But the Dutch threw in such Quantities of Ball amongst them out of their Muskets, and Three great Guns loaded with Musquet-shot and Nails, that all those in the Canoes, that lay within Reach, were glad to leave them, and seek their Refuge in the Water. Being thus put to Rout, they dispersed themselves, and shifted for their Lives as well as they could. These treacherous People were the Inhabitants of the lower of those Two Islands, which therefore they called *Traitors Island*.

16. They sailed from hence the same Day, and held their Course West and West by South; and the 14th, came to another Island, about Thirty Leagues distant from the former. They called this *Hope Island*, because they hoped here to meet with some Refreshment. But, finding no Ground at the Island, they sent out their Shallop to sound along the Shore, which returned with the News of a stony Bottom at Forty Fathom Water, about a Musquet-shot from the Shore, sometimes Twenty and Thirty Fathom, and at a little Distance again no Bottom at all. The Indians came hither with Ten or Twelve Canoes to barter; they brought a small Parcel of Flying-fish, for which they had Beads in Exchange; and whatsoever the one gave, or the other received, was conveyed on both Sides by a Rope let down by the Stern of the Ship. But these Indians went from this Trade presently to another which was worse, viz. robbing the Shallop, which they found employed in sounding at some Distance from the Ship: They offered to board her, and drag her away; but they in the Shallop, with their Guns, Pikes, and Cutlasses, gave them such an Entertainment, that, having seen Two of their Company killed, they were glad to hurry away as fast as they could; and, while these were beaten and maul'd upon the Water, their Friends stood and cried for them ashore. This Island was full of black Cliffs, that were green on the Top, was well stocked with Cocoa-trees, and several Sorts of Herbs. There were several Houses along the Sea-side, and a great Village close by the Strand. There was no convenient Anchoring here, it being extremely rough near the Island; for which Reason they left it, and sailed away South-west, intending to pursue the Discovery of a Southern Continent.

17. The 18th, they were under 16° 5', where they had very uncertain West Winds; and now they began to consult about the further prosecuting of their Voyage. William Schovten the Master told them, that they were now at least 1600 Leagues Eastward from the Coast of Peru; and, as they had not yet discovered any Part of the South Land, so neither was there any Likelihood of doing it; that they had sailed much farther Westward than they first intended; and that, going on that Course which they had hitherto pursued, they should certainly fall Southward upon *New Guiney*, where, if they found no Passage, they must unavoidably be lost; since it would be impossible to go back Eastward again, by reason of the Easterly Winds, that blew continually. Upon these and other Accounts, he propos'd it, as the best way, to alter their present Course, and sail Northward, so as to fall Northward upon *New Guiney*. This Proposal, backed with so many good Reasons, was embraced by all the Company, so that they immediately determined to hold a North North-west Course. The 19th, their Course Northward, they had Two Islands at Noon about Eight Leagues distant from them, lying North-east by East, and that seem'd to be a Cannon-shot distant from each other. Upon this they steer'd North-east, intending to sail about the Land, having fair Weather, but a small Gale, to bring them along. The 20th, they continued still labouring to get to Land. The 21st, being about a League from the Land, they were visited by Two Canoes, to whom though they gave no manner of Provocation, yet they were rudely insulted by some of them, who began to halloo, and threaten to dart their wooden Aslagayes at them; but, upon the Discharge of the Guns from the Ship, these bold Hectors began to scamper, and that in no little Haste and Confusion, leaving behind them Two of their Company dead, and a Shirt which they had stolen out of the Ship, and had now no Stomach to carry away with them. The 22d, there came more of them to the Ship, but upon very friendly and peaceable

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peaceable Terms, bringing Cocoa, Ubes-roots, and roasted Hogs, which they bartered for Knives, Beads, and Nails. These People were all as expert in the Arts of Swimming and Diving, as those in *Traitors Island*, and as well versed in Cheating and Stealing too, which they never failed to do, if an Opportunity were given them. Their Houses stood all along the Strand, which were covered with Leaves at the Top, and had a sort of Penthouse of the same, to carry off the Water; they were Ten or Twelve Feet high, and Twenty-five in Compass. They were furnished with nothing but a Bed of dry Herbs, an Angling-rod or two, and a great Club. These were all the Ornaments even of the Palace, and the King himself had no more. The Dutch found here good Conveniences for Watering. The 24th, they sent Three of the principal Men of the Ship to establish a Friendship with the *Indians*, and to be as Hostages amongst them, having in their room Six *Indians* of Quality on board, whom they made very welcome there, and the Dutch ashore had very great Respect paid them by the King: He made them a Present of Four Hogs, and, if any of his People came but near the Dutch Boat to disturb them while they were fetching Water, he would drive them away himself, or order some of his Men to do it: His Subjects all stood in very great Awe of him, and were fearful of having any of their Crimes made known to him; for one of them having stolen a Cutlass, and Complaint being made to one of the King's Officers, the Thief was pursued, and soundly drubbed for the Wrong he had done, and, besides, forced to make Restitution; and, more than that, the Officer signified, that he came off very well too; for, if the King had known it, he would certainly have had his Head off. These People were extremely frightened at the Noise of the Guns, and, upon any Discharge, would fly like so many Madmen: Yet the King having a Desire to hear one of the great Guns let off, and being set under his Canopy, with some of his Courtiers about him, in great Order, upon the going off of the Gun, he leaped out of his Seat, and set up a Run into the Woods, with all his Courtiers after him, and no Persuasions of the Dutch could possibly stop them. The 25th and 26th, they went ashore again to barter for Hogs, but could get none, the *Indians* being reduced to some Streights themselves, having nothing but Coconuts, Bananas, Ubes-roots, and a few Hogs, left. Yet the King continued his wonted Respect and Kindness to them, and he, and his Lieutenant, pulled off their Crowns from their own Heads, and set them upon the Heads of Two of the Company. These Crowns were made of white, red, and green Feathers, which their Parrots and Doves supply them with; the Doves are white upon the Back, and black every-where else, except the Breast, and every one of the King's Council has one of these sitting by him upon a Stick. The 27th and 28th, they got all their Water on board, at which time the Master and the Merchant went ashore with the Trumpets, which proved a very diverting Music to the King. Here he told them of his Wars with them of the other Island, and shewed them several of the Caves and Thickets where they used to place their Ambuscades, and lay lurking for Advantages against each other: They plainly found, that he was fearful they had some Design upon his Country; for, to draw them from thence, he would fain have engaged them in a War with the King of the other Island; nay, he offered to hire them to be gone, telling them, that, if they would go in Two Days, he would give them Ten Hogs, and a good Parcel of Coconuts: Yet, notwithstanding his Suspicions, he made them a Visit on Ship-board, praying when he entered the Ship, and praying in every Cabin he came into, as also he always did when any of the Dutch came ashore to him. His Men carried it with a mighty deal of Submission to them, kissing their Feet, and laying them cross their Necks, with all the Tokens of Awe and Fear that they could express. The 30th was made a Day of Solemnity, by the coming of the King of the other Island to visit the King of this: He came with a Train of 300 of his naked *Indians*, that had Bunches of green Herbs stuck about their Middle, of which they prepare their Drink; and, that he might be sure to be welcome, he brought Sixteen Hogs along with him. When these Two Princes were

within Sight of each other, they began to bow and scrape, and mutter out certain Prayers to themselves. When they met, they both fell down with their Faces flat upon the Ground, and, after several very strange Gestures used, they got up on their Legs, and walked away to the Seats provided for them, where, after they had choped out some more of their Prayers, and bowed very reverently to each other again, with much ado they set down again under the King's Canopy: And now, to make the strange King the more welcome, a Messenger was dispatched to the Dutch Ship, to get their Drums and Trumpets ashore; so the Trumpets sounded, and a March was beat, to the very great Entertainment of the Two Kings: After this they prepared for a solemn Banquet; and, in order to it, began to make ready their Liquor, which they did in this slovenly Manner: There came into the Presence a Company of Fellows, with a good Quantity of Cana, (which is the Herb of which they make their Drink) each of which having crammed in a Mouthful of it, they began to chew together; having chewed it awhile, they put it out of their Mouths into a large wooden Trough, and poured Water upon it, and fell to stirring and squeezing of it, and, having pressed out all the Goodness, they presented it in Cups to the Two Kings. They were so civil likewise as to offer the Dutch some of it, who were ready to vomit at the Sight of the Preparation. As for the Eating-part of the Entertainment, it consisted of Ubes-roots roasted, and Hogs dressed after a very nice Manner. They had ripped up the Bellies, and taken out the Intraills; and then, putting hot Stones into their Bellies, and finding off the outside Hair, without any further Dressing or Cleaning, they were fit for the King's Table. They presented Two of these Hogs to the Dutch, with all the Form and Ceremony which they use to their Kings, laying them first upon their Heads, and then kneeling, with much Humility, left them at their Feet. They gave them, besides, Eleven more alive, for which they received a Present of Knives, old Nails, and Beads, as pleasing to them as far better Things. These People were of a dark-yellow Colour, strong and well-proportioned Bodies, so tall and big, that the largest amongst the Dutch would have been matched by the least of them. They wore their Hair, some curled, some frizzled, some tied up in Knots, some had it standing bolt upright, their Heads like Hogs-bristles, a Quarter of an Ell high. The King, and some of his Courtiers, had long Locks hanging down below their Hips, bound up with a Knot or two; but the Women were all cropped close, and, besides, very ugly Figures, being short and ill-shaped, and their Breasts hanging down to their Bellies like Satchels. Both Sexes were naked all to the *Pudenda*. They seemed to be a People wholly void both of Devotion, and all worldly Care and Prudence, living just as the other Animals do, upon what the Earth produces, without the Solicitations of Art and Industry: They neither sow nor reap, buy nor sell, nor do any thing for a Livelihood, but leave all to the Care of Nature, which if it fails at any time, they must starve: And they have as little regard to the Laws of Decency and Modesty, as to those of civil Prudence and Policy; for they will make use of their Wives openly in the greatest Assembly, nay, and before the King too, as much as they reverence him. This Island they called *Horn Island*, from the Name of the Town from whence they came; and the Bay where they anchored, *Unity Bay*, after the Name of the Ship; the Bay lies upon the South Side of the Land in a Dock under 14° 16'.

18. June 1. they sailed from hence, visiting no Land till the 21st, when they made towards a very low Island, that lay South South-west and West from them, and in 40° 47'. Near it were several Sands, that stretched North-west from off the Land, as also Three or Four smaller Islands, very full of Trees. Here a Canoe came up to them, of the same odd Fashion with those before described, and the People in it much of the same Sort, only blacker, and armed with Bows and Arrows, which were the first they had seen amongst the *Indians* of the South Sea. They told them by Signs, that there was more Land, and good Conveniences for a Ship, to be had Westward, where their King dwelt; upon which Information they held a Western Course again. The 22d, they sailed West, and West by North, under

4° 45'; and one close and reaching but they le they saw from them them Two them the cliffy, and fented itel West by N Baptis's D this time, they though it by Noon choring, & be discover People affia greatly ter very black different from all that Nig lurking ab discovered they would Provisions cries. The uneven Gro the Countr Prospect, a from *Pom*. Canoes up and they as wooden Sw kindly, and vour, or at by them; Kindness, n great Guns their Force, shot had got began to fly swim for t knocked fo Four of the And now th and Banana selves; but meant by th rous as to g were so wil Ten Hogs lue of him. all red; and made no o They concl short Hair,

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4° 45'; and that Day saw at least Twelve or Thirteen Islands, one close by another, lying West South-west from them, and reaching South-east and North-west about half a League; but they left them a Larboard. The 24th, the Wind South, they saw Three low Islands a Larboard, lying South-west from them, the One very small, the other Two each of them Two Miles long, all very full of Trees. They called them the *Green Islands*. The Shore about was ragged and clifly, and allowed no Anchoring. Another Island presented itself, with Seven or Eight Hovels upon it, lying West by North; which they sailed by the 25th, St. John Baptist's Day, and therefore called it *St. John's Island*. At this time, they saw very high Land to the South-west, which they thought to be the Point of *New Guinea*. They reached it by Noon, and, sailing along by it, and finding no Anchoring, sent the *Shallop* to sound; but no Bottom could be discovered. Here Two or Three Canoes of barbarous People assaulted the *Shallop* with their Slings; but the Guns greatly terrified, and quickly dispersed them. They were very black, intirely naked, and spoke a Language quite different from the other. They kept Fires upon their Coast all that Night; and some of them, in their Canoes, came lurking about the Ship; and tho' the *Dutch*, when they discovered them, did all they could to oblige them, yet they would understand none of the Signs they made for Provisions; but answered all with horrible Noises and Outcries. They anchored this Night at Forty-five Fathom, uneven Ground, in a Bay. About the Point of the Land, the Country was high and green, and afforded a pleasant Prospect, and lay (as they guessed) 1840 Leagues distant from *Pernu*. The 26th in the Morning, there came Three Canoes up to the Ship, quite full of these Barbarians, and they as well armed, after their Manner, with Clubs, wooden Swords, and Slings. The *Dutch* treated them kindly, and gave them several Toys to procure their Favour, or at least Peace and Freedom from any Disturbance by them; but these Savages were not to be conquered by Kindness, nor taught good Manners by any thing but the great Guns; for presently they assaulted the Ship with all their Force, and continued it obstinately, till the Cannon-shot had gone through Ten or Twelve of them. Then they began to fly to their old Refuge the Water, to dive and swim for their Lives; but the *Shallop*, pursuing them, knocked some on the Head, took Three Prisoners, and Four of their Canoes; which made Firing for the Ship. And now they could understand Signs, and procure Hogs and Bananas for those that were Prisoners to ransom themselves; but, before, they did not know what the *Dutch* meant by their Signs: And, tho' the *Dutch* were so generous as to give One wounded Man his Liberty, yet they were so wise too as to fet another in a better Condition at Ten Hogs Ransom; which undoubtedly was the full Value of him. This Island afforded a Sort of Birds, that were all red; and North of it lay another Island, of which they made no other Discovery, than only its Position to this. They concluded these People to be *Papoo's*, because of their short Hair, and particular Diet of Betle mixed with Chalk.

19. The 28th in the Evening, they set Sail from hence; and the next Day held a North-west and North-west by North Course, with a shifting Wind till Noon, and then a Calm. They had the Point of the Island in View till Evening, tho' they sailed along by the Land, which was full of Bays and Turnings, and reached North-west and North-west by West; and, the same Day, they saw Three high Islands more, that lay Northward from the greater One Five or Six Miles, being then in 3° 20'. The 30th in the Morning, several Canoes of the black *Indians* came up to them, and, boarding the Ship by Permission, broke Staves over the *Dutch*, in Sign of Peace. Their Canoes were finer than the others, and themselves appeared more civil and modest, covering the *Pudenda*; which the others did not. They rubbed their Hair over with Chalk, affecting to have their black Locks powdered. They pretended to be so poor, that they came to beg, and not to bring any thing to the Ship; yet those Four Islands, from whence those *Indians* came, afforded good Store of Cocoas. June 1. in the Morning, they anchored between an Island Two Miles long and the firm Land of *New Guinea*; and quickly were surrounded with Twenty-five armed Canoes of the same Peo-

ple, who, the Day before, in Token of Peace, had broken their Staves over their Heads, and now came intending to break them upon them. The *Indians* were not tedious in their Ceremonies before they entered upon the Work they came about: Two of them fixed themselves upon Two Anchors that then hung out of the Ship, and, with their Girdles, began to tug the Ship, thinking to draw her ashore. The rest lay about the Sides of her, and gave a brisk Onset with their Slings, and other Weapons; but the everlasting Plague of these Savages, the great Guns, shattered Men and Canoes at that Rate, that they were forced to retire, with the Loss of Twelve or Thirteen killed, and a far greater Number wounded. After this Fight, they sailed peaceably along the Coast, having a good Gale, and holding a West North-west and North-west by West Course. The 2d, they were in 3° 12', and saw low Land a Larboard, and right before them a low Island. They sailed gently West North-west, with a slight Current of the Water East North-east. The 3d, they saw high Land, bearing West about Fourteen Leagues from the other Island, and in 2° 41'. The 4th, as they were passing by the Four Islands afore-mentioned, they had a sudden Prospect of Twenty-three others, great and small, high and low; most of which they left a Starboard, and only Two or Three a Larboard. They were some of them a League, some a Cannon-shot distant from each other, and lay in 2° 30', little more or less. The 6th, with very variable, and some stormy Weather, they had in the Morning a very high Hill before them, bearing South-west; and this they thought to be the Hill *Geemness* in *Banla*; but a nearer Approach discovered Three Hills more like it, that lie to the North about Six or Seven Leagues Distance; and this Sight determined that Hill to be that of *Banda*. Behind it lay a large Tract of Land East and West, reaching East South-east, of a very great Extent, and very uneven.

20. The 7th in the Morning, they sailed towards those mighty Hills they had in Prospect the Day before, and found some of them to be *Vulcanos*; for which Reason they named the Island *Vulcan's Island*, there being so good a Representation of his burning Forge. The Island was well inhabited, and full of Cocoas; but there was no Conveniency of anchoring there. The People were naked, and extremely fearful of the *Dutch*; and their Language so very different from all thereabouts, that none of the Blacks they had with them could understand them. There appeared more Islands to the North and North-west; but they held their Course to a very low one, that lay North-west by West from them; which they reached that Evening. The Water here they observed to be of divers Colours, green, white, and yellow; which probably was the Effect of the Mixture of some Rivers, because it was far sweeter than the Sea-water, and was full of Leaves and Boughs of Trees, some of which had Birds and Crabs fastened upon them. The 8th, they held a West South-west and West North-west Course, having on their Starboard an high Island, and another something lower on their Larboard. They reached the Land in the Afternoon the same Day, and anchored at Seventy Fathom, in a good sandy Bottom, about a Cannon-shot from the Shore. This Island was in 3° 40', and seemed to be an unhealthy Place, and yielded nothing considerable, except a little Ginger. It was inhabited by *Papoo's*, whose ridiculous Fancies, in the Matter of Dress, superadded to their own natural Deformity, made them appear little short of Monsters in human Nature. There were hardly any of them but what had something odd and strange, either as to Bigness or Position of their Limbs; but then the Strings of Hogs Teeth hung about their Necks, and their perforated Noses, with Rings fastened in them, together with short frizzled Hair, and very bad Faces, all put together, would have offended an Eye not extremely curious. Neither was the Beauty of the Houses much greater than that of the Inhabitants, being all mounted upon Stakes Eight or Nine Feet from the Ground. The 9th before Noon, they anchored in a more convenient Bay, at Twenty-six Fathom, in a sandy Bottom mixed with Clay. There were Two Villages of the *Indians* near the Shore, from whence some of their Canoes brought Hogs and Cocoas; but held up both at so dear Rates, that there was no bartering with them. And now, though they had sailed so long by this new Land, yet they were

were unable to resolve themselves, whether it was *New Guinea*, or no. Their Charts did neither agree one with another, nor the Land they had in Prospect, which, for the most part, ran North-west by West, sometimes more West-erly, and sometimes again more Northerly; yet, for all this Scruple, (which they could not remove) they still held a West North-west Course along by the Coast, with a quiet, tho' dull sort of Weather; and so, by the Help of the Stream, that set them about the West as it does all along that Coast, they made $2^{\circ} 58'$ the 14th at Noon.

21. The 13th and 14th, they kept sailing by the Coast, having sometimes very high, and at others very low Land in Sight of them. The 15th, pursuing the same Course, they reached Two low Islands, about half a League from the main Land, about $2^{\circ} 54'$ South Latitude. Here they had good Anchoring from Five and Six to Forty Fathom; and, seeing the Country well stored with Coconuts, the Boat and Shallop, well provided for an Attack, were dispatched, with Orders to land, and get some; but the *Indians*, it seems, had observed them, and accordingly prepared for their Entertainment when they landed, and they gave them, perhaps, the warmest Reception with their Bows and Slings, that ever they met with, wounding at least Sixteen of them, and forcing them, notwithstanding their Muskets, to retire. The 16th in the Morning, they sailed in between both the Islands, and anchored at Nine Fathom, in a very good Place. The same Day, they landed upon the lesser Island, burnt some of the *Indians* Houses, and brought off as many Coconuts as made Three to every Man's Share. The barbarous People became more gentle and good-natured upon this Treatment; for the 17th they came to make their Peace with Offerings of Coconuts and Bananas, Ginger, and yellow Roots used for Saffron. They agreed to trust the *Dutch* so far as to come aboard their Ship, where the Quarrel was perfectly made up; and the Hearts of the *Indians*, won by a few Nails and Beads, which they gave them, were intirely theirs. The 18th, they continued bartering for Coconuts, Bananas, Cassave, and Papade: Of the Two former they got as much as came to Fifty Nuts and Two Bunches of Bananas a Man; of the Two latter not so much. This Papade and Cassave are also *East India* Commodities, and the latter particularly is admirably good in the *West Indies*, and far beyond that, which they met with here. The People made all their Bread of it, and baked it into large round Cakes for that Purpose. They called the Name of their own Island *Maja*, which was the most Easterly; the other over-against it *Tujan*; and the farthestmost (a very high one, and about Five or Six Leagues from *New Guinea*) *Arima*. These People had probably been visited by some *Europeans* before; for they had *Spanish* Jars and Pots amongst them: They were not surpris'd at great Guns, as the others usually were; nor so curious in looking into the Ship, as absolute Strangers to such a Thing must be supposed to be. The 21st, they sailed along by the Land North-west, and at Noon made $1^{\circ} 13'$. The Stream drove them to a Cluster of Islands, where they anchored at Thirteen Fathom, with Storms of Rain and Thunder that Night. The 23d in the Morning, setting Sail from thence, Six great Canoes overtook them a little from the Land, bringing dried Fish, Coconuts, Bananas, Tobacco, and a small Sort of Fruit like Prunes. *Indians* from another Island also brought Victuals and *China* Porcelaine to barter. These People, like most of the Barbarians, were vastly fond of Beads and Iron-work; but they were remarkably distinguished from those in the last Island by their large Size, and more orange Complexion. Their Arms were Bows and Arrows, and their principal Ornaments Glasse Ear-rings of several Colours; and, by these, as well as other Signs, it appeared, that the *Dutch* were not the first *Europeans* which these People had seen: So that it is not to be considered as a Discovery.

22. The 24th, being under $30'$, they steered North-west and West South-west, along by a very pleasant Island, on which they bestowed their Master's Name, and is that, which, in the Maps, is distinguished by the Name of *Horn Island*; and the West Point of it they called *Cape of Good Hope*. The 25th, they saw an huge Tract of uneven Land on their Larboard, lying South and South-west by West. The 26th, they spied Three Islands more, the Coast reach-

ing North-west by West. The 27th, they were under $29'$ and, having a Sight of much Land to the Southward, some very high, and some as low, they pass'd North-west along by it. The 29th at Night, they had an Earthquake, which shook the Ship at that Rate, that the Men ran frightened out of their Cabins, expecting to find her run aground, or bulged against some Rock; but, upon Trial, they found a Depth of Water, that was unfathomable, and as plainly saw they were clear of all Danger of Rocks and Shelves; so that it was manifestly the Effect of a violent Concussion of the *Aeons*, and submarine Regions, which caus'd and propagated a Tremor all through the Water, and thus disturbed the Motion of the Ship. The 30th, they put into a great Bay, out of which finding no Opening, they return'd to a Northern Course again. Here the Ship trembled again with loud and horrible Claps of Thunder; and the Lightning was so like to set it on Fire, that, in all Probability, it must have flamed, had not the Clouds, that furnished the pernicious Fire, afforded Water also in prodigious Showers of Rain for the extinguishing of it. The 31st, with a Northern Course, in the Evening they pass'd the Equator a Second time; and, being encompass'd with Land all round almost, they anchored at Twelve Fathom good Ground, near a desolate Island, that lay close by the firm Land. *August* 1. they made $15'$ North Latitude; and, in the Evening, with a hard Stream, went close to the Land, and, because of the Calm, anchored, tho' in a shallow Water, and very rugged Bottom. The 2d, they drove along with the Stream West and West by North, with very rainy Weather. The 3d, being still becalm'd, they steer'd as before, and found a Bank so far in the Sea, that they could scarce see the Land, being in some Places Forty, in others Twenty, and so to Twelve Fathom, sandy Ground; and the Stream there went West South-west. The same Day, they made $35'$ North Latitude, and saw several Whales and Tortoises, with Two Islands lying to the Westward of them. And now they guess'd they were at the End of the Land of *New Guinea*, having sail'd 280 Leagues along by the Coast. The Rains and Calms still continued.

23. The 5th in the Morning, several Canoes came up to them, bringing *Indian* Beans, Rice, Tobacco, and Two Birds of Paradise. They bartered for One of these fine Birds, which was all white and yellow. The *Indians* spoke the *Ternate* Language, and some of them the *Spanish* and *Molain*; which latter Tongue *Clawson* the Merchant was well skilled in. They were all of them finely clothed about their Waists, some with loose Silks, others with Breeches, and some silken Wreaths about their Heads, which were the *Mohammedans* of the Company. All of them in general had Coal-black Hair, and good Store of Gold and Silver Rings upon their Fingers. They bartered with the *Dutch* for Beads, and other Toys; but had much more mind for Linen Cloth. They appear'd to be very fearful, and suspicious of them to that Degree, that they would not tell them the Name of the Country; yet they judg'd, that they were now at One of the Three Easterly Points of *Gilolo*, and that these People were Natives of *Tidore*; which afterwards they found to be true. The 6th in the Morning, they set forwards, holding a Northerly Course, intending to sail about the Northern Point of *Gilolo*. The 7th, they saw the North-east Point of that Island called *Moratai*, which then lay South South-east from them. The 8th at Noon, they made $4^{\circ} 3'$ North Latitude, had there very stormy Weather, and a Current that ran Northward. The 9th and 10th, they had variable Winds and Weather, and made $3^{\circ} 50'$. The 11th, they had a Prospect of the Point *Moratai* again, which they design'd to have reach'd; but the Current drove them off from the Land Northward. The 13th, they made $2^{\circ} 58'$, the Winds continuing still to shift about, and the Rains falling pretty heavily; and this sort of Weather continued to the 17th. This Day, with much Toil and Trouble, they got under the Land, and sail'd along by the Coast with fair Weather; and, in the Night, they saw several Fires upon the Land. The 18th, with still Weather, they continued driving by the Land, and at Noon were saluted by Two Canoes of *Ternateans*, who, to shew their peaceable Intentions, hung out a white Flag. They inform'd them, that they came from the Village *Soppr*, where very lately had been an *English* Ship, as also a Pinnace of *Austrian*

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dam, that had lain there Three Months for a Lading of Rice; and that some of them would conduct them the next Day to the Road of Soppo. The 19th, they failed into the Bay, and anchored at Ten Fathom, sandy Ground, about a Cannon-shot from the Shore. They bartered here for Hens, Sago, Tortoise, and Rice. On August 19. they had several of the Natives on board, who reported, that an *English* and *Dutch* Ship had been lately in those Parts, and had procured sufficient Provisions for their Voyage home; which News was exceedingly agreeable to People who had spent almost all their Store; and therefore there was a kind of public Rejoicing among the Crew, which now consisted of Eighty-five Men, all healthy and vigorous, and who had no other Apprehensions, than such as arose from their Want of Victuals. The next Day, they had an Account, that there were no less than Twenty *English* and *Dutch* Ships at Ternate. On August 25 they failed, and on September 1. they entered, the Wind being contrary, into the Bay of an Island, which seemed to be desert. Some of the Officers went ashore, in order to view the Country, and endeavoured to ascend a very high Mountain for that Purpose; but found it so very steep and rugged, that they quickly abandoned their Attempt. They saw, however, an extraordinary Curiosity here, which was a Worm as thick as a Man's Leg, and of a great Length. The Name of this Island is *Mora*, which, tho' it appeared one continued Tract of Land at a Distance, they found, upon a closer Examination, was, in Reality, composed of several Islands. On the 5th, they anchored off the Coast of *Gilelo*, where a very unlucky Accident had like to have befallen them; for, some of the Seamen going to catch Fish unarmed, Four Soldiers of Ternate suddenly rushed out of the Woods, Sword in Hand, intending to have killed them, as they were drawing up their Net; but, the Surgeon calling out *Oran Hollanda*, the *Indian* Soldiers stopped, and, throwing Water on their Heads, which is a Sign of Peace in those Countries, approached them in a peaceable Manner, and told them, that the Reason of their Attempt was their taking them for *Spaniards*. At the Request of the Seamen, they were persuaded to go on board, where, having Beads and other Trifles given them, they were exceedingly well satisfied, and promised to bring them Provisions and Refreshments; which they did.

24. On the 14th, they failed; but, the Wind being slack for Two or Three Days, made no great Progress in their Voyage. On the Sixteenth, however, they had Sight of Ternate and Tidore. On the 17th, they spoke with a *Dutch* Ship, which gave them an Account of Admiral *Spilbergen's* Voyage, as also, that there was a Squadron of Ten *Dutch* Ships under the Command of the General *John Dirichson Lam*, of Horn, at the *Manillas*, to defend the Trade of his Countrymen against a great *Spanish* Fleet that it was expected would come shortly to attack them at Ternate. The same Evening they anchored in Eleven Fathom sandy Ground before *Malaya* in Ternate; there Captain *Schovten*, and *Jaques le Maire*, went on shore, in order to confer with the General *Lawrence Real*, who was come thither in the Place of the deceased General *Gerard Reynst*, where they were well entertained by him, as also by the Admiral *Stephen Verhaeghen*, and *Jasper Janson*, Governor of *Ambona*, and by the whole Council of *India*. On the 18th, they sold Two of their Shallops, with a great deal of what they had saved out of the *Horn*, which was burnt in *King's Island*, and received in ready Money 1050 Reals; with Part of which they purchased from the General Two Lasts of Rice, a Ton of Vinegar, the like Quantity of *Spanish* Wine, and about Three Ton of Biscuit. On the 24th, Eleven Men, and Four Boys, demanded Leave of the Captain to enter into the Company's Service; which, at the Request of the General, he very readily granted. On the 26th, they took Leave of the General, who treated them with the greatest Kindness and Respect, and accompanied their Captain and Supercargo aboard with Colours flying. On the 27th, they failed for Bantam. On the 29th, they passed the Line for the Fourth time in that Voyage. On the 16th of October, they anchored in the Road of *Japara*; and, on the 28th, at *Jacatra*, where they found Three *Dutch*, and as many *English*, Ships in the Road. The following Night one of their Seamen died, which was the first they lost out of the

Unity, and the third that had died during the whole Voyage.

25. On the last of October, arrived *John Peterfon Koon*, of Horn, President for the *East India Company* at Bantam; and the very next Day he sent for the Captain, and both the Supercargoes, before the Council of the *Indies*. After a very little Discourse, he required them, in virtue of his Commission from the *East India Company*, to deliver up the Ship and Cargo immediately: The Captain and Supercargoes insisted, that the Seizure was unlawful, since they had not offended either against the Letter, or the Intention, of the Company's Charter; since, with respect to the former, they did not come into the *Indies* by either of the forbidden Passages, viz. the Cape of *Good Hope*, or the Straights of *Magellan*, but by a Passage of their own Discovery, which, in its Consequences, must be extremely advantageous to the Commerce of their Countrymen, and to the whole trading World: That, as to the latter, it could not be the Meaning of the States General, in granting that Charter, to deprive their Subjects of the Benefits resulting from new Discoveries, since that would have been inconsistent with the sole Design of granting the Charter, which, as the Charter itself expressed, was for promoting the Commerce of the Subjects of the Republic. But all they could say signified nothing; the President told them, that, if they thought they suffered wrong, they might seek Redress in *Holland*. "This," says the Author of the "*Dutch Voyage*," was done upon Monday the 1st of November, after our Reckoning; but upon Tuesday, the 2d of November, by our Countrymen's Reckoning there. The Reason of the Difference of the Time fell out thus: As we failed Westward from our own Country, and had with the Sun compassed the Globe of the World, we had one Night or Sun-setting less than they; and they that came out of the West, and failed to the East thereby, had one Day or Sun-setting more than we, which makes the Difference; and so, as we made our Reckoning of the Time then with ourselves, and did the like with our Countrymen, that Week we lost the Tuesday, leaping from Monday to Wednesday, and so had one Week of Six Days. Our Ship being in this Manner taken from us, some of our Men put themselves into Service with the *East India Company*; the rest were put into Two Ships (that were to go home into *Holland*) called the *Amsterdam*, and the *Zeland*, their General being *George van Spilbergen*: The Master, *William Cornelison Schovten*, *Jacob le Maire*, and Ten of our Men, went with the General in the *Amsterdam*, the Master's Name *John Cornelison May*, alias *Menfcheater*; and *Avis Clawson*, and the Pilot *Clauserfon*, with Ten others, in the *Zeland*, the Master's Name *Cornelius Rienlands*, of *Middleburgh*, which set Sail from Bantam the 14th of December." In little more than a Fortnight, viz. the 31st of that Month, died *Jaques le Maire*, their Supercargo, chiefly of Grief and Vexation, on account of the disastrous End of a Voyage which had been so prosperous to that Time. He was extremely solicitous on account of his Journal, which he had taken the utmost Pains about, recommending it to the Care of his Friends, and desiring that a full Account of this Transaction might be fairly published, that not only their Countrymen, but the whole World, might judge of the Usage they had received.

26. January 1. 1617. they lost Sight of the 2. The 24th, they anchored under the Island *Mauricius*, and refreshed there for Six Days. March the 6th, they passed the Cape of *Good Hope*, as they guessed, but saw it not. The 31st, they were under the Island of *St. Helena*, and there found the *Zeland* at their Arrival. The 6th of April, having supplied their Ships with fresh Water, they set Sail together. The 24th, they passed the Equinoctial the Fifth time; and, the 28th, saw the North Star, which they had not seen for Twenty Months before. July the 1st, the *Amsterdam* came into *Zeland*, whither the Ship of that Name had come the Day before. Thus this Voyage round the World was performed in Two Years and Eighteen Days; which, considering the Difficulties they met with, the Nature of their Course, and every other Circumstance of the Voyage, was a very wonderful thing, and might, one would have thought, have induced the

States General to have relieved them from the Hardships to which the Pride and Avarice of the *East India Company* had subjected them. The Proprietors of the *Unity*, and the *Horn*, finding, that, notwithstanding they had carried their Point in respect to the Discovery of a new Passage to the *East Indies* to the South of the Straights of *Magellan*, they had lost their Ships and Cargoes, and, consequently, all the immediate Benefit they expected from it, determined, however, to follow the dying Advice of *Jacques le Maire*, and to publish an Account of the Discovery as soon as it was possible. In order to this, they caused the Journals of *le Maire* and *Clawson* to be transcribed, examined, and compared; and then, drawing out of them such Points as seemed in any Degree obscure, they recommended them to the View of the Masters, and other Officers of the *Unity*, for Explanation: And, having thus procured an authentic Relation of this most memorable Expedition, they published it the very next Year in *Dutch*, that every body in their own Country might read it. In the Year 1619, an *English* Translation of it appeared, which was dedicated to Sir *Thomas Smith*, then Governor of the *English East India Company*; in which Dedication, the Discovery is particularly recommended to his Consideration, with a View to the Use that might be made of it in favour of our Commerce. But, notwithstanding the Author of this Dedication certainly meant well, it does not appear, that his Book was considered in any other Light than as an historical Account of new Discoveries, whereas he certainly intended it for more important Purposes. Within the Compass of a few Years, it appeared in *French*, *Italian*, and *Latin*; and the Fame of these Navigators spread all over *Europe*, while the original Adventurers were contesting the Point of Co-discovery with the *East India Company* in *Holland*. The Accounts of this Voyage, hitherto published in our Collections, have been all of them very short and imperfect, especially as to the Design of the Voyage, which we hope the Reader will here find thoroughly explained; which Pains we have rather taken, because, as we shall presently shew, there never was a Voyage that deserved it better. Other Discoveries, other Voyages to the *East Indies*, may be read for Amusement, or historical Instruction; but this should be regarded in another Light, since it points out to us a kind of Navigation capable of prodigious Improvement, and to which, perhaps, no Nation has a better Title than ourselves; since the *South Sea Company* seems to have been originally established for the Prosecution of those Discoveries which in this Expedition were begun.

27. There are few Voyages that deserve Remarks so much as this of *le Maire*, and yet it is not the easiest Matter in the World to make them. The Generality of Mankind imagine, that most great Discoveries are made by Chance, and that the ablest Seamen have been left indebted to Knowledge than to Fortune, for the Fame they have acquired by their finding out new Countries. But the elder *le Maire*, I mean *Isaac* the Merchant, actually discovered more in his Closet, than his Son did in his Voyage, though, in point of Discovery, it was far superior to any made in his Time. For the elder *le Maire*, from the Disposition of Earth and Water in the other Parts of the Globe, imagined, that there could not be a Fourth Part Water in the Southern Hemisphere. In respect to the Straights of *Magellan*, he saw they lay but in the Tenth Climate, whereas a great Part of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *America*, lay as far as the Twenty-fourth; from whence he concluded, that there must be a Continent to the South of those Straights which stretched itself into a warmer Latitude, and made a very considerable Part of the World, though hitherto undiscovered; and this was the Foundation of his Project of finding out a new Passage to unknown Countries. But the Reader may possibly inquire, why, supposing there were such a Continent, it must be concluded another *India*: And, to answer this Question, I must observe, that the only way of guessing rationally at the Products of unknown Countries, is by considering the Climates in which they lie, and the Nature of those Countries that are well known, and lie in the same Climates. *Le Maire* very judiciously conjectured, that, if there was such a Southern Continent, the greatest Part of it must lie be-

tween Thirty and Thirty-six Degrees of Latitude; and, as he knew, that the Coast of *Barbary*, all *Syria*, the most fruitful and pleasant Provinces of *Perfia*, the best Part of the *Indies*, all that was known of *Japan*, what had been hitherto discovered of *California*, *New Mexico*, and *Florida*, lay within the same Degrees of Northern Latitude, and that the best Part of *Chili*, and the Countries about the River of *Plate*, lay in the same Southern Climate, he, with great Justice and Probability, inferred, that, if such a Country could be discovered, it must be extremely rich and fruitful, abounding with all the Commodities that are most sought, and best esteemed, in *Europe*. When he communicated his Thoughts to Captain *Schouten*, he not only concurred with him in Opinion, but furnished him with many other Reasons in Support of it, drawn from Experience, and the Knowledge he had of the Countries already discovered in the *East Indies*; so that, on the Whole, they were fully persuaded, that, if they could bring their Project to bear, Spices, Gold, and precious Stones, might certainly be brought from these Southern *Indies*. They reasoned, in this respect, on the very same Principles that *Columbus* had laid down in Support of his first Expedition; and, therefore, there never was a Voyage undertaken upon wiser or better Grounds than this, as, perhaps too, there never was a Voyage executed with greater Ability or Success, of which the early Discovery of the Straights of *le Maire*, and the going quite round the World with the Loss of Four Men only, and one of these killed by Grief, are the strongest Instances. It is, indeed, very true, that no such Continent was discovered by this Voyage; and yet, when we consider the Matter fairly and maturely, this will be found no sort of Proof against the Truth of their Conjectures, but rather the contrary: For *Schouten* and *le Maire* did not pursue their Voyage as they intended, but ran nearer the Line, so as to make few or no Discoveries, but between Ten and Twenty Degrees of South Latitude; and the Countries they did discover were chiefly Islands, but Islands rich, fruitful, well inhabited, and well provided with Canoes, and other Vessels, all certain and infallible Marks of some adjacent Continent; so that, considering this was the first Voyage ever attempted from this Part of the World through those Seas, instead of wondering, that they made so small a Progress, we ought rather to be surprised, that with a single Ship, and with so small a Force, they were able to do so much. After all, *Columbus* did no more in his first Voyage than discover the Islands that lay off *America*; and therefore *Schouten* and *le Maire*, as they went on the same Plan, may be truly said to have met with as much Success. We cannot, therefore, but be sensible, that the Censure passed on this Discovery by the *Dutch* Writer of *Spilbergen's* Voyage, which we have taken notice of before, was equally cruel and unjust; for whereas he objected, that they had discovered no Countries or People with whom any Trade could be carried on, but barely a new Strait, the Fact is false, and they really discovered as much as could be reasonably expected: The only Wonder is, that this Discovery was not prosecuted, and that a Nation so famous for Industry, and so well turned for all commercial Improvements, as the *Dutch*, should let slip so favourable an Opportunity as this offered for extending their Trade, especially at a time when this seemed to be peculiarly cherished by the State. In order to solve this Difficulty, we need only reflect on the Hardships that were endured by the Persons who undertook this Voyage, and the Losses that were sustained by its Proprietors: These were more than sufficient to deter private Men from running the Risk of such another Expedition; because, besides all the Dangers inseparable from such an Undertaking, there was this invincible Obstacle of the *East India Company's* exclusive Charter, which, whatever became of them at Sea, was sure to overturn them on Shore; and, as to any public Prosecution of the Project, that too was scarce to be expected, since the State rarely reaps any Profit from Expeditions that would make private Men rich. But our Business here lies chiefly with the present Discovery. It may be wondered, why the People in these Islands are called Negroes, since it does not appear by subsequent Discoveries, that there are any such in those Parts. All that I can say in Answer to this is, that they are so

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Commerce, than inclined to pursue it themselves, as having less need of it than any other Nation in *Europe*. But, to put the Matter out of Dispute, and to shew, that whatever Reasons either the *Dutch* or *Spaniards* may have for endeavouring to conceal these Southern Lands, it is, however, a Matter worthy of our Consideration, to discover them, I shall, in the next Section, and by way of Appendix to this, give the Reader a very large Memorial of a *Spanish* Discoverer, who not only conjectured, that there were such Southern Countries, but actually saw, examined, and reported what he met with in them, and what might be expected from a Trade carried on with their Inhabitants. I must first advertise the Reader, that, tho' I place this Paper as an Appendix, yet, in point of Time, the *Spanish* was prior to the *Dutch* Discoverer, but then what he discovered was concealed for many Years, and never could come to the Knowledge of *Isaac le Maire*, though, since its Publication, it serves to demonstrate the Justice and Truth of his Conjectures. Another Reason for my bringing this Memorial in here, rather than postponing it until we come to treat of the Southern Parts of *America*, is, because it gives great Light to our subsequent Circumnavigations, many Passages in which would be scarce intelligible without it. It is certainly right to be very careful in respect to Method, especially in Works of such an Extent as this; but as this Rule is founded on the Necessity of making Things clear, by placing them in such a manner as that they may reflect Light upon each other, the very same Reason obliges us to dispute with the strict Prosecution of our Plan, when such a Deviation contributes more to the Reader's Information, than the contrary Practice would have done.

2. This Gentleman Don *Pedro* made a Voyage to *Spain*, where, in the Year 1609. he presented several Memorials to the Court, desiring Affiance for the Conquest and Settlement of these new-found Countries, in respect to which, he avers, that he had spent great Sums of Money in Fourteen Years Time, and had travelled 20,000 Leagues by Sea and Land, in order to bring this Discovery to bear. It is from this Memorial, of which there are still several Copies remaining, some larger, and some more concise, that we are enabled to give any Account of his Discoveries. In this Memorial, he first represents to his Catholic Majesty, that the Continent he desired to settle was equal in Bigness to *Europe* and the *Lesser Asia* taken together, lying all in the Torrid Zone, and therefore, in his Opinion, like to be extremely rich. He says, that it ought to be esteemed the Fourth-part of the Globe; but, in this respect, his Meaning is not very clear. The best Interpretation, that I have met with, is this; That he reckons *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa* the First Part; the *East Indies* the Second; *America* the Third; and this new-found Country the Fourth. As for the Extent of it, he speaks partly from his own Knowledge, but mostly from Conjecture, having discovered

only that Part, which lay in or near 15° South Latitude.

3. As to the People, he reports, that they were of various Complexions; some white, some black, some tawny: But is positive, that the Country he saw was very well-peopled, and very well cultivated; the Inhabitants generally of a quiet and peaceable Disposition, having many Canoes, and other Vessels, in which they transported their Commodities from one Place to another. He describes very particularly the Plants, Trees, Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, of this Country, affirming, that it produced all Things necessary to human Life within itself, together with Gold, Silver, Pearl, Nutmegs, Mace, Ginger, and other Spices for Exportation, abounding likewise with vast Quantities of Sugar-canes, very large, and excellent in their Kind. He describes particularly the Bay of *St. James* and *St. Philip*, which, he says, is very large, as well as very safe and commodious. Another Haven he mentioned, to which he gave the Name of *La Vera Cruz*, capable, according to his Account, of holding 1000 Ships, with safe Anchorage every-where. This Haven, he adds, is in the Neighbourhood of Seven fine Islands, One of which he had viewed and surrounded, finding it about Fifty Leagues in Circumference; and this Haven, according to his Account, lies in 15° 40' South Latitude. He expatiates on the many Advantages that might arise from a Settlement there; and insists particularly on its being the properest Means for uniting the large Dominions, which his Catholic Majesty had already acquired, as well in the *East Indies*, as in *America*, as lying between both, and affording thereby an Opportunity of carrying on an easy and beneficial Trade with either: All which he offers to demonstrate at large to such Commissioners, well skilled in these Matters, as his Majesty should be pleased to appoint. But whether, in consequence of these Memorials, any such Commissioners were appointed, or whether, in pursuance of their being appointed, these Projects of Don *Pedro Fernandez de Quiros* were examined and approved, we have no kind of Proof.

4. After insisting on the Fertility of the Soil, the Convenience of the Ports, and their commodious Situation, he commends the Wholesomeness of the Air, which he declares to be such, that, notwithstanding he had a considerable Body of Men, who, like himself, were Strangers to the Place, exercised, while they were there, with continual Labours, exposed constantly to the open Air, often hot, and sometimes exposed to the cold Dews; yet were none of them taken sick. As to the Natives, they found them strong, healthy, and many of them very old, tho' they laboured hard, and lay upon the bare Ground; which, as he very justly observes, is a pregnant Instance of its Wholesomeness, since, if it were a moist, marshy Soil, like that of the *Philippines*, the Inhabitants would certainly raise their Dwellings upon Piles of Wood, as is usual in those Islands. He likewise takes notice, that Flesh and Fish were often kept there Two Days, and were perfectly sweet. The Fruits of that Country, gathered green, he carried back with him to *Mexico*, found, and well tasted. Besides all these Blessings, enjoyed by the Southern Continent in common with other fruitful Countries, he remarks the following Privileges, which distinguish it from, and render it superior to, any of the Provinces of either of the *Indies*; such as that there are no Thistles, Briars, or Thorns, that grow there; no Fens or Marshes; no Snow upon the Mountains; no standing Waters in the Fields or Meadows; no Serpents, or venomous Creatures of any Kind, in the Grass or Woods; no Crocodiles in the Rivers; no Worms among their Corn or Grain; no Gnats, stinging Flies, or any other Vermin whatever: For these Reasons, he makes no Doubt, that it ought to be preferred to all the Conquests made by the *Spaniards* in either of the *Indies*.

5. The Account he gives of his taking Possession of this Fourth-part of the Globe is very remarkable, and therefore I shall give it the Reader in his own Words, which may serve as a Specimen of the whole Performance, and convince the Reader of the Expediency of giving him an Extract only of the rest. "Such, Sir, says he, in the Seventh Article of his Memorial, are the Greatness and Goodness of the Country, which I have discovered, of which I have already taken Possession in the Name of your Majesty, and un-

der your Royal Banner, as appeareth by the Acts, which I keep safely in my Power, whereunto I proceeded after this ensuing Manner: First, (Sir) we erected a Cross, and built a Church, in Honour of our Lady of *Lorito*. Then we caused Twenty Masses to be celebrated there; and our Troops made haste thither, to gain some Indulgences granted on *Whitsunday*. We also made a solemn Procession, and observed the Feast of the Blessed Sacrament, the which was carried in Procession, your Banneret being ever displayed, and marching before it, thro' a great Circuit of Countries, which were honoured with the Presence of the same. In Three several Places we set up our Title, in every One of which we prepared and erected Two Columns, with the Arms of your Majesty tricked and garnished thereupon; so that I may, with good Right, affirm, that, since this will challenge to be One of the Parts of the World, the Impress of *Plus ultra* is accomplished; and, because it stretched unto the Continent, whether it be forward or backward can be no great Matter. The Bounds of your Dominions are, with much Spaciousness, enlarged. Now, all this which I have performed, receiveth its Root from this faithful Zeal, which I bear unto your Majesty, that, to all the Titles, which you already possess, you may adjoin this, which I present; and that the Name of *La Australia del Espiritu Santo* may be blazoned and spread over the Face of the whole World, to the Glory of God, who hath revealed this Country, and hath given me the Grace to guide my Course thither, and to return to the Presence of your Majesty, before whom I present and prostrate myself with the same Affection and Zeal unto this Work, which I had before, and which hath grown up with me, as it were, from my Cradle; and, for the Nobleness and Worth thereof, I do still tender and cherish the same with the greatest Love that can be."

6. In order to give still greater Force to this Memorial, he observes at the Close, that if this new-discovered Southern Country should be sought for, and seized by any of the Northern Nations, Enemies to the Crown of *Spain*, and Heretics besides, his Catholic Majesty would not only lose the mighty Advantages before-mentioned, but might likewise find himself so terribly distressed in both the *East Indies* and the *West*, as might engage him to spend much more to recover, than was now necessary for the securing and settling this noble Country. He likewise observes, that the Galleons were on the point of departing; and that therefore it was necessary his Majesty should take some speedy Resolution, that he might be the sooner and better able to perform all that he had promised; the rather because this was the Eighth Memorial he had presented, and the Fourteenth Month he had spent in the *Spanish* Court, without being able to obtain any satisfactory Answer. In Return to this, he is said to have had an Order to levy 1200 Men in *New Spain* for the Execution of this Project, and to receive 500,000 Pieces of Eight for the necessary Expences of his Undertaking. But, after all, the Affair came to nothing, tho' the *Spanish* Court had then so good an Opinion of it, that they ordered several of the Memorials he had presented to be printed at *Seville* in 1610.

7. But, besides these, there is still extant a large *Spanish* Memorial, in which the Substance of what we have before related is contained, with such other Circumstances, as seem to speak it his last Effort; and perhaps it was upon that Memorial the Order was made, which is before-mentioned. In that Memorial he says, that he discovered 20 Islands, the Names of which he mentions, besides the Country before described, in which is *Babya de Sant Felipe y Sant Iago*, i. e. the Bay of *St. Philip* and *James*; and *Puerto de la Vera Cruz*, i. e. the Harbour of *Vera Cruz*, where they staid with Three Ships Thirty-six Days. He believed they were all one Country, from their high and double Mountains, and by the Greatness of the River *Jordan*, which appeared from an Information lodged at *Mexico*, to which he refers. He says further, that, in the Isle *Taumaco*, which is 1250 Leagues from *Mexico*, they staid Ten Days; and a Lord of that Island, who was called *Tamey*, a Man of Sense, tall and full-bodied; his Colour of a Sea-ware, or reddish; grey-eyed; with an high Nose; his Beard and Hair curled; of a grave Aspect; was of great Service to them, with his People,

People, in keeping and converting them; and were other Islands above Sixty. They lay from the large Islands, lesser Islands, Arms, and, laying his hands would be People and Canibals; next Day, he in the same loes, Fowls, grunting, &c. exprefs to said, they had and might *Taumaco*, they were drowned called *Pedro*, upon asking, ent Times, contradicted *Chicayana*, from it. Fruit. The lank Hair; Mulattoes, headed. In Pearl of feve

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People, in helping them to Water. He came on board, and converted by Signs. He inquired of him, if there were other Islands round them, and if inhabited. He named above Sixty of them, and a great Country called *Manicola*. They lay from South South-east to North-east. To describe the large Islands he made large Circles, and smaller for the lesser Islands; and, for the great Country, he opened his Arms, and, pointing to the Sun, shutting his Eyes, and laying his Head upon his Hand so often, made out, that it would be Ten Weeks in sailing round them; in which were People of all Colours, some Friends, some Enemies, and Canibals; which he signified, by biting his Arm. The next Day, he saw many of his People in the Bay, who agreed in the same Account; and said, they had Cows and Buffaloes, Fowls and Swine; which they signified by crowing, grunting, &c. to make them sensible of what they would express to them; and, upon shewing them a Pearl, they said, they had of them; and in every thing told the Truth, and might be depended upon. When they sailed from *Taumaco*, they took Four of the Natives with them; Three were drowned in swimming, and the other, whom they called *Pedro*, came to *Mexico*; and, after learning *Spanish*, upon asking him Questions in different Companies at different Times, he never varied once in his Account, or ever contradicted himself. He was a Native of an Island called *Chicayana*, greater than *Taumaco*, and Four Days Sailing from it. He said it was plainer, and abounded more with Fruit. The Natives were most of his *Indian* Colour, with black Hair; yet some were white, with red Hair; some Mulattoes, with half-curved Hair; and some were woolly-headed. In this Island were many Kinds of Oylers, with Pearl of several Sizes, in shallow Water.

8. He said farther, that, Three Days sailing from *Taumaco*, was another Island, called *Guatopo*, greater than the other Two, peopled with some as white as the common *Spaniards*, with red and black Hair. He said, that, from another Island called *Tucopia*, at the Distance of Five Days Sailing, was a great Country called *Manicola*, inhabited by many who were fair, as well as Mulattoes. It was an high Country, full of Rivers, which could not be passed but in Canoes. He talked much of the Greatness, Fertility, and other Advantages of that Island; that he and other *Indians* went thither in a great Canoe or Peragua; and he saw there a good Harbour, of a straiter Entrance than that of *Philip* and *James*; that it was betwixt Four Rivers; and that they might coast along that Country more Days than in going from *Acapulco* to *Mexico*, without seeing the End of it. There, he said, are many Pearl-oysters. In Three Days Sailing, with a stiff Gale, from *Taumaco*, is another Island called *Panofano*. It is low and plain, in which are great Rivers; the Country very fertile and populous; and the Natives some fair, and some Mulattoes. Near this are the Islands *Pilar* and *Nupon*. In all these are Pearl-oysters. He said, that, in *Taumaco*, was a great *Indian* Pilot, who had been in many more Islands, and in one great Island called *Pouro*, where the People were very warlike. He brought with him from thence some Fish-gigs, and Arrows which had coloured Points. Upon shewing him a Piece of Plate, he said, the Points were of that Colour. *De Quiros* says, that, in the Bay of *Philip* and *James*, were many black Stones, very heavy, some of which he carried to *Mexico*, in which, upon their being assayed, they found Silver. Upon shewing *Pedro* some of these, he said, that, in *Taumaco*, there was much of that Sort, which they called *Teraque*; and also in *Manicola*. When he came to be well understood in *Spanish*, he talked much of the Populousness of their several Islands, and of the Variety of different Colours of such as inhabit in them; and of other great Countries South-east and West of them; which agrees exactly with the Conjectures of the best Judges, as well as the Experience of great Discoverers since.

9. It is a pretty extraordinary Consequence, that many People have drawn from the Negligence of the *Spaniards* in prosecuting the Discoveries of these Countries; which is, that they took these Relations of *de Quiros* for Fictions; and, upon this wife Foundation, will have us believe, that there are no such Countries as the Southern Continent or Islands by him described. This Opinion of theirs, however, is founded upon a false Fact; for his Proposals were not rejected at Court, but he met with such Delays on his Return to the *Indies*, that he died before he was able to undertake any thing. Add to this, that all who have navigated these Seas, or any Part of them, instead of confuting, have confirmed what he has delivered in relation to the Islands on this Southern Coast, and their Inhabitants. The Reader will hereafter meet with a Voyage round the World, undertaken for the Discovery of these Southern Countries by the *Dutch*, so lately as the Year 1721, wherein he will find, that they met with most of the Islands mentioned in *le Maire's* Voyage, and found the Inhabitants of other Islands, discovered by themselves, answer the Description given by *de Quiros* very exactly; for they were perfectly civilized, dwelt in wooden Houses, made use of earthen Vessels, had Flutes and Drums for Music, divided their Plantations regularly, and fenced them with Poles; all which Circumstances will be more particularly taken notice of, when we come to speak of that Voyage.

10. In the mean time, I shall conclude this Section with observing, that it has been now, for many Years, a settled Maxim in the *Spanish* Politics, not only to lay aside all Thoughts of prosecuting these Discoveries, but even to treat the Relations published of them by their best Authors as absolute Romances; and this with very good Reason: For, finding themselves so weakened, as to be no longer in a Condition to undertake any Expedition of this Nature to any great Purpose, and foreseeing, that, if they should establish themselves in Two or Three small Islands, it would only serve to encourage other Nations to dispossess them, and thereby gain not only the Settlements from whence they might be driven, but enable them to fix themselves in the Middle between their *American* Dominions and the *Philippine* Islands, to their inexpressible Prejudice, they very prudently forego a present Advantage, rather than run the Risque of such a future Inconvenience: Yet, however wise this Conduct may be in them, it is very wonderful, that other Nations should not see through it, especially at a Time like this, when an Attempt might be made at no very great Expence, and with very little Hazard, because, at all Events, our Ships might go safely round to the *East Indies*, as is evident by what has been so very lately done by Commodore *Anson*.

11. If a Project of this sort should ever come to be maturely weighed, there is no great Reason to fear, that we might find a Way to indemnify ourselves for the Loss of the *Assiento*, since, at the worst, if any Establishment could be made, either on this Southern Continent, or in some of the Islands near it, the *Spanish* Court, upon a Peace, would be glad to renew that Contract, in Consideration of our abandoning it, if that would content us; but, if we neglect this Opportunity, it is highly probable, that some other Nation will soon be before-hand with us, since there is nothing more certain, than that Schemes of this sort are daily thought of in Countries, where Commerce and Navigation are, as it were, in their Infancy, and where, as yet, the Tyranny of exclusive Companies is not known. But it is now Time to proceed in our History of Circumnavigations, and to shew how soon the Streights of *Le Maire* grew into Credit with those, who affected to doubt the Truth of their first Discovery, and who, very probably, would have buried it in Oblivion, if the Relation in our last Section had not put it absolutely out of their Power.

SECTION XI.

The Voyage of the Nassau Fleet round the Globe, under the Command of JACQUES LE HERMITE.

1. *The Motives which induced Prince Maurice, and the States, to undertake this Expedition.* 2. *An Account of the Strength of the Nassau Fleet.* 3. *Remarks on the Dutch Administration at that Time.* 4. *The Departure of the Fleet from Holland on April 9. 1623.* 5. *Accidents that befel them at their first setting out.* 6. *The Vice-admiral converts a Dutch Renegade.* 7. *A Mutiny punished on board the Overijssel.* 8. *The Fleet arrives in the Road of St. Vincent.* 9. *Description of the Islands of St. Vincent and St. Antonio.* 10. *They arrive in the Road of Sierra Leona.* 11. *A Description of Sierra Leona, and the Country thereabouts.* 12. *Anchor in the Road of Cape Lopes.* 13. *One of their Surgeons detected in poisoning several of their Men, for which he was beheaded.* 14. *Their Arrival and Transactions at the Island of Annobon.* 15. *Description of that Island.* 16. *Continue their Voyage for the Streights of Le Maire.* 17. *Their Passage through that Streight.* 18. *Observations on that Coast.* 19. *An Account of the Terra del Fuego, and its Inhabitants.* 20. *Their Passage into the South Sea.* 21. *Arrival at the Islands of Juan Fernandez.* 22. *Description of those Islands.* 23. *Disposition made for attacking the Spaniards.* 24. *Several Attempts made on the Port of Calao de Lima.* 25. *Reasons why those Attempts miscarried.* 26. *Other fruitless Attempts.* 27. *Death of the Admiral Jacques le Hermite.* 28. *They endeavour to treat with the Spaniards.* 29. *On the Refusal of the Spanish Viceroy to ransom their Prisoners, they hang them up at the Yard-arm.* 30. *Several Disputes with the Spaniards.* 31. *The Town of Guayaquil taken by a Detachment from the Fleet.* 32. *They sail from the Island of Lima.* 33. *Make a fruitless Attempt upon Puna, which at last they burn.* 34. *Sail from thence for Acapulco.* 35. *Prosecute their Voyage from that Port to the East Indies.* 36. *Arrive at Guan, One of the Ladrões.* 37. *Proceed thence to Ternate.* 38. *The Fleet separates at Batavia.* 39. *The Admiral dies in his Passage Home, and his Ship arrives in the Texel, January 21. 1626.*

1. **I**T was observed very early, by the best Politicians in the United Provinces, that the most effectual Method of distressing his Catholic Majesty, would be the sending a Fleet into the South Seas, there to take the Ships of his Subjects, plunder the Coasts of his extensive Dominions, demolish the strongest of his Fortifications, and thereby lay him open to the Insults of future Squadrons of smaller Force. But it was thought necessary for the Accomplishment of this great Design, that larger Ships, better manned, and provided with more authentic Commissions, than the Commanders of other privateering Squadrons, should be sent to execute this Commission. It was likewise resolved, that this great Fleet should not enter the South Seas by the Streights of Magellan, but through the new-found Streights of *Le Maire*, that they might be sooner in a Condition to act effectually against the Spanish Trade, and the Spanish Settlements. Prince Maurice, of Nassau, was then High Admiral of Holland, and at the Head of the Administration; and he concurred very heartily in this Design, advancing a considerable Sum of Money towards it himself, and affording it all the Countenance and Encouragement that was in his Power. In the Autumn, therefore, of the Year 1622. a final Resolution was taken by the States General, and their Stadtholder Prince Maurice, to put this important Design in Execution, by fitting out a Fleet, consisting of no less than Eleven Ships of War, besides smaller Vessels; and the necessary Instructions for this Purpose were given to the several Admiralties of Holland, and the East India Company, who appointed the following Commissioners to have the Care of arming and equipping that Fleet, viz. *Hugo Muts van Hely, Albert Jacobini, and Abraham Brunningb*.

2. By the Care and Industry of these worthy Gentlemen, all the necessary Preparations were forwarded with such Vigour and Diligence, that, by the Spring of the Year 1623. the Fleet was in a Condition to sail. The principal Officers were then appointed, and the Person made Choice of for Admiral was *Jacques le Hermite*, an able and accomplished Seaman, who had been long in the Service of the East India Company, was accustomed to an extensive Command, and had gone through the Hardships and Fatigues of several long Voyages. Their Vice-admiral was *Hugo Schapenham*, a Man of a sweet Disposition, and generally esteemed equal, in point of Prudence and Capacity, to the great Trust that was reposed in him. The Ships fitted out by the Admiralty of Amsterdam were, 1.

The *Amsterdam*, as Admiral, a Ship of 800 Ton, carrying 237 Men, commanded by Captain *Leendert Jacobsen Steik*, having for Supercargo *Peter Wely, Engelbert Schutte* commanded the Soldiers on board, *Frederic van Renswyg* held the Post of Fiscal or Judge-advocate, *John van Walbeck* was Engineer of the Fleet, and *Justin van Vogelstein* Engineer extraordinary; she carried Twenty Brals, and Twenty-two Iron Cannon. 2. The *Deft*, as Vice-admiral, of the like Burden of 800 Ton, carrying 242 Men, her Commander Captain *Cornelius de Witte*, her Force Twenty Brals, and Twenty Iron Cannon. 3. The *Eagle*, of the Burden of 400 Ton, carrying 144 Men, commanded by Captain *Meyderi Egbertson*, her Force Twelve Brals, and Sixteen Iron Cannon. 4. A Yacht, called the *Grybound*, of the Burden of Sixty Ton, commanded by Captain *Solomon Willemson*, carrying Twenty Men, and Four Pieces of Brals Cannon. The Admiralty of Zeland equipped for this Expedition, 1. The *Orange*, of the Burden of 700 Ton, carrying 216 Men, having on board the Rear-admiral *John William Verschoor*, and under him was Captain *Laurence John Quirynen*. The Admiralty of Holland fitted out: 1. The *Holland*, of the Burden of 600 Ton, carrying 182 Men, having on board *Cornelius Jacobsen*, Counsellor to their Admiral, but commanded immediately by Captain *Adrian Toll*, her Force consisted of Ten Pieces of Brals, and Twenty of Iron Cannon. 2. The *Maurice*, of the Burden of 360 Tons, carrying 169 Men, commanded by Captain *James Adrianson*, having Twelve Brals, and Twenty Iron Cannon. 3. The *Hope*, of the Burden of 260 Ton, carrying Eighty Men, commanded by Captain *Peter Hermanjon Slobbe*, having Fourteen Iron Cannon. The Admiralty of North Holland sent forth, 1. The *Concord*, of the Burden of 600 Ton, carrying 170 Men, commanded by Captain *John Tisbrandt*, her Force consisted of Eighteen Brals, and Fourteen Iron Cannon. 2. The *King David*, of the Burden of 360 Ton, carrying Seventy-nine Men, commanded by Captain *John Thomason*, carrying Sixteen Pieces of Brals Cannon. 3. The *Griffin*, of the Burden of 320 Ton, carrying Seventy-eight Men, commanded by Captain *Peter Cornelison Hurdloop*, having Fourteen Pieces of Iron Cannon. The whole Force of this Fleet consisted in Eleven Sail of stout Ships, carrying 1637 Men, of which 600 were regular Troops, divided into Five Companies, consisting of 120 Men each, and carrying 294 Pieces of Brals and Iron Cannon. The East India Company contributed largely to the Expence, though it

* This curious and important Voyage, which is so often mentioned in the Dutch and Spanish Histories, appears here for the first time in English.

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does not appear, that they equipped any Ships. This Fleet was by far the most considerable that had been hitherto sent against the *Spaniards* in the *West Indies*.

3. We must observe, in order to the perfect understanding the History of this remarkable Voyage, the most important by far that ever was undertaken into those Parts by the *Dutch*, that the Government of *Holland* differed much from what it was before, or what it has been since, being in fact rather a Monarchy than a Republic, the Prince of *Orange* doing all, but in the Name of the States; the executive Power, under colour of Necessity, and upon Pretence of taking care of the Public, having usurped the Sovereignty. The Reader may very well wonder at seeing such an Introduction as this to a Voyage round the World; but the Necessity of the Thing must excuse it. Most of the Captains, and other Officers, stood indebted for their Commissions to Court Favour; Prince *Maurice*, a Land Admiral, granted them; and he had in View in this, as well as in other Things, the establishing his own Power, as well as serving the State. There is a certain Ruggedness in the Dispositions of Men, who are best suited to go through the Difficulties of such Commands, which, at the same time, renders them very unfit for making their Court to the great Men who bestow them, especially if those great Men have arrived at their Stations by Birth, Interest, or Intrigue, instead of Service. For it is with respect to Sea Affairs, the same as with regard to other Affairs, no Man, who is not himself versed in them, can pretend to know how far another understands them; and hence it frequently happens, that, without any ill Intention towards the Public, Commands are bestowed in such a manner, as turn greatly to the public Prejudice. These Reflections, which lie in a very narrow Compass, will save the Reader, as well as myself, a great deal of Trouble, because they will enable him, without my Assistance, to account for most of the untoward Accidents which happened in, and proved the Overthrow of this Expedition. It may not be amiss, likewise, to observe, that I do not make these Remarks of my own Head, but on the Authority of the famous *John de Witte*, the most celebrated Statesman, the most accurate Writer of the Nation, whom they concern; and I have thrown them into a separate Paragraph, that they might not interfere with a Relation, in which I keep not only to the Sense, but use the very Words of the original Historian of this Voyage, to which we may now safely proceed.

4. The *Nassau Fleet*, as it was called, sailed from the *Goeres* on April 29. 1623. consisting of the Admiral, Nine Ships, and the Yacht. In the Evening, on the 30th, they were informed, that the *Eagle* had sprung a Leak; and that, in a very few Hours time, they had pumped 3000 Barrels of Water: About the same time, the *Orange*, which was the Rear-admiral, joined them. On May 1. it was resolved in Council to put into the *Isle of Wight*, in order, if possible, to stop the Leak in the *Eagle*. The *Hope* and the *Orange* running foul of each other, the former had her Bowprit very much damaged, and the Mizzen-mast of the latter came by the Board. In the Afternoon, the whole Fleet anchored at *Portsmouth*, except the *Hope*, the Captain of which, out of pure Vanity, would needs take a Course different from that of the rest of the Fleet, in consequence of which, he run ashore, and was in great Danger of perishing; but the Vice-admiral going in Person with all the Shallops of the Fleet to her Assistance, and taking out the Guns, lightened the Ship so, that she got off, and the Night following joined the Fleet. May 2. they anchored under *Cowes Castle*; there they haled the *Eagle* on shore, and found the Leak to be owing intirely to bad Management in Building, such Spaces being left between the Seams, that a Knife might have entered, Haft and all: By the 6th, she was fit to put to Sea: On the 8th, they sailed from the *Isle of Wight*; but, the Wind dying away, they were forced to anchor without the *Needles*, in order to wait for the *Orange* and the *Greyhound*, the latter of which joined them on the 9th, and the former on the 4th.

5. In the Night between the 13th and 14th, the Admiral having given Orders for firing a Gun, as a Signal for sailing; by some Accident or other in the charging, it

burst, blew up part of both Decks, demolished all the Cabins that were near it, and sent Numbers of the Scamens Chests into the Air. It was a Gunner's Mate who fired it, and who was so lucky as to escape without the least Hurt; but another of the Gunner's Crew, who was near him, had his Arm broke in Two Places, and died soon after. The 29th, they were in the Latitude of 40 40', and the same Day the Admiral gave Orders, that the Ships should extend themselves, but so as not to lose Sight of him, in order, if possible, to meet with the Plate Fleet, but were every Night to return to the Flag. On the 30th, it was resolved in Council to keep as near as possible the *Spanish Coasts*, in order to take some Prizes, that they might be the better informed as to the Situation of Things, when that Plate Fleet was expected, and what Course it was like to hold, that they might regulate their own Proceedings accordingly.

6. On the 31st, they spoke with Three *Turkish* Corsairs, who informed them, that they had been chased by Six *Spanish* Men of War off Cape *St. Vincent*. In the Evening they spoke with Two other Corsairs, of which One was so far engaged in the *Dutch* Fleet, that the *Concord* obliged her to bring to, and the Captain of her was ordered on board the Admiral. On June 1. the same Captain returned, and demanded from the Admiral the Restoration of Five Slaves, which he said were carried off by the Vice-admiral's Shallop, when he boarded him; assuring him, at the same time, that he had purchased these Slaves at *Algiers*: But when this Matter came to be examined, and the Five Slaves were produced, they proved to be honest *Dutch* Sailors, who asserted, that there were others likewise on board the same Ship, that had been taken on board Merchantmen bound for the *Levant*. As, in consequence of the Treaties subsisting between the States General and the Regency of *Algiers*, these Slaves ought to have been set at Liberty, they sent for the rest from on board the Ship, and charged the Captain with a Letter to the *Dutch* Consul at *Algiers*; but he could not be persuaded to think this a reasonable Equivalent for so many able Seamen, which, however, he was obliged to part with, and they were entered on board several Ships, and were allowed present Pay. On the 14th, at Break of Day, they chased Ten Sail of Ships, with armed Shallops, of which they took Four, Three of them small Barks, and the other a little Ship. On board this last, there were some Prisoners of Distinction; amongst the rest a Priest, and a *Spanish* Nobleman, whose Name was *Augustino Oforio*. This little Squadron was homeward-bound from *Fernambuco*, laden with Sugar; where they took in the *Spanish* Nobleman, who had resided long at *Peru*, and who had travelled by Land to *Buenos Ayres*, in order to meet with this Passage Home. On the 7th, while they were chasing a *Turkish* Corsair, the Prizes lay a little behind, which being perceived by another Corsair, he attempted to carry them off; and had certainly done it, if the Vice-admiral, perceiving his Design in time, had not bore down upon them immediately. The Corsair had, at that time, a Christian Slave at the Helm, who took his Opportunity to run the Ship on board the *Dutch* Vice-admiral, into which himself, and many of the Slaves, leaped as soon as they could. It so happened, that the Captain of the Corsair was a *Dutch* Renegade, whose Name was *Henry Hermanse*, a Native of *Enckeyse*, who followed them quickly, and demanded that they should be restored: But the Vice-admiral, instead of listening to his Request, expostulated with him on the Folly of deserting his Country and Religion; and this had such an Effect, that he sent for all that belonged to him from on board the Privateer, and agreed to go along with the Fleet, which gave no small Uneasiness to the *Turks*, who, by this means, lost Seventeen good Men, and their Captain.

7. On the 8th, a Council was called on the Report of this Captain, that there were no less than Thirty *Spanish* Men of War in those Seas. In this Council it was strongly argued, that, as their Ships were deep-laden, so that it was impossible to make any Use of the lower Tire of Guns, without removing many Things that were necessary for the Voyage, which must be likewise greatly retarded, in case they remained longer upon that Coast, a Resolution was thereupon taken to bear away immediately for the Road

Safia,

Safa, where there were several Dutch Ships, in order to put on board them the Merchandize taken in the Prizes, that it might be immediately transported to *Holland*. On the 12th, they came to an Anchor in that Road, where they found the *Overyffel*, a Dutch Man of War, and Three other Vessels of the same Nation, and Two other Ships, One *Englisb*, and One *French*. The Captain came on board the Admiral the next Day, and informed him, that his Ship's Company had mutinied, and had deprived him of his Command. The Admiral immediately ordered the Authors of this Disturbance to be put in Irons on board his Ship, directing, at the same time, the *Overyffel* to take the best Part of the Sugar on board, and to prepare for her Return to *Holland*. It was resolved also to send back with her the Yacht called the *Greyhound*, on account of her heavy sailing, and to keep the little *Spanisb* Ship in her stead, on board which were put the Captain of the Yacht, and his Crew. They likewise resolved to keep another of the *Spanisb* Vessels, because she was new, well built, and a good Sailor, and because they were but indifferently provided with Yachts. On the 18th, the Prisoners from on board the *Overyffel* were examined; and, the Captain having desired Seven Officers of the Fleet to assist him, they were brought to their Trials on the 21st, when Four, who were fully proved to have formed a Design of running away with the Ship, were hanged at the Yard's-arm; and Three more, who were deep in the Mutiny, but not the Authors of it, were first Keel-hawled, and then put on board the Fleet to serve without Wages. To speak the Truth, however, one great Cause of this Mischief was, the Captain's not knowing well how to maintain his Authority. On the 24th, the Fleet sailed out of *Safa* Bay, consisting now of Sixteen Sail; and, in the Evening, the *Overyffel*, the *Greyhound*, and the Two Barks, quitted the reef, in order to return to *Holland*.

8. On July 5. the Fleet anchored in the Road of *St. Vincent*, which is extremely safe and commodious; and, as it was well known, that the rainy Season would not commence there in a Month, and that it already began to rain at *Sierra Leona*, it was resolved to disarm the Ships here, and to do every thing that was intended to be done there, except taking in Water, which could not be done, because the Hoops of their Water-casks were bad, and there was no Wood in that Neighbourhood to repair them. The Rear-admiral was thereupon ordered to go to the Island of *St. Antonio* with Three Shallops, and to carry with him some of the Portuguese Prisoners, to try, if possible, to obtain Leave to gather Lemons and Oranges by fair means, since otherwise they must be taken by foul. It was also resolved, that all the sick Men should go on shore, and the Two Companies should be left there as a Guard, and be regularly relieved once a Week; they likewise dug a Well on Shore, which soon furnished them with good Water. On the 7th, the Rear-admiral returned from *St. Antonio*, and reported, that he had been very well received by the Negroes, who shewed him vast Quantities of Oranges and Lemons, together with Fig-trees, the Fruit of which were now ripe. They likewise put into his Hands Four Letters, the last of which was dated from on board the *Leyden*, all certifying, that the Dutch Ships, which at any time put in there, had been received well. On the 9th, there was a Sermon preached in the Island of *St. Vincent*. They took there every Night a great Number of Tortoises, and as much Fish as they could tell what to do with; but they found it difficult to get any Goats at first; but by degrees they grew better acquainted with the manner of hunting them, and every Ship got at least Fifteen or Sixteen in a Day for the Use of the Company. On the 22d, the Vice-admiral embarked on board the new Yacht, which was now called the *Greyhound*, taking with him Two armed Shallops, and all the Prisoners, except the *Spanisb* Count *Oforio*; these they landed on the Island, giving them their Liberty, and allowing each Man Twelve Reals, that is, about an *Englisb* Crown, for his Subsistence. There they supplied themselves with about 22,000 Oranges, and left a Letter with the Negroes, in the nature of a Certificate of their good Behaviour. On July 25. they sailed from these Islands, in order to prosecute their Voyage.

9. The Islands of *St. Vincent*, and *St. Antonio*, are situated the farthest to the West of all the Islands of the Cape de Verd; they lie from $16^{\circ} 30'$ to 18° North Latitude, at the Distance of about Two Leagues from each other. The Bay of *St. Vincent*, where they anchored, lies in $16^{\circ} 56'$; they found 18, 20, and 25 Fathom Water, the Bottom being a firm Sand. The Island of *St. Vincent* is rocky, barren, and uncultivated, having very little fresh Water. They found, however, a small Spring, which might have served Two or Three Ships; but, by digging Wells, they obtained plenty of Water, which they thought tolerable, though it was somewhat brackish, to which they attributed the bloody Flux, that began soon after to reign in their Fleet. The Goats there are very fat, and the best-tasted in the World. The Tortoises they took were from Two to Three Feet long, and they caught them as they came ashore to lay their Eggs, which they cover with Sand, and then leave them to be hatched by the Sun. The Season of their laying is from August to February; all the rest of the Year they remain in the Sea. The Sailors esteemed them a wholesome and pleasant Food, tasting rather like Flesh than Fish. This Island is absolutely desert, but once a Year the Inhabitants of *St. Lucia* come thither, in order to catch Tortoises for their Oil, as also to hunt Goats for the sake of their Skins, which they send to Portugal, and the Flesh they carry to *St. Lago*, where it is salted, dried, and exported to *Brazil*. There are no Fruit-trees in this Island, except a few wild Figs, which grow in the very Heart of it; and the only Product of the Island, besides, is *Coloquintida*, which is a very rough Purge. The Country is excessively dry, excepting the rainy Season, which begins in August, and ends in February, though not very regularly. The Island of *St. Antonio* is inhabited by Negroes, to the Number of about 500, Men, Women, and Children; they live there as well as in the other Islands, chiefly upon their Goats. There is a little Cotton, and but a little. On the Sea-side there is a vast Plantation of Oranges and Lemons, where they can gather 50,000 in a Season. The Negroes very readily trucked them for Mercery Goods; they saw neither Hogs, Sheep, or Fowl, upon the Island. On the 4th of August, they found themselves in $11^{\circ} 30'$ of Latitude, the Wind at South-west. They endured, from the Time they sailed from the Island of *St. Vincent*, continual Rain; the Inconveniencies arising from which, joined to the Effects of the bad Water they drank there, occasioned an epidemic Disorder, which carried off abundance of People.

10. On the 1st, they saw the high Coast of *Sierra Leona*; and, on the Eleventh, they anchored in the Road; and the Vice-admiral went ashore in order to find a proper Watering-place, and where they might hale the *Greyhound* on shore, to stop her Leak. When he came back, he brought with him some Negroes, who desired to see what Ships they were that lay in their Road, leaving Part of his Crew as Hostages. On the 13th, the Negroes insisting on a Present before they would suffer any to go on shore, the Admiral sent Two Bars of Iron, Two Pieces of Cloth, and a few Ribbands, to the King's Brother, and to the Captain of the Town, with which they were very well content. The next Day they came on board, to make a Visit to the Admiral, to whom they presented an Elephant's Tooth, and some Fowls, for which they were amply recompensed. The King's Brother had on a Suit of striped Cloth, made after the Dutch Fashion, with blue Breeches, and scarlet Slippers; as for the Captain, he was dressed after the ordinary Fashion of the Country, and seemed to be a Man who had his Reputation much at Heart. The 15th, some of the Crew of the Vice-admiral found some Nuts ashore that very much resembled Nutmegs, only the Kernels were somewhat bigger; they eat them, and, as they had a fine Taste, made pretty free with them; but they had scarce got on board, before one of them dropt down dead upon the Deck; and, before he was thoroughly cold, purple Spots appeared all over him; but, by the taking of proper Medicines, the rest escaped. On the 25th of August, the *Maurice* had like to have been lost through Carelessness; for, having careened her, they forgot to shut the Scupper-holes; and, by this means, the

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had Eight Foot Water in her Hold before it was perceived. On the 28th, the Captain of that Ship died, as did also the Clerk and Supercargo of the *Amsterdam*. The Three Seamen that had been punished for the Mutiny in the *Overijssel*, having behaved very well since they came on board the Fleet, were now allowed Pay.

11. On the 4th of September they weighed Anchor from *Sierra Leona*, which is a Mountain on the Continent on the South Side of the Mouth of a River, which discharges itself into the Sea on the West Coast of *Africa*. The Road in which Ships usually anchor, lies in the Latitude of 8° 20' North. This Mountain is very high and thick, covered with Trees, by which means it is easily known by such as approach it from the North, there being no Mountain of the like Height upon that Coast. There grow here a prodigious Number of Trees, that produce a small kind of Lemons, resembling those of *Spain* in Shape and Taste; they are called *Limasles*, and are very agreeable and wholesome, if not eaten to Excess. But this Fleet arriving at the Time they were in Perfection, and the Inhabitants giving them Leave to take as many as they pleased, they eat of them so intemperately, and, in Conjunction with the bad Air, they increased the Bloody-flux to such a Degree, that, between the 11th of August, and the 5th of September, they lost Forty Men. There are also at *Sierra Leona* abundance of Palm-trees, and some Ananas, plenty of all sorts of Wood, and a Watering-place exceedingly convenient opposite to the Road. On the Rocks they found the Name of *Francis Drake*, and other *Englishmen*, who had been there.

12. On the 4th, the Admiral fell sick. From the 11th to the 28th, they sailed with a South Wind; and, though it is looked upon as certain, that there are strong Currents in the Gulph of *Guinea*, yet they were not sensible of them, but found every Day's Run agree perfectly well with their Charts. On the 29th, they found themselves off the Island of *St. Thomas*; and, on the 1st of October, they anchored in the Road of *Cape Lopez*; but, as they found the Water there very thick, stinking, and but a small Quantity, they resolved to sail to the Island of *Annobon*; but the Wind, proving contrary, drove them back, so that they had much ado to recover the Cape. On the 4th in the Evening, both the Admiral and Vice-admiral struck on a Bank of Sand, which occasioned a great deal of Trouble and Confusion in the Fleet; but, however, with great Care and Industry, both Ships were got off. The Admiral having assisted in Person in the Shallops that were employed for this Purpose, the better to encourage the Seamen, and keep every Man to his Duty, it brought upon him a Relapse, which he never recovered. On the 6th, the Fleet endeavoured to regain the Road of *Cape Lopez*, some of the Sailors having assured their Officers, that, by digging Wells on the Coast, they might find good Water. On the 7th they came to an Anchor, and sent a Captain on shore to put this Advice in Execution; who, on his Return, reported to the Admiral, that he had been at the common Watering-place, where there was now Water sufficient for the whole Fleet. Upon which it was determined to water here, but to proceed nevertheless to the Island of *Annobon*, in order to procure other Refreshments for the Use of the sick Men, the Scurvy prevailing excessively in every Ship in the Fleet.

13. A very odd Affair fell out while they were at anchor here, which, for its Singularity, deserves to be mentioned. There were abundance of Seamen lost on board the *Maurice*, and it was observed, that many of these died soon after they had taken the Surgeon's Medicines, with Circumstances very suspicious. The Matter being debated in Council, and the Facts clearly proved, the Vice-admiral and Rear-admiral were directed to send for *James Verger* the Surgeon, and to examine him very closely. This they accordingly did, but to very little Purpose; for, notwithstanding all their Exhortations to confess, he could not be brought to say a Word; upon which they had recourse to the Torture, directing him to be drawn up to a great Height by a Rope, and then suddenly let fall, having great Weights at his Hands and Feet; which he not only endured with Constancy, but insolently told them, he gave himself no Pain about what Methods they

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thought fit to take. This Insensibility induced a Suspicion, that he had some Charm about him, which hindered his Feeling; upon which he was searched, and, in a little Bag, which hung about his Neck, they found the Skin and Tongue of a Serpent. On the 16th, they appointed another Examination, of which, when the Criminal had Notice by their coming to take him out of Irons, he sprung out of the Hands of the Men who were ordered to conduct him, and, though he was pinioned, threw himself over the Ship-side. A Trumpeter, who was near him, jumped after, and endeavoured to save him; but the Surgeon made such strong Efforts, that he had very near both drowned himself, and the Trumpeter, which a Sailor observing, threw himself into the Sea, and kept his Head above Water by Force, till the Shallop came and took them all Three up. After this Attempt, perceiving that he should be too strictly watched ever to meet with such an Opportunity again, he made the following free Confession: He said he was a Native of the City of *Louvaine* in *Flanders*, descended from *Spanish* Parents, and a Licentiate in Surgery and Physic: That he had wilfully destroyed Seven Men, because they gave him a great deal of Trouble, in order to be the sooner rid of them; that he was resolved to attempt some extraordinary Cures; and, in case he succeeded, to demand an Order from the Admiral to dine at the Captain's Table; which Favour if refused him, he resolved to poison the Admiral, Vice-admiral, and every Officer that he suspected being against his Request; that he had resolved to make a Contract with the Devil, and, for that Purpose, had invoked him often, but without Effect; that, since he had been in Irons, he had often attempted to destroy himself; and, with this View, had tried to suffocate himself with his Pillow. There appeared strong Reasons for suspecting him of other Crimes, but, being satisfied with this free Confession, the Council, which assembled on board the *Delft*, on account of the Admiral's being very weak, passed Sentence of Death upon him on the 17th; and the next Day he had his Head struck off on board his own Ship the *Maurice*, which put an End to an Affair that had given the Officers of the Fleet a great deal of Trouble.

14. On the 20th in the Morning, they had Sight of the Island of *St. Thomas*; but the Vice-admiral being sent to examine whether there was a good Road, and proper Refreshments to be met with there, he, on his Return, reported in the Negative; and the Wind continuing contrary, the Scurvy prevailing in the Fleet, and there being little Probability of their getting to *Annobon*, the Admiral directed a Day of solemn Prayer; and the Minister had Instructions to make a Discourse suitable to the Occasion, imploring the Divine Favour towards those, who were sick in the Fleet; the Preservation of those, who were yet in Health; and the giving an happy Issue to the Endeavours of the Officers to find a proper Place for Refreshment. They then steered their Course West, in order to meet with a South-east Wind. On the 29th, to their great Surprise, they saw the Island of *Annobon*, at the Distance of about Ten Leagues to the South South-west. That which made it appear extraordinary, was their missing it when they endeavoured to find it; and their falling upon it now, when they had quite altered their Course. On the 30th, they anchored in the Road of *Annobon*; and, the next Day, *Cornelius Jacobson* and the Fiscal went on shore, where they were received with a Flag of Truce; and the Governor *Don Antonio Nunez de Matos* gave his Consent, that they should deal with the Natives freely for whatever they wanted, take in Water, gather as many Oranges as they thought fit, and that they should place a Guard of Soldiers at the Watering-place, for the Security of their Seamen; upon this single Condition, that they behaved discreetly, and did nobody any Wrong. The Shallops came on board in the Evening, with Water and Oranges. On November 1. they obtained Forty Hogs, and a considerable Quantity of Fowls, in Exchange for Salt. On the 3d, they made the Governor a Present to the Value of 300 Livres; with which he was, by no means, satisfied. Besides, some of the *Dutch* Seamen had insulted the Negroes near the Watering-place, and had taken from them their Fowls, without paying them; which, with some other aggravating Circumstances,

provoked

provoked the Governor to such a Degree, that he was on the Point of arresting the Vice-admiral, and some other Officers, who were on shore; but, reflecting that they came in Confidence of the Promise he had made them, he suffered them to retire; but told them withal, that they should have a care another time of relying too much on the Word of any Officer; for that it was then in his Power to have carried them up into the Mountains, from whence all the Force of their Fleet could not rescue them, even if it had been twice as strong as it was. After this, they parted civilly on both Sides. To say the Truth, it was a great Indifference in the Vice-admiral *Cornelius Jacobson*, and many other Officers, to put themselves thus in the Power of a *Portuguese* Governor, upon his bare Word, and that without the least Necessity. In this Case therefore the *Dutch* Officers were greatly to blame, and the Governor deserved much Commendation, for not laying hold of Pretences so plausible to break his Promise. In this Island, a *Spaniard*, and a *Greek*, whom they had delivered from Slavery, deserted them.

15. The East End of the Island of *Annobon*, where the Road and the Village lie, is in $1^{\circ} 20'$ South Latitude. The Island is about Six Leagues in Circumference; the Land high, and tolerably good, inhabited by about 150 Families of Negroes, governed by Two or Three *Portuguese*, to whom they are extremely submissive. If any of them fail in their Duty, they are immediately sent away to *St. Thomas*; which is all the Punishment they have to fear; and indeed they are in the utmost Dread of it. The Island abounds in Bananas, Ananas, Cocoa-nuts, Tamarinds, and Sugar-canes; but what principally invites Ships to put in here to refresh, is, the great Plenty they have of Oranges. In the Three Days the *Dutch* Fleet remained here, they gathered upwards of 200,000, exclusive of what the Seamen eat on shore; and the Governor told them, that there had been several Ships there that Year, which had gathered more. These Oranges are of an excellent Taste, neither too sweet, nor too sharp, prodigiously large, and full of Juice; some of them weighed Three-quarters of a Pound, and tasted as if they had been perfumed. They are ripe all the Year round; but there is a certain Season, in which they are best, and fittest for keeping. That Season was past when the *Dutch* were there; for they were then mostly too ripe, and began to rot. They have likewise Lemons in the Island. And, with respect to Cattle, they have Oxen, Cows, Goats, and Hogs also in Plenty; which the Negroes sell for Salt. On the South-east Part of the Island there is a good Watering-place; but difficult to find, and commanded by a Stone Breastwork, from whence the Negroes might do a great deal of Mischief to any, who should attempt to water by Force. They have also in *Annobon* a good deal of Cotton, which they gather, and card, to be sent into *Portugal*. The Natives are treacherous, and therefore ought to be cautiously dealt with.

16. On *November* 4. they sailed from *Annobon*. On *January* 6. 1624. they were in the Latitude of $44^{\circ} 40'$ South, when they saw many Sea-mews, and much Herbage floating on the Water; whence they conjectured they were not far from the Southern Continent. On the 19th, the Sea appeared as red as Blood; which, they afterwards found, proceeded from an infinite Number of small Shrimps floating on its Surface. On the 26th, being in the Height of $51^{\circ} 10'$, they had a strong Gale from the South-west, so piercingly cold, that a poor Seaman, who was in Irons, had his Legs frozen. This cold Wind lasted Twenty-four Hours. On the 28th, they lost Sight of their Bark, which they never beheld any more. There were in it Eighteen Men, Three of them *Portuguese*; and the Vessel was very indifferently victualled. They were afterwards informed, that their poor People, having, in vain, used their utmost Endeavours to join the Fleet, resolved to return to *Holland*; but, wanting Water, they entered the *Rio de la Plata*, and ran up, till they found the Water fresh; after which, they continued their Voyage, suffering incredible Fatigues, and all the Extremity of Want, till they arrived on the Coast of *England*, where, being chased by a *Dunkirk* Privateer, they ran their little Vessel ashore, and afterwards arrived safe in *Holland*. On *February* 1. they saw Land at the Distance of about Five Leagues to the South South-west,

which was Cape de *Pernaz*, and which looked, at that Distance, like a Range of high Mountains, covered with Snow. It was impossible to know, whether the Entrance of the Straights of *le Maire* was properly laid down in the Charts, with respect to its Distance and Bearing, by their Navigation. The Reason was, because the Pilots had got into a very bad Custom of sitting down half the Ship's Run when within Sight of Land, and doubling it when out at Sea, and apprehensive of making Land. As their Instructions restrained them from touching on the Coast of *Brazil* to the North of *Rio de la Plata*, they did all they could to discover that River; but soon found, that the South-west Winds had driven them much to the East; which ought to be a Warning to such as endeavour to pass the Straights of *le Maire*, to fall in, as soon as may be, with the *Brazil* Coast, as the most likely Way to meet with Winds favourable to their Voyage.

17. On *February* 2. they found themselves at the Mouth of the Strait; which they had never so much as suspected, if *Valentine Janzen*, the Pilot of the Vice-admiral, who had passed them in the *Spanish* Caravels, had not known them by the high Lands on the West Coast; which made him continue his Route with the Ship under his Care. The Mouth, however, is easily distinguished, because the Country on the East, which is called *States Land*, is mountainous, but withal broken, and very uneven; and the West Side, which is called *Maurice Land*, has several small round Hills close to the Shore. When they gained the Entrance of the Straights, they saw Two Ships at Anchor in the Bay, which they afterwards called *Valentine's Bay*, where they had anchored, if they had not been prevented by a Shallop from One of the Ships, which, by Signals, made them apprehend, that it was dangerous; tho' they afterwards found, that this was a groundless Apprehension. The Author of the Voyage observes, that, when the Reader finds they spent Nine Months in sailing from *Holland* to the Mouth of the Straights, he may be led to imagine the Voyage very dangerous, and almost impracticable; which, however, is far from being the Truth, if it be undertaken at the proper Season of the Year; for, as he observes, the *Spanish* Caravels, which passed that Strait in the Year 1620, did not sail from *Lisbon* till the Month of *October*; and, notwithstanding they remained a considerable Time in the *Rio de Janeiro*, yet they entered the Straights in the Month of *February* following. The Reason therefore that this *Dutch* Fleet were so long at Sea, proceeded from their sailing too early in the Year from *Holland*, and passing the Line at an improper Season. Such as would make this Passage easily and certainly, should contrive to pass the Line in the End of *October*, or in the Beginning of *November*, because then they may be morally certain of meeting with the North Wind between the Tropics, which will very much facilitate their Passage through the Straights of *le Maire*.

18. On *February* 6. they had Sight of Cape Horn, which then bore from them Three Leagues North North-east. On the 11th, they were in $58^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude; the Weather excessively cold; which rigorous Season the Seamen were the less able to bear, on account of their being at Short-allowance. On the 14th, they found a great Variation in the Compass; but were not able to settle it, because all the Compasses in the Fleet differed from each other; at which they were exceedingly surprised. In the Afternoon, the Admiral called a Council, to deliberate about the Currents, with the Advice of all the Pilots; but, at the very Instant that the white Flag was hoisted as a Signal, they discovered Cape Horn about Seven Leagues to the West, from whence it plainly appeared, that the Currents had driven them strongly to the East; whereas they imagined they set there to the West, according to the Account given by *le Maire*; and all their Pilots had agreed, that they were then very far to the West of the Cape. On the 16th, they were in the Latitude of $56^{\circ} 10'$, Cape Horn lying to the East. They were then in Sight of Two Islands, lying Fourteen or Fifteen Leagues West of the Cape, which were not set down in the Charts. On the 17th, the Admiral anchored in a large Bay, which they named *Nagla Bay*. On the 18th, they discovered another, in which there was very good Anchorage, with great Convenience of Wooding and Watering: This they called the Bay of *Salt*.

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penam, after their Vice-admiral. On the 22d, while they were taking in Water, there arose a sudden Storm, which obliged some of the Sailors to remain on shore; and at the same time they saw a Body of Savages near the Watering-place, who were conversing with them very freely and amiably. On the 23d in the Afternoon, the Storm rose again, with greater Violence than before; so that Nineteen Men belonging to the *Eagle* were compelled to remain on shore again, not being able to get back to their Shallop, though they endeavoured it all they could.

19. On the 24th, the Shallops returned to the Coast; and, coming to the Watering-place, found only Two Men alive of the Nineteen they had left there the Evening before. The Savages had come down upon them as soon as it grew dark, and had knocked Seventeen on the Head with their Slings, and wooden Clubs; which yet was the more easy for them to do, since none of these poor Men had any Arms: Yet none of the Seamen had offered the least Injury or Insult to these Savages. There were only Five dead Bodies found upon the Shore, among which were those of the Pilot, and Two Boys. The latter were cut into Quarters, and the former was strangely mangled; but the Savages had carried off all the rest, in order, as it was supposed, to eat them. The Shallops, for the future, never went ashore without Eight or Ten Soldiers on board for their Defence; but this Precaution was taken a little of the last, since none of these brutal Savages appeared any more. On the 25th, the Vice-admiral went on board the *Greyhound*, in order to visit the Coast. At his Return, he informed the Admiral, that, going ashore where he saw Smoke, he found some of the Savages Huts, and had anchored that Night in a Road, to which he gave the Name of his Ship. He also reported, that he had found the *Terra del Fuego*, as it is marked in the Charts, divided into several Islands; and that, in order to go into the South Sea, it was not at all necessary to double Cape Horn; but that they might leave it on the South, and enter in on the East, the Bay of *Nassau* passing into the open Sea by the West of that Cape; and that he apprehended there were several Passages out of the Bay of *Nassau* into the Straights of *Magellan*. The greatest Part of the *Terra del Fuego* is mountainous; but adorned with many fine Valleys and Meadows, watered by several agreeable Rivulets, that ran down from the Hills. Between the Islands there are good Roads, where whole Fleets may anchor with Safety, and where there is all imaginable Convenience for Wooding, Watering, and taking in Ballast. The Winds, that rage here more than in any other Country in the World, and with a Violence not to be expressed, blow constantly from the West, and may reasonably be supposed to proceed from watery Exhalations. Such Ships therefore, as are bound Westward, ought to avoid this Coast as much as they can possibly, keeping as far as may be to the South; and it is thereby very likely they may meet with South Winds, which must bring them to their desired Port. The Inhabitants of this Country are as fair as any in *Europe*, as they concluded from the Sight of a young Child; but the grown People disguise themselves strangely, by painting with a red Earth, according to their Fancies, some having their Heads, others their Arms, others their Legs and Thighs, red, and all the rest of their Body white; and many of them, from the Forehead to the Feet, have one Side red, and the other white. They are very strong, and well-proportioned, and generally about the Height of the People in *Europe*. Their Hair is black, and they wear it thick and long, to make them the more frightful. They have very good Teeth, but so thin, that they are as sharp as the Edge of a Knife. The Men go altogether naked; and the Women have only a Bit of Skin about their Middles; which is very surprising, the Severity of their Climate being considered. Their Huts are made of Trees, in the Shape of Tents, with a Hole at the Top, to let out the Smoke. Within they are sunk Two or Three Feet under the Earth; and this Mould is thrown upon the Outside. Their Fishing-tackle is very curious, and their Stone Hooks very near the same Shape with ours. They are differently armed, some having Bows, and Arrows artificially headed with Stone; others have long Javelins, pointed with Bone; some again have great wooden Clubs; and some have Slings, with Stone Knives, which are very

sharp. They are never without their Arms in their Hands, because they are always at War amongst themselves; and it seems, that they paint differently, that they may distinguish each other; for the People, about the Island of *Torbalien*, were all painted black, and so were they about the Bay of *Schapenham*; whereas those about the *Greyhound* Bay are all painted red. Their Canoes are very singular: In order to make them, they lop the Branches off a great Tree, and then bark it; the Inside they fortify with several Pieces of small Wood, and do the like on the Outside; then they cover it with another Bark; and so make it both strong and tight. These Canoes are from Ten to Fourteen and Sixteen Feet in Length, and about Two Feet broad. Seven or Eight Men can go in them; and they navigate them, so as to go as quick as our Shallops. As to their Manners, they are rather Beasts than Men; for they tear human Bodies to Pieces, and eat the Flesh, raw and bloody as it is. There is not the least Spark of Religion or Policy to be observed amongst them: On the contrary, they are, in every respect, brutal; inasmuch that, if they have Occasion to make Water, they let fly against any one that is near them, if he does not get out of their Way. They have no sort of Knowledge of the Use of our Arms, and therefore do not fear them; for they would lay their Hands on the Edges of the *Dutchmen* Swords: Yet, for all this, they are excessively cunning, faithless, and cruel, shewing all the Signs of Friendship one Minute, and knocking those on the Head, to whom they shew them, the very next. There is no such thing as getting any kind of Refreshments from them, tho' such are not wanting, if they would part with them; of which the *Dutch* were very well satisfied, by seeing Quantities of Cow-dung, and finding their Bow-strings made of Ox-sinews: Nay, a Soldier, who went ashore while the *Greyhound* Yacht lay at Anchor, reported to the Vice-admiral, that he saw a large Herd of Cattle feeding in a Meadow.

20. On *February 27*, the Admiral made a Signal for sailing; and, the Wind being North, they were in hopes of getting out of the Bay of *Nassau*; but, in the Evening, they had a Storm again from the West, which lasted all Night. On *March 3*, at Noon, they had an Observation, and found themselves in $59^{\circ} 45'$ South Latitude, the Wind at North-west. Almost all Navigators had been, to that time, of Opinion, that it was easy to go from the Straights of *Le Maire* to *Chili*; but that it was scarce possible to pass from *Chili* or *Peru* into the North Sea by that Strait, because, as they imagined, the South Wind blew constantly in those Seas: But they found the Case quite otherwise, since the frequent Tempests they had from the West and North-west, rendered it, beyond Comparison, more easy to pass from *Chili* or *Peru* through the Straights of *Le Maire* into the North Sea, than it was to reach *Chili* or *Peru* from the North Sea through those Straights. On the 6th, they had still strong West Winds; which gave the Admiral infinite Concern, because they put it out of his Power to comply with the Instructions given him by the States, which required him to sail, as soon as he had passed the Straights of *Le Maire*, to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; which, while the West Winds continued, he could not do. Upon this, he called a Council, in order to take some Resolution as to the proper Place of Rendezvous for the Fleet, in case of being dispersed, or of wintering, if these Tempests from the West should still continue to rage. The *Terra del Fuego* was proposed by some; the Straights of *Magellan* by others; but, all things well weighed, the Majority were of Opinion, that it would be best to wait Two Months for better Weather, and to employ their utmost Endeavours to double the Cape, and get into the South Sea. On the 8th, they were in 61° ; on the 14th, in 58° ; and on the 18th, 19th, and 20th, they had a fair and fresh Wind from the South-east. The Weather also became warm; so that, after all these Storms and Tempests, they began to think they were got into another World. On the 24th, they lost Sight of the *Maurice*, and the *David*; so that the Fleet consisted now only of Seven Sail; and, the same Evening, they found themselves in 47° . On the 25th, having still a fair Wind, and fair Weather, they reached 45° , and were then in great Hopes of overcoming all Difficulties.

21. On March 28. they saw the Coast of *Chili*, lying East South-east; in the Evening they were but a League from Shore, the Coast appearing high and mountainous. The Admiral was at this Time confined to his Bed, where, being informed they were so near the Coast of *Chili*, he expressed a great Desire to have put into the Port of *Chiloé*, but declared that his Instructions would not permit him; but, on the contrary, required that the Fleet should be employed in some Action of Importance against the *Spaniards* in *Peru*: Upon which, it was resolved to proceed immediately for the Islands of *Juan Fernandez*, there to make the best Preparations possible for attacking the *Spanish* Gallies in the Port of *Arica*, in case they were there, and to make themselves Masters of that Place, from whence they might be able to extend their Conquest, with the Assistance of the *Indians*. On April 1. being in 38° 10', the Vice-admiral also took to his Bed, and appeared to be so much worn out with Fatigue, that they already conjectured, they should lose both him, and their Admiral, before the Voyage was concluded. On the 4th, about Noon, they had Sight of the Island *Juan Fernandez*, lying to the West North-west, in the Latitude of 33° 50'; the Admiral, fearing they might fall to the Northward, sent the Yacht before to seek for the Road. On the 5th, with much Difficulty, the Weather proving absolutely calm, the whole Fleet came safe to an Anchor in Sixty Fathom Water, in a fine Bay, lying North-west and South-east. On the 6th, every Ship's Company had Orders to provide themselves, as soon as possible, with as many Chevaux de Frize, and Palisades, as they could; and the Vice-admiral, being grown somewhat better, visited all the Artillery of the Fleet. In the Evening the *Griffin* came in, which they had not seen since the second of *February*: This Vessel had been in the Height of 60°, without ever having a Sight of *Cape Horn*. The Captain declared there was safe Anchorage in *Valentine Bay* for a whole Fleet; and that the contrary Intelligence, given to the Admiral by the *Shallop* of the *Orange*, was against his Consent. On the 7th, the *Orange* arrived also at the Rendezvous, having, in her Passage, twice seen the Southern Continent, viz. once in 50°, and again in 41°. On the 8th, Five of the Seamen belonging to the *Holland*, being convicted of breaking into the Hold, and stealing thence several Barrels of Wine, were, for that Offence, condemned to be hanged. The Two next Days were spent in cutting Wood, and in disposing all Things on board each Ship for the intended Attack upon the *Spaniards*. In the Evening of the 10th, the Admiral was prevailed on to pardon the condemned Sailors. On the 11th, the *David* came in, and brought Advice also of the *Maurice*, both having been Five or Six Days beating about the Island, but had been hindered from getting in by contrary Winds. On the 13th, in the Afternoon, all Things being ready, they sailed.

22. The most Easterly of the Two Islands of *Juan Fernandez*, which is also the biggest, lies in 33° 40', South Latitude, about Seventy Leagues West from the Coast of *Chili*. The *Spaniards* call the former commonly *Isla de Tierra*, the latter *Isla de Fuera*. This more Eastern Island, where the *Nassau* Fleet anchored, is about Six Leagues in Circuit, and extends from East to West about Two Leagues and a half. The Road is on the N. E. and from thence there is a very delightful Prospect of beautiful Valleys covered with Clover. The Bottom of the Bay is either rocky, or a fine black Sand. There is very good and safe Anchorage here, in about Thirty or Thirty-four Fathom Water. There cannot better Water be wished for, than is to be met with here; and excellent Fishing in the Bay of various kinds. There are many Thousands of Sea Lions, and Seals, that come daily out of the Water to sun themselves on shore, of which the Seamen killed Numbers, not for Food only, but for Diversion: Many of the *Dutchmen* fancied, that the Flesh of these Creatures tasted like Meat twice roasted or boiled; others were very well satisfied with them, and even affirmed, that their Flesh, when their Grease and Tallow was taken out, tasted as well as Mutton. Goats there are in great Numbers, but very hard to be taken; and they are not either so fat, or well-tasted, as those of *St. Vincent*. They found abundance of Palm-trees within Land, and, near the Bay, Three large

Quince-trees, the Fruit of which was very refreshing. Other Wood, for Use and Firing, they found plenty; but met, however, with none that was fit for Malta. There were formerly Ten or Twelve *Indians* constantly here, for the Sake of Fishing, and making Oil of the Seals and Sea Lions, but at this Time it was quite uninhabited. Three Soldiers, and Three Gunners, belonging to the Vice-admiral, were, by this time, so sick of the Voyage, that they demanded Leave to stay here, and obtained it.

23. From the 11th to the 22d, they had a constant South Wind: The Variation of the Needle here was found to be One Degree and an half, and Two Degrees, towards the East. As it was impossible to know how soon they might be obliged to fight, the necessary Instructions were distributed to all the Captains, and the Fleet was directed to sail for the future in Three Divisions: The first was composed of the *Amsterdam*, as Admiral, the *Holland*, the *Eagle*, and the *Griffin*: The second of the *Delphi*, as Vice-admiral, the *Concord*, the *David*, and the Yacht: The third under the *Orange*, as Rear-admiral, with the *Maurice*, and the *Hope*. On May 8. being near the Coast of *Peru*, they took a *Spanish* Bark, in which, besides the Captain, there were Four other *Spaniards*, and Six or Seven *Indians* and Negroes. They learned from these People, that the Plate Fleet had sailed the *Friday* before, being the third of that Month, from *Calao* for *Panama*, consisting only of Five Sail, Two Ships of War, and Three Merchantmen richly laden. They were likewise informed, that the *Spanish* Admiral was still at *Calao*, being a Ship of about 800 Ton, mounted with 40 Pieces of Brass Cannon, with Two Pataches of Fourteen Guns each, with Forty or Fifty Merchantmen of no Force at all; that all the Shipping was towed ashore, and secured there by Three strong Batteries, with other Stone-works, furnished with upwards of Fifty Pieces of Cannon, all ready prepared for the Reception of the *Dutch*, of whose Motions they had early and certain Intelligence: That the Viceroy had likewise formed Four Companies of Foot, each of them composed of Four-score Men; but the Two best Companies were put on board the Ships for *Panama*; and that the Viceroy, having the Day before received an Account of the Approach of the *Dutch* Fleet, had immediately summoned the whole Force of *Peru*; so that it was not to be doubted, that he would soon have many thousand Men in the Place. All this the *Spaniards* very readily told them; and Experience afterwards shewed, that every Title of this Information was strictly true; so that nothing could be happier than taking this Prize at this Time.

24. A Council was immediately called, in which it was resolved to delay the Attack no longer than till the next Day; and, as the Admiral was absolutely incapable of Fatigue, his Dis temper growing daily worse and worse, it was agreed, that the Vice-admiral should command, and his Brother-in-law *Cornelius Jacobson* was appointed Sergeant Major. Besides the Five Companies of Soldiers that were on board the Fleet, it was now thought requisite to have as many Companies of Seamen, under the Command of the Captains *Stelck*, *de Witte*, *Quyrenen*, *Tibranfon*, and *Egberison*; but, as there were not small Vessels enough to land so great a Body of Men, it was resolved, that the Soldiers should land first, and having fortified themselves on shore, by throwing up Retrenchments, and making use of the Palisades carried along with them for that Purpose, there to maintain themselves till the next Day, when the Sailors should be landed also. On May 10. before Day, the Vice-admiral put himself at the Head of the Soldiers, with an Intent to have landed; but, after having rowed for some time along the Shore, he was obliged to retreat to the Fleet, finding it absolutely impossible to do any thing, though, if the Troops could have been landed, there was some Appearance, that the *Indians* and Negroes would have joined them. The Admiral ordered, that the *Greyhound* Yacht should, in the Night, go in as near Shore as possible, to afford an Opportunity of landing under the Protection of her Guns. The *Spaniards*, however, were very soon aware of this; and no sooner saw her under Sail, but they threw up a Battery near the only Place where 'twas possible to land Men, which, though mounted only with Two Pieces of Cannon, by an unlucky Shot disabled

the Yacht they dispatched freshmen tains Tol well armed having on siderable the same the *Spaniards* and diffri fifty Sail under the Batteries. Effects, v gan to m which had *Dutch* Shu fels that v fully upon or forty S but, after *Indians* an In this ha fifteen wo Vice-adm one of the than the r and they have been after it wa of Fire-w cut the *Sp* taken the the *Grey* c down upon Anchor, a On the 13th pany under throwing t able to ha which they

25. Th riage of the directed the play all th *Spaniards* they began Reason exp the Expedi the Port of merce of th nations of brought ab were built, received, a Negroes to be some De opportunity ately forme *Lima*, disa Negroes, v coming Sla verity to th Matters. A up *Calao*, it Ships, shoul as he could pursued, th *Arica*; and have been d fenceless as extended th and there ha sufficient to rice, for the ever, that th *Arica* having larly fortified And, as for

the Yacht, and disappointed that Design. On the 14th, they discharged their Prizes, and distributed Plenty of Refreshments through the Fleet: About Midnight, the Captains *Tol. Slobbe*, and *Egbrifon*, with Twelve Shallops well armed, began to row directly for the Fort of *Lima*, having on board each Shallop a small Cannon, and a considerable Quantity of Fire-works. A false Attack was at the same time made to the North of *Calao*, which drew the *Spaniards* thither, while the Shallops entered the Port, and distributed their Fire-works plentifully amongst about fifty Sail of Merchant-ships, which lay there at Anchor under the Protection of the *Spanish* Admiral, and the three Batteries. As soon as the *Spaniards* perceived, by their Effects, what the *Dutch* Vessels had been doing, they began to make a dreadful Fire upon them from the Place; which had, however, but very little Effect, because the *Dutch* Shallops sheltered themselves behind the *Spanish* Vessels that were burning, and fired from thence very successfully upon their Enemies. In this Action, there were thirty or forty Ships consumed, some of which were very large; but, after the *Dutch* were retired, the *Spaniards*, with their *Indians* and *Negroes*, fared the Effects out of some of them. In this hardy Enterprize, the *Dutch* had seven killed, and fifteen wounded, the most Part of them belonging to the Vice-admiral's Shallop, which had endeavoured to board one of the Pataches, and thereby exposed themselves more than the rest. This Action was excessively bold and daring, and they would have had all the Reason in the World to have been satisfied with the Manner of its Execution, if, after it was over, they had not discovered, that if, instead of Fire-works, they had carried Hatchets, they might have cut the *Spanish* Merchant-men out of the Road, and have taken the best Part of them, with all their Cargoes. About the Grey of the Morning, nine of these flaming Ships came down upon them, and obliged the *Dutch* Fleet to weigh Anchor, and shelter themselves behind the Island of *Lima*. On the 13th, Captain *Engelbert Schutte* landed with a Company under his Command, and took Possession of the Island, throwing up a strong Retrenchment, that they might be able to hale their Shallops on shore, and careen them; which they much wanted.

25. The same Day, a Council was held on the Miscarriage of their Enterprize at *Calao*; and, as their Instructions directed them, in case of any Accident of that sort, to employ all their Force in taking Prizes; and distressing the *Spaniards* in their Trade, to the utmost of their Power, they began to think of putting this in Execution. The Reason expressed in their Instructions for their carrying on the Expedition in this manner, was, that, by thus blocking up the Port of *Lima*, and putting an intire Stop to the Commerce of the Country, a Trial might be made of the Inclinations of the People, and possibly a total Revolution be brought about. The Grounds upon which these Notions were built, were Informations that Prince *Maurice* had received, as to the general Disaffection of the *Indians* and *Negroes* towards the *Spaniards*; in which tho' there might be some Degree of Truth, yet this *Dutch* Fleet had no Opportunity of proving it: For the Viceroy of *Peru* immediately formed two independent Companies of *Spaniards* at *Lima*, disarmed the *Indians*, and raised a Company of free *Negroes*, who, proud of their Liberty, and afraid of becoming Slaves again, distinguished themselves by their Severity to their Countrymen, and their Attachment to their Masters. As there was no Need of the whole Fleet to block up *Calao*, it was resolved, that *Cornelius Jacobson*, with four Ships, should cruise to the South, and make as many Prizes as he could: Yet, had the Letter of their Instructions been pursued, they should have sailed with their whole Force to *Arica*; and, after taking and plundering it, which would have been done of course, if it had been as naked and defenceless as they supposed it in *Holland*, they might have extended their Conquest thence to the rich Mines of *Potosi*, and there have acquired, at once, more than would have been sufficient to have indemnified the States, and Prince *Maurice*, for the Expence of this Fleet. It so fell out, however, that they found this Scheme absolutely impracticable, *Arica* having in it a good Garrison, the Place being regularly fortified, and well supplied with every thing necessary. And, as for *Potosi*, they had certain Information, that there

were 2000 *Spaniards* there capable of bearing Arms, exclusive of *Indians* and *Negroes*: So that all the fine Projects of *Indian* Conquests formed in *Holland*, appeared to them so many romantic Dreams, that neither they, nor any else, could execute.

26. On May 14, *Cornelius Jacobson* sailed with his Detachment, composed of the *Concord*, the *David*, the *Grigas*, and the *Greyhound*, in order to sail to *La Nafsa*, *Pisco*, or any other Town to the South of *Lima*. On the 20th, they converted two of the *Spanish* Prizes into excellent Fire-ships; and, having filled them with Powder, Fireworks, Shells, and other Combustibles, resolved with these to make an Attempt on the *Spanish* Galleon. In the Night of the 22d, two *Greeks*, whom they had delivered from Slavery, stole a small Vessel, and made their Escape to the *Spaniards*. The next Day, a rich Ship fell into their Hands, in her Passage from *Guiaquil*, on board of which were thirty *Spaniards* and *Negroes*. On the 23d, the Rear-admiral was detached with the *Maurice* and the *Hope*, with two Companies aboard, in order to make themselves Masters of the Town of *Guiaquil*, which all the Prisoners agreed was a Place of no great Strength, but which they found in quite another Condition when they came to attack it. On the 27th, they attempted to carry in their Fireship, in which they had 2000 Weight of Powder, besides Fireworks and Shells, confined by an Arch of Brick-work six Foot thick. Five Men, of whom one was the Supercargo of the *Eagle*, navigated her into the Port of *Calao de Lima*, and came close to the Side of the *Spanish* Admiral, before they discovered their Design was impracticable; and that there was a Bank between them and the Ship, which it was impossible for them to pass; and therefore, after running thro' so much Labour and Danger, they were glad to retire to their own Fleet; and it is, indeed, very wonderful they were able to do this without being destroyed.

27. On June 2, their Admiral *Jaques le Hermite* expired in the Port of *Calao de Lima*, having been in a declining State of Health from the Time they left *Sierra de Leona*, and for four or five Months had quite lost his Strength. The Vice-admiral suffered his Flag to remain flying in the *Amsterdam*, that the Enemy might have no Notice of his Death. On the 3d, they buried him on the Island of *Lima*, with great Decency, having caused all the Prizes to be adorned with Streamers and Flags, that the *Spaniards* might apprehend, the Guns fired at his Funeral were discharged by way of Rejoicing for the Success they had met with in the South Seas. On the 6th, in the Afternoon, the *Orange* anchored as near as possible to the Point of *Calao*, in order to cover the Fireship, which it was determined should make another Attempt by Daylight: Accordingly the Supercargo of the *Eagle* carried her boldly into the Port, but to as little Purpose as before; for they then discovered, that the *Spanish* Galleon rode in a Basin, so that it was impossible for them to approach her: But the *Spaniards*, guessing at their Design, fired upon them so briskly, that they were obliged to set Fire to the Train, and their Fireship blew up, without doing any Hurt to the Enemy, or Good to themselves: Such was the End of this Attempt, which had cost them so much Hazard and Pains.

28. On the 8th of the same Month, they felt an Earthquake in the Island of *Lima*. On the 13th, the *Spanish* Prisoners having represented, that the Viceroy would be willing to treat for their Ransom, it was resolved, that a Proposal of that sort should be made: And accordingly an Officer was sent in a small Vessel into the Harbour, with a Flag of Truce. As soon as the Viceroy had notice of it, he sent Directions, that the Seamen should have their Hands tied, and their Eyes covered, while they remained in the Shallop; and that the Officer, who had the Letter, should be brought on shore. In the Evening, however, the Seamen were set at Liberty, and the *Spaniards* took all imaginable Pains to persuade them to remain where they were, and to enter into the Service of the King of *Spain*: But this being found ineffectual, and not so much as a single Man having listened to their Proposals, an Answer was given to the Letter, in these Words: That the Viceroy had nothing but Powder and Ball at the Service of the *Dutch*; that he would not enter into any Negotiation or Treaty

Treaty with them whatever for the Ransom of Prisoners; and that, if any presumed to enter the Port of *Calao* again with a Flag of Peace, he would order them to be hanged up with the Flag about their Necks. On the 14th, when this Answer was reported to the *Dutch*, they resolved, in a Council of War, to hang up all their Prisoners. The Reasons which induced them to so cruel a Proceeding were these: They were themselves much straitened for Provisions, and had scarce any Water left; it was therefore impossible for them to maintain these People, if they meant to keep them; and, at the same time, they had no Reason to keep them, since they were to expect no Ransom. On the other hand, to set them at Liberty, was against the Maxims of Prudence, as well as the Laws of War, since it could only serve to expose their Weakness to the *Spaniards*, and thereby render them the Scorn of their Enemies. On the 15, in the Morning, they put this severe Resolve of theirs in Execution, and actually hanged twenty-one *Spaniards* at the Yard's-arm of the Mizzen-mast of their Admiral, in the Sight of an infinite Number of People who were standing on the Shore. Three old Men they sent in a Bark to *Calao*, with Orders to tell the Viceroy, that since they had no Quarter to expect from him, they were resolved to give none to such as fell into their Hands; and that he ought to look upon this, as the just Effect of his own brutal Message. In the Evening, *Cornelius Jacobson* returned with the four Ships under his Command, and made a very indifferent Report, to this Purpose, That he had landed on the 4th near *Pisco*, with much Difficulty and Danger; that, having marched within Musquet-shot of the Town, he found it regularly fortified, with a Wall round it of fifteen Feet high, and a Garison of 2000 Men, besides two hundred Horse, that were employed in scouring the Country round it; that he was obliged to throw up an Entrenchment for his own Security; and that, after skirmishing for some Days with the Enemy to very little Purpose, he found, the best Step he could take was to embark his Troops, and retreat. He lost in this Expedition five Men killed, sixteen wounded, and had thirteen deserted; so that perhaps there never was a more disastrous Expedition undertaken with so great a Force.

29. On the 25th, they hanged, in the Island of *Lima*, in Sight of the whole Crew of the Fleet, a Gunner, who was taken endeavouring to desert. It was now resolved, that they should proceed to *Chili*, because they had certain Intelligence of the Situation that Country was in: The Inhabitants had been in Arms against the *Spaniards* near thirty Years, having taken from them the City and Port of *Baldivia*; which they kept. The *Chilians* were, at that time, esteemed the most warlike Nation in *America*, acting in quite another Manner than the *Indians* are wont to do; for they raised Armies of 3 or 4000 Foot and Horse, the latter being much superior to the *Spaniards*. With these they wasted the Country, and then blocked up their Fortresses. Such as were best acquainted with the Affairs of that Part of the World, were persuaded, that the *Spaniards* would willingly have quitted *Chili*, if they had not been afraid, that the Inhabitants, not satisfied with their own Liberty, would next have attempted the Conquest of *Peru*. For many Years, all the Recruits they were able to send into this Country were composed of Malefactors; but, a little before the *Dutch* Fleet arrived, they had been forced to send regular Troops from *Buenos Ayres*; and a new Mischief had arisen from thence: For these People, finding themselves very ill used, and the Service at the same time very hard, had mutinied, and dispossessed their Officers of their Command; which had thrown all things into Confusion. The *Dutch* therefore persuaded themselves, that if, while things were in this Situation, their Fleet appeared upon the Coast, the Inhabitants would join them, and something might still be made of this hitherto unfortunate Voyage; but, before this could be done, they were obliged to wait for the *Maurice* and the *Hope*, which, if they had left them, must have fallen into the Hands of the Enemies. The Scurvy prevailed all this Time in the Fleet, and especially in the four Ships that had sailed to the South, the Crews of which were so miserably reduced, that they had not Men enow to man their Shallops; so that, all things considered, they were in an hopeless Condition, and their Affairs like to grow worse,

rather than better. But, on June 26, a *Swiss*, who was very ill of the Scurvy, took it into his Head to climb up to the very Top of the highest Hill in the Island of *Lima*, which appeared on every Side a bare Rock. On the Summit, however, he met with great Plenty of a kind of Herbs, with which he was well acquainted in his own Country, and by eating of which he very soon recovered. As soon as this was known, there were enow to climb that Rock; and, by this fortunate Accident, the best Part of the Fleet was saved from Death, and, in a short time, recovered Strength and Spirits. On July 18, there arrived two *Spanish* Defenders on a Float from *Calao*; one of these was the chief of the Players at *Lima*, and the other a common Soldier. They had, in a Quarrel about a Woman, murdered the General of the *Spanish* Horse; and therefore found it necessary to make their Escape. They reported, that the Town of *Calao* was completely fortified, that they had four score Cannon mounted on their Works, exclusive of those in the Ships; and that, within the Place, were forty Companies of Foot, and sixteen Troops of Horse, besides some small Bodies of Militia, which were employed to defend the Watering-places, in case the *Dutch* should attempt a Descent. They likewise reported, that the *Maurice* and the *Hope* had taken four Ships near the Isle of *Puna*, and had burnt the Town of *Guaquil*, with the King's Gallies, which was upon the Stocks there.

30. From July 22, to 29, they were continually engaged with the *Spaniards*, who attacked them vigorously, because the *Dutch*, intending for *Chili*, were very sparing of their Shot at first; but, when they found, that this gave the Enemy Spirits, they assured them so warm a Reception, that the *Spaniards* made them fewer Visits. On August 5, in a full Council of War, the Vice-admiral, pursuant to the Patent of Prince *Maurice*, was installed Admiral on board the *Delft*, and there received the Oath of Fidelity from the Fleet, the Ship's Company that lay nearest going on board first. The Rear-admiral succeeded him as Vice-admiral, and *Cornelius Jacobson*, who sailed from *Holland* with the Title of Counsellor to the Admiral, was now advanced to be Rear-admiral. About Noon, the Admiral, attended by all the Shallops of the Fleet, sailed: and the *Orange*, in order to receive the Oath of Fidelity from her Crew, and Ships that were near her; which the *Spaniards* observing, attacked the Shallops in their Passage; but were so warmly received, that they were very soon glad to retreat.

31. The Vice-admiral *Perseboor* returned soon after with the *Maurice* and the *Hope*, and one Prize which they had taken. They found three Vessels in the Road of *Puna*, two of which they burnt, and the third they brought with them: They afterwards ran up the River as far as the Town of *Guaquil*, which they found pretty well fortified, and defended by a good Garison; however, they determined to make a Descent, which they performed with the Loss of thirty-five Men, and afterwards attacked the Place. The *Dutch* Soldiers, overcome by Numbers, began at first to give way, but Captain *Schutte*, who commanded them, desiring them to reflect, that nothing but pushing on could preserve them, their Countrymen, or the Ship, he prevailed with them to renew the Attack, by which the Town was taken: As they had but two hundred Men in all, they found it impossible to keep the Place when they were Masters of it; and, as they had not either Shallops or Boats to carry off their Booty, they found themselves under a Necessity of burning all the rich Goods in the Warehouses, of which, as it is the Port of the Province of *Quito*, there were many, and well furnished; and then retired with the next high Tide. The *Spaniards* lost 100 Men in the Action, killed upon the Spot, besides seventeen that were taken Prisoners, and whom, soon after, they threw into the Sea, and drowned, for entering into a Conspiracy against them. At Sea they met with contrary Winds, which once drove them almost as far as *Arica*, which they intended to have attempted; but the Winds changing again, they, with very great Difficulty, rejoined their Fleet. The new Admiral hoisted his Flag on board his own Ship the *Delft*, the Vice-admiral removed into the *Amsterdam*, and the Rear-admiral into the *Orange*.

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32. On Aug. 14. the Fleet sailed from the Island of Lima, taking with them their Prizes, which they fitted up for Service, and steered for the *Pisadores*, and anchored the same Evening in a Bay behind those Islands. The Admiral immediately went on shore, and made the necessary Dispositions for securing the Seamen while they filled Water there, which they found very good, and in which Design they succeeded; and afterwards re-embarked their Troops, without meeting with any Opposition, tho' the Enemy was very near them. On the 16th, they continued their Course from thence for the Island of Puna; and, on the 24th, having Sight of the Island of Santa Clara, the Admiral detached three Shallops, to give the Indians notice of his Approach, to assure them of his Protection, and to gain what Intelligence they could of the Situation of Things at Guisquil, which it was determined to visit once more.

33. On the 25th, about Noon, they anchored in the Road of the Island of Puna, where the Shallops had arrived about four Hours before, and had made themselves Masters of a little Bark, laden with Merchandize, which was to have been transported by Land from thence to Lima, but all the People, *Spaniards* and *Indians*, were fled to a Man; so that they could gain no sort of Intelligence of the Disposition of the Enemy. On the 27th, they took out the great Guns and Ballast out of their three largest Ships and drew them on shore, in order to careen them. On the 28th, the Admiral received the melancholy News of the Misfortune of a second Attempt upon Guisquil, where, through the Fault of some of their Officers, their Troops had been defeated, and forced to re-embark with the Loss of twenty-eight Men. This Disorder, according to the Report of the Officer who commanded them, fell out by one half of the Company, commanded by Captain *Everson*, marching up the Hill without waiting for their Officer, moving directly towards the *Spaniards*, out of pure Vanity, and a Desire of beating the Enemy without a Commander; of which they thought themselves sure, because they saw some *Spaniards* run away on their Approach: However, when they got to the Top, they found the *Spaniards* well secured in their Houses, who, having first disordered them by a brisk Fire, sallied out, and drove them down the Hill, together with another Company, that was marching to support them. A second Attempt was made, but the commanding Officer, being wounded, and perceiving that his Men were discouraged, thought it best to make a timely Retreat: Captain *Schutte* received a Shot in this last Action; notwithstanding which, he continued to encourage his Men to the last. It was, says the Author of the Voyage, very surprising, that they should not be able to take Guisquil, burnt, and without Intrenchments, with double the Number that had taken it, when well fortified, and defended by a good Garrison. But the prevailing Opinion in the Fleet was, that the commanding Officer had not Abilities equal to the Task; and the Soldiers, believing he wanted them, did not behave with their usual Courage: Whatever the Reason was, this Defeat made a great Impression on the whole Fleet. On September 1. the three largest Ships being clean, they began to careen the rest. On the 2d, the Admiral posted separate Guards at the two Wells he had caused to be dug for Water, in order to prevent the *Spaniards* from poisoning them. On the 9th, after much Deliberation in Council, it was resolved not to prosecute their intended Voyage to Chili, but to bear away immediately for *Acapulco*, as their Instructions directed, in order to cruise for the *Manilla* Ship, and that Expedition once over, to return to the Coast of Chili, if the Condition of the Fleet would permit. In pursuance of this Resolution, they, on the 11th of the same Month, set Fire to the Town of Puna, and burnt down the Church. The same Evening, four *English* and four *Frenchmen* deserted: They had behaved very bravely in the last Action, as well as very soberly during the Voyage; but they imagined, that Things began to go wrong; and therefore the wisest Step they could take, was to shift for themselves.

34. On the 12th, they sailed from Puna. On the 17th, they were in the Latitude of 3° South. On the 18th, they met with a South South-west Wind, which blew pretty strong. On the 20th, they expected to have seen

the *Gallapagos* Islands; but, not finding them, they took it for granted they were wrong laid down in the Maps. On October 20. they had Sight of the Coast of New Spain, lying to the North-east. On the 28th, at Break of Day, they were within half a League of an Island, which lies before the Port of *Acapulco*; and, in the Evening, they anchored within Sight of the Fort which had been rebuilt the Year before, on a Point running out into the Sea, in order to cover the *Manilla* Ships, which might ride safely at Anchor under the Cannon of the Fort. It was a regular Square, and each of its four Bastions mounted with ten or twelve Brass Cannon. On the 29th, the *Dutch* Admiral thought of a Method, by which he hoped to gain some Intelligence as to the Time when the *Manilla* Ship was expected; in pursuance of which, he sent a Message to the Governor, importing, that he had made a great many Prizes in the South Seas, and in them had taken several Prisoners of Distinction, which, as he intended to proceed to the *East Indies*, he was willing to set at Liberty, in Consideration of a reasonable Ransom; and therefore desired, that an Officer might be sent on board his Fleet; and he was ready to send another in his stead. The Governor sent him for Answer, That he would neither send Hostages, nor receive them; but that, if the Admiral had any such Prisoners, and would send them ashore, he was ready to pay him a reasonable Ransom. But, as the Admiral would not agree to that, the Negotiation ended. On November 1. the Ships sailed out of Port, and the Forts discharged several Pieces of Cannon, but without doing them any Hurt. In the Evening, a great Detachment was sent, under the Command of the Vice-admiral, to anchor twenty Leagues to the West of *Acapulco*, in order to look out for the Galleon, to give her Chase; and, if they could not come up with her, to force her into the Fleet. On the 2d, the Admiral, and the *Orange*, remaining still before the Port, the rest of the Ships spread along the Coast, that they might be sure of meeting with the Vessel they expected. On the 3d and 4th, the Shallops belonging to Admiral, and to the *Orange*, went to take in Water at *Porto del Marques*, which is a League and a half from *Acapulco*. On the 7th, Captain *de Witte* being at the Watering-place with his Shallop, the Enemy attacked his Men from an Ambuscade; the *Dutch* immediately tied to their Vessel, and re-embarked; a Soldier reached the Shore just as the Boat had put off; but Captain *de Witte* ordered them to row back, going himself on Shore to save the poor Man, which cost him a Wound in the Side, of which, however, he happily recovered.

35. On September 21. the Vice-admiral's Squadron appeared in Sight; and, on the 22d, they sent a Yacht to acquaint the Admiral, that six of their Soldiers having deserted, they had seen 600 *Spaniards* the next Day, advancing towards the Shore, who, they conceived, had a Design to surprise their Men at the Watering-place; but, by good Luck, they were all embarked. From the 24th to the 28th, the Fleet continued cruising to the Westward, in Hopes of finding the Islands called *Ladrilleras*, which, in a *Spanish* Journal, were said to lie 40 Leagues to the West of *Acapulco*; and that they might there meet with Water, Fish, and Potatoes, in Abundance. The *Dutch*, however, failed twice that Space without being able to find them, which, whether it was owing to any Mistake in the *Spanish* Charts, or to the Ignorance of the *Dutch* Pilots, is uncertain. On the 29th, they burnt their two Yachts, the *Greyhound* and the *Violence*, because they could hardly swim any longer; and so resolved to proceed with all the Diligence imaginable to the *East Indies*.

36. On January 15. 1625. they saw some very low Land towards the West, over which the Sea broke with great Fury, which they took to be the Coast of the Island of *Galperico*. On the 23d, the Scurvy had prevailed to such a Degree, that they had scarce Men enough in Health to work the Ships. In the Evening of the 25th, they were on the Coast of the Island of *Guan*, one of the *Ladrone*s, the Inhabitants of which came two Leagues to meet them, with all sorts of Refreshments the Island afforded, which they exchanged for old Iron. The next Morning there came off 150 Canoes, with Fruits and Garden-stuff. On the 27th, the Vice-admiral, with half the Soldiers, attempted

tempted to land on a small Island, about three Leagues to the South of the Road, but found it impracticable. In the mean time, the Rear-admiral had coasted the Bay, and found a very good Watering-place. On the 28th, they landed fifty Soldiers to protect the Seamen, while they were filling Water; and the next Day it was found necessary to strengthen that Detachment, which had been insulted by the Natives. In the Beginning of the Month of February, they brought considerable Quantities of Rice on board, and sold seventy or eighty Pounds Weight for an old Hatchet. On the 5th, the Admiral directed a general Review, when, including Spaniards and Negro Prisoners, of which there were thirty-two, they found 1260 on board, by which it appeared they had lost 409 since they left Holland. The Island of Guan, which is one of those stiled by the Spaniards *Isas de las Velas*, or *Ladrones*, lies in 13° 40' North Latitude: The Soil is tolerably fertile; they sow Rice in several Places, and have prodigious Quantities of Cocones. The Inhabitants sold the Dutch 200 Fowls, but they would not let them have any Cattle, though they offered them any Satisfaction. The People are of a larger Size than other Indians, but very strong, and well proportioned; they are, generally speaking, painted red: The Men go stark naked; but the Women have the Leaf of a Tree to cover their Privities. The Arms they use are Affagates, or wooden Javelins and Slings, which they use with great Dexterity. Their Canoes are very convenient, and go at a great Rate before the Wind: Neither are they afraid to put to Sea in stormy Weather; but, in case they are overtaken, turn up their Vessels again, and empty the Water in an Instant. The Dutch experienced their Dexterity in another Profession, viz. that of Cheating; for when they came to examine those Balls of Rice, which they thought they had bought so cheap, they found the Inside of them Stones and Dirt: Besides, they stole every thing they could lay their Hands on. Such as land in this Island, ought to be extremely cautious how they ramble; for the Dutch, while they remained here, lost several of their People, through their own Folly in this respect. On February 14, they saw an Island, in 10° 30', which they took to be that of *Savedra*, which if it was, then it is wrong laid down in the Charts. On the 15th, about Nine in the Morning, they saw another Island not laid down in the Charts, the People of which endeavoured to come out to them in Canoes with Fruits and Refreshments: They were much of the same Size with the Inhabitants of the *Ladrones*; but, the Ship failing at a great Rate, they were not able to get on board. This Island appeared to be very populous, and extremely well cultivated, lying in the Latitude of 9° 45'. The 23d, it was resolved in Council, that they should continue their Course South South-west to the Height of 3°, in order to arrive at *Gilolo*, and from thence to continue their Voyage to *Ternate*. The same Day, at Noon, they had an Observation, by which they perceived, that the Currents carried them violently to the North; for the Northern Trade Wind began then to blow, the Effects of which they felt very sensibly.

37. On March 2, they had Sight of the high Mountain of *Gammanacor*, which is on the Coast of *Moca*, at the West End of *Haremanera*, or the great Island of *Gilolo*, on the West Side of which lie the Islands of the *Moluccas*. On the 4th, in the Evening, they had a fresh North Wind, which carried them to *Malacca*, the principal Place in the Island of *Ternate*; from whence the Admiral sent his Sloop to *Taluca*, where the *Sieur Jaques le Frere*, Governor of the *Moluccas*, then was, in order to give him Advice of their Arrival. The 5th of the same Month, or the 6th, according to the Computation of the Inhabitants of those Countries, the Governor came on board to visit the Admiral, and they afterwards went ashore together. On the 13th, they had Advice, that one of the Company's Ships, called the *Fidelity*, had been lost on the Coast of *Sangi*. The same Day, part of the People on board the Fleet had Orders to go ashore, and assist in demolishing the Fort of *Calemate*, which was no longer thought necessary, and consequently the Expence of it must prove burdensome to the Company. Upon the same Motives, the Vice-admiral was sent with a Detachment to ruin the Fort at *Maur*, which is esteemed the third Island in the Mo-

lucas. On the 25th, the Governor failed with a whole Fleet for *Machian*, from whence, on the 26th, the *Concord* was sent to *Sangi*, in order to take up all that could be saved out of the *Fidelity*. April 4, the Fleet proceeded to *Ambaina*, where the Governor *Herman van Spult* was making Preparations to go to the Island of *Ceram* for the Company's Service. On the 25th, the Admiral sent the Shallop of the *Eagle* to *Batavia*, to acquaint the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies with his Arrival, and the Effects of his Expedition against the Spaniards in the South Sea. On May 14, the Admiral, and the two Governors of *Ambaina*, *Spult*, and *Gorcum*, detached two Ships, one to *Loubeu*, the other to *Cambelle*, both in the Island of *Ceram*, and followed them soon after with all their Forces, where they quickly made themselves Masters of *Loubeu*; after which they directed the Plantations of the Rebels to be burnt, their Clove-trees to be cut down, and the Place to be destroyed. On June 22, they returned to *Ambaina*. On the 28th, the Admiral, and the Governor *Spult*, sailed with the whole Fleet for *Batavia*.

38. On August 25, Governor *Spult* left the Fleet, with the *Orange*, and the *Maurice*, in order to go to *Japara*; and the rest of the Fleet continued its Course to *Batavia*, where they arrived on the 29th; and some Days after Governor *Spult* arrived with his Detachment. As there was not, at that time, any immediate Service for a Fleet of such Strength, the Governor General and Council of the Indies came to a Resolution of separating the Fleet, and employing the Ships, of which it was composed, in such a manner, as seemed to them most for the Service of the States General, and the Company. In consequence of this Resolution, the Command of the *Orange*, the *Holland*, and the *Maurice*, was given to Governor *Spult*, who was directed to sail with them to *Surat*, where he was to remain as short a time as possible, and then to continue his Route to *Holland*: The Vice-admiral *Verfchoor* was detached with the *Hope*, the *Griffin*, and two of the Company's Yachts, upon an Expedition to *Malacca*. The *Eagle* and the *David* were destined to remain on the Coast of *Coromandel*; the *Concord* was refitted, in order to proceed to *Holland*; and the *Delft* and *Amsterdam* were ordered to the Island of *Oranjestad*, there to be careened, and then to proceed home after the *Concord* as soon as possible; so that here the Expedition of the *Nassau* Fleet was properly at an End.

39. On October 29, Admiral *Schapenham*, finding himself extremely ill, resolved to return Home in the *Concord*, which sailed from *Batavia* with another Ship belonging to the Company, called the *Arus of Horn*. On November 3, the Admiral died on board, worn out with Care and Labour; and, on the 5th of the same Month, he was interred on the Island of *Pulobestac*, two Leagues from *Bentam*. On January 21, 1626, they anchored in the Road of the Cape of *Good Hope*; and, on July 9, following, they came, without any remarkable Accident, into the *Trade*, having spent in their Voyage three Years, two Months, and eleven Days. The Length of this Voyage renders it improper to dwell long upon it here in our Reflections; and yet it would be as improper to dismiss so large and so important a Piece, without making some Remarks, in order to justify the inserting here so copious a Relation. It clearly appears from hence, that, though the Dutch might be as able, and as expeditious, in fitting out such Squadrons as we, yet they were not certainly superior to us in their Management of maritime Affairs. They owed the Alacrity and Expedition, with which such Affairs were then managed, to their having a Stadtholder; but then they owed Mistakes in the Choice of Officers, and the Occasions of other Misfortunes, to the same Cause. When private Companies of Merchants fitted out a single Ship, or perhaps two or three, for the undertaking such long Voyages, they were better managed, and turned to far better Account; of which we have a pregnant Instance in that of *La Maire*, which was executed by the Projectors, and that with a Felicity as surprising, as the Misfortunes that attended this Voyage, concerted by much greater Men, and supported by an incomparable greater Force: At the same time we must allow, that the Intention of the Voyage was laudable; but we must likewise acknowledge, that to pursue

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pursue right Ends by wrong Measures, more fatal to a State than the absolute Neglect of them; since the former makes those Ends grow into Disrepute with the People for ever, whereas the latter occasions only a temporary Suspension of the Endeavours to attain them. I am very well aware, that all this may be excused by observing, that the Situation of things in the *Spanish West Indies* was very much changed between the Time that *Drake*, *Candish*, and *Spilbergen*, undertook their Expeditions, and the sitting out of this Fleet; and, indeed, this very Observation is made by Sir *William Monson*, who was one of the best Judges of Naval Affairs that our Nation has to boast: But then, we ought to consider, that the first thing which should have fallen under the Care of those intrusted with the Management of this Design was to obtain proper Intelligence, without which they could not reasonably expect any Success; and, if they failed in this, they ought not surely to plead so great an Error as a legal Excuse. We may, however, go farther, and, from the Lights afforded us by Experience, question the Truth of the Fact: I do not mean questioning, whether the *Spaniards* fortified themselves in the *West Indies*; for that, no doubt, is true; but, whether their Fortifications were such as might enable them to have withstood this Force, supposing it had been properly conducted: And this, I think, cannot be allowed, since the *Buccaneers* long after took the strongest Places in the *Spanish West Indies*, even the City of *Lima*, in spite of the whole Force of *Spain*. Without going, however, out of this Voyage, it is easy to shew, that it was not want of Force, but want of Conduct, that hindered it from succeeding; since, in the Instance of *Guiaquil*, half the Number, under one Officer, took the Place, well fortified, which double the Number, under another Officer, failed of taking when those Fortifications were destroyed. It appears likewise, that, after the Death of their Admiral, their Councils grew unsteady, inasmuch that they knew not what to undertake. The Project of going first from *Puna* to *Acapulco*, and from thence returning to *Chili*, was so wild and absurd, that, as we see, some of the best Men in the Fleet deserted, as soon as it was known: From all which we ought to infer, that a wrong Choice of Officers was the Ruin of this Voyage, as the Excuses they made ruined the Credit of such Expeditions; inasmuch that we never hear of another being undertaken of the like kind. There are, however, some Circumstances in this Voyage worthy of great Commendation, such as the extraordinary Care taken of the Fleet in the *East Indies*, that it might be immediately employed for the Service of the Company, without remaining there useless, and at a large Expence to the State. This shewed a right Correspondence between the trading Interest of *Holland*, and the Sovereign Authority, without which this Distribution of the Ships could not have been made. I mention this the rather, because there are other Countries in the World, besides *Holland*, that depend on Trade, where there are so many Distinctions, and so little Subordination in Command, that Commerce very frequently suffers without any body's being called to Account; and, if any thing is done for its Advantage and Security, it must be attended with some sort of Perquisite, as if the

Commerce of the State was not its most important Concern, but Naval Commands were bestowed for the Advantage of private Families, and to give particular Men a legal Authority to domineer over 2 or 300 of their fellow Subjects. The last thing I shall take notice of, in this Expedition, is, that it affords the clearest Proof, that the States General of the United Provinces did not intend, that their exclusive Charter to the *East India* Company should hinder the coming of their Ships into the *East Indies* upon their lawful Occasions, and without any Design of prejudicing the *East India* Company's Trade; for, otherwise, they would have directed this Fleet, by their Instructions, to have returned by the Streights of *Magellan*; for, at the time of their setting out, it was a thing taken for granted, that there was no returning through the Streights of *le Maire*; though, as it appears from this Voyage, that was a groundless Notion, as many speculative Points in Navigation are daily found to be. To conclude, the Freedom and Plainness with which this Relation is penned, deserves the greatest Applause. There are some Countries in which Liberty is as much talked of as in *Holland*; where, if a Man had censured the Conduct of Commanders, and laid open the Causes of a Miscarriage of this Nature, with as little Reserve as this Writer has done, it would be considered as an Affront to the Government, and, what is worse, reputed, if not treated, as a Libel. Yet nothing is more certain, than that, in such Countries, one Miscarriage begets another, till at last either the State is undone, or the Government altered, which are certainly Mischiefs, that deserve to be better guarded against than the supposed Inconveniences flowing from such free Remarks. It is impossible, that Errors should be corrected, where it is penal to discover them; and it is as impossible, that Suspicion should be avoided, where Inquiries are discouraged. In the present Case, it was not only the absolute Loss of the immense Sum that this Expedition cost, that fell upon the Subjects of the Republic, but the Loss also of their Hopes, and of that Spirit which had been raised of indemnifying themselves from the Expences of a consuming Land War, by the Advantages that might have been gained by a proper Application of their Naval Force in the *Spanish West Indies*. The Neglect of this brought such a Load of Debt upon the United Provinces, and particularly on that of the Province of *Holland*, that nothing but the sudden Alteration of their Government, which soon after happened by the Suspension of the Stadtholdership, and the wise and frugal Administration of the *de Wittes*, could have saved the Republic, which must have otherwise, after their long and glorious Struggle for Liberty against a foreign Enemy, sunk under the intolerable Consequences of that Corruption which had imperceptibly crept into the Management of their domestic Affairs. After this Expedition of the *Nassau* Fleet, there is a wide Chasm in our History of the Circumnavigations; and, as the Reader will perceive from the ensuing Sections, whatever was attempted of this kind for many Years afterwards, was rather the Effect of Chance, than of Design: So soon the noblest Spirit is damped by Disappointment, and so easily the Thirst of Discoveries check'd, when all proper Encouragements are taken away!

SECTION XII.

Captain COWLEY's Voyage round the World.

1. The Occasion of the Voyage.
2. A concise Account of the Undertaking, and the Commander.
3. Their Departure from Virginia, August 23. 1683.
4. Proceed to the Coast of Guiney, and so round Cape Horn, to the Island of Juan Fernandez.
5. Miss a very rich Prize in the Harbour of Arica.
6. Description of the Gallapagos Islands.
7. The Revenge separates from the *Nicolas*, into which Captain Cowley goes as Master.
8. Sail from Cape Francisco to Gorgona, or Sharp's Island.
9. Account of their prodigious Run from thence to Guam, being 7646 Miles.
10. Their Transactions during their Stay at that Island.
11. A copious Description of the Isle, and of its Inhabitants.
12. Proceed to Canton, in China, and from thence to an Island North of Borneo.
13. Captain Cowley quits the Ship, and gets a Passage home from Batavia.
14. Arrival at, and Description of, the Cape of Good Hope, the

the Dutch Settlement, and the Hottentots. 15. Various Accidents that happened in their Passage
16. He arrives safely in Holland, and comes from thence to England. 17. Remarks on the Spirit of Navigation which then prevailed, and on some Particulars in this Voyage.

THE Adventures of the *Buccaners in America* have made too much Noise in the World to lay me under any Necessity of shewing what sort of People they were, in this Place especially, since the Nature of this Work will hereafter engage me in the particular History of their Exploits, which, however blameable they may be, will render them for ever famous. These Men usually fitted out small Vessels in some of our Colonies, and cruised in them till they were able to make Prize of a bigger: And, as their Designs generally required Secrecy, they very often took Masters and Pilots on board, under false Pretences; and did not explain the true Design, till they were at Sea, where they were absolute Masters. This was the Case with respect to Captain *Cowley*, a very intelligent Man, and a very able Navigator, who, being at *Virginia* in 1683, was prevailed upon to go as Master in a Privateer which was said to be bound to the French Port of *Petit Goave*, in the Island of *St. Domingo*, where such People used to take Commissions; but, in Reality, their Design was to put to Sea, and make what Prizes they could, without that Formality; in which Scheme, if it had been known by Captain *Cowley*, he might not, perhaps, have been so willing to engage. It may not be amiss to inform the Reader here, that this is the same Voyage, at least in Part, with Captain *Dampier's* first Tour round the World, and, therefore, it will be necessary, before we proceed to the Voyage itself, to give a concise Account of the Grounds on which, and the Commander by whom, it was undertaken; the rather, because, in the original Journal of Captain *Cowley*, published by Captain *William Hacke*, there is very little said about it; which was, in all Probability, owing to his being a little ashamed of having engaged in it.

2. Amongst the *Buccaners* that did the most Mischief in the *Spanish West Indies*, there was one Mr. *John Cooke*, a Native of the Island of *St. Christopher's*, a brisk bold Man, who distinguished himself to such a Degree, as raised him to the Post of Quarter-master on board Captain *Yanky*; and, on their taking a *Spanish* Prize, that was turned into a Privateer, he, according to the Custom of these People, claimed the Command of her; and, as he was very popular amongst them, engaged Men enough to serve under him; but, a great Majority of the *Buccaners*, at the time this Transaction happened, being *French*, they could not bear to see an *Englishman* invested with such a Command, by the mere Choice of his Crew, without any Commission; and, therefore, to shew how much honest Men they were, who had such Commissions, after robbing the *Spaniards* under Pretence of them, they took this Occasion to plunder the *English*, who had assisted them, of their Ships, Goods, and Arms; and turned them ashore naked: This honourable Transaction happened at the Island of *Avache*, which our Seamen generally call *Ash*, on the Coast of *St. Domingo*; but Captain *Trifflin*, an old *Buccaner*, having a little more Good-nature than the rest, was prevailed upon to carry Captain *Davis*, Captain *Cooke*, and eight more of the *English*, to *Petit Goave*, which, in the Language of the *Buccaners*, is stiled *Petit Guavres*; where, while they lay at Anchor, and Captain *Trifflin*, and many of his Men, were on shore, the *English*, to shew how apt Scholars they were, made themselves Masters of his Ship, turned the *Frenchmen*, who were much superior to them in Number, on shore, and sailed with her immediately to the Island of *Avache*; and, sending in Captain *Trifflin's* Name to the Governor, procured all their Countrymen to be sent on board. As they were now strong enough to set up for themselves, they resolved to make Prize of whatever came in their Way; and, in pursuance of this Resolution, took first a *French* Ship, laden with Wines; and, afterwards, another Ship of considerable Force, in which they embusqued, and carried her to *Virginia*, where they arrived in April 1683. There they disposed of their Cargo of *French* Wines, and, having purchased Provisions, Naval Stores, and whatever else they wanted,

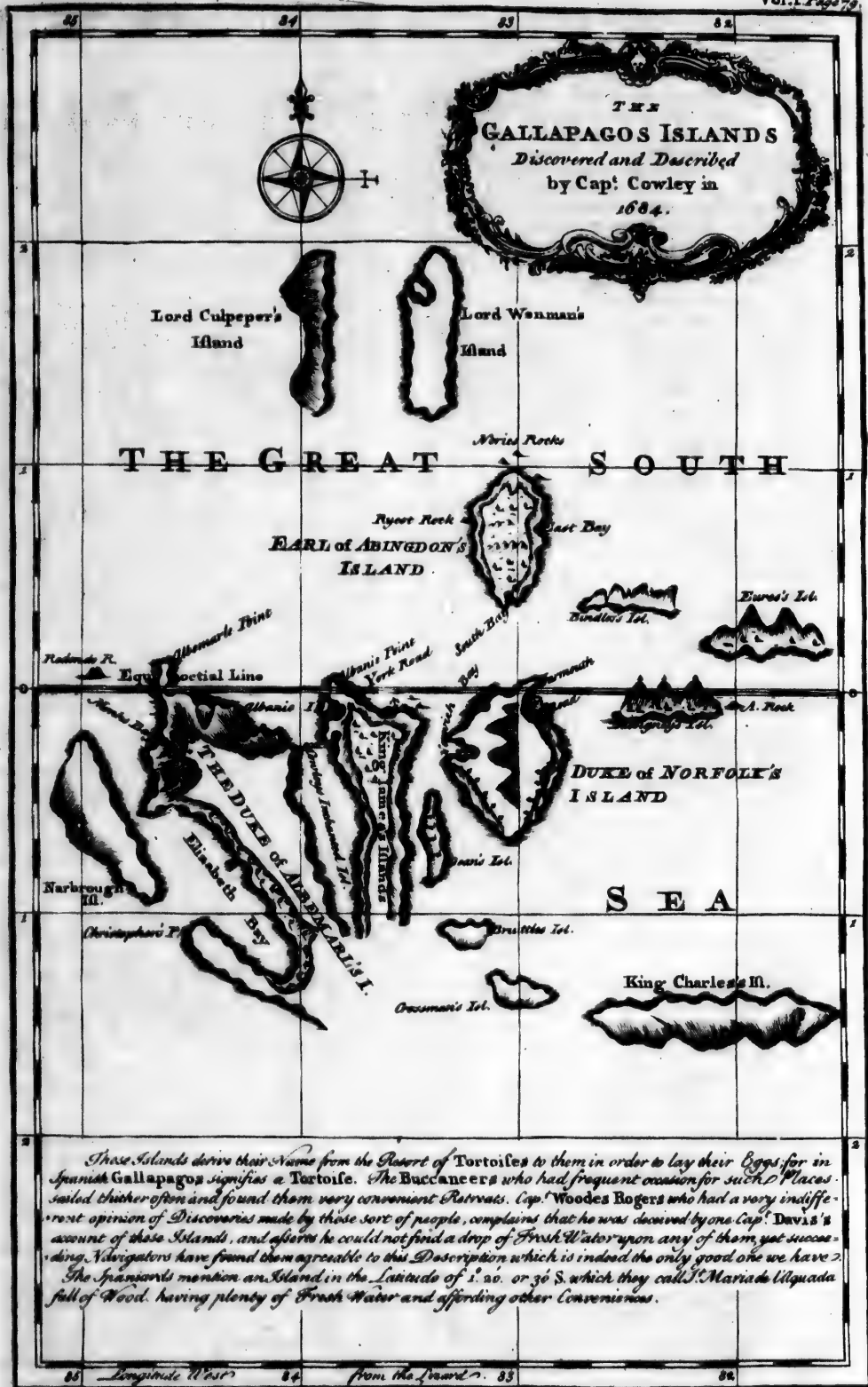
fitted out their Prize for a long Voyage, mounting her with eight, as Captain *Cowley* asserts, and with eighteen Pieces of Cannon, according to *Dampier*, and giving her the Name of the *Revenge*, of which Captain *John Cooke* had the Command: His Company consisted, as Captain *Cowley* says, of 52, but, as Captain *Dampier* affirms, of 70 Men.

3. They sailed from *Achamack* in *Virginia*, August 23, 1683; and were bound, Captain *Dampier* says, for the South Seas: But Captain *Cowley*, who navigated the Ship, was not in the Secret, and therefore steered for *Petit Goave*, which they suffered for a Day; and then told him, they were not bound thither, but first for the Coast of *Guinea*: Upon which he altered his Course, and steered East South-east for the Cape de *Verd* Islands, and arrived before the Island of *Salé* in the Month of September: They found there neither Fruits nor Water, but very great Plenty of Fish, and some Goats, though these were but very indifferent. At this time the Island, which lies in 16° Latitude, and in 19° 33' Longitude, West from the *Lizard*, was very oddly inhabited, and as oddly governed; for there were but five Men upon it, and, of these, four were dignified with Titles: One, a Mulatto, was Governor, two were Captains, one a Lieutenant, the fifth was a Boy, the only Subject, Servant, or Soldier, they had: Yet they were extremely jealous of their Reputations, and took it very ill to be called Negroes, asserting that they were white *Portuguese*, and expected to be treated with Decorum. Captain *Cooke*, who was a Man of more Good-nature than Ceremony, in Return for a Present the Governor made him of Three or four Goats, gave him a Coat to cover him with, which he exceedingly wanted, and an old Hat, which were very kindly received. They traded here for the great Commodity of the Country, which is Salt, made naturally by the Influence of the Sun's Heat upon the Sea-water, let into Ponds of about two *English* Miles in Extent. The Quantity they purchased was no more than twenty Bushels, and they paid for it in old Cloaths, giving the Governor, at his earnest Request, a little Powder and Shot into the Bargain. They sailed from thence to the Island of *St. Nicolas*, which lies West South-west from the Island of *Salé* twenty-two Leagues, and anchored on the South-east Side of the Island, which is of a triangular Form, the longest Side measuring thirty Leagues, and the other two twenty Leagues each: There they found a Governor, who was really a white Man, and had about him three or four People, pretty well clothed, armed with Swords and Pistols; but the rest of his Retinue were in a very pitiful Condition. They dug some Wells on the Shore, and traded for Goats, Fruits, and Wine, which was none of the best. The Country near the Coast is very indifferent, but within Land there are some very fine Valleys, pretty well inhabited, and abounding with all the Necessaries for Life. They continued here about five or six Days, and then held a grand Consultation, whether they should proceed directly to the South Seas in the Ship they had, or sail to the Coast of *Guinea* in Search of another: At last after mature Deliberation, they came to this wise and honest Resolution, to go immediately to the Island of *St. Iago*, in Hopes of meeting with some Ship or other in the Road, intending to cut her Cable, and run away with her; of which Circumstance Captain *Dampier* says not a Word. In pursuance of this Scheme, they stood away to the East of that Island; and, upon coming near it, they saw, over a Point of Land from the Topmast-head, a Ship at Anchor in the Road, which seemed extremely fit for their Purpose, but proved quite otherwise; for, by the time they were pretty near her, those on board clapped a Spring upon her Cable, struck out her Ports below, and, running out her under Tier of Guns, convinced Captain *Cooke*, that he had caught a Tartar: Upon which he bore away as fast as he could; and, though the strange Ship sent ten Shot after him, yet none of them took Place. This was a narrow Escape, for they were afterwards informed, that the Ship they at-

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tempted was a *Dutch East Indiaman*, of fifty Guns, and four hundred Men. They sailed from thence for the Coast of *Africa* directly, and, near Cape *Sierra Leona*, they met with a Ship of forty Guns, new built, well furnished with Brandy, Water, and all kinds of Provision, which they boarded, and carried away, steering then directly for the Island of *Juan Fernandez* in the South Seas. There is not a Syllable of all this in Captain *Dampier*, though he affects to be much more particular than Captain *Cowley*.

4. They continued their Course till they arrived on the Coast of *Brasil*, from whence they steered South-west, till they were in 40° South Latitude, where they observed the Sea to be as red as Blood: This was occasioned by vast Shoals of Shrimps, which are there of a red Colour in the Water. They likewise observed vast Quantities of Seals, and so many Whales, that Captain *Cowley* remarks there were a hundred for one found in the same Degree of Northern Latitude, holding their Course still South-west, till they came into the Longitude of 47° , where they met with an Island not known before, on which Captain *Cowley* bestowed the Name of *Peppy's Island*, in Honour of that great Patron of Seamen *Samuel Pepys*, Esquire, Secretary to his Royal Highness *James Duke of York*, when Lord High-admiral of *England*. This Island had a very good Harbour, where 1000 Ships might safely ride at Anchor; was a very commodious Place both for Wood and Water; abounded with Fowls; and, as the Shore was either Rocks or Sands, promised fair with respect to Fish. In the Month of *January* 1684, they bore away for the Straights of *Magellan*; and, on the 28th of that Month, they fell in with the *Scheldine Islands*, in the Latitude of $51^{\circ} 25'$; then steering South-west and by West, they came into the Latitude of 53° , where they made the Land of *Terra del Fuego*; but, finding greater Rippings near the Straights of *le Maire*, they did not care to venture thro' it, but resolved to go quite round, as Captain *Bartholomew Sharpe* did in 1681, who first discovered, that the Country called by the *Dutch*, *States Land*, is in reality an Island; in Right of which Discovery he changed its Name, and he called it *Albemarle Island*, in Honour of *Christopher Duke of Albemarle*, Son to the famous General *Monk*. On *February* 14. they had a prodigious Storm, which lasted between a Fortnight and three Weeks, and drove them out of 47° into the Latitude of $63^{\circ} 30'$, which was the farthest South that ever any Ship went: This Storm was attended with so much Rain, that they saved twenty-three Barrels of Water, though they dressed their Victuals with it during that Space. The Weather too was so excessively cold, that they could bear drinking three Quarts of burnt Brandy a Man in twenty-four Hours, without being at all the worse for it. Thence steering North-east, they came into warm Weather again; and, in the Latitude of 40° , they met with an *English* Ship called the *Nicolas*, of *London*, of 26 Guns, commanded by Captain *John Eaton*, with whom they kept Company, and sailed together for the Island of *Juan Fernandez*. They arrived there *March* 23. and anchored in a Bay at the South End of the Island, in twenty-five Fathom Water. Captain *Bartholomew Sharpe* had been there in 1680, and, finding the Place uninhabited, called it *Queen Casuarine's Island*: At his going away, he left behind him, by Accident, a *Muskito Indian*, who remained there from that time to this; he had with him his Gun, a Knife, a small Barrel of Powder, and a few Shot. In this desolate Condition he found it equally hard to conceal himself from the *Spaniards*, (who, having notice that he was left there, came more than once to take him) and to provide for his Subsistence; and yet he accomplished both. He chose for his Habitation a pleasant Valley, about half a Mile from the Sea Coast, where he had erected a very convenient Hut, well lined with Seal-skins; and had a Bed of the same, raised about two Feet above the Ground. His Knife, by the Help of a Flint, he converted into a Saw, and with that he cut the Barrel of his Gun to Pieces; which he fashioned into Harpoons, Lances, Fish-hooks, and a long Knife, by heating the Pieces first in the Fire, and afterwards hardening them. All this cost him abundance of Labour, but, when once performed, he lived comfortably enough: When he saw the Ships at Sea, he guessed they were *English*, and im-

mediately dressed two Goats, with a large Quantity of Cabbage, to entertain them when they were ashore. It was a double Satisfaction to him, when, on their landing, he not only saw they were *English*, but many of them his old Acquaintance, particularly Captain *Edmund Cooke*, and Mr. *William Dampier*, who were on board the Ship that left him there. This Island they found very pleasant, as well as plentiful, and very conveniently situated for their Purpose, lying 110 Leagues due West from *Valparaiso*, a Port on the *Spanish Main*.

5. Sailing from thence, they steered North North-east, till they were off the Bay of *Arica*; and there the Officers of both Ships held a Council of War, in order to determine whether they should make an Attempt there, or go lower down the Coast. After much Deliberation, they determined to sail on to Cape *Blanco*, in hopes of meeting with the *Spanish Plate Fleet* from *Panama*: Which fell out to be the very worst Resolution they could have taken; for, if they had gone into the Bay of *Arica*, they must have taken a Ship with three hundred Tons of Silver on board. As it was, they continued their Course till they were in the Latitude of 10° , where they were obliged to take a Ship laden with Timber, tho' they knew she was not worth taking, to prevent their being discovered. They then sailed on Northwards to the Island of *Lobos*, in the Latitude of 7° , where they put their sick Man ashore for Refreshment, and healed their Ships, and scraped them, that they might be the fitter for Action, for which they were very eager, their Provisions growing very low, which was another Circumstance that made their Prisoners troublesome to them, having more of their own People to feed, than they knew how to provide for. After much Consultation, they resolved to attempt *Truxillo*, in the Latitude of 8° , and about ten Miles from the Coast, where there was a Probability of their gaining a considerable Booty. At the Time they undertook to do this, they had not, in both Ships, above 100 Men able to carry Arms; but the next Day, as they were weighing their Anchors, they saw three Ships under Sail, which Captain *Eaton* chased and took; they were laden with Flour, Fruit, and Sweetmeats, which made them very agreeable Prizes, notwithstanding they had put on shore 800,000 Pieces of Eight, on their having Intelligence, that there were Enemies in those Seas.

6. The making these Prizes rendered another Council of War necessary, in order to consider how to dispose of them; in which, after much Dispute, it was judged most expedient to seek out some Place of Safety, where the best Part of the Provisions they had lately taken might be securely laid up: And this Point again affording room for a second Debate, the Issue of that was, that they should sail to the *Gallapagos Islands*, which, as we have observed in a former Voyage, the *Dutch* were not able to find. On *May* 19. they sailed from the Island of *Lobos*, and, after three Weeks Sail, fell in with the Islands they sought. The first they met with lay in $1^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude; and this Captain *Cowley* called *King Charles's Island*; and he likewise named many more of them, particularly one after Sir *Antony Dean*, who was a Commissioner of the Navy; another under the Equinoctial, the *Duke of Norfolk's Island*; and several beyond it. They came to an Anchor in a very good Bay, lying towards the North End of a fine Island, which he called the *Duke of York's Island*. Here they met with a great Quantity of Provisions, especially Sea and Land Tortoises, some of the latter weighing two hundred Weight; which is much beyond the ordinary Size. There was likewise Abundance of Fowls, especially Turtle-doves, with Wood and Water in the *Duke of York's Island*, that were excellent; but in none of the rest. Beyond the Line they discovered Five Islands: That nearest the Line, to the East, they called *Enres Island*; another small Island, to the West of it, they called *Hindlos's Island*; a much larger Island, still to the West, they called the *Earl of Abington's Island*; the other two, lying North-west, they called *Lord Wenman's* and *Lord Culpepper's Islands*. They landed in the *Duke of York's Island* 1500 Bags of Flour, a large Quantity of Sweetmeats, and other Provisions, that they might have recourse to them, in case of Necessity; and, remained there about a Fortnight, during which Time they put their Commander Captain *John Cooke*, who was in

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a very declining State of Health, on shore: After which, they determin'd to return again to the *American* Coasts, chiefly persuaded thereto by one of their Prisoners, a Native of *Realajo*, who assured them the Inhabitants were perfectly secure, and that the Place might be easily taken. Upon this Information, they steered North North-east; and the first Land they made, upon the Main, was Cape *Trespointas*, where, coming to an Anchor, they sent their Boat on shore, to look for Water; and, on the East Coast of the Bay, they found some, that was very good. As soon as they were in Sight of Land, their Commander Captain *John Cooke* died; and, going ashore to bury him, three *Spanish* Indians came down to see who they were, and were taken, and carried on board. Some small Time after, sending their Boat on shore again, to try if it was possible to get some Cattle, the *Spaniards*, while the Men were hunting, burnt their Boat, and lay in Ambush to take them when they came back. In this Distress, they had Recourse to a very steep Rock not far from the Shore; which, with some Difficulty, they gained, and there they continued, till the Ship sent another Boat, with twenty Men, to fetch them off. The three *Indians* they carried aboard, with Ropes about their Necks; but, as they led them, one found a Way to get his Neck out of the Collar, and made his Escape. It was now thought unnecessary to keep the rest of the Prisoners, and so they gave them Leave to shift for themselves; and then bore away for *Realajo*, where when they arrived, and made some Prisoners, they found the Country to be alarmed by the *Indians*, that had made his Escape from them: that it was impossible to do any thing; and therefore they returned very disconsolate to their Ship.

7. After this Disappointment, they resolved to sail for the Gulph of *St. Michael*, called also the Gulph of *Amapalla*, at the Mouth of which there are two very considerable Islands, the one called *Mangera*, the other *Amapalla*; both which they possessed themselves of. And here some Disputes arising between Captain *Davis*, who succeeded Captain *Cooke* in his Command, and Captain *Eaton*, they resolved to separate, tho' it was certainly for the Interest of both to keep together. It was, however, judged requisite to careen their Ships; for doing which this Place afforded all imaginable Conveniences. The *Indians* also, tho' they had been ill used by Captain *Davis's* Men, who fired upon them without any just Cause, were reconciled, and became very useful, carrying them over to an Island, where there was Plenty of wild Cows; which enabled them to stock their Vessels with Beef. This being done, and both Ships in a Condition to put to Sea, Captain *Eaton* took on board his Vessel four hundred Sacks of Flour, and prepared to quit the Coast, having first agreed with Captain *Cowley* to quit the Ship he was in, and to sail with him in Quality of Master, obliging himself to navigate the Ship to any Place or Port Captain *Eaton* should direct. From this Period of Time, therefore, the Voyages of *Cowley* and *Dampier* cease to be the same; which was the Reason that I thought it necessary to take in both, the rather because such as have treated of Circumnavigations have pursued this Method; and I have no Inclination to be singular, but to afford my Readers all that they can reasonably expect in a Work of this Kind, in which, I hope, I have hitherto succeeded. But to proceed to Captain *Cowley's* Voyage in his new Ship, and with his new Captain:

8. It was about the Middle of *August* when they left the Bay of *St. Michael*, and steered for Cape *Francisco*, which lies in the Latitude of 1° North; in the Neighbourhood of which Cape they met with such dreadful Storms, attended with such violent Thunder and Lightning, as they never saw in any other Place. From thence they proceeded into the Latitude of 7° ; but, finding the Country every-where alarmed, they thought fit to bear away for *Paitea*, which is but in 5° , where they took two Ships at Anchor; which the *Spaniards* refusing to ransom, Captain *Eaton* ordered them to be burnt. Then, taking Leave of the Coast, he sailed for the Island of *Gorgona*, which the Privateers generally call *Sharpe's Island*. It lies in the Latitude of $3^{\circ} 15'$, at the Distance of about four Leagues from the Main. It is in Length two Leagues, and in Breadth one. On the West Side of the Island there is a good Harbour; and, tho' the Place be uninhabited, yet it affords Wood and Water

in Abundance. The common Notion in the *West Indies* is, that it rains often in *Chili*, seldom in *Peru*, but always in the Island of *Gorgona*, where, they say, there never was a fair Day known; but, tho' this is not to be strictly taken, yet all, who are acquainted with this Island, agree, that it rains more or less in all Seasons here; which is probably the Reason, that, notwithstanding its convenient Situation, it has always remained uninhabited. They sailed from thence, and kept a West North-west Course, till they arrived in the Latitude of 13° North, and then they steered West, as low as the Rocks of *St. B. holmes*. They then got into the Latitude of 15° , till they thought themselves out of Danger from those or any other Rocks; after which they returned into the Latitude of 13° , in which they continued their Voyage for the *East Indies*.

9. They had the Trade-wind from the Time they were in the Latitude of 10° , and a reasonable good Passage, except that the Men were, generally speaking, sick of the Scurvy, to the 14th of *March*, when they saw the Island of *Guam* or *Guana*, which bore West from them; and had an Observation the same Day, by which they found themselves in the Latitude of $13^{\circ} 2'$: And, according to Captain *Cowley's* Journal, this was a prodigious Run; for he says, that, according to his Computation, it was 7646 Miles; that is to say, departed so many Miles from *Gorgona*, by Loss made out in Longitude, which is about 2549 Leagues. The next Day, which was *Sunday, March 15*, they sailed about the South-west Part of the Island, and at length came to an Anchor in the Bay, which is on the West, and sent a Boat ashore, with a Flag of Truce; but, when they came near the Village, they were very much surprised to find the Inhabitants had set Fire to their Houses, and were run away. The Boat's Crew cut down some Cocoa-trees, and, having gathered their Fruit, were coming on board, when a Party of *Indians* sallied from behind some Bushes, as if they intended to have attacked them; but, upon setting up the Flag of Truce, they ordered one of their People to peel a Wand, that it might appear white; and then they conferred in a friendly Manner together. This good Correspondence continued, with a free Trade on both Sides, to the 17th, when the *Indians*, without the least Provocation, attacked the *English* suddenly; who, defending themselves with their Fire-arms, killed some, wounded many, and escaped without Hurt themselves.

10. On the 19th, the *Spanish* Governor of the Island of *Guam* came down to a Point of Land not far from the Ship, and sent his Boat aboard with three Copies of the same Letter in *Spanish*, *French*, and *Dutch*, signifying, that, as an Officer of the King of *Spain*, he desired to know, who they were, whence they came, and whither they were bound. Captain *Eaton* wrote the Governor a very civil Answer in *French*, in which he told him, that they were fitted out by some Gentlemen in *France* to make Discoveries; and that he came thither for the sake of Provisions. The Messenger no sooner delivered this Letter, than he was dispatched back with another Epistle, assuring the Captain, that he was very welcome, and desiring him to come ashore, and confer with the Governor. This Invitation was accordingly accepted, Captain *Eaton* landing with a Guard of twenty Men double-armed. As soon as he set Foot on shore, the *Spanish* Governor saluted him with a general Discharge of his Fire-arms; to which Captain *Eaton* answered, by firing ten Guns. The Conference was managed with great Candour and Civility on both Sides. Captain *Eaton* excused himself for killing the *Indians*, by assuring the Governor, that his People did it in their own Defence. To which the Governor answered, that he readily believed it, the *Indians* being a base, treacherous and bloody People; so that he could not do him a greater Pleasure, than to kill them all. At parting, the Governor promised him all the Accommodations the Country could afford; and performed this Promise with the highest Honour. On the 18th at Noon, a Captain came on board from the Governor, and brought with him ten Hogs, a prodigious Quantity of Potatoes, Plantains, Oranges, Papas, and red Pepper. In Return for all this, Captain *Eaton* sent the Governor a Diamond Ring worth twenty Pounds; and presented each of the Gentlemen, who attended the Captain, with a Sword. The next Day, the Governor sent another Captain, with two Ecclesiastics, to desire the Favour

of the *Indians*, his Force, trained to Barrels, Cannon. Captain declined was to the ver, des Captain carried to the Gov. Pounds. and they quitted, there came *French* J. nus, Pot Silver Po These Pe pleasant Cocoa-nu also a ver rior to M every Day *Cowley*, d veniences which he the *Indians* of the Mo would not for their Quantity to have fo Captain G ferred his which Pre whom the and, when Net, they Boat: But charge of those on L were conce failed, they sent two *I* to sell Ric the Captai had taken Part of the Island not mit them assist them that, for the Rewar reap a pro *Spaniards* the P opo and thence at a time the Bay, a Governor's and were a Governor of Captain and Gener In the Afte by West.

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of the *English* Commander to spare him some Powder, the *Indians* being then in Rebellion, and he about to employ all his Force, in order to reduce them. Captain *Eaton* entertained these Messengers very elegantly, spared them four Barrels of Powder, and offered them four small Pieces of Cannon. They accepted of the former, and thanked the Captain for the Offer of the latter; which, however, they declined, and, at the same time, presented a Box, in which was the Value of 1400 Pieces of Eight in Gold and Silver, desiring him to take whatever he thought fit; but the Captain absolutely refused to take a Farthing; and so they carried their Box on shore again. But, the next Morning, the Governor sent the Captain a Diamond Ring worth fifty Pounds. On the 19th, they sent out their Boat to cruise; and they forced an *Indian* Canoe on shore, which her Crew quitted, and they kept to land their Men in. On the 22d, there came a new Deputation from the Governor, with a *French* Jesuit at the Head of it, who brought them Cocoa-nuts, Potatoes, and a considerable Quantity of Chocolate, a Silver Pot to make it in, and half a Dozen *China* Dishes. These People taught the *English* Sailors how to make a pleasant kind of Milk, by scraping the inner Shell of the Cocoa-nut, which not only gives Water the Colour, but also a very sweet agreeable Taste, very little, if at all, inferior to Milk. The Governor sent them thenceforward every Day some kind of Provision or other; while Captain *Cowley*, doubting whether he should meet with the like Conveniences elsewhere, resolved to heel and scrape his Ship; which he performed with great Ease, by the Assistance of the *Indians*, as well as the *Spaniards*. Towards the End of the Month of *March*, when it was visible, that the Ship would not remain long in the Road, the Governor sent them for their Sea Stores thirty Hogs, with a proportionable Quantity of Rice and Potatoes. The *Indians* also seemed to have forgotten what happened at their first Arrival; but Captain *Cowley* kept it always in his Head, and never suffered his Men to stir, on any Pretence, without Arms; which Precaution of his saved upwards of twenty of them, whom the *Indians* had invited to go a fishing with them; and, when they saw one half of them on shore to draw the Net, they attempted to seize those that were left in the Boat: But they paid dearly for it, receiving a general Discharge of the small Arms, both from those in the Boat, and those on Land; so that few or none escaped of them, that were concerned in this Project. But, before Captain *Eaton* sailed, they played off a Stratagem of another Kind: They sent two *Indians*, who were Natives of *Manilla*, on board, to sell Rice and Fruits, who, after some Conversation with the Captain, told him the State of their Affairs; that they had taken Arms against the Governor; and that the best Part of the *Indians* were retired from *Guam* to another Island not far off; that they were determined never to submit themselves to the *Spaniards*; and that, if he would assist them, it would be very easy to reduce the Island; that, for their Parts, they desired nothing but Freedom as the Reward of their Assistance; and that the *English* might reap a prodigious Benefit from this Expedition, since the *Spaniards* were immensely rich. But the Captain treated the Proposal as it deserved, with the highest Indignation; and thenceforward admitted but two or three of the *Indians* at a time to come on board. On *April* 1. they sailed from the Bay, and anchored before the Fort, the Place of the Governor's Habitation; which they saluted with three Guns, and were answered by the same Number. On the 3d, the Governor sent his Captain, with a Present, to take his Leave of Captain *Eaton*, and to testify his Sense of the Honour and Generosity, with which he had behaved towards him. In the Afternoon they sailed with a fair Wind, steering South by West.

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11. The Island of *Iguana*, *Guana*, or *Guan*, is in the Latitude of 13° 30' North, and is about fourteen Leagues in Length, and about six in Breadth. The Valleys are very pleasant. It is interperfed with fine fruitful Meadows, plentifully watered by many Rivulets from the Hills. The Soil in these Valleys is black, and very rich, producing Plenty of Cocoes, Potatoes, Yams, Papas, Plantains, Monanocs, Sour-fops, Oranges and Lemons, and some Honey. The Climate is very hot; but, by means of the constant Trade-wind, is, notwithstanding that, very wholesome.

NUMB. 6.

The *Indian* Inhabitants are very large, well-made, active, and vigorous, some of them being seven Feet and an half high. Most of them go stark-naked, both Men and Women. They never bury their Dead; but let them lie in the Sun to putrefy and rot. They have no Arms, but Lances and Slings. The sharp End of their Lances are made with dead Mens Bones; for, upon the Decease of a Person, his Bones make eight Lances, of his Leg-bones two, of his Thighs as many, and his Arms afford four; which being cut like a Scoop, and jagged like the Teeth of a Saw, or Eel-spear, if a Man happens to be wounded with one of them, and be not cured in seven Days, he is a dead Man. "We took," says Captain *Cowley*, four of those Infidels Prisoners, and "brought them on board, binding their Hands behind "them; but they had not been long there, before three of "them leaped overboard into the Sea, swimming away "from the Ship with their Hands tied behind them. How- "ever, we sent the Boat after them, and found a strong "Man, at the first Blow, could not penetrate their Skins "with a Cutlafs. One of them had received, in my Judge- "ment, forty Shots in his Body before he died; and the "last of the three that was killed, had swam a good Eng- "lish Mile first, not only with his Hands behind him, as "before, but also with his Arms pinioned." It is certain, that the great *Manilla* Ship, that goes annually from thence to *Acapulco*, touches there for Refreshments, both going and coming; and the *Indians* stand in great Dread of her. They reported, that they had sometimes eight Ships in a Year from the *East Indies*. The *Spaniards*, who were on board Captain *Eaton*, said, that, in 1684, they had built in that Island a Ship of 160 Ton, to trade to *Manilla*; and they likewise told him, that the *Spanish* Garison consisted, at that time, of 600 Men; and that the *Indian* Inhabitants were most of them in Rebellion. Captain *Cooke*, who was here in 1710, finds great Fault with Captain *Cowley*'s Description of this Island, which, he is pleased to say, is false; but, I apprehend, without any just Grounds. He mentions but two Instances: The first is as to the Length of the Island, which he affirms to be but ten Leagues; whereas Captain *Cowley* says it is fourteen: But, as both speak by Conjecture, I cannot say which is in the right; but Captain *Woodes Rogers*, under whose Command *Cooke* made the Voyage, and who was, to the full, as accurate a Writer, fixes the Circumference at forty Leagues; which, considering the Shape of the Island, agrees very well with what Captain *Cowley* says. The other Mistake he charges him with, is as to the Number of the Garison, which, when *Cooke* was there, did not exceed 100 Men. In order to make out this Mistake, he asserts a direct Falshood; for he says, that Captain *Cowley* makes it 600 Men; whereas Captain *Cowley* only says, the *Spaniards* told him so; and seems to doubt it. In other Circumstances they agree tolerably well.

12. On *April* 4. they sailed West by South, and, the Day after, West, when they reckoned their Distance from that Island 206 Miles. From that time they kept no certain Account, because of Calms, till they came into 20° 30' North Latitude, where they fell in with a Cluster of Islands to the Northward of *Luconia*, which is the biggest of the *Philippines*. The 23d, they met with a very strong Current, like the Race of *Portland*, at the Distance, as they computed, from *Guam* of 560 Leagues. On the Northermost of these Islands they sent their Boat ashore, to get some Fish, and to discover the Island, on which they found vast Plenty of Nutmegs growing; but saw no People, and, as Night was drawing on, they durst not venture far within Land. This Island they called *Nutmeg Island*, and the Bay, in which they anchored, *English Bay*. They observed also Abundance of Rocks, Sands, and foul Ground near the Shore, and saw a great many Goats upon the Island; but brought very few on board. After they got through these Streights, they continued their Course South-west for *Luconia*. *April* 26. they were off Cape *Bajadore*, and, soon after, came up with Cape *Mindato*, where they met with a South-west Monsoon, which made them steer North-west for *Canton* in *China*, where they arrived safely, and fitted their Ship. They had an Opportunity here of making themselves as rich as they could desire; but they would not embrace it. There came into this Port thirteen Sail

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Sail of *Tartar* Vessels, laden with *Chinese* Plunder, consisting of the richest Goods in the *East Indies*: But this would not tempt Captain *Eaton's* Men; they were for nothing but Gold and Silver, and could not bear the Thoughts of being Pedlars; neither could their Commander, by fair Words or foul, prevail upon them to alter their Resolution, which was not to fight for Silks. The *Tartars* therefore quietly pursued their Affairs at *Canton*, without having the least Knowledge of their Danger. When they had put their Ship in the best Condition possible, they continued their Voyage from *Canton* to the City of *Manilla* in the Island of *Luconia*, in order to wait there for a *Tartar* Ship, which, according to their Information, was half-laden with Silver; but, tho' they once saw her, they were not able to come up with her, because she was a clean Ship, and they as foul as they well could be. They chased her, however, for a whole Day, but to no Purpose; and then stood away for a small Island to the North of *Luconia*, to wait for a proper Wind to carry them to *Bantam* in the Island of *Java*. Instead of one, they found several Islands, where they refreshed themselves very conveniently; and, having Information from an *Indian* of an Island abounding with Bees, they sent their Boat thither, with thirty Men, who took, by Force, what they wanted, though the Island was well inhabited. About the Middle of *September* they sailed from thence, and steered South South-west, till they came into the Latitude of 10° , when they fell in with the Banks of *Peragoa*, thro' which they sailed three Days in the utmost Danger. At length they reached an Island somewhat to the North of *Borneo*, where, finding a convenient Bay, they haled their Ship ashore, set up a Tent, and planted ten small Guns for their Defence, in case the Natives should attack them; but they, having never seen white Men before, avoided them all they could. It was not long, however, before they came up with a Canoe, on board of which was the Queen of that Country, with her Retinue, who all leaped into the Sea to avoid them. They took them up without much Difficulty, and entertained them afterwards so kindly, that they were very good Friends during the Time they staid there, which was about two Months. At this Time, the *Spaniards* were at Peace with the Monarch who governed *Borneo*, and carried on a very advantageous Trade there from the *Manillas*; of which Captain *Eaton's* People were no sooner informed, than they declared themselves *Spaniards*, and passed for such all the Time they staid.

13. It was towards the End of the Month of *December* 1685, that they left this Island, in order to go to a Chain of Islands, called the Islands of *Naturab*, in 4° North Latitude. They did not stay there long; but proceeded from thence to the Island of *Timor*, where the Crew growing extremely mutinous, paying little or no Regard to Captain *Eaton's* Orders, our Author resolved to quit the Ship, and find some Way or other to get his Passage home from *Batavia*. Accordingly, himself, one Mr. *Hill*, and eighteen more of the Men, who were the same way inclined, purchased a large Boat, in which they designed to have gone to *Batavia*; but, the Wind proving contrary, they were obliged to put in at *Ceriban*, a Factory belonging to the *Dutch* upon the same Isle of *Java*, where they found they had lost both a Day in the Month, and a Day in the Week. They met here with several Pieces of bad News; such as, that King *Charles II.* was dead; and the *Dutch* had deprived the *English* of their Factory at *Bantam*, which was the second Place of Trade we, at that time, possessed in the *East Indies*; and one can never sufficiently wonder, that Care was not taken, after the Revolution, that we should have it again, the Loss of it having been extremely prejudicial to our *East India* Company, as will appear in another Place, when we come to relate this Story at large. At present we shall content ourselves with observing, that, while Captain *Couley* was here, the *Dutch* were forming other Schemes to the Prejudice of our Trade; whereupon Captain *Couley*, Mr. *Hill*, and a third Person, resolved to make all the Haste they could to *Batavia*, that they might not be involved in any Disputes. They got, with little Trouble, their Passage to *Batavia*, where they were very kindly received by the *Dutch* Governor General, who promised them their Passage home in a *Dutch* Ship; which he afterwards complied with: But there being, at that time, about twenty

Englishmen at *Batavia*, they purchased a Sloop, with which they intended to have gone to *Sillibar*, an *English* Factory on the Coast of *Sumatra*; but so far were the *Dutch* from permitting of this, that they took the Sloop from them, paying, however, what it cost; and put the *Dutchman* in Prison, who sold it. To justify this, they made use of many Pretences; but the true Reason was, that they had formed a Design upon *Sillibar*, whither tho' they were forced to postpone, yet they were unwilling to let People go thither, for fear the *English* should prove too strong for them. The Scheme they intended to make use of for driving the *English* thence, was singular enough: They had lent the King of *Sillibar* a considerable Sum of Money some Years before, which they now proposed to demand, and to oblige the King to pay them in Pepper, by which Agreement they would have secured all the Trade in his Dominions, and then the *English* must have withdrawn their Factory of course. But, just as they were fitting out a Squadron, in order to have put this Design in Execution, a War broke out with the Emperor of *Java*; which diverted the Storm for that Time, because they were obliged to employ those Ships against their new Enemy.

14. As there was no other Way left of getting home, but in a *Dutch* Ship, Captain *Couley* and his Friends embarked in *Batavia* Road in the Beginning of *March*; but it was the latter End of the Month before they sailed, and had a very indifferent Passage to the Cape, being reduced to Short-allowance, and even to a Pint of Water a Day. On *May* 27. their Captain died; which occasioned a good deal of Confusion: For a Council of War being called, composed of the Officers of the two Ships *Salida* and *Criifman*, there in it was resolved, that Captain *Tenninall*, Commander of the *Criifman*, should command the *Salida*; and Captain *Tenninall's* chief Mate command the *Criifman*. The Pilot also of the *Salida*, whose Name was *Houdin*, was ordered on board the *Criifman*; which he refused, and the Crew of the *Salida* munition in favour of their Pilot, and he remained where he was. On *June* 1. they entered the Road before the Cape of *Good Hope*. The next Day, he went on shore with his Companions, and took a View of the *Dutch* Settlement there, which I chuse to give the Reader in his own Words, as a good Description of the Situation of Things at the Cape of *Good Hope* in the Year 1686. and shall hereafter afford him an Opportunity of comparing it with the State of that Settlement at present: "The Town, which is inhabited by the *Dutch*, is but small, and the Houses are built very low, by reason that, in the Months of *December*, *January*, and *February*, they are visited by great Gales of Wind. There are not above 100 of those Houses in all the Town; but they have a very strong Castle, with about eighty good Guns mounted thereon. There is also a very spacious Garden, with most pleasant Walks, which is maintained by the *Dutch East India* Company, and in which are planted almost all manner of Fruit-trees, and incomparable good Herbs. This Garden is about one Mile in Length, and a Furlong in Breadth. This is the greatest Rarity, that I saw at the Cape; for it far exceeded the *East India* Company's Garden that is at *Batavia*. They have also Abundance of very good Sheep here; but very few black Cattle, and not many Fowls. We walked, moreover, without the Town to the Village inhabited by the *Hottentots* (*Hottentots*), to view their nasty Bodies, and the Nature of their Dwellings, which we found to be as followeth: When we came thither, we were scarce able to endure the Stench of them, and their Habitations. They built their Houses round, (with their Fire-place in the Middle of them) almost like the Huts, that are built in *Ireland* by the wild *Irish*, the People lying in the Ashes, and having nothing under them but a Sheep-skin. The Men have but one Stone in Appearance; which is very strange. But the Women are more to be admired, who have a Flap of Skin, that covers their Nakedness; but are so ignorant, or, I may say, brutish, that they will not stick to prostitute themselves, or do whatever else you would have, for the least Recompence imaginable; and of this I am an Eye-witness. Their Apparel is a Sheep-skin (as I have already said) over their Shoulders, with a Leather Cap upon their Heads, as full of Grease as it can hold. The

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"Legs are wound about with Guts of Beasts, (from the Ankle to the Knees) well greased. The People called the *Hodmandods* (*Hottentots*) are born white; but make themselves black with Soot, and besmear their Bodies all over; so that, by frequent Repetition, their Skins become almost as black as Negroes. Their Children are of a good, comely Shape, when they are young. Their Noises, in Form, resemble a Negro's. When they marry, the Woman cutteth off one Joint of her Finger; and, if her Husband die, and she marry again, she cutteth off another Joint; and so many Men as she marrieth, so many Joints she loseth. They are People that will eat any thing that is foul. If the *Hollanders* kill a Beast, they will get the Guts, and squeeze the Excrements out; and then, without washing or scraping, lay them upon the Coals, and, before they are well hot through, they will take them, and eat them. If a Slave of the Company's have a mind to have carnal Knowledge of one of their Women, let him but give her Husband a Bit of Tobacco-roll of about three Inches long, he will fetch her forthwith to the Slave, and cause her to lie with him. They are Men not given to the least Jealousy; yet they will beat their Wives, if they lie with the *Hodmandods* themselves; but they value it not for them to do it with Men of another Nation. They are Worshippers of Dame *Luna*; and, when they expect to see the Moon, there will be Thousands of them by the Sea-side dancing and singing: But, if it be dark Weather, so that the Moon appears not, they will say, that their God is angry with them; whereas, on the contrary, when the said Luminary shines, they will say he is not angry. There happened at this Time that we were among them, that one of the *Hodmandods* (*Hottentots*) had drank himself dead in the Fort, whither the other *Hodmandods* (*Hottentots*) came with Oil and Milk, and put them in his Mouth; but, finding they could get no Life into him, they began to make Preparation for his Burial, which was in the following Manner: They came with Knives, and shaved his Body, Arms, and Legs through the thick Skin; then they digged a great Hole, and fet him in it upon his Breech, clapping Stones round about him, to keep him upright; after came a Company of their Women about him, making a most horrid Noise; then they covered the Mouth of the Hole, and left him in a sitting Posture." We need not wonder, that our Author, having received such Ideas of these People, was willing enough to continue his Voyage, which we shall likewise pursue.

15. On June 15, 1686. they sailed from the Cape of Good Hope, with a small Gale at South-west, six Ships weighing their Anchors at once, viz. the *Salida*, the *Crisman*, and *Eseland*, for Holland, and the other three for *Batavia*; they fired at parting, in drinking of Healths, and other Ceremonies of that sort according to the Dutch Custom, upwards of 300 Guns; an idle and expensive Practice for so wife and frugal a Nation. July 29. they were in 19° 54' South Latitude, at the Distance of 914 Miles from the Cape; the same Day they feasted the Captains of the other two Ships on board the *Salida*. The next Day they had a very fair Wind; and, on June 4. they were in the Latitude of 14° 15', when they threw a Man overboard, a Native of Denmark, who died in the Night, and was cold and stiff before any body perceived it. On the 20th of the same Month, they were in 15° North Latitude; and the same Day they held a Council of War upon their Captain: He was accused of having hired five Men to murder a Man of Quality, and his Lady, with some other rich Passengers that were on board, and then to run away with the Ship. The Person who accused him was the Purser, who produced the Man who told him; and who then denied the Thing as positively, as he had before affirmed it; so that the Captain was unanimously acquitted. On the 22d, according to the Author's Computation, he had sailed quite round the terrestrial Globe, cutting the same Line which he did, when he departed from Virginia in the Year 1683. On August 2. in the Morning, died Captain *Tominall*, of an Inflammation in the Bowels, having been ill but three Days. His Pilot was chosen, by the Officers, to succeed him, whom the

Crew absolutely refused to obey; but, by the Persuasion of the other two Captains, they were brought to better Temper, and accepted him for their Commander. On August 4. they judged themselves to be within thirty Leagues of the *Ambrosias* (*Abrolhos*), a very dangerous Shore, or Bank of Sand, laid down in the Maps in 13° North Latitude; but our Author very much doubts, whether there be any such Shore, since he never knew any Man that had seen it; and a Pilot, who had made sixteen Voyages to *Brasil*, assured him, there was no such Sand. September 5. about ten at Night, they had a violent Storm, which had like to have driven them on board the *Crisman*; but, by good Luck, when they least expected it, their Ship fell off, and the Wind happily filling their Sails, saved them from the Danger they were in.

16. On the 19th, about Noon, Captain *Cowley* saw Land, which he believed to be the Island *Shetland*, of which he told the Dutch Captain, but he would not believe him. At six in the Evening, the People on board the *Crisman* made a Signal of seeing Land, at which all the Ship's Crew of the *Salida* made a Jest of their Captain, for not believing those who had better Eyes than himself. On the 26th, they found themselves in the Latitude of 53° 35', and the same Day came up with two Ships, one a *Dane*, the other *English*, on board of whom Captain *Cowley*, and his Companions, would willingly have gone, but the Dutch Captain would not permit them; the Dutch Lord they had on board affirming, that he could not answer it to the States. September 28. they were before the *Maes*, with the Wind at East North-east; when it was Day, they saw the *Brill Church*, and *Grave's Sand*, and then they came to an Anchor in ten Fathom Water, and rode there in Expectation of a Pilot to carry them into the *Maes*. On the 30th, he arrived at *Helvoetsluis*, having been seven Months in their Passage from *Batavia*. From thence Captain *Cowley* travelled by Land to *Rotterdam*, where he found the *Ann Yacht* ready to sail for *England*, in which he came over as a Passenger, arriving safely at *London* October 12. 1686. after a tedious and troublesome Voyage of three Years, and near two Months.

17. The Spirit of Privateering upon the *Spaniards*, which had been raised and promoted by the several Wars carried on against that Nation by the Dutch, French, and English, was now at its full Height; for the Licence given under the Protector *Cromwell*, and the unsettled Situation of Things with respect to Spain, immediately after the Restoration, gave great Encouragement to these sort of Adventurers, till at last they grew so powerful, that it was no easy Matter to put an End to their Depredations; perhaps it would have been impracticable, if they had not been destroyed by Discord and Disputes among themselves. Many Inconveniences must necessarily arise from the long Continuance of so wicked a Practice; but, at the same time, it produced some good Consequences also; for these Buccaneers were such bold and daring Navigators, that they not only attempted, but performed, Things almost incredible, and which, in Process of Time, are come to be thought as impracticable, as they were esteemed to be before these Men achieved them: For Instance, the quick Marches they made by Land cross the Isthmus of *Darien*, which they made a kind of open Road. Besides this, they found out other Passages from the North to the South Seas, by means of the Rivers, which rise near the latter, and fall into the former. We owe likewise to them the Passage round Cape *Horn*, without passing the Straights of *le Maire*, which was first performed by Captain *Sbarpe*, and afterwards by the *Revenge*, under the Direction of our Author. They also discovered most of the Islands, which the *Spaniards* had but indifferent Accounts of, and lay down, it may be on purpose, erroneously in their Charts, such as the *Gallapagos*, the first Description of which is that given by our Author, encouraged by whole Example, the Privateers often visited them afterwards. They landed likewise frequently in *California*, and, by their numerous Voyages from thence to the *East Indies*, made some considerable Discoveries on that Side too. These were not only great Things in themselves, and of prodigious Consequence to the trading World, but were also very happy in another respect; since, had it not been for these lawless Adventurers,

turers, the Practice of granting exclusive Charters to trading Companies, which prevailed here as well as in *Holland*, had put an End to all Discoveries, and thereby extinguished that Spirit, which is the Life and Soul of Navigation, without which all maritime Power must sink and decay, or at least be transported to other Nations, where this kind of circumfcribing Policy has not yet taken Place. The Number of Seamen bred up in these kind of Vessels was incredible; and, as many of them were dispersed over our Colonies, and some of them returned into *Europe*, the Accounts they gave contributed to keep up a Desire of undertaking something in those Parts, either by settling Colonies, or making Conquests from the *Spaniards*. Here, in *England*, something of that sort fell often under the Consideration of our Ministry; and King *William* gave all imaginable Encouragement to a Proposition that was made for establishing an *English* Settlement on the River *Mississippi*; but the Affair met with such Delays, and that King found himself so cramped in all his Resolutions for the public Service, that tho', for some time, this was his favourite Scheme, yet he was at last forced to lay it aside; which afterwards gave the *French* an Opportunity of working upon that Plan, which they have done with wonderful Industry, and have received all the Helps from their Government, that it was in the Power of the Government to give. I cannot forbear observing, upon this Occasion, that it was from the *French* Buccaneers, that Nation received all her Lights with respect to the Commerce of the *West Indies*; and to these People, likewise, they owe the very best Settlement they have, which is that in *Hispaniola*, the History of which we shall give at large in another Place. It were, indeed, to be wished, that the Accounts we have of these Expeditions were better and more carefully written than we find them; and yet, all Things considered, we have no great Reason to expect this from such sort of Men. It is one thing, to have the Skill of navigating a Ship; and quite another, to be able to write a clear and satisfactory Account of what happens in such a Voyage. The keeping of a Sea Journal is a Thing reduced to a settled Method, and is as much the Business of a Navigator, as the Care of the Ship; neither, indeed, is it possible for him to attend one, and neglect the other. But the turning that Journal into an historical Relation of the Voyage, and the Circumstances attending it, is a thing quite out of his Way, and which very few Seamen can do without Assistance. In respect to this, again, various Accidents may happen; for a Person may have proper Abilities for executing another History well, that may, notwithstanding, be altogether unfit for putting Memoirs of this sort into proper Order. It is very possible, tho' a History of this kind may be over, as well as under-written; and the florid Style of the Assistant ruin the plain honest Account of the Mariner. It was the Misfortune of our Author Captain *Cowley*, that he had not either the publishing of his own Journal, or the Choice of an Assistant; nay, he was not so much as acquainted with the Design of publishing it; and therefore the Deficiencies which appear in it are the more excusable. I have cor-

rected several, especially with regard to Figures; for it cannot be imagined, that a Man who is, generally speaking, very exact, should ever fall into gross Mistakes; and therefore, when these occur, they ought to be attributed to the Transcriber of his Journal, who was, perhaps, unacquainted with the Subject: But, however, Captain *Cowley's* Voyage has a great deal of Merit: It is written with the greatest Honesty and Freedom, that I have ever met with in a Work of this kind. He never dissembles the Design in which he was embarked; but fairly owns, that they intended to take the Ships of any Nation they were able to master; and, if it had not been for his Account, we should never have known how the *Revenge*, which originally carried eight, or at most eighteen Guns, came afterwards to carry forty; but he explains the Mystery, by shewing us, that the small Ship helped them to the great one. His Account also of the *Gallapagos* Islands, is also very accurate in every respect, and tho' *Dampier* has given us a much larger, and more circumstantial, Relation of this Part of the Voyage, yet he comes very short of him in this Particular. His Observations, as to the Designs of the *Dutch* at that Juncture, are very judicious, and discover a great Share of public Spirit, which is the most laudable Quality in every Writer. I cannot help thinking, that it would be of great Benefit to the Public, if we had a fair and impartial History of our Disputes with the *Dutch* in regard to Trade, with a clear Account of what each Nation has gained from the other; for, as, on the one hand, it is certain, that some of the Writers, in the Reign of King *Charles II.* carried their Rancor against the *Dutch* too far, and charged them with many Things, of which they were not guilty; so, on the other hand, some People have extenuated Things too much since, and have thereby rendered the Nation blind to her own Interest. In the Prosecution of this Work, I shall do my utmost Endeavour to set such Points, as shall fall in my Way, in a fair Light; but still, I do not think this would render such a Work as I hint unnecessary. Our Trade is our great national Concern; and we never can have it too fully explained, or too minutely treated; for though the Traffick of private Persons may suffer from too free an Examination, yet it is otherwise with the Commerce of a great People: The more that is sifted and inquired into, the better, as appears in the particular Case of Interest of Money, which, till it was thoroughly handled, and all the Questions that arose about it freely and frequently debated, was never perfectly understood, to the great Discouragement of Trade, and our infinite Loss as a People. But let us not present return to the Thread of our Discourse, and take a View of Captain *Dampier's* Observations, as well in that Part of the Voyage he made together with our Author *Cowley*, as in the Remainder of it, after Captain *Davis* quitted Captain *Eaton*, and Mr. *Dampier* quitted *Davis*, and pursued his Voyage Home the best Way he could. These Voyages have, indeed, been published before; but they appear, for the first time, in their natural Order, and purged from a Multitude of Errors, by which an unwary Reader might have been easily misled.

SECTION XIII.

Captain WILLIAM DAMPIER's first Voyage round the World, collected from his own Account.

1. The Method observed in digesting this Account.
2. A concise History of Captain *Dampier*, and his Adventures, to the Time of his Return to England, after his second Expedition to the Bay of *Campeachy*.
3. His second Voyage to America, and his Exploits with the Buccaneers from 1679 to 1681.
4. Continuation of his Adventures, to the Time of his undertaking this Voyage, August 23. 1683.
5. Description of the Island of *Salt*, and its Inhabitants.
6. Account of the Island of *St. Nicolas*, and of the Treachery of Captain *Bond* to its Inhabitants.
7. Arrive at the *Sebaldine* Islands.
8. Pass into the Cape of Good Hope round the South Seas.
9. Anchor before the Island of *Juan Fernandez*.
10. Ample Description of that Island.
11. Observations on the Weather in the Pacific Sea.
12. Description of the Island of *Lobos*.
13. Three Spanish Prizes taken.
14. Account of their Stay at the *Gallapagos* Islands.
15. A Digression concerning the several Kinds of *Tortoises*.
16. Return to the Continent, where they find themselves discovered by the *Spaniards*.
17. Are obliged to lay aside their Design upon *Rio Leja*.
18. Description of the Gulph and Islands of *Amapalla*.
19. Transactions there, and their Separation from Captain *Eaton*.
20. Account of the Island of *Plate*, and its Inhabitants.
21. Precautions taken by the *Spaniards* to prevent their Landing.
22. Join with Captain *Swan* and Captain *Harris*.
23. Account of the Town of *Paita*.

and the Buildings in Peru. 24. Description of several Kinds of Bark-logs, and their Uses. 25. Their Proceedings till they reach the Islands of St. Clara. 26. Description of the Town of Guayaquil. 27. Miscarry in an Attempt on that Place. 28. Description of the Bay of Panama. 29. Account of the adjacent Coast. 30. The Island of Gorgonia described. 31. Observations on Panama, and the Country about it. 32. The Course of the Spanish Plate Fleet described. 33. That Description continued. 34. They meet with a considerable Body of Privateers. 35. Description of the Coast near Cape Lorenzo. 36. Their Adventures on that Coast. 37. Their Engagement with the Spanish Fleet. 38. Description of the Islands of Quibo. 39. Make various Attempts, and meet with continual Disappointments. 40. They attack and become Masters of the City of Leon. 41. Further Account of their Transactions to the Separation of the Fleet. 42. Attempt Guatemala, and are repulsed. 43. Prosecution of their Voyage towards the North. 44. The City and Port of Acapulco, and other Places on that Coast, described. 45. Continuation of their Voyage to the Islands of Chametly. 46. Miscarry in their Design on the Manila Ship. 47. Arrive at the Islands before-mentioned. 48. Some Account of Callifornia, and New Mexico. 49. Sail for the East Indies, and arrive at the Philippine Islands. 50. Description of those Islands, and of their Transactions there. 51. Other Islands, and their Inhabitants, described. 52. Their Discoveries in these Parts, the Names bestowed by them upon several Islands, with a Description of those Islands, and an Account of their Inhabitants. 53. The Islands of Celebes, Bouton, and other Places, described. 54. Copious Account of that Part of the Southern Continent, distinguished by the Name of New Holland. 55. Our Author quits the Ship at Nicobar. 56. Brief Account of his three Years Stay in the East Indies. 57. He embarks for, and returns safe to England, arriving in the Thames, September 16. 1691.

1. **T**HE Observations heretofore made, with respect to the Difficulty of compiling Voyages, and the Causes of those Imperfections that are usually discerned in them, cannot be better illustrated, than by the subsequent Account of his own Discoveries by Captain Dampier, one of the greatest Navigators of late Years, that this Nation has to boast. His Character has been variously represented, according to the different Notions entertained of him by Men who were guided rather by their particular Prejudices or Prepossessions, than by Love of Truth, or Respect to Justice. This was, in some measure, owing to the great Disadvantages, under which his Works were published: They came out at several times, without Order, harshly written, obscure in some Places, prolix in others, and every-where full of Promises of giving the World further and better Accounts, which naturally sunk the Credit of what he was then giving; but, with all these Disadvantages, the Voyages of Captain Dampier will be always thought useful and entertaining. I have taken all the Care I could to improve them in 'oth respects; and, I presume, the Reader will find, that they are much clearer, and more intelligible, as they stand here, than they can be found elsewhere, and that for these Reasons: I have, in the first Place, digested his several Relations into their proper Order of Time, which renders them perfectly well connected, and contributes not a little to their being better understood. By taking this Method, I have had the Opportunity of pruning away many unnecessary Digressions, and needless Repetitions, which, without Doubt, the Author himself would have done, if he had revised his own Writings, and reduced them into a just Series, of which that he had some Notion, appears from several of his Prefaces and Dedications. Thus much as to the rendering his Voyages the more useful; and, that they might still remain as entertaining as ever, I have chosen to retain his own Manner of Writing, except in the subsequent Introduction, where I propose to give the Reader a concise Account of this extraordinary Person from his own Works, previous to those Voyages, that intitle him to a Place in mine, as a very eminent Circumnavigator, and one, whose many Discoveries ought to recommend his Memory to Posterity, as a Man of infinite Industry, and of a very laudable public Spirit.

2. Captain William Dampier was descended from a very reputable Family in Somersetshire, where he was born in the Year 1652; and, during the Life-time of his Father and Mother, had such an Education, as was thought requisite to fit him for a Trade; but, losing both his Parents while he was very young, those, who had the Care of him afterwards, finding him of a roving Disposition, and strongly inclined to go to Sea, resolved to comply with his Humour in this respect; and, about the Year 1669, bound him to a Master of a Ship, who lived at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, with whom he made a Voyage to France the same Year, and, in the next, went to Newfoundland; but was so pinched by the Severity of that Climate, that, on his Return, he went home to his Friends in the Country, having lost much

of that Eagerneſs, with which he had been possessed for going to Sea. This, however, soon returned, on his hearing of an outward-bound East India Ship, which was speedily to sail from the Port of London; and, thereupon, in the latter End of the Year 1670, he came up to Town, and entered himself before the Mast on board the *John and Martha* of London, Captain Earning Commander, with whom he made a Voyage to Bantam in the Island of Java, and back; by which he acquired a great deal of Experience. He returned into England in January 1672, and retired to his Brother's House in Somersetshire, where he staid all the next Summer. In 1673, he entered himself on board the *Royal Prince*, commanded by the famous Sir Edward Spragge, and was in two Engagements against the Dutch that Summer; but, falling sick, was put on board an Hospital-ship a Day or two before the last Engagement, in which that brave English Seaman was killed, and which Mr. Dampier saw only at a Distance. After this, he went down again to his Brother's in Somersetshire, where, meeting with one Colonel Hellier, who had a large Estate in Jamaica, he was persuaded by him to go over to that Island, where he was to be employed in the Management of it. With this View, he sailed from the River Thames in the Spring of the Year 1674, and resided somewhat more than a Year at Jamaica, where, not liking the Life of a Planter, he, at the Persuasion of one Captain Hodges, engaged himself among the Logwood-cutters, and embarked in August 1675 for Campeachy, where he resided for some time, and followed that Employment diligently, tho' he underwent many and great Hardships, before he had an Opportunity of returning to Jamaica, which he did in the End of the Year. In the February following, he embarked again for Campeachy, being now better provided for the Trade of Logwood-cutter than before. He continued here a good while, and acquainted himself perfectly with the Manner of cutting Logwood, and trading in it; which enabled him to form some Projects for advancing his Fortune: This, however, made it necessary for him to return first to Jamaica, and then to England, where he arrived on board a Ship commanded by one Captain Loader, in the Month of August 1678. It was this new Scene of Life in the Bay of Campeachy, that introduced him to the Acquaintance of some Buccaneers, and gave him a Notion of that sort of Life, in which we shall find him afterwards engaged, and of which, it is certain, he was afterwards very much ashamed; which I take to be the Reason, that, in his first Voyage round the World, he has concealed many Circumstances, with which, however, the World has been made acquainted by Captain Cowley, and others, who had not, perhaps, the same Reasons for keeping them secret. But to proceed with the History of our Author's Adventures.

3. In the Spring of the Year 1679, he embarked on board the *Loyal Merchant*, of London, commanded by Captain Knapman, bound for Jamaica, where he arrived in the latter End of April, the same Year, with an Intent to have provided himself in such manner, as might have ser-

him up for a complete Logwood cutter, and Trader in the Bay of *Campruby*. But he afterwards changed his Resolution, and laid out the best Part of what he was worth in the Purchase of a small Estate in *Dorsetshire*, of a Person he knew to have a good Title; and then made an Agreement with one Mr. *Hobby*, to take a Trip to the Continent before he went for *England*. Soon after their setting out, they came to an Anchor in *Nigral Bay*, at the West End of *Jamaica*: They found there the Captains *Coxon*, *Saukins*, *Sharpe*, and other Privateers, with whom all Mr. *Hobby's* Men presently agreed to go, and left nobody with him but our Author; who, believing that his Assistance could not do him much good, consented to go along with them too. At the Close of the Year 1679. they set out: Their first Expedition was against *Porto-Bello*, which being accomplished, they took a Resolution to cross the Isthmus of *Darien*, in order to pursue their Designs in the South Seas. On April 5. 1680. they landed near *Golden Island*, being between 3 and 400 strong, carrying with them such Provisions as were necessary, and Toys to gratify the free *Indians*, through whose Country they passed. In about nine Days time they arrived at *Santa Maria*, which they took without much Difficulty, but found there neither Gold nor Provisions, as they expected; so they staid there only three Days, and then embarked on board Canoes, and other small Crafts, for the South Seas. On April 23. they were in Sight of *Panama*; and, having in vain attempted *Puebla Nova*, before which Captain *Saukins*, then acting as Commander in chief, was killed, they went off to the Isles of *Quibo*. On June 6. they sailed from thence for the Coast of *Peru*; and, touching at the Islands of *Gorgonia* and *Plata*, they came to *Nio*, which they took in the Month of *October*. About *Christmas*, the same Year, they arrived in the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, which was the farthest they went towards the South: There they deposed Captain *Bartholomew Sharpe*, who had the chief Command after the Death of *Saukins*, and made Choice of one Captain *Watling* to command, under whom they attempted *Arica*; but were repulsed with the Loss of twenty-eight Men, among whom was their new Commander Captain *Watling*; when they sailed for some time without any Commander; but, arriving in the Island of *Plata*, their Crew split into two Factions; when it was resolved, before they proceeded to the Choice of a Commander, that the Majority, with their new Captain, should keep the Ship, and the Minority should content themselves with the Canoes and Small-Craft: Upon the Poll, Captain *Sharpe* was restored, and Mr. *Dampier*, who had voted against him, prepared, with his Associates, to return over Land into the North Seas.

4. On April 17. 1681. they quitted Captain *Sharpe*, and, without acknowledging any Commander, resolved to prosecute their Design of repassing the Isthmus, though they were but forty-seven Men in all. This was one of the boldest Undertakings that ever came into the Head of desperate Men, and yet they performed it without any considerable Loss. On May 1. they landed on the Continent; pass the Isthmus in twenty-three Days; and, on the 24th, embarked on board Captain *Tristram*, a French Privateer, with whom they joined a Fleet of those sort of People, consisting of nine Vessels, on board of which were near 600 Men. This was a very great Force, and they flattered themselves with the Hopes of doing great Things against the *Spaniards*: But through Variety of Accidents, tho' chiefly through the Disagreement among their Commanders, they were able to do very little, except that these People, who came over Land, made themselves Masters of a Tartan; and, putting themselves under the Command of Captain *Hright*, continued cruising along the *Spanish* Coast, quite down to the Dutch Settlement of *Caracao*, where they endeavoured to sell a good Quantity of Sugar, which they had taken on board a *Spanish* Ship; but, failing in that Design, they prosecuted their Voyage to *Tortugas*, and from thence to the *Caracca* Coast, where they took three Barks, one laden with Hides, another with *European* Commodities, and the third with Earthen-ware and Brandy. With these Prizes they proceeded to the Island of *Roca*, where they shared them, and then resolved to separate, tho' they were but sixty in all: Of these, about twenty,

among whom our Author was, took one of the Barks, and, with their Share of the Goods, proceeded directly for *Virginia*, where they arrived in the Month of July 1681. There they continued for some time, and then the best Part of them made a Voyage to *Carolina*, from whence they once more came back to *Virginia*; and, having spent the best Part of their Wealth, were now ready to enter on any Scheme that could be proposed for getting more, nor was it long before such an Opportunity offered. Captain *Cook*, of whom we have given an Account at the Beginning of the former Section, coming thither with a Prize, and declaring his Resolution to go into the South Seas, and cruise upon the *Spaniards*; Mr. *Dampier*, whole old Acquaintance he was, and who knew him to be an able Commander, readily agreed to go with him, and brought most of his Companions into a like Disposition; which was of greater Consequence to that Commander, as it furnished him with One-third of his whole Company. In this Voyage it was that Captain *Cowley* acted as Master, tho' he was not trusted with the true Design. They sailed from *Acbamack* in *Virginia*, August 23. 1683. and steered their Course for the Cape de *Verd* Islands. In their Passage they met with a violent Storm, which lasted a whole Week, of which I the rather take notice, because it is a Circumstance omitted by Captain *Cowley*, who, having, perhaps, been in greater Storms, was not so much alarmed at this. We have now seen our Author embarked for his first Voyage round the World, the Remainder of which, for Reasons already assigned, shall be given in his own manner, and without dropping any thing that has not been before related in our Account of Captain *Cowley's* Voyage, because that would only fatigue the Reader with unnecessary Reiterations.

5. The Isle of *Salt* is situated in 16° Latitude, and in 19° 33' Longitude West from the *Lizard* in *England*. It is in Length from North to South 9 Leagues, and in Breadth about two Leagues; has abundance of salt Ponds, (whence it derives its Name) but no Trees or Grass that ever I saw. Some few poor Goats feed upon Shrubs near the Sea Side. I have also seen some wild Fowl here, and especially the *Flamingos*, a reddish Fowl, of the Shape of a Hen, but much larger, living in Ponds, or muddy Places: We shot about fourteen of them, tho' they are very shy: Their Nests they build with Mud, in the shallow Places in Ponds, or standing Waters, these they raise up like Hillocks, tapering to the Top, two Feet above the Surface of the Water, where they leave a Hole to lay their Eggs in, which when they do, or are hatching them, they stand with their long Legs in the Water close to the Hillocks, and so cover the Hollowness only with their Rumps; for, if they should sit down on them, the Weight of their Bodies would break them. The young ones can't fly, nor do they come to their true Colour or Shape, till they are ten or eleven Months old, but run very fast: Their Flesh is lean and black, but not ill tasted: They have large Tongues, and, near the Root of them, a Piece of Fat, which is accounted a great Dainty. I saw, at another time, great Store of these Birds at the Isle of *Rio la Haiba*, near the Continent of *America*, opposite to *Caracao*, but never could so fully observe their Nests, or young ones, as here. We found not above five or six Men in the Island of *Salt*, the Chief brought us three or four poor Goats; in Return for which, and some Salt we bought of him, we gave him some old Cloaths.

6. We sailed from the Isle of *Salt* to *St. Nicolas*, another of the Cape *Verd* Isles, twenty-two Leagues West South-west. From thence we came to an Anchor on the South-east Side. It is of a triangular Form, the longest Sides the East being thirty Leagues in Length, and the other two twenty Leagues each: Near the Shore it is rocky and barren; but has some Valleys farther in the Country, which produce Vines and Grapes. The Chief of the Isle, with two or three Gentlemen, brought some of the Wine aboard us, which was of a pale Colour, and tasted like *Mader* Wine, but was a little thick: They told us, that the principal Village was in a Valley, fourteen Miles from the Bay, where we then were, and contained about 100 Families: they were of a dark swarthy Complexion. After having spent five or six Days here in digging of Wells for fresh Water,

Water, Islands, came to have pro but they Captain ried off fence. yet ha May, J Eggs he of the h some Pla poorly h except in to the W it the be on the E bound to the *Porto* to provie Eggs, Pl Drawers, and all fo with the There is the Harb two prett drank at Fogo and Lago. T burning which in Night-tim file, at Goats, F the Cape cent, and 7. From the South Straights of Wind blow west, we came in a borrough R Sierra La Camwood far from t by Negro Middle, v brought a Sugar-cane secuted out soon as we or four in advance b South and the Equino Isle of St. the Line, steer South South, the 3° South at 5° at E and carried Latitude, v abouts bei Ground w At Noon I Variation Sebald de Longitude riation 33 near thole thro' the S Men about as in two Cables three Island

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Water, we sailed to *Mayo*, another of the *Cape de Verd* Islands, forty Miles East by South from the last, where we came to an Anchor to the North-west Side of it. We would have provided ourselves with some Beef and Goats here, but they would not let our Men come ashore; because one Captain *Bond*, a *Brissol* Man, had, not long before, carried off some of the chief Inhabitants under the same Pre- tence. This Isle is but small, and the Coast full of Shoals; yet has a considerable Commerce in Salt and Cattle. In *May*, *June*, *July*, and *August*, a sort of *Tortois* lay their Eggs here, but they do not approach in Goodness to those of the *West Indies*: They also plant here some Potatoes, some Plantains, and Corn; the Inhabitants live exceeding poorly here, as well as in all other *Cape Verd* Islands, except in the Isle of *St. Iago*, four or five Leagues hence to the West: For tho' that Island is mountainous, yet is it the best inhabited of all, as having a very good Harbour on the East Side, much frequented by the *European* Ships bound to the *East Indies*, and the *Guiney Coast*; as also the *Portuguese* Ships bound for *Brazil*, who come hither to provide themselves with Beef, Pork, Goats, Fowls, Eggs, Plantains, and Cocoa-nuts, in Exchange for Shirts, Drawers, Handkerchiefs, Hats, Waistcoats, Breeches, and all sorts of Linen Cloth, which is in high Esteem here with the Inhabitants, who are much inclined to Theft. There is a Fort, on the Top of an Hill, which commands the Harbour: I was credibly informed, that this Isle has two pretty large Towns, and the same sort of Wine we drank at *St. Nicolas*. There are two more of those Islands, *Pago* and *Brava*, both small Islands to the West of *St. Iago*. The first is remarkable for its being one intire burning Mountain, on the Top whereof issues a Fire, which may be discerned a great Way off at Sea in the Night-time; a few of its Inhabitants live near the Sea-side, at the Foot of the Mountain, who subsist upon Goats, Fowls, Plantains, and Cocoa-nuts: The rest of the *Cape Verd* Islands are *St. Antonio*, *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, and *Bona Vista*.

7. From the *Cape Verd* Isles we steered our Course to the South with an East North-east Wind directly to the Straights of *Magellan*; but at 10° North Latitude, the Wind blowing hard at South by West, and South South-west, we directed our Course to the *Guiney Coast*, and came in a few Days to an Anchor at the Mouth of *Sherborough* River, where there is an *English* Factory South of *Sierra Leona*, which drives a considerable Trade with Camwood, yielding a red Colour, used by the Dyers. Not far from the Shore we saw a pretty large Village, inhabited by Negroes; the Houses were low, except one in the Middle, where they entertained us with Palm-wine, and brought aboard good Store of Rice, Fowls, Honey, and Sugar-canes. About the Middle of *November* we prosecuted our Voyage to the Straights of *Magellan*; but, as soon as we got out to Sea, we met with Tornadoes, three or four in a Day, which, together with Calms, made us advance but slowly, the Wind veering at Intervals to the South and by East, and South South-east, till we were past the Equinoctial Line, about a Degree to the East of the Isle of *St. Iago*. After we were come 1° to the South of the Line, the Wind turned to the East, which made us steer South-west by West; and, the farther we got to the South, the Wind increased upon us from the East. At 3° South Latitude, we had the Wind at South-east; and at 5° at East South-east, where it held a considerable time, and carried us the 18th of *January* 1684, to 36° of South Latitude, without any remarkable Accident. The Sea hereabouts being of a palish Colour, we thought to have found Ground with our Line, but found none at 100 Fathom. At Noon I computed to be 48° 50' West from the Lizard, the Variation 15° 50'. *January* 28. we made three Isles of *Schald de Weert*, in 51° 25' South Latitude, and 57° 28' Longitude, West from the Lizard of *England*, the Variation 33° 10'. I persuaded Captain *Cooke* to anchor near those Islands, being sensible of Danger in our Passage thro' the Strait of *Magellan*, considering, especially, that Men aboard the Privateers are not so strictly at Command as in other Vessels. We came to an Anchor within two Cables Length of the Shore of the furthestmost of those three Islands, where we found foul rocky Ground, and the

Island barren, and destitute of Trees, but some *Dilldo* bushes growing near the Sea-side. We saw the same Day vast Shoals of small red Lobsters, no bigger than one's Finger; but were perfectly like our Lobsters, except in their Colour.

8. As we found neither safe Anchoring, nor fresh Water, at those Isles, we made the best of our way towards the Straights of *Magellan*. *February* 1. we came in Sight of the Strait *le Maire*, which we found very narrow, with high Land on both Sides. The Wind at North North-west, we sailed with a brisk Gale till within four Miles of the Mouth, where, being becalmed, we found a very strong Tide setting out of the Straights to the North; but whether it flowed, or ebbed, we were not able to distinguish, because it ran all Ways, breaking on all Sides, and tossing our Ship at such a rate, as I never saw before or since. At Eight o'Clock at Night we sailed with a West North-west Wind to the East, in order to sail round the *States* *Isle*; at the East End of which, anchoring the 7th at Noon, we found ourselves at 45° 52' South Latitude. At this End are three small rocky Islands, white with the Dung of Birds. We steered to the South, in order to sail round to the South of *Cape Horn*, the Southernmost Point of *Terra del Fuego*; but the Winds running betwixt the North-west and West, we did not see the *Terra del Fuego*. After the first Evening, we made the Strait of *le Maire*: As I did not see the Sun, at Setting or Rising, from the Time we left the Isles of *Schald de Weert*, till we came into the South Seas, so I am not able to tell you the Variation: I made, indeed, an Observation at Noon in 59° 30' Longitude, the Wind at West by North; and at Night the Wind veered about to the South-west at 60°, the furthest South Latitude I ever was in. *February* 14. we were surpris'd by a most violent Storm in 57° Latitude to the West of *Cape Horn*, which continued till the 3d of *March*, from the South-west, and South-west and by West, and West South-west. *March* 3. it blew a fresh Gale from the South, and afterwards from the East, which brought us into the South Sea. The 9th, we found ourselves at 47° 10', and the Variation 15° 30' East. The 17th, we had a fair Gale from the South-east at 36° Latitude, the Variation 8° East. The 19th, early in the Morning, we discerned a Sail to the South of us, which we supposed to be a *Spanish* Merchantman bound from *Baldivia* to *Lima*; but proved one Captain *Eaton*, from *London*, who being bound to the South Seas as well as we, we kept Company with him quite through the Straights.

9. *March* 24. we got in Sight of the Isle of *John Fernandez*, and soon after came to an Anchor, in a Bay at the South End, in 25 Fathom Water, within two Cables Length of the Shore. We sent immediately to look after a *Muskito* Man we had been forced to leave there three Years before; and who, notwithstanding all the Search made by the *Spaniards* after him, had kept himself concealed in the Woods. When he was left there by Captain *Watling*, (after Captain *Sharpe* was turned out) he had with him a Gun, a Knife, and some Powder and Shot, which being all spent, he sawed his Gun-Barrel into small Pieces, and these he made up into Harpoons, Hooks, and such-like Instruments; all which, though it may seem strange, yet is commonly practised among the *Muskito* Indians, who make all their Instruments without either Forge or Anvil. And the other *Indians*, who have not the Use of Iron from the *Europeans*, make their Hatchets, where-with they cut their Timber and Wood, of a very hard Stone. In the Hollowing out of their Canoes, they make use of Fire besides. The Stone Hatchets of the *Indians*, near *Blewfield* River, are ten Inches long, fourteen broad, and two Inches thick in the Middle, ground away flat and sharp at both Ends; the Handle is in the Midst, being a deep Knotch, of a Finger's Length, which they bind round with a Withe of about four Feet long. Thus the *Indians* of *Patagonia* head their Arrows very artificially with grounded Flints: With these before-mentioned Instruments our *Muskito* Man used to strike Goats and Fish for his Subsistence; his Hut being half a Mile from the Sea-side, made of Goats-skins; as was his Bed, the same serving likewise for his Cloathing; those he had, when he

was left, being quite worn out. We had no sooner landed, than another *Muskito*, aboard our Ship, ran to meet his Countryman, and, after he had thrown himself on his Face upon the Ground, embraced him with all the Marks of Tenderness; which Ceremony being over, he came to salute us his old Friends. His Name was *Will*, and the other's *Robert*: For, though they have no Names among themselves, they love to have Names given them by the *English*.

10. The Isle of *John Fernandez* is about 12 Leagues in Circuit, seated 120 Leagues from the Continent, at $34^{\circ} 15'$. The whole Country is a pleasant Mixture of high Hills and Valleys, the Sides of the Hills being partly Woodlands, partly Savannas, i. e. clear Pieces of Land, naturally so without Wood; for Places cleared of Wood by Industry are not called by that Name. In the Bay of *Campachy* are very spacious Savannas; and, near the River of *Plata*, some from 30 to 100 Miles long. In *Jamaica*, *Cuba*, and *Hipaniola*, the Savannas are intermixed with Wood. The Grass in the Plains of *John Fernandez*'s Isle is not so flaggy, but much kinder, than those in the *West Indies*. They have here also good Wood for Timber, but none for Masts. Their Cabbage-trees are exceeding good, but not so large as in other Places. It is observable, that the Goats that feed towards the West End of the Isle, are much fatter and better than those of the East End, though in the last there is both better and greater Plenty of Grass and sweet Water in the Valleys, whereas the West End is a champagne Country, the Grass dry, and scarce any Wood, or fresh Water. Notwithstanding its Fertility, it is destitute of Inhabitants, who might live here in much Plenty, the Plain being able to maintain a great Number of Cattle, and the Sea affording vast Numbers of Fish, as Seals, Sea-lions, Snappers, and Rock-fish. The Seals being sufficiently known and described in other Places, we will pass them by in Silence here: I will only mention, that they are most seen in the North Parts of *America* and *Europe*, and the South Parts of *Africa*, and on the *American* Coast of the South Sea from *Terra del Fuego* to the Equinoctial Line; but are never seen in the *East Indies*, nor to the North of the Line, till at 21° North Latitude. The Sea-lions are not unlike the Seals, but much bigger, twelve or fourteen Feet long, and of the Bulk of a large Bull: They have no Hair, and are of a Dun-colour, with large Eyes, and Teeth three Inches long; one of them will yield a good Quantity of sweet Oil, fit to fry Meat with: They feed upon Fish; yet is their Flesh tolerable good Food. The Snapper-fish has a large Head, Mouth, and Gills, the Back red, and Belly Ash-coloured, like a Rock, but much larger, and its Scales of the Bigness of a Shilling: Their Flesh is very good Food; I have seen them no where but in the *West Indies*, and especially in the South Sea. The Rock-fish, called *Bacalao* by the *Spaniards*, from its Likeness to a Cod-fish, is rounder than the former, and of a dark-brown Colour, with small Scales: It likewise affords good Food, and is found in vast Plenty on the Coast of *Peru* and *Chili*. This Island has only two Bays fit for Anchorage, with a Rivulet of fresh Water in each: Both these are at the East End, and so conveniently situate, that they might be strengthened and defended by a slender Force against a powerful Army, there being no Access to them from the West over the high Mountains. Here it was that five *Englishmen*, left here by Captain *Davis*, secured themselves against a great Number of *Spaniards*.

11. After staying fourteen Days at the Island of *John Fernandez*, we set Sail again April 8. 1684. in Company with Captain *Eaton*, for the *Pacific Sea*, properly so called, being that Part of the *Mare del Zur* which extends from South to North, betwixt 30° and 40° South Latitude; and, from the *American* Shore to the West, without Limitation, as far as I know. I have failed in this Sea 250 Leagues without any dark or rainy Clouds, Tempests, Hurricanes, or any other Winds, except the Trade-winds: Notwithstanding which, the Sea runs high at the New and Full Moon, and makes Landing very unsafe. I have, however, frequently taken notice of hazy and foggy Weather in the Morning, so as to hinder the Observation of the Sun. We continued our Course towards the Line to the 24° South Latitude, in Sight of the

Continent of *America*. This vast Tract of Land belonging to *Chili* and *Peru* being very mountainous, we failed no nearer than twelve or sixteen Leagues to it, for fear of being discovered by the *Spaniards*; and the Land, from 24° to 10° South Latitude, still exceeds the former in Height, being inclosed by three or four Ridges of Mountains within one another, the furthestmost within the Country surpassing the rest in Height; they exceed, in my Opinion, in Height, the Peak of *Teneriff*, and of *St. Martha*, or any other in the World, that ever I saw. Sir *John Narborough*, in his Voyage to *Baldivia*, mentions very high Lands near that City (lying upon the Coast); and I have been informed, from divers *Spaniards*, that from *Coquimbo*, at 30° South Latitude, to *Baldivia*, at 40° South, the Shore is also very high; which makes me conclude, that these Ridges extend all along the South Sea Coast from one End of *Peru* and *Chili* to the other, called the *Andes*, or *Sierra Nevada de los Andes*. This I believe to be the Reason why but few, and these very small Rivers, exonerate themselves into the Sea, scarce any of them being navigable, and some drying up at certain Seasons of the Year. Thus the River of *Uli* runs with a brisk Current from *January* to *June*, and then decreases till *September*, when it quite dries up till *January* again, as I can say on my own Experience, and as I have heard the *Spaniards* affirm the same of other Rivers on this Coast. So I look upon them rather as Torrents, occasioned by Rain at certain Seasons, than Rivulets.

12. We continued our Course at some Distance along the Coast till May the 3d, at $9^{\circ} 40'$ South Latitude, when we desecrying a Vessel, Captain *Eaton* took her, being laden with Timber. Afterwards we steered our Course to the Isle of *Lobos*, at $6^{\circ} 24'$ South Latitude, five Leagues from the Continent. This Isle is called *Lobos de la Mare*, to distinguish it from another nearer the Continent, and, therefore, called *Lobos de la Terra*; *Lobos* signifying as much as a Seal in *Spanish*, of which there is great Plenty hereabouts. May 10. we anchored near *Lobos de la Mare* with our Prize. This is properly a double Island, each of a Mile in Circuit, separated by a small Channel, only not capable of receiving any Ships of Burden: A little Way from the Shore, on the North Side, several Rocks lie scattered in the Sea: At the West End of the Easternmost Isle, is a small sandy Creek, where Ships may be secure from the Winds; all the rest of the Shore being rocky Cliffs. The Land is also rocky and sandy, without any fresh Water, Trees or Shrubs, or any Land Animal, except Fowls, as Boobies, but, above all, Penguins, a sort of Sea-fowl of the Bigness of a Duck, and having just such Feet, but the Bill is pointed; their Wings are no more than Stumps, which serve them instead of Fins in the Water; and they are covered rather with Down, than with Feathers: As they feed on Fish, so their Flesh is but of an indifferent Taste, but the Eggs are very good. The Penguins are to be seen all over the South Sea, on the Coast of *Newfoundland*, and on the Cape of *Good Hope*. I observed here also, and at the Island of *John Fernandez*, a sort of Blackbird, that all Night rests in Holes made in the Sand. The Road is betwixt the before-mentioned Rocks and the Easternmost Isle, from ten to fourteen Fathom, which, lying East and West, shelters it from the Winds, which, for the most part, blow here from the South and South-east.

13. Upon Examination of the Prisoners, being convinced that we were discovered by the *Spaniards*, and, consequently they would keep all their richest Ships in Port, it was considered, whether we should attack some Place thereabouts; and *Truxilo*, though a populous City, and of a difficult Access in Landing, at the Port of *Guano-bagno*, six Miles thence, being thought the most likely Place, we prepared for the said Expedition; and, May 17. found our whole Number to consist of 108 sound Men; but, the next Day, some of our Men desecrying three Vessels to the West, without the Isles, and one betwixt the Isle and the Continent, we gave them Chace; we in Captain *Cook*'s Ship that towards the Continent, and Captain *Eaton* the other two. They were soon taken, and proved to be laden with Flour from *Guano-bagno* to *Panama*: In one of them we found a Letter from the Viceroy of *Lima*.

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to the President of *Panama*, intimating, that, having notice of some Enemies lately come into those Seas, he had immediately sent away these three Ships to supply their Wants; at the same time, being informed by the Prisoners, that those of *Truxillo* were erecting a Fort near their Harbour of *Guanabagua*, we resolv'd to give over our Design of attacking that Place, and steer'd with our three Prizes to the Isles of *Gallapagos*, so called by the *Spaniards* from their supposed disappearing. May 31. we got Sight of the Islands of *Gallapagos*, and at Night came to an Anchor at the East Side of one of the Eastermost Isles, a Mile from the Shore, in sixteen Fathom Water, clear, white, hard Sand.

14. The Isles of *Gallapagos* are a good Number of large Islands, situate under and on both Sides the Line, destitute of Inhabitants; the Eastermost of them being 110 Leagues from the Continent. According to their Position in the Maps, they are in the Longitude of 18°, extending to the West as far as 176°; according to which, the Longitude from *England* West, is 68°; though, I doubt, the hydrographical Charts have not placed them far enough to the West. The *Spaniards*, who were the first Discoverers of them, describe them to be a great Number of Isles extending North-west from the Equator to 5° North. We saw no more than fourteen or fifteen, some of which were seven or eight Leagues in Length, and three or four in Breadth, pretty high and flat; four or five of the Eastermost we found rocky and barren, without either Trees, Herbs, or Grass, except what was very near the Sea-side. These Islands produce also the Dildo-tree, a sort of a Shrub of the Bigness of a Man's Leg, and ten or twelve Feet high, but without either Fruit or Leaves; instead whereof, it has sharp Prickles from Top to Bottom. These Islands afford also some Water in Ponds, and Cavities of the Rocks. Some of the Isles are low, and more fertile, and produce Trees known in *Europe*. Some of the Westermost Isles are bigger than the rest, being nine or ten Leagues long, and six or seven broad, and afford many Sorts of Trees, especially Mammee-trees; they have also some pretty large fresh-water Rivers, and many Rivulets. As the Sea-breezes by Day, and the Night Winds, without Intermision, refresh the Air of the Isles *Gallapagos*, so they are not so much troubled with excessive Heats, nor so unwholesome, as most other Places near the Equator: During the rainy Seasons, in *November*, *December*, and *January*, they are pestered with most violent Tempests, Thunder, and Lightning: Before and after these Months, they have refreshing Showers; and their Summer Season in *May*, *June*, *July*, and *August*, without any Rains. We anchored near several of those Islands, and found frequently the Sea Tortoises sunning themselves at Noon-day (a thing not usual in most other Places). Of these we killed as many as we wanted. Captain *Davis*, at another time, came to an Anchor on the West Side of these Isles, where he and his Men fed upon Land Tortoises for three Months, and saved sixty Jars of Oil from them. He met also on that Side with divers good Channels, and Anchorage betwixt the Isles, several fresh-water Rivulets, and Store of good Trees and Fuel. Captain *Harris* (of whom hereafter) found also in some of these Islands abundance of Mammee-trees, and divers large Rivers. The Sea, adjoining to these Islands, is well stored with good and large Fish, especially with Sharks. I took the Height of the Sun with an Astrolabe. At the North-end of the second Isle we anchored at 28° North from the Line.

15. There is no Place in the World so much stored with Guanoes and Land Tortoises as these Isles. The first are fat, and of an extraordinary Size, and exceeding tame; and the Land Tortoises so numerous, that some hundred Men may subsist on them for a considerable time; being very fat, and as pleasant Food as a Pullet; and of such Bigness, that one of them weighs 150 or 200 Pounds; and are from two Feet to two Feet six Inches over the Belly; whereas, in any other Places, I never met with any above thirty Pounds Weight; though I have heard them say, that at *St. Lawrence*, or *Madagascar*, there are also very large ones. There are three or four Sorts of Land Tortoises in the *West Indies*: One is called by the *Spaniards* *Hackatee*, which keep most in fresh-water Ponds; they

have small Legs, and long Necks, and flat Feet, and commonly weigh betwixt ten and fifteen Pounds. The second Sort they call *Tenopen*, much less than the former, and something rounder; but, for the rest, not unlike them, except that the Shell on their Backs is naturally coloured with a curious carved Work. Both Sorts afford very good Meat, and these last delight in marshy and low Places, and are in vast Numbers on the Isle of *Pines*, near *Cuba*, among the Woods. The Tortoises in the *Gallapagos* Islands are in Shape like the first, with long Necks, and small Heads; only they are much bigger. These Islands have also some green Snakes, and great Store of tame Turtle-doves, something less than our Pigeons, but very sweet and fat. Betwixt some of those Islands are large Channels, capable of receiving Ships of a moderate Burden. Upon the Shoals there grows great Plenty of Turtle-grass, which makes those Channels abound in that Sort of Sea Tortoise which is called the Green Turtle, or Tortoise: For, you must know, that there are four or five different Sorts of Sea Tortoises, viz. the Trunk Tortoise, the Loggerhead, the Hawksbill, and Green Tortoise: The first is bigger, and has a rounder and an higher Beak than the rest; but its Flesh is neither wholesome, nor well-tasted, any more than that of the Loggerhead, which feed on the Moss of Rocks: It borrows its Name from its large Head. The Hawksbill (so called from its long small Mouth) is the least, and that bears the so much esteemed Shell, of which they make Cabinets, Boxes, Combs, &c. in *Europe*: Of this Shell, each has from three to four Pounds, though some have less; the Flesh is but indifferent, yet somewhat better than that of the Loggerheads; though those taken betwixt the *Sambellos* and *Porto-Bello*, make those that eat the Flesh vomit and purge vehemently. The same is observable of some other Fish in the *West Indies*, of which more anon. It is further remarkable, that the Flesh of the Hawksbill Tortoise differs according to their Food; for those that feed upon Moss, among the Rocks, have a much yellower Fat and Flesh, and not so well tasted as those that feed upon Grass; besides that their Shells are not so transparent. These Hawksbill Tortoises are in divers Parts of the *West Indies*, and have their peculiar Isles, where they lay their Eggs, and seldom intermix with any other Kind of Tortoises. However, these, as well as other Sorts of Tortoises, lay their Eggs in the Sand, and after the same manner: Their Laying-time is about *May*, *June*, and *July*, a little sooner or later; and they lay three times every Season, eighty or ninety Eggs each time, which are round, and are of the Bigness of an Hen's Egg, but covered only with a white thin Skin. In some of the Bays on the North Side of *Jamaica*, the Hawksbills lay their Eggs, as likewise on the Bay of *Honduras*, and in divers Places on the Continent of the Coast of *America*, from *Trinidad* to *Vera Cruz*, up the Bay of *New Spain*. After a Sea Tortoise gets ashore to lay, she is an Hour before she returns, because she always chuses her Place above High-water Mark, where she makes a large Hole with her Fins in the Sand, to lay her Eggs in; which done, she covers them up two Feet deep with the same Sand she had raked out before: Sometimes they will take a View of the Place beforehand, and be sure to return to the same the next Day to lay. They take the Tortoises in the Night, upon the Shore, when they turn them upon their Backs, above the High-water Mark, and so fetch them the next Morning; but a large Green Tortoise will find Work enough to two able Fellows to turn her upon her Back. The Hawksbills are also found in the *East Indies*, and on the *Ginney* Coast; but I never met with any of them in the South Seas. The Green Tortoise derives its Name from the greenish Colour of its Shell, which is better coloured than the Hawksbill, but has a round and small Head; and the Body is of such a Bulk, as to weigh from 200 to 300 Pounds; its Flesh is accounted the best of all the rest, though there is a considerable Difference, as well in their Bulk, as in the Flesh. At *Blanco*, in the *West Indies*, are larger than any in the North Sea, weighing generally 250 or 300 Pounds; their Fat is yellow, the Lean white, and both very good. But those of *Boca Toro*, to the West of *Porto-Bello*, are neither so large, nor have so white and well-tasted Flesh: And those found in the Bay of *Honduras*

duras and *Comptachy* are less than these, and their Fat of a greenish Colour. I was told, that, at *Port-Royal*, in *Campeachy* Bay, they once caught one of these Green Tortoises, which was four Feet thick, from the Back to the Belly, which was six Feet broad: A Boy of ten Years old, the Son of Captain *Rock*, went in it, instead of a Boat, aboard his Father's Ship, then at Anchor a Quarter of a Mile from the Shore. The Fat of this Creature yielded eight Gallons of Oil. The Tortoises found among the little Isles on the South Side of *Cuba*, are some bigger, some less, and their Flesh sometimes green, sometimes yellow: These are carried to *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, where they are kept in Wires made with Stakes. The Green Tortoises feed upon Grass, a Quarter of an Inch broad, and six Inches long, growing in three, four, five, or even six Fathom Water; it is quite different from the *Manatees* Grass, which has a slender Blade. The Tortoises of the Isle of *Gallapagos* are a bastard Kind of Green Tortoises, their Shell being thicker than the others, but their Flesh not so good; besides, they are much larger, and frequently two or three Feet thick, and their Bellies five Feet broad. In the South Sea are another Kind of Green Tortoise, no bigger than the smallest Hawksbill; as they feed on Moss, so their Flesh is rank, though very fat: Both these Kinds differ from all the rest; for whereas, in other Places, the Female only goes ashore, and that in the Night-time; among those, both the Male and Female go together by Day, and return together; both are very fat at first, but, when they are ready to return, they are lean, though the Female not so lean as the Male. It is the common Opinion here, that they are nine Days ingendering, the He on the She's Back, in the Water. This is certain, that, at that time, the He will not forsake the She, who is much more fearful, and often endeavours to get away; but that the Male keeps her with his Fins, so that, if you strike the She first at their Coupling-time, you are sure of the He. They are supposed to live many Years, because they are a long time coming to their full Growth. In the South Seas, on the West End of the Coast of *Mexico*, is another Kind of Green Tortoises, much smaller than all the rest, but their Flesh very well tasted. There is one thing extremely surprising in all these Creatures; that for three Months, while they are laying their Eggs, they forsake their ordinary Places of Resort, and seek others, where they lay their Eggs; and it is generally supposed, that they do not either eat or drink all that Season. The most noted Places where they breed are, the Isle of *Caimanes*, in the *West Indies*, and the Isle of *Ascension*, in the Western Ocean; and no sooner is their Coupling-time past, but they are all gone; though it is certain, that they must swim a great Way to come to either of these Places, since it has been taken notice of, that all the before-mentioned Tortoises have been found at *Caimanes* in Breeding-time: The nearest Place from whence these Creatures can swim thither, is the Isle of *Cuba*, forty Leagues thence. Those that breed at the Isle of *Ascension*, coming from the Continent, must go at least three hundred Leagues, it being certain, that their constant Places of Abode are always near the Shore. Thus, in the South Sea, they go from the *Gallapagos* to lay their Eggs on the Continent, which is above an hundred Leagues thence. It is further observable, that not all the Tortoises leave their ordinary Places at Breeding-time, but many remain there; and, those that go, are followed by great Numbers of Fishes, especially Sharks, so that those Coasts are left destitute of Fish, till they return.

16. After a Stay of twelve Days among these Isles, one of our *Indian* Prisoners, a Native of *Rio Leja*, having given us an ample Account of the Riches of that Place, and offered his Service to conduct us thither, it was resolved to take his Advice; and accordingly we set Sail the 12th of *June*, with an Intention to touch in our Way at the Isle of *Coccos*: We took our Course North $4^{\circ} 40'$ Latitude, with a South and West and South South-west Wind; and, as we came West to the Isle of *Coccos*, the Wind South-west and by South, thus we continued our Course to $5^{\circ} 40'$ N. Lat. when, despairing to make the Isle of *Coccos*, as the Wind stood, we directed our Course to the Continent. The Isle of *Coccos* lies in $5^{\circ} 15'$ N. Lat. its Circuit seven or eight Leagues, but has no Inhabitants. Near the Sea-

side it produces a certain pleasant Herb in the low Grounds, called *Geamadae* by the *Spaniards*. As it is environed with steep Rocks, so there is no coming near it, except that on the North-east End Ships may ride safely in a small Creek: This is what I learn from the *Spaniards*, and was confirmed to me by Captain *Eaton*. The fair Weather, and small Winds, conducted us by the Beginning of *July* to *Cape Blanco*, on the Continent of *Mexico*, so called from two white Rocks, half a Mile from the Cape, in $9^{\circ} 56'$ Latitude; they are taper, high, and steep, like two high Towers; the Cape itself is about the same Height as *Beachy-head*, on the Coast of *Sussex*, in *England*, being a full Point jutting out with steep Rocks to the Sea, but having an easy Descent on both Sides from the Flat on the Top, which, being covered with tall Trees, affords a pleasant Prospect. On the North-west Side of the Cape, the Land runs in North-east for four Leagues, making a small Bay, called the *Caldera Bay*; at the Entrance whereof, at the North-west Side of the Cape, a sweet-water Rivulet discharges itself into the Sea amongst the low Lands, which are very rich, and abounding in lofty Trees, which extend a Mile North-east beyond the Rivulet, where the Savannas begin, and run several Leagues into the Country, being here-and-there beautified with small Groves of Trees, and covered with a sweet, thick, and long Grass, some of the best I ever saw in the *West Indies*. Deeper into the Bay, the low Lands are stored with Mangroves; but, farther into the Country, the Land is higher, partly Woods, partly hilly Savannas; the Grass whereof is not so good as the former, neither are the Trees in the Woods so tall, but small and short. From the Bottom of this Bay, you may travel over hilly Savannas for fourteen or fifteen Leagues to the Lake of *Nicaragua*. On the Coast of the North Sea, Captain *Cook*, who had been very ill ever since our Departure from the Isle of *Juan Fernandez*, died, as soon as we came within two or three Leagues of this Cape (a thing frequent at Sea, for People to die in View of the Land, after a long Illness); and as, in a few Hours after, we came to Anchor a League within the Cape, near the Mouth of the before-mentioned Rivulet, at fourteen Fathom clear hard Sand, he was immediately carried on shore, under a Guard of twelve armed Men, in order to his Interment: While our Men were busy in digging the Grave, three *Spanish Indians* came to them, asking them several impertinent Questions; which our People having answered as they thought convenient, they kept them in Discourse till they found means to seize them all three, though one of them escaped their Hands again. The other two, being carried aboard, confessed, that they were sent thither as Spies, to inform themselves concerning us, from *Nicoya*, a small *Mulatto* Town twelve or fourteen Leagues hence, seated upon the Banks of a River bearing the same Name, which being a Place very convenient for building and refitting of Ships, the President of *Panama* had sent Advice of our coming into these Seas to their Magistrates. Concerning the Inhabitants of the Country, they told us, that they lived mostly by manuring of their Grounds for Corn, and feeding their Cattle in the Savannas or Plains, of which they had great Store; and that they sent their Ox-hides to the North Sea, by the Lake of *Nicaragua*; as they did also a certain red Wood, (which I suppose to be the same, called at *Jamaica* Blood Wood, or *Nicaragua* Wood) used for dyeing, which they exchanged there for Linen and Woolen Commodities brought thither from *Europe*. They added, that not far from thence was a large Beet-pen, where we might provide ourselves with what Cows or Bulls we had occasion for. As this was a scarce Commodity amongst us at that time, twenty-four of us were immediately dispatched in two Boats, who, under the Conduct of one of the *Indians*, landed at a Place a League from the Ship, and haled their Boats upon the dry Sand: Thus, led by their Guide, they came to the Pen, in a large Savanna, two Miles from the Boats, where, finding abundance of Bulls and Cows feeding, some were for killing three or four of them immediately; but the rest opposed the same, alleging, they had better stay all Night, and in the Morning kill as many as they had occasion for. Hereupon I, and eleven more, thought fit to return aboard, which we did without the least Opposition, expecting the coming of the rest the

next Day in the Afternoon. After them, they landed a small Boat the Middle of the escape them with Guns were got up Bowing W Canoes cor safe aboard ready fitted none, nor any Fifth the called Land and very ha make Har our Guns, of Ash.

17. The from the B master, w Cook, dec with Capa Rio Leja, us, in thro try about a an high, p the Old Pu being very besides, the Coast; and Night. I mult bear mountain. trans ult are re closed by a Mile broad End is a C ing a very the West Ships, whi Shore on t they are pa there being from the C ing near t clear hard About two in a fenny two narrow reaches up the Backli Town, th my Return Voyage: Leagues f we took in and then, Town, th Clock in u and, soon side of the row to the overtook t same time riding awa confessed, of Rio Le those Par Horseman Account o Town. I man being came to t aside for t

next Day; but, hearing nothing of them by Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, ten Men were sent in a Canoe to look after them. They were no sooner come into the Bay where they landed before, but they found their Comrades upon a small Rock, half a Mile from the Shore, standing up to the Middle in Water, whither they had fled for Refuge to escape the Hands of forty or fifty well armed Spaniards, with Guns and Lances, who had burnt their Boat: They were got upon the Rock at low Water; but it being then flowing Water, they must have infallibly perished, had our Canoes come but one Hour later, which now brought them safe aboard. We afterwards seized upon two Canoes, ready fitted, in this Bay; for Ships and Barks they have none, nor any Instrument for fishing, there being scarce any Fish thereabouts. This Country abounding in Wood, called Lance-wood, growing strait, like so many Ashes, and very hard and tough, we cut a good Quantity of it to make Handles or Staves for Oars, and Scouring-rods for our Guns, as being much more durable than those made of Ash.

17. The 19th of July, the Day before our Departure from the Bay of Caldera, Mr. Edward Davis, our Quartermaster, was constituted Captain, in the room of Captain Cooke, deceased: The next Day we sailed, in Company with Captain Eaton, and one of our Meal Prizes, towards Rio Leja, with a moderate North Wind, which brought us, in three Days, over-against the said Port. The Country about Rio Leja is easily discovered at Sea, by reason of an high, peaked, burning Mountain, called *Volcano Vejo*, the *Old Vulcano*, by the Spaniards. It is easily distinguished, being very high, so as to be seen twenty Leagues at Sea; besides, that there is no other Mountain, like this, on that Coast; and it smokes all Day, and also sends forth Flames at Night. If you will make the Harbour, the Mountain must bear North-east; then, steering directly with the Mountain, that Course will bring you to the Harbour, the Entrance whereof you see about three Leagues off it. You must take the Advantage of the Sea-winds to enter, which are here at South South-west. The Harbour is inclosed by a low Isle, of a Mile in Length, a quarter of a Mile broad, and one and an half from the Continent. At each End is a Channel; that on the East, being narrow, and having a very strong Tide, is scarce ever used; but that on the West End, being much larger, is most frequented by Ships, which must, however, have a care of a certain sandy Shore on the North-west Point of the Isle, which as soon as they are past, they must keep close to the Shore of the Isle, there being a Sand-bank, which runs above half-way out from the Continent; after which, there is very good Riding near the main Shore in seven or eight Fathom Water, clear hard Sand. This Point is able to contain 200 Ships. About two Leagues thence is seated the Town of Rio Leja, in a fenny Country, full of red Mangrove-trees, betwixt two narrow Branches of the Sea, the Westermost whereof reaches up to the Town, and the Eastermost runs up near the Backside of it; but no Shipping can come up to the Town, the Description whereof I will give the Reader in my Return hither. We now resume the Thread of our Voyage: Being in Sight of the *Volcano Vejo*, seven or eight Leagues from the Shore, the Mouth bearing North-east, we took in our Top-sails, and made towards the Harbour; and then, setting out our Canoes, rowed up to the small Town, that makes the Harbour of Rio Leja, by Nine a Clock in the Morning; where we discovered an House, and, soon after, three Men going into a Canoe on the Inside of the Island, and making what Haste they could to row to the Continent; which before they could reach, we overtook them, and carried them to the little Isle. At the same time we observed one on Horseback on the Continent, riding away full Speed towards the Town. They frankly confessed, that they had been placed there by the Governor of Rio Leja, who had been adviced of our coming into those Parts, to keep Watch Day and Night; and that Horseman we saw riding away, was placed upon the same Account on the Continent, within an Hour's Riding of the Town. Thus, finding ourselves discovered, the Horseman being gone three Hours before Eaton and his Canoes came to the Island, the Design upon that Town was laid aside for this Time. This small Island has a curious Spring

of fresh Water, some Trees, and good Store of Grass; but no Beasts to feed upon it; and is situate at 12° 10' North Latitude. We staid till Four o'Clock in the Afternoon; then we went aboard again, and, pursuant to a Consultation held betwixt Captain Eaton and Captain Davis July 26, took our Course the next Day for the Gulph of Amapalla.

18. This Gulph is a large Branch of the Sea, entering eight or ten Leagues deep into the Country. On the South Side of its Entrance, it has a Point, or Cape *Cafuina*; and, on the North-west Side, *St. Michael's* Mountain, at 12° 40' North Latitude. They both appear very remarkable at Sea; for the Cape is an high round Point, appearing at a Distance like an Icicle, the Land near it being very low; and Mount *Michael* is an high peaked Hill, not very steep, at the Foot whereof, on the South-east, is a low Plain, of a Mile in Length. Here it is that the Gulph enters on that Side; and, betwixt those low Grounds and Point *Cafuina*, are two high Isles, at twelve Miles Distance from each other, the Southermost being called *Mangera*, the other *Amapalla*. *Mangera* is an high round Island, two Leagues in Circuit, inclosed on all Sides with Rocks, except on the North-east Side, where is a small sandy Creek. The Soil is black, but not deep, full of Stones, and produces very lofty Trees. It has one Town in the Middle, inhabited by Indians, with an handsome Spanish Church. The Inhabitants have a few Plantations of Maiz and Plantains; and no other Sort of tame Fowl, but some Cocks and Hens; nor any other Beasts, but Cats and Dogs. From the Town to the Creek is a steep and rocky Path. The Isle of *Amapalla* has the same Soil as the other Island; but is much larger, having two Towns two Miles asunder, one to the North, the other to the East. The last stands on a little Plain on the Top of an Hill, a Mile from the Sea, and has a fair Church. The other Town is less; yet has an handsome Church. I have observed one Thing in most of the Indian Towns under the Spanish Jurisdiction, that the Images of their Saints in their Churches are represented with an Indian Complexion, and partly in their Dreis; whereas, in the Towns inhabited by Spaniards, they retain their own Complexion and Dreis. But to return to the Inhabitants: They have good Store of Maiz, and large Hog-plums; but few Plantains. The Hog-plum-tree is of the same Bigness with our largest Plum-trees, with Leaves of the same Breadth; but shaped like an Hawthorn-leaf, and, in Colour, of a light-green. The Wood is brittle, and the Fruit oval, of the Bigness of a small Horse-plum. At first it is green; but, when ripe, half-red and half-yellow, with a large Stone, and little Pulp about it. It has a pleasant Taste; but it is rare to meet with any of them ripe without Maggots in them. This is the only Place I ever saw them at in the South Seas. In *Campeachy* Bay they grow in great Plenty; and, in *Jamaica*, they fence their Grounds with them. They have also some Fowls; and no Spaniard lives there, except the Father or Priest, who takes care of these two Villages, and the Town in the Isle of *Mangera*. As they have little or no Money, they pay their Tribute in Maiz to the Governor of *St. Michael's* Town, seated at the Foot of *St. Michael's* Mount; and the ghostly Father has the Tenth of all. Besides this Priest, we found but one here, (the Secretary of the Town) who could speak and write Spanish; for their Cafica or Magistrate could do neither. This Bay or Gulph has many other Islands, but uninhabited. One pretty large we saw belonging to a Monastery, where four or five Indians looked after the Cattle, that fed there in great Numbers. This Gulph has two Channels, one betwixt Cape *Cafuina* and *Mangera*, the other between this last Place and *Amapalla*. The best Anchorage is on the East Side of *Amapalla*, opposite to the low Grounds, the rest being high Lands. As you go in deeper, you may ride on the North-east Side of *Amapalla*, close to the Main. This the Spaniards call the Port of *Martin Lopez*. The Gulph extends a great Way beyond the Isle; but it is not deep enough to bear Ships of Burden.

19. Captain Davis being sent before, with two Canoes, into this Gulph, to get some Prisoners, he came to *Mangera*, where, finding a Path from the Creek, he followed it towards the Town; but the Inhabitants no sooner had notice of his coming, than they ran all into the Woods, leaving only the Priest behind them; who being taken, with two Boys

Boys his Attendants; Captain Davis made them conduct him to the Isle of *Amapalla*, where being landed, he marched up to the before-mentioned Place, a Mile from the Landing-place, on the Top of the Hill. The Inhabitants, who saw them advance, were ready to retire into the Woods; but the Secretary, an Enemy to the *Spaniards*, having persuaded them, that they were Friends, who craved their Assistance against their common Oppressors, they bid Davis and his Men welcome. After the first Salutation, they marched towards the Church, (the Priest, brought along by Captain Davis, at the Head of them) their only Place of public Meeting, whether for Consultations or Diversions, where they kept their Vizards, Hautboys, Strumtrums, (a kind of Cittern) and other musical Instruments. Here they meet to make merry, especially in the Night preceding or next ensuing any Holiday, where they dance, sing and play, with antic Dresses and Gestures; tho', to speak Truth, their Music and Mirth have something very melancholy in them, suitable to the Yoke they groan under, I mean that of the *Spaniards*. But to return to Captain Davis: His Intention was, as soon as they were all got into the Church, to engage all their Assistance against the *Spaniards*, to accomplish which the Priest had promised his good Offices; but, just as a few of the remaining *Indians* were entering the Church, one of Captain Davis's Men pushed a Man forwards, to hasten him into the Church, which the *Indian* being frightened at, set up his Heels, and the rest, taking the Alarm, followed; so that Captain Davis and the Frier being left alone in the Church, he ordered his Men to fire at them; which being done, the Secretary was killed in the Fray: And so the whole Project vanished into Smoke, by the Foolishness of one inconsiderate Fellow. The same Afternoon, our Ship being entered the Gulph between Cape *Cajovina* and the Isle of *Mangara*, came to an Anchor on the East Side, near the Isle of *Amapalla*. Captain Davis came aboard us with the Frier, who told us, that, since the Secretary was killed, they had no other way than to send for the *Casca*; which being done by the Priest, he came, attended by six other *Indians*, who did us considerable Service, in conducting us whither we had Occasion to go, especially to fetch Beet; for which they were rewarded to their Satisfaction. On this Island of *Amapalla* a Company of *English* and *French* landed afterwards, and thence came to the Continent, and marched by Land to the Cape River, which has got its Name from its discharging itself into the North Seas near Cape *Gratia*. At the Source of this River they made Bark-logs, wherewith they passed into the North Seas. However, they were not the first Inventors of this Passage, something of it having been discovered by some *English* thirty Years before, who went up this Cape River into the North Seas in Canoes, to the same Place where the *French* built their Bark-logs, and thence to an inland Town called *Segovia*. They performed this not without incredible Difficulty, and in no less than a Month's time, by reason of the many Cataracts of this River, which obliged them frequently to hale their Canoes ashore, and drag them over Land, till they were past these Water-falls. I have spoken with several, that were in this Expedition, and, if I mistake not, Captain *Sbarpe* was one of them. But to return to our Voyage: After we had careened, and provided our Ships with fresh Water, Captain Davis and Captain *Baton* broke off Confortship; and the latter left the Gulph September 2.

20. September 3. 1684. having seen the Frier on shore, we sailed, with the Land-wind at West North-west, out of the Gulph of *Amapalla* through the Chanel betwixt *Mangara* and the Isle of *Amapalla*, directing our Course to the Coast of *Peru*: As the Tornadoes, with Thunder, Lightning, and Rains, are very frequent on these Coasts from June to November, we had our Share of them, coming most from the South-east; but afterwards, the Wind veering to the West, it held till we came within Sight of Cape *St. Francis*, where we met with fair Weather, and a South Wind. This Cape, being an high full Point of Land, lies at 1° 20' North Latitude, and is covered with lofty Trees. As you pass by it from the North Side, you may easily mistake a small low Point for the Cape; but, soon after you pass it, you will discover it with triple Points. The Land near it is high, and the Mountains appear black. We plied

along the Shore, to the Advantage both of the Sea and Land-winds, the first blowing from the South, as the Land-winds do from South South-east, tho' sometimes, when we were opposite to a River's Mouth, the Wind would turn to South-east. September 20. we came to an Anchor near the Isle of *Plata*, at sixteen Fathom, being now fallen in with the Places whence I began the Account of this Voyage, after having compassed the whole Continent of *South America*. The Isle of *Plata*, situated at 1° 10' South Latitude, is about four Miles in Length, and one and an half in Breadth, of a pretty good Height, and inclosed with rocky Cliffs, except in one Place on the East Side, which is the only Place where a fresh-water Torrent falls down from the Rocks. The Top is flat and plain, the Soil sandy; yet it produces three or four Sorts of low and small Trees, not known in *Europe*. These Trees were much overgrown with Moss; and pretty good Grass is to be found here in the Beginning of the Year; but here are no Land Animals to feed upon it, that vast Number of Goats, which used to be here formerly, being all destroyed. However, they have a great many Boobies and Men-of-war Birds. Some say the *Spaniards* have given it the Name of *Plata Island*, ever since Sir *Francis Drake* carried thither the *Catafaga*, a rich Ship of theirs, laden with Plate. The Place for Anchorage is on the East Side, about the Middle of the Isle, close to the Shore, within two Cables Length of the sandy Bay, in eighteen or twenty Fathom of fast oily Ground, and very smooth Water; because the South-east Point of the Isle keeps off the Force of the South Winds, which commonly blow here. In this sandy Bay, opposite to the Anchoring-place, is good Landing, this being the only Place, that leads you up into the Isle. From the South-east Point runs out a small Shoale about a Quarter of a Mile into the Sea, where, when it flows, you see great Rising in the Water. The Tide is strong, flowing to the South, and ebbing to the North. At the same Point are three small, but high Rocks, about a Cable's Length from the Isle; and as many, but much larger, at the North-east End. All round the Island there is deep Water, except in the before-mentioned Road; and, near the Shoale, there are great Plenty of these small Sea Turtles mentioned before: And the Island bears four or five Leagues West South-west from Cape *St. Laurens*.

21. After a Day's Stay here, we continued our Voyage to Point *St. Helena*, bearing South from the Isle of *Plata*, at 2° 15' South Latitude. It appears high and flat like an Isle, being surrounded with low Grounds, and covered on the Top with Thistles; but without Trees. As it jets out into the Sea, it makes a good large Bay to the North Side, a Mile within which, on the very Sea-side, stands a wretched Village, called also *St. Helena*, inhabited by *Indians*; but the Ground, tho' low, being sandy and barren, they have neither Trees nor Grass, or any Corn or Fruit, except Water-melons, which are very good here. They are forced to fetch their Water as far as the River *Calanche*, four Leagues thence, at the Bottom of the same Bay. They live chiefly upon Fish, and are supplied with Maiz for *Agatrans*. Near this Town, about five Paces above the High-water Mark, there issues out of the Earth a certain bituminous Subst. ce, called *Agatrans* by the *Spaniards*, which, by long Boiling, becomes hard like Pitch, and is used as such by the *Spaniards*. To the Leeward of the Point, directly opposite to the Village, is good Anchorage; but, on the West Side, very deep Water. Some of our Men, being sent in the Night-time to take the Village, landed in their Canoes in the Morning, and took some Prisoners, and a small Bark set on Fire by the Inhabitants, alleging, that they had done it by special Order from the Viceroy. Our Men coming back the same Evening, we returned again into the Isle of *Plata*, where we anchored September 26. which very Evening, we sent some of our Men to *Manta*, an *Indian* Village, two or three Leagues West of Cape *St. Laurens*, to get more Prisoners, in hopes of better Intelligence. *Manta* is a small Village, inhabited by *Indians*, on the Continent, seven or eight Leagues from the Isle of *Plata*. Its Buildings are mean, and scattered; but, being raised on an easy Ascent, affords a very agreeable Prospect towards the Sea-side. This Church here is very fine, and adorned with carved Work.

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because this Place was formerly inhabited by *Spaniards*. As the Grounds about it are dry and sandy, they bear neither Corn nor Roots, but only a few Shrubs. They are supplied with Provisions by Sea, this being the first Place, where the Ships bound from *Panama* to *Lima*, and other Parts of *Peru*, refresh themselves. They have an excellent Spring of fresh Water between the Village and the Sea. Just opposite to the Village, one Mile and an half from the Shore, is a Rock, which proves often dangerous, because it never appears above Water; but, a Mile within this Rock, is safe Anchorage at six, eight, or ten Fathom, hard and clear Sand. About a Mile West from the Anchoring-place, a Shore runs out a Mile into the Sea. Behind the Town, directly South of it, a good Way into the Country, stands a very high Mountain, rising up into the Clouds like a Sugar-loaf; and therefore serves for a good Sea-mark, there being none other like it on all that Coast. We returned to our Men, who landed, about Day-break, one Mile and an half from the Village; but the Inhabitants, being already stirring, took the Alarm, and so got all away, except two old Women, who, being taken Prisoners, declared, that the Viceroy, upon News brought him, that a good Number of the Enemies were come over the Isthmus of *Darien* into the South Seas, had ordered the Burning of their Ships, the destroying of all the Goats in the Isle of *Plata*, and no more Provisions to be kept, than for their own present Use.

22. We returned the next Day to the Isle of *Plata*, where we found our Ship. Here we staid, unresolved what Course to take, till *October 2*. when Captain *Swan*, Commander of the *Cygnet* of *London*, a rich Ship, which was designed to trade on that Coast, came to an Anchor in the same Road; but, being disappointed in his Hopes to traffick thereabouts, his Men had forced him to take aboard a Company of Privateers he met with at *Nicoya*, being the same we were told of at *Manila*; for they were come by Land, under the Command of Captain *Peter Harris*, Nephew to the same Captain *Harris*, who was killed before *Panama*. Captain *Swan's* Ship being unfit for Service, by reason of his Cargo, most of his Goods were sold upon Credit, and the rest thrown overboard, except the fine Commodities, and some Iron for Ballast. Then Captain *Davis* and Captain *Swan* joined Company by Consent; and *Harris* had a small Bark given him. Our Bark, which had been sent three Days before cruising, brought in a Prize laden with Timber, which they had taken in the Bay *Guiaquil*. The Commander told us, that it was credibly reported at *Guiaquil*, that the Viceroy was fitting out ten Frigates to chase us out of those Seas. This made us wish for Captain *Eaton*; and it was resolved to send our small Bark towards *Lima*, to invite him to join Company with us. This done, we fitted up another small Bark into a Fireship; and, *October 20*. failed for the Isle of *Lobos*. The Wind being very slack, we did not pass by the Point of *St. Helena* till the 23d, and the 25th crossed the Bay of *Guiaquil*. The 30th, we doubled the Cape of *Blanco*, at 3° 48', the worst Cape in the South Seas to double, because you cannot here, as in most other Places, stand off at Sea, by reason of the strong Current, which, setting North-west, will carry a Ship off more in two Hours, than she can get again in five. Thus we were forced to keep near the Shore, which is not often performed without great Difficulty; for as there are no Land-winds here, it generally blows hard at South South-west, or South by West. The Cape is surrounded with white Rocks on the Sea-side, whence, questionless, it has got its Name; and the Country near it appears steep and rugged.

23. November 2. we lay about six Leagues off *Payta*, whence we sent several Canoes, manned with 110 Men, to attack the Town, a small Sea-port belonging to the *Spaniards*, at 5° 15', built on a sandy Rock near the Sea-side, under an high Hill. It has two Churches, tho' not more than seventy-five or eighty Houses, low, and meanly built. It is like most of the other Buildings all along the Coast of *Peru*. They build their Walls with a kind of Brick made of Earth and Straw, dried only in the Sun, three Feet long, two broad, and one half thick. In some Places, they only lay Poles across, covered with Mats instead of Roofs; but sometimes they used Roofs. The Reason why they build so meanly, is partly because they want Materials of good Stone and Timber, partly because it never rains, which only makes them solicitous of keeping out the Sun; and those

Walls, tho' never so slight and brittle, yet will there hold firm for a considerable time, as they were at first, being not shaken or mouldered by the Wind and Rains. The Timber the better Sort make use of in their Buildings is brought thither from other Places. Their Walls, as well as those of their Churches, are neatly whitened, both within and without, with very large Beams, Posts, and Doors, all adorned with carved Work, besides good Pictures brought thither from *Spain*, and rich Hangings of Tapestry, or painted Calicoes. But the Houses of *Payta* were not of that sort, tho' their Churches were large and handsome. Close by the Sea is a small Fort; which, with *Mufquets* only, commands the Harbour, as another on the Top of an Hill commands both that and this Fort. They are obliged to fetch their fresh Water, as also their Fowls, Hogs, Plantains, and Maiz, from *Colon*, a Town two Leagues North North-east from *Payta*, where a fresh-water River empties itself into the Sea.

24. The dry Tract of this Country begins to the North from Cape *Blanco*, and reaches to *Coquimbo*, at 30° South Latitude, where I never saw or heard any Rain, nor of any green Thing growing, either in the Mountains or Valleys, except in some Places watered constantly with divers Rivers. The People of *Colon* are much addicted to Fishing, which they perform in Bark-logs: These are composed of divers round Logs of Wood, like a Rafter, but in different Manners, according to the Use they are intended for, or the Custom of the People that make them. Those designed for Fishing are only three or four Logs of light Wood, eight Feet long, joined to each other on the Sides with Wooden Pegs and Withes. The middlemost is always longer than the rest, especially at the fore Part, which ends, by Degrees, in a Point, the better to cut the Waves. Those intended for carrying Merchandize are made after the same manner and Shape, of twenty or thirty great Trunks of Trees, joined together, thirty or forty Feet long. Upon these they fasten, with Wooden Pins, another shorter Row of Logs cross-ways. From this double Bottom they raise a Raft of ten Feet, by the means of Posts set upright, which are the Supporters of two thick Trees laid across each other, just like our Wood-piles, but not so close as in the Bottom of the Float, and at the Ends and Sides only, the inner Part being hollow. In this, at four Feet high from the Beam of the Bottom, they lay small Poles close together, which serve for a Bottom of another Room, on the Top whereof they make just such another Floor. The first Story serves for the Hold, in which they stow Ballast, and Water-casks, or Jars; and the second for the Seamen, and what belongs to them. Above this second Floor the Goods are stowed, as high as they think fit, which seldom exceeds ten Feet. Some Space is left behind for the Steersman, and before for the Kitchen, especially in long Voyages, because they sometimes go 5 or 600 Leagues. They have a very large Rudder, and, in the Midst of this Machine, a Mast, with a large Sail, like our West-country Barges. As they cannot go but before the Wind, they are only fit for those Seas, where the Wind blows constantly one Way, seldom varying above a Point or two in the whole Voyage betwixt *Lima* and *Panama*. If thereabouts they meet, as sometimes it happens, with a North-west Wind, they drive before it till it changes, having nothing else to do in the mean while but to avoid the Shore; for they never sink at Sea. These last Bark-logs carry sixty or seventy Tons of Wine, Oil, Flour, Sugar, Quito Cloth, Soap, dressed Goat-skins, &c. They are managed by three or four Boatmen only, who, after they come to *Panama*, sell both the Goods and Vessel there, because they cannot go back in them by the Trade-wind. The fishing Bark-logs are likewise furnished with Masts and Sails, and are much easier managed than the large ones. These get out at Night with the Land-wind, and return in the Day-time with the Sea-wind. These small Bark-logs are used in a great many Places in the *West Indies*, and in some in the *East Indies*. On the Coast of *Coromandel* they use only one, or sometimes two Logs, made of a light Wood, without Sail or Rudder, managed by a single Man, who, with his Legs in the Water, steers the Log with a Paddle.

25. The next Town of Consequence to *Payta* is *Piura*, a spacious Place, forty Miles thence, seated in a Valley upon a River, which discharges itself into the Bay of

Chirapoe, at 7° North Latitude. This Bay, tho' much nearer to *Puna* than *Payta*, yet it is seldom visited by Ships of Burden, being full of Sholes; but, instead thereof, they fail to *Payta*, one of the best Harbours on the Coast of *Peru*, being sheltered at the South-west, by a Point of Land, which renders the Bay very smooth, and consequently safe from Anchorage, from six to twenty Fathom in clear Sand. Most Ships, bound either to the North or South, touch at *Payta* for fresh Water, which is brought thither from *Celen* at a reasonable Rate. *November 3.* early in the Morning, our Men landed four Miles South of *Payta*, where they took some Prisoners that were set for a Watch, who told us, that the Governor of *Puna* was come with 100 Men to their Assistance: Notwithstanding this, our Men attacked the Fort on the Hill, and took it with little Opposition; whereupon the Governor and Inhabitants quitted the Town: Our People soon entered it, but found it empty of Money, Goods, and Provisions. The same Evening, we came with our Ships to an Anchor not far from the Town, a Mile from the Shore, at ten Fathom Water; we stayed six Days, in Hopes of getting a Ranform for the Town; but, perceiving we were not likely to have any, it was laid in Ashes. At Night we set Sail hence, with the Land Wind towards *Lobos*. The 14th Day, we came within Sight of the Isle of *Lobos de Terra*, bearing East from us; and, at Eight o'Clock at Night, came to an Anchor at the North-east End of it, at four Fathom Water. The Isle of *Lobos de la Terra* is of an indifferant Height; and, at a Distance, appears altogether like the Isle of *Lobos de la Mare*; we anchored at the North-east End of it, in four Fathom Water. It has, at the North End, a Rock, a Quarter of a Mile from the Shore; and, betwixt it, a Chanel of seven Fathom Water. In the Afternoon, we sailed with a South-east Wind to *Lobos de la Mare*, where we arrived *May 19*. The 26th, in the Evening, we discovered a Bark at a Distance, which was sent to see whether we were still in the Sea; but we, keeping close under the Shore, remained there undiscovered. The 29th, in the Morning, we set Sail for the Bay of *Guaya*, situate betwixt Cape *Blanco* to the South, and Point *Cremby* to the North, twenty-five Leagues from Cape *Blanco*. In the Bottom of this Bay lies a small Isle, called *St. Clara*, extending East and West, having many Sholes to the North; which makes the Ships, bound for the *Guayaquil*, to pass on the South Side of it. The *Spaniards* say, there lies a very rich Wreck on the North Side; but that there is very hard coming at it, by reason of the great Multitudes of Catfish; which Fish is not unlike a Whiting, but with three Fins on the Back, and one on each Side, which have each a Bone; and, if they strike into the Flesh, it proves frequently mortal: They are met with all along the *American* Coasts, and likewise in the *East Indies*, their Flesh is both sweet and wholesome.

26. From the Isles of *St. Clara* to *Punta Arena*, the sandy Point being the Westernmost Point of the Isles of *Puna*, is seven Leagues East North-east: Here Ships, bound for *Guayaquil*, take in their Pilots, which live in a Town of the said Isle, bearing the same Name, on the South Side, seven Leagues from Point *Arena*. The Isle of *Puna* itself is low, stretching fourteen Leagues East and West, and five Leagues broad: It has a strong Tide round the Shore, which is full of little Creeks and Rivers: Near this Town is a small Point, where the Inhabitants are obliged to keep a constant Watch. The inland Part of the Isle is good Pasture-ground, intermixed with some Wood-lands, producing divers, to us, unknown Trees; and, amongst the rest, abundance of *Palmetoes*, a Tree about the Thickness of an ordinary Ash, and thirty Feet high, with a straight Trunk, without Branches or Leaf, except at the very Top, where, spreading into small Branches three or four Feet long, each of them produces at the Extremity one single Leaf, of the Breadth of a large Fan, which, at first, sprouts and spreads like a Fan plaited together, but, by degrees, opens and spreads like a Fan unfolded. The Houses of the Town of *Puna* are built on Posts ten or twelve Feet high, into which they go up by Ladders, and are thatched with *Palmeto-leaves*: The like Contrivance I have seen among the *Malaysians* in the *East*

Indies. The best Place for Anchorage is directly opposite to the Town, within a Cable's Length of the Shore, at five Fathom Water. From *Puna* to *Guiaquil* is seven Leagues, and one League to the Entrance of the River *Guiaquil*, which is two Miles over, and afterwards runs up into the Country in a pretty Strait Chanel, the Grounds on both Sides marshy, and full of red Mangrove-trees : About four Miles on this Side of the Town of *Guiaquil* the River is divided, by a small low Island, into two Chanels ; that to the South-west is the broadest, though the other is as deep. From the upper End of this Isle to the Town is near a League, and the River thereabouts of the same Breadth, where a Ship of great Burden may ride with Safety, especially towards that Side where the Town stands. It is feared close by the River, partly on an Ascent, and partly on the Foot of a small Hill, with a great Defcent towards the River-side. It is defended by two Forts, erected on the low Grounds, and another on the Hill, being one of the best Sea Ports belonging to the *Spaniards*, in the South Sea, under the Jurisdiction of a Governor, and beautified with divers fine Churches, and other good Buildings. They export Cocons, Hides, Tallow, Sarsaparilla, Drugs, and Woollen Cloth, called *Quito Cloth*. The Cocons grow on both Sides of the River above the Town, having a smaller Nut than those of *Campeachy*. The Sarsaparilla delights in watery Places near the River-side, and the *Quito Cloth* is made in an Inland Town called *Quiso* : It is coarse, and therefore worn only by the Vulgar all over the Kingdom of *Peru*.

27. *Quito* is a populous Place, seated in the Heart of the Country, inhabited by some *Spaniards*, by most *Indians*, under the *Spanish* Jurisdiction, being inclosed with a Ridge of high Mountains, which abound in Gold: The Rivers rising amongst them carry abundance of Gold-dust along with them into the lower Grounds, especially after violent Rains, which is afterwards cleansed and washed from the Sand. *Quito* is reckoned the richest Place for Gold in all *Peru*, but unwholesome, the Inhabitants being frequently subject to Fevers, Head-ach, Gripping in the Guts, and Fluxes; but *Guayaquil* is much more wholesome. Having formed a Design against the Town of *Guayaquil*, we left our Ships at Cape *Blanco*, and steered with a Bark, and some Canoes, to the Isle of *St. Clara*, in the Bay of *Guayaquil*, and thence in two Canoes to Point *Arena*, where we took, the next Day, some of the Fishermen of *Puna*, and afterwards their Watch, together with the whole Town and Inhabitants. The next Ebb, we took a Bark laden with *Quito* Cloth, coming from *Guayaquil*; the Master whereof told us, that there were three Barks full of Negroes coming with the next Tide. From thence we, lying near the Town of *Puna*, embarked all our Men in Canoes, leaving only five Men aboard the Bark, with Orders not to fire at any thing till next Morning at Eight o' Clock, by which time we supposed we should have taken the Town. We had not rowed above two Miles, but we met with, and took, one of the Barks laden with Negroes; the Master whereof having told us, that the other two would not come out till the next Tide, we rowed forward; but our Canoes being heavily laden, it was Break of Day before we came within two Leagues of the Town, there being not above an Hour's Flood: Now we absconded all Day in an adjacent Creek; and, at the same time, sent one of our Canoes to our Bark left near *Puna*, not to fire till the next Day; but to no Purpose; for the before-mentioned two Barks with Negroes, being come out of the Harbour with the Evening Tide, passed by without being seen or heard by us; and, falling down with the Ebb towards *Puna*, our Barks, seeing them full of Men, fired three Guns at them, before our Canoes could bring them our last Orders. But we took the Masters of both the Barks, as they were making their Escape on Shore. The firing of these three Guns put us all into a great Consternation, as not questioning but that thereby the Townsmen had taken the Alarm; and therefore some were for advancing to the Town immediately, others for returning to our Ships: But as the Ebb Tide hindered us from going upwards, so Captain *Doris*, with fifty of his Men, resolved to march by Land to the Place; the rest, judging it impracticable, remained in the Creek to fire the Issue of the Enterprize. After four Hours

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Captain *Davis* and his Men, having been almost choaked in the Marches among the Mangrove-woods, returned without having been able to advance far on their Way to the Town. It was then resolved to row up in Sight of the Town ; and, if we found ourselves discovered, to retire without attempting : So, rowing through the North-east Channel, we got in the Night in View of the Town, when, at the Discharge of a Musquet, we saw, on a sudden, the whole Town full of Lights ; where, as there was but one seen before, this appeared almost an infallible Sign, that we were discovered ; but, as some alleged, that these Lights were used by the Spaniards in the Nights before Holy-days, as the next Day was, they upbraided Captain *Stean* and his Men with Cowardice : We landed in a Place two Miles on this Side of the Town, which being all over-run with Woods, we were forced to expect Day-light. We had two Indian Guides ; one was run away from *Guiaquil*, the other a Prisoner we had taken three Days before ; the last being led by a Cord by one of Captain *Davis's* Men, who seemed one of the most forward in the Enterprize ; but now, perhaps, beginning to repent his Rashness, cut the Rope wherewith the Guide was tied, and so let him make his Escape into the Town : When he judged him to be out of Danger of being retaken, he cried out, that somebody had cut the Rope ; so that, after we had searched in vain for our Guides, it was unanimously resolved to desert ; however, about Break of Day, we rowed up into the Middle of the River, where we lay still about half an Hour, without being in the least molested from the Town, though we landed on the opposite Bank to a Beef-clofe, and killed a Cow. We returned the ninth to *Puna* ; and, in our Way, seized upon the three before-mentioned Barks, laden with 1000 huly Negroes ; out of them we kept about sixty, and left the rest with the Barks behind ; whereas, if we had carried them all to *St. Maria*, on the Isthmus of *Darien*, we might, with their Assistance, have worked the Gold Mines on that Side ; and, by erecting a Fort or two at the Entrance of the River of *St. Maria*, and with the Assistance of the Natives our Friends, and some Thousands of *English* and *French* Privateers from all Parts of the *West Indies*, have not only maintained ourselves there against all the Power of *Spain*, but also extended our Conquests to the Coasts and Gold Mines of *Quito*.

28. We set Sail again the 13th, and arrived at the Isle of *Plata* the 16th ; where, after having provided ourselves with fresh Water on the Continent, we parted our Cloth, and resolved unanimously to direct our Course to *Lavelia* a Town in the Bay of *Panama*. Accordingly we set Sail December 23, with a brisk South South-west Wind, towards the Bay of *Panama*. The next Morning, we passed in Sight of Cape *Passao*, 8' South of the Line, being a round Point, but very high, divided in the Middle, bare towards the Sea, but covered with Fruit-trees to the Land Side ; the Land hilly and woody. Betwixt this and the Cape *St. Francisco*, you see Abundance of small Points, which inclose so many sandy Creeks, full of Trees of several kinds : As our Design was to look for Canoes, in some River or other unfrequented by the Spaniards, so our Indian Pilots were but of little Use to us : However, as we were indifferent for the rest what River we came to, so we endeavoured to make the River of *St. Iago*, by reason of its Nearness to the Isle of *Gallo*, in which there was much Gold, and where there was safe Anchorage for our Ships. We passed by Cape *St. Francisco* ; whence, to the North, the Sea Side is full of Trees, of a vast Height and Thickness : From this Cape the Land runs more easterly into the Bay of *Panama*, this Cape being its Boundary to the South, as the Isles of *Cobaya* or *Quito* are to the North. Betwixt this Cape and the Isle of *Gallo* are several large Rivers, but we passed them all to go to *St. Iago*, a large navigable River, 2° North : About seven Leagues up in the Country it divides itself into two Branches, which inclose an Isle four Leagues in Circumference ; the broadest is the South-west Channel ; they are both very deep, but the narrowest has sandy Banks at its Entrance ; so that, at low Ebb, a Canoe cannot pass over them. Beyond the Isle, the River is a League broad, the Channel strait, with a swift Current ; it flows three Leagues up the River, but to what Height, I am not able to tell : It runs through a very

rich Soil, producing all sorts of the tallest Trees usually found in this Climate ; but especially red and white Cotton-trees, and Cabbage-trees, of the largest kind. The white Cotton-tree grows not unlike an Oak, but much taller and bigger ; the Trunk strait, without any Branches to the Top, where it sends forth strong Branches ; the Bark is very smooth, the Leaves of the Bigness of a Plum-tree-leaf, dark-green, oval, smooth, and jagged at the Ends ; they are not always biggest near the Roots, but often in the Middle of the Trunks. The Cotton they bear is Silk Cotton, which falls in November and December upon the Ground ; but not so substantial as that of the Cotton-shrub, but rather like a Down of Thistles ; they don't think it worth their while to gather it in the *West Indies*, but in the *East Indies* they put it into their Pillows. In April the old Leaves fall off, which, in a Week's time, are supplied by fresh. The red Cotton-tree is somewhat less ; but, for the rest, altogether like the other ; except that it produces no Cotton, and its Wood hard, tho' both are somewhat spongy ; they are found in the fat Grounds, both in the *East* and *West Indies*. The Cabbage-tree is the tallest in those Woods, some being above 120 Feet high : It is likewise without Boughs or Branches, except on the Top, where its Branches are of the Thickness of a Man's Arm, and twelve or fourteen Feet long ; two Feet from the Stem come forth small long Leaves, of an Inch broad, so thick and regular on both Sides, that they cover the whole Branch : In the midst of these high Branches shoots forth the Cabbage itself ; which, when taken out of the outward Leaves, is a Foot in Length, and of the Thickness of the Small of a Man's Leg, being white like Milk, sweet and wholesome : Betwixt the Cabbages and the large Branches sprout forth other small Twigs, two Feet long, very close together ; at the Extremities of which grow hard and round Berries, of the Bigness of a Cherry, which, once a Year, fall from the Trees, and are excellent Food for the Hogs. The Trunk has Rings half a Foot asunder, the Bark is thin and brittle, the Wood hard and black, and the Pith white ; as the Tree dies after its Head is gone, they cut them down before they gather the Fruit.

29. As the Coast and Country of *Lima* has continual dry Weather, so this Part of *Peru* is seldom without Rains ; which, perhaps, is one Reason why they have made but small Discoveries on this Coast : Add to this, that when they go from *Panama* to *Lima*, they don't pass along the Coast, but sail up to the West, as far as the *Cobaya* Isles, for the West Winds, and thence stand over to the Cape *St. Francisco* : In their Return they coast it ; but their Ships, being then laden, are not fit to enter the Rivers, which, as well as the Sea Side, are covered with Woods and Bushes, and therefore are fit Places for the Natives to lie in Ambuscade. These Indians have some Plantations of Maiz and Plantains, as also some Fowls and Hogs. We entered the River of *St. Iago*, with four Canoes, December 27, by the lesser Branches, and met with no Inhabitants till within six Leagues of its Mouth, where we discovered too small Huts, thatched with Palmeto-leaves ; and, at the same time, Indians, with their Families and household Goods, paddling against the Stream much faster than we could row, because they kept near the Banks. On the opposite Side to the West, we saw many other Huts a League off ; but, the Current being very rapid, we did not care to venture cross it. In the two Huts, on the East Side, we found nothing but a few Plantains, Fowls, and one Hog, which seemed to be of the *European* Kind, such as the Spaniards brought formerly into *America*, but especially to *Jamaica*, *Hispaniola*, and *Cuba*, where they feed in the Woods (being marked beforehand) in the Day-time ; and at Night are called, and kept in Pens, by the founding of a Conch-shell. On the Continent of *America*, they don't turn their Hogs into the Woods. We returned the next Morning into the River's Mouth, with an Intention to sail on to the Isle of *Gallo*, where we had ordered our Ships to meet us. This Isle is but small, and without Inhabitants, seated at 3° North Latitude, in a spacious Bay, three Leagues from the River *Tomaco*, and four Leagues and a half from an Indian Village of the same Name : It is indifferently high, and well stored with Timber-trees : At the North-east End is a good sandy Bay, near which is a fine Spring of fresh Water,

Water, and against the Bay is very good Anchorage, at six or seven Fathom Water; there is but one Channel to approach the Isle at four Fathom Water, but you must go in with the Flood, and come out with the Ebb. The River of *Tomaco*, supposed to have its Rise amongst the rich Mountains of *Quito*, has borrowed its Name from an adjacent Village of the same Name. Its Banks are well peopled by the *Indians*, and some *Spaniards*, who traffick for Gold with them. It is so shallow at the Entrance, that only Barks can enter it. The Town of *Tomaco* is a small Place, seated near the Mouth of a River, for the Entertainment of the *Spaniards*, who traffick in those Parts. From this Place to the Branch of the River of *St. Iago*, where we then were at Anchor, is five Leagues. As the Land here is low, and full of Creeks, we left the River December 21, and crossed these small Bays in our Canoes: In our Way we saw an *Indian* House, whence we took the Master, and whole Family, and so rowed forward, and came at Twelve at Night to *Tomaco*: Here we seized upon all the Inhabitants; and, among the rest, one *Don Diego de Pinas*, a *Spanish* Knight, whose Ship was not far off at Anchor to hide Timber: So we took her, and found thirteen Jars of good Wine aboard her, but no other Lading. An *Indian* Canoe came aboard us, with three of the Natives, who were stout and well-limbed, but of low Stature, with black Hair, long Visages, and small Noses and Eyes, and of a dark Complexion. The 31st, several of our Men, who had been seven or eight Leagues up the River, returned with their Canoes, and brought along with them some Ounces of Gold they had found in a *Spanish* House, but the People were fled.

30. January 1. 1685. as we were going in our Canoes from *Tomaco* towards *Gallo*, we took a Packet of Letters in a *Spanish* Boat, sent from *Panama* to *Lima*, whereby we understood, that the President of *Panama* wrote to hasten the Plate Fleet thither from *Lima*, the *Armada* from *Spain* being come to *Porto-Bello*: This News soon made us alter our Resolution of going to *Lavelia*; instead whereof, it was resolved to rendezvous among the *King's* or *Pearl* Islands, not far distant from *Panama*, and by which all Ships, bound to *Panama* from the Coast of *Lima*, must of Necessity pass. Accordingly we sailed the 7th; the 8th, we took a Ship of 90 Tons, laden with Flour, and continued our Voyage, with a gentle South Wind, towards *Gorgonia*, an Isle twenty-five Leagues distant from that of *Gallo*, where we anchored the 9th, at the West Side of it, in thirty-eight Fathom clean Ground, two Cables Length from the Shore, in a sandy Bay, the Land against it very low. This Isle is seated at 3° North Latitude, and is remarkable for two high Rulings, called the *Saddles*: Its Length is two Leagues, and its Breadth one League, about four Leagues from the Continent. At the West End is another small Isle. *Gorgonia* is full of large Trees, and watered by many Rivulets: It has no other Animals but Monkeys, Conies, and Snakes: It is extremely subject to Rains; and the only Difference observable in the Seasons is, that in the Summer the Rains are more moderate. The Sea round it is so deep, that there is no Anchorage, except at the West End, where the Tide rises eight Feet. Mussels and Periwinkles are here in great Plenty: The Monkeys open the Shells at Low-water. Here are also Abundance of *Pearl*-oysters; these are fixed four, five, or six Fathom under Water, to the loose Rocks, by Beards, or small Roots, like the Mussels: They are like our Oysters, but something flatter and thinner; the Flesh is slimy, and not to be eaten, unless dried beforehand, and boiled; some have twenty or thirty Seed-pearls, others one or two pretty large ones, lying at the Head of the Oysters, betwixt the Fish and the Shell; but the Inside of the Pearl carries a brighter Lustre than the Pearls themselves. The 13th, we pursued our Voyage to the *King's* Isle, being now two Men of War, and two Tenders, one Fireship, and the Prize: We sailed forward with the common Trade-wind South, along low Land on the Continent near the Sea Side, but with a Prospect of Mountains deeper into the Country. The 16th, we passed by Cape *Corientes*, at 5° 10' Latitude, being an high Point, with four small Hills on the Top, the Current then running strong to the North. The 21st,

we came in Sight of Point *Garachina*, at 7° 20' North Latitude. The Land is high, rocky, and without Trees near the Sea Side: Within the Point is plenty of Oysters and Mussels. About twelve Leagues from this Point, are the *King's* or *Pearl* Isles; betwixt these and the before-mentioned Point of *Garachina*, is a small, flat, barren Isle, called *Galleria*, near which we came to Anchor for that time. The *King's* or *Pearl* Isles are a good Number of low woody Isles, seven Leagues from the Continent, and twelve Leagues from *Panama*, and fourteen Leagues in Length North North-west by North, and South-east by South. In the Maps they are called the *Pearl* Isles, tho' I never could see one *Pearl*-oyster, or any thing like it, near them. The Northernmost of these is called *Pacheco*, or *Pacbeque*, a small Isle, eleven or twelve Leagues from *Panama*; the Name of that most South is *St. Paul's*; the rest, tho' bigger, have no particular Names. Some of these are planted with Plantains, Bananas, and Rice, by the Negroes belonging to the Inhabitants of *Panama*. The Channel, betwixt them and the Continent is seven or eight Leagues broad, of a moderate Depth, and has good Anchoring all along. The Isles, tho' lying close together, yet have these Channels fit for Boats. At the End of *St. Paul's* Isle is a convenient careening Place, in a good deep Channel, inclosed by the Land. You must enter in on the North Side, where the Tide rises ten Feet perpendicular. The 25th, we brought our Ships in with a Spring-tide; and, after having cleared our Barks first, we sent them the 27th to cruise towards *Panama*: They brought us, the fourth Day after, a Prize, coming from *Lavelia* with Maiz, or *Indian* Corn, salted Beef, and Fowls. *Lavelia* is a large Town, seated on the Bank of a River, on the North Side of the Bay of *Panama*, seven Leagues from the Sea Side. At *Nata* is another Town, seated in a Plain, near another Branch of the same River: These two Places supply *Panama* with Hogs, Fowl, Beef, and Maiz. In the Harbour where we careened, we found Abundance of Oysters, Mussels, Limpits, and Clams; these last are Oysters, that stick so close to the Rocks, that you must open them where they grow, if you will eat the Meat. We also met with some Pigeons and Turtle-doves.

31. Our Ships being well careened by the 14th of February, and provided with Fuel and Water, we sailed out from amongst the Isles the 18th, and anchored in the great Channel, betwixt the Isles and the Continent, at fifteen Fathom Water, soft oozy Ground; and the next Day cruised in the Channel towards *Panama*, about which the Shore appears very beautiful, with Variety of small Woods and Hills; besides that, a League from the Continent, you see divers small Isles, scattered partly with Trees, and the *King's* Isles, on the other Side the Channel, afford a very fair Prospect, according to their various Shapes and Situations. The 16th, we anchored within a League of the Island of *Pacbeque*, in seventeen Fathom Water; and the 18th, steered our Course with a North North-east Wind directly towards *Panama*, where we anchored directly opposite to *Old Panama*, once a Place of Note in those Parts; but the greatest Part thereof being laid in Ashes in 1673. by Sir *Henry Morgan*, it was never rebuilt since. About four Leagues from the Ruins of *Old Panama*, near the River Side, stands *New Panama*, a very handsome City, in a spacious Bay of the same Name, into which disembogue many long navigable Rivers, some whereof are not without Gold; besides that, it is beautified with many pleasant Isles; the Country about it affording a delightful Prospect to the Sea, by reason of Variety of adjacent Hills, Valleys, Groves, and Plains: The Houses are for the most part of Brick, and pretty lofty, especially the President's; the Churches, Monasteries, and other public Structures, which make the best Shew I ever saw in the *West Indies*: It is encompassed with a high Wall of Stone, on which are mounted a good Number of Guns, which formerly were only planted to the Land Side, but now also to the Sea. This City has a vast Traffick, as being the Staple for all Goods to and from all Parts of *Peru* and *Chili*; besides that, every three Years, when the *Spanish* Armada comes to *Porto-Bello*, the Plate-Fleet comes thither with the *King's* Plate, besides what belongs to the Merchants.

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Merchants; whence it is carried on Mules by Land to *Porto-Bello*, at which time every thing is excessive dear at this Place.

32. The *Spanish Armada*, which comes every three Years into the *West Indies*, arrives first of all at *Caribagena*; whence they dispatch immediately an Express by Land to *Lima*, and another with two Packets of Letters by Sea, one for the Viceroy of *Peru* at *Lima*, the other for the Viceroy of *Mexico*. I cannot absolutely tell which Way the Packet for *Mexico* goes, after its Arrival at *Porto-Bello*, whether by Sea or Land; but I suppose by Sea to *La Vera Cruz*; but that for *Lima* goes by Land to *Panama*, and so by Sea to *Lima*. Upon this Occasion I cannot but tell the Reader, that some time before my going to the South Seas, being then aboard Captain *Coxon's* Ship, in Company of three or four other Privateers, we took the Packets bound from *Caribagena* to *Porto-Bello*, four Leagues from this last Place: In them we found many Letters from the Merchants of *Spain*, directed to their Correspondents, intimating, that the same Year a certain Prophecy being published in *Spain*, that some *English* Privateers would open themselves a Way into the South Seas, they desired them to be upon their Guard. As by this Way we understood the Passage by Land over the Isthmus of *Darien*, and those *Indians* had sought our Assistance of late against the *Spaniards*, so this gave us the first Encouragement to venture upon that Enterprize; and as we knew the *Spaniards* to be a bigotted Generation, we sent most of the Letters (sealed up again) to *Porto-Bello* to augment their Fear. The first Occasion of our contracting a Friendship with the *Indians*, on the Isthmus of *Darien*, happened thus. About fifteen Years before, Captain *Wright* took a young *Indian* Lad, among the *Jamballo* Isles, unto whom he gave the Name of *John Gratt*, and bestowed him afterwards upon some *Mokitoes*, who carried him to their Country, where he married, learned their Language, and staid among them till six or eight Months before our taking the said Packet. Captain *Wright* took another *Indian* Boy, twelve Years old, the Son of a Man of Note among them, whom he carried to the Country of the *Mokitoes*, to be educated by them: Here, meeting with *John Gratt*, he persuaded the Captain to restore the Boy to his Friends, and thereby to commence a Friendship with them; but, the Captain alleging the Fierceness of those Nations, *Gratt* offered his Service to bring the Matter about: Accordingly, being set ashore in his *Indian* Habit, he called out to them in his own Tongue; and they acknowledging him for their Countryman, he proposed a strict Alliance with the *English*; alleging, that they were a good sort of People, and declared Enemies of the *Spaniards*; telling also the Father of the Boy, that if he would go aboard the Vessel he flew them, being at Anchor, he might have his Son again: Whereupon about thirty of them went aboard Captain *Wright* with Refreshments; and, being kindly entertained here, they returned with the Boy and Captain *Wright* ashore, and entered into a strict Confederacy against the *Spaniards*; and thereby opened the Way by Land into the South Seas, the Discovery whereof is, in a great measure, owing to the before-mentioned Letters, and taking of *John Gratt*.

33. But, to return to the *Spanish Armada* at *Caribagena*: After a Stay of sixty Days in this Port, it sails hence to *Porto-Bello*, where it remains only thirty Days, and takes to the King's Treasure brought thither from *Panama*, which is said to amount to 24,000,000 Pieces of Eight, besides Plate and Goods belonging to the Merchants. When the Merchants steal the Custom of the Place, they pick it up among Merchandize, and send it to *Vera Cruz*, upon the River *Chagre*, where they fall down the River, and so go farther by Sea to *Porto-Bello*: From this Harbour they weigh Anchor precisely on the 30th Day to the River's Mouth, where the Admiral will sometimes stay a Week longer to oblige the Merchants. From *Porto-Bello* the Armada returns to *Caribagena*, where it meets with the King's Money, brought thither out of the Country, as also with a large *Spanish* Galleon, (called by them a *Patache*) which, upon the first Arrival of the Armada at *Caribagena* from *Spain*, goes along the Coast to deliver the King's Tribute. After a set Time, the Ar-

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mada returns from *Caribagena*, by the Way of the *Havanna*, in the Isle of *Cuba*, where, meeting with the Flota, or a small Squadron of Ships, come thither from *Vera Cruz*, with the Riches of the City and Country of *Mexico*, and what is brought thither by the annual Ship from the *Philippine Isles*, they all join, and sail for *Spain*, through the Gulph of *Florida*. *Porto-Bello* being an unhealthy Place, the Merchants of *Lima* make as short Stay there as they possibly can: But *Panama* is seated in a much better Air, as enjoying the Benefit of Sea Wind from ten or eleven of the Clock in the Morning, till eight or nine of the Clock at Night, and the Land Wind from nine, till the Morning; besides that, *Panama* having on the Land-side an open champagne Country, it is seldom troubled with Fogs; nor is the wet Season, which holds from May to November, so excessive at *Panama*, as on the other Side of the Bay, tho' it is severe enough in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, in which Season the Merchants of *Peru*, who are used to a constant serene Air, without Rain or Fogs, cut off their Hair, to preserve them from Fevers, whilst they are obliged to stay here.

34. The 20th, we anchored within a League of three little rocky Isles, called the *Perico* Islands; and, the 21st, took another Prize, laden with Hogs, Beef, Fowl and Salt, from *Lavelia*. The 24th, steered over to the Isle of *Tobago*, in the same Bay, six Leagues South of *Panama*: Its Length three Miles, and its Breadth two. It is very rocky and steep, except on the North Side, where it has an easy Descent; and, as the Soil is black and good up to the Middle of the Mountains, they produce abundance of Fruit, as Plantains, Bananas, and, near the Sea-side, Cocoa and Mammee-trees; these last are large and stait, without Knots, Boughs, or Bunches, and sixty or seventy Feet high. At the Tops sprout out some small Branches, thick and close together; the Fruit is of the Bigness of a large Quince, round, and covered with a grey Rind, which, before it is ripe, is brittle; but, when come to Maturity, grows yellow, and will peel with Ease. The ripe Fruit is of the same Colour, like a Carrot, smells and tastes well, and has two rough flat Stones in the Middle, each of the Bigness of a large Almond. The South-west Side is covered with Trees and Fire-wood, but the North Side has a very fine fresh-water Spring, which falls from the Mountains into the Sea. Near it formerly stood a pretty Town, with a fair Church, but the greatest Part has been destroyed by the Privateers. Opposite to the Town, a Mile from the Shore, is good anchoring, sixteen or eighteen Fathom Water, soft dusky Ground. At the North North-west End lies a small Town, called *Tobagilla*, with a Chancel betwixt both; and, on the North-east Side of *Tobagilla*, another small one, without a Name. Whilst we were at an Anchor near *Tobagilla*, we were in great Danger of being trepanned by a pretended Merchant of *Panama*, who, under colour of trading privately with us, brought his Bark laden with Merchandize in the Night to the South of the *Perico* Isles, where we were then at Anchor, according to his Appointment, which was intended for our Destruction; for, instead of a Bark, he advanced with a Fireship, pretty near us, hailing us with the Water-word. Thereupon, some of our Men, more suspicious than the rest, bid her come to an Anchor; which she not doing, they fired at her; which so terrified the Men, that they got into their Canoes, after they had set her on Fire, and we were forced to cut our Cables, to escape the Danger. At the same time Captain *Stear*, who lay a Mile from us at Anchor, saw a small Float, with only one Man upon it, driving towards his Ship, but soon after disappeared; he supposed this to have been a Machine, made up with combustible Matter, to fasten to his Rudder, (as it happened to Captain *Sbarpe* near *Coquimbo*) but that the Fellow, thinking himself discovered, had not Courage enough to go forward in the Enterprize; but Captain *Stear* thought also fit to cut his Cables, and to keep under Sail all Night. The Fireship was framed and managed by one Captain *Bond*, who formerly run away from us to the *Spaniards*, without whose Assistance they could not have fitted her out, it being almost incredible, how grossly ignorant the *Spaniards*, especially in the South Seas, are in Sea Affairs; nay, which is worse, you seldom see above

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one *Spaniard* (perhaps the Commander) in one of their Ships in the *West Indies*, all the rest being *Indians*. In the Morning, while we were busy in recovering our Anchors, we discovered a whole Fleet of Canoes, full of Men, pafs betwixt *Tobagilla* and the other Isle, who proved *English* and *French Privateers*, lately come out of the North Sea over the *Isthmus of Darien*; there were 280 in all, 200 *French*, and 80 *English*; these last were taken aboard Captain *Davis*, and Captain *Swan*, and the rest put into our *Flower Prize*, under the Command of Captain *Gronet*, their Countryman: In Return for which, he offered Captain *Davis*, and Captain *Swan*, each a Commission from the Governor of *Petit Gouves*, it being their Custom to carry along with them blank Commissions from the said Governor. Captain *Davis* accepted of one; but Captain *Swan*, having one from the Duke of *York*, refused it.

35. Every thing being thus disposed, we set Sail, *March* the 2d, towards the Gulph of *St. Michael*, in quest of Captain *Townley* (who they told us was coming with 180 *English* over the *Isthmus of Darien*). This Gulph lies thirty Leagues South-east from *Panama*, and you must turn for your Passage betwixt the *King's Isles* and the Continent. In it many Rivers disembogue into the Sea: On the South it is bounded by the Point *Garachina*, at 6° 40' North Latitude, and to the North by *St. Lorenzo*; whereas the Name of Point *Garachina*, in the Maps, is given to the North Cape, and that of the South Cape quite left out, as well as that of *St. Lorenzo*, which properly belongs to the North Cape. The most noted Rivers, that discharge themselves into the Gulph of *St. Michael*, are *St. Maria*, *Sambo*, and *Congo*: This last has its Rise far in the Country, and, being joined by many small Streams on both Sides, disembogues on the North Side of this Gulph, a League from Cape *St. Lorenzo*: It is deep and navigable some Leagues into the Country, but not very broad. It is neglected by the *Spaniards* by reason of its Nearness to *St. Maria*, where they have their Gold Mines. As I was never in this River *Sambo*, so I cannot say much of it, except that the Tide at its Mouth seems to denote it a large River: It empties itself into the Sea on the South Side of the Gulph near *Garachina*. Between the Mouths of these two Rivers, on either Side of the Gulph, it runs narrower towards the Land, making five or six Isles; beyond which, deeper inward, the Shore closes so near, with two Points of low Land, as to make a freight Channel, not half a Mile broad. This is the Entrance to the innermost Part of the Gulph, making a Bay of three Leagues over, to the East End whereof are the Mouths of divers Rivers, but especially of *St. Maria*, the largest River of all that falls into this Gulph, being navigable for eight or nine Leagues, as far as the Tide flows; beyond which, it is divided into several Branches, fit only for Canoes: The Flood rises eighteen Feet in this River. Near six Leagues to the South of the Entrance of the River of *St. Maria*, the *Spaniards* built, about twenty Years ago, the Town of *St. Maria*, on account of its Nearness to the Gold Mines. Soon after it was taken by Captain *Coxon*, *Harris*, and *Sharpe*, but was rebuilt soon after again; for, when Captain *Harris* (the Nephew of the former) took it a second time, he found in it great Store of Wine, iron Pickaxes, and other Instruments the Slaves used in digging the Gold-mines. I have been told, that, besides what Gold they got out of the Ore and Sand, they found sometimes Lumps as big as an Hen's Egg, and bigger, wedged in betwixt the Rocks. Such a one Mr. *Harris* (who got 120 Pounds of Gold there) kept by him; it has several Crevices full of Earth and Dust. In the adjacent Mines the *Spaniards* employ their Slaves in a dry Season; but, when the Rivers overflow, they can't work without great Inconveniency; and then it is, that the *Indians* wash the Gold out of the Sands, forced down from the Mountains by the violent Rains, which the *Spaniards* buy of them, and gain as much by it as they do by their Mines; for, during the wet Season, they retire with their Slaves to *Panama*. Captain *Gronet* saw Captain *Townley*, with his Crew, at this Town, making Canoes, it being at that time abandoned by the *Spaniards*. Near the Mouth of this River of *St. Maria*, on the North Side, they have lately built another Town, called *Secubadarets*, being a more airy

Place than that of *St. Maria*: The Land all about the Gulph is low and fertile, producing Abundance of large Trees.

36. *March* 3. as we were steering for the Gulph, Captain *Swan* kept near to the Continent, as we did nearer to the *King's Isles*; where, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, near the Place where we had careened our Ships, we met Captain *Townley*, with his Crew, in two Barks which they had taken, one laden with Brandy, Wine, and Sugar, and the other with Flour. As he wanted Room for his Men, and had Occasion for the Jars in which the *Spaniards* carry their Wines, Brandy, and Oil, in these Parts, containing seven or eight Gallons apiece, he distributed Part thereof amongst our Ships, being then all at Anchor among the *King's Islands*: But, as it was towards the latter End of the dry Season, and all the Water dried up, we sailed to the Point of *Garachina*, in hopes of finding fresh Water. The 21st, we anchored two Miles from the Point, and found the Tide very strong, coming out of the River *Sambo*. The 22d, we anchored at four Fathom within the Point; we found the Tide to rise nine Feet, and the Flood to set North North-east, and the Ebb South South-west: The Natives brought us some Refreshments; but, as they did not understand in the least the *Spanish* Tongue, I suppose they had no Commerce with the *Spaniards*. Meeting with no fresh Water here, we set Sail for *Porto Pinar*, lying seven Leagues Southward by West hence, at 7° North Latitude. It derived its Name from the vast Numbers of Pine-trees growing there. The Country rises, from the Sea Side, by a gentle Ascent, to a considerable Height, and is pretty woody near the Shore: At the Entrance of the Harbour are two small Rocks, which render the Passage into it narrow, and the Harbour but of a slender Compass; besides that, it lies exposed to the South-west Wind. This made us not go into the Harbour, but send our Boats to fetch some fresh Water, which they could not perform, by reason of the high Sea near the Shore; so we turned towards Point *Garachina*, where we arrived the 29th. In our Way, we took a Vessel laden with Cocoa from *Guinquit*: Finding ourselves here also disappointed in getting of fresh Water, we sailed the 30th for *Tobago*, with a South South-west Wind, being now in all nine Ships. *April* 1. we anchored at the Isle of *Pachogue*, and the 3d at *Perico*: Our Men took a Canoe, with four *Indians*, and a Mulatto; who, being found to have been in the same Fireship that was sent out to burn our Ship, was hanged immediately. Whilst we were employed in filling of Water, and cutting of Wood for Fuel, we sent four Canoes to the Continent, to get some Sugar in the adjacent Sugar-works, to make our Cocoa up into Chocolate; but especially to get some Coppers, which we much wanted to boil our Victuals in, since our Number was so considerably increased: They brought us three Coppers. In the mean while, Captain *Davis* sent his Bark to the Isle of *Oteque*, seated in the Bay of *Panama*, but uninhabited, except by a few Negroe Slaves, who bred up some Fowls and Hogs there. Here our Men met with a Messenger sent to *Panama*, with an Account that the *Lima* Fleet was sailed: Most of the Letters had been thrown into the Sea; yet, out of the remaining Part, we understood that the Fleet was coming under a Convoy, composed of all the Ships of Strength that they had been able to bring together from *Peru*. Being informed that the *King's* Ships always came that Way where we now lay, we sailed the 10th from *Tobago* to the *King's Isles*, and the 11th anchored at the Place, where we careened. Here we met with Captain *Harris*, who had brought along with him some Men (we had heard the *Indians* mention before) from the River *St. Maria*, but they were not near so many as they reported. The 19th, 250 Men were sent in Canoes to the River *Cheapo*, to surprise the Town of the same Name. The 21st, we followed, and arrived the 22d at the Isle of *Chepelia*, a pleasant Island, seated in the Bay of *Panama*, seven Leagues from the City of that Name, and one League from the Continent, being about two Miles long, and as many broad, low on the North Side, but rising by an easy Ascent to the South. The Soil is very good, producing in the low Grounds Store of delicious Fruits, such as Plantains, Sapadilloes, Avogato-pears, Mammets, Mammees-Sapotas, Star-apples, &c. On the North Side, half a Mile from the Shore, is a good Anchoring-Place.

ing-place, ter near the River Pear-tree, something the Juice and sweet pion-feed, than our oval Leaves of a green is yellowish been gather with Easier this Fruit is Limes great Prov Places of the mee-Sapota at *Tobago* The Pulp and the R There are tall and fr Fruit is no Quince-tree broad Leaves It is reckoned 37. The on the Nor and the Mo and at last, kind of a S where it di is very deep son of the S ly by Barks the City of champagne son of divers greatest Par the River is before-men having take found nothing they took a tions; but being joined arrived at 9 strong, it v sempt upon that they h *Porto-Bello*, again for t ad, when get some E beamen of strict Order lles, this expected ev the South S and betwixt a Mile in L at Anchor v only two M 156 Men, rest being 1 160 Men the Wind a the 28th, th beginning three Leag standing to South-east About three before the V Wind to co exchanged the *Spanish*

about the Gulph large Trees. The Gulph, Cap- e Gulph, Cap- e Clock in the ened our Ships, and in two Barks dy. Wine, and anted Room for which the Spa- in these Parts, he distributed m all at Anchor towards the later dried up, we of finding fresh from the Point, out of the River Fathom within the Feet, and the ob South South- refreshments; but, *Spanish Tongue*, the *Spaniards*, at Sail for *Porto* West hence, at e from the val e Country rises, o a considerable ore: At the En- ks, which render our but of a stend- d to the South- e Harbour, but which they could near the Shore; so where we arrived el laden with Co- also disappointed 30th for *Tobago*, in all nine Ships. *Beque*, and the 3d four *Indians*, and been in the same Ship, was hanged n filling of Water, four Canoes to the cent Sugar-works, at especially to get b boil our Victuals increased: They an while, Captain eated in the Bar y a few Negroe ogs there. Here *Panama*, with an Most of the Let- out of the remain- was coming under Strength that they u. Being informed at Way where we to the *King's* *Ship*, here we careened, had brought along e *Indians* mention they were not near o Men were sent in the Town of the e, and arrived the land, seated in the City of that Name, being about two on the North Side, outh. The Soil is unds Store of deli- es, *Avogato*-pears, ples, &c. On the is a good Anchor-

ing-place, where is also a very good Spring of fresh Water near the Sea-side. This Isle lies directly opposite to the River *Chepo*. The *Sapadillo*-tree is altogether like a Pear-tree, and the Fruit like a *Burgamot*-pear, only it is something longer: When it is first gathered, it is hard, and the Juice clammy; but, a few Days after, becomes juicy and sweet; it has two or three black Kernels, like a *Pom-pion*-seed. The *Avogato* Pear-tree is as high, and higher, than our Pear-trees, with a black, but smooth Bark, large oval Leaves; the Fruit of the Bigness of a large Lemon, of a green Colour at first, but yellow when ripe. The Pulp is yellowish, and as soft as *Hutter*; and, after they have been gathered three or four Days, the Rind will come off with Ease. The Stone is as big as a good *Horfe*-plum. As this Fruit is insipid, so it is commonly eaten with Sugar and Lime-juice, being looked upon by the *Spaniards* as a great Provocative, who have therefore planted them in most Places of the North Sea, where they inhabit. The *Mammee*-*Sapota* is neither so big, nor so tall, as the *Mammee* at *Tobago*; nor is the Fruit either so large, or so round. The Pulp is quite red, with a rough, flat, longish Stone, and the Rind smooth. It is a pleasant and wholesome Fruit. There are also some wild *Mammee*-trees, which grow very tall and strait, and are consequently used for Masts; but the Fruit is not esteemed. The Star somewhat resembles our *Quince*-tree, but much larger, bearing Abundance of oval broad Leaves. The Fruit is of the Bigness of a large Apple. It is reckoned a very good Fruit; but I never tasted it.

37. The River of *Chepo* has its Rise in the Mountains on the North Side, being inclosed afterwards between them and the Mountains on the South Side. It turns to the West, and at last, forcing its Way to the South-west, makes a kind of a Semicircle, and afterwards runs gently to the Sea, where it discharges itself seven Leagues from *Panama*. It is very deep, and a quarter of a Mile broad; but, by reason of the Sands that choke up its Entrance, is navigable only by Barks. About six Leagues from the Sea-side stands the City of *Chepo*, on the Left Bank of the River, in a champagne Country, affording a very pleasant View, by reason of divers adjacent Hills, covered with Woods, tho' the greatest Part is good Pasture-ground; but the South Side of the River is all Woodland for many Leagues. The 250 Men before-mentioned, sent to this Place, returned the 24th, having taken the Town without the least Opposition; but found nothing worth mentioning there. In the Way thither, they took a Canoe with armed Men, sent to watch our Motions; but the Men escaped for the most part. The 25th being joined by Captain *Harris*, we sailed the 26th, and arrived at *Tobago* the 28th; and finding ourselves now 1000 strong, it was consulted, whether we should make an Attempt upon *Panama*; but being informed by our Prisoners, that they had received a considerable Reinforcement from *Porto-Bello*, that Design was laid aside. May 4. we sailed again for the *King's* *Isles*, whereabouts we cruised till the 22d, when we sent two Canoes to the Isle of *Chepilio*, to get some Prisoners. They returned the 25th, with three Seamen of *Panama*, who informed us, that, having issued a strict Order there not to fetch any Plantains from the adjacent Isles, this had occasioned a great Scarcity; and that they expected every Day the Arrival of the Fleet from *Lima*. On the South Side of the Isle *Pacbeque* lie two or three small Isles, and betwixt them a Chancel not above seven Paces wide, and a Mile in Length. On the East Side of this Chancel we lay at Anchor with our whole Fleet, consisting of ten Sail, but only two Men of War, viz. Captain *Davis*, thirty-six Guns, 156 Men, and Captain *Swan*, sixteen Guns, 140 Men, the rest being provided only with small-arms, making in all 260 Men; we had also one Fireship. Hitherto we had the Wind at North North-east, with fair Weather; but, the 28th, the rainy Season began. About eleven of the Clock, beginning to clear up, we discovered the *Spanish* Fleet three Leagues West North-west from the Isle of *Pacbeque*, standing to the East, we being then at Anchor a League South-east from the Isle, betwixt it and the Continent. About three in the Afternoon we sailed, bearing down right before the Wind upon the *Spaniards*, who kept close on a Wind to come up with us; but, Night approaching, we exchanged only a few Shot. As soon as it began to be dark, the *Spanish* Admiral put out a Light at his Top, as a Sig-

nal for the Fleet to come to an Anchor. In half an Hour after, it was taken down again; but appeared soon after as before, which we supposing to be in the Admiral's Top, kept under Sail, being to the Windward; but found ourselves deceived in our Expectation, by a Stratagem contrived by the *Spaniards*, who, having put this second Light on the Topmast-head of one of their Barks, sent her to the Leeward; so that, in the Morning, we found they had got the Weather-gage of us. They came up with full Sail, so we were forced to make a running Fight of it all the next Day, almost quite round the Bay of *Panama*; for we came to anchor against the Isle of *Pacbeque*. Captain *Townley*, being hard pressed by the *Spaniards*, was forced to make a bold Run through the before-mentioned Chancel betwixt *Pacbeque* and the three adjacent small Isles; and Captain *Harris* was forced away from us during the Fight. Thus our long-projected Design vanished into Smoke. The *Spanish* Fleet, according to the Report of some Prisoners taken afterwards by Captain *Wright*, consisted of fourteen Sail, besides *Periagoes*, or Boats of twelve or fourteen Oars apiece, among which were eight Ships of good Force; viz. from eight to forty-eight Guns. They were computed to have 3000 Men aboard the whole Fleet, and two Fireships. The 30th in the Morning, we saw the *Spanish* Fleet three Leagues to the Leeward of us at Anchor, and, at ten of the Clock, with an easy Gale from the South, making the best of their Way to *Panama*. We do not know their Loss. We had but one Man killed. Captain *Gronet*, who was not in the Fight, laid the Fault thereof on his Men. He was ordered to leave us, in a Consultation held for that Purpose, where it was also resolved to sail for the Isles of *Quibo*, or *Cobaya*, in quest of Captain *Harris*.

38. We sailed June 1. 1685, with a South South-west Wind, passing betwixt the Point *Garachina* and the *King's* *Isles*. The 5th, we passed in Sight of the Isle *Chuscu*, a small, low, round, woody Isle, four Leagues South South-west from *Pacbeque*, uninhabited, and the last of the Isles in the Bay of *Panama*. We sailed forward on the North Side of the Bay, (the Way all Ships from *Panama* must pass) and came, the 10th, in Sight of the *Moro de Porcos*, an high round Hill on the Coast of *Lavelia*. This Side of the Bay of *Panama* runs out West to the Isles of *Quibo*. On these Coasts are many Rivers and Creeks; but not near so large as those on the South Side of the said Bay. Near the Sea-side this Coast is partly hilly, partly low Grounds, with very thick Woods; but, in the Heart of the Country, they have fruitful Plains for Cattle. Some of the Rivers on this Side afford also Gold; but not in such a Quantity as those on the other Side. There is scarce any Settlement along this Coast, except what is along the Rivers, that lead to *Lavelia* and *Nata*, these being the only Places I know of betwixt *Panama* and *Puebla Nueva*. From *Panama* is good travelling all over *Mexico* through the Savannas or Plains; but, towards *Pernu*, there is no Passage beyond the River *Chepo*, by reason of the thick Woods, and many Rivers. In our Voyage to *Quibo*, the Wind being constantly at South South-west and South-west, we met with very bad Weather; so that we did not reach these Isles, till June 15. where we met with Captain *Harris*. The Isle of *Quibo* or *Cobaya*, at 7° 14' North Latitude, is near seven Leagues long, and four broad, being all low Land, except at the North-east End; on which Side, as also to the East, there is excellent good Water. It abounds in Trees of all sorts; in Deer and black Monkeys, the Flesh of which is reckoned very wholesome and good. It has also some Guanoes and Snakes. From the South-east End of this Isle runs out a Sand-bank half a Mile into the Sea; and a League to the North Side of this, to the East, is a Rock a Mile from the Shore, which, at the last Quarter Ebb, is seen above Water. For the rest, Ships may come to an Anchor at any other Place a quarter of a Mile from the Shore, at six, eight, ten and twelve Fathom, clean Sand and Oufe. Besides this, there are several Isles lying on the South-west Side; some to the North and North-east. The Isle of *Quicarra* is pretty large, lying to the South-west of *Quibo*; and, to the North of it, is a small Isle called *Rancheria*, which produces great Plenty of *Palma*-Maria-trees. They are very trait-bodied, tough, and of a very good Length, and consequently fit for

for Mafts: The Grain of the Wood runs twisted gradually. They have no Refemblances to the Palm-tree. To the North-eaft of *Rancheria* lie the little Iflands of *Canales* and *Cantaras*, with their Channels betwixt them, where there is good Anchorage. They have Plenty of good Water and Trees; and they appear at a Distance to be Part of the Continent: But the Ifle of *Quibo* being the longeft, and moft confiderable of them all, they are generally comprehended under the Name of the Ifles of *Quibo*.

39. *June 6.* It being agreed, that, fince we had miffed at Sea, we fhould try our Fortune by Land, the City of *Leon* was pitched upon, (on the Coaft of *Mexico*) as being neareft to us; but, waiting Canoes to land our Men, we cut down Trees, to make as many as we had Occafion for. In the mean time 150 Men were fent to make themfelves Mafters of *Puebla Nova*, (a Town on the Continent near thefe Ifles) in hopes of getting fome Provisions there. They took the Town with much Difficulty, and returned the 26th; but met with nothing there, except an empty Bask. *July 5.* Captain *Knights* came to us, having been farther to the Weft, where meeting with no Purchase, he failed to the South as far as the Bay of *Guafquil*, where he took two Bark-logs with Wine, Oil, Brandy, Sugar, Soap, &c. The Mafter declared, that the Merchant-fhips, defigned to have been fent away by the Spanifh Fleet to *Panama*, did ftay behind at *Peyta*, till further Orders; and that, had he had more Strength, they might eafily have been taken. In a Month's time, our Canoes being got ready, Captain *Harris*, with his Men, went on board Captain *Davis* and Captain *Swan* (his Ship being rotten); and, *July 20.* we failed from *Quibo* towards *Rio Leja*, the next Port to the City of *Leon*, being now 640 Men, eight Sail of Ships, three Tenders, and a Fire-ship, the Wind at South South-weft. Coafting along, we paffed by the Gulph of *Nicosa*, that of *Dulce*, and the Ifle of *Canas*, the Land low, covered with Wood, and almoft deftitute of Inhabitants. We had variable Winds; but moft South-weft and Weft South-weft, the Land-winds at North North-eaft. We were much pelted with Tornadoes. *Auguft 8.* at 11° 20 North Latitude, we difcovered the *Volcano Veja*, or *Old Vulcano*, (the Sea-mark of *Rio Leja*) bearing North-eaft by North, and no fooner had we brought the faid Mountain to bear North-eaft, but we made Provifion for landing the next Day. The 9th, we fent 520 of our Men in thirty-one Canoes towards the Harbour of *Rio Leja*. The Weather was fair, and the Wind favourable, till two in the Afternoon, when a Tempeft, mixed with Thunder and Lightning, had almoft buried us in the Sea; but, after half an Hour, it began to abate, and fo did the Agitation of the Sea, it being obfervable, in thofe hot Countries, that the Waves foon rife and fall. At feven of the Clock at Night it was calm; but, finding we could not be ready to land before Day, (being five Leagues from Shore) we flaid thereabouts till next Evening, for fear of being difcovered; but, about three of the Clock, another Tornado had like to have put an End to our Enterprize. However, as the fame did not laft long, we entered the Cree - lying on the South-eaft Side of the Harbour, leading to *Leja*, in the Night; but durft not go farther till Day-break, when we rowed deeper into the Creek, which is very narrow, and the Land on both Sides marfhy near the Banks, and full of Mangrove-trees; fo that there is no paffing through them. Beyond the Mangrove-trees, upon the firm Ground, they call up a final Intrenchment. We rowed as faft as we could, and landed 470 Men, leaving the reft (of which Number I was one) to guard the Canoes. The City of *Leja* ftands twenty Miles in the Country, in a fandy Plain, near a peaked burning Mountain, thence called the *Vulcano of Leon*, the Way to it being through a champagne Country, covered with long Grafs. Betwixt the Landing-place and the City were feveral Sugar-works; and, about Mid-way a delicious fordable River, being the only thing they met with in their Way. Two Miles on this Side the City is an Indian Town, where a pleafant fandy Road leads you to the City, the Houfes whereof are Stone, and large, with Gardens about them; but low, and covered with Pantule. It has three Churches, and a Cathedral. Its Situation is in a fandy Plain, with Savannas all round about it, which drink up the Rain, and afford a free Paffage to the Breezes from

all Sides. This makes it both healthful and pleafant, tho' it is not a Place of great Commerce, all their Subftance being in Cattle and Sugar-works.

40. Our Men marched at eight of the Clock, Captain *Townley* leading the Van, at the Head of eighty of the briskeft Men. Captain *Swan* followed him with 100 more; and Captain *Davis* brought up the Rear with 170, in Conjunction with Captain *Knights*. Captain *Townley*, being advanced two Miles before the reft, and having forced feventy Horfe to a Retreat at four Miles on this Side of the City, marched forward, and, at three of the Clock in the Afternoon, with his eighty Men only, entered the Town without Refiftance; but met with fome Oppofition from five hundred Foot and two hundred Horfe, firft in a broad Street, and afterwards in the great Market-place; but the Foot, feeing the Horfe take to their Heels, alfo retreated, leaving the Town to our People's Mercy. Captain *Swan* came not into the Town till four o'Clock; *Davis* about five; and *Knights*, with the Remainder, not till fix. The Spaniards killed one of our Men, that ftaggled behind, being very old, and refufing to accept of Quarter, and took one *Smith* Prisoner. Next Day, the Governor fent Word he would ransom the Town. We demanded 30,000 Pieces of Eight, and Provisions for 1000 Men for four Months; which he not relifhing, we fet the City on Fire the 14th, and marched towards our Canoes the next Morning. *Smith* was exchanged for a Gentlewoman. We releafed another Gentleman, upon his Parole to deliver to us 150 Oxen for his Ransom at *Rio Leja*, the Place we intended to attack next. The 16th in the Afternoon, we came back in our Canoes to the Harbour of *Rio Leja*, where our Ships were come to an Anchor by that time. The Creek, that leads from *Rio Leja*, extends from the North-weft Part of the Harbour's Mouth to the North, about two Leagues from the Ifle in the Harbour's Mouth, to the Town. The firft two-third Part are broad; but afterwards closes in a narrow deep Channel, lined on both Sides with many Cocoa-trees. A Mile from the Entrance of the Creek, it winds to the Weft. Hence was, that the Spaniards call up an Intrenchment, fronting the Entrance of the Creek, defended by 100 Soldiers, and twenty Guards. Below it a Boom of Trees was made crofs the Creek; fo that they might have kept off 1000 Men, had they not wanted Courage to keep their Poft; but, at the Firing of two of our Guns, they quitted it, leaving us at Liberty to cut down the Boom. This done, we landed, and marched to the Town of *Rio Leja*, a fine Borough, feated a Mile thence, upon a fmall River, in a Plain. It has three Churches, and an Hofpital, with an handfome Garden to it, the Place being feated in an unwholfome Air, among the Fens and Marfhes, which fend forth a noifome Scent. We took the Town without the leaft Oppofition. The Country about it has many Sugar-works, and Inclofures for Cattle; and great Quantities of Pitch, Tar and Cordage are made by the Country-people. It produces alfo Melons, Pine-apples, Guavas, and Prickle-pears.

41. The Shrub, that bears the Guava-fruit, has long and fmall Boughs, a white and fmooth Bark, and Leaves like the Haile. The Fruit refembles a Pear, with a thin Rind, and many hard Seeds. It may be eaten while green, a thing feldom obferved in Fruits either in the *East* or *West Indies*. It is yellow, foft, and well-tafted. After it is ripe, it may be baked like Pears, and will coddle like Apples. There are different Sorts, diftinguifhed by their Shape, Taft, and Colour; fome being red, others yellow, in the Infide. Before it is ripe, it is astringent; but afterwards loofening. The Prickle-pear grows upon a Shrub five Feet high, in many Places in the *West Indies*. It thrives beft in fandy fandy Grounds, near the Sea-shore. Each Branch of this Shrub has two or three round Leaves, of the Breadth of a Man's Hand, not unlike Houfe-leek, edged with Prickles of an Inch long. At the Extremity of the Leaf grows the Fruit, of the Bignefs of a large Plum, fmall towards the Leaf, and thicker to the End, where it opens like a Medlar. The Fruit has alfo fmall Prickles, is green at firft, but turns red by degrees. The Pulp is of the fame Colour with the Subftance of a thick Syrup, with fmall black Seeds. Its Taft is pleafant and cooling. I have often obferved, that, if you eat twenty or more of them at a time, they will colour the Urine as red as Blood; but without any ill Confequence.

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We found nothing considerable in the Town, except 500 Packs of Flour, and some Pitch, Tar, and Cordage. We received also the 130 Oxen promised by the Gentleman we reliev'd at Leon, which, together with the Sugar, and some other Cattle we found in the Country, was extremely welcome to us. We staid here from the 17th to the 24th. The 25th, Captain Davis and Captain Swan parted, the first having a mind to return to the Coast of Peru, the other intending to go farther to the West. As I had a Curiosity to be better acquainted with the Northern Parts of the Continent of Mexico, I left Captain Davis, and went aboard Captain Swan. Captain Townley, with his two Barks, joined us; but Captain Harris and Captain Knight followed Captain Davis. The 27th, Captain Davis, with his Ship, went out of the Harbour; but we staid some time behind, to provide ourselves with Water and Fuel.

42. By this time our Men began to be much afflicted with Fevers, which we attributed to the Remains of a contagious Distemper, that lately reigned at Rio Liza; for Captain Davis's Men underwent the same Fate. September 3. we sail'd again, steering to the West. We had bad Weather all along the Coast, with violent Tornadoes, Thunder, and Lightning. The Tornadoes blew from the North-west. The tempestuous Weather kept us out at Sea; so that we saw no Land till the 14th, at 12° 51' North Latitude. We came in Sight of the Vulcano or burning Mountain of Guatimala. It appears with a double Peak, like two Sugar-loaves, betwixt which sometimes break out the Fire and Smoke, especially before bad Weather. The City of Guatimala is seated near the Foot of this high Mountain, eight Leagues from the South Sea, and forty or fifty Leagues from the Gulph of Matique in the Bay of Honduras in the North Sea. It is reputed a rich City, the Country about it abounding in several Commodities peculiar to it, and transported thence into Europe, especially the four noted Dyes, Indico, Otta or Anatta, Silver, and Cochineal. The Land near the Vulcano of Guatimala is low by the Sea-side; but, by degrees, becomes higher and higher for about ten Leagues from the Shore. We saw abundance of Drift-wood and Pumice-stones floating in the Sea. These last were thrown out by the Mountain, and washed by the Rains into the Sea. The 24th, at 14° 30' North Latitude, the Weather being settled, Captain Townley went ashore with 106 Men to the West, in hopes to find a Landing-place, and some Refreshments for our sick Men. We lay by till the 26th, when, coasting along to the West, with a North-west Wind, we saw a Track of high Land, beginning at the East, and running for ten Leagues within the Land to the West, where it links by an easy Descent. On this Side of it, near to the Sea, we saw rich Pasture-grounds, mixed with pleasant Groves. The Country near the Sea-shore was defended by sandy Hills; but the boisterous Waves would not let our Men land with their Canoes. We were forced to coast still for eight or nine Leagues farther. At Captain Townley, seeing no Prospect of landing, returned aboard with his Men October 2. But, being resolv'd to try his Fortune again, he forced his Canoes ashore in a sandy Bay, where he landed with the Loss of one Man, and most of the Powder spoiled with the salt Water. When they were got ashore, they found the Country full of Torrents, and unfordable Rivulets; so they were forced to return to their Canoes. They were charged by 200 Spaniards and Indians; but these they soon repuls'd, and forced them to take the Way of Teguantapeque, the same Town that Captain Townley went to look for, but could not get Sight of. Immediately after his Return, we sail'd again, with brisk North North-east Wind, still coasting to the West, within two Miles of the Shore. At six Miles from the shore we found nineteen Fathom, and, at eight Miles, twenty-one Fathom, coarse Sand. We could not discover either Creek or Bay for twenty Leagues farther, till we came to the Isle of Tangola, where there is safe Anchorage. It is high, but small, yet well furnished with Wood and Water, about a League from the Continent, which has pleasant Pasture-grounds near the Sea, but high Woodland deeper in the Country. We sail'd a League farther into the Port of Guatulo, one of the best in the Kingdom of Mexico, at 15° 30' North Latitude. On the East Side of the Entrance of the Harbour, about a Mile from it, is a

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small Isle adjacent to the Shore, and, on the West Side of the said Entrance, a great hollow Rock, open at the Top, through which the Waves of the Sea force their Passage, as if through a Pipe, with a great Noise, and to a great Height, even in the calmest Weather; so that it affords a good Mark to Seamen bound for this Port. The whole Depth of the Harbour is about three Miles, and its Breadth one Mile. It runs in North-west. The West Side is the more secure, because the rest is exposed to the South-west Winds, which are frequently on this Coast.

43. Here Captain Townley landed again with some Men; and, marching to the East, came to the River Capatia, which has a very swift Current; but is deep at its Entrance. A League from Guatulo, two of our Men swam over the River, where they seized upon three Indians, that were placed there to keep Watch. As they could not speak Spanish, so they made Signs, that they could conduct them to a Village; whereupon 140 Men were sent, under the Conduct of Captain Townley, (myself being one) who returned the 8th, having seen, after fourteen Miles March, a small Indian Village, where they found nothing but some Vincellos drying in the Sun. The Vincello grows on a small kind of Vine, creeping up about the Trees. This, at first, bears a yellow Flower, which produces a Cod of the Bigness of the Stem of a Tobacco-leaf, and about four or five Inches long. This Cod is green at first, but, when ripe, becomes yellow: The Seeds are black. After they are gathered, they lay them in the Sun, which makes them soft, and of a Clove-stick-colour. They squeeze it flat afterwards with their Fingers. The Spaniards, who buy this Commodity very cheap of the Indians, flake them afterwards with Oil. I never heard of any of the Vincellos, except hereabouts, about Calicocha in the Bay of Campeachy, and Beco-tora. Near this last Place, I gathered them myself, and endeavour'd to cure them, but could not succeed, as I know other Persons, who have lived many Years in these Parts, and have attempted the same with no better Success, I am apt to believe the Indians have some peculiar way to cure them, that hitherto is unknown to us. The 10th, we sent four Canoes before to the West, to expect our coming at Port Angels; and, in the mean while, endeavour'd to take some Prisoners. The 12th, we sail'd with our Ships from Guatulo, the Land lying along to the West, inclining to the South, for twenty or thirty Leagues, the Sea-winds at West South-west and South-west, the Land-winds at North. We coasted along as near as we could to the Shore, to take the Benefit of the Land-wind, the Sea-wind being against us, besides that we were kept back by the Current setting to the East; so that we were forced to come to an Anchor at Sacrificio, an Isle half a Mile long, a League to the West of Guatulo, and half a Mile from the Continent. To the West of the Isle appears a good Bay, but it is rocky. The best Anchorage is betwixt the Isle and the Continent, at five or six Fathom Water, tho' the Tide is pretty strong here, the Sea rising about six Feet. The 13th, we continued coasting to the West near the Shore, which was high and woody, with divers sandy Bays; but the Waves very boisterous near the Shore. Two of our Canoes returned the 22d, and told us, they had lost Company of the other two; that they could not find Port Angels; and had endeavour'd, in vain, to land at a Place, where they saw great Store of Cattle, being then just a-breach Port Angels, though those in the Canoes did not know it. We went in, and came to an Anchor there. It is a broad open Bay, having two or three Rocks at the West End. For the rest, there is good Riding at thirteen, twenty and thirty Fathom Water; but Ships lie exposed to all Winds, the Land-winds excepted, till they come at twelve or thirteen Fathom Water, where they are sheltered against the Trade-winds, which are West South-west. The Flood rises about five Feet, first to the North-east, and the Ebb at South-west. The Landing place is close to the West Side, before the above-mentioned Rock; but, as the Waves run very high, there is but indifferent landing. It lies at 15° North Latitude, and is inclosed, on the Land-side, by high sandy Grounds, Part abounding with Woods, Part Plains, with very good Grass. The 23d, we landed 100 Men, who subsisted two or three Days upon salt Beef, and got Store of salt Maiz, Hogs, Cocks and Hens, in an adjacent Houle to the Plain; but

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could carry but little aboard, by reason of the great Distance from the Sea-side. The 27th, we sailed in the Morning with the Land-wind; about Noon the Sea-wind blew; and, at Night, we anchored at sixteen Fathom Water, near a small rocky Isle, sixteen Leagues West from Port Angels, and half a Mile from the Continent. The 28th, we continued our Voyage with the Land-wind; the Sea-wind blew hard in the Afternoon, and, at Night, we met with the other two Canoes we had sent out from *Guatuko*; they had been as far as the Port of *Acapulco*; and, in their Return, took in fresh Water in spite of 150 *Spaniards* that would have opposed it. Thence they came into a Salt-water Lake, or Pond, on the Banks of which finding Abundance of dry Fish, they brought some aboard us. As we were just off this Lake, we sent twelve Men in a Canoe for more Fish. The Entrance of the Lake is closely hemm'd in with Rocks on both Sides, that the Passage betwixt them is not above Pistol-shot over, but within the Lake is a considerable Compas. The *Spaniards*, being alarmed already, now seeing our Canoes before the Lake, posted themselves behind the Rocks, and fired such a Volley of Shot upon our Canoe, at her entering into the Pond, that they wounded five of our Men: However, our People rowed forward into the Lagune, or Pond, out of Gun-shot, where they staid two Days and three Nights, not daring to attempt to re-pass the same Way they came: At last Captain *Townley*, who lay nearer to the Shore than we, hearing the firing of some Guns that Way, manned one of his Canoes, and, beating the *Spaniards* from the Rocks, opened them a free Passage; so they returned aboard *October* 31. This Lagune is in 16° 40' North Latitude.

44. *November* 2. we passed by the Rock of *Alcatraz*; the Land near it is high, woody, and mountainous in the Country; six Miles to the West of the said Rock, lie seven or eight white Cliffs to the South by West, whereof a large Shole runs out five Miles at Sea. Two Leagues to the West of these Cliffs is an handsome River, having a small Isle at its Entrance: The East Channel is shallow and sandy, but that to the West will admit of Canoes. The 3d, we came to an Anchor opposite to this River, one Mile and an half to Shore, at fourteen Fathoms. The *Spaniards* having cast up an Intrenchment along the West Channel, defended by 200 Soldiers, we landed our Men, and forced them thence with little Opposition: We found here a good Quantity of Salt, designed for the salting the Fish they take in the Lake; but we saw no Nets, Hooks, or Lines, nor any Bark, Canoe, or Boat. Marching three Leagues into the Country, we took a Mulatto Prisoner, who informed us, that lately there was a stout Ship come from *Lima* to *Acapulco*: Captain *Townley* standing in need of a better Ship than that which he possessed, it was agreed (though not without some Opposition from Captain *Swan*) to fetch the said Ship out of that Harbour. The 5th, we continued coasting to the West toward *Acapulco*: The 7th, twelve Leagues from the Shore we saw the high Land of *Acapulco*, very remarkable for a round Hill betwixt two other Hills; the Westermost being the largest and highest, with two Hillocks on the Top; but the Eastermost is higher and more peaked than the Middlemost. *Acapulco* is a Town and Harbour, at 17° North on the West Side of the Continent, belonging to the City of *Mexico*, being the only Place of Commerce on the West Coast, though, at the same time, there are only three Ships that come hither, viz. two that go constantly every Year betwixt this Port and *Manilla* in *Luconia*, one of the *Philippine* Islands, and another once a Year to and from *Lima*. This last comes to *Acapulco* about *Christmas*, laden with Quicksilver, Cocoa, and Pieces of Eight, and stays there till the *Manilla* Ships arrive; from these she takes in her Cargo of Spices, Calicoes, Mullins, &c. for *Peru*, and so returns to *Lima*. This is but a moderate Vessel, but the two Ships from *Manilla* carry about 1000 Tons: These two so order their Voyage, as that one or other of them is always at *Manilla*: One of them sets Sail from *Acapulco* about the Beginning of *April*, and, after sixty Days, touches at *Guam*, one of the *Ladrone* Isles, for Refreshments: After three Days Stay, she continues her Voyage to *Manilla*, where she commonly arrives in *June*. Soon after, the other Ship being ready to sail from *Manilla* with the East India Commodities, she

fleets her Course thence to thirty-six or forty Degrees North Latitude, before she can get the Wind to carry her into the Coast of *America*; first, she falls into the Shore of *California*; and then, coasting to the South, certainly meets a Wind to bring her to *Acapulco*. After she has made the Cape of *St. Lucas*, the South Point of *California*, she runs over to Cape *Corientes* at 20° North Latitude, whence she coasts to *Sallagua*; where, having put ashore the Passengers bound for the City of *Mexico*, she continues coasting along to *Acapulco*, which commonly happens about *Christmas*; and, upon her Return to *Manilla*, the other Ship undertakes her Voyage to *Acapulco*, a Port so large and convenient, as to be able to contain some Hundreds of Ships without Danger. Cross the Entrance of the Harbour is a low Isle, one Mile and a half long, and half a Mile broad, stretching from East to West. At each End is a deep Chancel for the Entrance of their Ships, and their coming out, provided they enter with the Sea-wind, and come out with the Land-wind, and these blow at stated Times of the Day or Night. The Chancel at the West End is narrow, but so deep, that there is no Anchorage. Through this the Ships come in from *Manilla*, but the Ships from *Lima* pass through the South-west Chancel. The Harbour runs in eight Miles to the North; then, closing up in a narrow Chancel, goes a Mile farther to the West. At the Entrance of this Chancel, on the North-west Side, just by the Sea-side, stands the Town of *Acapulco*, near which is a Platform with a good Number of Guns; and over-against the Town, on the East Side, stands a strong Castle, defended by no less than forty great Guns. Ships commonly ride within Reach of this Castle, at the Bottom of the Harbour. Captain *Townley* went with 140 Men, in twelve Canoes, to fetch out the *Lima* Ship; but, by Streets of Weather, was forced into Port *Marquis*, a good Harbour, a League East of the Port of *Acapulco*: Here they staid all Day, and the next Night rowed fifty to *Acapulco*, where they found the Ship riding at Anchor 100 Yards from the Castle and Platform; so that, finding it impossible to carry her off, he returned much dissatisfied. The 11th, we sailed farther to the West, with the Land-wind at North-east. As the Sea-winds are here at South-west, we sailed along a sandy Bay, twenty Leagues in Length, where there was good Anchorage two Miles from the Shore; but the Sea-waves fell with such Violence against it, that there is no safe Landing-place. Near the Sea-side the Grounds are low, and abound with Trees, especially with spreading Palm-trees, which are sometimes twenty or thirty Feet high, but no bigger than an ordinary Ash. The Country is intermixed with many small Hills, which are, for the most part, barren; but the Valleys very fertile. At the West End of this Bay, jets out into the Sea the Head of *Petaplan*, at 19° 20' North Latitude, being a round Point, that appears like an Isle at Sea. A little farther to the West, is a little Knot of round Hills: We entered betwixt these and the Point, where we anchored at the North-west Side of the Hill, at eleven Fathom Water. Here we sent 170 Men ashore; who, marching fourteen Miles into the Country, came to a wretched *Tadua* Village, left by the Inhabitants; so that we met with nobody but a Mulatto Woman, with four small Children: Being brought aboard, she declared, that a Caravan of Mules, laden with Flour and other Goods, designed for *Acapulco*, had stopt their Journey on the Road to the West of this Village. So we sailed farther to the West the 18th, about two Leagues, to a Place called *Chequetan*, a pretty good Harbour, having the Conveniency of a fresh-water River, and Abundance of Wood: We landed ninety-five Men the 9th, in six Canoes, (having the Mulatto Woman for their Guide) at *Esapa*, a League West of *Chequetan*. Hence they were carried by their Guide through a pathless Wood, by a River-side, into a Plain, near which, in a Farm-house, they found the Caravan, consisting of six Mules, laden with Flour, Chocolate, Cheeses, and European-ware; all this they carried, except the earthen Vessels, with some Beef they had killed, and brought to the Canoes, and thence to our Ships. Captain *Swan* went afterwards ashore, and killed eighteen Cows more without the least Opposition. The Country is woody; but fertile, and watered with many Rivers and Rivulets.

by Degrees North carry her into the Shore of California, certainly meets a Sea made the *California*, she runs along the Shore the Passengers continues coasting about *Chilien* the other Ship port for large and fine Hundreds of the Har- long, and half a ... At each End Ships, and their Sea-wind, and blow at stated ... inel at the West ... no Anchorage. *Manilla*, but the South-west Channel ... North; then, ... mile farther to the ... on the North- ... Town of *Acapulco* good Number of ... East Side, stands ... forty great Guns; ... his Castle, at the ... they went with 140 *Lima* Ship; but, ... Port *Marquis*, a Port of *Acapulco*: ... eight rowed fifty ... riding at Anchor ...; so that, finding ... much difficult ... the West, with the ... winds are here at ... twenty Leagues ... orage two Men ... with such Violence ... place. Near the ... with Trees, espe- ... ch are sometimes ... than an ordinary ... many small Hills, ... the Valleys very ... jets out into the ... North Latitude, ... Isle at Sea. A little ... round Hills: We ... here we anchored ... eleven Fathom Wa- ... ho, marching four ... a wretched Indian ... at we met with no ... our small Children: ... that a Caravan of ... goods, designed for ... Road to the West ... the West the 18th, ... *Chequetan*, a pretty ... cy of a fresh-water ... e landed ninety-five ... the Mulatto Woman ... West of *Chequetan*: ... through a path lead- ... near which, the ... consisting of five ... Cheches, and Euro- ... pt the earthen Va- ... and brought to the ... Captain *Secau* was ... Cows more within ... woody, but fertile ... ulks.

45. The 21. we failed with the Land-wind, which is at North here, and the Sea-wind at West South-west, coasting along to the West. At first the Land appears with ragged Hills; but, farther to the West, with fruitful Valleys betwixt them. The 25th, we passed by an high Hill, divided into Peaks, at 18° 8' North Latitude: The *Spaniards* say, there stands a Town, called the *Cupon*, not far from it, but we could not find the Way to it. The 26th, 200 Men were sent to endeavour to find out the City of *Colima*, a rich Place; but, though they rowed twenty Leagues along the Shore, they could not meet with any Place to land in, and saw not the least Sign of any Inhabitants. At two Places they saw two Horsemen, and our Men followed them, but lost the Track in the Woods; so we returned the 28th on board; and, soon after, the *Volcano*, or burning Mountain, of *Colima*, very remarkable for its Height, at 18° 36' North Latitude, six Leagues from the Sea-side, appeared, with two high Points, from each of which issues always either Fire or Smoke. The Valley, in which it stands, bears the Name of the Mountain, as does the adjacent Town, the chief City of all the Country. If we may credit the *Spaniards*, it is a most delightful and fertile Valley, abounding in Cocoas, Corn, and Plantains, being ten or twelve Leagues wide to the Sea, and stretching a great Way into the Country; but there is no Landing-place near it, occasioned by the Impetuosity of the Waters; for, about two Leagues from the East Side, is low woody Ground, and, at the End, is a deep River, which disembogues into the Sea; but, by reason of a Land-bank at the Mouth, there is no Entrance, even for Canoes. The 29th, 200 Men were sent again, to try whether they could find any Path or Track leading to the Town of *Sallagua*, seated, as the *Spaniards* report, at the West End of the Bay of the Valley of *Colima*; but, the Waves running so high, there was no landing, they returned aboard the 30th. December 1. we came in Sight of the Port of *Sallagua*, at 18° 52': It is a Bay, parted by a rocky Point about the Middle; so that it appears like two distinct Harbours, in either of which is safe anchoring at ten or twelve Fathom Water, tho' the West Harbour is the best, having, besides this, the Conveniency of a fresh-water Rivulet falling into the Sea. We saw a good Number of armed *Spaniards*, to whom we gave a Visit, the next Morning, with 200 of our best Men; but the Foot never stood one Charge, and the Horse soon followed them: In the Pursuit, our Men, lighting upon a broad Road, leading through a woody and rocky Country, followed it for four Leagues; but, finding not the least Foot-steps of any Inhabitants, they turned back, and in their Way took two straggling Mulattoes, who assured them, that the broad Road led to the City of *Oarrab*, four long Days Journey from hence, and that their Men were sent from that City to secure the Ship from *Manilla*, that was to set Passengers ashore there. The *Spanish* Maps place the Town of *Sallagua* hereabouts, but we could see no Signs of it. December 6. we failed again, coasting to the West towards Cape *Corientes*, in hopes of meeting thereabouts with the Ship expected from the *Philippines*. The Sea-winds are here North-west, and the Land-wind at North; the Land indifferent high, sprinkled with many ragged Points, and woody. Here I was afflicted with the Dropsy, and to were many of our Men: This being a common Disease on this Coast, the Natives pretend to cure it with the Stone or Cod of an Alligator (of which they have four, viz. one near each Leg within the Fleth) beaten to Powder; but we had not the good Fortune to meet with any of these Creatures, though they are sometimes found hereabouts. Betwixt *Sallagua* and Cape *Corientes* are divers good Ports we did not touch at. As we approached the Cape, it appeared with many white Cliffs, and, deeper into the Country, with peaked Hills; to the West of these runs a Ridge of Mountains, beginning with an high steep Mountain at the East End, with three Peaks, resembling a Crown; whence the *Spaniards* called it *Coronado*, the Crown Land; but at the West End it terminates in an easy Descent. The 11th, we were in Sight of Cape *Corientes*, bearing North by West, and the *Coronado* to the North. This Cape is pretty high, very steep and rocky towards the Sea, but flat on the Top, and covered with

Trees; it is at 20° 28' North Latitude: I found its Longitude from *Teneriff* 23° 56', keeping thereby to the West, according to our Course; pursuant to which Computation it is, from the *Lizard* in *England*, 121° 41', and the Difference of Time eight Hours six Minutes. The Ship from the *Philippines* being obliged to make this Point in her Voyage homewards, we took our Stations with our four Sail, so as that we judged we could not well miss the Ship: But, as we wanted Provisions, fifty or sixty Men were sent in a Bark to the West of the Cape to get some: They returned the 17th without any Purchase, not being able to get about the Cape, the Wind being generally North-west and South-west on this Coast; however, they left four Canoes, manned with forty-six Men, behind, who intended to row to the West. The 18th, we failed to the Isles of *Chamely*, eighteen Leagues to the East of Cape *Corientes*: They are five low, small, and woody Isles, surrounded with Rocks, and lying in Form of an Half-moon, within a Mile from that Shore, betwixt which, and these Isles, there is safe Anchorage. They are inhabited by Fishermen, Servants to some of the Inhabitants of the City of *Purification*, a considerable Place, fourteen Leagues up in the Country. The 20th, we entered on the South-east Side, and anchored betwixt the Isles and the Continent; we found here fresh Water, Wood, and Rock-fish in great Plenty. The 21st, sixty of our Men, under Captain *Townley*, were sent seven or eight Leagues to the West, to surprise an Indian Village.

46. The 24th, the four Canoes, left thereabouts by Captain *Townley's* Bark, returned to us near the Cape, having got beyond it by the Help of their Oars, and landed in the Valley of *Valderas*, or *Val d'Iris*, the Valley of *Flags*, lying at the Bottom of a deep Bay, inclosed between Cape *Corientes* on the South-east, and the Point *Ponique* on the North-west. The Breadth of the Valley is three Leagues; the sandy Bay is level to the Sea, and affords a good Landing-place. In the midst is a good fresh-water River, navigable with Boats; but, at the latter End of the dry Season, viz. in *February*, *March*, and *April*, it becomes brackish. On the Land-side, this Valley is bounded by a green Hill, which, by its easy Descent into the Valley, affords a delightful Prospect; as do the wide-spread Pastures, stored with Cattle, the pleasant Groves of Guavas, Orange, and Lime-trees, which grow wild here in vast Numbers. In this delightful Valley we landed thirty-seven Men, who, advancing three Miles into the Country, were attacked by 150 *Spaniards*, Horse and Foot: By good Fortune there was an adjacent Wood, which afforded a happy Retreat to our Men, who from thence fired so furiously upon the *Spaniards*, that they killed their Leader, and seventeen Troopers, besides many wounded, with the Loss only of four Men, and two wounded: This made the Enemy retreat; however, had the Foot seconded the Horse, scarce one of our Men could have escaped. The 28th, Captain *Townley* returned aboard with forty Bushels of Maiz, which he had taken in an Indian Village to the East of Cape *Corientes*, five Leagues in the Country. We continued cruising off this Cape till the first of *January*, when we failed for the Valley of *Valderas*, to provide ourselves with some Beef: At Night we anchored at sixty Fathom Water, a Mile from the Shore. We continued here till the 7th, and landed 240 Men (50 whereof were constantly employed to watch the Motions of the *Spaniards*): We killed and salted as much Beef as would serve us two Months; and, had we not wanted Salt, we might have had much more. By this time our Hopes of meeting with the *Manilla* Ship being quite vanished, we concluded, that, whilst we had been employed in looking for Provision ashore, she had given us the Slip to the East; which proved true, according to the Account we had afterwards by several Prisoners. The Loss of so great and rich a Prize must chiefly be attributed to the Willfulness of Captain *Townley*, who would needs attempt the Taking of the *Lima* Ship in the Harbour of *Acapulco*, when, at the same time, we ought to have provided ourselves (as we might then have done) with Beef and Maiz for such an Enterprize, which whilst we were forced to seek, we lost this Ship; whereas, had we not wanted Necessaries, we might have gone even as far as Cape *Lucas*, in *California*, where

where Sir Thomas Cavendish formerly took one of these *Mamilla* Ships. Hitherto we had a double Design in View; first, the taking of the *Mamilla* Ship; secondly, the Search after rich Towns and Mines near this Coast, not knowing that the Wealth hereabouts lies all in the inland Country; but now, finding ourselves quite deceived in our Hopes, we parted, Captain *Townley* going back to the East, and we, in Captain *Swan's* Ship, to the West.

47. *January 7.* we sailed from this Valley, the Land-wind being at North-west, and at Night passed by *Pontique*, the West Point of the Valley of *Valderas*, ten Leagues from Cape *Corientes*, at $20^{\circ} 50'$ North Latitude. A League beyond it, to the West, lie two little Isles, called the *Pontiques*: Beyond those, the Shore runs ragged to the North for eighteen Leagues. The 14th, we came to anchor in a Chancel betwixt a small, white, rocky Isle and the Continent, at fourteen Fathom, at $21^{\circ} 15'$. The Isle is three Leagues from the Main; we anchored one League from it. From this Island the Land runs in North, making a sandy Bay: We anchored one League from the Continent, but there is no Landing. We found the Land-wind all along here at North-east, and the Sea-wind at North-west. The 20th, we anchored one League on the East Side of the Isles of *Chamelly*, (different from the before-mentioned) being a Knot of six small Isles at $23^{\circ} 11'$, a little to the South of the Tropic of *Cancer*, three Leagues from the Continent: One or two of them only have some sandy Creeks to the Sea-side, and produce a certain Fruit, called *Penguins*: These are of two Sorts, red and yellow; the last grows on a Stem, of the Thickness of a Man's Arm, a Foot from the Ground, with Leaves of half a Foot long, and one Inch broad, edged with Prickles: The Fruit grows just at the Top of the Stalk in Clusters; they are round, and of the Bigness of an Hen's Egg: The Rind is pretty thick, and the Pulp full of black Seeds, of a delightful Taste. The red *Penguin* is no bigger than an Onion, but of the Shape of a Nine-pin; it does not grow on a Stalk, but immediately out of the Ground, standing upright, sometimes sixty or seventy in a Cluster, being encompassed with prickly Leaves of one Foot and an half long, or two Feet long. Captain *Swan* went with 100 Men to the North, to find out the River *Callacan*, supposed to lie at 24° North Latitude, in the Province of *Callacan*, with a fair rich Town upon its Banks: But, though they had rowed above thirty Leagues, they could find no River, neither was there any safe Landing-place. Seven Leagues North North-west from the Isles of *Chamelly* is a Lake, with a narrow Entrance, at $23^{\circ} 30'$, called *Rio de Sal* by the *Spaniards*, it having Water enough for Canoes to enter. Our Men landed on the West Side, and took some Maiz at an adjacent Farm-house, and, at another Landing, an *Indian*, who informed us, that five Leagues thence there was an *Indian* Town: So our Men marched towards it, and, coming near the Place, were encountered by a good Body of *Spaniards* and *Indians*; but these being beaten back after the first Charge, they entered the Town, where they found only two or three wounded *Indians*, who told them, that the Town was called *Maffastan*, and that five Leagues hence there were two rich Gold Mines. We staid here till the 2d of *February*, when eighty Men were sent, and landed in the River *Rafario*, about three Leagues from the Sea. They came to a pretty little Town, (of the same Name) where the Prisoners assured them, that the before-mentioned Mines were not above two Leagues from thence; but, as we had present Occasion for Provisions, we carried aboard ninety Bushels of Maiz, without searching after the Mines. The 3d, we anchored against the Mouth of the River *Rafario*, one League from the Shore, in seven Fathom, at $22^{\circ} 15'$ North Latitude. But as this small Quantity of Provisions was not likely to do our Business for our intended Voyage, we landed, the 3th, forty Men, to seek the River *Oleta* (supposed to lie to the East of the River *Rafario*); but they returning without any Booty, or without being able to find it, we resolved to go on to the East, to the River of *St. Iago*, where we anchored the 11th, two Miles from the Shore, in seventeen Fathom Water, soft oozy Ground, three Leagues from the white high Rock of *Maxentelba*, bearing North North-west, as the high Hill *Zetico* bore South-east of us.

48. The River of *St. Iago*, one of the most considerable on this Coast, lies in $22^{\circ} 15'$. It has ten Feet Water on the Bar at Low-water, but the Height it flows I am not able to tell: Its Breadth, at the Entrance, is about half a Mile; but it is broader within, three or four Rivers discharging themselves into it there: The Water is brackish, but, near the Mouth, on the sandy Shore, you may dig fresh Water at three or four Feet. Captain *Swan* sent out seventy Men to look for a Town, the Country having a fair Prospect. After they had rowed up and down two Days, they landed in a Corn-field, where, while they were busy in gathering the Maiz, they seized an *Indian*, who told them, that four Leagues farther there was a Town, called *Sta. Peaque*. They were no sooner come on board, but Captain *Swan*, with 140 Men, went in eight Canoes five Leagues up the River, which was thereabouts not above a Pistol-shot wide, with high Banks; and, landing his Men, marched through fertile Plains and Woods for three or four Hours: At their Approach, the *Spaniards* quitted the Place; so we entered it without Opposition. The Town of *Sta. Peaque* is seated on the Side of a Wood, in a spacious Plain. It is not very large, but neatly built, with a square Market-place in the Middle, as most *Spanish* Towns are, and has two Churches. There are Silver Mines five or six Leagues from this Town: The Ore whereof is carried from this Place by Mules to *Compostella*, where it is refined. *Compostella* is the Capital of this Part of *Mexico*, twenty-one Leagues distant from *Peaque*, inhabited by about 70 white Families, and 5 or 600 *Mestizos* and *Indians*. As our Men found plenty of Maiz, Sugar, Salt, and Salt-fish here, Captain *Swan* ordered one half of them to carry Provisions aboard, whilst the other took care of the Town: This they did by Turns, having got some Horses to ease them in their Labour. Thus they continued for two Days; but, the 19th, Captain *Swan*, being informed by a Prisoner, that 1000 armed Men had lately marched from *St. Iago* (a rich Town up the River, three Leagues thence) to attack our Men, ordered his People to get all the Horses they could, and to march all together, with what Provisions they could carry, to the Canoes; but they refusing to obey him, till all the Provisions could be carried on board, he was forced to let one half of them go on with 54 Horses; but they had not marched a Mile, before the *Spaniards*, lying in Ambush, attacked and killed them all upon the Spot: Captain *Swan* marched to their Relief, but came too late, being all slain and stript, though, at the same time, they never attempted to engage him, having, questioned, paid pretty dear for their Victory. Amongst the Slain was Mr. *Ringrose*, who published the Account of Captain *Sharpe's* Adventures, and the History of the *Buccaners*. Captain *Swan* being returned aboard with the rest of his Men, with what Provisions they had got, it was resolved to sail to Cape *St. Lucas*, on *California*, in hopes of a Commerce with the *Indians* there, and, consequently, in the Lake of *California*. This Lake is properly a Chancel, or Part of the Sea, betwixt the Isle and the Continent; but either not much known by the *Spaniards*, or else concealed by them, for fear that the other *European* Nations should find out that Way to the Mines of *New Mexico*; for they vary considerably about it in their Charts; some make it an Isle, others join it to the Continent, but not one of them, that I know of, gives an Account of the Tides, the Depth, or Harbours, in or near this Lake; whereas their hydrographical Maps describe the Coasts towards *Asia*, on the West Side of the Isle from Cape *St. Lucas* to 40° North. *New Mexico* (according to the Report of the *Spaniards*, and some *English* Prisoners there) lies near fifty Leagues North-west from *Old Mexico*, where the richest Mines of all this Country are supposed to be; though there are, unquestionably, some also in other Parts hereabouts, as well as on the Continent, near the Main-land of *California*; though, as the *Spaniards* have Mines enough to manage, they have not taken the Pains to discover them; and the vast Distance of this Country has, no doubt, been the Occasion, that no Discoveries have been made by others, or are like to be made, unless a nearer Way thither could be found, I know by the North-west: I am not ignorant, that divers unsuccessful Attempts have been formed for the Discovery of a

North-west their search David's or Search ought thence along the West & discovering Japan, Cor take the Ac mer to go have time on these Co California, After we c Winds at N wind) and the 7th we where we a most of the Isle we call are three fourteen Le and uninhab distant from South-east, ing upon t Lucas. TH a green pri leaf, and a longer. T their Subst some of th Burdock bo I was laid i an Hour. Effect; for here careen to be gott fail to the V near the M also bracki the Cape o half a Mile the Cape. the Contin time suffic Riches of Sea-ports Opinion v Country w naged by I prevailed u 49. Our ter Succes tain Swan, Land-wind at Sea, wh us by Nigh Morning, east, we v for, so foot the Sea Br we found e the first I very fair V setting out which is r steered W neither Fi to my Ac the Kingd Boobies, f and ment not fee the began to n by Captai Clouds fet Fortune Afternoon NUMB

North-west Passage: The Reason whereof I attribute to their searching for the Passage at the Beginning through *Davis's* or *Hudson's* Bay; whereas, in my Opinion, the Search ought to have been begun in the South Seas, and thence along by *California*, and so a Passage made back into the West Seas. The same Rule might be observed in discovering the North-east Passage, viz. to winter about *Japan*, *Corea*, and the North-east Part of *China*, and so take the Advantage of the approaching Spring and Summer to go along the Coast of *Tartary*, whence you may have time enough to reach *Archangel*, or some other Port, on these Coasts. From hence we sailed the 21st towards *California*, with a North-west and West North-west Wind. After we came past the Isles of *St. Mar a*, we had strong Winds at North North-west, and at North, (the usual Trade-wind) and consequently lost Ground till February 6. so that the 7th we were forced to the East again, to the *Marias*, where we anchored the 7th, at the East End of the middlemost of these Isles, in eight Fathom, good clear Sand. This Isle we called *Prince George's Isle*. The Isles called *Marias* are three Islands, stretching North-west and South-east fourteen Leagues, of an indifferent Height, stony, barren, and uninhabited, at 12° 40' North Latitude, forty Leagues distant from Cape *St. Lucas* on *California*, bearing East South-east, and twenty Leagues from Cape *Corientes*, bearing upon the same Points of the Compass with Cape *St. Lucas*. They produce some Cedars, and, near the Sea-side, a green prickly Plant, with Leaves not unlike the Penguin-leaf, and a Root like that of the Semperviv, but much longer. The *Indians* of *California* have a great Part of their Subsistence from these Roots. We baked and eat some of them, and found them to taste like the *English* Burdock boiled. I had been long sick of the Dropsy, so I was laid in the Sand, and covered up to the Head for half an Hour. I sweated exceedingly, and, I believe, with good Effect; for I began to mend soon after. We remained here careening till the 26th; but as there is no fresh Water to be gotten here in the dry Season, we were forced to sail to the Valley of *Valderas*, where we anchored the 28th, near the Mouth of the before-mentioned River; which being also backshift at this time, we sailed three Leagues nearer to the Cape *Corientes*, and anchored by a small round Isle, half a Mile from the Shore, four Leagues to the North of the Cape. The Rivulet, where we filled our Water, is on the Continent, just opposite to the Isle. Being by this time sufficiently convinced of our Mistake concerning the Riches of this Coast, and the Probability of finding some Sea-ports worth our taking, founded upon an erroneous Opinion we had conceived, that the Commerce of this Country was carried on by Sea, whereas it is intirely managed by Land, by the Help of Mules, we were the sooner prevailed upon to try our Fortune in the *East Indies*.

49. Our Men, being encouraged with the Hopes of better Success for the future, and thro' the Persuasions of Captain *Swan*, sailed from Cape *Corientes* March 31. with the Land-wind at East North-east, till they got four Leagues at Sea, when a fresh Sea-wind at West North-west carried us by Night nine Leagues South-west from the Cape. Next Morning, the Sea-wind blowing briskly at North North-east, we were, at Noon, thirty Leagues from the Cape; for, so soon as you are clear of the Shore and Land-winds, the Sea Breezes are at East North-east, where it stood, till we found ourselves within forty Leagues of *Guam*. After the first Day, we advanced apace in our Voyage, having very fair Weather, and a fresh Trade-wind. At our first setting out, we directed our Course to 13° North Latitude, which is much the same Latitude with *Guam*. Then we steered West in that Latitude. In all this Voyage, we saw neither Fish nor Fowl, except once, being then, according to my Account, 5975 Miles West from Cape *Corientes* in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, when we saw a vast Number of Boobies, supposed to come from some Rocks not far off, and mentioned in some hydrographical Maps (but we did not see them). After we had sailed 1900 Miles, our Men began to murmur; but, being encouraged with fair Words by Captain *Swan*, we sailed forward; and, seeing some Clouds setting in the West, they were looked upon as the Forerunners of Land. May 20. at four o'Clock in the Afternoon, being in 12° 55' North Latitude, and steering

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West, we discovered, to our great Joy, the Isle of *Guam*, at eight Leagues Distance; for, as our Bark passed over a rocky Shore, and no such Shore is in the *Spanish* Charts, we were not a little doubtful, whether the Land we saw was the Isle of *Guam*; for we had only three Days Provision left. Now the Isle of *Guam* bore North North-east eight Leagues. This gives 22 to my Latitude, and takes 9 from my meridian Distance; so that the Isle is at 13° 21' North Latitude, and the meridian Distance from *Corientes* 7302 Miles, or 125° 11'. *Guam* is one of the *Ladrone* Isles, under the *Spanish* Jurisdiction. Its Length is twelve Leagues, and its Breadth four, lying North and South, defended by a small Fort, with six Guns, and a Garison of thirty Soldiers, under a *Spanish* Governor, for the Convenience of the *Philippine* Ships, that touch here for Refreshments in their Voyage from *Apulco* to *Manilla*. The Soil is indifferently fruitful, producing Rice, Pine-apples, Water-melons, Musk-melons, Oranges, Limes, Cocoa-nuts, and a certain Fruit called the Bread-fruit, growing on a Tree as big as our large Apple-trees, with dark Leaves. The Fruit is round, and grows on the Boughs, like Apples, of the Bigness of a good Penny-loaf. When ripe, it turns yellow, soft, and sweet; but the Natives take it green, and bake it in an Oven, till the Rind is black. This they scrape off, and eat the Inside, which is soft and white, like the Inside of new-baked Bread, having neither Seed nor Stone; but, if it is kept above twenty-four Hours, it is harsh. As this Fruit is in Season eight Months in the Year, the Natives feed upon no other sort of Bread during that time. They told us, that all the *Ladrone* Isles had Plenty of it. I never heard of it in any other Place. May 31. we came to an Anchor on the West Side of this Isle, near the Middle of it, one Mile from the Shore, there being no anchoring on the East Side, by reason of the Trade-wind, which forces the Waves with great Violence against it on that Side. The Natives are strong-limbed, Copper-coloured, with long black Hair, small Eyes, high Noses, thick Lips, very white Teeth, and of a stern Countenance, tho' they were very affable to us. The Air is accounted exceeding wholesome, except in the wet Season betwixt June and October. They are extremely ingenious in building certain Boats or Procs, (used all over the *East Indies*) of about twenty six or twenty-eight Feet long, and about five or six Feet high from the Keel, which is made of the Trunk of a Tree, like the Canoes, and sharp at both Ends. They manage these Boats by a Paddle, instead of a Rudder, and a square Sail, with such incredible Swiftnefs, that they will sail twenty or twenty-four Miles an Hour. These Boats are absolutely flat on one Side, like a Wall; but the other is round, and full-bellied, like other Vessels. Along this Side, parallel with the Boat, at six or seven Feet Distance, is fastened a Log of light Wood of one Foot and an half wide, and sharp at each End, by two Bamboes of eight or ten Feet long, laid at each End of the Boat. This Log keeps the Boat from overfetting. The *Dutch* and *English* call it an Outlier or Outlager. These *Indians* inhabit in small Villages on the West Side near the Shore, and have certain Priests to instruct them in the Christian Religion. By means of some Presents sent to the Governor, and an obliging Letter from Captain *Swan*, we obtained good Store of Hogs, Cocoa-nuts, Rice, Wheaten Biscuits, and other Refreshments, besides fifty Pounds of *Manilla* Tobacco; and, being informed by one of the Friers, that the Isle of *Mindanao*, one of the *Philippine* Islands, inhabited by Mahomedans, abounded with Provisions, we sailed June 2. with a strong East Wind, and arrived the 21st at the Isle of *St. John*, one of the *Philippine* Islands.

50. The *Philippines* are a Range of large Islands, reaching from 5° North Latitude to 19°, and to 16° Longitude. The chief of them is *Luconia*, where *Magellan* was killed with a poisoned Arrow, and is now intirely under the *Spanish* Subjection. Their capital City here is *Manilla*, a large Town and Sea-port, seated at the South-east End, opposite to the Isle of *Mindora*, a Place of great Strength, and vast Trade, because the two great Ships from *Acapulco* fetch thence vast Quantities of *India* Commodities, brought thither by the *Chinese* and *Portuguese*, and sometimes also by the *English* of *Fort St. George*, tho' by Stealth, the *Spanish* allowing no Commerce here to the *English* or *Dutch*, for

for fear they should discover both their Weakness, and the Riches of those Isles, which abound in Gold. To the South of *Lucania* are twelve or fourteen other large Isles, (besides an infinite Number of lesser ones) inhabited by *Spaniards*; but the two Southernmost, viz. that of *St. John* and *Mindanao*, are the only ones not subject to the *Spanish* Jurisdiction. The Isle of *St. John* lies between 7° and 8° North Latitude, on the East Side of *Mindanao*, about four Leagues from it. Its Length, from North North-west to South South-east, is thirty-eight Leagues, and its Breadth about the Middle twenty-four Leagues. The Soil is very fat and fertile. The 22d, coming one League of the East Side of the Isle of *Mindanao*, with a South-east Wind, we steered along the East Side towards the North End, till we came into 7° 40', where we cast Anchor in a small Bay, a Mile from the Shore, in ten Fathom, rocky foul Ground. The Isle of *Mindanao* is, next to *Lucania*, the largest of all the *Philippine* Islands, its Length being sixty Leagues, and its Breadth forty or fifty, the South End at 5° North Latitude, and the North-west End reaching almost to 8° North Latitude. The Soil is generally fat; and the stony Hills produce many Sorts of Trees, most of which are not known among us. The Valleys are watered with fresh Brooks and Rivulets, and stored with divers sorts of ever-green Trees, with Rice, Water-melons, Plantains, Bananas, Guavaes, Nutmegs, Cloves, Betle-nuts, Durians, Jacks or Jackas, Cocoa-nuts, Oranges, &c. but, above all the rest, a sort of Trees, which grow wild in Groves several Miles long, called the Libby-tree by the Natives, which furnishes the Sago. The poor People feed upon it instead of Bread here for three or four Months in the Year. The Tree is not unlike the Cabbage-tree; the Bark and Wood hard, full of a white Pith, like that of the Elder-tree. They cut down the Tree, and, splitting it in the Middle, take out the Pith, which they stamp or beat well in a Mortar or Trough; which done, they put it in a Cloth, and, pouring Water upon it, stir it well, till the Water carries also the Substance with it through the Cloth into the Trough. This, after it is well-fetted, they separate from the Water, (by drawing it off) and bake it into Cakes. The Sago, transported hence into other Parts of the *East Indies*, is dried into small Pieces, like Comfits, and used, with Milk of Almonds, as a good Remedy against Fluxes, being very astringent. The other Fruits, being either very well known, or sufficiently described by divers Authors, we will forbear to mention in this Place. We shall only add, that the Nutmegs here are extremely large and good; but they do not care to propagate them, for fear the *Dutch*, who monopolize the Trade of the *Spice* Islands, should be induced to give them a Visit. This Isle affords also both wild and tame Beasts, as Horses, Cows, Buffaloes, Goats, wild Hogs, Deer, Monkeys, Guanoes, Lizards, Snakes, Scorpions, (whose Sting is in their Tails) and those called Centeepees, or Hundred-legs by the *English*, no bigger than a Goose-quill, but five Inches long: They sting fiercer than a Scorpion. Of tame Fowls they have only Ducks and Hens; but, of the wild Kind, Pigeons, Parrots, Paraquetoes, Turtle-doves, Bats as big as our Kites; and of small Birds an infinite Number. Their Hogs feed in prodigious Herds in the Woods, and have thick Knobs growing over their Eyes. In the Heart of the Country are Mountains, that afford considerable Quantities of Gold. Their chief Fish are Bonnetoes, Snooks, Cavallies, Bremes, Mullers, and Sea-tortoises. Neither do they want Harbours, Creeks, and Rivers. The Climate of *Mindanao* is not so excessive hot, especially near the Sea-side, considering its Situation near the Line, where the Sea-breezes cool the Air by Day, as the Land-winds do at Night. The Wind blows from the East from *October* to *May*, when it blows West to *October* again. These West Winds produce the wet Season, which is heaviest in *July* and *August*, and begins to remit, by degrees, in *September*, and ceases in *October*, when the East Wind brings fair Weather till *May*. Tho' the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Mindanao* are generally alike in Colour, Stature, and in their Religion, (being *Mohamedans*) yet they differ in their Language and Government. I will only mention such as are come to my Knowledge: The Hillanoons, Mountaineers, living in the Heart of the Isle, are Masters of the Gold-mines, and are rich also in Bees-wax, both which they ex-

change with the *Mindanyans* for foreign Commodities. The *Sologs*, inhabiting the North-west End of the Isle, traffick with those of *Manilla*, and some other adjacent Islands; but not with those of *Mindanao*. The *Alfores* were formerly under the same Government with the *Mindanyans*, but were separated from them, by falling to the Share of younger Children of the Sultan of *Mindanao*, who, of late, has laid Claim to them again. The *Mindanyans*, properly so called, are of low Stature, with small Limbs, little Heads, and strait Bodies; small Eyes, short Noses, wide Mouths, thin red Lips, and black Teeth, but sound. Their Hair is black and strait; their Complexion tawny, but something brighter than that of other *Indians*. They are ingenious and nimble, but much addicted to Idleness; civil and obliging to Strangers, but withal implacable, when once disobliged. Their Cloathings are, a Turban tied once round the Head with Cloth, the Ends fringed or laced, tied in a Knot, and hanging down. They wear also Breeches, and Frocks over them; but neither Stockings nor Shoes. The Women tie their black and long Hair together in a Knot, hanging down behind. They are smaller-featured than the Men, and have very little Feet. Their Garments are only a Piece of Cloth sewed together at both Ends, and a Frock reaching a little below the Waist. They covet the Acquaintance and Conversation of white Men, and will be very free with them, as far as they have Liberty. One peculiar Custom they have in the City of *Mindanao*, that, as soon as any Strangers arrive, the Men of *Mindanao* come aboard, to invite them to their Houses, where they are sure to inquire, whether any of them have a mind for a *Pagally* (or innocent Female Friend). The Strangers, in Civility, are obliged to accept the Offer made them of such a Friend, and to shew their Gratitude by a small Present, as the Continuance of the same Friendship must be purchased by some other Trifles; in Return for which, they have the Liberty to eat, drink and sleep in their Friends Houses (for their Money). They have no other Entertainment there *gratis*, except a little Tobacco and Betel, a mean Way of begging, tho' practised even among the richest of the Place. The Capital of this Isle bears the same Name with the Island, and is seated on the South Side, two Miles from the Sea, upon the Bank of a small River, in 7° 20' North Latitude. Their Houses are built upon Posts, from fourteen to twenty Feet high, having only one Floor, but many Rooms or Partitions. The Sultan's House rests upon 150 great Posts, and was much higher than the rest, with great broad Stairs leading up to it. In the Hall stood twenty Pieces of Iron Cannon, placed on Field Carriages. The General, and other great Men, have also some Guns in their Houses, the Floors whereof are generally well matted, they using no Chairs, but sitting cross-legged. Their ordinary Food here is Rice, Sago, and some small Fish; but the better Sort eat Buffaloes and Fowl, tho' a great deal of Rice with them. They use no Spoons, but take their Victuals up in their Fingers. They speak, in the City of *Mindanao*, both the *Mindanyan* and *Malayan* Languages. Their Prayers are in *Arabic*, and they retain also some *Turkish* Words. Some of the old People of both Sexes can speak *Spanish*, because the *Spaniards* had formerly divers Forts in this Island, and would, without Question, have brought it under Subjection, had not the Fear they were in of being attacked by the *Chinese* at *Manilla* obliged them to withdraw their Troops thence; which Opportunity the present Sultan's Father laid hold on to make himself Master of their Forts, and to expel them from the Isle. But, at this time, as they are most afraid of the *Dutch*, so they have often invited the *English* to make a Settlement there, believing them not so encroaching as either of the before-mentioned Nations. The chief Trades in this City are Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Carpenters, and Shipwrights; for they build good Ships both for Trade and War. Their chief Commodities, exported, are Gold, Bees-wax, and Tobacco. The two first they purchase from the Mountaineers; and the last grows all over the Isle in vast Plenty. These they exchange for Calicoes, Mullins, and *China* Silks. The *Mindanao* Tobacco is reckoned no way inferior to that of *Manilla*; yet you may buy ten or twelve Pounds of it for a *Rial*. The People of *Mindanao* are generally afflicted with a dry Scurf all over their Bodies, with violent Itchings, which,

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when scratched, raiseth the Skin into small white Flakes, like the Scales of small Fish, and, after it goes away, leaves broad white Spots on their Bodies. As it is not infectious, I did not perceive they made any great Account of it. They are also troubled with the Small-pox; but their ordinary Distempers are Fevers, Agues, Fluxes, violent Pains, and Gripings in the Guts. They have many Wives; but I never could learn their Marriage Ceremonies, except that they feast their Friends for the most Part of the Night. They are under the Government of a Sultan, who is poor enough; but so absolute, that he even commands every private Subject's Purse at Pleasure. He was between fifty and sixty Years old, and had twenty-nine Concubines, besides his Queen. When he goes abroad, he is carried on a Couch upon four Mens Shoulders, attended by a Guard of eight or ten Men. He has a Brother called *Raja Laut*, who is both chief Minister and General, a shrewd Man, of good Conversation, who both speaks and writes *Spanish* very well. In their Wars they make use of Swords, Lances, and Hand-crests, a Weapon much like a Bayonet, which the greatest to the meanest always wear about them. They never fight any pitched Battle in the Field, but make small wooden Forts, defended by Guns, wherein they encamp, and endeavour to surprize one another by small Parties; and they neither give nor take Quarter. They are *Mohammedans*, their Sabbath being on Friday, when the Sultan goes to his Mosque twice. In his Mosque they have a great Drum, with one Head only, called a *Gong*. This they use instead of a Bell, and is beat by a Man at twelve, three, six, and nine of the Clock, Day and Night. They never circumcise their Males till they are eleven or twelve Years old, which, as it is done with a great deal of Solemnity, private People keep their Children, till some Man of Quality circumcises his, and so make a general Circumcision. This Office is performed by a *Mohammedan* Priest, who takes hold of the Foreskin of the Penis with two Sticks, and snips it off with a Pair of Scissors. We were present at the Circumcision of *Raja Laut's* Son, which was performed with extraordinary Magnificence. Their only Fast I ever heard of is their *Ramadan* time, which was then in August. They spend a whole Month in fasting every Day till Evening, when they employ an Hour in Prayers, and afterwards go to Supper. This Fast begins at one New-moon, and continues till they see the next. But it is time to return to our Voyage: We came to Anchor at the North-east Side of the Isle; but, understanding by some of the Natives, that the City of *Mindanao* was on the West Side, we steered to the South-east with a South-west Wind. Coming to the South-east End of the Isle, we sailed to the East of two small Isles, three Leagues distant from the Shore; and, July 4. anchored on the South-west Side of a deep Bog, four Leagues North-west from the two before-mentioned small Isles, in fifteen Fathom Water. The Land within the Bay, on the East Side, was high and woody, yet watered with several Rivers; but, on the West Side, bordering on the Sea, we saw large Plains, abounding in long grass, and vast Store of Deer, of which we killed as many as we thought fit. We staid here till the 12th, when, steering our Course to the West, we arrived July 18. at the Entrance of the River *Mindanao*, in 6° 22' North Latitude, and 23° 12' Longitude West from the Lizard of England, where we anchored in fifteen Fathom Water, clear hard land, two Miles from the Shore. Soon after, *Raja Laut*, and one of the Sultan's Sons, came aboard us, and demanded a *Spanish*, who we were; and, being told, that we were *English*, they asked, whether we were come to settle among them, of which they had had some Promise before, and were now in hopes to see it effected, and to serve them for Protection against the *Dutch*, whom they very much dreaded. Truly, had we considered the Matter, it would have been much for our Advantage to have done so, considering the commodious Situation of the Isle of *Mindanao* betwixt the *Spice* Islands (the three Isles of *Meangis* abounding in Spice and Cloves, being scarce twenty Leagues hence) and the *Philippines*; neither did we want any thing requisite for such a Settlement, being provided with all sorts of artificers, as Carpenters, Bricklayers, Shoemakers, Taylors, &c. as also with convenient Tools, Arms, Guns great and small, and Ammunition sufficient for such a Beginning:

And, notwithstanding the great Distance of this Island from England, we needed not have been without Hopes of seasonable Supplies thence, provided the Ships set out the latter End of August, and, passing round *Terra del Fuego*, stretch over towards *Mindanao*; or else they might coast down the *American* Shore as far as it was found requisite, and then direct their Course for this Isle, to avoid the *Dutch* Settlements, and to have the Advantage of the East Trade-wind after they were past *Terra del Fuego*; by which means this Voyage might be performed in six or seven Months, which, passing by the Cape of Good Hope, would at least require eight or nine Months. But to return to *Raja Laut* and his Nephew: They invited Captain *Swan* ashore, and promised to furnish him with what Provisions he wanted, desiring, that, in the mean time, we should secure our Ship in the River, for fear of the approaching West Winds; which Captain *Swan*, after some Deliberation, agreed to. The River, on which *Mindanao* stands, being but narrow, and having not above eleven Feet Water on the Bar at Spring-tide, we had much ado to get our Ship a quarter of a Mile above the Mouth, where we moored the Head and Stern in an Hole; so that she always lay afloat. The City of *Mindanao* is a Mile in Length, but not very broad, stretching along the Right Bank of the River as you enter it, tho' it has also some Houses on the opposite Side. The Inhabitants frequently came aboard us, and invited our Men to their Houses, where they were kindly entertained after their Manner with Tobacco and Betel; and such of them as had Money and Cloaths, did not want their Pagallies or Platonic Companions. Captain *Swan* was daily entertained at *Raja Laut's* House; and such of his Men as had no Money, had boiled Rice, Scraps of Fowl, and of Buffaloes Flesh given them. After their Fast was over, we were diverted with the Women-dancers, and such-like Sports, as are usual in this Country. But, notwithstanding all these outward Appearances of Friendship, we soon after began to discover *Raja Laut's* sinister Intentions; for, our Ship's Bottom being much eaten with the Worms, and we beginning in November to remove the sheathing Plank, to see whether the Worm had penetrated to the main Plank, in Presence of the said *Raja*, he could not forbear to discover his Thoughts, by shaking his Head, and telling us, that he never saw a Ship with two Bottoms before; besides, that he did not perform his Promise in providing us with Beef, pretending he could get none; and borrowed a considerable Sum of Gold of Captain *Swan*, which he never paid, notwithstanding he received considerable Presents of him before. These Disappointments began to induce the greatest Part of our Men to think of leaving this Place (such especially as had not much Money): Therefore, our Ship being provided with new Planks, instead of the worm-eaten, and the Bottom sheathed and tallowed by December 10. they began to urge Captain *Swan* to prepare for the Continuation of their Voyage. Captain *Swan* appointed them January 13. 1687. to be all aboard ready to sail; but, many of them being unwilling to part so soon as others, having dispersed themselves in the Country, (by the Encouragement of *Raja Laut*) and the Captain himself not being very ready to come on board, by reason of some Disorders amongst our Men, they deposed him from his Command; and, having chosen Captain *Teat* in his room, weighed the 13th in the Morning, and sailed January 13. from the River *Mindanao*, leaving Captain *Swan*, with about forty-four of his Men, (besides sixteen buried there) behind, in the Town or City of *Mindanao*. We coasted to the West, along the South Side of the Isle of *Mindanao*, and the next Day we passed in Sight of *Chambungo*, a Town of this Isle, thirty Leagues from the River of *Mindanao*, said to be a good Harbour. Six Leagues on this Side of the West of the Isle of *Mindanao*, we saw a great many small low Isles, and, three Leagues to the South of them, another Island, stretching twelve Leagues in Length, and South-west. Betwixt these Isles, and also between them and the great Isle, are good Channels; but a strong Tide. The 17th, we anchored on the East Side of these Isles, in eight Fathom, and to the West, upon the Shore of *Mindanao*, saw the Ruins of an old Stone Fort, formerly belonging to the *Spaniards*. The 27th, we got about the West Point of *Mindanao*, lying under the Shore to the North, with a fresh North-

North-east Gale; and continued the same Course, till we came abreast some of the other *Philippine* Isles to the North of us, and then steered towards them, yet so as to keep on the West Side. February 3, we anchored in a Bay on the West Side of an Island without a Name, in $9^{\circ} 15'$, on the West Side of the Isle of *Sebo*, in eighteen Fathom Water, only Ground. Its Length is eight or ten Leagues. In the Middle of this Bay, we saw a low, small, woody Isle, haunted by a sort of Bats, of the Bigness of a large Fowl, their Wings, when extended, being seven or eight Feet long: Every Night we saw them, in vast Swarms, take their Flight towards the great Isle, and return to the little one in the Morning.

51. We sailed hence February 10, with a North Wind, coasting along the West Side of the *Philippine* Isles. In our Passage by *Panga*, (a large Isle inhabited by the *Spaniards*) we saw many Fires, supposed to be lighted to give Notice of our Approach, it being rare to see a Ship on this Coast. The 18th, we came to an Anchor at the North-west End of the Isle of *Mindora*, in ten Fathom: It is a large Isle, the Middle of it lying in 13° Longitude. It stretches in Length forty Leagues North-west and South-east. A small Brook of Water runs into the Sea near the Place where we anchored, and we saw good Store of Hogs and Oxen, but they were so wild we could catch or kill none. Whilst we were here, a Canoe, with four *Indians*, came hither from *Manilla*, who told us, that the Harbour of *Manilla* was seldom without twenty or thirty Vessels, *Chinese*, *Portuguese*, and *Spaniards*; and that if we had a Mind to trade, (candidly) they would carry our Letters to certain Merchants there. The 21st, we sailed again, and, the 23d, came to the South-east End of the Isle of *Luconia*. We took two *Spanish* Barks from *Pagasanam*, a small Town on the North-east of this Isle, bound to *Manilla*: One of these had Goods aboard for the *Acapulco* Ship. The Isle of *Luconia* extends in Length 6 or 7° of Longitude, and its Breadth, near the Middle, sixty Leagues. The South End is in $12^{\circ} 30'$, and the North End in 90° North Latitude. It is surrounded by many other small Isles, especially at the North End. *Mindora* is the Chief, and the nearest to it, and imparts its Name to a Channel that runs between it and the Isle of *Luconia*, called the Straights of *Mindora*. The Country is partly composed of large Pasture Plains, and partly of Mountains. These afford some Gold, as the Savannas or Plains are well stored with Buffaloes, Bullocks, Horses, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs. The Inhabitants, who live in little Towns, are *Indians*, under the *Spanish* Jurisdiction, and instructed in the Romish Religion by *Spanish* Priests. *Manilla* is the chief, if not the only City of the Isle of *Luconia*, seated at the Foot of a Ridge of high Hills fronting the Harbour near the South-west Point of the Isle in 14° North Latitude. It is defended by a strong Wall; the Houses are spacious, strong, and covered with Pantile; and the Streets large and regular, with a Market-place in the Middle. They have many fair Churches and Convents. The Harbour is very large. Besides the two great *Acapulco* Ships, they have abundance of small Vessels of their own. The *Chinese* have commonly thirty or forty Junk or stout Vessels here: And the *Portuguese* have also Liberty of Commerce in this Isle. Many *Chinese* Merchants reside constantly in this City. A League on this Side the City is a strong Fort to defend the Harbour, where the great Ships lay at Anchor. The greatest Part of this Relation I had from Mr. *Coppinger*, our Surgeon, who came hither from the Coast of *Coromandel*. The Time of the Year being too far spent for our Purpose, we resolved to sail for *Pulo Condore*, a Knot of small Isles on the Coast of *Cambodia*, and to return in May, to lie in Wait for the *Acapulco* Ship. Accordingly, February 26, we sailed from *Luconia*. Coming to 14° North Latitude, we steered South by West for *Pulo Condore*; and, in our Way thither, got Sight of the South End of the *Prael* Shoals, of three little sandy Isles, or large Spots of Sands, standing just above the Water, a Mile from us. March 13, we came in Sight of *Pulo Condore*, or the Isle of *Condore*, and anchored the 14th on the North Side of the Isle, in ten Fathom, clean hard Sand, two Miles from the Shore. *Pulo Condore* is the chief of a Knot of Isles, and the only inhabited one of them, in $8^{\circ} 40'$ North Latitude, forty

Leagues South by East from the Mouth of the River of *Cambodia*. Two of these Isles are pretty high and large, the rest very small. That I speak of, is five Leagues long, lying East and West, and three Miles broad, but in some Places not a Mile. The other large Isle is three Miles long, stretching North and South: Betwixt those two, at the West End of the largest, is a convenient Harbour, the Entrance on the North Side, where these two Isles lie a Mile asunder. On the largest Isle grows a tall Tree, the Trunk three or four Feet Diameter, which the Inhabitants cut horizontally half through, a Foot from the Ground, and then cutting the upper Part aloft inwards down, till it meets with the transverse Cut, thence distils a Liquor into an Hollow made in the Semicircular Stump; which, when boiled, becomes good Tar; and, if boiled still more, perfect Pitch, and answers both Uses. Such a Tree affords two Quarts of Juice every Day for a Month together, then dries up, and recovers again. Here are also Mangrove-trees, the Fruit whereof they pickle, while they are green, with Salt, Vinegar, and a little Garlick. Grapes grow in this Isle on a strait Tree, of a Foot Diameter, in Clusters about the Body of the Tree, like the Cocos; they are both red and white, much like our Grapes, and of a pleasant Taste. This Isle also abounds in wild Nutmeg-trees. These are of the Bigness of our Walnut-trees, and the Fruit grows amongst the Boughs, like our Walnuts. It is smaller than the true Nutmeg, but grows like it, and of the same Shape, but without Smell or Taste. Besides Hogs, Guanoes, and Lizards, these Isles have divers Sorts of Birds, as Parrots, Parakeets, Turtle-doves, Pigeons, and wild Cocks and Hens. The Sea affords Limpets, Mussels, and Tortoises. They have many fresh-water Brooks running into the Sea for ten Months in the Year, and lie very conveniently for Trade with *Japan*, *China*, *Manilla*, *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, &c. The Inhabitants of the Isle of *Condore* are originally *Cochinchinese* of a middle Stature, but well-shaped, much darker than the *Mindanians*; their Hair is straight and black, their Eyes of the same Colour, but small, and so are their Noses, yet pretty high; their Lips thin, with a little Mouth, and white Teeth. They are very civil, but poor, having no other Employment but to gather the Juice for Tar, and draw some Oil from the Fat of the Tortoise, which they transport to *Cochinchina*. They offer their Women to all Strangers for a very small Matter; a Custom used also at *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Cochinchina* and *Cambodia*; in the *East Indies*, and on the Coast of *Guinea*, in *Africa*, and also at *Tunquin*. They are Pagans, and worship chiefly the Elephant and Horse, besides other Images of Birds and Fish. But I observed none of human Shape. March 15, we looked for a Place to careen in; and, having met with one, we entered the same the 16th, where we staid till the 6th of April, when we went hence to the Place where we anchored before, on the North Side of the great Isle, to fill fresh Water, which being accomplished by the 21st, we sailed again from *Pulo Condore*, our Course West by South, with an East North-east Wind, for the Bay of *Siam*. The 24th, we came to the Isle of *Ubi*, forty Leagues West of the Isle of *Condore*, lying at the Entrance near the South-west Point of Land, that makes the Point of *Siam* called the Point of *Comodia*. Its Circumference is seven or eight Leagues, being higher Land than any of the *Condore* lies. It has good Water on the North Side, where you may anchor; but the best Anchorage is on the East Side, against a small Bay. The 24th, we entered the Bay of *Siam*, which is very deep; and went in among the Isles, at the Bottom of the Bay. In one of these we found a small Village, inhabited by Fishermen, but no Fish: So we turned back; but, being becalmed, did not return to *Pulo Ubi* till May 13, where we cast Anchor on the East Side, and were detained by Tempests till the 20th. The 21st, we sailed thence back for *Pulo Condore*, where we came to an Anchor the 24th: Here five or six of our Men, going aboard a *Malayan* Vessel, were stabbed by the Ship's Crew. June 4, being provided with Fuel and fresh Water, we sailed from *Pulo Condore* with a South-west Wind, intending to make *Manilla*; but the Wind soon turning East and South-east, and continuing so for ten Days, we were forced to alter our Course, and steer for the little *Praia*, a small low Island inclosed with Rocks, in

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Way betwixt *Canton* (a *Chinese* Sea Port) and *Manilla*, in $20^{\circ} 4'$ North Latitude; but the East Winds continuing for five or six Days longer with great Violence, we saw ourselves obliged to alter our Resolution once more, and to obey the Wind, which brought us near the *Chinese* Shore the 5th of *June*, where we came to an Anchor on the North-east End of the Isle of *St. John*, lying on the Sea Coast of *Quanton* or *Canton*, in *China*, in $22^{\circ} 30'$ North Latitude. The only Grain we observed here was Rice, in great Plenty. Their tame Cattle were *China* Hogs, Buffaloes, Goats, and some Oxen. The Inhabitants were *Chinese*, and, consequently, now under the Subjection of the *Tartars*. In the Isle of *St. John* was a small Town, built in a marshy Ground, upon Posts: The Houses mean, low, and ill-furnished. The Inhabitants live for the most part by cultivating their Grounds, which produce Rice. Whilst we lay at Anchor here, a *Chinese* Junk lay near us: She was flat both at the Head and Stern, with little Huts on her Deck of three Feet high, covered with Palmetto-trees. She had a large Cabin with an Altar and Lamp burning in it. The Hold was divided into several Partitions, each of them so tight, that, if a Leak should spring in one, the Goods in the next would receive no Damage. Every Merchant has his particular Room, where he stows his Goods, and sometimes lodges in it himself. These Junks have no more than two Masts, viz. a Main-mast and Fore-mast: The last has a square Sail, and square Yard; but the Main-mast has a Sail narrow aloft like a Sloop's Sail. In fair Weather they use also a Top-sail, which they hale down on the Deck in foul Weather, Yard and all. The Main-mast of the biggest Junks are as big as any of our third-rate Men of War, but not pieced, being all of one Tree.

52. As we saw the Forerunners of an approaching Tempest, we weighed Anchor, not to want Sea-room. It was not long before we found our Guess too true; for the next Day, being the 4th of *July*, the Wind coming to the North-east, we were surpris'd by the most violent Tempest I ever remember in all my Voyages; which lasted, by intervals, till the 6th, when the Weather proved very serene. We refitted our Ship; but our Men, being terrified to the highest Degree by the last Storm, and dreading the approaching Full-moon, resolv'd to steer towards the *Picadores*, or *Fisher* Isles, in 23° North Latitude. There are a good Number of Islands lying betwixt the Isle of *Formosa*, and the Continent of *China*. Betwixt the two Easternmost is a good Harbour; and, on the West Side of the Easternmost, is a large Town and Fort, defended by a *Tartar* Garrison of about three hundred Men. The Houses were low, but neatly built. On the Island, on the West Side of the Harbour near the Sea-side, we saw another small Town, inhabited by *Chinese*; and most of the other Isles have some *Chinese* (more or less) living in them. We came to an Anchor in the Harbour *July* 20. and, sending our Boat ashore, were civilly received by the *Tartarian* Governor, who sent us some Presents, (among the rest a Heifer, the finest I ever eat in my Life) but would not allow us either to trade there, or come ashore on that Isle. In Return for which, Mr. Read (now our Captain) sent him a Silver-hilted Sword, a Carbine, and a gold Chain. We sail'd from hence the 29th with a South-west Wind, steering for certain Islands we had pitched upon, that lie betwixt *Formosa* and *Lausonia*, being known by no other Names than the *Five Isles*. We sail'd by the South-west End of *Formosa*, a large Isle situated betwixt $21^{\circ} 20'$, and $25^{\circ} 10'$ North Latitude, from South to North. Its Longitude is from $142^{\circ} 5'$, to $143^{\circ} 16'$ East from the Pike of *Teneriff*. It was formerly well inhabited by the *Chinese*, and frequented by the *English*; but the *Tartars* have since spoiled the Harbour, for fear the *Chinese* should fortify themselves there. *August* 6. we came to an Anchor on the East Side of the Northernmost of the five Isles in fifteen Fathom Water: They lay in $20^{\circ} 20'$ North Latitude; and their Longitude, according to the Charts, in $141^{\circ} 50'$. Contrary to our Expectations, we found, on the Isle near which we anchored, three or four large Towns. The Westernmost Isle is the biggest: This the *Dutch* among us called the *Prince of Orange Isle*, being seven or eight Leagues long, and two broad, stretching North and South. There

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are two more large Isles; the Northernmost we called *Grafton Isle*: It stretches four Leagues in Length North and South, and is one League and an half broad: Unto the third great Isle we gave the Name of *Monmouth Isle*, lying to the South of *Grafton Isle*, three Leagues long North and South, and one broad: The other two Isles, lying East and West, betwixt *Monmouth*, and the South End of *Orange Isle*, are called the *Bashee*, (from a certain Liquor we drink there) and the *Goat Isles*. *Orange Island* is the largest, but uninhabited, being rocky and barren, and no Anchorage near it. *Monmouth* and *Grafton Isles* are hilly, but well inhabited. The *Goat* and *Bashee Isles* are flat and even, and the first has one Town in it. The Hills of all these Isles are rocky, but the Valleys fertile in Grass, Plantains, Bananas, Pine-apples, Pompions, Sugar-canes, Potatoes, and some Cotton; and are well watered with Brooks of fresh Water. They are also well stored with Goats and Hogs, but scarce any Fowl, either wild or tame. The Natives are short and thick, round-visaged, with low Foreheads, and thick Eye-brows; their Eyes of an hazel Colour, and small, but much bigger than the *Chinese*; their Noses are both low and short; their Lip and Mouth middle-sized, with white Teeth, and thick, black, lank Hair, cut short to their Ears; their Complexion is of a dark Copper-colour. They go always bare-headed; and the greatest Part have no Cloaths, but a Clout about the Middle: Some have Jackets of Plantain-leaves, as rough as a Bear-skin. The Women have a short Petticoat of coarse Calico, (of their own making) which reaches a little below the Knees. Both Sexes wear Ear-rings made of a yellow Metal, (they dig out of their Mountains) having the Weight and Colour of true Gold, but something paler: Whether it were such in Effect or no, I am not able to say; for it looks of a fine Colour at first, but afterwards fades; which made us suspect it, and therefore our People did not purchase much of it. We observed the Natives to besmear it with red Earth, and then, putting it into a quick Fire till it was red-hot, brought it to its former Colour again. Their Houses are small, and scarce five Feet high. They inhabit in Villages built on the Sides of rocky Hills, three or four Rows one above another. These rocky Precipices are framed by Nature into different Degrees, or, as it were, deep Steps or Stories, upon each of which they build a Row of their Houses, and a second up to them, gradually, by Ladders set from each of these Rows up to one another in the Middle of it; which if they remove, there is no coming at them. They are also very expert in building their Boats, (for the Men live mostly by Fishing) much like our *Deal* Yalls. They have also larger Vessels, managed with twelve or fourteen Oars, two Men on one Bank. They never kill any Goats or Hogs themselves, but feed upon the Guts or Intrails, and their Skins, which they broil, after they have sing'd the Hair off. They make also a Dish of Locusts, which come at certain Seasons to devour their Potatoes. They take them with Nets, and broil or bake them in an Earthen-pan. This Dish eats well enough. Their ordinary Drink is Water; but, besides this, they boil a sort of Liquor out of the Juice of Sugar-canes, mixed with Blackberries: This they put afterwards into Jars, and let it work four or five Days. After it is settled, it becomes clear, and affords a strong and pleasant Liquor, in Taste and Colour not unlike *English* Beer. The Natives call this Liquor *Bashee*; whence our Crew gave this Name to one of the Isles. What Language they speak, I know not, as not having any Affinity either with the *Chinese* or *Malayan* Languages. The only Arms they use are Lances, headed with Iron; and they wear a kind of Armour of a Buffalo's Hide, without any Sleeves, which reaches down below the Knees, where it is three Feet wide, and as stiff as a Board, but close about their Shoulders. I could not perceive them worship any thing; neither saw I any Idols, or any Government or Precedency among themselves, except that the Children were very respectful to their Parents. However, it is likely, they have some antient Customs instead of Laws; for we saw a young Lad buried alive, as we supposed, for Theft. They have but one Wife, and she and the Children are very obedient to the Head of the Family; the Boys are educated to Fishing, and the Girls to work with their

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Mothers in the Plantations, which are in the Valleys, where every Man plants his own Ground according to the Bigness of his Family. For the rest, they are a sort of civil quiet People, not only to Strangers, but also among themselves; for all the Time we were here, whilst they came frequently aboard us, they used to exchange their yellow Metal, their Goats, and Fruit, for Iron: We never observed them to differ, either amongst themselves, or our Men, even when there was not Occasion wanting. They have no Coin or Seals, but give their Pieces of yellow Metal by Guess. During our Stay here, we had provided ourselves with seventy or eighty fat Hogs, and plenty of Potatoes, for our intended Voyage to the Isle of *Manilla*: But, *September 25.* being again surpris'd with a most violent Tempest, which forced us out to the Sea, we were every Moment in Danger of being swallowed up by the Waves till the 29th, when, the Fury of the Winds being somewhat allay'd, we made the best of our Way back to the Isle, of which we got Sight the 30th, but could not come to anchor in the same Place where we were before, till the first of *October*. This last Storm so dishearten'd our Men, that they all resolv'd to lay aside their Design of Cruising before *Manilla*; but, by the Persuasion of Captain *Read*, and Captain *Trot* the Master, they resolv'd to go to *Cape Comorin*, and thence into the *Red Sea*. As the Eastern Monsoon was at hand, our nearest and best Way had been to pass through the Strait of *Malacca*; but Captain *Trot* persuad'd them to go round on the East Side of the *Philippine* Isles, and so, keeping South of the *Spice* Isles, to pass into the *Indian* Ocean, about the Isle of *Timor*.

53. We sail'd *October 3.* from the Isles to the South, intending to pass through the *Spice* Islands; we sail'd on the East Side of *Luconia*, and the other *Philippine* Islands, coasting to the South. From the Isle of *Luconia* we steer'd to the South; and, on the 15th, with a North-east Wind, direct'd our Course West, for the Isle of *Mindanao*, where we anchored at the South-east; and the 16th, between two small Isles, in $5^{\circ} 10'$ North Latitude, four Leagues from the Isle of *Mindanao*. Whilst we lay here, the young Prince of one of the adjacent *Spice* Islands came on board us, and told us, that Captain *Stoan*, and some of his Men, were still in the City of *Mindanao*, and highly esteem'd there for the great Services they had done against the *Alfoors*. But I have been inform'd since, that he, and his Surgeon, as they were going aboard a Dutch Ship in that Road, were overboard, and drown'd by the Natives, by *Raja Lant's* Order, (as was suppos'd) who had seiz'd all his Gold. We sail'd hence *November 2.* for the Island *Celebes*, where we anchored the 6th at the North-east End. The Isle extends itself from North to South, in 7° Latitude, and in Breadth 3° . It lies under the Line, the North End at $1^{\circ} 30'$ North Latitude, and the South End at $5^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude: At the South End of the Isle is a Gulph, eight Leagues wide, and fifty long, running directly North into the Country, having divers small Islands in the Middle of it. Near the South End, at the West Side of the Isle, is seated *Macassar*, a rich and strong Town belonging to the *Dutch*: By reason of the strong Current setting to the West, we had much ado to get to the East Side of the Isle; and the 22d, being at $1^{\circ} 20'$ Leagues, we saw a large Opening like a Creek; and, six Leagues to the South of it, a Range of large and small Isles, and many Shoals, betwixt which and the Isle of *Celebes* we pass'd, not without Trouble, and came to an Anchor half a Mile from the great Island, in eight Fathom sandy Ground, in $1^{\circ} 50'$ South Latitude. We staid there till the 29th, and the 30th steer'd away South betwixt two Shoals, at 3° South Latitude, ten Leagues from the Isle of *Celebes*. Towards the Evening, we saw two or three Spouts: A Spout is a Piece of a Cloud, hanging down, seemingly sloping, and sometimes bending like a Bow, but never perpendicular; after which the Sea begins to foam, and you see the Water move gently round, till, increasing in a whirling Motion, it flies upwards a hundred Paces in Circumference at the Bottom, but lessening gradually to the Smalness of a Spout, through which the Sea-water appears to be convey'd into the Clouds, as is manifest by the Increase of the Bulk and Blackness thereof: Then you see immediately the Cloud (which was immove-

able before) drive along, and the Spout keeping the same Course for half an Hour, till the Sucking is over, and then breaking off, all the Water that was below the Spout, or pendulous Cloud, fall again into the Sea, with a terrible Noise and Clashing; however, these Spouts are more terrible than dangerous. *December 1.* steering South, with a South South-east Wind, at $3^{\circ} 34'$ South Latitude, we got Sight of the Isle of *Bouton*, about ten Leagues South-west of us; the 5th, we got close to the North-west End of *Bouton* Isle, but the Harbour is at the East Side of it, in $4^{\circ} 54'$ South Latitude. This Island stretches twenty-five Leagues in Length South-west, and North-west four Leagues from the South-east End of the Isle of *Celebes*; its Breadth is ten Leagues: Within a League of the Harbour, and half a Mile from the Sea, is a long Town, called *Callajung*, seated on the Top of a small Hill, in a pleasant Plain, inclosed with a Walk of Cocoa-trees, and about these with a strong Stone Wall. The Inhabitants are not unlike the *Mindanayans*, but neater, are *Mohammedans*, and speak the *Malayan* Language: Their Sultan is absolute Master over them. The 6th, they brought us Eggs, Fowls, Potatoes, &c. aboard; and the Sultan came afterwards a Person in a Boat, guarded by ten or twelve Musketeers. We staid here till the 12th; and then, steering to the South-east, we pass'd near four or five small Isles, $5^{\circ} 40'$ South Latitude, six Leagues from *Callajung* Harbour. We saw three Towns on them, and heard the Drums beating all Night as we were among the Shoals, lying on the South-west Wind of these Isles. The 16th, we got clear of the Shoals; and, the 16th, pass'd by *Omha*, a high Island, in $8^{\circ} 20'$ South Latitude, six Leagues from the North-east Part of the Isle of *Timor*; its Length is fourteen Leagues, its Breadth six Leagues. Eight Leagues to the West of *Omha* we saw another Isle, with a large Town on it, and Fires by Night; which, by its Situation, we guess'd to be the Isle of *Pentare*: Here we were beate amongst the Shoals till the 22d, when we got through with a North Wind, keeping close by *Pentare*. The 28th, we saw the North-west Point of *Timor*, distant eight Leagues South-east by East. The Isle of *Timor* is high and mountainous, stretching in Length seventy Leagues North-east and South-west, its Breadth sixteen Leagues, the Middle of it in 9° South Latitude. The 29th, we discover'd two small Isles near the South-west End of *Timor*; and, being got clear of these, we stood off South towards *New Holland*, Part of the *Terra Australis incognita*.

54. The 31st, we stood to the South Wind at West, in $13^{\circ} 20'$ Latitude; at Night we stood in the North for fear of a Shore, laid down in the Charts, at $23^{\circ} 50'$, bearing South by West from the East End of *Timor*: In the Morning we saw the Shore, being a Spot of Land, appearing above the Surface of the Water, with divers Rocks about it, ten Feet above the Water. It is of a triangle Form, each Side one League and a half long. This Shale is represented in our Charts sixteen or twenty Leagues from *New Holland*; but we ran at least sixty Leagues afterwards due South, before we fell in with it; and I am very certain, that no Part of *New Holland* lies so far to the North by forty Leagues, as it is laid down in our hydrographical Maps: for I found the Tides on the Coast of *New Holland* keeping their constant Course, the Flood running North by East, and the Ebb South by East. *January 4.* 1688. we fell in with the Land of *New Holland*, at $10^{\circ} 50'$ Latitude; and, running along to the East twelve Leagues, came to a Point of Land, three Leagues to the East of which is a deep Bay. We anchored a League to the East of this Point, *January 5.* two Miles from the Shore, in 29 Fathom, hard Sand and clean Ground. *New Holland* is a vast Tract of Land, but whether an Isle, or Part of the Continent, is unknown hitherto: Thus much I am sure of, that it neither joins to *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America* hereabouts: It was even low and sandy Ground, the Point only excepted, which are rocky, and some Isles in this Bay. This Part had no fresh Water, except what was dug, but divers sorts of Trees, and, among the rest, the Dragon-tree, which produces the Gum-dragon, or Dragon-blood. We saw neither Fruit-trees, nor so much as the Track of any living Animal, except one which seem'd to be the Footstep of a Beast, of the Bigness of a large Mastiff-dog.

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Some few Land-birds they have, but none bigger than a Black-bird, and scarce any Water-fowl: Neither does the Sea afford any Fish, except Tortoises and Manates, of both which they have vast Plenty. The Inhabitants are the most miserable Wretches in the Universe, having no Houses or Covering but the Heavens; no Garments, except a Piece of the Bark of a Tree, tyed like a Girdle round the Waist; no Sheep, Poultry, or Fruits, but feed upon a few Fish, Cockles, Mussels, and Periwinkles; without Religion or Government, but cohabit promiscuously: For the rest, their Bodies are strait, thin, and strong-limbed, with great Heads and Eye-brows, and round Foreheads: Their Eye-lids are constantly half closed, to keep the Flies out, which are excessive troublesome here: They have large Bottle Noses, thick Lips, and wide Mouths. Both Men and Women, old and young, want the two Fore-teeth of the upper Jaw; but whether they draw them, I am not able to tell. They have no Beards, but black short curled Hair like the *African* Negroes, and are as black as those. Their Weapons are a sort of wooden Cutlasses, instead of a Lance, they have a strait Pole, sharpened and hardened at the End. Of their Language I can say nothing, but that they speak pretty much in the Throat. We landed several times, and at last brought them to something of a Familiarity with us, by giving them some old Cloaths; but could never prevail with them to give us the least Assistance in carrying Water, or otherwise, they being very averse to working.

55. *March 12.* we failed hence, taking our Course North. The 26th, we were in the Latitude of *Cocoa* Island, which lies in 12° 12'. The 28th, we fell in with a small Isle, at 10° 30': We failed from hence the same Afternoon, the Wind at West and North-west, which continued with tempestuous Weather till *April 7.* when we got Sight of the Isle of *Sumatra*, bearing North, being then at 7° South Latitude; and, the 8th, saw the West End of that Isle, being at 6° South Latitude. We failed along the West Side of *Sumatra*; and, the 12th, came first to an Isle, scarce a Mile in Circumference, so low, that the Tide overflows it: It has a sandy Soil, and Store of *Cocoa-nuts*: Its Situation is 4° South, fifteen Leagues West of *Sumatra*. The 19th, being in 3° 25' South Latitude, we saw the South-west Point of the Isle of *Naj-Jaco*, bearing North five Miles Distance. The 25th, we crossed the Line, coasting to the North, on the West Side of *Sumatra*. *May 1.* we ran down by the North-west End of *Sumatra*, directing our Course to the *Nicobar* Islands; we got Sight of them the 4th, a Cluster of Islands lying South of the *Andaman* Isles; but the most Southerly of them is properly called the *Nicobar*, lying four Leagues North North-west from the North-west End of *Sumatra*. The Inhabitants trade promiscuously with all the *European* Nations; their chief Commodities being Ambergrie and Fruits. *May 5.* we anchored in a small Bay, at the North-west End of the Isle of *Nicobar*, properly so called, in eight Fathom Water; its Length is twelve Leagues, the Breadth three or four, in 7° 30' North Latitude. It produces Plenty of *Cocoas* and Mallories, a Fruit of the Bigness of the Bread-fruit at *Guam* (before-mentioned) which the Natives boil in Water in covered Jars. The Inhabitants here are strait-limbed, long-visaged, with black Eyes, and well-proportioned Noses; their Hair is lank and black, their Complexion of a Copper-colour; the Women have no Eye-brows; I suppose they pulled them out because the Men did not like them: The Men wear only a kind of Shash round their Middle, and the Women nothing but a Petticoat from the Waist to the Knees: Their Language had some Words of *Malayan* and *Portuguese* in it; their Habitations were built upon Posts near the Sea-side, but I could find no settled Government among them. Their Canoes were flat on one Side, with Outlayers like those of *Guam*. Mr. Hall, Mr. Ambrose, and I, being desirous to leave this unruly Crew, were set ashore on this Isle, with an Intent to go hence to *Acbin*.

56. Accordingly we left this Isle *May 5.* with four *Malayans*, and a *Portuguese*, in a *Nicobar* Canoe, not much bigger than our *Below-bridge London* Wherries; we rowed to the South four at a time, by Turns. The 7th, we looked out for *Sumatra*, supposing we were within twenty

Leagues of it; but, instead thereof, saw *Nicobar* at eight Leagues Distance; at Noon we found 6° 55' Latitude. The 18th, the Wind increasing upon us, we were forced to run before the Wind and Sea; the Tempest was so violent, that we expected every Moment to have been swallowed by the Sea-waves. The 19th, to our great Joy, one of our *Malayan* Friends cried out *Pulo Way*, i. e. the Isle of *Way*, situated near the North-west End of *Sumatra*, which, about Noon, we discovered to be the very Isle of *Sumatra*. The high Land they had mistaken for the Isle of *Way*, proved the *Golden Mountain* of *Sumatra*. The 20th, we steered with a West Wind for the Shore; and, in the Afternoon, anchored near the Mouth of the River *Passage Louca* (in the Isle of *Sumatra*) thirty-six Leagues to the East of *Acbin*, and six Leagues to the West of *Diamond Point*. As we were half dead with the Fatigues of this Voyage, we were carried to a small Fisher-town near the River, where we were kindly treated by the Inhabitants, and paid till *June*, when we left this Place; and, in three Days Sail, arrived at *Acbin*. In *July* following, I went with Captain *Welder* to *Tonquin*, and returned to *Acbin* in *April* 1689, where I stayed till *September*; when, making a short Voyage to *Manacca*, I came thither again in *Christmas* 1690. Soon after, I went to *Fort St. George*; whence, after a Stay of five Months, I came back to *Bencoulis*, an *English* Factory on the West Coast of *Sumatra*. But before I give you an Account of my Return to *England*, I must not forget one Passage concerning the painted Prince, who died at *Oxford*; his Name was *Isoly*, and was purchased by one Mr. *Moody* at *Mindanao*, together with his Mother: Mr. *Moody* and I went together to *Bencoulis*; where, at parting, he gave me half the Share in this painted Prince, and his Mother, and left them in my Custody. They were born in the Isle of *Meangis*, abounding in Gold, Cloves, and Nutmegs, as himself told me: He was curiously painted down the Breast, betwixt his Shoulders behind, but most of all on the Thighs before, after the Nature of Flower-work. By what I could understand, this Painting was done by pricking the Skin, and rubbing in it a certain Gum of a Tree, called *Damirer*, used instead of Pitch in some Part of the *Indies*. He told me, that they wore golden Ear-rings, and Bracelets about their Arms and Legs; that their Food was Potatoes, Fowl, and Fish. As to his Captivity, he said, that, as one Day, he, his Father and Mother, were going in a Canoe to one of the two adjacent Isles, they were taken by some *Mindanao* Fishermen, who fold them all to the Interpreter of *Raja Laut*, with whom he and his Mother lived as Slaves five Years, and then were sold for sixty Dollars to Mr. *Moody*. Some time afterwards, Mr. *Moody* presented me also with his Share in them, but the Mother died not long after, and I had much ado to save the Son's Life.

57. During my Stay at *Bencoulis*, I served in the Quality of a Gunner of the Fort; but, my Time being expired, I got aboard Captain *Heath*, in the *Defence*, with my painted Prince, in order to my Return for *England*. *January 25.* we failed in Company of three Ships more; but had not been long at Sea, before a fatal Distemper raged aboard us, which we attributed to the Badness of the Water taken in at *Bencoulis* during the Land-floods, which is often impregnated with the Tinctures of poisonous Roots or Herbs: The best Remedy we had, was to mix some Tamarinds with the Rice we eat, which I believe preserved the Lives of many of our Men, having scarce so many Men left as were able, but with great Difficulty, to bring us to the Cape of *Good Hope*, where we came to an Anchor the Beginning of *April*, by the Assistance of a *Dutch* Captain and his Men. The Cape of *Good Hope* is the Southermost Point of the Continent of *Africa*, in 34° 30' South Latitude, in a very temperate Climate. It appears, at Sea, in divers remarkable Points or Eminencies, affording an agreeable Prospect; the most considerable of which is, a Mountain on the West Side of the Cape, called the *Table Mountain*, from its Flatness on the Top. To the North of it is a large Harbour, with a low flat Isle lying off it, by which you may enter at either Side; the best Riding is near the Continent. The Country thereabouts produces good, but short Grass, and Trees, but not in great Plenty; and, when cultivated, produces large Quantities

Quantities of Wheat, Barley, and Pease, besides Fruits of divers Sorts, as Apples, Pears, Quinces, large Pomgrates, and such Plenty of Grapes, as furnishes them with Wine, sufficient not only for their own Use, but also for Sale to such Ships as come to this Cape: The Wine is sweet, pleasant, and strong. Near the Harbour are but few Farms; but, twenty Leagues in the Country, are many Settlements of the Dutch and French Refugees. They have also Plenty of Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Horses, and Cows; but Oxen thrive not so well here, by reason of the short Pasturage. They have some wild Beasts, but I only saw the wild Ass, a beautiful Creature, with black and white Stripes: Neither do they want Ducks, Dunghil-fowl, and Ostriches; and the Sea affords them abundance of Fish. Opposite to the Harbour, near the Shore, the Dutch have a strong Fort, (the Residence of the Governor) and to the West of it a Dutch Town; on the Back-side whereof is the House belonging to the East India Company, with a spacious Garden, stored with all manner of Fruits, Herbs, Roots, Walks, and Arbours. The Natives of this Country are called the *Hottentots*, a middle-sized People, with small Limbs, and active Bodies, flat oval Faces, large Eye-brows, and black Eyes. They besmear their Bodies with Grease: Upon their Heads they wear nothing but some Shells; and, on their Bodies, a Mantle of Sheep-skin, with the woolly Side outwards, and another Piece, like an Apron, hanging before from the Navel. Instead of this, the Women have a Sheep-skin round the Middle. Their Houses are very mean, and so is their Furniture, consisting only of two or three earthen Pots to dress their Victuals in, which is Herbs, Flesh, or Shell-fish; these they catch among the Rocks. They have neither Temples, Idols, nor any other peculiar Place of Worship. They celebrate, indeed, several nocturnal Dances, with Singing, at the new and full Moon; but these are performed near their Huts, and seem to be rather

Pastimes, or Merry-meetings, than any thing relating to religious Worship. For the rest, they are a lazy Generation; for they never manure their Grounds, but are contented with feeding their Cattle, which they exchange for Tobacco. After a Stay of six Weeks here, we sailed, May 3. towards *St. Helena*, an Isle seated in 16° South Latitude, where we arrived June 20. It is about nine Leagues long; and, though 400 Leagues from the Continent, enjoys a serene Air, (except in the rainy Season) and a temperate and healthy Climate; which, together with the refreshing Herbs this Island produces, is the Reason that our *East India* Ships touch here to recover their Seamen from the Scurvy, which they do in a little time. This Isle, after its first Discovery by the Portuguese, was possessed by the Dutch; but these relinquishing it for the Cape of Good Hope, the English settled here till 1672, when they were beaten out by the Dutch, who were forced, soon after, to surrender it again to the English, under Captain Monson. We have now a Fort there, with a Garrison, and a good Number of great Guns, to defend the common Landing-place, being a small Bay, not above 500 Paces wide: Within this Bay stands a small English Town, the Inhabitants having their Plantations deeper into the Country, which furnish them with Potatoes, Plantains, Bananas, Hogs, Bullocks, Cocks, and Hens, Ducks, Geese, and Turkeys, in vast Plenty. July 2. 1691. we left this Isle, steering our Course for England. We took the Mid-way, betwixt Africa and the American Continent, still to the North of the Line; and came to an Anchor in the Downs, September 16. following. After my Arrival in the *Thames*, being in want of Money, I sold, at first, Part of the Property I had in the before-mentioned Prince *Isaly*, and, by Degrees, all the rest. I understood afterwards, that he was carried about for a Sight, and shewn for Money; and that, at last, he died of the Small-pox at Oxford.

SECTION XIV.

Captain WILLIAM DAMPIER's Voyage to New Holland, and New Guiney, from his own Account.

1. The original Design of this Voyage, and its Connection with the former.
2. Captain Dampier sails in the *Roebuck* from the Downs, January 14. 1699.
3. Description of Santa Cruz, and the Island of Teneriff, one of the Canaries.
4. The Island of Mayo described.
5. Account of that of St. Iago.
6. The Author's Arrival in the Bay of All Saints in Brasil.
7. The Town and Country about it described.
8. Continuation of the Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope.
9. Arrival in Sharks Bay on the Coast of New Holland.
10. Account of several subsequent Discoveries, and of the many Errors in the Dutch Charts.
11. Difficulties occurring in their Commerce with the Indian Natives.
12. The Country and Coast of New Holland described.
13. The Author's Expectations, and the Grounds of these Expectations.
14. Reasons for quitting the Coast of New Holland.
15. The Author sails for the Island of Timor.
16. Arrival on the Coast, and Accidents there.
17. Account of the Island Anamabao, or Anabao, adjoining to Timor.
18. Transactions during the Author's Stay there.
19. A copious Description of the Island of Timor.
20. Condition of the Dutch and Portuguese Settlements there.
21. Description of other Islands, and their Inhabitants.
22. Cockle Island, and its Productions.
23. Other Islands in those Seas, and Things remarkable in them.
24. The Main-land of New Guiney, and its Inhabitants, described.
25. Departure from thence, and Discovery of many Islands.
26. Particulars relating to the Inhabitants, and their Commerce.
27. Discovery of Cape St. George, and Cape Orford.
28. The Author resolves to land; and, if possible, enter into Commerce with the Natives on the Continent of New Guiney.
29. Finding that very difficult, has recourse to various Arts.
30. At last obliged to take Refuge by Force.
31. He leaves that Coast, and proceeds to make fresh Discoveries.
32. The Islands of Nova Britannia, &c. described.
33. Other Transactions in this Voyage.
34. Islands of Misacomb, Pentare, &c.
35. Continuation of the Voyage from Batavia.
36. The Ship springs an incurable Leak.
37. The Author runs the *Roebuck* ashore on the Island of Ascension.
38. Returns safe to England aboard the *Canterbury* East-India-man.
39. Remarks upon this Expedition.

THE Reputation of his Voyage round the World, recommended our Author to the Favour of the most ingenious Persons, and to the greatest Encouragers of public-spirited Undertakings that the Age produced; and, amongst these, to the Right Honourable Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who most worthily discharged the Office of Lord High Admiral in the Reign of King William III. to whom our Author ap-

plied himself for Favour and Protection, as well as for his Countenance in the Design he had formed for prosecuting those Discoveries, which his last Voyage had given him Hopes might be done with Effect. It is well enough known, that Propositions of this Kind are very rarely agreeable to great Ministers; which is sometimes owing perhaps to their being very indifferent Judges of such Matters. It was the good Fortune of Captain Dampier, to

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thing relating to a lazy General, but are contrary exchange here, we failed, and in 16° South it is about nine from the Concomity Season) and together with the Reason that their Seamen were at the time. This was for the Cape of Good Hope, when they were, soon after, Captain Monson, and a good common Landing-places wide: Within Inhabitants have, which furnish us, Hogs, Bulls, and Turkeys, in the, steering our way, between Africa north of the Line, on the 16th, following, want of Money, and in the before, all the rest. I about for a Sight, he died of the

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Dampier sails in the Island of Tenerife. 6. The but it described on the Coast of is in the Dutch Country and Coast of Expectations. Island of Timor, or Anabao, a Description of the Description of Other Islands in its Inhabitants, scholars relating to. 28. The continent of New to take Re- 32. The Islands of Miscomby, incurable Lat. to England can

as well as for his had given him it is well enough and are very rarely sometimes own judges of such Mat- Dampier, in address

address himself to a Patron of quite another Kind, who listened to his Offers with a just Degree of Attention, encouraged in him that laudable Ambition, which prompted him to expose himself in so noble a Design, and furnished him with Means for undertaking that Voyage, which he had long meditated for the public Advantage. This, therefore, ought to be considered as a supplemental Voyage to the last, and, indeed, in this Light the Author seems to have considered it, by his frequent References from this to that.

2. I failed, says he, from the Downs, January 14, 1694, with a fair Wind, in his Majesty's Ship the *Roebuck*, carrying in this Voyage twelve Guns, fifty Men and Boys, and twenty Months Provision. We took our Departure from the *Start*, which was the last Land we saw in England, as the first we saw, after we were out of the Channel, was Cape Finisterre, which we made on the 19th; and, on the 28th, made *Lancastera*, one of the Canary Islands. We then stood away for the Island of *Teneriff*, where I intended to take in Wind and Brandy for my Voyage. January 30, I anchored in the Road of *Santa Cruz*, the finest Port in the Island for my Purpose. The Road before this Place is but very indifferent, lying so open to the East, that Winds from that Quarter make a great Swell, and render it very dangerous going ashore in Boats. The best Landing is in a small sandy Cove, about a Mile to the North-east of the Road, where there is very good Water; inasmuch that Ships which take in their Lading at *Oratavia*, which is the principal Part of the Island for Trade, send their Boats thither for Water. That Port, however, is rather more exposed to Westely, than this to Easterly Winds, which was the Reason I declined it. There are between this Watering-place and *Santa Cruz* two small Ports, which, with several Batteries, serve to command the Road, and secure the Place from being insulted by Privateers. The Time I stayed here gave me all the necessary Opportunities for considering the Place, its Inhabitants, and the Country adjacent; and therefore enabled me to form such a Description of them, as may satisfy the Reader's Curiosity, and give him a tolerable Idea of an Island so often mentioned by Navigators, on account of the placing here the first Meridian, from which the Degrees of Longitude in our Maps are generally reckoned.

3. This Town of *Santa Cruz* is a small Town, without any Wall about it, and defended only by two Forts. It was here that our famous Admiral *Blake* destroyed the Spanish Gallies April 20, 1657, and the Wrecks of some of them are lying still there in fifteen Fathom Water. Soon after my Arrival, I went by Land to the City of *Laguna*, the Metropolis of this Isle, and the Residence of the present Governor-General of the Canary Islands, whose Name is *Don Pedro de Panto*, a Native of this Island, and not long ago President of *Panama*, in the South Seas, a very worthy Man, strictly just, and very kind to Strangers. The City of *Laguna* is of a tolerable Size, and very compact, making a very agreeable Prospect at a Distance. It stands Part of it against an Hill, and Part in a Level. The Houses have mostly strong Walls, built with Stone, and covered with Pantile: They are not uniform; yet they appear pleasant enough. There are many fair Buildings, among which are two Parish Churches, two Nunneries, an Hospital, four Convents, and some Chapels, besides many Gentlemen's Houses. The Convents are these, of *St. Agustin*, *St. Dominick*, *St. Francis*, and *St. Diego*. The two Churches have pretty high square Steeples, which top the rest of the Buildings: The Streets are not regular; yet they are mostly spacious, and pretty handsome; and, near the Middle of the Town, there is a large Parade, which has good Building about it. There is a strong Prison on one Side of it, near which is a large Conduit of good Water, that supplies the whole Town. They have many Gardens, which are set round with Oranges, Limes, and other Fruits; in the Middle of which are hot Herbs, Saladings, Flowers, &c. and, indeed, if the Inhabitants were curious this Way, they might have very pleasant Gardens; for, as the Town stands high from the Sea, on the Brow of a Plain that is all open to the East, and hath, consequently, the Benefit of the true Trade-wind which blows

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here, and is most commonly fair, there are seldom wanting, at this Town, brisk, cooling, and refreshing Breezes all the Day. On the Back of the Town there is a large Plain, of three or four Leagues in Length, and two Miles broad, producing a thick kindly Sort of Grass, which looked green, and very pleasant, when I was there, like our Meadows in England in the Spring. On the East Side of this Plain, very near the Back of the Town, there is a natural Lake or Pond of fresh Water. It is about half a Mile in Circumference; but, being stagnant, 'tis only used for Cattle to drink. In the Winter, several Sorts of Wild-fowl resort hither, affording Plenty of Game to the Inhabitants of *Laguna*: This City is called *Laguna* from hence; for that Word, in Spanish, signifies a Lake or Pond. The Plain is bounded on the West, the North-west, and the South-west, with high steep Hills, as high above this Plain, as this is above the Sea; and 'tis from the Foot of one of these Mountains that the Water of the Conduit, which supplies the Town, is conveyed over the Plain in Troughs of Stone, raised upon Pillars; and indeed, considering the Situation of the Town, its large Prospect to the East, (for from hence you see the grand *Canary*) its Gardens, cool Arbours, pleasant Plain, green Fields, the Pond and Aqueduct, and its refreshing Breezes, it is a very delightful Dwelling, especially for such as have not Business that calls them far and often from hence; for, the Island being generally mountainous, steep, and craggy, full of Rifings and Fallings, 'tis very troublesome travelling up and down in it, unless in the Cool of the Mornings and Evenings; and Mules and Asses are most used by them, both for Riding and Carriage, as fittest for the stony uneven Roads. Beyond the Mountains, on the South-west Side still farther up, you may see from the Town and Plain a small peaked Hill overlooking the rest; this is that which is called the *Pike of Teneriff*, so much noted for its Height; but we saw it here at so great a Disadvantage, by reason of the Nearness of the adjacent Mountains to us, that it looked inconsiderable in respect to its Fame. The true Malmsey Wine is produced in this Island, and is esteemed the best white Wine in the World. Here is also Canary Wine, and Verdone or green Wine. The Canary grows chiefly on the West Side of the Island, and therefore is commonly sent to *Oratavia*, which, being the chief Sea-port for Trade in the Island, the principal English Merchants reside there, with their Consul, because we have a great Trade for this Wine. I was told, that that Town is bigger than *Laguna*; that it has but one Church, but many Convents; that the Port is but ordinary at best, and is very bad when the North-west Winds blow. These North-west Winds give notice of their coming, by a great Sea that tumbles in on the Shore for some time before they come, and by a black Sky in the North-west. Upon these Signs Ships either get up their Anchors, or slip their Cables, and put to Sea, and ply off and on till the Weather is over: Sometimes they are forced to do so two or three times before they can take in their Lading, which 'tis hard to do here in the fairest Weather; and for fresh Water they send, as I have said, to *Santa Cruz*. Verdone is green, strong-bodied Wine, harsher and sharper than Canary: 'Tis not so much esteemed in Europe, but is exported to the West Indies, and will keep best in hot Countries, for which Reason I touched here, to take in some of it for my Voyage: This Sort of Wine is made chiefly on the East Side of the Island, and shipped off at *Santa Cruz*.

4. We failed from *Santa Cruz* February 4, towards the Isle of *Mayo*, one of the Cape Verd Islands. The 9th, being in the Latitude of 15° 4', we steered away West North-west for the said Isle, where we anchored the 11th in the Road, which is the Leeward Part of the Isle, in fourteen Fathom, clean Sand, and smooth Water. The Isle of *May* is roundish, seven Leagues in Circuit, in 15° North Latitude. On the West Side of it, where the Road for Ships is, there is a large sandy Bay, within which is a spacious Salt Pond: Those who come hither to lade Salt, take it up as it kerns, and lay it up in Heaps. The English have a considerable Trade here in Salt, which costs nothing but the Labour to take it out, and wheeling it from the Pond; and the Carriage thence to the *Fraze Boat*, as the Seamen call it, (by which it is conveyed aboard the Ships)

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being performed by Mules, is very cheap. For the rest, the Soil of it is generally barren, the Ground being Sand or loose Stone, without any fresh-water Rivers or Ponds, except one Spring in the Centre of the Isle, running thro' a Valley, where the Inhabitants have three small Towns, *Pineffe*, *St. John's*, and *Lagoa*. The Inhabitants are Negroes, by Descent, and resembling those of *Africa*. As they are Subjects of *Portugal*, so they follow their Religion, but have Priests and a Governor of their own Nation. Their Fruits are chiefly Figs, and Water-melons; their best Land-animals Goats and Asks: The Sea affords them Dolphins, Bonettas, Mullens, Snappers, Silver-fish, Gar-fish, and green Tortoises, during the wet Season in *May*, *June*, *July*, and *August*, which is their Time of Laying. It may seem somewhat strange, that not *Turtle* only, but all Sorts of amphibious Creatures, lay their Eggs, not in the dry, but wet Season, which one would imagine might destroy them. To account for this, however, with some Degree of Probability, we ought to consider, that these Animals all lay their Eggs very deep; so that the Rain, being drank up by the Sand over them, not only never reaches so as to spoil them, but checks also the rising Heat; and, by keeping it down, answers all the Intentions of a Stove, or hot Bed.

5. *February 19.* we sailed from hence to *St. Lago*, six Leagues to the West; and, the next Day, anchored near *St. Lago* Town, lying on the South-west Side of the Isle, in 16° North Latitude, the Residence of the *Portuguese* Governor, and of the Bishop of all the *Cape Verde* Islands. This Town stands scattering against the Sides of two Mountains, between which there is a great Valley, which is about 200 Yards wide. Against the Sea there is a straggling Street, Houses on each Side, and a Run of Water in the Bottom, which empties itself into a fine small Cove, or sandy Bay, where the Sea is commonly very smooth; so that here is good Watering and good Landing at any time, though the Road be rocky, and bad for Ships: Just by the Landing-place there is a small Fort, almost level with the Sea, where is always a *Corps-de-garde* kept on the Top of an Hill: Above the Town there is another Fort, which, by the Wall that is to be seen from the Road, seems to be a large Place: They have Cannon mounted there; but how many I know not, neither what Use that Fort can be of, except it be for Salutes. The Town may consist of a 2 or 300 Houses, all built of rough Stone, having also one Convent, and one Church; the People in general a black, or at least of a mixt Colour, except only some few of the better sort, viz. the Governor, the Bishop, some of the Gentlemen, and some of the *Padres*; for some of these are black. The People about *Praya* are thickish; but those of *St. Lago* Town, living under their Governor's Eye, are more orderly, though generally poor, having little Trade; yet, besides chance Ships of other Nations, there come hither a *Portuguese* Ship or two every Year, in their Way to *Brasil*. These vend among them a few *European* Commodities, and take off their principal Manufactures, viz. striped Cotton, which they carry with them to *Brasil*. Another Ship also comes hither from *Portugal* for Sugar, their other Manufacture, and returns with it directly thither: For 'tis reported, that there are several small Sugar-works on this Island, from which they send Home near 100 Tons every Year: And they have Plenty of Cotton growing up in the Country, wherewith they cloathe themselves, and send also a deal to *Brasil*. They have Vines, of the Fruit of which they make some Wine; but the *European* Ships furnish them with better, though they drink but little of any. Their chief Fruits are (besides Plantains in abundance) Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, Melons, (both Musk and Water-melons) Limes, Guavas, Pomgranates, Quinces, Custard-apples, and Papaws, &c. The Custard-apple (as we call it) is a Fruit as big as a Pomgranate, and much of the same Colour: The outside Husk-shell, or Rind, is, for Subtance and Thickness, between the Shell of a Pomgranate and the Peel of a *Seville* Orange, softer than this, yet more bitter than that. The Coat or Covering is also remarkable, in that it is betwixt round with small regular Knobs, or Rifings; and the Inside of the Fruit is full of a white soft Pulp, sweet, and very pleasant, and most resembling a

Custard of any thing, both in Colour and Taste; from whence, probably, it is called a Custard-apple by our English: It has, in the Middle, a few small black Stones or Kernels, but no Core; for 'tis all Pulp: The Tree that bears this Fruit is about the Bigness of a Quince-tree, with long, small, and thick-set Branches spread much abroad. At the Extremity of here-and-there one of which, the Fruit grows upon a Stalk of its own, about nine or ten Inches long, slender and tough, and hanging down with its own Weight. A large Tree of this Sort bears usually twenty or thirty Apples, very seldom more. This Fruit grows in most Countries within the Tropics; I have seen of them (tho' I omitted the Description of them before) all over the *West Indies*, both Continent and Islands, as also in *Brasil*, and in the *East Indies*. The Papaw too is found in all these Countries, though I have not hitherto described it. It is a Fruit about the Bigness of a Musk-melon, hollow in it, and much resembling it in Shape and Colour, both Outside and Inside; only in the Middle, instead of the Kernels which the Melons have, there have an Handful of blackish Seeds, about the Bigness of Pepper-corns, whole Taste is also hot on the Tongue, somewhat like Pepper. The Fruit itself is sweet, soft, and luscious, when ripe; but while green, is hard and unsavoury; though, even then, being boiled, and eaten with salt Pork or Beef, it serves instead of Turneps, and is as much esteemed. The Papaw-tree is about ten or twelve Feet high; the Body, near the Ground, may be a Foot and an half or two Feet Diameter, and it grows up taper to the Top: It has no Branches at all, but only large Leaves growing upon Stalks, which proceed out of the Body: The Leaves are of a roughish Form, and jagged about the Edges, having their Stalks, or Stumps, longer or shorter, as they grow nearer to or further from the Top. They begin to spring from out of the Body of the Tree at about six or seven Feet high from the Ground, the Trunk being bare below; but, above that, the Leaves grow thicker and larger till towards its Top, where they are close and broad. The Fruit grows only among the Leaves, and thickest among the thickest of them, inasmuch that, towards the Top of the Tree, the Papaw spring forth from its Body, as thick as they can tick one by another; but then, lower down, where the Leaves are thinner, the Fruit is larger, and of the Size I have described; and at the Top, where they are thick, they are but small, and no bigger than ordinary Turneps, yet tasted like the rest. As to the Land-animals, Fowls and Fish, there is nothing I can say about them that ought to detain the Reader; and therefore I will proceed in my Voyage, after remarking, that the Road of *St. Lago* is so bad, that in my Life I think I never saw one worse.

6. We sailed from *St. Lago* *February 22.* and my Intention was to have gone to *Pernambuco*, and from thence directly to the Coast of *New Guinea*; and this out of pure Compassion to my Ship's Company, who were but very young Seamen, there being only two in the Ship that had ever passed the Line, and those two were none of the oldest. They, therefore, grew very uneasy; talked much of returning to *England*; and, at last, gave me so much Disquiet, that I began to doubt *Pernambuco* was no fit Place for me to trust myself in, because, as the Ship must ride two or three Leagues from the Town, and not under the Command of any Fort, they might easily, in case of my going on shore, have cut or slipped their Cables, and have run away with the Ship. After mature Deliberation, therefore, I altered my Course, and stood away for the Bay of *All Saints*, and arrived before the Place on *March 25.* and anchored in the Port very safely. *Bahia de todos los Santos*, as the *Portuguese* call it, or *The Bay of All Saints*, lies in the Latitude of 13° South, has the Convenience of a very good Harbour, secured and commanded by three several Forts. The Place itself consists of about 2000 Houses, most of which are hid from the Ships in the Harbour, but those that are seen, being intermixed with Trees, afford a very pleasant and delightful Prospect. There are, in the Town, thirteen Churches, Chapels, and Convents, besides one Nunery, viz. the *Ecclesia major*, or Cathedral, the Jesuits College, which are the chief, and both in Sight from the Harbour; *St. Antonio*, *Sta. Barbara*, both Parish churches; the *Franciscan* Church, and the *Dominicant*; and

two Convents, the Sea-side go immediately to the Shore by the Shot of the Town Middle of the Edge of the are several fine Palace fine Stone but indifferently, in observed, a nious about to Pictures. Stories high Stone, and Balconies. pared or p in the most dens, as well wherein are in great Va The Govern *Laçaria*, *Laçaria* F on that Acc on him fever and civil. commonly of the Govern when he goe brown Liner than Woolle these. Beside Thousands of Magazine is on between the ough to be old, it felt eighty; ther and Centinel many Merch great Trade Europe, with their Coun only, either to *Guinea*; and from *Brasil* to a id to be rich ouses, both *Portuguese*, Foreign here was vil Gentlem be our Eng public C ther, here for this T merchant, on and from tion being use by the orted are en six Boats, ur, searching be chief C her, are Li s, also Bay h Silk and ially *Port* Pork wo ing hither al els of all f fies, Bends, *St. Lago* bri ts sent to ce Sugar,

two Convents of *Carmelites*; a Chapel for Seamen close by the Sea-side, where Boats commonly land, and the Seamen go immediately to Prayers; another Chapel for poor People, at the farther End of the same Street, which runs along by the Shore; and a third Chapel for Soldiers at the Edge of the Town, remote from the Sea; and an Hospital in the Middle of the Town. The Nunnery stands at the outer Edge of the Town next the Fields, wherein, as I was told, are seventy Nuns. Here lives an Archbishop, who has a fine Palace in the Town, and the Governor's Palace is a fine Stone Building, and looks handsome to the Sea, tho' but indifferently furnished within; both *Spanish* and *Portuguese*, in their Plantations abroad, as I have generally observed, affecting to have large Houses, but are little curious about Furniture, except some of them with respect to Pictures. The Houses of the Town are two or three Stories high, the Wall thick and strong, being built with Stone, and a Covering of Pansles, and many of them have Balconies. The principal Streets are large, and all of them paved or pitched with small Stones. There are also Parades in the most eminent Places of the Town, and many Gardens, as well within the Town, as in the Out-parts of it, wherein are Fruit-trees, Herbs, Salladings, and Flowers, in great Variety, but ordered with no great Care nor Art. The Governor, who resides here, is called Don John de Lancastria, being descended, as they say, from our *English Lancaster* Family; and he has a Respect for our Nation on that Account, calling them his Countrymen: I waited on him several times, and always found him very courteous and civil. Here are about 400 Soldiers in Garrison; they commonly draw up, and exercise in a large Parade before the Governor's House, and many of them attend him when he goes abroad. The Soldiers are decently clad in brown Linen, which, in these hot Countries, is far better than Woollen; but I never saw any clad in Linen, but only these. Besides the Soldiers in Pay, he can soon have some Thousands of Men in Arms upon Occasion. The Magazine is on the Skirts of the Town, on a small Rising between the Nunnery and the Soldiers Church; it is big enough to hold 2 or 3000 Barrels of Powder, but I was told, it seldom had more than 100 in it, sometimes but eighty; there are always a Company of Soldiers to guard it, and Centinels looking out both Day and Night. A great many Merchants always reside at *Bahia*; for 'tis a Place of great Trade. I found here above thirty great Ships from *Europe*, with two of the King of *Portugal's* Ships of War for their Convoy, besides two Ships that traded to *Africa* only, either to *Angola*, *Gambia*, or other Places on the Coast of *Guinea*; and abundance of Small-craft, that only run to and fro on this Coast, carrying Commodities from one Port of *Brasil* to another. The Merchants, that live here, are said to be rich, and to have many Negro Slaves in their Houses, both of Men and Women. They are chiefly *Portuguese*, Foreigners having but little Commerce with them; here was one Mr. Cock, an *English* Merchant, a very civil Gentleman, and of a good Reputation. He had a Patent to be our *English* Consul; but did not care to take upon him any public Character, because *English* Ships seldom come thither, here having been none in eleven or twelve Years before this Time. Here was also a *Danish* and a *French* Merchant, or two; but all have their Effects transported and from *Europe* in *Portuguese* Ships, none of any other Nation being admitted to trade hither. There is a Custom-house by the Sea-side, where all Goods imported or exported are entered; and, to prevent Abuses, there are five small Boats, that take their Turns to row about the Harbour, searching any Boats they suspect to be running Goods. The chief Commodities, that the *European* Ships bring thither, are Linen Cloths both coarse and fine, some Woollens, also Bays, Serges, *Perpetuanas*, &c. Hats, Stockings of Silk and Thread, Bisket-bread, Wheat, Flour, Wine, *Port* Oil-olive, Butter, Cheese, &c. and salt Beef and Pork would be good Commodities there. They bring hither also Iron, and all manner of Iron Tools, Pewter vessels of all sorts, as Dishes, Plates, Spoons, &c. Looking-glasses, Beads, and other Toys; and the Ships that touch at *St. Iago* bring thence, as I said, Cotton, which is afterwards sent to *Angola*. The *European* Ships carry from thence Sugar, Tobacco, either in Roll or Snuff, never in

Leaves, that I know of. These are the staple Commodities, besides which, there are Dye-woods, as Fustic, &c. with Woods for other Uses, as speckled Wood, Brazil, &c. They also carry home raw Hides, Tallow, Train-oil of Whales, &c. Here are also kept tame Monkeys, Parrots, Partridges, &c. which the Seamen carry home. The Sugar of this Country is much better than that which we bring home from our Plantations; for all the Sugar, that is made here, is clayed, which makes it whiter and finer than our *Mucovado*, as we call our unrefined Sugar. Our Planters seldom refine any with Clay, unless sometimes a little to send home as Presents for their Friends in *England*. Their Way of doing it here is, by taking some of the whitest Clay, and mixing it with Water, till it be like Cream: With this they fill up the Pans of Sugar, that are sunk two or three Inches below the Brim, by draining the Melasses out of it, first scraping off the thin hard Crust of the Sugar, that lies at the Top, and would hinder the Water of the Clay from soaking through the Sugar of the Pan. The Refining is made by this Percolation for ten or twelve Days Time, that the clayish Liquor lies soaking down the Pan: The white Water whitens the Sugar as it passes through it, and the gross Body of the Clay grows hard at the Top, and may be taken off at Pleasure, when scraping off with a Knife the very upper Part of the Sugar, which will be a little sullied, that which is underneath, will be white almost to the Bottom; and such as is called Brazil Sugar is thus whitened. When I was there, this Sugar was sold for fifty Shillings per Hundred, and the Bottoms of the Pots, which is very coarse Sugar, for about twenty Shillings per Hundred, both Sorts being then scarce; for here was not enough to lade the Ships, and therefore some of them were to lie here till the next Season. The *European* Ships commonly arrive here in *February* or *March*; and they have generally quick Passages, finding, at that Time of the Year, brisk Gales to bring them to the Line, little Trouble then in crossing it, and brisk North-east Winds afterwards to bring them hither. They commonly return from hence about the latter End of *May*, or in *June*. It was said, when I was here, that the Ships would sail *May* 20. and therefore they were all very busy, some in taking in their Goods, others in careening and making themselves ready. The Ships that come hither commonly careen at their first Coming, here being a Hulk belonging to the King for that Purpose. This Hulk is under the Charge of the Superintendent I spoke of, who has a certain Sum of Money for every Ship that careens by her. He also provides Firing, and other Necessaries for that Purpose; and the Ships commonly hire of the Merchants here each two Cables to moor by all the Time they lie here, and so save their own Hempen Cables; for these are made of a sort of Vegetable String, springing from the Top of a Tree, and in its Substance resembling Hair, which is very strong and lasting. There is a great Trade carried on here of different Kinds; but particularly a sort of Whale-fishing. These Creatures are but small; but, as they come in great Numbers, the killing of them turns to good Account, as may appear from the Profit arising by the Royal Licences, which bring thirty thousand Dollars annually to the King of *Portugal*. The Inhabitants of this City are, generally speaking, rich, or at least in very good Circumstances; so that few or none of them want their Negro Slaves for all domestic Uses, by whom also they are carried, when they go abroad, in a kind of Hammocks, where they lie or sit at their Ease, either covered with a Curtain, or exposed, as they think proper. Besides this Port or Bay of *All Saints*, there are two Harbours much frequented in *Brasil*, viz. *Pernambuco* or *Fernambuco*, and *Rio Janeiro*; and, besides these, there is a Town and Haven called *St. Paul's*, near which they gather much Gold; but the People are said to be a sort of Banditti, without Laws, Order or Government: But, however, as they have a great deal of Money, they are very well furnished with *European* Commodities. Indeed Money is every-where plenty in this Country since the Discovery of the Gold Mines; which must increase the Regret of the *Dutch*, who were once Masters of the best Part of *Brasil*.

7. The Country about the City of *Bahia de todos los Santos* is flat, neither very high, nor excessive low, sufficiently watered with Rivers and Rivulets. The Soil is, generally speaking,

speaking, pretty good; and when cultivated, produces, besides other Vegetables, Sugar-canes, Cotton, Indico, Tobacco, Maiz, and Fruit-trees, as also some other Trees peculiar to this Country; as the Sapiera, Vermaticeo, Comasteric, Gritteba, Serric, three Sorts of Mangrove-trees, and as many Sorts of Cotton-trees, both wild and planted. They have also a sort of a balfard Cocoa-nut-tree, not near so big as the common ones in the *East* or *West Indies*. The Kernel is sweet, but hard. At the Top of these Cocoa-trees grows a black Thread, like Horshair, but longer, of which they make Cables, that are more serviceable and lasting, than those made of Hemp. The rest of their Fruits are Oranges of several Sorts, especially *China* Oranges, Limes, Pomgranates, Pomcitrons, Plantains, Bananas, right Cocoa-nuts, Guavas, Cocoa-plums, wild Grapes, (besides *European* Grapes) Hog-plums, Cultard-apples, Sour-sops, Calhews, Papahs, Jennipahs, Manchinel-apples, and Mangoes, (tho' these last are but rare as yet) Arisahs, Mericahs, Potangoes, &c. (Fruits not to be seen in other Countries) Petumbos, Mungareos, Mackihaws, Inguas, Oree, Multeran de Ovas, Palm-berries, Phytic-nuts, Cablage-trees, &c. They have also abundance of Ground-fruit; such as Callavances, Pine-apples, Pompions, Water-melons, Musk-melons, Cucumbers; of Yams, Potatoes, Cassavas; of Garden-herbs, Cabbages, Turneps, Onions, Leeks, and all sorts of Sallading. They have great Plenty and Variety of wild Fowl; viz. Yammahs, Maccaaws, (a large Sort of Parrots) common Parrots, Flamingoes, Carrion-crows, Chattering-crows, Cockcoos, curious-coloured Bill-birds, Correlloes, Turtle-doves, Pigeons, Jaunetees, Clocking-hens, Crabcatchers, Currecrofs, *Mufsey* Ducks, common Ducks, Widgeons, Teal, Curlews, Men-of-war-birds, Boobies, Noddies, Pelicans, &c. The chief of their tame Fowl are Ducks, and other Dunghil Fowl. Of these they have two Sorts, one of the same Size with ours, and another larger, which are sold at a dear Rate here. Their Land-animals are, Horses, Black Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Coneys, Hogs, Leopards, Tygers, Monkeys, Pecary, (a sort of wild Hogs) Armadillos, Alligators, Guanoes, Lizards, Serpents, Frogs, and a sort of amphibious Creature called *Cachora de Agua* by the *Portuguese*, and Water-dogs by the *English*, from their Resemblance to a shaggy Maltiff-dog, with four short Legs. They have here also the *Ambipibena*, or two-headed Snake, of a grey Colour, with black Streaks. Its Bite is reckoned incurable: The best is, that it seldom wounds. Having two Specks in the Head, instead of Eyes, some say it is altogether blind, and lives under-ground like a Mole. Its Length is about fourteen Inches, with an Head at each End; whence the *Portuguese* call it *Cobra de dos Cabeças*, i. e. *The Snake with two Heads*; but I never saw one of these. The Sea hereabouts affords Tarpeins, Mullers, Groopers, Snocks, Gar-fish, Gorallies, Raramas, Coquindas, Cavallies, Dog-fish, Herrings, Seroco, Oko de Boy, Whales, Lobsters, Crayfish, Shrimps, Crabs, common Oysters, Conchs, Wilks, Cockles, Mussels, Periwinkles, and three Sorts of Sea-tortoises, viz. the Hawk-bill, Loggerhead, and green Tortoise. The first is the most esteemed, its Shell being the most beautiful, and therefore sold very dear, and is a very considerable Commodity.

8. April 3. in the Morning, we sailed from this Harbour; and, at twelve o'Clock, Cape *Salvadore* bore North, distant six Leagues. The 27th, we came in the Latitude of the *Abrabio* Shoals, viz. in 18° and 19° South Latitude. May 3. at 20° our meridian Distance from Cape *Salvadore* was 234 Miles, the Variation 7°. The 12th, being in 31° 10' South Latitude, we began to have West Winds; but met with nothing of Moment, except a dead Whale, the Carcase whereof was intirely covered with Birds of divers Sorts, as Pintado-birds, Shearwaters, Petrels, &c. We saw also abundance of Sea-weeds in 39° 32' South Latitude, near the Meridian of the Isle *Frygian d'Acumna*, as laid down by the *Portuguese*. June 2. I saw a large black Fowl, with a white flat Bill, which is said never to fly above thirty Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*; whereas, according to my Account, we were ninety Leagues from thence; but soon after found, I was not above twenty-five Leagues from the Cape. June 3. steering to the East, we saw a Sail, which proved the *Anioleja* of *London*, coming the Day before from the Cape. We kept Company till

the next Day, when they steered for the *East Indies*, and for the Coast of *New Holland*, lying North North-east from the Cape. We did not lose Sight of one another till June 6. The 7th, it was very tempestuous Weather, and the Wind continued pretty high till the 16th, and moderate till the 19th, the Wind from West North-west to South by West, when we had run 600 Leagues, and were in 34° 17' South Latitude, and 99° 24' Longitude East from the Cape. The Winds continued at North-east by East till the 27th, and afterwards between North North-west and South South-west till the 4th of July; in which Space we sailed 782 Miles. All which time we met with nothing of Remark, except some Birds and Whales, especially as we came nearer to the Shore. About ninety Leagues from the Land, we began to see Sea-weeds, and, about thirty Leagues distant, some Skuttle-bones floating on the Water. July 25. being in 26° 14' South Latitude, and 85° 52' Longitude East from the Cape of *Good Hope*, we saw more Sea-weed, like Moss. The 28th, the same increased upon us; and, the 29th, we saw Skuttle-bones, Bonetoes, and Ship-jacks, a Fish of eight Inches long, not unlike a Roch. The 30th, we saw more Skuttle-bones and Sea-weeds, and a sort of Fowls we had not seen before, of a grey Colour, with red sharp Bills, but, for the rest, not unlike Lapwings.

9. August 2. we stood in towards the Land, to look for an Harbour to refresh ourselves, after a Voyage of 1140 from *Brasil*. We saw an Opening in 26° South Latitude, but, finding nothing but Rocks and foul Ground, we stood off again the 2d. The 4th, we had 60° 56', and fifty-one Fathom Water; and, the 5th, saw Land again, ten Leagues distant, in 25° 30' South Latitude. The 6th, we saw an Opening in the Land, in which we anchored in two fathom and an half of Water, August 7. I called the Mouth of this Sound *Sharks Bay*, lying in 25° South Latitude, and, according to our Reckoning, in 87° Longitude East from the Cape of *Good Hope*, which is less by 195 Leagues than is laid down in the common Draughts. The Land pretty high, but the Shore steep to the Sea. The Mould is Sand by the Sea-side, producing a large sort of Samphire, which bears a white Flower. Farther in, the Mould is reddish, mixed with a sort of Sand, producing some Grass, Plants, and Shrubs. The Grass grows in great Tufts, as big as a Bushel, here-and-there a Tuft, being intermixed with a great deal of Heath, much of the kind we have growing on our Commons in *England*. Of Trees and Shrubs here are divers Sorts; but none above ten Feet high, their Bodies about three Feet round, and five or six Feet high before you come to the Branches, which are bushy, and composed of small Twigs there, spreading abroad, tho' thick-set, and full of Leaves, which were more long and narrow. The Colour of the Leaves was one Side whitish, and on the other green; and the Bark of the Tree was generally of the same Colour with the Leaves, of a pale Green. Some of these Trees were sweet-scented, as reddish within the Bark, like Sassafras, but darker. Most of the Trees and Shrubs had, at this time, either Blossoms or Berries on them. The Blossoms of the different Sorts of Trees are of divers Colours, as red, white, yellow, &c. but mostly blue; and these smelt very sweet and fragrant, as did also some of the rest. There were, besides, many Plants, Herbs, and tall Flowers, some very small, growing on the Ground, that were sweet and fragrant, and, for the most part, unlike any I had seen elsewhere. There were but few Land-fowls: I saw none, but many of the larger Sort of Birds, but five or six Sorts of small Birds. The largest Sort of these were no bigger than Larks, some no bigger than Wrens, all singing, with great variety of fine shrill Notes; and we saw some of their Young-ones in them. The Water-fowls were, (which had Young-ones, this being the Beginning of Spring in those Parts) Curlews, Galdens, Crab-eaters, Cormorants, Gulls, Pelicans, and some Water-howl, as I have not seen any where besides. The Land-fowls that we saw here, were only a sort of Maccoons, different from those in the *West Indies*, chiefly as to their Legs, which they jump, as the rest of their Species do, like them, very good Meat; and a sort of Guano, differing from them in some remarkable Particulars, these had a larger and more frightful Head, and

Book I.

the *East Indies*, and
North North-east from
one another till *June 6*,
Weather, and the Wind
moderate till the 19th,
South by West, when
in $34^{\circ} 17'$ South Lat
from the Cape. The
East till the 27th, and
and South South-west
we sailed 782 Miles
of Remark, except
as we came nearer to
the Land, we began
Leagues distant, some
r. *July 25*, being in
Longitude East from
the Sea-weed, like Moss
in us; and, the 29th,
Skip-jacks, a Fish of
th. The 30th, we saw
and a sort of Fowls we
r, with red sharp Bills,
eggs.
the Land, to look for
after a Voyage of 114
in 26° South Latitude.
foul Ground, we found
d $60^{\circ} 56'$, and fifty-one
Land again, ten Leagues
The 6th, we saw a
re anchored in two Har-
7. I called the Mouth
in 25° South Latitude,
in 87° Longitude East
is left by 195 Leagues
traughts. The Land
the Sea. The Mould
a large sort of Samphire,
in, the Mould is pro-
producing some Grass,
rows in great Tufts, as
Tuft, being intermed-
h of the kind we have
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round, and five or six
the Branches, which are
twigs there, spread
aves, which were more
the Leaves was one
nd the Bark of the Tree
with the Leaves, of a
were sweet-scented, and
frs, but darker. More
is time, either Blossoms
of the different Sort
ed, white, yellow
very sweet and fragrant
ere were, I believe, some
ome very small flowers
ere sweet and fragrant
y I had seen elsewhere
I saw none, but I saw
ve or six Sorts of flowers
re no bigger than the
singing, with green
saw some of them
Water-fowls are
g the Beginning of
Galdens, Cranes,
some Water-fowls
es. The Land
of Macerons, and
ly as to their
their Species do not
a sort of Gulls,
markable Particular
tiful Head, and

*Fowl & Fish observed by Cap. Will. Dampier in New Guinea
and the Islands adjacent.*

VOL. I. p. 127.



*A Bird hitherto without a Name taken
on New Guinea.*



*A most beautiful Land Fowl
in New Guinea.*



The Eye of this

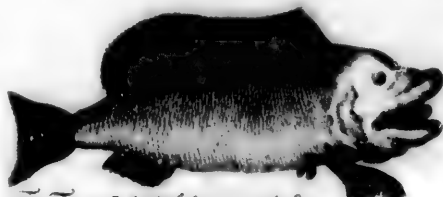
Bird of a very Bright red



A Strange Land Fowl on the Island of Ceram



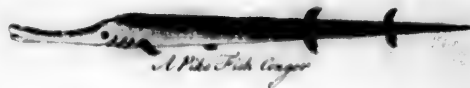
A Bat on Pulo Sabuda on the Coast of New Guinea



This Fish is all of a Pale Red except the Eye



*The Fins, Tail, Blows on the Edges & Round the Middle
with Blue Spots only Body but the Belly very white.*



A Pike Fish Congo



*This Fish is a Pale red with
dark spots on the Body the long
tail Blows on the middle & white
on the sides.*



The Body of this Fish a light Blue the Fins Green

Chap.

Tail; and placed, the without M other Creat so made, a the Particu Spectator a were speckl on their B Motion; a stand stock away; and Smell. I n here. The very good Satisfaction and Alligat ger would n Holland. Fresh-water There are al Reason I ca Thornbacks especially lik Of Shell-fish pits, Oysters eatable, besid with many o of Variety o red, yellow, this Place. lost all, exc There are al Of these w left behind a over. The were indiffer great many, the we cau between its Inches from was like a L Sharp Knife Head and B which were was also firm two of them Thumb, sma not above ha stunk extren and the Shar my Men, and of it, but tho 10. We a August 7. at We searched we got some in; towards of the Bay; East; and, and stood far observe to th ing but shoal to the West this Bay to th 15th, we w The 17th, v dance of W 18th, in 21 saw abundan Shapes. At I and appea Leagues fro an Isle, six I surrounded which, in al ing from Ne far as Shark wards New Numb.

Tail; and, at the Rump, where a Tail should have been placed, there appeared something resembling an Head; but without Mouth or Eyes. Their Legs also differed from other Creatures of the same Kind, by their appearing to be so made, as to carry the Body either way; which, with the Particular before-mentioned, might make a common Spectator apprehend this Creature had two Heads. They were speckled black and yellow, like Toads; and had Scales on their Backs, like Crocodiles. They are very slow in Motion; and, when a Man comes nigh them, they will stand stock-still, and hiss, without endeavouring to get away; and the Body, when opened, hath a very unfavourable Smell. I never saw such ugly Creatures any-where, but here. The Guanas, in other Parts, I have observed to be very good Meat, and have often eat of them with great Satisfaction; but tho' I have eaten of Snakes, Crocodiles, and Alligators, yet, I believe, the quickest Sense of Hunger would not have tempted me to taste the Guana of *New Holland*. The Sea-fish we saw here, (for there was no Fresh-water of any kind to be seen) are chiefly Sharks. There are abundance of them in this Sound; which was the Reason I called it *Sharks Bay*. There were also Skates, Thornbacks, and other Fish of the Prey-kind, (one Sort especially like the Sea-devil) and Guardfish, Bonatos, &c. Of Shell-fish we got also there Mussels, Periwinkles, Limpets, Oysters, both of the Pearl-kind, and of such as were eatable, besides Cockles, &c. The Shore was lined thick with many other Sorts of very strange and beautiful Shells, of Variety of Colour and Shape, most finely spotted with red, yellow, &c. such as I have not seen any-where, but at this Place. I brought away a great many of them; but lost all, except a very few, and those not of the best. There are also some green Turtles, weighing about 200 lb. Of these we caught two, which the Water ebbing had left behind a Ledge of Rocks, which they could not creep over. These served all my Company two Days, and they were indifferent sweet Meat. Of the Sharks we caught a great many, which our Men eat very favourably. Among these we caught one, that was eleven Feet long. The Space between its two Eyes was twenty Inches, and eighteen Inches from one Corner of its Mouth to the other. Its Maw was like a Leather-sack, very thick, and so tough, that a sharp Knife could scarce cut it; in which we found the Head and Bones of an Hippopotamus, the hairy Lips of which were still found, and not putrefied; and the Jaw was also firm, out of which we plucked a great many Teeth, two of them eight Inches long, and as big as a Man's Thumb, small at one End, and a little crooked; the rest not above half so long. The Maw was full of Jelly, which stunk extremely; however, I saved for awhile the Teeth, and the Shark's Jaw. The Flesh of it was divided among my Men, and they took care that no Waste should be made of it, but thought it, as things stood, good Entertainment.

10. We anchored at three several Places in this Bay; August 7. at the West Side. Here we staid till the 10th. We searched for fresh Water; but found none: However, we got some Wood for Fuel. The 11th, we steered farther in; towards Afternoon saw the Land, that makes the South of the Bay; but, meeting with Sholes, I steered away to the East; and, the 12th, passed the North Point of the Land, and stood farther into the Bay, to see what Land we could observe to the East, which we saw right a-head; but, having but shoal Water, I made the best of my way to return to the West Entrance. The 14th, I sailed again out of this Bay to the North-east, coasting along the Shore. The 15th, we were in 24° 41', and, the 16th, at 23° 22'. The 17th, we saw Land again. The 18th, we saw abundance of Whales near a shoal Point, in 22° 22'; and, the 19th, in 21° 42'; the 20th, at 19° 37'. The 21st, we saw abundance of Sea-snakes, of two different Sorts and Shapes. At Noon, bearing in South-east by East, the Land appeared like a Cape; but, anchoring about five Leagues from the *Bluff-point*, it proved the East End of an Isle, six Leagues in Length, and one in Breadth, being surrounded on all Sides with many other small rocky Isles, which, in all Appearance, are a Range of Islands, stretching from North North-east to West South-west, perhaps as far as *Sharks Bay*, and nine or ten Leagues in Breadth towards *New Holland*. The Tides I met with a little while

NUMB. IX.

after gave me a Suspicion, that there might be a kind of *Archipelago* of Isles, and a Passage to the South of *New Holland* and *New Guiney* into the great South Sea Eastward; but, being in want of Water, I would not attempt the Discovery of it. This Place is in 20° 21'; whereas *Tasman*, in his Draught, has laid it down in 19° 50', and has represented the Land as joining in one Ridge to the Continent. We went ashore in the Isle of *Bluff-point*, where we found two or three Shrubs, one like *Rosemary*; whence I called it *Rosemary Isle*; and two Sorts of Grain, like Beans, one growing on Bushes, the other on a kind of creeping Vine. We saw also some Cormorants, Gulls, Crabcatchers, &c. as also Limpets, Periwinkles, Oysters, on the Rocks, some green Tortoises, Sharks, and Water-snakes. The 23d, we ran out again; and, the 25th, we still coasted along. The 27th and 28th, we saw no Land; but, the 30th, in 18° 21', made the Land, and anchored in eight Fathom Water, thirty Leagues from the Shore.

11. August 30. being in 18° 21', we made the Land again, and saw many great Smokes near the Shore; and, having fair Weather, and moderate Breezes, I steered in towards it. At four in the Afternoon, I anchored in eight Fathom Water, clear Sand, about three Leagues and an half from the Shore. I presently sent my Boat to sound nearer in, and they found ten Fathom about a Mile nearer the Shore, and, from thence still farther in, the Water decreased gradually to nine, eight, seven, and, at two Miles Distance, to six Fathom. This Evening, we saw an Eclipse of the Moon; but it was abating before the Moon appeared to us; for the Horizon was very hazy, so that we could not see the Moon, till she had been half an Hour above the Horizon; and, at two Hours twenty-two Minutes after Sun-set, by the Reckoning of our Glasses, the Eclipse was quite gone, which was not of many Digits. The Moon's Centre was then 33° 4' high. The 31st betimes in the Morning, I went ashore with ten or eleven Men, to search for Water. We went all of us armed with Muskets and Cutlasses for our Defence, expecting to see People there, and carried also Shovels and Pickaxes to dig Wells. When we came near the Shore, we saw three tall, black, naked Men on the *Sandy Bay* a-head of us; but, as we rowed in, they went away. When we were landed, I sent the Boat, with two Men in her, to lie a little from the Shore at Anchor, to prevent her being seized, while the rest of us went after the three black Men, who were now got up to the Top of a small Hill, about a quarter of a Mile from us, with eight or nine more Men in their Company. They, seeing us come, ran away. When we came on the Top of the Hill where they first stood, we saw a plain Savanna about half a Mile from us. Farther in from the Sea, there were several things like Haycocks standing in the Savanna, which, at a Distance, we thought were Houses, looking just like the *Hottentots* Houses at the Cape of *Good Hope*; but we found them to be so many Rocks. We searched about these for Water; but could find none, nor any House, nor People; for they were all gone. Then we turned again to the Place where we landed, and there we dug for Water. While we were at work, there came nine or ten of the Natives to a small Hill a little Way from us, and stood there menacing and threatening us, and making a great Noise. At last one of them came towards us, and the rest followed at a Distance. I went out to meet him, and came within fifty Yards of him, making to him all the Signs of Peace and Friendship I could; but then he ran away, neither would any of them stay for us to come nigh them, tho' we tried three or four times. At last, I took two Men with me, and went in the Afternoon along by the Sea-side, on purpose to catch one of them, if I could, of whom I might learn where they got their fresh Water. There were ten or twelve of the Natives a little Way off, who, seeing us three going away from the rest of our Men, followed us at a Distance. I thought they would follow us; but, there being for awhile a Sand-bank between us and them, that they could not then see us, we made an Halt, and hid ourselves in a Bending of the Sand-bank. They knew we must be thereabouts; and, being three or four times our Number, thought to seize us: So they dispersed themselves, some going to the Sea-shore, and others beating about the Sand-hills. We knew, by what Encounter we had had

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advantageously, in the richest Climates of the World, the Torrid and Temperate Zones, having in it, especially, all the Advantage of the Torrid Zone, as being known to reach from the Equator itself (within a Degree) to the Tropic of Capricorn, and beyond it; that in coasting round it, which I designed by this Voyage, if possible, I could not but hope to meet with some fruitful Lands, Continent or Island, or both, productive of any of the rich Fruits, Drugs, or Spices, (perhaps Minerals also, &c.) that are in the other Parts of the Torrid Zone, under equal Parallels of Latitude, at least a Soil and Air capable of such, upon transplanting them hither, and Cultivation. I meant also to make as diligent a Survey as I could of the several smaller Islands, Shores, Capes, Bays, Creeks, and Harbours, fit as well for Shelter as Defence, upon fortifying them; and of the Rocks and Shoals, the Soundings, Tides, and Currents, Wind and Weather Variation, &c. whatever might be beneficial for Navigation, Trade, or Settlement, or be of Use to any who should prosecute the same Designs hereafter, to whom it might be serviceable to have so much of their Work done to their Hands, which they might advance and perfect by their own repeated Experiences. As there is no Work of this kind brought to Perfection at once, I intended, especially, to observe what Inhabitants I met with, and to try to win them over to somewhat of Traffick, and useful Intercourse, as there might be Commodities among any of them that might be fit for Trade or Manufacture, or any found in which they might be employed; though, as to the *New Hollanders* hereabouts, by the Experience I had had of their Neighbours formerly, I expected no great Matters from them. With such Views as these I set out at first from *England*; and would, according to the Method I proposed, have gone Westward thro' the *Magellanic* Streight, or round *Terra del Fuego* rather, that I might have begun my Discoveries upon the Eastern and least known Side of the *Terra Australis*: But that Way was not possible for me to go, by reason of the Time of Year in which I came out; for I must have been compassing the South of *America* in a very high Latitude, in the Depth of the Winter: I was therefore necessitated to go Eastward, by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and, when I should be past it, 'twas requisite I should keep in a pretty high Latitude, to avoid the general Trade-winds that would be against me, and to have the Benefit of the variable Winds, by all which I was in a manner unavoidably determined to fall in first with those Parts of *New Holland* I have hitherto been describing: For, should it be asked, why, at my first making that Shore, I did not cast into the Southward, and that Way try to get round to the East of *New Holland*, and *New Guinea*, I confess, I was not for spending any Time more than was necessary in the higher Latitudes, as knowing that the Land there could not be so well worth the Discovery, as the Parts that lay nearer the Line, and more directly under the Sun. Besides, at the Time when I should come first on *New Holland*, which was early in the Spring, I must, had I stood Eastward, have had, for some time, a great deal of Winter Weather, increasing in Severity, though not in Time, and in a Place altogether unknown, which my Men, who were heartless enough to the Voyage at best, would never have borne, after so long a Run from *Brasil* hither. For these Reasons, therefore, I chose to coast along to the Northward, and so to the East; and so thought to come round by the South of *Terra Australis* in my Return back, which should be in the Summer Season there. And this Passage back also I now thought I might possibly be able to shorten, should it appear, at my getting to the East Coast of *New Guinea*, that there is a Channel coming out into those Seas, as I now suspected, near *Rosmary Island*, unless the high Tides, and great Indraught thereabouts, should be occasioned by the Mouth of some large River, which hath often Low Lands on each Side of its Outlet, and many Islands and Shoals lying at its Entrance. But I rather thought it a Channel, or Streight, than a River; and I was afterwards confirmed in this Opinion, when, by coasting *New Guinea*, I found, that other Parts of this great Tract of *Terra Australis*, which had hitherto been represented as the Shore of a Continent, were certainly Islands, and, 'tis probable, the same with *New Holland*, though, for Reasons I shall

afterwards shew, I could not return the Way I proposed to myself to fix the Discovery. All that I had now seen from the 27° South Latitude, to the 26°, which is *Sharks Bay*, and again from thence to *Rosmary Islands*, and about 20° Latitude, seems to be nothing but Ranges of pretty large Islands against the Sea, whatever might be behind them to the Eastward, whether Sea or Land, Continent or Islands. It was now necessary for me to consider what Step to take next; and, after mature Deliberation, I resolved to continue coasting along the Shore to the North Eastward, in order to the further Discovery of the Country, from a full Persuasion, that, at least, in the Latitude of 16° 15', I should not miss of sweet Water, having been there before, and met with it by digging. This Notion was certainly reasonable in itself, and yet Experience shewed it was but indifferently founded; and a very little Accident of this sort became of Consequence among a Crew ready to lay hold of any Opportunity to call their Commander's Knowledge in question, to magnify the Difficulties of the Voyage, and to countenance whatever might seem to support their own favourite, though impracticable, Design of returning Home.

14. Such, I say, were my Thoughts of the Matter; when, Sept. 5. 1699, I put to Sea with a gentle Gale: Yet was I quickly obliged to change my Design. In a Day's time I perceived, that the Shoals upon the Coast would make it a very difficult, if not impracticable, Thing to sail along the Shore, or to put in where I might incline to do it. I therefore edged farther off to Sea, and so deepened the Water from eleven to thirty-two Fathom. The next Day, being September 6, we could but just discern the Land, though we had then no more than about thirty Fathom uncertain Soundings; for, even while we were out of Sight of Land, we had once but seven Fathom, and had also great and uncertain Tides whirling about, that made me afraid to go near a Coast so shallow, where we might be soon aground, and yet have but little Wind to bring us off: For should a Ship be near a Shore, we might be hurled upon it unavoidably by a strong Tide, unless there should be a good Wind to work her off. Thus, also, on the 7th Day, we saw no Land, though our Water decreased again to twenty six Fathom; for we had deepened it, as I said, to thirty. This Day we saw two Water-snakes, different in Shape from such as we had formerly seen; the one was very small, though long; the other long, and as big as a Man's Leg, having a red Head, which I never saw any have before or since. We had this Day 16° 9' Latitude by Observation: I was, by this time, to the North of the Place I thought to have put in at; and though I knew, by the Experience I had of it then, that there was a deep Entrance in thither from the Eastward, yet, by the Shoals I had hitherto found, so far stretched on this Coast, I was afraid we should have the same Trouble to coast along afterwards beyond that Place; and, besides the Danger of running almost continually amongst Shoals on a strange Shore, and where the Tides were strong and high, I began to bethink myself, that a great Part of my Time must have been spent in being about a Shore I was already almost weary of, which I might employ with greater Satisfaction to my Mind, and better Hopes of Success, in going forward to *New Guinea*: Add to this, the particular Danger I should have been in upon a Lee shore, such as is here described, when the North-west Monsoon should once come in, the ordinary Season of which was not now far off, though this Year it staid beyond the common Season; and it comes on storming, at first, with Tornadoses, violent Gulls, &c. Wherefore, quitting the Thoughts of putting in at *New Holland*, I resolved to steer away for the Island *Timor*, where, besides getting fresh Water, I might probably expect to be furnished with Fruits, and other Refreshments, to recruit my Men, who began to droop, some of them being already, to my Grief, afflicted with the Scavy, which was likely to increase upon them, and distable them, and was promoted by the brackish Water they took in last for boiling their Oatmeal. 'Twas now, also, towards the latter End of the dry Season, when I might not, probably, have found Water so plentifully upon digging at that Part of *New Holland*, as when I was there before: And then, considering the Time also that I

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must necessarily spend in getting into the Shore, through such Sholes as I expected to meet with, or in going about to avoid them, or in digging of Wells, when I should come thither, I might very well hope to get to *Timor*, and find fresh Water there, as soon as I could expect to get it at *New Holland*, and with less Trouble and Danger. Such were the Reasons, that conduced to my forming a settled Resolution to bear away immediately for the before-mentioned Island, which I executed without Delay.

15. It was on *September 8.* that we sailed for *Timor*, where I had heard there were both *Dutch* and *Portuguese* Settlements; but whereabouts in the Island, I knew not; and therefore it was the same Thing to me which Side of it I made first. On the 14th, in the Evening, I had Sight of it; but it was the 15th before I attempted to land. The Country appears pleasant enough to the Eye; for the Mountains were covered with Wood, and the adjacent Meadows were very rich in Grass, though we could discover no Signs of Inhabitants, much less of *European* Plantations. This, and the Wind's blowing again from the South-east, engaged me to try what might be done on the North Side of the Island, where I was sure of having smooth Water, and had a Probability of finding easier Landing; for, on the Side where I was, the Land was so incumbered with Mangroves, that there was no such thing as getting ashore without running great Hazards. On the 18th, about Noon, I altered my Course, and steered back towards the South-west End of the Island. In the Evening, we saw the Island of *Rotte*, and another Island to the South of that; on both which Islands we discovered Smoak in the Day-time, and Fires in the Night. I was afterwards informed, that the *Portuguese* have Sugar-works upon the Island of *Rotte*; but, as I knew nothing of that now, and the Country had not a very promising Aspect, I did not attempt anchoring there, but stood over again to the Coast of *Timor*. On the 21st, in the Morning, being very near that Island, I saw a very large Opening, which, from East to West, appeared to be five Leagues in Breadth; into which I entered with my Ship, founding as I went; and, at last, anchored in nine Fathom Water, at the Distance of about a League from the Shore. This appeared to me then as a large Inlet, or Bay, which entered very deep into the Island of *Timor*; but I afterwards found, that it was really a Strait, or Passage, between that and another Island, called *Anamabao*, or *Anabao*. I was led into my Mistake by the Sea Charts, which represent both Sides of the Opening as Parts of the same Coast, making the Whole but one Island, and calling it by the Name of *Timor*. Such Errors as these are frequent, happening sometimes through Accidents, sometimes from Design; and therefore a greater Service cannot be rendered to Navigators in general, than to rectify such Mistakes; and it would be well, if those, who make Maps and Charts, would be careful in perusing Voyages, and not content themselves with barely copying such Draughts as come to hand, by which means they frequently adopt, not only the Mistakes, but the mischievous Designs, of others, who, by false Representations, endeavour to conceal what ought to be made known for the public Good.

16. I proposed to have sailed through this Opening to the Main; but I had not sailed far, before the Wind came about to the South-east, and blew so strong, that I could not venture with Safety nearer that Side, because it was a Lee shore; besides, my Boat was on the East Side of the *Timor* Coast; for the other was, as I found afterwards, the *Anabao* Shore; and the great Opening I now was in, was the Strait between that Island and *Timor*; towards which I now tacked, and stood over. Taking up my Boat, therefore, I ran under the *Timor* Side, and anchored at three o'Clock, in 29 Fathom, half a Mile from the Shore. That Part of the South-west Point of *Timor*, where we anchored in the Morning, bore now South by West, Distance three Leagues; and another Point of the Island bore North North-east, Distance two Leagues. Not long after, we saw a Sloop coming about the Point last-mentioned with *Dutch* Colours, which I found, by sending my Boat aboard, belonged to a *Dutch* Fort, the only one they have in *Timor*, about five Leagues from hence, called *Concordia*. The Governor of the Fort was in the Sloop, and about forty

Soldiers with him. He appeared to be somewhat surpris'd at our coming this Way, which, it seems, is a Passage scarce known to any but themselves, as he told the Men I sent to him in my Boat; neither did he seem willing, that we should come near their Fort for Water. He said also, that he did not know of any Water on all that Part of the Island, but only at the Fort; and that the Natives would kill us, if they met us ashore. By the small Arms my Men carried with them in the Boat, they took us to be Pirates, and would not easily believe the Account my Men gave them of what we were, and whence we came. They said, that, about two Years before this, there had been a stout Ship of *French* Pirates here; and that after having been suffered to water, and refresh themselves, and been kindly used, they had on a sudden gone among the *Indians*, Subjects of the Fort, and plundered them, and burnt their Houses. And the *Portuguese* here told us afterward, that those Pirates, whom they also had entertained, had burnt their Houses, and had taken the *Dutch* Fort, (though the *Dutch* cared not to own so much) and had driven the Governor and Factory among the wild *Indians*, their Enemies. The *Dutch* told my Men further, they could not but think we had of several Nations (as is usual with Pirate-vessels in our Ship, and particularly some *Dutchmen*; though all the Discourse was in *French*, for I had not one who could speak *Dutch*: Or else, since the common Draughts make no Passage between *Timor* and *Anabao*, but laid down both as an Island, they said, they suspected we had plundered some *Dutch* Ship of their particular Draughts, which they are forbid to part with. With these Jealousies, the Sloop returned towards their Fort, and my Boat came back with this News to me. But I was not discouraged at this News, not doubting but I should persuade them better when I should come to talk with them. So the next Morning I weighed, and stood towards the Fort: The Winds were somewhat against us, so that we could not go very far, being obliged to tack two or three times; and, coming near the farther End of the Passage, between *Timor* and *Anabao*, we saw many Houses on each Side, not far from the Sea, and several Boats lying by the Shore. The Land on both Sides is pretty high, appearing very dry, and of a reddish Colour, but highest on the *Timor* Side. The Trees on either Side were but small, the Wood thin; and, in many Places, the Trees were dry and withered.

17. The Island *Anamabao*, or *Anabao*, is not very big, not exceeding ten Leagues in Length, and four in Breadth; yet has two Kingdoms in it; viz. that of *Anamabao* on the East Side towards *Timor*, and the North-east End; and that of *Anabao*, which contains the South-west End, and the West Side of the Island; but I know not which of them is biggest. The Natives of both are of the *Indian* Kind, of a swarthy Copper-colour, with black lank Hair. Those of *Anamabao* are in League with the *Dutch*, as these afterwards told me, and with the Natives of the Kingdom of *Cepang*, in *Timor*, over-against them, in which the *Dutch* Fort *Concordia* stands. But they are said to be inveterate Enemies to their Neighbours of *Anabao*. Those of *Anabao*, besides managing their small Plantations of a few Cocoa-trees, fish, strike Turtle, and hunt Buffaloes, killing them with Swords, Darts, or Lances: But I know not how they get their Iron; I suppose by Traffick with the *Dutch* or *Portuguese*, who send now-and-then a Sloop, to trade thither, but well-armed; for the Natives would kill them, could they surprize them. They go always armed themselves; and, when they go a Fishing or Hunting, they spend four or five Days, or more, in ranging about, before they return to their Habitation. We did not see them after this at these Employments, but they would not come near us. The Fish or Flesh that they take, besides what serves for present spending, they dry on Barbacue, or wooden Grate, standing pretty high over a Fire, and so carry it home when they return; we saw some time afterwards to the Places where they had Meat thus a drying, but did not touch any of it. But, to proceed: I did not think to stop any-where till I came to the Fort, which yet I did not see; but, coming to the End of this Passage, I found, that, if I went any farther, I should be open again to the Sea: I therefore stood in to the Shore on the East Side, and anchored in four Fathom Water.

Water, from seeing for it, and, told me, that and that it was being now the next Morning *Indians*, Ne thence, came where they were armed much Noise from landing Notice of the 23d, I Governor, the King's young Man with the Go Queries about him, that I desired to go come ashore the Stern-Boat again, solicited him and, at last, ashore; and a Guard of receive him: of Water, a Watering-place he had Order India Company come the Water approach the we been Enemies for Water. suspect into a therefore be g that I had them, would on board, wh and that I v The Govern wanted, prov ordered, tha Boat full of off the Fort, fill them; fo The same A with an Offic vernor, whic a Ton of W 18. After with the sam the Governo the Voyage, obliged to re the Govern crew, grew trained by the us every Day in a Council the Neighb it was poss we were in h the Morning but, being u there, we sai the *Portugue* waiting, wit next Day I f good Wateri storage; wh sent the ne necessary Di ed about eard about Numb. g

Water, sandy Ground, a Point of Land still hindering me from seeing the Fort. But I sent my Boat to look out for it; and, in a short time, she returned; and my Men told me, they saw the Fort, but did not come near it; and that it was not above four or five Miles from hence. It being now late, I would not send my Boat thither till the next Morning; mean while, about two or three hundred Indians, Neighbours of the Fort, and sent probably from thence, came to the sandy Bay, just against the Ship, where they staid all Night, and made good Fires. They were armed with Lances, Swords, and Targets, and made much Noise all the Night. We thought it was to scare us from landing, should we attempt it; but we took little Notice of them. The next Morning, being September the 23d, I sent my Clerk ashore, in my Pinnace, to the Governor, to satisfy him, that we were *Englishmen*, and in the King's Ship, and to ask Water of him, sending a young Man with him, who spake *French*. My Clerk was with the Governor pretty early; and, in Answer to his Queries about me, and my Business in these Parts, told him, that I had the King of England's Commission, and desired to speak with him: He beckoned to my Clerk to come ashore; but, as soon as he saw some small Arms in the Stern-sheets of the Boat, he commanded him into the Boat again, and would have him be gone: My Clerk solicited him, that he would allow him to speak with him; and, at last, the Governor consented, that he should come ashore; and sent his Lieutenant, and three Merchants, with a Guard of about an hundred of the native *Indians*, to receive him: My Clerk said, that we were in much want of Water, and hoped they would allow us to come to their Watering-place, and fill. But the Governor replied, that he had Orders not to supply any Ships but their own *East India Company*, neither must they allow any *Europeans* to come the Way that we came, and wondered how we durst approach their Fort. My Clerk answered him, that, had we been Enemies, we must have come ashore among them for Water. But, said the Governor, you are come to inspect into our Trade and Strength, and I will have you therefore be gone with all Speed. My Clerk answered him, that I had no such Design; but, without coming nearer them, would be contented, if the Governor would send Water on board, where we lay, about two Leagues from the Fort; and that I would make any reasonable Satisfaction for it. The Governor said, that we should have what Water we wanted, provided we came no nearer with the Ship; and ordered, that, as soon as we pleased, we should send our Boat full of empty Casks, and come to an Anchor with it off the Fort, till he sent Slaves to bring the Casks ashore, and fill them; for that none of our Men must come ashore: The same Afternoon I sent up my Boat, as he had directed, with an Officer, and a Present of some Beer for the Governor, which he would not accept, but sent me off about a Ton of Water.

18. After this, I sent my Boat ashore several times, with the same Officer on board, to transact Matters with the Governor. But, as this Officer had no great mind to the Voyage, and desired nothing so much as to see us obliged to return home, he made such strange Reports of the Governor, that the rest of the Officers, and the Ship's crew, grew uneasy; so that though we were kindly entertained by the Inhabitants of the other Island, who brought us every Day Fish and Fruits to sell, yet it was resolved, in a Council held upon this Subject, that we should leave the Neighbourhood of the *Dutch* Fort, and endeavour, if it was possible, to find the *Portuguese* Settlements, where we were in hopes of being better treated. On the 27th in the Morning, we anchored in the Middle of *Copang* Bay; but, being able to discover nothing worth mentioning there, we sailed from thence still Northward, in Search of the *Portuguese* Settlements. On the 29th, we continued coasting, without finding any proper Place to land. The next Day I sent my Mate ashore, who discovered a very good Watering-place in a Bay where there was safe Anchorage; which was a very acceptable Service; and I went the next Morning on shore, in order to give the necessary Directions. In the Space of three Days, we filled about twenty-six Ton of Water, and then had on board about thirty Ton in all. The two following Days

we spent in Fishing with the *Sálm*, and the first Morning caught as many as served all my Ship's Company: But we had not afterward so good Success. The rest of my Men, who could be spared from the Ship, I sent out, with the Carpenter's Mate, to cut Timber for my Boats. These went always attended by three or four armed Men, to secure them. I shewed them what Wood was fitting to cut for our Use, especially the Calabash and Maho; I shewed them also the manner of stripping the Maho-bark, and of making therewith Thread, Twine, Ropes, &c. Others were sent out a Fowling, who brought home Pigeons, Parrots, Cockatoos, &c. I was always with one Party or other myself, especially with the Carpenters, to hasten them to get what they could, that we might be gone from hence. On the 6th of October I sailed from this Place; and, on the 12th, arrived safely at the first *Portuguese* Settlement, and was very well received there, the People seeming very willing to do me any Service in their Power. And, afterwards, I stood round again nearer to the *Dutch* Fort of *Concordia*; from whence the Governor sent me a Message, by which all former Mistakes were cleared up, and a good Understanding restored; so that, at the Request of that Gentleman, I went ashore, and dined with him at his Fort; where I found great Plenty of very good Victuals, very well dressed, the Linen white and clean, and all the Plates and Dishes either Silver, or very fine China. This, indeed, must be said in Favour of the *Dutch*, that in all their Settlements, every thing is managed with the utmost Decency and Order. After Dinner he shewed me some Drawers full of Shells, of which he had a very curious and well-chosen Collection. He seemed to be highly frank and open; told me, that, as to Naval Stores, it was not in his Power to supply me; but that, for fresh Provisions, or whatever else he could spare, I might be sure of them: For which I thanked him, but made no Use of his Offer; because my Ship lay at a good Distance from the Fort, and I was afraid of trusting my Men so far in the Country, for fear the Natives should attack them. We met with great Plenty of Grain, so that, during all the Time we staid here, very little of our salt Provisions were consumed. We saw almost every Day exceeding black Clouds, and heard it thunder for near a Month in the Mountains, where we likewise saw it rain, but none came near us till about four Days before our Departure: Previous to my Account of which, I shall give an exact Description of the Country.

19. The Island of *Timor* is about seventy Leagues long, and sixteen broad: It lies nearly South-east and South-west. The Middle of it lies in about 9° South Latitude. It has no navigable River, nor any Harbours, but abundance of Bays for Ships to ride in safely enough at some Seasons of the Year. The Shore is very bold, free from Rocks, Islands, or Shoals, excepting a few, which are visible, and therefore easily avoided. It is a pretty even Shore, with sandy Bays, and low Land, for about three or four Miles up into the Country; but, beyond that Space, it is mountainous. There is no Anchoring but within half a League, or a League at farthest, from the Shore; and the low Land, that bounds the Sea, hath nothing but red Mangroves, from the Foot of the Mountains, till you come within 150 or 200 Paces of the Sea; and then you have Sandbanks, covered with a sort of Pine, so that there is no getting Water on this Side because of the Mangroves. At the South-west End of *Timor* is a pretty high Island, called *Anabao*. It is about ten or twelve Leagues long, and about four broad; near which the *Dutch* are settled. It lies so near *Timor*, that it is laid down in our Draughts as Part of that Island; yet we found a narrow deep Channel, fit for any Ships to pass between them. This Channel is about ten Leagues long, and, in some Places, not above a League wide. It runs North-east and South-west, so deep, that there is no anchoring but very nigh the Shore. There is but little Tide, the Flood setting North, and the Ebb to the Southward. At the North-east End of this Channel are two Points of Land, not above a League asunder, one on the South Side upon *Timor*, called *Copang*; the other on the North Side, upon the other Island *Anabao*. From this last Point the Land trends away Northerly two or three Leagues, opens to the Sea, and then bends in

again to the Westward. Being past these Points, you enter into a Bay about eight Leagues long, and four wide. This Bay turns in, on the South Side, North-east by East from the South Point before-mentioned, making many small Points, or little Coves. About a League to the East of the said South Point, the Dutch have a small Stone Fort, situated on a solid Rock, close by the Sea. This Fort they call *Concordia*. On the East Side of the Fort, there is a small River of fresh Water, which has a broad boarded Bridge over it, near the Entry into the Fort. Beyond this River is a small sandy Bay, where the Boats and Barks land. About an hundred Yards from the Sea-side, and as many from the Fort, and forty Yards from the Bridge on the East Side, the Company, as at most of their Forts, have a fine Garden, surrounded with a good Stone Wall. In it is plenty of all sorts of Sallads, Cabbages, Roots for the Kitchen, and a Parterre. In some Parts of it are Fruit-trees, as Jacas, Pumplens, Oranges, sweet Lemons, &c. and, by the Walls, are Cocoa-nut and Toddy trees in great plenty. Besides these, they have Musk and Water-melons, Pine-apples, Pomecitrons, Pomegranates, and other sorts of Fruits. Between this Garden and the River there is a kind of Paddock for Black Cattle, of which they have plenty. Beyond the Company's Ground, the Natives have their Houses, in Number about fifty or sixty. There are forty or fifty Soldiers belonging to this Fort: But I know not how many Guns they have; for I had only Opportunity to see one Bastion, in which they had four Guns. Within the Walls, there is a neat little Church or Chapel. As to the Natives of this Island, or original Indian Inhabitants, they are of a middle Stature, straight-bodied, slender-limbed, long-visaged, their Hair black and lank, their Skin very swarthy. They are very dextrous and nimble, but wistful lazy in the highest Degree. They are said to be dull in every thing, but Treachery and Barbarity. Their Houses are but mean, their Cloathing only a small Cloth about their Middle; but some of them, for Ornament, have Frontlets of Mother-of-pearl, or thin Pieces of Silver or Gold, made of an oval Form, of the Breadth of a Crown-piece, curiously notched round the Edges, five of these, placed one by another a little above the Eye-brows, making a sufficient Guard and Ornament for their Forehead. They are so thin, and placed on their Foreheads so artificially, that they seem riveted thereon; and indeed the Pearl-oyster-shells make a more splendid Shew, than either Silver or Gold. Others of them have Palmeto-caps, made in divers Forms. As to their Marriages, they take as many Wives as they can maintain; and sometimes they sell their Children to purchase more Wives. I inquired about their Religion, and was told they had none. Their common Subsistence is *Indian Corn*, which every Man plants for himself. They take but little Pains to clear the Ground; for, in the Day-time, they set Fire to the withered Grass and Shrubs, and that burns them out a clear Plantation against the next wet Season. What other Grain they have, besides *Indian Corn*, I know not. Their Plantations are very mean; for they delight most in Hunting: And here are wild Buffaloes and Hogs enough, tho' very shy, because of their frequent Hunting. They have a few Boats, and some Fishermen. Their Arms are Lances, thick, round, short Truncheons, and Targets. With these they hunt, and kill their Game; and the same Weapons they use against their Enemies too: For this Island is now divided into many Kingdoms, and all of different Languages, tho', in their Customs and Manner of Living, as well as Shape and Colour, they seem to be originally of one Descent. The chiefest Kingdoms are, *Cupang*, *Anabie*, *Lortrisie*, *Pombumbie*, *Namqurnal*: The Island also of *Anamabao* or *Anabao* is a Kingdom. Each of these has a Sultan, who is Supreme in his Kingdom, and hath under him several Rajas, and other inferior Officers. The Sultans, for the most part, are Enemies to each other; which Enmities are fomented and kept up by the Dutch, whose Fort and Factory are situated in the Kingdom of *Cupang*; and therefore the Bay, near which they are settled, is commonly called *Cupang Bay*. They have only as much Ground as they can keep within Reach of their Guns; yet this whole Kingdom is at Peace with them, and they freely trade with its Inhabitants, as also with the Islanders on *Anabao*, who are at Peace, as well with the Natives of *Cupang*, as with the Dutch residing there.

But they are implacable Enemies to those of *Anabie*, who are their next Neighbours, and in Amity with the *Portuguese*; as are also the Kingdoms of *Pombumbie*, *Namqurnal*, and *Lortrisie*. It is very probable, that these two European Settlements on this Island are the greatest Occasion of their continual Wars. The *Portuguese* boast exceedingly of their Strength here, and that they are able, at Pleasure, to rout out the Dutch, if they had Authority so to do from the King of *Portugal*; and that they often write to the Viceroy of *Goa* about it, and, tho' their Request is not yet granted, nevertheless (as they say) they live in Expectation of it. These have no Forts, but depend on their Alliance with the Natives: And indeed they are already so mixt, that it is hard to distinguish whether they are *Portuguese* or *Indians*. Their Language is *Portuguese*; and the Religion they have is *Ramish*. They seem, in Words, to acknowledge the King of *Portugal* for their Sovereign; yet they will not accept of any Officers sent by him. They speak indifferently the *Malayan* and their own Country Languages, as well as *Portuguese*; and the chiefest Officers, that I saw, were of this mixt Descend: Neither did I see above three or four white Men among them; and of these two were Priests. Of this mixt Breed there are some Thousands, of whom some have Small-arms of their own, and know how to use them. The chief Person (as I before said) is called Captain-major. He is a white Man, sent thither by the Viceroy of *Goa*, and seems to have great Authority here. I did not see him; for he seldom comes down. His Residence is at a Place called *Porto Nova*, which, the People at *Lapao* told me, was a great Way off; but I could not get any particular Account about it. Some told me, that he is commonly in the Mountains, with an Army of *Indians*, to guard the Passes between them and the *Capangeyans*, especially in the dry Seasons. The next Man to him was *Alexis Mendez*. He is an *Indian*, speaks very good *Portuguese*, and is of the *Ramish* Religion. He lives five or six Miles from the Sea, and is called the Lieutenant. He commands next to the Captain-major, and hath under him another at this Fort on the Sea-side if it must be so called; for, at best, it is but a Block-house.

20. What I observed of greatest Consequence during my Stay in this Island, was the different State, and still more different Policy, of the European Nations settled here; I mean the Dutch and *Portuguese*: And, I believe, the Account I am about to give of them may pass for a pretty good Description of all their Settlements; by which I mean, that, as their Genius is alike, so its Consequences are pretty near the same in all. The Dutch Fort, as I have observed, is a regular just Fortification, well provided with Artillery and Ammunition, and has a sufficient Number of Soldiers to secure them against any Attempts of the Natives. They depend therefore intirely upon themselves, and, by always suspecting, are never deceived. They carry on a very considerable Trade, because they furnish the Natives with a greater Variety, and better Sorts of Goods, than their Rivals in Commerce the *Portuguese*. As for the latter, they have a Block-house or two, but hardly any Guns; and are wretchedly provided with Ammunition. This is owing to the Looseness of their Government, or, to speak with great Propriety, to their having no Government at all; for tho' they boast much of being *Portuguese*, yet they pay no Obedience to the Viceroy at *Goa*, who consequently troubles not himself about them, but leaves them to provide military and naval Stores at the world's Heart, that is, to purchase them from the *Chinese*. As they are, in a manner, *Indians* themselves, they trust to their own Strength, and that of the Natives; and, because they can muster ten times as many Men as the Dutch, they fancy themselves much stronger. These crafty Neighbours of theirs never bring this to Trial; but have spirited up the People of *Cupang* against them to such a Degree, that they are continually at War with the *Portuguese*, and never give them any Quarter. This is the Reason that their Captain-major remains always in the Mountains, where, if he did not guard the Passes carefully, the *Portuguese*, notwithstanding their boasted Strength, would soon be driven from the Coast. Not far from the Dutch Fort at *Concordia*, the People of *Cupang* have an House, or rather Hovel, built, on purpose to hold *Portuguese* Heads; for, whenever they kill any of these

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Enemies, hither they bring his Head; and, when I was there, it was said to be almost full: So that, while the *Portuguese* are threatening to drive the *Dutch* out of the Island, the *Dutch*, without so much as uttering their Resentments, are taking off their Heads as fast as they can. Besides the People already described, there are also here some *Chinese* Merchants from *Macao*. They bring hither coarse Rice, coarse or mixed Gold, Tea, Iron-work, Porcelaine, and Silk both wrought and raw. They get in Exchange pure Gold, as it is here gathered, Bees-wax, Sandal-wood, and Coïre. It is said there are about twenty small *Chinese* Vessels come hither every Year from *Macao*, and commonly one Vessel a Year from *Goa*, which brings *European* Commodities, Calicoes, and Mullins. Here are likewise some small Barks, that trade from this Place to *Batavia*, and bring from thence both *European* and *Indian* Goods, and Rice. The Vessels generally come hither in *March*, and stay till *September*; and, by this means, secure the Benefit of the Trade-winds, and obtain regular and advantageous Markets for their Commodities. This Country, take it all together, is very rich and plentiful. Fruit-trees they have of all Kinds in great Plenty, and abundance of Timber. In their Plantations they have *Indian* Corn, and Rice; and might have ten times as much, if they were not so lazy; wild and tame Beasts innumerable; and Fowls in vast Quantities: Besides, that there are Woods swarming with Bees, which make vast Quantities of Honey and Wax. Their Mountains and Brooks afford a great deal of Gold; and they have likewise much Copper; but I do not know where they get it. The Sea is very well stocked with Fish, among which the most remarkable are Cocklemerchants or Oystercrackers. They feed on Shell-fish, having two very hard, thick, black Bones in their Throat, with which they break to Pieces such Shell-fish as they feed upon. As for Shell-fish, they have Oysters of three Sorts; *viz.* long Oysters, common Oysters, which are very fat, and a third Sort, the Shells of which resemble a Stone so much, as not to be easily distinguished from it: Yet these are the best; for they are very sweet, fat, and well-tasted, being likewise of such Size; that three or four of them will serve for a Dinner. There are Cockles here as big as a Man's Head, of which two or three are enough for a Meal; they are very fat and sweet; Crayfish, Shrimps, &c. Here are also many green Turtles, some Alligators, &c. We sailed from *Timor* on *December* 12. 1699, and saw, during the Remainder of that Month, several small Islands. On New-year's-day, we first discovered the Coast of *New Guinea*, which appeared to be very high Land; and, soon after, we discovered Islands almost on every Side.

21. On *January* 14. 1700, we saw in the Afternoon some Smoke from the Islands lying to the West of us; therefore I bore away towards them, with all the Advantage that a brisk Gale could give me. About seven in the Evening, we anchored in thirty-five Fathom Water, at the Distance of about two Leagues from a pretty large Island. We remained where we were that Night, and saw many Fires on shore. In the Morning we weighed again, and ran farther in, thinking to have shallower Water; but we ran within a Mile of the Shore, and came to thirty-eight Fathom, good, soft, holding Ground. While we were under Sail, two Canoes came off within Call of us. They spoke to us; but we neither understood their Language, or Signs. We waved to them to come on board, and called to them in the *Malayan* Language to do the same; but they would not: Yet they came so nigh us, that we could shew them such Things as we had to truck with them, tho' neither would this entice them to come aboard; but they made Signs for us to come ashore, and away they went. Then I went after them in my Pinnace, carrying with me Knives, Beads, Glasses, Hatchets, &c. When we came near the Shore, I called to them in the *Malayan* Language. I saw but two Men at first, the rest lying in Ambush behind the Bushes; but, as soon as I threw ashore some Knives, and other Toys, they came out, flung down their Weapons, and came into the Water by the Boat's Side, making Signs of Friendship, by pouring Water on their Heads with one Hand, which they dipped into the Sea. The next Day in the Afternoon, several other Canoes came on board, and brought many Roots and Fruits; which we purchased.

This Island has no Name in our Draughts; but the Natives call it *Pulo Sabuda*. It is about three Leagues long, and two Miles wide, more or less. It is of a good Height, so as to be seen eleven or twelve Leagues. It is very rocky; yet, above the Rocks, there is good yellow and black Mould, not deep, tho' producing plenty of good tall Trees, and bearing any Fruits or Roots, which the Inhabitants plant. I do not know all its Produce; but what we saw were, Plantains, Cocoa-nuts, Pine-apples, Oranges, Papoos, Potatoes, and other large Roots. Here is also another sort of wild Jacks, about the Bigness of a Man's two Fists, full of Stones or Kernels, which eat pleasant enough when roasted. The Libby-tree grows here in the swampy Valleys, of which they make Sago-cakes. I did not see them make any; but was told by the Inhabitants, that it was made of the Pith of the Tree, in the same manner I have before described. They shewed me the Tree whereof it was, and I bought about forty of the Cakes. I bought also three or four Nutmegs in the Shell, which did not seem to have been long gathered; but, whether they be the Growth of this Island, or not, I can't say; for the Natives would not tell whence they had them, and seemed to prize them very much. What Beasts this Island affords, I know not; but here are both Sea and Land-fowl: Of the first, Boobies and Men-of-war-birds are the chief; some Golden and milk-white Crab-catchers. The Land-fowls are, Pigeons, about the Bigness of Mountain-pigeons in *Jamaica*, and grow about the Size of those in *England*, and much like them; but the inner Part of their Feathers is white, and the Outside black; so that they appear all black, unless you extend the Feathers. Here are large Sky-coloured Birds, such as we killed at *New Guinea*, and many other small Birds unknown to us. Here is likewise abundance of Bats, as big as young Conies, their Necks, Heads, Ears, and Noses, like Foxes; their Hair rough; that about their Necks is of a whitish-yellow; that on their Heads and Shoulders black. Their Wings are four Feet over from Tip to Tip. They smell like Foxes. The Fish are Bass, Rock-fish, and a sort of Fish like Mullers, Old-wives, Whiprays, and some other sorts, that I know not; but no great Plenty of any: For it is deep Water till within less than a Mile of the Shore; then there is a Bank of Coral-rocks, within which you have shoal Water, white clean Sand; so there is no good Fishing amongst these. This Island lies in $2^{\circ} 43'$ South Latitude, and its meridian Distance from *Port Babao* on the Island of *Timor* is 486 Miles. Besides this Island, here are nine or ten other small Islands, as they are laid down in the Draughts. The Inhabitants of this Island are a sort of very tawny *Indians*, with long black Hair, who, in their Manners, differ but little from the *Mindanays*, and others of these Eastern Islands. These seem to be the chief; for, besides them, we saw also curled-pated *New Guinea* Negroes, many of which are Slaves to the others, but, I think, not all. They are very poor; wear no Cloaths; but have a Clout about their Middle, made of the Rinds of the Tops of Palmeto-trees; but the Women have a sort of Calico-cloths. Their chief Ornaments are blue and yellow Beads worn about their Wrists. The Men arm themselves with Bows and Arrows, Lances, Broad-swords, like those of *Mindanao*. Their Lances are pointed with Bone. They strike Fish very ingeniously with wooden Fish-gigs, and have a very dextrous Way of making the Fish rise; for they have a Piece of Wood curiously carved and painted, much-like a Dolphin (and perhaps other Figures). These they let down into the Water by a Line, and a small Weight to sink it. When they think it low enough, they hale the Line into their Boats very fast; and, the Fish rising up after this Figure, they stand ready to strike them when they are near the Surface of the Water. But their chief Livelihood is from their Plantations; yet they have large Boats, and go over to *New Guinea*, where they get Slaves, fine Parrots, &c. which they carry to *Ceram*, and exchange for Calicoes. One Boat came from thence a little before I arrived here, of whom I bought some Parrots, and would have bought a Slave; but they would not barter for any thing, except Calicoes, which I did not chuse. Their Houses on this Side were very small, and seemed only to be for Necessity; but, on the other Side of the Island, we saw good large Houses. Their Procs are narrow, with Outliers on each Side, like

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other *Malayans*. I cannot tell of what Religion these are; but I think they are not *Mohammedans*, by their drinking Brandy out of the same Cup with us, without any Scruple. At this Island we continued till the 20th Instant, having laid in Store of such Roots and Fruits as the Island afforded. On the 20th, at half an Hour after six in the Morning, I weighed; and, standing out, we saw a large Boat full of Men, lying at the North Point of the Island. As we passed by, they rowed towards their Habitations, where we supposed they had withdrawn themselves, for fear of us, (tho' we gave them no Cause of Terror) or for some Differences among themselves; which of the two, was out of our Power to determine, tho' the former, however unreasonable, seemed to us the most probable; and their future Conduct confirmed us in that Opinion.

22. After we left this Coast, where we found it impossible to do any thing, in regard either to Discoveries or Trade, we passed by many small Islands, and through many dangerous Sholes, without meeting with any thing remarkable; till, on *February 4*. we found ourselves off the North-west Cape of *New Guinea*, which is called by the *Dutch* Cape *Mala*. There lies off this Cape a small woody Island, which I sent my Boat to examine, intending to have anchored near it; and as they brought me, at their Return, a Cockle of a prodigious Size, and reported that they had seen many more that were still bigger, I thought fit to call this Cockle Island. The next Day in the Afternoon, I sent both Boats thither, one to cut Wood, and the other to fish; which Boats, at their Return, brought me several Cockles of ten Pounds Weight; but, as it was High-water, they were not able to get any of the very large ones; for the Shells they brought the Day before weighed 78 lb. In the Afternoon, I went myself ashore on another Island, where I found more Pigeons than I had ever observed before, though all these Islands abound with that sort of Fowl. Here also were such Plenty of Cockles, that, in an Hour's time, we could have loaded the Boat with them. This Place I called *Pigeon Island*; and, on the 7th in the Afternoon, my Men brought me from thence one empty Cockle-shell, weighing 258 lb. The same Evening, we anchored near a very pleasant Island, about two Leagues and an half in Length; the Country high, and exceeding well clothed with Wood: The Trees of them were of several Sorts, most of them unknown to us, but all of them green and flourishing; many of them bore Flowers of different Colours, some white, some purple, some yellow, all exceedingly fragrant, so as to be smelt at a considerable Distance. These Trees were, generally speaking, tall and straight, and one in particular of a clean, smooth Body, without Knot or Limb, between sixty and seventy Feet high, and three Fathoms about. The Soil of the Island is black, but not deep. On this Island I went ashore the next Morning, drank his Majesty's Health, and called it *King William's Island*. On the 9th, being to the Eastward of *King William's Island*, we plied all the Day between the Main and several other Islands, having the Wind Easterly, and fair Weather; but it soon altered, and we had a great deal of Rain. On the 14th, we found ourselves about six Leagues from the Continent of *New Guinea*, which appeared very high; and we saw two Head-lands, at about twenty Leagues distant from each other, the one East, the other West; the last is called the Cape of *Good Hope*: The Variation of the Compass here was 4° to the East. On the 15th, we saw an uninhabited Island, to which I gave the Name of *Providence*, which lies at no great Distance from another small Island mentioned in the *Dutch* Charts, by the Name of *William Scouter's Island*.

23. We crossed the Line on the 16th, and found the Variation 6° 26' to the East; but, in a few Days, the Variation increased to very near 9°. We saw, on the 23d in the Afternoon, two Snakes; and, the next Morning, another passing by us, which was vigorously attacked by two Fishes, that had kept us Company five or six Days: They were shaped like Mackrel, and were about their Bigness and Length, and of a yellow Colour, inclined to green. The Snake swam away from them very fast, keeping his Head above Water: One Fish snapt at his Tail; but, when he turned himself, the Fish would withdraw, and the other would snap; so that, by turns, they kept him

employed; yet he still defended himself, and swam away a great Pace, till they were all out of Sight. The 25th, betimes in the Morning, we saw an Island to the Southward of us, at about fifteen Leagues Distance: We bore away for it, supposing it to be that which the *Dutch* called *Wijbers's Island*; but, finding it another Place, I called it *Matthias*, it being that Saint's Day. This Island is about nine or ten Leagues long, mountainous, and woody, with many Savannas, and some Spots of Land, which seemed to be cleared. At eight in the Evening we lay by, intending, if we could, to anchor under *Matthias* Isle: But, the next Morning, seeing another Island about seven or eight Leagues to the Eastward of it, we steered away for it: At Noon, we came up fair with its South-west End, intending to run along by it, and anchor on the South-east Side; but the Tornadoes came in so thick, that I could not venture in. This Island is pretty low and plain, and clothed with Wood. The Trees were very green, and appeared to be large and tall, as thick as they could stand one by another. It is about two or three Leagues long; and, at the South-west Point, there is another low, small, woody Island, about a Mile round, and about a Mile from the other. Between them there runs a Riff of Rocks, which runs them; the biggest of these I called *Squally Island*, upon account of the tempestuous Weather we met with upon the Coasts. The Desire of making Discoveries obliges a Man to lay hold of every Circumstance that in the least promising, and to neglect nothing that may gain him a tolerable Acquaintance with the Coasts he visits. Subsequent Voyages may easily discover great seeming Errors in such a Man's Conduct; but impartial Judges will be always ready to allow, that it is one thing to attempt, and another to prosecute Discoveries. He who engages in the former, actually steers in the Dark, and moves without Guide or Information; whereas the latter follows the Lights which the other had struck out, and not only improves the Effects of his Sagacity, but acquires Wisdom also by attending to his Mistakes. Yet the Pleasure of the Discoveries is certainly more quick and lively, than that of any critical Inquirer into the Conduct of his Voyage. In this Expedition, however, the Discoveries were not great enough to excite Envy; and yet, possibly, they may deserve Attention and Prosecution; since, though the Countries were not rich which we saw, yet they were pleasant, and appeared extremely capable of Improvement. It is also to be observed, that we visited the Outskirts only of the Country; and, by the Fringes of a Carpet, it is very hard to judge of the whole Piece. In order to conquer this Difficulty, and, at the same time, to rid ourselves of the Dangers and Distresses we continually experienced in steering among these Islands, we resolved to bear away for the Continent, in hopes of indemnifying ourselves for the Sufferings and Disappointments we had hitherto met with on the Coast of *New Guinea*.

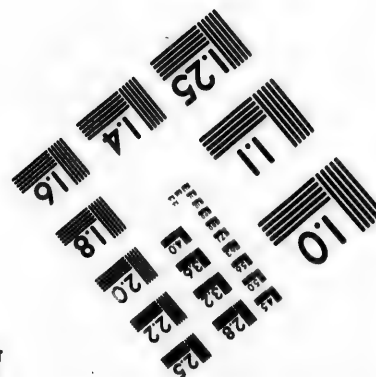
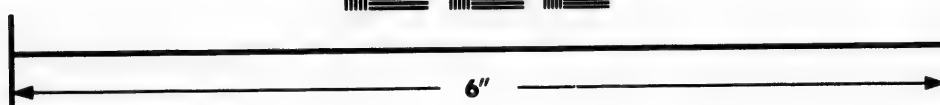
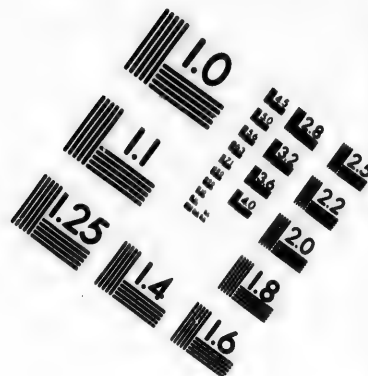
24. The Continent appeared high and mountainous, adorned with flourishing Trees. The Sides of the Hills had many large Plantations, and Pieces of cleared Land, which, together with the Smokes we saw, are certain Signs of its being well inhabited; and I was desirous of entering into Commerce with the Inhabitants: Being nigh the Shore, we saw first one Proc; a little after two, or three more, and, at last, a great many Boats came from all the adjacent Bays: When they were forty-six in Number, they approached so near us, that we could see each others Signs, and hear each other speak, though we could not understand them, nor they us. They made Signs for us to go in towards the Shore, pointing the Way: It was equally Weather, which at first made me cautious of going too near; but the Weather beginning to look pretty clear, I endeavoured to get into a Bay a head of us, which we could have got into well enough at first; but, while we lay by, we were driven so far to Leeward, that now it was more difficult to get in. The Natives lay in their Procs round us, to whom I shewed Beads, Knives, and Glasses, to allure them to come nearer; but they would not come so nigh, as to receive any thing from us: Therefore I threw out some Things to them, viz. a Knife fastened to a Piece of Board, and a Glass Bottle corked up with some Beads in it, which they took up, and seemed well pleased. They

Book I.

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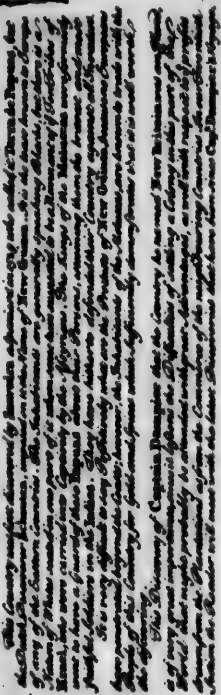
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Roebuck inc 1699.



often struck their Left Breast with their Right Hand, and as often held up a black Truncheon over their Heads, which we took for a Token of Friendship: wherefore we did the like; and, when we stood in towards their Shore, they seemed to rejoice; but, when we stood off, they frowned; yet kept us Company in their Proes, still pointing to the Shore. About five o' Clock we got within the Mouth of the Bay, and sounded several times, but had no Ground, tho' within a Mile of the Shore. The Bottom of this Bay was above two Miles within us, into which we might have gone; but, as I was not sure of Anchorage there, so I thought it not Prudence to run in at this Time, it being near Night, and seeing a black Tornado rising in the West, which I most feared; besides, we had near 200 Men in Proes close by us; and the Bays, on the Shore, were lined with Men from one End to the other, where there could not be less than three or four hundred more. What Weapons they had, we knew not, nor yet their Design; therefore I had, at their first coming near us, got up all our small Arms, and made several put-on Cartouch-boxes to secure us from Treachery. At last I resolved to go out again, which when the Natives in their Proes perceived, they began to sling Stones at us as fast as they could, being provided with Engines for that Purpose; and therefore I named this Place *Slingers Bay*: But at the Firing of a single Gun they were all amazed, drew off, and slung no more Stones; they got together, as if consulting what to do; for they did not make in towards the Shore, but lay still, though some of them were killed or wounded, and many more of them had paid for their Boldness, but that I was unwilling to cut off many of them, which if I had done, I could not hope afterwards to bring them to treat with me. The next Day, we sailed close by an Island, where we saw many Smokes, and Men in the Bays, out of which came two or three Canoes, taking much Pains to overtake us, but they could not, though we went with an easy Sail, and I could not now stay for them. As I passed by the South-east Point, I sounded several times, within a Mile of the sandy Bays, but had no Ground. About three Leagues to the Northward of the South-east Point, we opened a large deep Bay, secured from West North-west and South-west Winds: There were two other Islands that lay to the North-east of it, which secured the Bay from North-east Winds; one was but small, yet woody; the other was a League long, inhabited, and full of Cocoa-nut-trees. I endeavoured to get into this Bay, but there came such Flaws from the high Land over it, that I could not; and, Night coming on, I would not run any Hazard, but bore away to the small inhabited Island, to see if we could anchor on the East Side of it: When we came thither, we found the Island so narrow, that there could be no Shelter; therefore I tacked, and stood towards the greater Island again; and, being more than midway between both, I lay by. Between seven and eight at Night, we saw a Canoe close by us; and, seeing no more, suffered her to come aboard; she had three Men in her, who brought off five Cocoa-nuts, for which I gave each of them a Knife, and a String of Beads, to encourage them to come off again in the Morning; but, before these went away, we saw two more Canoes coming; therefore we stood away to the Northward from them, and then lay by again till Day. We saw no more Boats this Night, neither designed to suffer any more to come aboard in the Dark. By nine a Clock the next Morning, we were got within a League of the great Island, but were kept off by violent Gulfs of Wind.

25: On March 3. being about five Leagues to Leeward of the great Island, we saw the Main-land a-head, and another great high Island to the Leeward of us, Distance about seven Leagues, for which we bore away; it is called in the Dutch Draughts *Garret Dennis* Ile. It is about fourteen or fifteen Leagues round, high, and mountainous, and very woody. Some Trees appeared very large and tall; and the Bay, by the Sea-side, abounded with very large Cocoa-nut-trees; where we also saw some small Houses. The Sides of the Mountains are thick-set with Plantations; and the Mould, in the new-cleared Land, seemed to be of a brown-reddish Colour. This Island is full of Points, shooting into the Sea; between which are many sandy Bays full of Cocoa-nut-trees. The Middle of the Island lies

Numb. 9.

in 9° 10' South Latitude; it is very populous; the Natives are very black, strong, and well-limbed People, having round Heads, their Hair curled and short, which they shave into several Forms, and dye it also of divers Colours, viz. Red; White, and Yellow. They have round Faces, with broad Bottle-noses, yet agreeable enough; till they disfigure them by Painting, and by wearing great Rings through their Noses, as big as a Man's Thumb, and about four Inches long; these are run quite through both Nostrils, one End running out by one Cheek-bone, and the other End against the other, and their Noses so stretched, that only a small Slip of them appears about the Ornament: They have also great Holes in their Ears, wherein they wear such Stuff as in their Noses. They are very dextrous, active Fellows in their Proes, which are very ingeniously built: They are narrow and long, with Outlayers on one Side; the Head and Stern higher than the rest, and adorned with many Devices, viz. some Fowl, Fish, or a Man's Hand painted or carved; and though it is but rudely, yet the Resemblance appears plainly, and shews an ingenious Fancy: But with what Instruments they make their Proes, or this kind of carved Work, I know not; for they seem to be utterly unacquainted with Iron: They had very neat Paddles, with which they manage their Proes dextrously, and make great Way through the Water. Their Weapons are Lances, Swords, Slings, and some Bows and Arrows: They have also wooden Fiffigs for striking Fish. Those that came to assault us in *Slingers Bay*, on the Main, are in all respects like these; and, I believe, these are no less treacherous: Their Speech is clear and distinct; the Words they used most when near us, were *Vacouste Allemais*; and then they pointed to the Shore: Their Signs of Friendship are either a great Truncheon, or Bough of a Tree, full of Leaves, put on their Heads, often striking their Heads with their Hands.

26. The next Day, we had a pleasant Gale of Wind, which carried us under an high Island, very woody, and full of Plantations on the Descents of its Mountains, and on the Shores of its Bays. This Island lies in the Latitude of 3° 25' South, and is distant from the Meridian of Cape *Mabo* 316 Miles. On the South-east Part of it are three or four more small woody Islands, one high and peaked, the other low and flat, all thick-planted with Cocoa-nut-trees, and other Wood. On the North, there is another Island of an indifferent Height, and of a somewhat larger Circumference than the great high Island last-mentioned. We passed between this and the high Island; the high Island is called in the Dutch Draughts *Anthony Cove's* Island; as for the flat low Island, and the other small one, it is probable they were never seen by the Dutch, nor the Islands to the North of *Garret Dennis's* Island. As soon as we came near *Cove's* Island, some Canoes came about us, and made Signs for us to come ashore, as all the rest had done before, probably thinking we could run the Ship a-ground any-where, as they did their Proes; for we saw neither Sail nor Anchor amongst any of them, though most *East Indians* have both: Those had Proes made of one Tree, well dug, with Outlayers on one Side; they were but small, yet well shaped. We endeavoured to anchor, but found no Ground within a Mile of the Shore; we kept close along the North Side, still sounding till we came to the North-east End, the Canoes still accompanying us, and the Bays were covered with Men going along; as we sailed, many of them strove to swim off to us, but we left them a-stern. The Current now driving in towards the flat Island, we were followed by a Canoe from *Cove's* Island: To each of those in it I gave a Knife, a Looking-glass, and a String of Beads. We shewed them Poppions and Cocoa-nuts, intimating, that we should be very well pleased to have more of them, which instantly produced three out of their Boat. We next shewed them Nutmegs; and they, by their Signs, gave us to understand, that they had such growing on their Island. They were likewise shewed Gold-dust, which they knew, and cried out, *Mannuel! Mannuel!* pointing towards the Land. Soon after they were gone, two or three Canoes came from the flat Island, and invited us thither. These People were black, with frizzled Hair, tall, lusty, well-shaped Men; they made the same Signs of Friendship, and seemed to speak the same Language. Their Canoes

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were very neatly made, and finely carved, with the Figures of various kinds of Fish upon them; and, of all the *Indians* we had ever seen, these seemed the most tractable and polite.

27. We soon after saw another Island, called in the *Dutch Maps* *St. John's*; the People of which spoke the same Language with those of *Cave's* Island. We saw from hence an Head-land to the South of us, beyond which we could discover no Land at all; whence I suppose, that from thence the Land trends away more Westerly. This Head-land lies in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 2'$ South, and its Meridian Distance from Cape *Mabo* is 1290 Miles; in the Night we lay by, for fear of overshooting this Head-land; between which and Cape *St. Mary's*, the Land is mountainous and woody, having many Points of Land shooting out into the Sea, which make so many fine Bays. The Coast lies North North-east and South South-west. We saw neither Smokes nor Plantations near this Head-land, which we opened fair by Night; and, as no *Dutch Charts* described this Coast so far by ten Leagues, I called it Cape *St. George*. It lies in $5^{\circ} 5'$ South Latitude, and, as I said, is distant from the Meridian of Cape *Mabo* 1290 Miles. I likewise called the Bay, formed by this Mountain, *St. George's* Bay, and the Island before it *St. George's* Island. The next Morning we saw a burning Mountain up in the Country. The Day after, we passed by the South-west Cape of this Bay, leaving it to the North of us; and, when we came a-breast of it, I called up my Officers, and named it Cape *Orford*, in Honour of my noble Patron *Edward Russell*, Earl of *Orford*. This Cape lies in $5^{\circ} 24'$ South Latitude, and 44 Miles West from the Meridian of Cape *St. George*. The Land on each Side of the Cape is more Savanna than Wood-land; and it is highest on the North-west Side. The Cape itself is a Bluff-point, of an indifferent Height, with a flat Table-land at Top. When we were to the West of the Cape, it appeared to be a low Point, shooting out: There were many Inhabitants about it. We steered along South-west as the Land lies, keeping about six Leagues off the Shore, and being desirous to cut Wood, and fill Water: If I saw any Convenience, I lay by in the Night, because I would not miss any Place proper for those Ends, for fear of wanting such Necessaries. This Coast is high and mountainous, and not so thick set with Trees as that on the other Side of Cape *Orford*, but otherwise pleasant enough. I could have wished for some more favourable Opportunities than had hitherto offered themselves, as well for penetrating into the Heart of the new discovered Country, as for opening a Trade with its Inhabitants, both of which, I very well knew, could they be brought about, must prove extremely beneficial to *Great Britain*. For this Reason I continued my Endeavours in spite of so many Disappointments; and, perceiving my Officers and Men more tractable and obedient than formerly, resolved to examine the Continent we had now in View, as minutely as we had lately done the Islands; the Fruits of which Inquiry, such as they were, shall be laid before the Reader with the same Truth and Sincerity, which, I hope, appear conspicuously in the former Part of this Relation; for, tho' Discoveries be not in a Man's Power, yet a candid Relation of his Attempts, which is, may afford Lights to others, and thereby procure them that Success, of which he failed.

28. On *March* 14. we had Sight of a pretty deep Bay, with some Islands about it, in which I judged we might ride pretty securely, and meet also with some Refreshments; for, by the Smokes we saw, it was very evident, that the Country was full inhabited: About 10. we saw a Point, which ran pretty far out into the Sea, and a Bay within, where we were in hopes of meeting with fresh Water; and our Hopes were greatly increased, when, going with a moderate Gale into the Bay, we discerned all the Marks of a well-cultivated Country, viz. Cocoa-trees, regular Plantations, and a considerable Number of Houses. When I came within four or five Miles of the Shore, six small Boats came off to view us, with about forty Men in them. Perceiving that they would not come aboard, I made Signs to them to go ashore; but they did not, or would not, understand me: Therefore I whistled a Shot over their Heads out of my Fowling-piece; and then they pulled away for the Shore as hard as they could. There were no sooner

ashore, but we saw three Boats coming from the Island to Leeward of us; and they soon came within Call, for we lay becalmed; one had about forty Men in her, and was a large well-built Boat; the other two were but small. Not long after, I saw another Boat coming out of that Bay, where I intended to go: She likewise was a large Boat, with an high Head and Stern, painted, and full of Men. This, I thought, came off to fight us, as probably they did; therefore I fired another small Shot over the great Boat that was nigh us, which made them take to their Paddles. We still lay becalmed; and therefore they, rowing wide of us, directed their Course towards the other great Boat that was coming off. When they were pretty near each other, I caused the Gunner to fire a Gun between, which he did very dextrously; it was laden with round and Partridge-shot; the last dropt in the Water somewhat short of them, but the round Shot went between two Boats, and grazed about 100 Yards beyond them: This so frightened them, that they both rowed away for the Shore as fast as they could, without coming near each other; and the little Boats made the best of their Way after them; and now, having a gentle Breeze at South South-east, we bore into the Bay after them. When we came by the Point, I saw a great Number of Men peeping from under the Rocks. I ordered a Shot to be fired to scare them: The Shot grazed between us and the Point; and, mounting again, flew over the Point, and grazed a second time just by them. We were obliged to sail along just by the Bays; and, seeing Multitudes under the Trees, I ordered a third Gun to be fired among the Cocoa-nut-trees to scare them; for my Business being to wood and water, I thought it necessary to strike some Terror into the Inhabitants, who were very numerous, and, I had Reason to fear, treacherous. After this I sent my Boat to sound; they had first forty, and at last twenty Fathom Water: We followed the Boat, and came to Anchor about a Quarter of a Mile from the Shore, in twenty-six Fathom Water, fine black Sand and Ouse. We rode right against the Mouth of a small River, where I hoped to find fresh Water. Some of the Natives standing upon a small Point at the River's Mouth, I sent a small Shot over their Heads to fright them, which it did effectually. In the Afternoon, I sent my Boat ashore to the Natives, who stood upon the Point by the River's Mouth, with a Present of Cocoa-nuts: When the Boat was come near the Shore, they came running into the Water, and put their Nuts into the Boat: Then I made a Signal for the Boat to come aboard, and sent both it and the Yawl into the River to look for fresh Water; ordering the Pinace to lie near the River's Mouth, while the Yawl went up to search. In an Hour's time, they returned aboard with Barrecoes full of fresh Water, which they had taken about half a Mile up the River: After which, I sent them again with Casks; ordering one to fill Water, and the other to watch the Motions of the Natives, lest they should make any Opposition; but they did not, and so the Boats returned a little before Sun-set with a Ton and a half of Water; and the next Day, by Noon, brought aboard about six Tons of Water.

29. I sent ashore Commodities to purchase Hogs, Yams, and other Roots. But my Men returned without any thing, the Natives being unwilling to trade with us; yet they admired our Hatchets and Axes, but would part with nothing but Cocoa-nuts, which they climb the Trees for; and, so soon as they gave them our Men, they beckoned to them to be gone, for they were afraid of us. The 18th, I sent both Boats again for Water; and, before Noon, they filled all my Casks. In the Afternoon I sent them to cut Wood; but, seeing about forty Natives standing on the Bay, at a small Distance from our Men, I made a Signal for them to come aboard again; which they did, and brought me Word, that the Men were passing that Way, but were afraid to come nigh them. At four o'Clock I sent both the Boats again for Wood, and they returned in the Evening. Then I called my Officers, to consult, whether it were convenient to stay here longer, and endeavour a better Acquaintance with these People: They all gave their Opinions for staying longer here. So the next Day I sent both Boats ashore to fish, and to cut more Wood. While they were ashore, about thirty or forty

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re Commodities to purchase Hogs,
ots. But my Men returned without
es being unwilling to trade with us;
r Hatchets and Axes, but would part
coca-nuts, which they climb the Trees
as they gave them our Men, they
be gone, for they were afraid of us.
h Boats again for Water; and, before
my Casks. In the Afternoon I sent
but, seeing about forty Natives stand-
small Distance from our Men, I made
come aboard again; which they did,
ord, that the Men were passing that
raid to come nigh them. At four
the Boats again for Wood, and they
ing. Then I called my Officers, to
were convenient to stay here longer.
ter Acquaintance with these People:
Opinions for staying longer here. So
both Boats ashore to fish, and to cut
e they were ashore, about thirty or

forty Men and Women passed by; they were a little afraid
of our People at first, but, upon their making Signs of
Friendship, passed quietly; the Men were dressed very
fine with Feathers about their Heads, and Lances in their
Hands; the Women had no Ornament, or any thing to
cover their Nakedness, but a Bunch of green Boughs before
and behind, stuck under a String, which came round their
Waists; they carried large Baskets on their Heads full of
Yams. And I have observed, among all the wild Nations
I have known, that they make the Women carry the
Burdens, while the Men walk before without carrying any
other Load than their Arms. In the Afternoon I sent the
Boats ashore for Wood. Some of our Men going to the
Natives Houses, found they were now more shy than they
used to be, had taken down all the Cocoa-nuts from the
Trees, and driven away their Hogs: Our People made
Signs to them, to know what was become of their Hogs,
and other Things. The Natives, pointing to some Houses
at the Bottom of the Bay, and imitating the Noise of those
Creatures, signified, there were Hogs and Goats of several
Sizes, which they expressed by holding out their Hands at
several Distances from the Ground.

30. At Night our Boats came aboard with Wood; and
next Morning I went myself, with both Boats, up the
River, to the Watering-place, carrying with me such
Trifles as I thought most proper to induce them to a Com-
merce with us: But I found they were very shy. I saw
but two Men and a Boy: One of the Men, by some Signs,
was persuaded to come to the Boat's Side where I was: I
gave him a Knife, a String of Beads, and a Glass-bottle;
the Fellow called out Cocoas, Cocoas, pointing to a Vil-
lage hard by; and signified, that he would go for some;
but he never returned. I took eight or nine Men with
me, and marched to their Houses, which I found very
mean, and their Doors made fast with Withes, the Inha-
bitants being all withdrawn out of Fear. I visited three of
their Village, and, finding the Houses abandoned by the
Inhabitants, I brought out some small Fishing-nets, in
Recompence for those Things they had of us. As we
were coming away, we saw two of the Natives; I shewed
them the Things that we carried with us; and called to
them, Cocoas, Cocoas, to let them know, that I took
those Things, because they had not made good what they
had promised by their Signs, and by their calling out
Cocoas. While I was thus employed, the Men in the
Yawl filled two Hogheads with Water, and all the Bar-
recoes. In the Afternoon I came aboard, and found all
my Officers and Men very importunate to go to that Bay
where the Hogs were said to be. I was loth to yield to
it, fearing they would deal too roughly with the Natives.
At last I consented, sending those Commodities I had
ashore with me in the Morning, and giving them a strict
Charge to act cautiously for their own Security. The Bay
I sent them to, was about two Miles from the Ship. As
soon as they were gone, I got all things ready, that, if
there was Occasion, I might assist them with my great
Guns. When they came to land, the Natives appeared,
shaking their Lances, and threatening them; and some
were so daring, as to wade into the Sea, holding a Target
in one Hand, and a Lance in the other. Our Men held
up such Commodities as I had sent, but to no Purpose;
for the Natives waved them off. Seeing therefore they
could not be prevailed upon, my Men, being resolved to
have some Provision among them, fired some Musquets to
scare them away; which had the desired Effect upon all
but two or three, who stood still in a menacing Posture, till
the boldest of them dropt his Target, and ran away, being
shot in the Arm. He, and some others, felt the Smart of
our Bullets, but none were killed, our Design being rather
to fright than hurt them. Our Men landed, and found
abundance of tame Hogs running amongst the Houses.
They shot nine, which they brought away. They had but
little Time; for, in less than an Hour after they went from
the Ship, it began to rain: Therefore they got what they
could into the Boats; for I had charged them to come
away, if it rained. By that time the Boat was aboard, and
the Hogs taken in, it cleared up, and my Men desired
to make another Trip thither before Night: This was about
five in the Evening, and I consented, giving them Order

to repair on board before Night. In the Close of the
Evening they returned with eight Hogs more, and a little
live Pig; and, by this time, the other Hogs were jerked
and salted. These that came last, we only dressed and
corned till Morning, and then sent both Boats ashore for
more Refreshments, either of Hogs or Roots; but, in the
Night, the Natives had conveyed away their Provisions
of all Sorts. Many of them were now about the Houses,
and none offered to hinder our Boats landing; but, on the
contrary, were so amicable, that one Man brought ten or
twelve Cocoa-nuts, left them on the Shore, after he had
shewed them to our Men, and went out of Sight. Our
People, finding nothing but Nets and Images, brought
them away; these two of my Men brought in a small
Canoe; and, presently after, my Boats came off. I ordered
the Boatwain to take care of the Nets; the Images I took
into my own Custody.

31. I sent the Canoe in the Afternoon to the Place from
whence they brought her, and in her two Axes, two
Hatchets, (one of the helved) six Knives, six Looking-
glasses, a large Bunch of Beads, and four Glass-bottles.
Our Men drew the Canoe ashore, placed the Things to
the best Advantage in her, and came off in the Pinnace I
sent to guard them: And now, being well-stocked with
Wood, and all my Water-casks full, I resolved to sail the
next Morning. All the time of our Stay here we had very
fair Weather, only a Shower of Rain sometimes in the
Afternoon, which lasted not above an Hour at most; also
some Thunder and Lightning, with very little Wind. We
had Sea and Land-breezes, the former between the South
South-east, and the latter from North-east to North-west.
This Place I named *Port Montague*, in Honour of my
noble Patron. It lies in 60° 10' South Latitude, and meri-
dian Distance from Cape *St. George* 151 Miles West.
The Country thereabouts is mountainous and woody, full
of rich Valleys, and pleasant fresh-water Brooks: The
Mould in the Valley is deep and yellowish, that on the Side
of the Hill of a very brown Colour, and not very deep, but
rocky underneath, yet excellent planting Land. The Trees,
in general, are neither very strait, thick, nor tall; yet ap-
pear green and pleasant enough; some of them bore Flow-
ers, some Berries, and others big Fruits, but all unknown
to any of us. Cocoa-nut-trees thrive very well here, as
well on the Bays by the Sea-side, as more remote among
the Plantations; the Nuts are of an indifferent Size; the
Milk and Kernel very thick and pleasant. Here is Ginger,
Yams, and other very good Roots for the Pot, that our
Men saw and tasted. What other Fruits or Roots the
Country affords, I know not. Here are Hogs and Dogs;
other Land-animals they saw none. The Fowls we saw,
and knew, were Pigeons, Parrots, Cockadores, and Crows,
like those in *England*, a sort of Birds about the Bigness of
a Black-bird, and smaller Birds many. The Sea and Ri-
vers have Plenty of Fish; we saw abundance, though we
caught but few; and these were Cavellies, Yellow tails,
and Whiprays.

32. We sailed *March* 22. On the 24th in the Evening,
about ten o'Clock, I was called out of my Cabin, where I
then lay much indisposed, to see what the Ship's Crew
called a Miracle: On the North-west by West there ap-
peared a large Pillar of Fire, shooting gradually for three
or four Minutes; then sinking in the same time, till it was
scarce visible; then rising again, and blazing as before. I
knew it immediately to be a Vulcano, or burning Mountain,
and steered for it accordingly. On the 25th of the same
Month in the Evening, we found ourselves within three
Leagues of the Island, in which this burning Mountain was,
and about two Leagues from the Continent. There was a
good Chanel to pass between them; and I kept nearer the
Main than the Island. About seven in the Evening I found-
ed, and had fifty-two Fathom, fine Sand and Ouse. I stood
to the Northward, to get clear of this Streight, having but
little Wind, and fair Weather. The Island all Night vom-
ited Fire and Smoke; and, at every Explosion, we heard
a dreadful Noise, like Thunder; and saw a Flame of Fire
after it, the most terrifying that ever I beheld. The Inter-
vals between these Explosions were about half a Minute,
some more, others less: Neither were these Pulses or Eru-
ptions alike; for some were but faint Convulsions, in com-
parison

passion of the more vigorous: Yet even the weakest vented a great deal of Fire; but the largest made a roaring Noise, and sent up a large Flame twenty or thirty Yards high; and there might be seen a great Stream of Fire running down to the Foot of the Island, even to the Shore. From the Furrows made by this descending Fire, we could, in the Day-time, see great Smokes arise, which probably were made by the sulphurous Matter thrown out of the Funnel at the Top, which, tumbling down to the Bottom, and there lying in an Heap, burned, till it was either consumed or extinguished; and so long as it burnt, and kept its Heat, so long the Smoke ascended from it, which we perceived to increase or decrease, according to the Quantity of Matter discharged from the Funnel. But the next Night, being shot to the Westward of the burning Island, and the Funnel of it lying on the South Side, we could not discern the Fire there, as we did the Smoke in the Day, when we were to the Southward of it. This Vulcano lies in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 33'$ South, and its meridian Distance from Cape St. George is 332 Miles West. The East Part of New Guinea lies forty Miles to the West of this Tract of Land; and, in most of the Charts, they are laid down as contiguous; but I found a large Passage between them, calling the North-east Promontory of New Guinea, King William's Cape; and, when I had perfectly discovered the Island, I called it *Nova Britannia*. It lies from $2^{\circ} 30'$ to $6^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude, and has about $5^{\circ} 18'$ Longitude. It appears to be, for the most part, high Land, mixed with Valleys, and everywhere abounding with large and stately Trees. The Island seems to be very fully inhabited by a Race of strong, well-made Negroes, with whom I could enter into no Correspondence, because my Pinnace was in such a Condition, that we could not safely make use of it to go on shore. I likewise discovered another Island, about eleven or twelve Leagues long, which I called *Sir George Rook's Island*; and not long after another, which, from its Form, I named *Crown Island*; and, to the North-west of that, we discerned a still larger Isle, which I called *Sir Robert Rich's Island*. On April 1. we discovered another burning Island, and soon after many other Islands, amongst which we discovered three Vessels with Sails; a thing unusual, and which we had never seen before, since we were upon these Coasts. On April 12. the Sky, at Sun-rising, looked very red in the East, near the Horizon; and there were many black Clouds both to the South and North of it. About a quarter of an Hour after the Sun was up, there was a Squall to the Windward of us, when, on a sudden, one of our Men on the Forecastle called out, that he saw something a-stern; but could not tell what. I looked out for it, and immediately saw a Spout beginning to work within a quarter of a Mile of us, exactly in the Wind. We presently put right before it. It came very swift, whirling the Water up in a Pillar, about six or seven Yards high. As yet I could not see any pendulous Cloud, from whence it might come, and was in doubt it would soon lose its Force. In four or five Minutes time, it came within a Cable's Length of us, and passed away to Leeward; and then I saw a long pale Stream coming down to the whirling Water. This Stream was about the Bigness of a Rainbow. The upper End seemed vastly high, not descending from any dark Cloud; and therefore the more strange to me, as I never had seen the like before. It passed about a Mile to Leeward of us, and then broke. This was but a small Spout, not strong, nor lasting; yet I perceived much Wind in it, as it passed by us. The Current still continued at North-west, a little Westerly, which I allowed to run a Mile per Hour. I guessed from hence, that the Land is disjointed here; and that there is a Passage to the Southward.

33. We were now returning, and therefore I shall be shorter in my Accounts. On the 26th, we saw the Island of *Ceram*, and endeavoured to pass between it and the Island of *Bonae*; but could not. We then made the Island of *Bonae*, where we met with a *Chinese* Vessel, which, thro' a Mistake, gave us a good deal of Trouble; for, about eight at Night, she came close by us on our Weather-side; which occasioned our getting all our Guns ready, Matches lighted, and Small-arms upon the Quarter-deck; but she standing one Way, and we another, we were soon far

enough asunder. At ten the next Morning, having little Wind, I sent the Yawl aboard of her. She was laden with Rice, Arrack, Tea, Porcelaine, and other Commodities, bound for *Ambeyne*. The Commander said, that his Boat was gone ashore for Water; and asked our Men, if they saw her; for she had been missing two or three Days, and they knew not what was become of her. They had their Wives and Children aboard, and probably came to settle at some new Dutch Factory. The Commander also informed us, that the *Dutch* had lately settled at *Ampulo*, *Monippe*, *Bonae*, and on a Point of *Ceram*. The next Day, we passed between *Kallan* and *Bonae*. After this, we had, for several Days, an high-rolling Sea, occasioned more by a Current, than Wind, which carried us five-and-twenty Miles to the South of our true Course. We were now on the Coasts of a known Country; and therefore I resolved to take the first Opportunity that offered of putting into Port, in order to procure such Necessaries as I wanted, and for the making the Repairs requisite in my Ship, which, by being so long out, was now become very foul and crazy, tho' we did not, at that time, suspect her being in so rotten and ruinous a Condition, as we afterwards found her; neither was it long before we met with the Opportunity we wished for.

34. On the 14th, we discovered the Island *Misacomy*; and, the next Day, sailed along to the West, on the North Side of the Island. In some Charts it is called *Omba*, a mountainous Island, diversified with Woods and Savannas, about twenty Leagues long, and five or six broad. We saw no Signs of Inhabitants on it. We fell in nearest to the West End of it, and therefore I chose to pass on, intending to get through to the Southward between this and the next Isle to the West of it, or between any other two Islands to the West, where I should find the clearest Passage, because the Winds were now at North-east, and East North-east, and the Isle lies nearly East and West; so that, if the Winds continued, I might be a long time in getting to the East End of it, which yet I knew to be the best Passage. Afternoon, being near the End of the Isle *Pentars*, which lies West from *Misacomy*, we saw many Houses and Plantations in the Country, and abundance of Cocoa-nut-trees growing by the Sea-side. We also saw several Boats sailing cross a Bay or Chanel at the West End of *Misacomy*, between it and *Pentars*. We had but little Wind, and that at North, which blows right in, with a Swell; wherefore I was afraid to venture in, tho' probably there might have been good Anchoring, and a means of acquiring a Commerce with the Natives. I continued steering to the West, because, the Night before at Sun-setting, I saw a small, round, high Island to the West of *Pentars*, where I expected a good Passage. We could not that Day reach the West End of *Pentars*; but saw a deep Bay to the West of us, where, I thought, there might be a Passage through between *Pentars* and *Laubana*; but the Lands were shut within one another, so that we could not see any Passage. I ordered them to sail seven Leagues more Westerly, and lie-by till next Day. In the Morning, we looked out for an Opening; but could see none: Yet, by the Distance and Bearing of an high round Island, called *Potors*, we were got to the West of the Opening; but not far from it. I therefore tacked, and stood to the East; and the rather because I had Reason to suppose this to be the Passage I came through in the *Oybet*, mentioned in my Voyage round the World; but I was not yet sure of it, because we had rainy Weather; so that we could not now see the Land so well as we did then. We accidentally saw the Opening at our first sailing in with the Islands, which now was a Work of Time and Difficulty to discover: However, before ten o'Clock, we saw the Opening. The Wind was South South-west, and we plied to get through before Night; for we found a good Tide helping us to the South. About seven or eight Leagues West of us, we saw an high, round, peaked Mountain, from the Top of which a Smoke seemed to ascend, as from a Vulcano. There were three other very high peaked Mountains, two on the East, and one on the West of that which smoked. It was twelve at Night before we got clear of two other small Islands; and there we had a very violent Tide setting us through against a brisk Gale of Wind. When we were through, we continued our Course for *Timor*, in Sight

of which we came in the Straights of *Sunda*. Month, we arrived.

35. I staid at I first ordered it necessary to take in of While we lay here, our Men of War and there was committed great larly in the Streets Ships sent out to had been told, t in quest of me, v Skippers, whom me, they had thr *Pulo Sabuda*, on Days after my D *ten's* Island, and, Something likewise of the Fleet Frigate that the General and Instructions; thing. However it about these things acquainted with the less ready they *Dutch*, during the of sending three. The Day fixed for and I took all pro the same time they same Month, at h failed from *Batavia* at South; so that, the three *Dutch* S in the Morning, v Ship, till it was quite topail-yard, where blown off from 2 Winds, that being near 150 Leagues. *Hope*, and departed the End of the M Blubber swim by us all of one Shape and they seemed to be Hand, spread out Bigness of a Man's little Knob, no bigger. They were of a du Water, did not app These sort of things in most Parts of the mon here; yet some of *Timor*. In my R Ship, which was, I beheld; and all Our Ship, after all to be still leaky; b Opportunity at *St. F* fortune, and to find however, we were taken by the superior take in their Stations

36. February 2. failed again from th made the Island of 22d, between eight which increased, fo the Ship free; wher also, and, by ten o Ship, and stood to t her; and then the C the next Morning, Bay, and, at nine, sandy Ground. Th Distance two Miles; NUMB. 9.

of which we came on May 18. On June 23, we saw the Straights of *Sunda*; and, towards the latter End of the Month, we arrived safely in the Road of *Batavia*.

35. I staid at *Batavia* upwards of three Months, where I first ordered the Ship to be repaired, and afterwards found it necessary to careen her; for which Purpose I hired Vessels to take in our Guns, Ballast, Provisions, and Stores. While we lay here, we heard several Reports in relation to our Men of War, that were cruising on the Coast of *India*, and there was much Discourse likewise of Pirates, who had committed great Depredations on the Coast, and particularly in the Straights of *Malacca*. I did not hear of any Ships sent out to reduce them. At my first coming in, I had been told, that two Ships had been sent from *Ambony* in quest of me, which was quickly confirmed by one of the Skippers, whom I, by Accident, met with here. He told me, they had three Protests against me; that they came to *Pulo Sabda*, on the Coast of *New Guiny*, twenty-eight Days after my Departure thence; and went as far as *Scouten's* Island, and, hearing no further News of me, returned. Something likewise to this Purpose Mr. *Merry*, Commander of the *Fleet* Frigate, told me at my first Arrival here; and that the General at *Batavia* had a Copy of my Commission and Instructions; but I looked upon it as a very improbable thing. However it was, I did not give myself much Trouble about these things, knowing well, that the better they were acquainted with the Authority by which I was protected, the less ready they would be to offer me any Injury. The *Dutch*, during the Time we lay here, came to a Resolution of sending three Ships sooner to *Europe* than was usual. The Day fixed for their sailing was the sixteenth of *October*, and I took all proper Precautions to be ready to sail about the same time they did. Accordingly, on the 17th of the same Month, at half an Hour after six in the Morning, I sailed from *Batavia*, having the Advantage of a fair Wind at South; so that, on the 19th about Noon, I fetched up the three *Dutch* Ships before-mentioned. November 29. in the Morning, we saw a small Hawk flying about the Ship, till it was quite tired. Then she rested on the Mizen-top-sail-yard, where we caught her. It is probable she was blown off from *Madagascar* by the violent Northerly Winds, that being the highest Land to us, tho' distant near 150 Leagues. December 30. we arrived at *Cape Good Hope*, and departed again on January 11. 1701. About the End of the Month, we saw abundance of Weeds or Blubber swim by us; for I cannot determine which. It was all of one Shape and Colour. As they floated on the Water, they seemed to be of the Breadth of the Palm of a Man's Hand, spread out round into many Branches, about the Bigness of a Man's Finger. They had, in the Middle, a little Knob, no bigger than the Top of a Man's Thumb. They were of a dusky Colour; and, as they swam in the Water, did not appear to be stronger than a kind of Jelly. These sort of things are frequent in those Seas, and indeed in most Parts of the *East Indies*. Sharks are not very common here; yet some I have seen, particularly off the Island of *Timor*. In my Return, I saw one under the Stern of our Ship, which was, beyond Comparison, the largest that ever I beheld; and all my Crew were of the same Opinion. Our Ship, after all the Care that had been taken, appeared to be still leaky; but we were in hopes of meeting with an Opportunity at *St. Helena* to discover the Cause of our Misfortune, and to find some Means to remedy it: In which, however, we were disappointed, tho' as much Care was taken by the superior Officers, as it was possible for Men to take in their Stations.

36. February 2. we anchored in *St. Helena* Road; and sailed again from thence on the 13th. On the 21st, we made the Island of *Ascension*, and stood in towards it. The 22d, between eight and nine o'Clock, we sprung a Leak, which increased, so that the Chain-pump could not keep the Ship free; whereupon I set the Hand-pump to work also, and, by ten o'Clock, sucked her: Then wore the Ship, and stood to the Southward, to try if that would ease her; and then the Chain-pump jult kept her free. At five the next Morning, we made Sail, and stood in for the Bay, and, at nine, anchored in ten Fathom and an half, sandy Ground. The South Point bore South South-west, Distance two Miles; and the North Point of the Bay North-

east half North, Distance two Miles. As soon as we anchored, I ordered the Gunner to clear his Powder-room, that we might there search for the Leak, and endeavour to stop within-board, if it was possible; for we could not heel the Ship so low, it being within four Streaks of the Keel; neither was there any convenient Place to hale her ashore. I ordered the Boatswain to assist the Gunner; and, by ten o'Clock, the Powder-room was clear. The Carpenter's Mate, Gunner, and Boatswain, went down; and, soon after, I followed them myself, and asked them, Whether they could come at the Leak? They said, they believed they might, by cutting the Cieling. I told the Carpenter's Mate, who was the only Person in the Ship, that understood any thing of Carpenters Work, that, if he thought he could come at the Leak by cutting the Cieling, without weakening the Ship, he might do it; for he had stopped one Leak so before; which, tho' not so big as this, yet, having seen them both, I thought he might as well do this, as the other: Wherefore I left him to do his best. The Cieling being cut, they could not come at the Leak; for it was against one of the Foothook-timbers, which, the Carpenter's Mate said, he must first cut, before it could be stopped. I went down again to see it, and found the Water to come in very violently. I told them, I had never known any such thing as cutting Timbers to stop Leaks; but if they, who ought to be the best Judges in such Cases, thought they could do any Good, I bid them use their utmost Care and Diligence, promising the Carpenter's Mate, that I would always be a Friend to him, if he could and would stop it. He said, by four o'Clock in the Afternoon he would make all well, it being then about eleven in the Forenoon. In the Afternoon, my Men were all employed in pumping with both Pumps, except such as assisted the Carpenter's Mate. About one in the Afternoon I went down again; and the Carpenter's Mate was cutting the After-part of the Timber over the Leak. Some said, it was best to cut the Timber away at once. I bid them hold their Tongues, and let the Carpenter's Mate alone; for he knew best, and I hoped he would do his utmost to stop the Leak. I desired him to get every thing ready for stopping the Violence of the Water, before he cut any farther, for fear it should overpower us at once. I had ordered the Carpenter to bring all the Oakum he had, and the Boatswain to bring all the waste Cloaths, to stuff in upon Occasion; and had, for the same Purpose, sent down my own Bed-cloaths. The Carpenter's Mate said, he should want short Stanchons to be placed so, that the upper Part should touch the Deck, and the under Part rest on what was laid over the Leak; and presently took a Length for them. I asked the Master Carpenter what he thought best to be done. He replied, till the Leak was all open, he could not tell. Then he went away to make a Stanchon; but it was too long. I ordered him to make many of several Lengths, that we might not want of any Size: So, once more desiring the Carpenter's Mate to use his utmost Endeavours, I went up, leaving the Boatswain and some others there. About five o'Clock, the Boatswain came to me, and told me, the Leak was increased; and that it was impossible to keep the Ship above Water, when I expected, on the contrary, to have had the News of the Leak's being stopped. I presently went down, and found the Timber cut away; but nothing in Readiness to stop the Force of the Water from coming in. I asked them, Why they would cut the Timber, before they had got all things in Readiness? The Carpenter's Mate answered, they could do nothing till the Timber was cut, that he might take Dimensions of the Place; and that there was a Chalk he had lined out preparing by the Carpenter's Boy. I ordered them, in the mean time, to stop in Oakum, and some Pieces of Beef; which was accordingly done: But all to little Purpose; for now the Water gushed in with such Violence, notwithstanding all our Endeavours to check it, that it flew in over the Cieling, and, for want of Passage out of the Room, overflowed it above two Feet deep. I ordered the Bulkhead to be cut open, to give Passage to the Water, that it might drain out of the Room; and withal ordered to clear away about the Bulkhead, that we might bale; so that now we had both Pumps going, and as many baling as could; and, by this means, the Water began to decrease, which gave me some hope of saving the Ship. I asked the

Carpenter's Mate, What he thought of it? He answered, Fear not; for, by ten o'Clock at Night, I'll engage to stop the Leak. I went from him with a very heavy Heart; but, putting a good Countenance upon the Matter, encouraged my Men, who pumped and baled very briskly; and, when I saw Occasion, I gave them some Drums to comfort them. About eleven o'Clock at Night, the Boat-swain came to me, and told me, that the Leak still increased; and that the Plank was so rotten, it broke away like Dirt; and that now it was impossible to save the Ship; for they could not come at the Leak, because the Water in the Room was got above it. The rest of the Night we spent in pumping and baling. I worked myself, to encourage my Men, who were very diligent; but the Water still increased, and we now thought of nothing but saving our Lives: Wherefore I hoisted out the Boat, that, if the Ship should sink, we might be saved; and, in the Morning, we weighed our Anchor, and warped in nearer the Shore, tho' we did but little Good.

37. In the Afternoon, with the Help of a Sea Breeze, I ran into seven Fathom, and anchored; then carried a small Anchor ashore, and warped in, till I came within three Fathom and an half; where, having fastened her, I made a Raft to carry the Mens Chests and Bedding ashore, and before eight at Night most of them were ashore. In the Mornings, I ordered the Sails to be unbent to make Tents, and then myself and Officers went ashore. I had sent ashore a Puncheon, and a thirty-six Gallon Cask of Water, with one Bag of Rice, for our common Use; but great Part of it was stolen away before I came ashore, and many of my Books and Papers lost. On the 26th following, we, to our great Comfort, found a Spring of fresh Water, about eight Miles from our Tents, beyond a very high Mountain, which we were forced to pass over; so that now we were, by God's Providence, in a Condition of subsisting for some time, having very good Turtle by our Tents, and Water for the fetching. The next Day I went up to see the Watering-place, accompanied with most of my Officers. We lay by the Way all Night, and the next Morning early got thither, where we found a very fine Spring on the South-east Side of the high Mountain, about half a Mile from its Top; but the continual Fogs make it so cold here, that it is very unwholesome living by the Water. Near this Place are abundance of Goats and Land-crabs. About two Miles South-east from the Spring, we found three or four Shrub-trees, upon one of which was cut an Anchor and Cable, and the Year 1642: About half a Furlong from these, we found a convenient Place for sheltering Men in any Weather: Hither many of our Men retired, the hollow Rocks affording convenient Lodging. The Goats, Land-crabs, Men-of-war-birds, and Boobies, are good Food, and the Air proved here exceeding wholesome. About a Week after our coming ashore, our Man, that lived at this new Habitation, saw two Ships making towards the Island; before Night they brought me the News; and I ordered them to turn about a Score of Turtles for these Ships, if they should touch here; but, before Morning, they were out of Sight, and the Turtles were released again. Here we continued, without any other Ship, till April 2. when we saw eleven Sail to Windward of the Island; but they likewise passed by. The Day after, appeared four Sail, which came to anchor in this Bay. They were, his Majesty's Ships the *Anglesey*, *Hastings*, and *Lizard*, and the *Canterbury East India Ship*. I went on board of the *Anglesey*, with about thirty-five of my Men; and the rest were disposed of into the other two Men of War.

38. After this happy Escape, we left the Island of *Ascension* on March 8. and arrived safely at *Barbados* on May 8. 1701. Thro' the Desire I had of returning to England, and to vindicate my Character, which, I knew, must suffer greatly from the unlucky Accident that had befallen me, I took the first Opportunity that offered of returning in the *Canterbury East-India-man*; in which Passage I met with nothing

material. The same earnest Desire to clear up Mistakes, to do myself Justice in the Opinion of the World, and to set the Discoveries made in this unfortunate Voyage in their proper Light, that it may be of Use to the World, how unlucky soever it proved to me, is the Reason that induced me to publish it; and I persuade myself, that such as are proper Judges of these sort of Performances, will allow, that I have delivered many things new in themselves, capable of affording much Instruction to such as meditate future Discoveries, and which, in other respects, may be of great Utility to the present Age, and to Posterity.

39. The great Length of this Voyage obliges me to be very short in my Remarks, which I shall therefore confine to a few important Heads, and leave the rest to the Penetration of the Reader. In the first Place, I shall take notice, that this Voyage is not only a proper Supplement, but a most authentic Voucher for the Truth of many Passages in the last, since Captain *Dampier* verified to the Officers and Company, in this Expedition, the Discoveries which he insisted to have made when last at Sea; and this Testimony of his Veracity ought to afford the greater Degree of Credit to what still rests upon his single Authority. In the next Place, I must desire the Reader to remark, that how unfortunate soever this Voyage might be, and however short it might fall of what *Dampier* had promised to his Patrons at the Time of undertaking it; yet, as the Author has very justly observed, it was, in itself, of very great Consequence. It has shewn us a new *Indies*, in which, whenever that Spirit of Industry shall revive, which first extended, and then established our Commerce, we may be able to undertake Settlements as advantageous, as any that have been hitherto made by this or any other Nation. These Settlements might be made, without giving any Offence to our Neighbours; for it never can be presumed, that our political Views in *Europe* ought to restrain us from prosecuting Discoveries in the *East* or *West Indies*, for the Enlargement of our Trade, notwithstanding that such an Enlargement might not be agreeable to some of our Allies. We have discovered, in the Prosecution of former Wars, but especially since the breaking out of the last War with *Spain*, that we cannot make any Conquests for the Benefit of our Commerce, without exciting Jealousies in all our Neighbours; which ought to induce us to the most vigorous Prosecution of those Discoveries, at which they have no Right, and on account of which they have no Reason to take the least Umbrage. The Relations given us by Captain *Dampier* agree so exactly with those formerly given by *de Quiros*, *le Maire*, and other Discoverers, that we cannot entertain the least Doubt of the Possibility of finding, in the Southern Part of the Globe, Countries worth our looking after: And indeed, if there were no other Merit in this Voyage, this alone would be sufficient to recommend it to our Esteem, that it has removed for ever those Suspensions, that were entertained of the Accounts formerly given of those Countries. It may not be amiss to conclude these Reflections, by putting the Reader in mind of the many Advantages, that visibly result from the Manner, in which this History of Circumnavigations has been digested, since it is impossible for him not to discern, that every succeeding Voyage gives Light to the former, and, by adding to the Discoveries already made of vast Continents, and innumerable Islands, heretofore unknown, enables us to make so true a Judgment of what is yet to be performed towards attaining the perfect Knowledge of the whole Globe, that a better Method than this cannot be devised for the Encouragement and Furtherance of that sort of Knowledge, which is, of all others, the most useful and satisfactory, and, with respect to which, this may be considered as a new Attempt, since what has hitherto been done in this Way by *Eden*, *Hackluit*, *Purchas*, and other Writers, serves rather to shew us what was wanting to such an History, and to demonstrate its Usefulness, than to afford the intelligent Reader a solid and regular System of such Discoveries, even to the Times in which they wrote.

The Voyage

1. Introduction to Captain's Voyage then attempted Productions Cinque-por
12. Account of War, Situation of a Ship, common off. 20. Mr. Amapalla's ships suffered on the Coast new Islands in the month
31. The Island
33. Base of
35. Observations Voyage home. England, Au
41. Remarks

1. THIS is a History of Circumnavigation. I thought I should stand in the Title of this Voyage, we have, is in Justice was upon his Credit to do great Matters. Ships were fitted which shews, that *Roebuck*, had no chants, who, to Matter. The Part than Discovery, able in this Voyage which Mr. *Funnell* Seas to the East what former Discoveries cultivated, and possibly be acknowledged they are recounted and Simple consequently, real probably, because of giving his Readers Adventures.

2. It must be taken in the Beginning mighty Expectations against the our fast Friends, sidered as our Enemies. *Anjou*, Grandson induced the Merc Force, a very pr those Parts, where those ill provide Things; and, the Information they taken for the effect

SECTION XV.

The Voyage of WILLIAM FUNNELL round the World, as Mate to Captain WILLIAM DAMPIER.

1. *Introduction, containing the Reasons why this Voyage ought to be attributed rather to Mr. Funnell, than to Captain Dampier.* 2. *The Motives to this Expedition, and the Force of the Ships which were originally fitted out.* 3. *The Advantages expected from this extraordinary Undertaking.* 4. *The St. George sails from the Downs, April 7. 1703. and proceeds to the Cape de Verd Islands.* 5. *Prosecutes her Voyage thence to Cape Horn.* 6. *Arrive at the Island of Juan Fernandez, and refresh there.* 7. *Compelled to quit that Coast, and leave five Men, and all their Stores, on that Island.* 8. *Again unlucky in attempting the same Ship, which occasioned their former Misfortune.* 9. *The Island of Gallo, and its Productions, described.* 10. *Captain Dampier, in the St. George, parts from Captain Stradling, in the Cinque-ports.* 11. *Obtain exact Intelligence of the Preparations made against them by the Spaniards.* 12. *Account of the River of St. lago, and the Alligators found there.* 13. *Attacked by a Spanish Man of War, fitted out to take them.* 14. *The Country about the Bay of St. Matthew described, with its Productions.* 15. *Mr. Clippington (Clipperton) Captain Dampier's chief Mate, leaves him.* 16. *Description of the Middle Islands, and their Produce.* 17. *Account of Shell-fish on that Coast.* 18. *Take a Ship, commanded by a Spaniard brought up in England.* 19. *Attack the Manilla Ship, and are beat off.* 20. *Mr. Funnell, with most of the Ship's Company, leave Captain Dampier.* 21. *Sail from the Gulph of Amapalla for the East Indies.* 22. *Occurrences in their Voyage toward the Ladrone Islands.* 23. *Hardships suffered in this Passage.* 24. *Description of the Island Magon, and its Inhabitants.* 25. *Arrive on the Coast of New Guiney.* 26. *Description of the Islands Deceit and Disappointment.* 27. *Other new Islands discovered and described.* 28. *Their Arrival at the Dutch Settlement of Manipa.* 29. *Sail in the most miserable Condition for Amboyna.* 30. *Arrival there, and the cruel Usage of the Dutch.* 31. *The Island of Amboyna particularly described.* 32. *Sent Prisoners in a Dutch Vessel to Batavia.* 33. *Base Practices of the Dutch, in order to monopolize Trade.* 34. *Their Reception at Batavia.* 35. *Observations made there.* 36. *Arrival at the Cape of Good Hope.* 37. *Occurrences in their Voyage home.* 38. *Difference of Weather in North and South Latitudes.* 39. *Author's safe Arrival in England, August 26. 1706.* 40. *Some Account of the several Persons mentioned in this Expedition.* 41. *Remarks upon the Whole.*

THIS Voyage has usually passed under the Name of Captain *William Dampier*; but, as he proceeded only to the South Seas, and the Circum-navigation was intirely performed by Mr. *William Funnell*, I thought it more proper, that his Name should stand in the Title than that of *Dampier's*, with whom, in this Voyage, we have much less to do. Thus much, however, is in Justice due to Captain *William Dampier*, that it was upon his Credit, and in Expectation of his being able to do great Matters in the *Spanish West Indies*, that these Ships were fitted out, and this Expedition undertaken; which shews, that the Misfortune he met with in the *Redbuck*, had not affected his Character with the Merchants, who, to be sure, were the properest Judges in this Matter. The Point they aimed at was Plunder, rather than Discovery; and yet there is something very remarkable in this Voyage in that way, and the unknown Islands which Mr. *Funnell* met with in his Passage from the South Seas to the *East Indies*, are the strongest Confirmation of what former Discoverers have reported, as to large, well-cultivated, and populous Countries, in those Parts. It must likewise be acknowledged, that *Funnell's* Voyages, though they are recounted with the greatest Appearance of Singularity and Simplicity, yet are better digested, and may be, consequently, read with more Satisfaction, than *Dampier's*; probably, because he had but one Point in View, *viz.* that of giving his Readers a fair and agreeable Account of his Adventures.

2. It must be observed, that this Expedition was undertaken in the Beginning of the last general War, when mighty Expectations were raised of performing great Exploits against the *Spaniards*, who, of a sudden, from being our fast Friends, and favourite Allies, came to be considered as our Enemies, on their accepting the Duke of *Anjou*, Grandson to *Lewis XIV.* for their King. This induced the Merchants to believe, that, with a reasonable Force, a very profitable Expedition might be made into those Parts, where the Buccaneers, with small Vessels, and those ill provided, had performed such extraordinary Things; and, therefore, when they had obtained the best Information they could, as to the Methods proposed to be taken for the effecting such a Design, they entered cheer-

fully on the Expences necessary for that Purpose. In order to this, they fitted out at first two Ships of twenty-six Guns, and 120 Men each, designed for the South Seas. The one was named the *St. George*, Captain *William Dampier* Commander, in which was Mr. *William Funnell*; and the other the *Fame*, John *Pulling* Captain. They were both supplied with all warlike Stores, and very well victualled for nine Months; and had Commissions from his Royal Highness Prince *George*, then Lord High Admiral, to proceed against the *French* and *Spaniards*; and both were upon the same Terms, of No Purchase, no Pay. But, whilst they were in the *Downs*, there arising some Difference between the two Captains, Captain *Pulling*, in his Ship the *Fame*, went away, intending, as he said, to go and cruise among the *Canary Islands*, and they never saw him afterwards; but, before their going from *Ireland*, they were joined by another Ship, sent after them on Purpose; she was a small Vessel, named *The Cinque-ports Galley*, Burden about ninety Tons, sixteen Guns, and sixty-three Men, *Charles Pickering* Captain: Which Ship was also very well victualled, and provided for the Voyage. It must be remarked here, that this Desertion of Captain *Pulling* was absolutely the Ruin of the Voyage; and, therefore, this ought to be a Warning to all Societies of Merchants, that enter upon such Undertakings, never to join two Officers, of discordant Tempers, on any Terms; for, where Harmony is wanting, Success cannot be expected. Besides, Officers intrusted on such Occasions ought to know, that the first Principle of their Conduct should be Duty to their Owners; for this, in private Men of War, comes in the Place of Loyalty, which is the supreme Virtue in the Commander of a King's Ship; and, where either is wanting, it is absurd to hope for any great Matters. Pride, Selfishness, and narrow Notions, can never make a Figure any-where, much less in a Naval Expedition, where, if it once becomes a Maxim, that every Man ought to take care of himself; there is an End of all; whereas, if it be laid down as a fundamental Point, that the general Good is, in all Cases, to be pursued, the Advantage of Individuals will follow of course, and every Man be enriched by barely pursuing Orders.

3. The original Design of this Undertaking, says Mr. Funnell, was to go first into the River of *Plata*, as far as *Buenos Ayres*, in order to take two or three Spanish Gallies, which Captain *Dampier* assured were usually there; and if, by that Expedition, we got to the Value of 600,000*l*. then we were to return again without proceeding further; but if we missed of Success there, then to cruise upon the Coast of *Peru* for the *Baldria* Ships, which bring down Gold to *Lima*; but if that Design should also fail, then to attempt some rich Towns, according as Captain *Dampier* should think fit: And after that, we were, at the usual Time of the Year, to go upon the Coast of *Mexico*, to look for the great Gallion which trades from *Manilla*, one of the *Philippine* Islands, to *Acapulco*, on the Coast of *Mexico*, and which is commonly reported to be worth fourteen Millions of Pieces of Eight. The Reason we did not go to *Buenos Ayres* was, because, on our Arrival at *Madeira*, we had Advice, that the Gallions from thence were safely arrived at *Teneriff*. How well we pursued the latter Part of our Instructions, the subsequent History of our Voyage will sufficiently declare, in which I have used the greatest Sincerity and Freedom, setting down every thing that happened, in the manner in which it happened, with whatever appeared to me worthy the Reader's Notice, in the plainest way imaginable: So that I flatter myself the Whole will be found useful; and that the latter Part, especially, will be esteemed new, curious, and entertaining, inasmuch as it contains many Things which have never hitherto been published in our Language.

4. We sailed on April 30. 1703. out of the *Dorset*; and, on May 18. anchored at *Kinsale* in *Ireland*. Here we refitted and victualled our Ship, and were joined by the *Cinque-ports*; and, on September 11. left *Kinsale*; and, on the 25th, we reached the Island of *Madeira*, where we did not anchor, but lay off-and-on for our Boats, that were sent ashore for Necessaries. By a good Observation, I make this Island to lie in the Latitude of 32° 20' North, and Longitude, by my Account, from *London*, 18° 5' West. We departed September 28. and, on the 30th, saw *Palma* and *Fare*, the two Westernmost of the *Canary* Islands, they being in all seven, so called from *Canaria*, the chief. We did not stop here, but made the best of our Way for the *Cape de Verd* Islands; and, October 6. saw the Island of *Mayo*, lying in the Latitude of 15° 10' North, and Longitude from *London* 24° 29' West. We lay off-and-on all Night, but could not get off any Salt, because here ran so great a Surf, that we dared not venture our Boats ashore: So, on October 7. in the Morning, we bore away for *St. Jago*, and, at Noon, anchored at *Prior Bay*. This Bay lies in the Latitude of 14° 5', and West from *London* 24° 47'. This is one of the Southernmost and most fruitful of the *Cape de Verd* Isles, abounding in Hogs, Fowls, *Guiney* Hens, Monkeys, Maiz, Oranges, Lemons, Dates, Water-melons, Plantains, Bananas, &c. Here is good Water, but troublesome fetching; and Wood is very dear. The Natives of this Place were formerly *Portuguese*, who were banished thither for Murders, Thefts, and other Villainies; but now they are mostly black, by reason of their Commerce with their Women Slaves, which are *Guiney* Negroes; but, notwithstanding they have changed their Colour, yet they still retain their Vices, Thieving being commoner here than in any Place I have been at; inasmuch that they will take your Hat off your Head at Noon-day, in the Midst of Company: You must also be very wary how you trade with them; for, if you let them have your Goods before you have theirs, you will be sure to lose them. At this Place we watered our Ship, and refreshed ourselves; and here being some Disagreement between our Captain and first Lieutenant, the former turned the latter ashore, with his Chest, Cloaths, and Servant, much against both his and his Servant's Will, about twelve o' Clock at Night. At four the next Morning, being October 13. we parted from the said Island, not fully resolved what Place to touch at next.

5. On November 2. we passed the Equator, about forty-five Leagues to the Westward of the Meridian of the Island of *St. Jago*: We saw this Day abundance of Flying-fish. On the 8th, in the Evening, we found the Variation, by a good Amplitude, to be 5° 20' Easterly, Latitude by Ob-

servation South 10° 20', and Longitude West from the Island of *St. Jago* 5° 36'. There are three Islands called by the Name of *St. Ann's*, not above a Stone's-throw from each other; they are very full of Wood, as is all the *Brazilian* Coast. These Islands are distant from the Main about four Miles. This Place is very much troubled with Southerly Winds, which blow in Gusts; therefore your only Way is to lay your best Anchor to the Southward, and all little enough sometimes. The Islands produce nothing but Wood, and have a vast many Sea-fowl upon them, which our Sailors called Boobies. The Booby is much about the Bigness of a Duck: Some are quite white, some grey; they have Feet like a Duck, being a Water-fowl; they feed mostly upon Flying-fish, which they catch flying: I have made many a Meal of these Birds, but it was for want of other Victuals: They taste very fishy, and, if you do not salt them very well before you eat them, they will make you sick. They are so silly, that, when they are weary of flying, they will, if you hold out your Hand, come and sit upon it; from whence I conjecture, that they are called Boobies. November 24. we anchored at the Island of *La Grand*, whose Latitude is 23° 30' South, Longitude from *London* 40° 24' West; and found here about 11° East Variation. This is a very woody Island, and hath several very good Springs of fresh Water upon it. The Soil is black, and the Island is about nine Leagues round, and distant from the Main about three Miles. In it are *Jacals*, *Lions*, *Tygers*, &c. which, in the Night, make a most hideous Noise, enough to terrify any Man. Here are Rum, Sugar, and several sorts of *Indian* Fruits, to be had, but very dear, on account of their supplying the Town of *Saint Paul's* with these Necessaries; near which Town is said to be a Gold Mine, accounted one of the richest hitherto known. It is distant from the Town of *La Grand* about 300 Miles; and is reckoned, by the vast high Mountains that intercept the Passage, to be sixty Days Journey. At this Place we wooded, watered, and refitted our Ship. Here our new first Lieutenant, with eight of our Men, our Captain and they falling out, went ashore with their Goods, and left us here: Also *Charles Pickering*, Captain of the *Cinque-ports*, our Comfort, departed this Life, and his Body was buried ashore at the Watering-place, with the usual Ceremony of firing of Guns; and *Mr. Thomas Stradling*, his Lieutenant, took Command of his Ship. Here is good Fish of various Sorts, as the Silver-fish, and several others. The Silver-fish is about twenty Inches long, in Height, from the Top of his Head to the Bottom of his Belly, eight Inches; he hath five small Fins on the hinder Part of his Head, and one large one, reaching from the hindmost of the five small ones to the Tail: He has two middling ones, one on each Side near the Gills, and a large one, stretching from the Middle of the Bottom of his Belly to his Tail, which is half-mooned. He has a large Eye, a wide Pair of Nostrils, and a small Mouth: It is a very thin Fish, and very bony: He is of a very fine transparent White, and thence called by us a Silver-fish. We sailed from the Island *La Grand* December 8. resolving not to touch any more till we arrived at the Island *Juan Fernandez*, in the South Seas. On the 29th of the same Month, we sailed near the Islands of *Sebalde de Weert*; from which Island there came a very remarkable Bird, which, because it pleased me very much then, I will now describe. It was about the Bigness of a Duck, and of a very fine white Colour; his Bill yellow, and, both above and below the Bill, were long grey Hairs like Whiskers; and, instead of Feathers at the Bottom of his Eyelids, he had short stiff Hairs, which were black.

6. We profecuted our Voyage for the South Seas till January 4. 1704. when, in the Latitude of 57° 50', we met with a most dreadful Storm, in which we were separated from our Comfort the *Cinque-ports*, which added to the Number of our Uneasinesses, and put the Seamen much out of Humour. On the 20th of the same Month, we were in the Latitude 60° 51' South; and, believing that we had now doubled *Cape Horn*, we tacked and stood to the Northward. On February 4. we saw the Island *la Mouche*, in the Latitude of 38° 30' South. This Island is very well inhabited by *Indians*, who are always at War with the *Spaniards*, and indeed with all white Men, be-

cause they think Leagues in Length which run a League from the Port February 5. we Latitude, by Observation London 80° 19' nander, and so forth it, our Captain tacked, and stood after we had stood not seeing any Land; and, pale fort Captain Stradling arrived here three the Bay, in which finding it not conform to the great Bay, Water, the Variation

7. At this Island fitted our Ships, deal of Time, and ashore; during which Captain Stradling an Height, that the but, at last, the Lieutenant of Captain Le their Ship. On a Sail, on which we and stood to Sea, proved, seeing us us, and we made fort making what eleven at Night, think convenient Pinace towed under Stradling's Boat go Dog. At Sun-rise began to engage it of about 400 Tons fought her very close Hours; and then, off. As for our Guns, and then fell the Fight. We had and several wounded other Trial with his Consequence to let he would discover stroy our whole Party it; saying, that, as of our being in the Merchant Ships from coast and not fail of taking in the Year. Upon moon came up; and Captains to let her we concluded to re-chors, Long-boats, with a Ton of Sea-Captain Stradling h to the West Part of going out after the all his Sails, except other Stores. We the Land, so that we it; but it falling calm and rowed towards a few two Sail; the Captain they fired several Shots gave us an Account each of about thirty thought it convenient Coast of *Peru*, less Men, with other Nations for now we had nothing according to their Account for the Coast of *Peru* Land, it being very NUM. X.

cause they think them *Spaniards*. It is a high Island, four Leagues in Length, and has many Shoals on the West Side, which run a League or more into the Sea. It is distant from the Port *Valdivia* twenty-five Leagues Northward. February 5. we found the Variation to be $7^{\circ} 20'$ Easterly Latitude, by Observation South $35^{\circ} 33'$ Longitude, from London $80^{\circ} 19'$. February 7. we saw the Island *Juan Fernandez*, and so stood off-and-on; but, drawing pretty near it, our Captain thought it not to be the right Island; so we tacked, and stood to the Eastward; but, on February 10. after we had stood about thirty Leagues to the Eastward, not seeing any Land, we stood back again to the same Island; and, passing by the great Bay, we saw our Confort Captain *Stradling* in the *Cinque-ports*, who had arrived here three Days before: So we anchored in the little Bay, in twelve Fathom Water, ouffy Ground; but, finding it not convenient lying here, we weighed, and went to the great Bay, where we anchored in thirty-five Fathom Water, the Variation there being $6^{\circ} 5'$ Easterly.

7. At this Island we wooded, watered, heeled, and refitted our Ships, the doing of which took us up a great deal of Time, and obliged both Ships Company to be much ashore; during which time, a Difference happened between Captain *Stradling* and his Men, which rose at last to such an Height, that the Crew absolutely refused to go on board; but, at last, the Matter was compromised by the Mediation of Captain *Dampier*, and the Men returned on board their Ship. On February 29. 1704. our People desired a Sail, on which we all hurried aboard, slipped our Cables, and stood to Sea. The *Frenchman*, for so he afterwards proved, seeing us get under Sail, tacked, and stood from us, and we made the best of our Way after him, our Confort making what Haste he could after us; and, about eleven at Night, we came close up with him, but did not think convenient to engage till Day. In this Chace our Pinnace towed under Water; so we cut her loose; Captain *Stradling's* Boat got also loose, and in her were a Man and a Dog. At Sun-rise the next Morning, being March 1. we began to engage the said Vessel, which was a *French* Ship, of about 400 Tons and 30 Guns, well manned. We fought her very close, Broadside and Broadside, for seven Hours; and then, a small Gale springing up, she sheered off. As for our Confort, he fired about ten or twelve Guns, and then fell a-stern, and never came up again during the Fight. We had nine of our Men killed in the Dispute, and several wounded: We were desirous to have had another Trial with him, knowing it would be of dangerous Consequence to let him go; for, if we did, we were sure he would discover us to the *Spaniards*, which would destroy our whole Proceedings. But our Captain was against it; saying, that, at the worst, if the *Spaniards* should know of our being in those Seas, and so should hinder their Merchant Ships from coming out, yet that he knew whither to go, and not fail of taking to the Value of 500,000 *l.* any Day in the Year. Upon this, we lay by for our Confort, who soon came up; and it was quickly agreed between the two Captains to let her go; so the Enemy stood from us, and we concluded to return to *Juan Fernandez* to get our Anchors, Long-boats, and several Tons of Water calked, with a Ton of Sea-lions Oil, which we had left here; and Captain *Stradling* had left five of his Men, who were gone to the West Part of the Island, and knew nothing of our going out after the Enemy; he had also left behind him all his Sails, except those at the Yard, with a great many other Stores. We had then the Wind at South, right off the Land, so that we found it very difficult to get up with it; but it falling calm, the *Cinque-ports* put out her Oars, and rowed towards the Island: Presently after which, we saw two Sail; the *Cinque-ports* was pretty near them, and they fired several Shot; but she rowed away to us, and gave us an Account, that they were two *French* Ships, each of about thirty-six Guns: So the two Captains thought it convenient not to go in, but to go away for the Coast of *Peru*, leaving behind Captain *Stradling's* five Men, with other Necessaries that we could very ill spare; for now we had neither of us any Boats: However, according to their Agreement on March 6. we stood away for the Coast of *Peru*; and, on the 11th, fell in with the Land, it being very high, three Rows of Hills one within

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another, that towards the Water lowest, and that farthest within Land highest. We were then in the Latitude of $24^{\circ} 53'$ South; from thence we coasted along Shore to the Northward; and, on the 14th, passed the Port of *Copiapo*. This is said to be a very good Port, and to be fenced from almost all Winds. Near to the Port are four or five Rocks; and within Land it is inhabited by *Indians*, who make good Wine; here are said also to be good Meat, Corn, and other Necessaries. In this Port they load Wine, Money, and other Goods, for *Cochimbo*: We would very willingly have gone ashore here to have got some Refreshments, but could not for want of Boats: The Land continues very high and mountainous; so that, I think, it is the highest Land I ever saw.

8. We were surprised, on the 19th of the same Month, by seeing the Colour of the Waves of the Sea changed into red for seven or eight Leagues; though, upon founding, we found no Ground for 170 Fathom; but, upon drawing up the Water, and examining it closely, this Accident appeared to be owing to a vast Quantity of Fish-spawn swimming on the Surface. We were now in the Latitude of $16^{\circ} 11'$ South, and had only forty-eight Minutes Variation to the Eastward, having sailed by the three famous Ports of *Arica*, *Ylo*, and *Arequipa*. On March 22. we found ourselves off the Port of *Lima*, the Capital of *Peru*, where we saw two Sail of Ships steering for that Port: We presently gave Chace, and soon came up with the sternmost; she proved to be the Ship we fought with off the Island of *Juan Fernandez*. We were very eager to stop her going in; for, if we could have done it, it would have hindered the *Spaniards* from having Intelligence of us: Besides, we did not question the taking of her, because now our Men were in Health; whereas, when we fought her before, we had between twenty and thirty very sick and weak; but, being willing to shew themselves, they had done what they could. We considered also, her Guns, Ammunition, and Provisions, would be very welcome to us; so we concluded to engage her ourselves, and to send Captain *Stradling* after the other, which seemed not so big; but Captain *Dampier* did not think advisable to attack her; and, whilst the Matter was disputing, both the Ships got into *Lima*, from whence twenty such as ours could not have forced them out. This kind of Proceeding gave great Offence to most of the Crew, and bad Consequences might have followed it, if we had not, in the Space of a few Days, taken two very considerable Prizes; the first of 150, the second of 200 Ton, out of which we took what we thought would prove most serviceable, and then dismissed our Prizes. On April 5. we began to prepare for the great Stroke our Captain had in his Head, viz. that of landing on the Coast, and plundering some rich City; with which View our Carpenters were ordered to fit up our Launches, or *Spanish* Long-boats, so as to land our Men with Safety, and to fix two *Patereroes* in each Launch. On the 11th of the same Month, we took, as if she had been sent on purpose for our Service, a Bark of about fifty Tons, laden with Plank and Cordage. This Bark we took in Sight of the Isle of *Gallo*, under which we anchored the next Day with our Prize, which we resolved to keep, in order to make use of her in the intended Expedition.

9. This Island of *Gallo* is in $2^{\circ} 45'$ Latitude, Longitude from London West $76^{\circ} 38'$, distant from the Main about five Leagues, in Length two Leagues, in Breadth one: When you are to the Southward of it, it appears in three Hummocks, which, at a Distance, look like three Islands; and the Land between each is very low; but when you are to the North-west of it, at the South End, you will see a small Island, or rather Rock, which looks much like a Ship under Sail; and, when you are at the North End, you will so open the Land, as that you will see Part of it does not join to the Island, as it seems to do when you are to the Westward of it. At the North-east End of this Island are three small Islands, or rather Rocks; one is pretty big, and at a Distance looks like a Barn, and the other like two Sail of Ships. At this Island you may see the Mainland, which is very low near the Water-side, but prodigious high up in the Country. Here we anchored in thirty-five Fathom Water, two Cables Length from the Shore, hard Sand. We anchored in the North-west Part

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of the Island; the Northernmost Point bearing North half West, the Southernmost, South-west: The Watering-place goes in with a full Gap, over which, upon the Hill, is a plain Spot of red Earth, bearing North-west half North. Tho' there are also several other good Watering-places upon this Island; and in the North-east Part at *Seguella* is the best anchoring; here you may wood and water very secure from any Enemy. The Island is very woody, affording large Timber, which is often sent in Shipping up to the Coast of *Peru*. Here are some few wild Monkeys, with abundance of Lizards; and a large sort of Lizard called a Lion-lizard; they are about the Bigness of a Man's Arm: I measured one, which, from the Head to the End of the Tail, was three Feet eleven Inches; he has a large sort of a Comb upon his Head, which stands up like an Helmet, or Head-piece, to defend his Head; when he is assaulted or affrighted, he fits his Comb up an-end; but otherwise it lies down flat, in a deep Dent in his Head just fitted to it; so that, when it is down, it can hardly be perceived: He has two very large Eyes, a large Mouth, with a great many small sharp Teeth. His Skin is very tough, of a dark Colour, full of black, yellow, and bluish Spots: In all other Things he resembles the common Lizard: When they are pursued, they will run very swiftly, yet our Dog often caught them.

10. After remaining here five Days, we concluded to sail from hence; but, just as we were going to get up our Anchors, we discovered a Ship standing in for the Island, which, when she came very near, we came out and took. She was a small Vessel, of fifty Tons, commanded by a *Mojito*. On board this Ship we found a *Guernsey* Man, who had been taken by the *Spaniards* as he was cutting Logwood in the Bay of *Compeachy*, and had been in their Hands above two Years, and must have continued a Prisoner for Life, if we had not released him. When we failed from the Island of *Galle*, our Resolution was to attack immediately the Town of *Santa Maria*, which lay to the Northward, because we expected to find there great Quantities of Gold, brought thither from the adjacent Mines of the same Name; but this Design unluckily miscarried, whether through Fear, Confusion, or the Enemies having early Intelligence, which enabled them to lay Ambuscades, that cut off abundance of our Men, I cannot pretend to determine. This, however, is certain, that, by May 1. we were so sick of our fruitless Attempts on shore, that we resolved to go immediately on board, which accordingly we did; but there we met with new Difficulties; for such was our Scarcity of Provisions, that five green Plantains were ordered to be boiled for every six Men. But, to our great Comfort, when we were almost out of Hopes, as well as Patience, we descried a Sail at twelve this Night, which came to an Anchor close by us. We soon got up our Anchor, and took her without any Resistance. She proved a great Ship, of about 150 Tons: She was deeply laden with Flour, Sugar, Brandy, Wine, about thirty Tons of Marmalade of Quinces, a considerable Quantity of Salt, with some Tons of Linen and Woollen Cloth; so that now we might supply ourselves with Provisions for four or five Years. I was put on board this Prize on Behalf of Captain *Dampier*, and our Ship's Company; and the Master of the *Cinque-ports* was put on board as Chief for Captain *Stradling*, and his Ship's Company. We carried our Prize into the Bay of *Panama*; and, on the 14th, anchored under the Island of *Tobago*. Here Captain *Dampier* and Captain *Stradling* disagreed; and the Quarrel came at last to such an Height, that there was no pacifying them; so that, at last, it was concluded to part Company, all the Men being left at Liberty to go with which Captain they pleased; in consequence of which, five of our Men went to Captain *Stradling*, and five of his came to us. We were told by the Prisoners, that there were 80,000 Dollars on board our Prize; that they were taken in by Stealth at *Lima*, and lay at the Bottom in the Run of the Ship. Our Captain did not believe this, and was unwilling to stay longer, that we might have romaged her to the Bottom, because he thought Loss of Time would mar his greater Designs: Having, therefore, taken out a Quantity of Provision, the was dismissed; and we, on May 19. parted from the *Cinque-ports*, intending to beat up again upon the Coast of *Peru*.

11. June 7. we saw a Sail, gave Chase, came up with her, and took her. She was about 110 Tons, came from *Truxillo*, and was bound for *Panama*, laden with Flour, Sugar, Brandy, &c. with some Bales of wrought Silk in her. We took a Packet, which we opened; the first Letter we happened to read, was from the Captain of the *French* Ship we fought off the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, and met with again off the Port of *Lima*. It was directed to the President of *Panama*, and gave an Account, "That he fought two *English* Privateers off the Island of *Fernandez*; that the smallest of the two fired but eight or ten Guns at him, and then fell a-stern, and did not come up again during the Fight, as he believed, for want of Wind; that the great Ship (meaning us) fought him Broadside and Broadside for more than six Hours; that we killed them a great many Men; and that, at his coming to *Lima*, he sent ashore thirty-two of his Men, each of which had either lost a Leg, an Arm, or an Eye; and that it was a great Chance we had not taken him, for that, at our parting, they had given themselves over as lost, not having Men to defend themselves." We also had Account, by other Letters, that the two *Frenchmen* which we saw off the Island *Juan Fernandez*, had met with a Boat at Sea, in which there were an *Englishman* and a Dog: (This was the Boat which belonged to Captain *Stradling*, and which broke loose from him as we chased the *French* Ship off *Juan Fernandez*): That the said two *French* Ships had been in at *Juan Fernandez*, and had taken up our Anchors, Cables, Long-boat, with all Captain *Stradling's* Stores, and his five Men, and our Negro, which were left there. We also had Advice, that the *Spaniards* had fitted out two Men of War against us; the one of thirty-two Brass Guns, twenty-four Pounders each; the other of thirty-six Guns, of the same Bigness: That each of them had 350 Seamen, and 150 Soldiers, choice Men; and that they lay cruising for us in the Bay of *Guaquil*, between Point *St. Helena* and Cape *Blanco*, from the 7th to the 12th. We were forced to go away with an easy Sail, because of our Prize, which failed very heavy; and, seeing it was likely to be a great Hindrance to us in beating to Windward, we concluded to go into some Place to romage her: Accordingly, the same Day, we went into *Sardinas* Bay, and anchored with our Prize in ten Fathom Water, about four Miles off Shore: We durst not venture any nearer in, because of so many Sholes and Banks of Sand, which lie off it, and which were very imperfectly laid down in all our Draughts.

12. The Sea-coast here is inhabited by *Indians*, but they are not very numerous. Here are several small Rivers, which run with fresh Water down to the Sea-side; and from this Place, by the Sea-side, all along to the Southward, till you come to the Bay of *Tacames*, are white Cliffs, and many Sholes, as far as to Point *Gallera*. From this Bay of *Sardinas*, six Leagues to the Southward, is the great River of *St. lago*, the Mouth of which is about three quarters of a Mile over; but there is no good anchoring, until you are got well within the Mouth. This River is seldom made use of by Shipping, it lying out of the Way; only in case of Necessity, or by Chance, they put in for Refreshment; for here is Plenty of all sorts of Provisions. It hath, on the Sea-side, fourteen or fifteen Pieces of broken Ground, of a whitish Colour; and, at the North-end of them, is the Bay of *Sardinas*, wherein we careened our Ship, and romaged our Prize, and watered at one of the fresh-water Rivers, the Water of which was white like Milk, and both smelt and tasted very strong of Musk, occasioned by many Alligators swimming in it. We shot several of them, one of which measured thirty Feet in Length, and was bigger about than a large Bullock. This Creature is very full of great Scales, from the Neck to the End of his Tail: He has a very large sharp Set of Teeth, with very long Claws on his Feet: It is an amphibious Creature, living on Land, as well as in Water; when they are lying on Shore, they look like a great Tree fallen-down, and for such one would take them at a Distance. They will run very fast on the Land, and are of such Strength, that they will take an Horse or Cow, and carry it down to the Water, and there devour it. They will seize on any thing, as well on Land as in the Water.

Water; and if there be a is usually in greatly afraid. They run in turn his unwi from him. seek them, w Finda, and t the Middle bier, raise the hold out this, and it faltens. The Females Eggs are about almost as thick they are quite fit to be eaten, very Water of strong of them would almost naukous, there Prejudice to the

13. On Ju a Sail, and car pended to be one purpose to take pretty near each did not mind the gage; in order and the Wind b nately came by r ets, and cut all Helm to be claps feeing this, imir Soil they could, f not they should u had increased the out. Captain D better upon one N best to put before fight, than to be Flag at the Main- to give nor take it as fast as we Windward, at a not come to make the two Watches the other looked weary, the others refreshed themse five Guns to the he about 110 or Noon to half an Distance; for he Shot sometimes w the same time, fly growing dusk, the We had none of Enemy; only two and Faces blasted Morning betimes, have had another B pection, he had Dampier told us, Coast of *Peru*, in o of *Tacames*. Acco lera, we anchored with twenty Men, returned on board oia, that they had about fifty Houles it, and had left not the River, however of about fifty Tons, would have served t likewise took anothe with Plantains. Th Long-boat. She

Water; and commonly make great Havock amongst Cattle, if there be any near the Place where they harbour, which is usually in fresh-water Rivers. The *Indians* are not greatly afraid of them, neither in the Water, nor on Land. They run in a Circle, and this great Creature is not able to turn his unwieldy Body so quickly, but that they easily get from him. The *Indians* likewise go into the Water, to seek them, with a Piece of Iron, like an Harpoon at both Ends, and two Pieces of Iron across. This they hold by the Middle in their Hand; and the Alligators, when they bite, raise their Heads out of the Water. Then the *Indians* hold out this Piece of Iron to them, at which they bite; and it fastens in their Mouth, and keeps it open like a Gag. The Females lay Eggs, about 100 at a time. These Eggs are about the Bigness of a Goose's; but the Shell is almost as thick as an Ostridge's. I have seen many of them, they are quite round. The Flesh of the Alligators is not fit to be eaten, it being very strong and musky; nay, the very Water of the Rivers, which they were in, raised so strong of them, that is, of Musk, that a Draught of it would almost suffocate us. But, notwithstanding it is so nauseous, there are no Instances of its doing any sort of Prejudice to the Constitutions of such as drink it.

13. On June 21. being off the Bay of Guiniquil, we saw a Sail, and came up with her the next Day. This happened to be one of those *Spanish* Men of War fitted out on purpose to take us, and a Ship of thirty-two Guns. Being pretty near each other, they gave us a Broadside; but we did not mind them. All our Care was to get the Weather-gage; in order to which, while we carried too much Sail, and the Wind blew very fresh, our Fore-topmast unfortunately came by the Board. Immediately we got our Hatchets, and cut all clear away; and our Captain ordered the Helm to be clapt a-weather, and bore away. The Enemy, seeing this, immediately bore away after us, with all the Sail they could, hoping to come up; for now they doubted not they should take us. We, observing that our running had increased their Courage, resolved to lie-by, and fight it out. Captain Dampier's Opinion was, that he could fail better upon one Mast than the Enemy, and therefore it was best to put before the Wind; but, however, chose rather to fight, than to be chased ashore: So, hoisting the bloody Flag at the Main-topmast-head, with a Resolution neither to give nor take Quarter, we began the Fight, and went to it as fast as we could load and fire. The Enemy kept to Windward, at a good Distance from us; so that we could not come to make use of our Small-arms: But we divided the two Watches; and one was to manage the Guns, whilst the other looked on; and, when those at the Guns were weary, the others were to take their Places, till they had refreshed themselves. By this means we fired, I believe, five Guns to the Enemy's one. We fired about 560, and he about 110 or 115; and we fought him from twelve at Noon to half an Hour past six at Night, altho' at a good Distance; for he kept so far to Windward of us, that our Shot sometimes would hardly reach him, tho' his would, at the same time, fly over us. At half an Hour past six, it growing dusk, they left off firing; and we did the same. We had none of our Men either killed or wounded by the Enemy; only two, through Carelessness, had their Hands and Faces blasted. We lay-by all Night, and, in the Morning betimes, looked out for our Enemy, expecting to have had another Brush with him; but, contrary to our Expectation, he had made Sail from us in the Night. Captain Dampier told us, that his Intention was now to leave the Coast of Peru, in order to go and get Provisions in the Bay of Tacamaes. Accordingly, having weathered Point Galera, we anchored in that Bay, and sent our Boat ashore, with twenty Men, to look for Provisions; but they soon returned on board again, with a very untoward Account; viz. that they had met indeed with an *Indian* Village of about fifty Houses; but that the Inhabitants had abandoned it, and had left nothing behind them in their Houses. In the River, however, we found a fine Bark, of the Burden of about fifty Tons, with as much new Plank by her, as would have served to build another of the same Size. We likewise took another small Bark of about ten Tons, laden with Plantains. This Bark we intended to keep instead of a Long-boat. She had two Masts, and two square Sails;

and, when we had fitted her for our Purpose, we called her the *Dragon*. The Country hereabouts is very pleasant, and well wooded and watered, with all the Convenience imaginable.

14. About seven Leagues to the Northward lies the Bay of St. Matthee. The Land about it is very high, and has a great many Sholes running from it two Leagues into the Sea; and for three or four Leagues, the Water is shallow, that is, from four to six Fathom where it is deepest. Southward and Northward to the Sea there are white Cliffs, and the Bay lies between them. In the Bottom of the Bay there are two Rivers, that empty themselves into the Sea; but they are both what the Seamen call Alligator-water, that is, white and musky, as I have before described it. On each Side of these Rivers are Sholes of Sand, and, near their Mouths, very fine Groves of tall, spreading, green Trees, which are the Marks to find these Rivers by; for their Mouths are so narrow, as not to be discerned at a Distance. These Rivers are seldom used by the *Spaniards* for any thing but Refreshment: And, to say the Truth, there cannot be a properer Place for that Purpose, since all the Country round about abounds with every kind of Provision, that this Part of the World affords. About two Leagues up the River, there are several Villages, inhabited by the *Indians*, who, when the *Spaniards* come hither, furnish them with Cocoa-nuts, Plantains, Bananas, and other kinds of Fruit. As we have often mentioned these, and shall be obliged to mention them frequently hereafter, it may not be amiss to enter into a particular Description of them here, for the Reader's Information, and to render our Accounts perfectly intelligible: The Cocoa-tree is, generally speaking, from fifty to an hundred Feet in Height, for the most part, strait and slender. This Tree produces Leaves of four Fathom, or four and an half in Length, and bears the famous Nut of the same Name, which, with its outer Kind, is larger than a Man's Head. This outer Kind being taken off, there appears a Shell, which will hold near a Quart. Within the Shell is the Nut; and within the Nut is about a Pint and an half of pure clear Water, which is very cool, pleasant, and sweet. The Kernel of the Nut is also very pleasant and good, which, if it be pretty old, we scrape all to Pieces. The Scrapings we set to soak in about a Quart of fresh Water for three or four Hours, and then strain the Water, which, when strained, hath both the Colour and Taste of Milk; and, if it stand awhile, it will have a thick Head on it, not unlike Cream. This Milk, being boiled with Rice, is accounted by our Doctors to be very nourishing; for which Reason we often give it to our sick Men. The Leaves of the Trees serve to thatch Houses. Of the outer Kind of the Nut they make what resembles Linnen Cloth. They also make of it Ropes for Ships, and Rigging, Cables, &c. which are a good Commodity in most Parts of the *West Indies*. The Shell of the Nut will make very pretty Drinking-cups. It will also burn very well, and make a fierce and hot Fire. The Kernel serves instead of Meat, and the Water contained therein instead of Drink; and, if the Nut be very old, the Kernel will, of itself, turn to Oil, which is often made use of to fry with, but most commonly to burn in Lamps; so that from this Tree they have, as is commonly said, Meat, Drink, Clothing, Houses, Firing, and Rigging for their Ships. These Trees may be known by any Ships passing by; for they have no Leaves, except just at the Top. At the Bottom of the Leaves the Cocoa-nuts grow, ten, fifteen, or twenty in a Cluster, hanging by a small String, which is full of Joints. The Plantain-tree is about thirteen or fourteen Feet in Height, and about four Feet round. The Leaves of the Tree are about eight or nine Feet long, and two Feet broad, and end in a round Point. The Fruit grows at the Bottom of the Leaf, upon a great Stalk, in a Cod about eight Inches long, and of the Bigness of a Black-pudding. The Cod is of a fine yellow Colour, often speckled with red. This being taken off, the Inside of it is white; but the Plantain itself is yellow, like Butter, and as soft as a ripe Pear. There grow fifty or sixty sometimes upon a Stalk, and five or six Stalks upon a Tree. They are an extraordinary good Fruit; and in most Parts of the *East* and *West Indies* there is great plenty of them. The Banana-tree is much the same, only the Fruit is not so long as the Plantain, that being about eight

eight Inches long, and the Banana not above six. It grows in the same manner as the Plantain, fifty or sixty in a Cluster upon one Stalk. The Fruit is very mellow, and extraordinary sweet and good. On July 31. we left the Bay of *Tacames*, and carried our little Prize, named the *Dragon*, with us, not desisting to touch at any Place, till we came to the Gulph of *Nicoya*.

15. We sailed from the Bay of *Tacames* cross the Bay of *Panama*, and from thence continued our Voyage to the Gulph of *Nicoya*, where, on August 16. we anchored near certain Islands, which the *Spaniards*, from their being seated near the Centre of the Bay, call the *Middle Islands*; and, the next Morning, our Captain and Carpenter went in a Canoe, to see if a proper Place for careening could be found amongst them. In the Evening of the same Day, while we were employed in dressing a Couple of Turtles, which the Captain had brought on board, our little Prize came to us again. They had been up the River *Changel*, and found two or three *Indian* Houses, and some Plantain-walks. The *Indians* climbed the Trees, and cut down from them as many Plantains as they would have. They found also two Canoes haled upon the Sand, and brought them both off. In their Way, they caught eight Turtles, and eat nothing of their own Provisions, but fed upon Turtle during the Time they were away from us. They gave us an Account, that they had found out a very good and secure Place at the Island *St. Lucas* for us to lay our Ship ashore in; that it was in a fine deep Bay, which, at the Entrance, was not above a Pistol-shot over; that, with five or six Guns upon each Point at the Entrance, we might so fortify ourselves, that no Enemy durst approach us; for that ten of us might defend ourselves against 500. However, we found the *Middle Island* to be as convenient as any Place could be; and, our Captain seeming to like the Place, and knowing we could fortify ourselves here, and with as little Trouble, we chose it. Accordingly, on the 18th, it being fair Weather, and calm, we towed our Ship in amongst the Islands, and lay within Stone's Cast of the Shore all round, with one Anchor a-head, and a Cable out at our Stern, which was made fast to a great Tree on the Shore. As soon as we had fastened our Ship, all Hands went ashore, and began to build Tents for our Cooper and Sail-maker to work in, and to put our Goods and Provisions in. In the mean time, our chief Mate was sent in the small Bark called the *Dragon*, with twenty Men armed, and two *Patereroes*, to cruise in the Gulph; where after he had cruised five or six Days, he returned with a *Spanish* Bark of about forty Tons. She had in her some few Jars of Brandy, with Wine, and some Sugar. They were going to repair her, she being very old; and for that Purpose had five or six Carpenters and Caulkers on board, who came very opportunely to help us to repair our Ship; for we had great Need of Workmen. We took out our Powder, Shot, and all our Ammunition, with all our Bread, some of our Flour, and two Quarter-deck Guns, and put them on board this last Bark. Then we got all the rest of our Things ashore, and made every thing ready for cleaning our Ship. The Bottom of it was, in many Places, eaten like an Honey-comb; inasmuch that the firm Plank was not thicker than an old Sixpence: Nay, in some Places in the Hold, we could thrust our Thumbs quite through with Ease. Our Ship being in this Condition, and we in want of Planks to new-bottom her, our Carpenter was forced to make an hard Shift, and stop the Leaks as well as he could with Nails and Oakum. On September 2. the chief Mate Mr. *Clippington*, having quarrelled with Captain *Dampier*, drew over one-and-twenty Men to his Party; and, having made himself Master of the Bark, in which was all our Ammunition, and the best Part of our Provisions, got up her Anchor, and went without the Islands, from whence he sent us Word, that he would put ashore our Powder, Shot, and other Ammunition, (reserving only what was requisite for his own Use) in an *Indian* House; which he did accordingly, and we sent our Canoes to fetch it on board.

16. These Islands are extremely pleasant and fruitful, abounding with all things requisite to Life; such as Fish of various kinds, and very good Birds of different sorts; and of amphibious Creatures such as are most admired, and of the greatest Use, particularly Turtles and Guanas. But, as general Descriptions are seldom satisfactory, I will enter

into a more distinct Account of the Creatures most remarkable here, whether Birds, Beasts, or amphibious Animals. The Macaw is a very beautiful Bird; his Feathers of all the Colours in the Rainbow. In point of Size, he resembles an Hawk; in Shape a Parrot, only his Bill is perfectly white, and his Feet and Legs as absolutely black. The Carrion-crow is as big as a small Turkey, and, in all respects, very like one; for I never saw any Difference, either in Colour or Shape. The Flesh of them both smells and tastes so strong of Musk, that there is no eating of it. These Creatures commonly resort to Places where any dead Creature is, and feed upon it; for which Reason they are called Carrion: But the Reason why they are called Crows, I know not; for they are nothing like them. The Pelican is almost as big as a Swan. Its Colour is inclinable to white; only the Tips of its Wings are brown. It hath a long Bill, of about twenty Inches, with a very large Crop joining to the lower Part of his Bill, and so defending by the Throat like a Bag or Satchel, very observable, and of a Largeness almost beyond Credit, into which it receives Oysters, Cockles, Conchs, &c. or any other Shell-fish, which being not able to break, it retains them until they open, and then, vomiting them up, picks out the Meat. As for their making an Hole in their Breast, to give their Blood to their Young, I do not believe it, nor ever saw any such thing, altho' I have seen thousands, both young and old, together, and have eaten many of them. They are good Food; only they taste fishy. They have broad Feet, like a Duck, being Water-fowls; but they roost commonly on Rocks, and in Trees, and always sit with their Heads to the Wind; so that, if the Wind changes whilst they are at Roost, they turn about their Heads to it. They are heavy Birds, and fly very slow; and always, when they sit, either on Rocks, Trees, or in the Water, they rest their Bills upon their Crop. The Guana is a sort of Creature, some of which are found on Land, and some in the Water. It is about three Feet long, more or less, and is a very ugly Creature to look at, having great, sharp, black and green Scales, from the fore Part of his Head to the End of his Tail, and a Set of great sharp Teeth, with four long Claws upon each Foot. They breed commonly in the Roots of old Trees, near the Water-side, and frequent the Water as well as Land. When they are stewed with a little Spice, they make good Broth; and the Flesh looks very white, and eats well; but, if they are not extraordinary well boiled, they are very dangerous to eat, making Men very sick, and often putting them into a Fever.

17. There are several sorts of Sea-turtles; but we account the green Turtle the best Meat. They have several Islands and sandy Bays, where they go to lay their Eggs, which they do in different Places, at different Times. And therefore at one, or at several of these Places, their Season of laying is always the same, yet, in different Places, their Seasons are different. I have been at the catching of them in most times of the Year, and commonly found them full of Eggs. When they want to lay, they go ashore in some sandy Bay, and, with their Fins, make an Hole in the Sand about two Feet and an half deep, wherein they lay their Eggs, commonly about eighty or ninety at a time. Then they cover them up with the Sand they scraped out of the Hole; and so leave them for the Heat of the Sun to hatch. Thus, they lay two or three times in a Season; and, after they have laid, they go off to Sea, and leave the Young, when hatched, to shift for themselves, which, as soon as they get out of the Shell and Sand, retire to the Water. The Eggs are round, about the Bigness of a Duck's, with a white, thin, tough Skin over them; but no Shell. Both the Eggs and the Turtle are extraordinary good Food. I have seen of this sort of green Turtle several times from 200 to 350 and 400 Weight. The Lean of them, before it is dressed, looks like Beef; but the Fat is as green as Grass, and yet is very wholesome Food. The Pearl-oyster is much about the Bigness of our common Oyster; but flat and broad. It hangs to the Rocks by a long String-beard, like a Mussel. The Pearl lies in the thickest Part of it. Some have six or seven Pearls in them. The *Spaniards* make several Voyages to this Gulph of *Nicoya*, and to the Island *California*, for them. The *Indians* go down in eleven or eight Fathom Water, and bring up eight, ten or twelve

twelve Oyster them. The Oyster very both boiled a good. The Oysters, not oyster: Who Red like a Ch have often eat better Victual Pieces, and from Men. The when dressed, ble good Victu And though it these would fear our Nicety in these Difhes cost

18. We sailed and, on October where we had monly, though *Guatimala*. The affords a most beautiful City; and, Water, which to Building of the n other Mountain, South; and in the rages most terrible as a House; and Flame, that, at you may see to n Bark of about eight She had a small Q were very acceptable by one Captain *Carnaries*, but brough merly to Captain Seas in Quality of Men, ran away from he lay concealed st which he cut down ter-side, and bound Mast; and, of two Sail; and, having he made fast to t betimes, put off for Day in the Aftern where he went asho *niards*, who sent h cleared himself, a good *English*. W Boys, all in good November 23. we *California*, laden w wife, several Parcel Coast. On Decem vizy, in which we sixty Tons, laden for the Use of the ing, and for the Si nestly, as if there and taking her; ne With in one respect of our Prize as mu when they perceiv quitted her, having their Cargo, and lo Confusion.

19. Being off t the Morning, we with her. This pulso Ship, which with. As we were many Broadfides, clear; for they did were not at all pre then a Prisoner on Numb. 10.

twelve Oysters at a time, while the Men on board open them. The Meat of this Oyster is very green, and the Oyster very fat: I have eat of this Oyster several times, both boiled and stewed, and found them to be tolerably good. The great Oyster grows to the Rocks, as other Oysters, not hanging to them by a Beard as the Pearl-oyster: When they are opened, one Part looks of a fine Red like a Cherry, the other Part is of a fine White: I have often eat of this sort of Oyster, but it was for want of better Victuals: They are so large, that one of them cut in Pieces, and stewed, is sufficient for a Meal for five or six Men. The Mussels here are so large, that one of them, when dressed, will suffice two Men; and they are tolerable good Victuals, when stewed with Pepper and Vinegar: And though it may be true, that, in our own Country, these would scarce go down; yet it must be observed, that our Nicety in Eating is pretty well conquered before any of these Dishes come to our Tables.

18. We sailed from the *Middle Islands* on September 23. and, on October 7, we were in the Latitude $13^{\circ} 7'$ North, where we had Sight of the two high Mountains, commonly, though I think improperly, stiled the *Vulcanoes of Guatemala*. The first of these, which is the highest, and affords a most beautiful Prospect, lies on the North Side of the City; and, in the Year 1534. threw out a Torrent of Water, which totally overwhelmed it, and occasioned the Building of the new City at three Leagues Distance. The other Mountain, which is properly a *Vulcano*, lies on the South; and in the rainy Seasons, from April to November, rages most terribly. It sometimes throws out Stones as big as a House; and this, with such monstrous Eruptions of Flame, that, at the Distance of six Miles, in a dark Night, you may see to read a Letter. We took, on the 9th, a Bark of about eighty Tons in Ballast, bound for *Rio Leja*. She had a small Quantity of Provisions on board, which were very acceptable to us. This Bark was commanded by one Captain *Christian Martin*, a *Spaniard*, born at the *Canaries*, but brought up in *London*; he was Servant formerly to Captain *Eaton*, and came with him into the South Seas in Quality of his Gunner; but, falling out with the Men, ran away from them at the Island *Gorgonia*, where he lay concealed six Days, till the Ship was gone; after which he cut down two Trees, which he drew to the Water-side, and bound them together with Twigs; fixed a Mast; and, of two Shirts which he had with him, made a Sail; and, having filled a large Bag with Oysters, which he made fast to the said two Trees, he, in the Morning betimes, put off from the Island *Gorgonia*; and, in the next Day in the Afternoon, got into the River of *Bonaventura*, where he went ashore, and had but ill Usage from the *Spaniards*, who sent him to *Lima*, where he was examined, cleared himself, and was set at Liberty. He spoke very good *English*. We were, at this time, sixty-four Men and Boys, all in good Health, and in extreme High Spirits. On November 23. we took a small Bark, of sixty Tons, from *California*, laden with Plank, but having on board, likewise, several Parcels of Pearl that had been fished up on that Coast. On December 4. we came into the Bay of *Nativity*, in which we took a new Ship, of the Burden of about sixty Tons, laden with Ammunition and military Stores for the Use of the *Acapulco* Ship, for which we were cruising, and for the Sight of which our People longed as earnestly, as if there had been no Difference between seeing and taking her; neither was it long before they had their Wish in one respect, tho' not in another. We took out of our Prize as much of the Ammunition as was left; for when they perceived our Design, the Ship's Company quitted her, having first thrown over-board the best Part of their Cargo, and left the rest scattered about in the utmost Confusion.

19. Being off the *Vulcano of Colima* on December 6. in the Morning, we discovered a Sail, and soon came up with her. This proved to be the great *Manilla* or *Acapulco* Ship, which we had been so long wishing to meet with. As we were well provided, we gave her a great many Broadsides, before she could get any of her Guns clear; for they did not suspect us to be an Enemy, and were not at all prepared for us. Captain *Martin*, who was then a Prisoner on board us, advised to lay her aboard

immediately, while they were all in a Hurry, and that this would be the only Way to take her; but if we gave them so much Time, as to get out their great Guns, they would certainly beat us to Pieces, and we should lose an Opportunity of making ourselves Masters of the Value of sixteen Millions of Pieces of Eight: And accordingly it happened; for Time being delayed in quarrelling between those of us that would lay her aboard, and those that would not, the Enemy got out a Tier of Guns, and then were too hard for us; so that we could not lie along her Side to do her any considerable Damage; for our five Pound Shot, which was the biggest we had, signified little against such a Ship as she was; but any of her Shot, which were eighteen and twenty-four Pounders, if they happened to strike us, our Ship, being very much decayed, it would drive in a Piece of Plank of three or four Feet: So being much damaged, and receiving a Shot particularly from the Enemy, betwixt Wind and Water, in our Powder-room, by which we had two Foot of Plank driven in on each Side the Stern, the Signal was made to stand off from the Enemy. Our Design being thus disappointed, all our Men grew discontented, and were for going Home, knowing we would do no good in these Parts, either for ourselves or Owners, having Provision but for three Months, and that very short, and our Ship being ready of herself to fall in Pieces. Our Captain desired our Consent to cruise here six Weeks longer, and then he would permit us to go for *India*, to some Factory, where we might all dispose of ourselves as we should think most for our Advantage. To this we all agreed, and accordingly cruised along Shore to the Eastward, in Sight of the Land; and passed by several noted Ports, as *Acapulco*, *Port Angels*, *Port Guatulca*, and several others. We now intended to go in Search of a proper Place to water our Ship and Bark, for our proposed Voyage to the *East Indies*; and, after some Consideration, we fixed upon the Gulf of *Amapalla* for that Purpose.

20. January 5. 1705. we met with such vast Quantities of Fish, that, in half an Hour's time, we caught near threecore Albicore, from sixty to ninety Pounds Weight each, besides vast Quantities of other Fish. The Albicore is about four or five Feet in Length, weighing from 50 to 100, and 150 Pound Weight: He hath eleven Fins on his Back, one pretty large one, one middling one, and nine small yellow ones near the Tail: He hath one large Fin on one Side near the Gills, and twelve Fins under his Belly; one on each Side underneath near the Gills, one near the Middle of the Belly, and nine small yellow Fins extending to his Tail. It is a very fleshy Fish, having little or no Bones, except the Back-bone, and is extraordinary good: It is a prodigious strong Fish when in the Water: They prey mostly upon Flying-fish, as do the Dolphins and Bonetoes. On the 6th of this Month, a new Revolution happened in our Affairs; for thirty of our Men agreed with Captain *Dawpier*, to remain with him in the South Seas, but with what View, or on what Terms, remained to us, who were not of that Number, an impetrable Secret. Our Company consisted of thirty-three Men; and, notwithstanding what had happened, we sailed together, according to our first Resolution, for the Gulf of *Amapalla*, where we arrived, and anchored on the 26th. The very same Day, all the Provisions that were left were equally divided amongst us by the Owners Agent; and we had four Pieces of Cannon, with a proper Proportion of small Arms and Ammunition, assigned us for our Defence in our Voyage. The next Care was to take in Water; and, with this View, we landed on the Island of *Conchagua*; and, after some Search, we found behind the Hills a large Bottom, in which was a large Plantain-walk, and a great deal of Rain-water that fell from the Mountains. This was very inconvenient for us; because, lying so behind the Hills, we knew we must be forced to carry all our Water over a high Hill, which we could hardly climb by ourselves: But seeing there was no Remedy, we first cut down the Bushes, which were in our Way, to make us a clear Path; after which, the Hill being pretty steep on the Land-side towards the Bottom, wherein was the fresh Water, we, with our Axes and Shovels, cut out Steps in the Hill; and our Sail-maker having, in the mean time,

made us a Canvas Pipe of about ninety Fathom long, to carry our Water from the Top of the Hill down to our Cask, which lay at the Foot of it, we went to work to fill our Water, each Man having with him a six Gallon Cask. The Water which we took up was very muddy; and, on the Top of it, grew Duck-weed, as it does usually in our Ditches: At first we raked the Duck-weed away; but our Doctor persuading us, that if we took up the Weeds, they would mightily preserve our Water, we, according to his Advice, took up both Weeds and Water together. When each Man had filled his six Gallon Cask, he carried it up to the Top of the Hill, and then poured it into the Canvas Pipe, which conveyed it down the Hill into our Cask. Thus we employed ourselves for four Days; and, having filled about twenty-five Tons, which we concluded would last longer than our Victuals, and got it on board our Vessel, the next Day, being *January 31. 1705.* we all went ashore to the Plantain-walk; and, having cut down a sufficient Quantity of them, we returned at Night on board our Vessel, intending to sail next Day. This Evening, two of our Men, who had resolved to stay with Captain *Dampier*, left him, and came over to us; so that now we were thirty-five in Number, *viz.* thirty-four *English*, and one little Negro Boy, whom we had taken from the *Spaniards*. During the Time of our watering our Bark, the Men on board the Ship belonging to Captain *Dampier*, were busy in refitting their Ship as well as they could: The Carpenter stopped the Shot-holes, which they had in their Powder-room, with Tallow and Charcoal, not daring, as he said, to drive in a Nail, for fear of making it worse; and the four great Guns, which usually stood between Decks, were put down into the Hold, there being sixteen besides, which was more than they had Men to manage; for there remained with them no more than twenty-eight Men and Boys, and most of them Landmen; which was a very insignificant Force, for one who was to make War on a whole Nation.

21. We left the Gulph of *Amapala* on *February 1. 1705.* and Captain *Dampier*, with his Ship the *St. George*, at Anchor in it. We steered out betwⁿ the Gulph of *Amapala* and the Island *Mangera*, and many times had not above two Fathom Water. We had a fine Gale of Wind at North-east, which soon carried us out of the Mouth of the Gulph. So long as we had been in any of the Harbours on this Coast of *Mexico*, we had seldom been allowed any thing but Flour, excepting that we used to go ashore, and found upon the Rocks Store of Conchs, Oysters, Mussels, Snails, &c. of which we made many a good Meal. But now, being in hopes of getting into a Land of Plenty, we bore Hunger with more Patience; and, indeed, we had need of great Patience; for now our Commons were lessened to half a Pound of coarse Flour a Man *per* Day, with two Ounces of salt Meat every other Day. Our Vessel was a small Bark, with two Masts, of about seventy Tons, which we had taken from the *Spaniards*; but, whilst we lay here, she was so eaten by the Worms, that she began to grow very leaky; and, to add to our Afflictions, we had no Carpenter; neither, if any of us should fall sick, had we any Doctor, or any Medicines to make use of; and, which was worst of all, we had no Boat to assist ourselves, if our Vessel should fail us; for the Doctor, Carpenter, and Boat, were left with Captain *Dampier*: Yet, trusting to God's Providence, who had already delivered us out of so many Dangers, we proceeded on our intended Voyage to *India*. A bolder Attempt than this, all Circumstances considered, was perhaps never made by such an Handful of Men; and nothing but a Desire of seeing our Country, could have supported us under it.

22. The very Prospect of the Difficulties that we were sure to go thro', gave us Spirits to provide against them; and we held, on this Occasion, a kind of Council, in which we determined on two Things; the first was our Course, and the latter was our Allowance. We knew very well, that the Wind we then had was only a Land-wind; and that, by running one hundred Leagues to Sea, we should meet with the true Trade-wind, blowing either North-east, or East North-east. Our Business was then to get into the Latitude of 13° North, which is that of the Island of *Guam*, and then to bear away before the Wind. It was on *February 2.* that we determined these Points. All that Day,

and most of the Night, was fine calm Weather; so that we caught abundance of Yellow-tails, which were swimming about our Vessel. This Fish is about four Feet in Length, and has twenty Fins on his Back; one middling one near the hinder Part of his Head, one large one near the Middle of his Back, and eighteen small ones, stretching from the large one to his Tail. He has two large Fins near his Gills, one on each Side; and thirteen under his Belly, *viz.* one middling one underneath the Gills, one large one near the Middle of his Belly, which goes in with a Dent, and eleven small ones, stretching from the large one to his Tail, which is half-mooned: He has a very large Head, a great Eye, and is extraordinary good Food. It is very fleshy, having no Bone but the Back-bone: These Fish, when taken by us, looked very white, but the Tips of their Fins and Tail were yellow; and for this Reason we called them Yellow-tails. They were very welcome to us; for, whilst they lasted, which was three Days, we saved our Provisions, feeding upon nothing else but this Fish. On *February 3.* the first Part of the Day, it was calm; in which time, five or six Turtles coming near the Vessel, we caught two of them, which still served to help us, and save our Sea-stores, which otherwise had not been sufficient to keep us from perishing.

23. On the Evening of the same Day, we had the Land-wind at North-east, a fine brisk Gale; and therefore we took our Departure from Mount *St. Michael*, in the Gulph of *Amapala*; and continued our Course South-west, and South-west by West, till we were in the Latitude of 10°; and then, finding we had the Trade-wind, we bore away West North-west, according to our former Resolution. The next Thing we did, was to make Studding-sails out of our Main-sail, and Main-top-sail; we got our Studding-sail up by Day-break every Morning, and at Sun-set haled them down again; for it commonly blew so fresh in the Night, that we were forced to set our Top-sail, and, with the rising of the Sun, the Wind abated; yet we always had as much as we could well carry with our Studding-sails. We continued, during our whole Voyage, to adhere steadily to that Rule of Diet, which we had prescribed ourselves; and of the Slenderness of which the Reader will be a proper Judge, when I enter a little into Particulars. From the third to the last of *February*, we fed entirely upon Plantains, making two Meals a Day, and allowing each Man two Plantains at a Meal. We then had recourse to our Flour, of which half a Pound a Day was allowed to each Man, and every other Day two Ounces of salt Beef or Pork; but the Meat had been so long in Salt, that, when we boiled it, it shrunk one half; and therefore we concluded, that it would be better to eat it raw, which we did, so long as it lasted, all the Voyage after: But, in the Beginning of the Month of *April*, that began to fail, so that we were forced to have recourse to Flour alone; which, besides its being measured out to us in so scanty a Proportion, as half a Pound to each Man for a whole Day, was likewise very much spoiled, being full of Maggots, Spiders, and other Vermin; so that nothing but the Extremity of Want could oblige us to eat it. It is, indeed, surprising to behold this strange Change, and to perceive Flour, that a few Days before was white and fine, in a manner all alive, the Maggots tumbling one over another. On strict Inquiry, however, it seems, this Change is produced by the Eggs of Spiders deposited amongst it; for, out of these, the Maggots are bred, which fed voraciously on what afforded them a kind of Nest, till such times as they became living Creatures. It must be confessed, that Words very faintly describe the Miseries of such a Life as this; but then it must be considered, that Work makes the Time pass away; and that the Hopes of accomplishing a very difficult Voyage, keeps up Mens Spirits, and gets the better of their Apprehensions of sinking under it. Some little occasional Assurances we met with in this long Course, such as sometimes catching a Dolphin; at other times we saw many Sea-birds, such as Boobies, Noddies, &c. which would come and settle upon our Vessel, and happy was he that could catch one of them. In this manner we passed away about ten Weeks; at the End of which we were in a very melancholy Condition, and nothing but the Hopes of speedily seeing Land, could possibly have

kept us from it took up

24. *April* rized much Land; for over the La fore all this 11th, in the bearing We woody Island we stood to bear North, our Ship by brought us The Men in limb'd Peop Hair reaching naked, not Exchange of their Money making Signs it; which w We also ga diately tore in We would but they were us drink to e made Signs, t a Glaful, wh the Fellow w so amazed at Bely, that, I Fire. He lai which scared roared near hal in haste, put Signs to his C notfall over-bo but, however, come into our not understand they tied two S held them up fo signify to us, t flian Religion: which we had which they all This Island of 13° North, and v Michael's, West 58 and 59 Mile The Boats that about forty Fee Inches broad a Their Head ar Water's Edge, which, for the Plank, about t as the Boat it Rattans to the Poles put out of End of the Bo other End, so 120 Feet; the End of wh twenty-one Fee Part of the Bign is laid across at the other, where together, is called the Weather-side overletting; for narrow, that it Sail, which is n it is not above a Boom: When letting go the s same Side, at which was the

kept us from despairing; but, as this was daily expected, it took up all our Thoughts, and calmed all our Sorrows.

24. April 10. we saw the Clouds gather about the Horizon much more than usual: This was a sure Sign of Land; for it is common between the Tropics to be foggy over the Land, though it be never so clear at Sea; therefore all this Night we took care to look out, and on the 11th, in the Morning betimes, we saw the Island of *Magon*, bearing West, distant about ten Leagues. It is an high woody Island, and very plain and green on the Top: So we stood towards it; and, when we had brought it to bear North, distant about a Mile, being so near, we laid our Ship by, and several Fishing-boats came to us, and brought us some Fish, with Eggs, Yams, Potatoes, &c. The Men in those Fishing-boats were a very tall large-limb'd People, of a tawny Complexion, having long black Hair reaching down to their Middle. They all go stark-naked, not so much as covering their private Parts. In Exchange of what we had of them, we would have given them Money; but they looked on it, and gave it us again, making Signs to us to give them Tobacco in the room of it; which we did, and they seemed very much pleased. We also gave them some old Shirts, which they immediately tore in Pieces, and rolled them round their Heads. We would have given each of them a Dram of Brandy, but they were afraid to drink it: Only one of them, seeing us drink to each other, and that it did us no hurt, at last made Signs, that he would drink with us: So we gave him a Glasful, which he immediately drank off; but we thought the Fellow would never shut his Mouth again; for he was so amazed at the Heat it had left in his Mouth, and in his Belly, that, I believe, he thought he had set himself on Fire. He laid himself down, and roared like a Bull, which scared most of the rest of them away: After he had roared near half an Hour, he fell fast asleep; and we, being in haste, put the poor Fellow into his Boat, and made Signs to his Consorts to take care of him, that he might not fall over-board. They seemed to be a very civil People; but, however, we did not care to let too many of them come into our Vessel at a time. Their Language we could not understand at all. When they first approached us, they tied two Sticks together, in Fashion of a Cross, and held them up for us to see; which was, as we supposed, to signify to us, that they had some Knowledge of the Christian Religion: We, in Return, shewed them a Crucifix, which we had taken from the *Spaniards*; at the Sight of which they all bowed their Bodies, and came on board. This Island of *Magon*, I conceive, lies in the Latitude of 13° North, and we made Longitude from the Mouth of *St. Michael's*, West 120° 9', or 7029 Miles, allowing between 58 and 59 Miles to a Degree of Longitude in this Parallel. The Boats that these Fishermen came on board in, were about forty Feet in Length, and about seventeen or eighteen Inches broad aloft, but not above three broad below: Their Head and Stern were alike: The Bottom, to the Water's Edge, was one intire Piece, but hollow; upon which, for the Side of the Boat, was a Piece of thin Plank, about three Feet broad, and of the same Length as the Boat itself: It had its lower Edge sewed with Rattans to the Bottom of the Boat: They had two long Poles put out of one Side; one was within ten Feet of one End of the Boat, and the other within ten Feet of the other End, so that they lay distant from each other about 120 Feet; the Poles were about thirty Feet in Length; at the End of which was a long Piece of Plank, about twenty-one Feet, of the same Shape, and about one-fourth Part of the Bigness of the Bottom of the Boat: This Piece is laid across at the one End of the Poles from the one Pole to the other, where it is very securely made fast; and this, all together, is called the Outlayer, or Outleaker. This is always the Weather-side, and the Use of it is to keep the Boat from overfetting; for, without the Outleaker, the Boat is so narrow, that it would not bear itself: They have but one Sail, which is made of Mat, and like our *Bermudas* Sail; it is not above two Inches broad at Top, and hales out by a Boom: When they have a mind to go about, it is only letting go the Sheet of the Sail, and haling aft on the same Side, at the other End of the Boat; and then that which was the Stern before, becomes the Head, any End

going foremost, and no Distinction in the Building of either End, but it is the same Side still that always remains the Weather-side. The Conveniency of these Vessels are very great, and the Contrivance of them exceedingly ingenious, so that we are able to build nothing like them.

25. It was resolved, on mature Deliberation, to bear away from hence for the Coast of *New Guiney*, without putting in to the Island of *Guam*, of which we had Sight. The Weather continued fair, and the Wind brisk, as well as favourable, till we arrived in the Latitude of 4° North; and then we had a Calm for no less than seven Days; in which Space we had no way to relieve our Hunger, but by drinking a good large Draught of Water, and then lying down to sleep. On the 3d of May, we had a fine Gale, which continued to the 5th, when it died away before we saw any Land. About ten in the Evening, we were all sensible of a very odoriferous Smell brought to us by the little Air there was; from whence we concluded, that we could not be far distant from some Land, whence this fragrant Breeze must blow. Upon this, we began to search our Charts, but to no manner of purpose; for in none of them was there any Land laid down. The next Morning, however, we found our Conjecture verified, and actually saw Land at no great Distance. The same Day we caught two Bonetoes, which were very welcome to us; for they made a good Meal for all our Company. This Fish is commonly about three Feet in Length, and two Feet about; he hath two middling Fins on his Back, with eleven small ones, stretching to his Tail, the like Number opposite, under his Belly, with two large ones, one on each Side, near his Gills; a very sharp Head, with a small Mouth; a full Eye, and an half-mooned Tail; it is a very fleshy Fish, having no Bone but his Back-bone, and they make very good Broth. About Noon we were in Sight of three small Islands, all of them low Land, but exceedingly green and pleasant, affording a most delightful Prospect from the Sea, and especially to us, who had not seen Land for so long a time. We had likewise an Observation, by which we found, that we were in the Latitude of 50° North; and, as the Eastermost of those Islands was four Leagues to the South-east, it must be, consequently, in the Latitude of 42° North.

26. As we were cautious of venturing upon an unknown Coast in the dark, we stood off all Night; and very well it was for us, that we did so; for the next Morning, being the 7th of May, about Day-break, we found ourselves within a Ship's Length of a great Ledge of Rocks, which ran from one Island to the other, which we not seeing before, and thinking to go between the two Islands, had like to have been upon them: But, through God's Mercy, a small Breeze of Wind coming from the Shore, we got off, and stood to the Westernmost Island, because we saw many Sholes lying off the rest of them. The Rocks we were like to have been upon were near the Northernmost Island, which, upon account of our miraculous Escape, we called the Island of *Desert*. When we came near the Westernmost Island, which was the biggest of the three, we stood in for the Island; and, as we drew nearer, about forty or fifty of their flying Procs came off, and in them might be about 450 Men, allowing ten to each Proc; and we could discern Multitudes of People upon the Shore; for, as we passed by any of these Isles to go to the next, the People also followed us; their flying Procs lay at a Distance from us, and viewed us, till we beckoned, and made Signs for them to come to us; then one of them, which was in the Midst, advanced towards us, and, being pretty near, lay and looked on us for awhile. We still made Signs for him to draw nearer; then he came within a Ship's Length of us, and lay still again. In her were ten Men, all naked, and, in the Midst of them, a grave old Man, of a pleasant Countenance, who had on his Head a Four-corner'd Cap, without a Crown, but otherwise he was quite naked, as were all the rest of them. This Man, by the Respect all the rest in the Boat shewed to him, we guessed to be a King or Prince. At their Approach to us they sung a Song, which continued about a Quarter of an Hour: We could not understand it, but it was tuned very prettily: When this Song was done, they came almost close to our Vessel.

Vessel's Side, and then sung another Song. This was begun by the grave old Man, and followed by all the rest in the Boat; which done, they put themselves in a Posture of praying, and made several Bows and Cringes towards us, after the Manner of their Country; then one of the Men in the Boat, having a very fore Leg, held it up to us, and pointed to the Wound. By the Signs he made to us, we understood, that he would have us to cure it; for we being white, and they having probably never seen any white Men before, they seemed as if they did not think us to be mortal Men. After this, we poured some Water out of a Bucket into a Glass, and, pointing to our Mouths, made Signs that we wanted Victuals and Drink: Then they shook their Heads, in way of Denial, as I supposed; but, seeing us still make towards the Island, one of the Men in the Boat blew an Horn; at the Sound of which, all the rest of the Boats made boldly to us: Upon this, we all believing they would be aboard of us, fired a Musket over them, not designing to harm, but only to frighten them; at the Noise of which they seemed wonderfully amazed, and drew back, menacing us at a Distance with their Paddles, and still following us. So seeing, as I said before, many Hundreds of them upon the Shore, and finding we could have nothing from them but by Force, and having no Anchors or Cables by which we dared trust our Bark, and, besides, having no Boat to go ashore in, so that should we swim ashore, as some of our Men proposed, yet we could not carry our Arms with us, and the *Indians* might knock us in the Head with Stones whilst we were in the Water, we concluded there was no good to be done here: Wherefore, examining our Water, and finding sufficient for eighteen Days, at a Quart of Water each Man per Day, we resolved to leave these Islands, and to trust to God's Providence to guide us to a more friendly Place, where we might supply our Wants, not doubting but we should furnish ourselves with Water at some Island or other, in a Place where there were so many: So we left the said Islands, and called the Westernmost of them the Island of *Disappointment*, because we made certain Account of getting some Water here, but could not. They were all three low, flat, even Islands, full of several Sorts of Trees, all very green and flourishing; and, no doubt, if we had had a Boat, we might have met with something which would have been beneficial to ourselves, and of Advantage to our Country, as we might also at several other small Islands, which we afterwards passed by. The Inhabitants of most of these Islands were a very large strong-boned People. They had long, black, straight Hair, which reached down to their Middle; and they all go stark-naked, not so much as covering their privy Parts. I think I never saw such a Parcel of stout-limbed Fellows together in my Life. It is certain, therefore, that the Islands hereabouts are abundantly peopled, though they are utterly averse to any Communication with Whites, perhaps from a Notion, that all Whites are *Spaniards*; and yet it is not altogether clear, that even the *Spaniards* ever attempted making a Settlement in any of these Islands.

27. When we left these Islands, we had a fresh Gale of Wind at East; and, steering South-west, we met continually with Weeds and Grass in the Water; which inclined us to believe, that we were not far from Land; and yet, on founding, we had no Ground at an hundred Fathom. On the eighth of May, early in the Morning, we discerned the Coast of *New Guinea*; from which we were then distant eighteen or nineteen Leagues. The Sight of Land engaged us to think of building a Boat with a few old Boards, and such other Materials as we had, though they did not seem altogether fit for the Purpose; which Boat, when completed, though it was not the strongest or most beautiful thing in the World, yet proved exceeding useful and convenient. On the 9th, we had very bad Weather, the Wind shifting all round the Compass. We had time enough to consider this Part of *New Guinea* with much Attention; the Land appeared very mountainous, black, and rocky, without Harbour, Bay, or Road, where we might anchor safely. The Mountains were so bleak and barren, the Valleys so narrow and deep, that we, at first Sight, conceived the Country uninhabited; nor did our

future Acquaintance engage us to change our Opinion, since we saw no Inhabitants, or Signs of Inhabitants. The same Day we passed by two small Islands, each of which might be a League in Length; they were low, but very well clothed with small green Trees. We saw, at the same time, Part of the great Island of *Gilolo*, at eight Leagues Distance, and kept on our Course West South-west, intending to pass through that Island, and the Continent of *New Guinea*, into the *East India Sea*. We had very bad Weather till the eleventh, and, the Night being very dark, we missed the common Passage, and found ourselves in the Morning among many small Islands; when, perceiving we had overshot the Passage, and the Wind being at East, we resolved to look out for a Passage to the Southward, amongst those Islands: Accordingly we stood to the Southward, but found a great many Rocks and Shoals, which stretched from one Island to another: At Night, there being little Wind, and not daring to venture further amongst those unfrequented Islands and Shoals, we resolved to lie-by, intending, in the Morning, if the Winds should prove Westerly, to return back, and go through the common Passage; but, if it still continued Easterly, than to endeavour to find out a new Passage to the Westward. This Night we saw two or three Fires, which were made on shore by the Inhabitants. The Islands here were most of them of a good Height, and pretty well clothed with several Sorts of Trees, which all appeared very green and flourishing. On the 12th, we had fair Weather, with a fine fresh Gale at North-east: So we proceeded to the Westward, and, at the same time, had a strong Tide setting to the Westward. About eight this Morning, we shot between two high Head-lands, which were distant from each other near two Miles. Upon this, some of us went to the Top-mast-head, to look if we had a clear Passage through; and we saw no Hindrance: So we got through by two in the Afternoon. It was in Length about seven Leagues, and about two Miles broad. In it we could find no Anchorage, till within a Ship's Length of the Shore, and then we had thirty Fathom Water. The Land here was of an indifferent Height, and very woody. At Noon, the Tide setting back to the Eastward, and it being calm, we drove, by five in the Evening, half way back again, and drove with our Vessel to near the Shore, that we kept her off with our Poles; and might have stepped from our Barks to the Shore, and yet our Vessel never touched the Ground, the Water being very deep close to the Shore. Not long after, a strong Gale springing up again by seven in the Evening, we got clear of this Strait the second time; and then it fell calm again, and we drove with the Tide, which still set to the Westward. In this Strait we saw a flying Proe under Sail, but it did not come near us. We also, in some of the small Bays, saw several old Houses, some standing, and some half down, but could not see any Inhabitants. On the 13th, we had little Wind at East South-east, and sometimes calm; but, when we had any Wind, we steered away South by West. Here we saw a great many Islands to the Southward of us, but none of them so near together, but that there was room to pass between them, and scarce any Ground to be found with one hundred Fathom of Line. We still found we got but very little, the Tides setting sometimes to the Southward, and then again to the Northward; so that we were not got yet above a League to the Southward of the said Strait, which we, after the Name of our Bark, called *St. John's Straights*; and, I believe, we were the first *Europeans* that ever past it.

28. At this time a large *Indian Proe* came on board us, in which was a Freeman of *Ambon*. We acquainted him with our great Want of Victuals, having had nothing for a long time to eat but Flour and Water, and so little of that, as would hardly keep us alive. He told us, if we would go to the Island of *Manipa*, which was then in Sight, he would be our Pilot, and carry us in, where he did not doubt but we might have Rice enough for our Money to carry us to *Batavia*. Accordingly we steered directly for *Manipa*, and, in our Way, passed by the Island *Kylos*, which is a small, but high Island, very well inhabited, and clothed with several Sorts of Trees. Its chief Productions are Rice, and some few Cloves; and here was a *Dutch* Co-

poral, with six all the Cloves- we proceeded at Night, and North-west En- two Men af- quait him wi- Morning, a D- board, and re- *Dutch East Ind* those belonging there, they we- told him, it wa- to put in her- should not hav- *Batavia*: Wh- and inform the- a very weak C- would bring us- and, at four in- us Word, That- if we would go- So we were for- deavour, if the- This Island of M- well, about fift- in the Latitude- Island *Bona* abo- Island, and prett- all the *Molucca*- which Shoals, fo- off the Shore: V- has good Draugh- near it. The Isl- as the Island *Key*- good Springs of- Side of the Islan- Guns. The Islan- Corporals, and a- twenty *Dutch Sol*- Cloves and Rice, *Ambon*. The I- They catch abou- own Ule, but alfo- 29. We stood at South South-ea- Top-fails, and we now quite out of *Ambon*, the Sou- Wind was right a- that we could fear- of getting to *Baia*- us thither; and b- weather the Shoals- Island of *Bouton*- the Wind continu- ward, till we came- the Wind veering- South-east: But, ward, so that we- no Likelihood of p- sent, shared all the- the Whole of what- Pounds and three- Bran; and every o- as he could. On- the South South-ea- west; and soon we- small Island, not al- an indifferent Heigh- It is pretty well fur- not inhabited: Nei- fresh Water upon it- till twelve at Night- down upon us, befo- our Sails, it almost- fail and Main-top-s- and two of our For- over, it fell calm; NUMB. 10.

poral, with six Soldiers, whose only Business it was to see all the Clove-trees cut down and destroyed. From hence we proceeded to *Manipa*, where we arrived about twelve at Night, and came to an Anchor in a small Bay at the North-west End of the Island: Then our *Dutch* Pilot sent two Men ashore with a Letter to the Governor, to acquaint him with our Wants. On the 23d, betimes in the Morning, a *Dutch* Corporal, with two Soldiers, came on board, and read to us an Order which he had from the *Dutch East India Company*; That if any Ships, except those belonging to the *Dutch East India Company*, anchored there, they were not to supply them with any thing. We told him, it was for want of Victuals that we were forced to put in here; and that, if we could have subsisted, we should not have touched at any Place till our Arrival at *Batavia*: Wherefore we desired him to go ashore again, and inform the Governor of our Wants. He, seeing us in a very weak Condition, promised he would, and that he would bring us Word again: Accordingly he went ashore, and, at four in the Evening, returned again, and brought us Word, That we should have no Provision there; but, if we would go to *Amboyna*, there we might be supplied. So we were forced to leave this unfriendly Place, and endeavour, if the Wind would permit, to go to *Amboyna*. This Island of *Manipa* is in Length, South-east and North-west, about fifteen Miles, in Breadth about eight, and lies in the Latitude of $3^{\circ} 25'$ South, and Westward of the Island *Bonoa* about twenty Miles. It is a remarkably high Island, and pretty well inhabited by the *Malayans*, as are all the *Molucca* Islands. It is Shole almost all round; which Sholes, some of them, stretch a League and an half off the Shore: Wherefore, unless a Man be acquainted, or has good Draughts of the Place, it is dangerous coming near it. The Island is of a good Height, but not so high as the Island *Keylan* before-mentioned: On it are several good Springs of fresh Water; and, on the South-west Side of the Island, the *Dutch* have a small Fort of six Guns. The Island is governed by a *Dutch* Serjeant, three Corporals, and a Master Gunner, and they have under them twenty *Dutch* Soldiers. On this Island grows vast Plenty of Cloves and Rice, of which they send great Quantities to *Amboyna*. The Inhabitants are most of them Fishermen. They catch abundance of Fish here, not only for their own Use, but also to supply *Amboyna*.

29. We stood to the South-westward, having the Wind at South South-east; and, it blowing fresh, we reefed our Top-sails, and went away under our Courses. We were now quite out of Heart; for we did not expect to reach *Amboyna*, the South-east Monsoons being set in, which Wind was right against us; and besides, it blew so hard, that we could scarce carry any Sail; and we could not think of getting to *Batavia*, because we had not Victuals to carry us thither; and besides, as the Wind was, we could not weather the Sholes, which lie to the East South-east of the Island of *Bouton*: So that, being almost in Despair, and the Wind continuing, we kept our Course to the Southward, till we came over-against the Island *Bouro*; and then, the Wind veering to the South South-west, we stood away South-east: But, finding a strong Current setting to Leeward, so that we rather lost than got Ground, and seeing no Likelihood of getting to *Amboyna*, we, by general Consent, shared all that was eatable on board our Vessel; and the Whole of what each Man's Share amounted to was six Pounds and three Quarters of Flour, with five Pounds of Bran; and every one designed to be as sparing of his Part as he could. On the 25th, the Wind veering about to the South South-east, we tacked, and stood to the South-west; and soon weathered the Island of *Amblow*, which is a small Island, not above three Leagues in Length. It is of an indifferent Height, and lies in the Latitude of $4^{\circ} 5'$ South. It is pretty well furnished with Trees of several sorts; but not inhabited: Neither do I know, whether there be any fresh Water upon it. From hence we continued our Course till twelve at Night, when an hard Gale of Wind coming down upon us, before (through Weakness) we could hand our Sails, it almost overtook our Vessel. It split our Main-sail and Main-top-sail all to Pieces, broke our Main-stay, and two of our Fore-shrouds. As soon as the Squall was over, it fell calm; and then we had so great a Sea, occa-

NUMB. 10.

sioned, as I believe, by the meeting of several Currents, that, we thought, our Bark could not hold it out, she laboured so much; and the Sea took us so on all Sides, that we were almost covered with Water. On the 26th, it sprung up a fine fresh Gale at South-east: Whereupon, knowing we could not weather the Sholes, we tacked, and stood away North-east for the Island of *Amboyna*. On the 27th, the Wind continuing, we held the same Course; and, on the 28th betimes in the Morning, saw the Island of *Amboyna*, bearing due North, distant about six Leagues: So we stood away directly for the Island, and, by Noon, came just off the Harbour; a joyful Sight to us then! tho' we had, soon after, Cause to look upon it as the worst Sight we had ever seen: So frail are the Hopes of Man, and so apt are we to desire what leads to our own Destruction!

30. As we entered the Harbour of *Amboyna*, we met with two Ships coming out, laden with Cloves, and bound for *Batavia*. The Captain of one of these Ships came on board us, desired to know whence we came, whither bound, and a Journal of our Voyage, promising to return it, when he should meet with us at *Batavia*. We gave him the best Answer we could to all his Demands; and our Owners Agent gave him a succinct Relation of our Voyage; which was a very happy Accident, since to it we owed our Preservation, as will be shewn hereafter. That Night we stood in to the Harbour; and, the next Morning, which, according to our Account, was *Tuesday*, but with them *Wednesday*, two *Dutch* Orambies (for so they call the Vessels which they use there) came on board us, each rowed, or rather paddled, by forty Men. In these Vessels came the Fiscal, Secretary, several *Dutch* Gentlemen, and about eighty Soldiers, who took Possession of our Bark. They also went down, and sealed up all our Chests; and the two Orambies towed us in; and, by Noon, we got up as high as the Town, where they moored our Vessel in the common Anchoring-place. Here we continued till the 31st, not knowing how they designed to dispose of us; in which Time they would not afford us any Victuals, tho' we offered them a Crown for a Pound of Beef, Pork, or Bread. In the Evening, we were all sent on shore, where they had provided two Rooms for our Reception near the Stadt-houfe; and our Bark, Money, and Goods, except what we had about us, were all taken from us: And, soon after, our Vessel and Goods were sold at a public Outcry. We were fed with very bad Meat, which we, who had been at Short-allowance so long, and our Stomachs very weak, could ill digest; and, if we would have better, we must buy it with our own Money. Several of us had the good Luck to have some Money about us, and, as long as that lasted, we bought our own Victuals of our Keeper for a *Spanish* Dollar, which was five Shillings and a Penny Value, tho' he would give us no more than five *Dutch* Shillings, to the Value of about half a Crown; and, for this Half-crown, we could have no more Victuals, than we could have bought for Five-pence, if we had been at Liberty to go into the Town; so that, instead of having five Shillings for our *Spanish* Dollar, we had indeed no more than five Pence. It cannot be expected, that, after such hard Usage as this, I should be extremely fond of the *Dutch* Government at *Amboyna*. However, the Leisure I had, and the several Opportunities that offered, of inquiring into the present Condition of the Place, led me to frame a pretty large, and, I will be bold to say, just Account of that Island, and all its Inhabitants. This, I flatter myself, will be the more acceptable to the Public, because of the Care taken by the *Dutch* to stifle all Descriptions of this Place, even by their own People; so that I never heard of any lately printed: And this Conduct of theirs is founded on a Maxim of the *East India Company*, viz. that the best Way to preserve their Trade in those Parts, and particularly their Monopoly of Spices, is to contrive every possible Method for deterring other Nations from sending Ships into that Part of the World, and to use such as straggle thither in such a manner, as to fright their Countrymen effectually from following their Example.

31. This Island of *Amboyna*, so famous, or rather infamous, for the Cruelties that were formerly committed there by the *Dutch* upon the *English*, is in Length from North-east to South-west, twelve Leagues. It is high and mountainous.

tainous. The Hills are, in great measure, barren; but the Valleys are very fruitful. The Soil is black, and the Surface affords Salt-petre. The Middle of the Island lies in the Latitude of about $3^{\circ} 4'$ South. It is inhabited by *Malayans*, who are the original Natives. They are of a middle Stature, and tawny; but the Women are of a brighter tawny than the Men, and have long black Hair, which reaches down to the Calves of their Legs. They have round Faces, small Mouths, Noses, and Lips. They wear a Linen Waistcoat, which reaches no farther than the lower Part of their Breasts; and, about their Middle, they wear a Piece of Cloth, about four Yards wide, and a Yard deep. This they roll round them, and it serves them instead of a Petticoat; for none are allowed to wear Petticoats, but the *Dutch* Women only: Neither are any of the *Malayan* Men allowed to wear an Hat, excepting only their King. Although the *Malayans* are the most numerous, yet the *Dutch* are possessed of all the Sea-coast, and have here a strong Castle, built of Stone, and mounted with sixty Guns, besides several other small Fortifications in other Parts of the Island. Near this Castle is a small Town, of about 100 *Dutch* Houses, all strongly built of Stone, Brick, and Timber; but all very low, none exceeding one Story, because of Earthquakes, to which this Place is very subject; so that, should they be built higher, it would endanger the falling of them, as they often do, notwithstanding they are so low. Whilst we were here, we had a great Earthquake, which continued two Days, in which Time it did a great deal of Mischief; for the Ground burst open in several Places, and swallowed up several Houses, and whole Families. Several of the People were dug out again, but most of them dead; and many of them had their Legs or Arms broken by the Falls of Houses. The Castle-walls were rent asunder in several Places, and we thought, that it, and all the Houses, would have fallen down. The Ground, where we were, swelled like a Wave of the Sea; but near us we had no Hurt done. As to the *Dutch* Policy in the Island, it is governed by a Council, which consists of five Persons; viz. the Governor, the chief Merchant (or upper *Koop-man*), the *Malayan* King, the Captain of the Fort, and the Fiscal, who is in the Nature of a Judge. Upon the Island are said to be about 350 *Dutch* Soldiers, with 120 or 130 *Dutch* Freemen and petty Officers, and near as many of the *Chinese*, who live here for the Advantage of Trade, although they are not allowed to trade in Spice, that being a peculiar Trade, which the *Dutch* Company reserve to themselves; so that, I reckon, they can make in all about 550 fighting Men, *Dutch* and *Chinese*. As to the *Malayans*, they would be but of little Service to them, but rather be glad to assist any-body against them. The *Malayan* Women are said to be great Whores, of which they are not ashamed. They are soon ripe, and often married by nine Years of Age; and many of them are said to have Children by ten or eleven. All near the Water-side are forced to be under the *Dutch* Government, which is very absolute and tyrannical: For any small Fault they are severely handled; and many think themselves well off, if they are not made Slaves, and wear an Iron upon their Leg during Life: Those, I say, who dwell near the Sea-side, are all subject to the *Dutch* Government, and are Christians; but those within the Country, who are called the *Hill Malayans*, are *Mohammedans*. They are always at War with the *Dutch*; and, if they take any of them Prisoners at any time, they never give him any Quarter; but, after they have kept him in Prison five Days, without either Victuals or Drink, they bring him out, and, first of all, rip up his Breast with a sharp Knife, and take out his Heart; at which there is great Rejoicing of all the *Malayans* that are present. Then they cut off his Head, and embalm it with Spice to keep; and they who can fiew most of those Heads, are accounted the most honourable, and value themselves much upon it. The dead Body is left exposed to the ravenous Birds of Prey to feed on. The *Dutch*, to retaliate this Usage, when they take any of these *Malayans*, load them with many Irons, and lay them in Prison, where they lie for some time; after which they cut off their Noses and Ears, and then they are sent to Prison again, where they continue some further time; after which they are brought out the second and last time, and then they rack them till they die. As for those under their own Go-

vernment, if they are found guilty of Thieving, they often cut off their Noses and Ears, and put a great Iron Chain about their Legs, and so make them Slaves during Life. There were near 500 of these poor Wretches, who were in continual Slavery, whilst we were here; and they always took care to keep them employed, some in sawing of Timber, others in cutting of Stone, some in carrying Burdens, and other Labour. At Sun-rising every Morning, they are let out of the Prison in which they are kept, the Men in one, and the Women in another, and are immediately sent to work, where they continue till twelve at Noon; at which time they return back, and have an Hour's time to dine. Their Dinner is always the same, being a Pint of coarse Rice boiled for each Man. At one they are sent to work again, where they continue till six in the Evening; at which time they are brought back, and go to Supper, which is always the same, both in Quantity and Quality, with their Dinner. Soon after they have supped, they are put into their Lodgings, and locked in, where they lie upon the bare Boards, and have seldom any thing but a large Piece of Wood, which commonly serves five or six of them for a Pillow. Sometimes these poor Wretches make shift to escape; but, if they are caught again, they are sure to be severely handled. There was one of these poor Slaves, a Woman, who had been harshly used by the *Dutch*; and, having once made her Escape, and being taken again, she, knowing how cruelly she should be used, cut her own Throat the Day before her appointed Punishment; after which, she was, by the Hair, dragged out of the Prison all round the Town, and then hung upon a Gibbet by her Feet, with her Head downwards; which is the common Punishment of any that are guilty of Self-murder. Such as are in Debt, and cannot satisfy their Creditors, are, by them, turned over to the Company, who send them to work among their Slaves. They have nothing allowed them but Rice and Water, as the other Slaves; only they have Two-pence a Day given them towards the Payment of their Debts, which avails but little; so that it is very seldom, if ever, that any one gets abroad, till he is carried out dead. But tho' the poor Natives are thus severely handled, yet the *Dutch* themselves will wink at each other's Faults; so that it is a great Rarity for any one of them to be punished, unless it be for Murder. In any other Case, a small Matter of Money will buy off a great Fault. The Women, that are Slaves to the Freemen, have all the Liberty that may be from their Masters and Mistresses; only they are obliged every Night to bring them a certain Acknowledgment, which is commonly about Sixpence, and to find their own Victuals, Cloaths, &c. in Default of which, they are severely used. They may whore and steal, and all is well, if the daily Acknowledgment be but brought, and no Complaint be made against them. The chief of this Island's Products are Cloves, Ginger, Pepper, Rattans, Canes, and sometimes Nutmegs. The Clove-tree is not of a very great Body, but rather slender. It is in Height from twelve to thirty or forty Feet. The Branches are small, the Leaves about five Inches long, and two broad, and end tapering. One of these Leaves, rubbed between the Fingers, will smell very strong of Cloves; but, without rubbing, they have no Smell at all. The Cloves grow out at the Tip of the Branches, ten, twelve, or fourteen in a Cluster. They are first white, then green, then of a dark-copper Colour, which is the Time of their being ripe. The Manner of gathering them is, to spread Cloths or Sheets round the Bottom of the Tree for a good Distance; then they shake the Tree, and all the Cloves that are thoroughly ripe, and fit to be gathered, fall down. The rest, which are left upon the Tree, they suffer to remain for about six or seven Days; then they shake as many more of them off as are ripe, and will fall. This they do four or five times, till they are all down. The usual Time of gathering of them is *October* and *February*. Those which are ripe in *October*, are called the Winter Cloves, this being the End of their Winter; and they are not accounted so good or strong as the other. These they commonly preserve, and put up in small Jars of about a Quart, of which they transport great Quantities to several Parts of the World. Those which are ripe in *February*, are called the Summer Cloves. These are esteemed much better and stronger than the former, because they have the best Part of the Summer

to ripen in; which, in a fair Weather, are the Rays of the sun received upon the Cinnamon, grow take. These Trees Pounds Weight, sure to have a d those Trees upon after, and a Regit They are num Number they w down, and destr All these Trees Freemen; but th pny sets them ar any one brings u he is severely fin ever Cloves the Freemen are oblig of Sixpence a Pou the Island are ingr if any Freeman, Value of ten Pou feited to the Com Life. The Inhabi the Sale of their C put their Cloves in the four Corners, upon the Floor, in large Tub of fref dry, and of an ho and make a large easily perceived. ning for them; fo a small Filp with if the Clove be thro the Head will bre Glas; but, if it be tough, and the be Head fly off. Island, the Trees they grow mostly a three Ships Loads this Tree consists Rind is like that and thin, which w Shell, like that of nel, included in t There are said to b One of the *Malaya* he told me, was ta Crime, and, if the should be severely Secret, which, as *Europeans*. Althou about five hundred in this Island; yet o a great many of th other Buifness; for, each Year, eight or of this Place goes Orambies, some wit 40 Paddles apiece, i I reckon there may 150, or 160, and *Malayans* to each 75 Orambies are di confiding of 20 O commanded by one Flag. The Rear co by the Fiscal, who are in the middle who hath twelve Dn jeant, for his Body Governor carries wit Princes, for fear they Order they go and cially those that do,

to ripen in; whereas the former have not above a Month's fair Weather, and all the rest is rainy and cloudy; so that the Rays of the Sun cannot come to them. It is the common received Opinion, that Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamon, grow all upon one Tree; but it is a great Mistake. These Trees commonly bear sixty, seventy, or eighty Pounds Weight at a time; and, every six Years, they are sure to have a double Crop. There is a vast Number of these Trees upon this Island, which are very carefully looked after, and a Register kept of them in the Company's Books. They are numbered once a Year; and beyond a certain Number they will not let them increase, but cut them down, and destroy them, for fear of lessening the Price. All these Trees belong to the *Dutch* Company; or their Freeman; but those that belong to the Freeman, the Company sets them an Allowance as to their Number; and, if any one brings up more than what the Company allows of, he is severely fined, and his Trees forfeited; and whatsoever Cloves the Trees belonging to Freeman produce, the Freeman are obliged to sell to the Company, after the Rate of Sixpence a Pound: So that, properly, all the Cloves in the Island are ingrossed into the Company's Hands. And, if any Freeman, or other, sells or conveys away to the Value of ten Pounds, all that he has in the World is forfeited to the Company, and he becomes a Slave during Life. The Inhabitants used formerly to cheat the *Dutch* in the Sale of their Cloves; for it was common with them to put their Cloves in a large Sheet, which they hung up by the four Corners, under the Ceiling of their House; and upon the Floor, immediately under the Cloves, they set a large Tub of fresh Water, which the Cloves, being very dry, and of an hot Nature, would, by degrees, draw up, and make a large Addition to their Weight, without being easily perceived. But now the *Dutch* are grown too cunning for them; for they always try them, by giving them a small Filip with their Forefinger on the Head; and then, if the Clove be thoroughly ripe, and no Deceit has been used, the Head will break asunder, like a Piece of thin brittle Glass; but, if it has been watered, then the Clove will be tough, and the whole Clove will sooner bend, than the Head fly off. There are some few Nutmegs upon this Island, the Trees of which are much like the Peach; but they grow mostly at the Island *Banda*, from whence two or three Ships Loads are exported every Year. The Fruit of this Tree consists of four Parts: The first and outward Rind is like that of a green Walnut; the second is dry and thin, which we call Mace; the third is a tough thin Shell, like that of a Chestnut; and the fourth is the Kernel, included in the said Shell, which we call Nutmeg. There are said to be upon this Island some Mines of Gold. One of the *Malayans* shewed me some of the Ore, which, he told me, was taken out of them; but this was a great Crime, and, if the *Dutch* should know it, he said, he should be severely punished; for this is an extraordinary Secret, which, as much as they can, they keep from all *Europeans*. Although, as I said before, they can raise about five hundred and fifty fighting Men, upon occasion, in this Island; yet once every Year they are forced to spare a great many of their People, which are sent away upon other Business; for, commonly, on the 20th of October, each Year, eight or ten Days sooner or later, the Governor of this Place goes his Progress, attended with about 75 Orambies, some with 100, some 80, some 50, and some 40 Paddles apiece, in each of which go two *Dutch* Soldiers. I reckon there may be in this whole Fleet, of *Dutch*, about 150, or 160, and about 5250 *Malayans*, reckoning 70 *Malayans* to each Oramby one with another. These 75 Orambies are divided into three Squadrons, the first consisting of 20 Orambies; which Squadron is always commanded by one of the Council, who carries a yellow Flag. The Rear consists of 20 more, and is commanded by the Fiscal, who commonly carries a red Flag: The rest are in the middle Squadron, and attend the Governor, who hath twelve *Dutch* Soldiers, a Corporal, and a Sergeant, for his Body-guard, and carries a blue Flag. The Governor carries with him the *Indian* King, and all their Princes, for fear they should rebel in his Absence. In this Order they go and visit the Eastern Islands, but especially those that do, or are capable of producing Cloves

or Nutmegs; and, at every Island they go to, they have an additional Strength. The Time of their cruising in this manner is commonly six Weeks, during which they cut down, burn, and destroy, all the Clove and Nutmeg-trees they can find, except such as are reserved for the Company's Use; for all or most of these Islands do or would produce Cloves; but they will not suffer them, because they have enough to supply all *Europe* at *Ambona* alone; and even there also, as I said before, they will permit but a certain Number, lest too great Plenty of them should lower the Price. Upon all these Islands the *Dutch* Company keep Soldiers, three, six, nine, or twelve, according as they are in Bigness, whose only Business it is to see the Trees cut down, or, at least, to take care, that they do not increase, for they are very jealous, lest the *English* or *French* should serve them such a Trick as they themselves served the *English* at *Ambona*. During the time of their cruising, they gather Tribute from all the petty Kings and Princes of these Islands; and commonly, at the End of about six Weeks, return again. Of Beasts, here are Bees, Hogs, wild Deer, &c. Of Fowls, here are several Sorts, the Crocodile, the Cassowary, the Bird of Paradise, &c. The Crocodile is a Bird of various Sizes, some being as big as Hens, and others no bigger than Pigeons: They are in all Parts exactly alike; their Feathers are all over white, excepting only a Bunch upon their Head; which is always either yellow or red. The Bunch of Feathers lies so close, fitted into a Dent in the Head, that they cannot be perceived, unless when the Bird is frightened, and then he sets it up an-end, and it spreads open like a Fan. The Flesh and Legs of this Bird are very black, and they smell very sweet. When they fly wild up and down the Woods, they cry *Crocodile*, *Crocodile*; for which Reason they go by that Name. The Cassowary is about the Bigness of a large *Virginia* Turkey; his Head is the same as a Turkey's; and he has a long, stiff, hairy Beard upon his Breast before, like a Turkey; he hath two great Legs, almost as thick as a Man's Wrist, with five great Claws upon each Foot; he has an high round Back, and, instead of Feathers, only long Hairs, and the same upon the Pinions of his Wings. It lays an Egg so big, that it will hold a Pint; the Shell is pretty thick, spotted with green and white, and looks exactly like China-ware. I never tasted the Eggs, but the Bird itself is extraordinary good Victuals, as I have tried several times: It tastes very like a Turkey, but much stronger. The Birds of Paradise are about the Bigness of Pigeons; they are of various Colours, and are never found or seen alive, neither is it known from whence they come. I have seen several of them here embalmed with Spice, which preserves them from Decay; and, for embalmed, they are sent as Rarities to several Parts of the World. It is related of these Birds, that when the Nutmegs are ripe, which is in the Months of *February* and *March*, they resort to the Places where they grow, viz. to *Banda*, and this Island, and eat off the outer Rind of the Nut; after which, they fall down dead-drunk, and an innumerable Company of Ants gather about them, feed upon them, and kill them. Of Fish, here are also several Sorts, but the most noted is the Sea Porcupine: It is in Length about three Feet, and two Feet and an half round. It has a very large Eye, with two Fins on its Back, and one large one on each Side, near his Gills. It is very full of sharp-pointed Quills; and, from thence, is called the Sea Porcupine. This Island of *Ambona* is all over sandy, but the Water is so deep, that there is no anchoring near it, but at the Ley (which is at the West End of the Island) in forty Fathom Water, close to the Shore, and in the common Harbour. This Harbour runs up a great Way into the Island, and almost divides it into two, so that they are, in a manner, two Islands, being only joined by a small Neck of Land, so narrow, that the *Malayans* often hale their Canoes over. At the Entrance into the Harbour on the East Side, there is a small Fortification of about six Guns; and, close to it, is twenty Fathom Water; and, about a League farther up, is the Harbour for Ships, where they lie under the Command of their great Cattle; which, ever since the Massacre of the *English*, has been called the Cattle *Vitoria*. About two Miles further to the North-east, within the Harbour, is

the Place where formerly our *English* Factory was settled; and near it is said to be the Hole into which the *English* were thrown, after they had been massacred by the *Dutch*. There were few of us now here but expected the same Fate; and some of the Inhabitants were no way shy to tell us, that the Journal, which was sent in the *Dutch* Ships that we met going out from hence for *Batavia*, was our Protection; for they were sensible, that, upon those Ships Arrival at *Batavia*, it would be presently known, that a Part of Captain *Dampier's* Company was arrived at *Ambony*, and from thence it would spread all over *India*; and so they knew, if we fared otherwise than well, we should be inquired after. A little to the Eastward of this Island are several other small Islands; the most noted and biggest of which are *Boangbeslay* and *Hinomsa*; they lie East from *Ambony*, at a small Distance: They are of an indifferent Height, and not above a third Part so big as the Island of *Ambony*; they are both pretty well fortified, and produce Store of Cloves: But the *Chinese* Place for Nutmegs is the Island of *Banda*, which also belongs to the *Dutch*. It lies in the Latitude of $40^{\circ} 20'$ South, and bears from *Ambony* East South-east, Distance 28 Leagues. The Island is said to be in form of a Man's Foot and Leg, and to be pretty well fortified; and, as it has the same Reputation for Nutmegs as *Ambony* for Cloves, the Governor of *Ambony* is reckoned the chief Governor of all those Spice Islands, even to *Ternate* and *Tidore*, which are also Spice Islands, in Possession of the *Dutch*, and lie about forty Miles to the Northward of the Equator. Whilst we were at this Island of *Ambony*, we were so much troubled with Musquitoes, (which are a sort of Gnats) that every Night we were forced to put ourselves in a Bag before we could go to sleep; for otherwise those Creatures would so bite us, that there was no getting Rest; and where-ever they bit, they commonly raised a red Blister, almost as broad as a Silver Penny, itching very much; and many cannot forbear scratching themselves, so as to cause Inflammations, which sometimes occasion the Loss of a Limb. During our Stay here, we had the Liberty of a broad paved Yard, about sixty Yards square; but they would by no means let us go out into the Town, being very jealous of us, and desirous to prevent our knowing their Strength, or making any other Discoveries, which they thought might be prejudicial to them. Here we remained from May 31. to September 14. 1705. at which time there being three of the Company's Sloops ready to sail hence, laden with Cloves, twenty-five of our Men were sent away with them for *Batavia*, and ten of us left behind, who were, as they said, to go in another Vessel, which was almost ready to sail. On September 27. a *Malayan* Man was brought in here at *Ambony* to the Stadt-houfe, to be tried for his Life: He was accused, by his own Wife, for murdering his Slave: The Slave had been dead about six Months, and she had concealed it; but, happening to fall out with her Husband, she went before the Fiscal, in the Heat of her Anger, and declared it: So her Husband was put in Prison, and the Corps of the dead Slave dug up; but, it being consumed and rotten, no Marks of Violence could be perceived upon it; and it was generally believed, that the Man's Wife accused him wrongfully: He was upon his Trial when the Earthquake happened, at which time I observed, that it is a common Error to suppose, that, during an Earthquake, it is always calm; for we had a fine fresh Gale at South South-west, both Days on which the Earthquake happened. This Earthquake made all the Court break up, being in fear the House should fall on their Heads: So the Man was committed to Prison again; and the next Day, being September 28. about eleven at Noon, the Court being set again, the Man was again brought to his Trial; when, in about a Quarter of an Hour, when his Wife was in her greatest Violence against him, the Earth shook very much again, and caused them all to break up a second time. The same Day myself, with four more of our Men, were sent on board a *Chinese* Sloop for *Batavia*: The other five of our Men, which were left behind, they promised should be sent after us in a short time; yet we never heard of them since: But whether they languished out their Days in Confinement, found some quicker Period to their Miseries, or were detained in the *Dutch* Service during Life, are Points

that will not be speedily cleared up, since our Government has never thought fit to inquire after, or demand them.

32. After we had left *Ambony*, we sailed South-west by West, till we came to the Island of *Lancas*, which lies in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 27'$ South, and I make its meridian Distance from *Ambony* $2^{\circ} 35'$ West, or 155 Miles. We then steered West by North, till we made the two Islands *Cabeses*, where, it falling calm, we sent our Boat ashore on the Eastermost, and cut down some hundred of Cocoa-nuts, which were brought on board. This Eastern Island of *Cabeses* is low, not inhabited, but full of Cocoa-nut-trees, which are planted here for the Use of such *Dutch* Ships and Vessels as pass by for *Batavia*; for it is a sort of Miracle, to see any *European* Ship here except the *Dutch*. Off this Island we met our Bark, which had brought us from *America* to *Ambony*; the *Dutch*, after they had taken her from us, had fitted her up, put a Mizen-mast in, and made a very good Vessel of her. This Island lies in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 23'$ South, and nearly West by North from the Island *Lancas*, distant about forty-five Miles; it is Shole two Miles from the Shore. To the South-west of this lies the other Island of *Cabeses*, which is a pretty high Island, and upon it the *Dutch* always keep a Corporal and six Soldiers, who, two or three times a Year, go round the Island, to see that no Cloves are planted; and if there be, they cut them down and burn them, nor fear any other Nation should take it from them; which if they should, I am apt to believe *Ambony* would be of little Use to them, Cloves being the only Product that is valuable upon it. We passed next by the South End of the Island *Bouton*, which is a pretty large Place, in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 45'$ South. We steered Westward from hence, passing between the Island *Cebelles* and the Island *Zalayer*. The South Part of the Island *Cebelles* is very high Land: It is very well inhabited, and is a very large Island, taking up seven Degrees in Latitude. At the South End of this Island, on the West Side, the *Dutch* have a Factory called *Macassar*, where they have a Fort of about seventy Guns, manned with six or seven hundred *Dutch* Soldiers. The chief Product of the Place is Rice, with which they supply all or most of their Eastern Islands. Here are also said to be several Gold Mines, of which the *Dutch* are not yet Masters; for the Inhabitants are often at War with the *Dutch*, and have kept them hitherto from those Places. There lie between the South End of this Island *Cebelles*, and the Island of *Zalayer*, three low small Isles; and the very best Passage is that which lies between the Island next to *Zalayer*, and another very little one which lies to the Northward. This is called the second Passage, and the first, third, and fourth of these Passages are exceedingly dangerous, so that Ships generally avoid them if it be possible.

33. I should willingly give an Account of every Island I mention, if it was in my Power; but, as it is not, the Reader must be satisfied with what I can say without Injury to Truth. This Island of *Zalayer* is of a moderate Height; it is inhabited by *Malayans*, and planted all round with Cocoa-nut-trees. The Inhabitants are forced yearly to send Store of Oil and Match to the *Dutch* at *Macassar*, by way of Tribute. From hence we steered West by North, till we had passed a dangerous Shole, called the *Brill*, and then we haled up South-west; and, in the Night, saw a small Island just by us, which finding we could not weather, we tacked and stood the other Way till Day-light; and then, finding ourselves to the Southward of the said Island, we tacked and stood to the South-westward, and soon after saw two other low small Islands, bearing from the North to the North-west. We could see the Ground very plain for about two Miles, and never had above six, or under five Fathom Water, though it looked as if there was not above two Fathom: We came over this Shole about a League to the Southward of these two small Islands; and this accounted the narrowest Shole; for, further to the Southward, it is five or six Leagues over; but there also is no Danger, because you have very even Soundings, as five or six Fathom, seldom over or under. But to the Northward of these two Islands it is very dangerous, it being all very foul rocky Ground, and in some Places not above four or five Fock Water. Therefore go to the Southward of these

Islands, and you have their Maps, which should have those two Isles; always go over, those two Islands, the Southward of the Southward of the Cap very exactly as we others which were ference: I asked once; and he told Shoes and danger not desire any bod Foreigner should co and sail by their L amongst Rocks and lose their Ship, as w mon Draughts, it b belonging to the E as they can; or, at and happen into the fend them away, an be. How far the *Dut* of acting, from the conceive either the I cannot take upon v very plain, that Ma row Schemes of Th to the keeping us in which the Divine P in private Life the preferred to the Cap single Person; if, G Good of Society o terest; then, methi should have Force w pany, and even of with the common G a little enthusiastic, ways my private Op veries have been ma fication took place, b Christianity have bee tion, it looks as if th habited Parts of the afforded them of en and therefore I persu to limit or prevent t ture, but will likew To seek new Count their Wealth, or ma in them, is a Design tion certainly will av of Countries hitherto Poor at home, and the most distant and great and good Defe with the Views of P scarce fail of becom fues it with a Spirit v made an Undertakin

34. On October 2 *Batavia*; and, as soon of our Men, who w Major of the Castle transmit the General which we received b that we should be fa Loss of Time, and of us drew up an A the Major to the Ge that very speedily w tober 27. we were al ready Money was ret Loss of Time, and tification; only the that the Governor o if there was any th Numb. 10.

Islands, and you will be safe: Although the *Dutch*, in their Maps, have laid down the Dangers to the Southward, which should have been laid down to the Northward of those two Isles; and the safe Shores, which we and they always go over, they have laid down to the Northward of those two Islands, whereas we and they always went over to the Southward of them. We had a Draught on board belonging to the Captain of the Vessel, which shewed all this very exactly as we found it: I compared it with several others which were on board, and found a great deal of Difference: I asked the Captain the Reason of their Difference; and he told me, that the *Hollanders* knew all the Shores and dangerous Places herabouts very well; but did not desire any body else should know them; so that, if any Foreigner should come into those Parts amongst these Shores, and fall by their Draughts, they might unexpectedly be amongst Rocks and Shores, where they would certainly lose their Ship, as we had done, if we had sail'd by the common Draughts, it being the *Dutch* Policy to keep all Ships, belonging to the *English* or *French*, as far off these Islands as they can; or, at least, if they come amongst them, and happen into their Hands, as we did, they take care to send them away, and let them know as little of them as may be. How far the *Dutch* may be able to justify such a Method of acting, from the Conduct of other Nations, where they conceive either their Safety or Interest as nearly concerned, I cannot take upon me to determine: But this, I think, is very plain, that Mankind in general suffer by all these narrow Schemes of Thinking, which undoubtedly contribute to the keeping us in Ignorance of those Parts of the World, which the Divine Providence never meant to conceal. If, in private Life the Welfare of the Family ought to be preferred to the Caprice, and even to the Interest, of any single Person; if, from the just Maxims of Policy, the Good of Society ought always to take place of private Interest; then, methinks, the same Method of Reasoning should have Force with regard to the Concerns of a Company, and even of a whole Nation, when they interfere with the common Good of Mankind. It may be thought a little enthusiastic, but, I must confess, it has been always my private Opinion, that, as all these great Discoveries have been made, not only since the Christian Dispensation took place, but since the fundamental Doctrines of Christianity have been set free from the Errors of Superstition, it looks as if the Almighty designed, that all the inhabited Parts of the Globe should have an Opportunity afforded them of embracing so excellent a Rule of Life; and therefore I persuade myself, that all the Attempts made to limit or prevent this, are not only impious in their Nature, but will likewise be found impracticable in the End. To seek new Countries for the sake of spoiling them of their Wealth, or making Slaves of the People who dwell in them, is a Design so base and barbarous, that no Nation certainly will avow it; but to aim at the Discovery of Countries hitherto unknown, in order to employ our Poor at home, and to extend the Blessings we possess to the most distant and distressed People in the Universe, is a great and good Design; and seems so exactly to coincide with the Views of Providence, that I think the Nation can scarce fail of becoming rich, happy, and glorious, that pursues it with a Spirit worthy of so noble, generous, and humane an Undertaking.

34. On October 21. 1705. we entered the Harbour of *Batavia*; and, as soon as we landed, we were sent to the rest of our Men, who were still in Custody. A little after, the Major of the Castle was sent to us, and desired we would transmit the General, by him, an Account of our Losses, which we received by our being taken at *Ambeyna*; and that we should be satisfied on all Accounts as to our Effects, Loss of Time, and Imprisonment. Accordingly, we each of us drew up an Account of our Losses, and sent it by the Major to the General, who returned us for Answer, that very speedily we should have our Freedom. On October 27. we were all sent for to the Fort, and most of our ready Money was returned to us again; but for our Goods, Loss of Time, and Imprisonment, we could have no Satisfaction; only the General told us, he had given us all that the Governor of *Ambeyna* had sent to him; and that, if there was any thing more, he knew nothing of it; and

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that we were now at our Liberty to go whither we pleased. We desired, that, since our Vessel was taken from us by the Company, he would be pleased to take care to find us some Ship, in which we might return home; which he promised he would. We were forced to be content, and went and took Lodging in the Town, till we could meet with an Opportunity of returning home. In the Space of about seven Weeks that I remained here, I made all the Observations I could on the Place, and its Inhabitants. The former I found in as good Condition as it was possible, and the latter appeared to me as prudent and industrious a People as ever I saw; but the Descriptions that have been already published of both are so exact, as to render it unnecessary for me to trouble the World with my Collections. I shall content myself, therefore, with making a very short Description of the Place, as I think it necessary to render my Work all of a Piece; and shall refer the curious Reader, for further Satisfaction, to the large Accounts that have been published by *Dutch*, *French*, and *English* Writers; but especially the first, who are equally capable and willing to represent it fairly.

35. This City of *Batavia* is the chief Place the *Dutch* have in *India*, receiving, by Shipping, the Product of *India*, *Japan*, and *China*. It is inhabited by several sorts of People, as *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, *Chinese*, *Persians*, and *Negroes*; but the *Malayans* are the Natives: The *Dutch* are Masters of the Place, and have a very fine large Town, in which are seven Churches, *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, *Malay*, and *Chinese*, with several very spacious Houses, built after the *European* manner: The Town is all walled and moated round; and the Walls are abundantly provided with Cannon. In the Middle of the Town, in a great square Place, is a very fine Stadt-houze, where all public Affairs are transacted. The Town, with all the Fortifications, is commonly governed by one of the States of *Holland*, who has the Title of General of *India*, and all other Governors are subordinate to him. The Inhabitants here do not care how often they change their General; for, at the coming of a new one, all Prisoners are released, except such as have committed Murder. He has twelve to assist him, who have always the Title of Rads, or Lords of *India*: These are such as have been formerly chief Governors in several Places in *India*, as of *Ceylon*, *Ambeyna*, *Malacca*, &c. The Town is divided by Canals, over which, almost in every Street, there are Bridges laid, and Booms to hale across, which let no Boats go in or out after Sun-set. The chief Produce of the Place is Pepper, of which the *Dutch* yearly export great Quantities: Here are also some few Diamonds, and other Precious Stones. Of Fruits here are Plantains, Bananas, Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Mangostans, and Rumbostans. The Mangostan is about the Bigness of a Golden-runner; it is quite round, and looks like a small Pomegranate. The outside Rind is like that of a Pomegranate, only of a darker Colour; but the Inside of the Rind is of a fine Red; within this Rind is the Fruit, which is of a fine White, and lies in Cloves almost like Garlick; there are commonly four or five Cloves in each, and they are very soft and juicy; within the Clove is a small black Stone. We commonly suck the Fruit from the Stone, and the Fruit is very delicious; the Stone we throw away, being very bitter, if chewed. The Rumbostan is about the Bigness of a Walnut, when the green Peel is off. It is also pretty near the Shape of a Walnut, and hath a thick tough outer Rind, which is of a deep Red, full of little Knobs of the same Colour; within the Rind is the Fruit, which is quite white, and looks almost like a Jelly; and within the Fruit is a large Stone; it is very delicate, and though a Man eat ever so much, yet it never does him any Harm, provided he swallows the Stones as well as the Fruit; but otherwise they are said to cause Fevers. The Island of *Java*, on the North Side of which *Batavia* stands, is in Length, from East to West, about ten Degrees. The Wind and Weather is extremely regular at *Batavia*, and the *Dutch* Inhabitants know how to make use of it at all Seasons to the best Advantage. In the Eastern Monsoon the Land-winds are at South-east, sometimes more Southerly; and the Sea-winds at North-east fine pleasant Gales. This Easterly Monsoon is accounted the good Monsoon, it being fine fair clear Weather, beginning in *April*, and

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ending in *Offshir*; but the Westerly Monsoon is called the bad Monsoon, being rainy and blustering Weather, with much Thunder and Lightning, especially in *December*, *January*, and *February*. This bad Monsoon begins in *November*, and ends in *March*, or the Beginning of *April*. In it the Land-winds are at West South-west, and South-west; and the Sea-winds at North-west, and West North-west. The Anchor-ground, all along the North Side of *Java*, from the Island *Madura* to *Batavia*, is fine oisy Ground, and clear of Rocks. The principal Places on this Side of the Island are *Batavia*, *Baniam*, *Japara*, *Samarang*, *Surabaya*, *Taggall*, the *Quale*, and *Rambang*; all these Places are settled by the *Dutch*: They afford Rice, with which they supply all their Out-factories hereabouts, as also very good Plank for building Ships with. The chief Place for building is *Rambang*, whither the Freemen go to build their small Vessels, as Sloops and Brigantines; also several Ships of five, six, or seven hundred Tons, laden with Timber as *Rambang*, the *Quale*, *Japara*, &c. and each Ship, when full, taketh a great Raft of the largest of the Timber in a Tow to *Batavia*: Some of these Rafts are said to be thirty Feet square, and to draw twenty-two Feet Water: There are commonly six of these Ships, which are thus laden with Timber; and they commonly make four Voyages in the good Monsoon; for in the bad they cannot do any thing. All this Timber is commonly landed upon a small Island, between four and five Leagues from *Batavia*, where the Ship-carpenters are usually kept at Work; nay, they are said to be never out of Employ; they are about 200 in Number; and the Island is called *Unrust*, or *Omrust*. The *Dutch* careen their Ships here; and it is very well fortified, being (to use a Sea Phrase) all round a Bed of Guns.

36. We had Notice given us on *September 2*. that all of us who desired to return to *England*, should go immediately on board the *Dutch East India Fleet*; which accordingly we did, and sailed the next Day. This Fleet consisted of twelve Sail, as well provided in every respect as any Ships I ever saw; and we made the Voyage in as good Order, arriving on *February 3*. 1706. at the Cape of *Good Hope*. The *Dutch* have here a strong Fortrefs; and, about half a Mile Distance from thence, a very fine Town, consisting of a small Church, and 150 Houses. The Land in the Neighbourhood is very high, and most of the Mountains are barren, producing only a few Shrubs. The Country within is full of Lions, Tygers, Elephants, and other wild Beasts, which give the People, who are settled here, great Disturbance. It is for this Reason, that the Government has found it necessary to promise to any one who kills a Lion fifty-two Guilders, which amounts to four Pounds six Shillings and Eight-pence; and for killing a Tyger, he has a Reward of twenty-four Guilders, or forty Shillings: There was a *Scotchman*, while we were here, who killed four Lions, three Tygers, and three wild Elephants; for which he had his Reward accordingly, to the aforesaid Proportion. This Country produces several sorts of Fruits, common, and not common, with us in *Europe*, as Pomgranates, Water-melons, Chestnuts, with some Plantains and Bananas; and great Plenty of very good Grapes, of which the *Dutch* make a very pretty pleasant Wine, called Cape Wine, in great Quantities, which, by *Retale*, is commonly sold at Eight-pence a Quart. It produces likewise abundance of Garden-fruit, which is very refreshing to those that arrive here sick of the Scurvy: Here are also abundance of Sheep, very large, and, I think, as good Meat as ever I eat. Of Fowls here are several sorts, but the most remarkable is the Ostrich, which is a very large Fowl: The Bird itself is little valuable, but its Feathers are sent as Rarities to several Parts of the World: Their Eggs are very good Meat, as I have experienced many times. That these Birds feed upon Iron, Stones, or any thing that chances to be near them, is fabulous; but, like a great many other Fowls, they pick up small Stones, which only serve to digest their proper Food; they are of several Colours, as black, white, &c. The most remarkable amphibious Animal here is the Seal, or, as the *Dutch* call it, the Sea Hound: They are the same as those before spoken of at the Island *Juan Fernandez*; only the Fur of these is not so fine. In this Harbour, on the South Side, are two high Mountains, the one called the *Table Land*, which is pretty plain and even

at the Top, and the other called the *Sugar-loaf* from its Shape; at the Top of this *Sugar-loaf* the *Dutch* have a small House, and four Guns mounted: Here they always keep a good Look-out; and at the Approach of any Ship or Ships, hoist a Flag, and fire as many Guns as they see Ships, to give notice to those at the Town. It is not easy to guess what the Reasons were, which induced the *English* to part with their Property in this Place, which is of such mighty Consequence to the *Dutch*, and which might have been made so advantageous to themselves: To speak the Truth, the *Dutch* are very civil and complaisant here; and, except their not permitting us to travel up into the Country, which might have produced more Knowledge of it, than perhaps would have been convenient for them, they indulged us in every thing we could ask, and furnished us with Provisions of all kinds, extremely good, and at very reasonable Rates. It is impossible to leave this Place, without making a few Reflections on the Conduct of the *English* and the *Dutch*, with respect to their Policy, in providing Places of Refreshment for their Ships in their Passage to the *Indies*. Both have found the Necessity of having such Places, and, by an unaccountable Accident, have exchanged the Places of which they are possessed: The *English* have the Island of *St. Helena*, lying in the Latitude of 16° South, and 22° Longitude West from the Cape of *Good Hope*. This Island was first discovered by the *Portuguese*, who put some Goats and Swine on Shore there, the Breed of which still continues, and the Place is very plentifully stocked with them. The *Dutch* inhabited here first, but afterwards thought fit to quit it; and then we took Possession of it, from whom the *Dutch* took it again, but were soon dispossessed of it, and we have enjoyed it peaceably ever since. This Island is about nine or ten Leagues in Length, not quite so much in Breadth, and above 300 Leagues from the Continent of *Africa*: Next the Sea it is almost every-where encompassed with high Rocks, which hinder the Approach, there being but one Place for landing; and within there are many Mountains, but most of them covered with wholesome Herbs and Plants, and the Valleys are so fruitful, that they produce whatever is brought from other Parts, and planted in great Perfection. It would be certainly one of the most delightful Spots upon the Globe, and afford the pleasantest Living, if it was somewhat larger, nearer some Continent, or more frequented, than it is at present. The Air is wonderfully wholesome, the fresh Water excellent, the Fruits in the highest Perfection, and the Sea abounding with Fish. The only Misfortune there is, flows from the want of Industry in cultivating these Advantages, and correcting such Inconveniences as fall within the Power of Man to remedy. The *Dutch*, when they took Possession of the Cape of *Good Hope*, found it the most barren despicable Spot that was ever seen, or indeed could be well imagined; yet, perceiving the Importance of it, they resolved to settle there, and improve it, cost what it would: In this they met with many Difficulties; but they were resolved not to be discouraged; and, by persevering, they have rendered it, in all respects, the finest Settlement in the World, and have proved many settled Points in Planting-policy to be absolutely false; of which I shall instance one, and that is, the making Wine, which has been over and over declared a thing impracticable in that Climate; but they have now great Plenty both of Red and White, but especially of the latter, which, after two Years keeping, is very justly esteemed preferable to the finest Canary. The Industry of the *Dutch*, and their great Success in their Improvements, invites our Ships, as well as theirs, to the Cape of *Good Hope*; and this is the principal Reason why we do not make all those Advantages of *St. Helena*, of which the Place is capable. This, at the same time, shews the different Genius of the two Nations; for, if the Cape had been ever so long in our Possession, there is great Reason to doubt, whether we should have made any such Improvements, as, on the other hand, if the *Dutch* could have kept *St. Helena*, after they took it from us in 1673, it is probable they would have made it another sort of Place than it now is; and not have suffered the Inhabitants to want Bread, merely from their not having Power to destroy the Rats that breed in the Rocks, and from thence fall out in such

Numbers, as to their Plantations this, considering only beyond the merit, which is, justly accounted in very moderate G

37. We were in the *East India* without Surprise Trade by the Gov up much more Ro the many Instance dence in this resp *East India* Compa in Company with but his Signals al cheerfully as if he proceeds that Re Voyages to and fr fail with as much composed intirely that our Ships, es to make some Say have the Opportun also very surpris ample of the *Dutch* come, in every Re Signal, as They are pen to the Ships of Company. We h during the Time where we were en requisite for our V 24th of *March*, w went out betw having the Main of the Larboard. Th Middle of which, up few Guns mounted, at the Approach of a Gun, to give Not Name from a vast which commonly re the Bigness of a w having no Wings, and these Stumps f have a sharp Bill, but indifferent Food here as in the Strei ever, more Use wh Ships were not away the Cape, that the S any Temptation to t And this may be speaking, pretty fr many, of their stric need as much as extremely fond of it intoxicated with the very commendably it, which they neve Sail of us, viz. nine Gale continuing, fo We met with nothing when two of the *En a-tern*, and lost our and, as we afterwards by the *French*. On the Ship's Company, to a Mess, that is, to be pleased, besides more Victuals than we 5th, a Man being *Dutch* Vice-admiral, t ur Ship, and tried fo mmed to die. He

Numbers, as to destroy the Kitchen-gardens belonging to their Plantations: I say, they would hardly have suffered this, considering one Advantage that *St. Helena* has, not only beyond the Cape, but even beyond any other Settlement; which is, that, as it is at present fortified, it may be justly accounted impregnable, though there should be but a very moderate Garrison to defend it. But enough of this: Let us now return to the Voyage which gave Occasion to these Reflections.

37. We were now to continue our Voyage to Europe in the *East India Fleet*; and it was impossible to see, without Surprise and Satisfaction, the Care taken of their Trade by the Government established here. It would take up much more Room than we have to spare, to enumerate the many Instances that might be given of the *Dutch* Prudence in this respect. One, however, shall suffice. The *East India Company's* Admiral not only hoists his Flag in Company with the Men of War belonging to the States, but his Signals also are obeyed by those Men of War as cheerfully as if he was Admiral of their own Fleet. Hence proceeds that Regularity that is observed in all their Voyages to and from the *East Indies*, when these Squadrons sail with as much Harmony, in every respect, as if it was composed entirely of Ships of War; which is the Reason that our Ships, especially in a Time of War, are content to make some Stay at the Cape of *Good Hope*, in order to have the Opportunity of coming home with them. It is also very surprising, to see how great an Effect the Example of the *Dutch* has upon our Countrymen, who become, in every respect, as regular, and as attentive to Signal, as they are; so that very rarely any Accidents happen to the Ships of either Nation, when they sail thus in Company. We had an Opportunity of observing this during the Time of our Voyage to and from the Cape, where we were excellently provided with every thing requisite for our Voyage, on which we proceeded on the 24th of *March*, with a fresh Gale of Wind at South-east; and went out between *Penguin Island* and the Main-land, having the Main on the Starboard-side, and the Island on the Larboard. This is a pretty low sandy Island; in the Middle of which, upon the highest Part of it, they have a few Guns mounted, and near them a Flag-staff, on which, at the Approach of any Ship, they hoist a Flag, and Fire a Gun, to give Notice to the Town. This Island takes its Name from a vast Number of Birds, called Penguins, which commonly resort near it. These Birds are about the Bigness of a wild Duck; they do not fly, but flutter, having no Wings, but Stumps only, like young Ducks, and these Stumps serve them for Fins in the Water. They have a sharp Bill, but Feet like a Duck, and their Flesh but indifferent Food. This Kind of Fowl is not so large here as in the Streights of *Magellan*, nor so good; however, more Use would be made of them, if the *Dutch* Ships were not always so well provided when they sail from the Cape, that the Seamen do not find themselves under any Temptation to take up with rank or disagreeable Food: And this may be one Reason, why they are, generally speaking, pretty free from Disease; one Effect, among many, of their strict Discipline, of which they stand in need as much as the Sailors of any Country, being extremely fond of strong Liquors, and very abusive when intoxicated with them; and, therefore, their Officers are very commendably careful in their Endeavours to prevent it, which they never omit. We were now twenty-four Sail of us, viz. nine *English*, and fifteen *Dutch*; and the Gale continuing, soon carried us to the true Trade. We met with nothing material till the 10th of *April* 1706. When two of the *English* Ships, sailing very heavily, fell a-tern, and lost our Company: They put into *St. Helena*, and, as we afterwards heard, were taken out of the Road by the *French*. On the 11th, we had 25 Hogs killed for the Ship's Company, and the Commodore ordered an Hog to a Mess, that is, to every seven Men, to dispose of as we pleased, besides our daily Allowance, so that we had more Victuals than we could tell what to do with. On the 15th, a Man being barbarously murdered on board the *Vice-admiral*, the Murderer was brought on board our Ship, and tried for his Life, and the same Day condemned to die. He owned the Murder, and desired the

Favour of the Court, that he might chuse his own Death, which was granted; and he chose to be shot; which the next Day was accordingly done, all the Fleet lying by till his Death, and then we all made Sail again. On the 17th, we saw the Island of *Ascension*, but did not touch here for Turtle, although it was their Laying-time: The Reason was, because we were so well supplied with Provisions at the Cape, that we had no Occasion for more; and the *English* Ships being willing to keep us Company, they also did not touch here. On the 19th, we had fine fair Weather, with a fresh Gale at South-east: About eleven this Morning happened a great Earthquake; at first it seemed as if the Ship ran along upon the Ground: So we heaved out a Lead on each Side, with two hundred Fathom of Line, but found no Ground. The whole Fleet felt the Shock at the same time, so that for half a Quarter of an Hour there was nothing but making of Signals, and firing of Guns. We then reckoned the Island of *Ascension* to bear South-east, distant about forty Leagues. We steered thence to the North-west, and had soon an Opportunity of observing the great Advantage resulting from our imitating the Regularity of the *Dutch*: When I say this, I mean it of the *English* Ships in Company, which had quitted their Design of bearing up for the Island of *Ascension*, in order to remain with the Fleet.

38. On the 14th of *June*, we saw four Sail of *French* Privateers, which were waiting there for our homeward-bound Ships: They came up, and looked on us; but thought it not advisable to make any Attempt, and soon bore away. On the 30th, we found ourselves in the Latitude of $62^{\circ} 40'$ North, which was the furthest Northward that I ever was; and I could not but take notice of the Difference of Cold in this Place; and in 60° of Southern Latitude; for there we had continual Showers of Snow or Hail, and the Weather very cold; whereas here, on the contrary, we found the Weather very fair and moderate: The Reason of which, I suppose, was this; when we were to the Southward, we were always pretty near to the Main of *America*, having it to the West of us; likewise, when we were to the Northward, we were always pretty near the Main-land of *Europe*, having it to the East of us. Now, being near the Land, we always account the Land-winds the coldest, and the Sea-winds the warmest. Thus the North-easterly Wind is accounted the coldest Wind we have in *England*, *Holland*, &c. but in the same Latitude North, near the Coast of *America*, the North-west Wind is commonly accounted the coldest; and, in the same Height of South Latitude, on the Coast of *America*, the South-west Wind is the coldest; as, near the Cape of *Good Hope*, the South-east Wind is the coldest. Now, the Westerly Winds, at such a Height, both in North and South Latitude, having generally the Predominancy over the Easterly, very much alter the Degrees of the Heat or Cold of the Weather; for which Reason, in the South Part of *America*, the Westerly Wind caused cold Weather; but, to the Northward, the Westerly Wind caused warm Weather; and, as the Easterly Wind, being near the *European* Shore, is the coldest, so, being near the *American* Shore, in the same Height of Southern Latitude, the Westerly Wind is the coldest. These Observations are of very great Use to Seamen, and especially to Commanders, because they enable them to guess what Weather they are to expect on any Coast, and even to have a tolerable Foresight of what may happen in Voyages for Discovery; the Appearance of which Foresight in the Commander is of infinite Consequence to encourage the private Men, who obey with the greatest Cheerfulness, and undertake, with the greatest Alacrity, whatever they are commanded, by a Man, of whose Judgment they have a good Opinion, and of whose Skill they have had frequent Experience; whereas the least Diffidence in a Commander sinks the Courage of his Sailors, doubles the Fear of every Danger, and becomes an Occasion for future Suspicion and Contempt.

39. We saw, in the Evening of the 3d of *July*, the Islands of *Faro*, bearing East and by North, distant about ten or twelve Leagues. We founded, but had no Ground at 110 Fathom; at twelve at Night we had Ground at 85 Fathom, and at 75 by three in the Morning. On the 4th

4th of July at Noon, the two Islands of *Fare* bore South-east, distant about eight Leagues. We then, steering North-east, had Ground at eighty Fathom, small Pieces of broken Shells. All last Night we kept firing a Gun every Half-hour, to give notice to the Cruisers, whom we expected to meet here. On the 5th, according to our Expectations, we met with our Convoy, which had been cruising for us; they consisted of eight Dutch Men of War, four Victuallers, and three of the Company's Privateers: After mutual Salutations, we proceeded to the South-eastward, being all bound for *Amsterdam*: And, on the 15th of July, we all arrived safely in the *Texel*; and, on the 17th, we got to *Amsterdam*. After which, myself, and the rest of our Company, went to see several Parts of *Holland*: And, on the 26th of August 1706, after many Dangers both by Sea and Land, we happily arrived in *England*, being but eighteen out of one hundred eighty-three. The News of our Misfortunes reached home before us, and every body was solicitous to have an Account of what had befallen us in the *East Indies*, and especially in the Island of *Ambosna*, under the Power of the Dutch. These Importunnes led me into an Opinion, that as complete an Account of our Voyage, as it was in my Power to give, might not be unacceptable to the Public; which occasioned the Pains I have taken in compiling this small Work; wherein, as there are many Adventures not altogether unentertaining, so I hope, that some of the Descriptions, Observations, and Discoveries, may with Justice be thought useful.

40. It has hitherto been the just Complaint of such as read Voyages with Attention, that they are often left in the Dark, as to very material Circumstances, while, at the same time, they are more than sufficiently informed as to Circumstances of very little or no Importance. I have often wondered, that, considering the many Editions through which *Dampier's* Voyages have passed, there never was any Care taken to supply their visible Deficiencies. The Reasons are very evident to me, why *Dampier* did not publish this last Voyage of his to the South Seas. If he had spoken the Truth, he must have done himself no great Credit; and, if he had attempted to impose Fashions on the World, his Officers were most of them alive, and ready to contradict him: He chose, therefore, and I think it the most prudent Choice he ever made in his Life, to be absolutely silent. This Silence, however, gives not the least Satisfaction to the Reader, who, no doubt, would be glad to be informed of all the Transactions of that Voyage, of which Mr. *Funnell* has related only a Part; though, to say the Truth, that was all in his Power. This Task I shall endeavour to perform the best I can, having taken a great deal of Pains to satisfy myself in these Particulars. The Reader may remember, that, the 19th of May 1704, Captain *Dampier*, in the *St. George*, left his Consort, Captain *Stradling*, in the *Cinque-ports*, at the *King's Island*, in the Bay of *Panama*; after which, we hear no more of them. The Force that Captain *Stradling* had with him was very insignificant, and, therefore, they could not maintain themselves long in the South Seas; which drove them, for the sake of Shelter and Refreshment, to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; and in such a Condition they were when they came thither, that honest *Alexander Selkirk* chose rather to stay by himself in that Island, than run the Hazard of returning into the South Seas on board the *Cinque-ports*: In which he shewed a great deal of Judgment; for the *Cinque-ports* actually foundered on the Coast of *Babacora*, and only Captain *Stradling*, and six or seven of his Men, were saved, and sent Prisoners to *Lima*, where Captain *Stradling* was actually living at the time Captain *Rogers* came into the South Seas; but what became of him afterwards, I cannot say. The next Person that left our famous Captain, was his Mate, Mr. *Clippinton*, as he calls him; but the Gentleman's Name was *John Clipperton*, of whom we shall have Occasion to say much in a succeeding Voyage. He was certainly a Man of Parts and Spirit, and, in all human Probability, would not have left Captain *Dampier*, if he had not thought, that he would obligingly remain in the South Seas in his old rascally Ship the *St. George*, till she foundered; and, finding that a great Part of the Crew were of the same Opinion, thought

proper to leave him at the Middle Islands, where he was encamping; and where it was plain to all who saw her, the *St. George* was no longer fit to put to Sea. This was on Sept. 2. 1704; and Mr. *Clipperton* had now with him no more than twenty-one Men, in a Bark of ten Tons, with two Masts, and two Square-sails, two Pattereroes, and two or three Barrels of Powder and Shot; yet he ventured into *Rio Leon*, on the Coast of *Mexico*, where he took two Spanish Ships at Anchor: One was very old and worm-eaten, for which Reason he ordered her to be immediately sunk; the other Ship was new, and had on board her Goods to a considerable Value. Captain *Clipperton* therefore, for so he was now called, sent on shore two of his Prisoners, with a Letter to the Spanish Governor, demanding ten thousand Pieces of Eight, by way of Ransom for that Ship. The Prisoners spoke so handsomely of *Clipperton*, that the Governor resolved to treat with him; and therefore sent him Word, that he did not think his Proposition unreasonable; but that, as the Owners were absolutely ruined, and the Town very poor, it was impossible for him to comply with it; but if 4000 Pieces of Eight, which was all they could raise, would content him, it should be sent aboard in ready Money, and they would rely upon his Honour for the Discharge of the Ship. Captain *Clipperton* accepted the Proposal; but, at the same time, informed the Governor, that they were in great want of Provisions and Water; and therefore expected, that whatever could be eat or drank, should not be included in the Capitation. This was very readily agreed to, the Money sent on board the next Morning, and, as soon as the Provisions could be got out of her, the Ship was very honourably restored. Captain *Clipperton* sailed from thence to the Gulph of *Salinas*, where they drew their little Vessel ashore, in order to clean and refit her, which they did very effectually; and then resolved, even in this Cockle-shell of a Boat, to sail for the *East Indies*, which they did, and, keeping in the Latitude of 18° North, reached the *Philippine* Islands in fifty-four Days. While they were among these Islands, there came off a Canoe, with a Spanish Priest in it, whom they detained till they were furnished with fresh Provisions, and then set him at Liberty. The next Scheme they formed, was to go to the English Settlement at *Pale Condore*, which lies in the Latitude of 8° 40' North; and accordingly came thither: But, understanding that the English had been massacred by their Indian Soldiers on March 3. 1705, they found there was no Safety to be expected there; and therefore instantly bore away for *Macao*, a Port belonging to the *Portuguese* in *China*, where they all shifted for themselves as well as they could. Some went to *Benjar*, in order to enter into the *East India* Company's Service; others to *Gat*, to serve the *Portuguese*; and some entered into the Pay of the Great Mogul; for, after so long a Voyage, they were so bare, that any Means of providing for themselves appeared very agreeable. As for Captain *Clipperton*, he returned to *England* in 1706. and lived afterwards to make another Voyage round the World in the *Success*, of which, in its proper Place, we shall give an Account. It is requisite, in the mean time, to go back again to Captain *Dampier*, in order to shew what became of him, after so great a Part of his Ship's Company had deserted him. It is not easy to conceive a Man in a worse Situation, than Mr. *Dampier* found himself at the time Mr. *Funnell* and his People left him. It was at the Close of the Year 1704, they took this Resolution; and all the People that it was in the Power of *Dampier* to keep with him were but twenty-eight; and even these he prevailed upon to stay, by representing, that there was nothing easier than to make their Fortunes by surprizing some small Spanish Village; and that the fewer there were of them, the fewer there would be to share the Booty. After some Consultation, they resolved to attack *Puna*, an Hamlet or Village consisting of about thirty Houses, and a small Church. There is a Lieutenant who commands there, and the Inhabitants were pretty well to pass. Accordingly he landed in a dark Night, surprized the Inhabitants in their Beds, and so took Possession of the Place with very little Trouble. After plundering this Town, they repaired to the Island of *Lobos de la Mar* in order to consider what they should do next; and, at the Way, took a small Spanish Bark, well furnished with

Provisions.

Provisions. A quit their own continue their V they left the St. having taken ou their Resolution in hopes all the however, they of the Dutch S Goods sold, and to shift as w Captain *Dampier* naked to his Ow and their Misfor Tempter, which bearings, that fe him; and, when who have Comm of. Yet, as ther so eminent a Ma Public expressed Captain *Dampier* Distrés; and he Honour to kiss h of the Dangers h however, were fo they resolved nev and this, with the unlucky Voyage. World once more, commanded by C whose Voyage wil the present I shall

41. It is very clear in this Voyage, w cely written, as ar no mighty Force re in the South Seas have suffered him to preserve the Affe that he might have and his Owners, in against him. It is Care and Attention ever wanting Provid Voyage was, that S themselves, and wh of any kind of Disci Body of Men super as well provided wit broke, exercised, an which others do not diguous Advantage, made in the *West I* and the Stories we h drawn many People they are superior to are dangerous Mist they spread; and, taken to refute them consider, what is r under regular Com acquainted with the manded by experien Arms that constitute the Men have acqui Officers, it is certain. Service, is by no m Country where he n Buccaneers, they w Qualifications, regul they were pretty n their Success was o no Authority, but v their own People, a conducting them, fo and Discretion: Wh cesses were mere to

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Provisions. After some Consultation, it was resolved to quit their own Ship, and to endeavour, in this Bark, to continue their Voyage to the *East Indies*. Accordingly they left the *St. George* at Anchor under this Island, after having taken out all that was valuable; and then executed their Resolution of sailing to the *Indies*, where they were in hopes all their Troubles would have ended. In this, however, they were quite mistaken; for, arriving in one of the *Dutch* Settlements, their Bark was seized, their Goods sold, and themselves turned loose into the World to shift as well as they could: This was the End of Captain *Dampier's* unfortunate Expedition, who returned naked to his Owners, with a melancholy Relation of his and their Misfortunes, occasioned chiefly by his own odd Temper, which made him so self-sufficient and overbearing, that few or none of his Officers could endure him; and, when once Dissension begins amongst those who have Command, all Success may be justly despaired of. Yet, as there was a Degree of Compassion due to so eminent a Man, notwithstanding all his Failings, the Public expressed it, in the strongest manner possible, to Captain *Dampier*, on his coming home, even in this Distress; and he was introduced to the Queen, had the Honour to kiss her Hand, and to give her some Account of the Dangers he had run through. The Merchants, however, were so sensible of his Want of Conduct, that they resolved never to trust him more with any Command; and this, with the Poverty brought upon him by his last unlucky Voyage, obliged him to make the Tour of the World once more, in Quality of Pilot, on board the *Duke*, commanded by Captain *Woodes Rogers*: The History of whose Voyage will be the Business of the next Section; the present I shall close with a very few Remarks.

41. It is very clear, from the several Particulars recorded in this Voyage, which I take to be as honestly and sincerely written, as any I have ever met with, that there is no mighty Force requisite to carry on a Privateering War in the South Seas; since, if *Dampier's* Temper would have suffered him to live on such Terms as were requisite to preserve the Affections of his People, it is most certain, that he might have raised an immense Fortune for himself, and his Owners, in spite of any thing the *Spaniards* did against him. It is also very apparent, that, with due Care and Attention, there was no sort of Danger of their ever wanting Provisions. But the thing that ruined their Voyage was, that Spirit of Discord which remained among themselves, and which, at last, rendered them incapable of any kind of Discipline. It is Command that makes one Body of Men superior to another equal in Number, and as well provided with Arms; for, by this means, they are broke, exercised, and know their Duty in all Situations, which others do not; and this naturally gives them a prodigious Advantage. The late Attempts that have been made in the *West Indies* seem to discredit this Opinion; and the Stories we have been told of the Buccaneers, have drawn many People to imagine, that, in such Attempts, they are superior to Men under regular Command. These are dangerous Mistakes, such as may have fatal Effects, if they spread; and, therefore, every Opportunity should be taken to refute them. In order to do this, we must first consider, what is meant by regular Troops, and Men under regular Command; which certainly implies, Men acquainted with the Principles of their Profession, commanded by experienced Officers. It is not the Cloth and Arms that constitute a regular Force, but the Knowledge the Men have acquired in military Discipline; and, as to Officers, it is certain, that an old Man, who has never seen Service, is by no means fit for Command, especially in a Country where he never set his Foot before. As to the Buccaneers, they were, with respect to their personal Qualifications, regular Troops, and, in time of Action, they were pretty much under Command; to which all their Success was owing: But then, as their Officers had no Authority, but what they derived from the Choice of their own People, and held this only during their Pleasure, there was no such thing as forming regular Designs, or conducting them, for any Length of Time, with Prudence and Discretion: Whence it came to pass, that all their Successes were mere temporary Advantages, not at all bene-

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ficial in their Consequences to themselves, or their Country. To say the Truth, the only Use that can be made of them, is to prove, that much greater Things may be done by Men better commanded. There is the same Difference between Buccaneers and regular Forces, as between Men of strong Parts without Education, and Men of equal Parts with the Advantages of Learning: The former sometimes produce lively and surprising Pieces, but all excellent and lasting Works come from the latter. I do not know whether this Comparison will at first Sight be well relished; but, I am confident, that, when thoroughly considered, it will be found perfectly just, and equally agreeable to Reason and Experience. The next Remark that I shall make on this Voyage is, that it fully demonstrates the Capacity of our Seamen, to do any thing that can be expected from Persons skilful in that Profession. We see, by the Instance of Captain *Clipperton's* sailing, with twenty-one Men, in a Bark of ten Ton, from the South Sea to *China*; by Mr. *Funnell's* doing the same thing in a Vessel not much bigger, and with very few more Men; and by Captain *Dampier's* doing the like, in Circumstances very little better; that this is not such a terrible, such an impracticable Navigation, as some People of late, for what Reasons I know not, have endeavoured to represent it: And if great Advantages may arise to the Commerce of this Nation, by Voyages into this Part of the World, I think no Man in his Senses can be persuaded, that there is any thing very difficult, much less impossible, in pursuing them; since these Examples shew, that this is, in Fact, the easiest and the shortest Way to the *East Indies*, and to the richest and most valuable Parts of them. The Usage Captain *Dampier* met with in this, as well as in his former Voyage, and the Treatment of Mr. *Funnell*, and his People, at *Ambegna*, are Proofs sufficient of the Temper of the *Dutch*, and of their preferring the Interest of their Commerce to any Respect for their Allies. If we think this right in them, as one would imagine our Government did, from their never inquiring after those Subjects that were lost, or resenting the Usage those met with that escaped, Why are we not as careful of our own Trade? Why do we not prosecute it with the same Vigour? or, Why are we bound to have so much more Complaisance for our Allies, than they have for us? It seems to be a Matter quite out of Question, that Commerce is not of greater Consequence to them than to us: Both subsist by it, and both must be undone without it. I do not mean to insinuate, that we ought to differ with the *Dutch*, much less that we should invade their Settlements, or endeavour to ruin their Trade; all I aim at is, to shew how reasonable, and how practicable a thing it is, to extend our own, and how much therefore it ought to be our Study. To this I beg Leave to add, that as this was always right, so it is now become absolutely necessary: The Nation launches out into much larger Expences, than in former Times; and from hence it is evident, that, if she does not draw larger Advantages from Trade, she must be undone: This is a Truth of so great Consequence, that no Man, who loves his Country, can prevail upon himself to mince the Matter: Besides, all national Expence consisting in the Export of Wealth, it follows, that we ought, at this Juncture especially, to encourage such kind of Commerce, as may repair this Loss in the quickest and most effectual Manner. This Voyage, and several of the preceding, shew us, that here is a short and speedy Passage to very rich and pleasant Countries; from whence we may derive immediately large Quantities of Gold, exclusive of other valuable Commodities. Besides, we are now at War with *Spain*, and that Crown has very considerable Dominions in those Parts; where, though I believe they may be comparatively stronger than they are in the *American* Dominions, yet most certain it is, that they are every-where upon bad Terms with the Natives, and have a much greater Compas of Territory than they are able to defend. There is no doubt to be made, that two or three Ships, well manned, would be able to make a very profitable Voyage this Way. I would not be understood to be a warm Advocate for Privateering, which, I must confess, I think below the Dignity of the *British* Nation; but, as we were drawn into this War by the Depredations of the *Spanish* Pri-

Expedition, but with the Care of all things relating to it. These worthy Gentlemen were, as far as I have been able to learn; viz. Alderman *Batchelor*, *John Rumsley*, Esq; Mr. *James Hollidge*, Captain *Philip Freake*, *Christopher Shuter*, Esq; Sir *John Hawkins*, Mr. *Francis Rogers*, Mr. *Thomas Gelding*, Captain *Thomas Dover*, Mr. *Webb*, Mr. *John Duckinfield*, Mr. *John Corstley*, Mr. *William Saunders*, Mr. *John Grant*, Mr. *Daniel Hickman*, Mr. *Richard Hawksworth*, Mr. *Thomas Clements*, Mr. *Thomas Cowles*, Captain *Stephen Courtney*, Mr. *Lawrence Hollifer*, Merchants of *Bristol*, and Mr. *Palmer*, and Mr. *Alton*, with some other Gentlemen of *London*, who were not concerned till the Ships were at Sea. Their first Care was to make Choice of proper Officers, in which they were very fortunate: Captain *Woods Rogers*, who commanded in chief, was a bold, active, indefatigable Officer, one that would not give up his Opinion too readily to others, and who was not to be flattered by other Peoples giving up their Opinions to him. He had been a large Sufferer by the *French*, and was naturally no great Friend to that Nation; but his most singular Quality, and that which indeed recommended him to this Command, was a peculiar Art he had of maintaining his Authority over his Seamen, and his Readiness in finding out Expedients in the most difficult Conjunctions. Captain *Stephen Courtney* was a Man of Birth, Fortune, and of very amiable Qualities: He contributed considerably to the Expence of the Voyage, and took a Share in it, that he might see how it was managed, and be able either to prevent Misadventures, or, at least, to make a faithful Report of them. Captain *Thomas Dover*, who was third in Command, was a Proprietor also, and went for the same Reason. He was by Profession a Physician, and, towards the Decline of his Life, made a Noise in the World, by recommending the Use of crude Mercury. He was a Man of a rough Temper, and could not easily agree with People about him: But his unwarlike Disposition had one good Effect, which was this; that it hindered his making any Party to support him in his ill Humours. As for Captain *Edward Cooke*, who was second to Captain *Courtney*, he had been twice taken by the *French*, once by four *Dunkirk* Privateers, and again by two Men of War of fifty Guns. The Pilot, in the larger Ship, was Captain *William Dampier*, who was now to proceed for the fourth Time into the South Seas, where his Name was very well known, and, from his Exploits, terrible to the *Spaniards*, and they were also extremely careful in the Choice of their inferior Officers, and, as far as it was possible, even of their private Men.

2. The Proprietors, in the next Place, undertook to lay down Rules for the Conduct of the Voyage; which were digested into the following Piece, signed by a Committee of the Proprietors, and styled very properly *The Constitution*. It ran thus:

For the better Government, and regulating of Affairs of the present Voyage, we, whose Names are underwritten, Owners, and appointed Directors for the Ships *Duke* and *Duchess*, do hereby appoint and constitute Captain *Woods Rogers*, Captain *Thomas Dover*, Captain *William Dampier*, Mr. *Carlton Vanbrugh*, Mr. *Green*, Mr. *Fry*, Mr. *Charles Pope*, Mr. *Glendall*, Mr. *Bullett*, and Mr. *Wasse*, all Officers on board the *Duke*, to be Council on board the said Ship; and Captain *Stephen Courtney*, Captain *Cooke*, Mr. *William Siretton*, Mr. *Batbe*, *John Rogers*, Mr. *White*, and the Master, Officers on board the *Duchess*, to be Council on board the said Ship, in case they should be separated from each other; but, when in Company, the Officers of both Ships above-named are, conjunctly, at the Summons of the Captains *Rogers*, *Dover*, and *Courtney*, or any two of them, to come on board either Ship, and be the Council referred to in our general Orders, to determine all Matters and Things whatsoever that may arise, or be necessary for the general Good, during the whole Voyage. In case of Death, Sicknefs, or Desertion, of any of the above Officers of either Ship, the rest that are of the Council appointed as aforesaid for the Ship, shall convene on board their own Ship, and chuse another fit Person into that Office and Council. We farther require and direct, that all Attempts, Attacks, and Designs,

upon the Enemy, either by Sea or Land, be first consulted and debated, either in the Particular, if separated, or in the general Council, if together; and, as the Majority thereof shall conclude, how or when to act or do, it shall be indispensably, and without unnecessary Delay, put cheerfully in Execution. In case of any Discontents, Differences, or Misbehaviour, amongst the Officers and Men, which may tend to the Disturbance of the good Concord and Government on board, either the Men, or Persons, may appeal to the Captain to have a Hearing and Decision by a Council; or the Captain shall call a Council, and have it heard and decided, and may prefer or displace any Man according to Desert. All Decision and Judgment of this Council shall be finally determined by the Majority of Voices; and, in case of an Equality, Captain *Dover* is to have the double Voice, as President of the Council; and do accordingly order him to be President. All Matters transacted in this Council shall be registered in a Book by the Clerk appointed for that Purpose. Dated in *Bristol*, July the 14th, 1708.

John Batchelor, &c.

3. We have two Accounts of this Voyage, one by Captain *Rogers*, the other by Captain *Cooke*, and both in the manner of a Journal. I shall follow Captain *Rogers* chiefly; but, where it is necessary, shall take in explanatory Circumstances and Descriptions from Captain *Cooke*; yet, as they were both Eye-witnesses, and agreed pretty well in their Relations, I do not think it necessary to break the Thread of the Discourse, in order to mention their Names, but proceed, as near as may be, in the Words of Captain *Rogers*. All Things necessary being provided, says he, we were first to sail for *Cork*, in order to make up our Complement of Men; our Force standing thus: The *Duke*, Burden about 300 Tons, 30 Guns, and 170 Men, Captain *Woods Rogers* Commander, Captain *Thomas Dover* second Captain, with three Lieutenants, &c. and the *Duchess*, Captain *Stephen Courtney* Commander, Captain *Edward Cooke* second Captain, with three Lieutenants, Burden 270 Tons, 26 Guns, and 151 Men: Both Ships had legal Commissions from his Royal Highness Prince *George of Denmark*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, to cruise on the Coasts of *Peru* and *Mexico*, in the South Seas, against her Majesty's Enemies, the *French* and *Spaniards*, and to act jointly, as belonging to the same Owners, Merchants in *Bristol*. On the 15th of June, 1708. we towed down from *Hong-road* to *King-road*, in order to fit our Ship, and the better to keep our Seamen on board; where we continued till Monday August the 1st; and then, at eleven in the Forenoon, unmoored; and at two weighed, with our Comfort the *Duchess*, eight Sail of other Ships, and two Sloops; and having little Wind, and that Westerly, towed down about five Miles below the *Holmes*, where we anchored in about nine Fathom Water: At one in the Morning weighed, and made Sail with a small Easterly Breeze; shortened Sail, at eight, for our Comfort; and, at twelve, the Island of *Londy* bore West by South, distant about three Leagues; in the Evening, saw a Sail right a-head, which we chased till Night, and then shortened Sail for the Ships a-stern.

4. On the 5th of August, we had Sight of the *Irish* Shore; and, about eight in the Evening, we weighed with the Flood, a small Gale at East: It came on to blow, and veered to the Northward. We had a *Kinsale* Pilot on board, who endangered our Ship, it being dark and foggy. Before Day, he would have turned us into the next Bay to the Westward of *Cork*, had not I prevented it; which provoked me to chastise him for undertaking to pilot a Ship, since he understood his Business no better. The rest of our Company, except the *Diamond* and *Sheriffstone* Galley, got into *Cork* before us; only our Comfort lay in the Harbour's Mouth, till we came up with her. On the 9th, in the Afternoon, came in the *Hastings*, with the Fleet under her Convoy, which we left in *King-road*. We spent the Time, till the 27th of August, in adjusting all Things, and taking on board our fresh Men provided for us at *Cork*, and in discharging several we had brought from *Bristol*, and whom, by Experience, we knew not to be fit for our Purpose. On the 28th, in the Morning, we fell down to the *Spit-end*, by the *Hastings* Man of War, as our Comfort did the

The Night before: When I came without the *Spit-end*, I saluted the *Hastings* with seven Guns; she returned five, and I three for Thanks. We had now above double the Number of Officers usual in Privateers, and a large Complement of Men to each Ship. We took this Method of doubling our Officers, to prevent Mutinies, which often happen in long Voyages; and that we might have a large Provision for a Succession of Officers in each Ship, in case of Mortality. Our Ship was now so full, that we sent our Sheet-cable, and other new Store-cordage, to Mr. *Nobles Rogers*, at *Cork*, to make Room for our Men and Provisions, having three Cables besides, and being willing rather to spare that, than any thing else we had on board. Our Crew were continually marrying while we staid at *Cork*, though they expected to sail immediately. Among others, there was a *Dane* coupled by a Romish Priest to an *Irish* Woman, without understanding a Word of each other's Language, so that they were forced to use an Interpreter; yet I perceived, that this Pair seemed more afflicted at Separation, than any of the rest: The Fellow continued melancholy for several Days after we were at Sea. The rest, understanding each other, drank their Cans of Flip till the last Minute, concluded with a Health to our good Voyages, and their happy Meeting, and then parted unconcerned. Most of us, the chief Officers, embraced this Design of Privateering round the World, to retrieve the Losses we had sustained by the Enemy. Our Complement of Sailors in both Ships was 333, of which above one-third were Foreigners from most Nations; several of her Majesty's Subjects on board were Tinkers, Taylors, Hay-makers, Pedlars, Fiddlers, &c. one Negro, and about ten Boys. With this mixed Crew we hoped to be well manned, as soon as they had learnt the Use of Arms, and got their Sea Legs, which we doubted not soon to teach them, and bring them to Discipline.

5. On the first of September we took sailing Orders, the better to keep Company with the *Hastings* and Fleet; and, after having agreed with our Confort Captain *Courtney*, on Signals between us, which are so common, that I need not infer them here, and appointed Places of Rendezvous, in case of Separation, and how long to lie for each other at every Place, about ten in the Morning we came to sail with the *Hastings*, and about twenty Merchant Ships bound to the Southward and Westward, Wind at North and by West: We should have failed the Day before, but could not weigh and cast our Ships clear of the rest; some at that time drove, and the *Sherstone* Galley ran quite ashore on the *Spit*. In the Night it grew moderate Weather, and Captain *Paul* of the *Hastings* got her off to sail with us. Our Holds were full of Provisions, our Cables, a great deal of Bread, and Water-tanks between Decks, and 183 Men aboard the *Duke*, with 151 aboard the *Duchess*; so that we were very much crowded, not fit to engage an Enemy, without throwing Provision and Stores overboard. The next Day, we, and our Confort, stood out of the Fleet, to chase a Sail we saw to Windward. Our Ships failed as well as any in the Fleet, not excepting the Man of War; so that we began to hope we should find our Heels, since we went so well, though derelict. We found the Chace to be a small Vessel coming into the Fleet from *Baltimore*. On the 4th, it blew fresh in the Morning: Captain *Paul* made a Signal for me, Captain *Courtney*, and Captain *Edwards*, Commander of the *Scipio*; and, after speaking with him, he sent his Boat for us, being larger than ours: We, with Mr. *Dover*, and Mr. *Vanbrugh*, went in her, and found Captain *Paul* aboard his Ship. He proposed to me and Confort, when he left the Fleet, which would be very soon, to cruise a few Days together off Cape *Finestre*. After having asked us what we wanted, that he could supply us with, he gave us Scrubbers, Iron Scrapers for the Ship-Bottom, a Speaking-trumpet, and other Things, that we had not; but he would accept nothing from us, because our Voyage would be long; but told us, he should be well pleased, if our Owners returned him the same Necessaries for his Ship when he came back. About six in the Evening we returned to our own Ship, and, having called all our Crew upon Deck, we acquainted them whither we were bound, and what our Designs were, that, in case any Disputes had arisen,

we might have sent the Mutineers home in her Majesty's Ship of War; but there was nobody at all dissatisfied, except one poor Fellow, who was to have been Tything-man that Year, and was apprehensive his Wife would be obliged to pay forty Shillings for his Default; but, when he saw every body else easy, and strong Hopes of Plunder, he likewise grew quiet by degrees, and drank as heartily as any body, to the good Success of the Voyage.

6. On the 10th, about six in the Morning, we saw a Sail, to which we immediately gave Chace: About three in the Afternoon we came up with her, and then the bore downright upon us, shewing Swedish Colours: I fired twice at her, before she brought to; then went aboard her with my Yawl, Captain *Courtney's* Boat being just before me. We examined the Master, and found he came round *Scotland and Ireland*; we suspected he had contraband Goods on board, because some of the Men, we found drunk, told us, they had Gunpowder and Cables on board: So we resolved to examine her strictly, put twelve Men on board her, and kept the *Swedes* Master, and twelve of his Men, on board our Ships. The next Morning, after we had examined the Men, and searched the Ship, we found it difficult to prove she was a Prize; and not willing to hinder Time to carry her into any Harbour, to examine her farther, we let her go without the least Embezzlement. The Master gave me two Hams, and some rough-dried Beef; and I gave him a dozen Bottles of *Redbreast* Cyder. They saluted us at parting with four Guns: She belonged to *Stadt* near *Hamburg*, and was a Frigate-built Ship, of 22 Guns, about 270 Tons. While I was on board the *Swede* Yesterday, our Men mutiny'd; the Ring-leaders being our Boatwain, and three other inferior Officers. This Morning, the chief Officers having kept with me in the After-part of the Ship, we confined the Authors of this Disorder, in which there was not one Foreigner concerned: We put ten of the Mutineers in Irons, a Sailor being first soundly whipped for exciting the rest to join him; others, less guilty, I punished and discharged; but kept the chief Officers all armed, fearing what might happen. The Ship's Company seeming too much inclined to favour the Mutineers, made me more easy to forgive: Some begged Pardon, and others I was forced to wink at: However, they began to find their Design frustrated, which was to make a Prize of the *Swede*, who they alleged had much contraband Goods aboard, though we could see none: Yet they obstinately insisted, that we apparently gave away their Interest, by letting her go without plundering her. I laboured to convince them of the Necessity of our making Dispatch; and that, if we could make her a Prize, it would unman our Ships too much to send her into any Port; besides other Disadvantages it might procure to ourselves and Owners, should we be mistaken; which pacified the major Part: Our Confort's Men were at first very uneasy; but, finding the Malecontents quelled aboard our Ship, they all kept quiet. We had afterwards a great deal of Trouble with these Fellows, who did us more Mischief when in Irons than before, by stirring up the Men to release them; pretending, that they suffered in the Cause of the Crew, and threaten the Crew ought to rise and rescue them. This determined me to make some Examples; but I still resolved to go the mildest way to work I could; and therefore began with removing *Giles Cabb* from being Boatwain, and made another in his room, without intending any thing faster. But, on September 4, this intestine Storm rose higher and ever; for a Sailor came up to me at the Steerage-post, with the best Part of the Ship's Company at his Heels, demanding the Boatwain immediately out of Custody. Upon this, I desired him to speak with me by himself in the Quarter-deck; which he did; where the Officers assisting me, I seized him, and made one of his chief Contraband whip him. This Method I thought best for breaking an unlawful Friendship among themselves, which, without different Corrections to other Offenders, allayed the Tumult, so that now they began to submit quietly, and those in Irons begged Pardon, and promised Amendment. This Mutiny would not have been easily laid, were it not for the Number of our Officers, which we began to find very necessary to bring our Crew to Order and Discipline; which is always very difficult in Privateers, and without which it

impossible to carry. The next Evening *Crown* Galley in Irons, by the Command of him so harshly, out of Irons, on the Promises of dutiful them as were petulant, and all on account, that now we were in good Humour, their Expectations, would not willing, and were therefore Gratitude for having

7. On the 18th, right a-head, between we chased, and at a small *Spanish* Ship with several Men and sundry sorts of Goods. Mornings, bore away off-and-on, and sent the Owners Agents to treat about ransom, visions, and other eight in the Morning Town, with a Letter there, wherein they of the Bark, alleging to in those Islands, and the Kings of *F* by the latter, that there by a *French* representing the *D* living upon Permitt Bark were not imm would be made on t table at home for int Letter was signed by *John Crape*, and *G Rogers*, and Capt *Anlwer*; importing to the *Spanish* Vessel could not justify pations, without son jely, the *English* b ing-ground, and th case Mr. *Vanbrugh* away all the Prison any Detriment to the and seek their Redr there being no Tim *Vanbrugh*, they wou another Letter came *Poulden*, the Consul *English* Men of W ver committed Ho should insist on ran made Prisoners in E nor there delivered were brought in by in our Custody might excepting a Present the aforesaid Consul the above-mentio to the same Purport the Value of 450 P the Bark, in Wine, to prevent incens ing but Reparation Captains *Rogers* and ening to cruise am their lost Time, and unless they received the Morning, we th Ship; but, soon af

impossible to carry on any distant Undertaking like ours. The next Evening, we put our old Boatswain on board the *Crown* Galley in Irons; and sent home Letters to our Owners, by the Commander, to justify our Conduct in treating him so harshly. The next Day I discharged the Prisoners out of Irons, on their humble Submission, and most solemn Promises of dutiful Behaviour for the future: Such among them as were petty Officers, we restored to their Commands, and all on board were forbid to disobey or reproach them, on account of any past Errors in their Conduct; so that now we were all quiet again, and the Crew in exceeding good Humour, Things having ended much beyond their Expectations, there not being a Man in Irons who would not willingly have compounded for a Whipping; and were therefore excessive brisk and diligent to shew their Gratitude for having escaped it.

7. On the 18th, at five in the Morning, we saw a Sail right a-head, between *Fuerteventura* and *Grand Canary*: We chased, and at ten came up with and took her, being a small *Spanish* Ship, bound from *Teneriff* to *Fuerteventura*, with several Men and Women Passengers, and laden with sundry sorts of Goods: The next Day, at eight in the Morning, bore away for *Oratavia* Road, where we stood off-and-on, and sent away the Prize's Boat, with one of the Owners Agents, a Priest, and the Master of the Prize, to treat about ransoming the Vessel, and to get Wine, Provisions, and other Necessaries, for both Ships. About eight in the Mornings, of the 20th, a Boat came from the Town, with a Letter from the *English* Merchants residing there, wherein they expostulated with us for making a Prize of the Bark, alleging, that there was a free Trade agreed to in those Islands, between her Majesty of *Great Britain*, and the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, so religiously observed by the latter, that they had caused an *English* Ship, taken there by a *French* Privateer, to be restored: And farther, representing the Danger that might arise to themselves, living upon Permission in the Enemy's Country, if the said Bark were not immediately restored, for which Reprials would be made on them; as also, that we should be answerable at home for interrupting the settled Commerce. This Letter was signed by *John Poulden*, Consul, *Bernard Walsh*, *John Crope*, and *George Fitzgerald*, Merchants. Captain *Rogers*, and Captain *Courtney*, immediately returned an Answer; importing, that, having no Instructions relating to the *Spanish* Vessels trading among those Islands, they could not justify parting with the Bark on their bare Opinions, without some Order or Proclamation of her Majesty; the *English* being protected there only on Anchoring-ground, and the Bark being taken at Sea: That, in case Mr. *Vanbrugh* were not restored, they would carry away all the Prisoners they had; and, if they apprehended any Detriment to the Factory, they might ransom the Bark, and seek their Redress in *England*. They desired Dispatch, there being no Time to lose; and, upon sending back Mr. *Vanbrugh*, they would release their Prisoners. At Night another Letter came in Answer to this, from Mr. *William Poulden*, the Consul; the Effect whereof was, That the *English* Men of War were civilly received there, and never committed Hostilities; and that it was strange we should insist on ransoming any *Spaniards*, who were never made Prisoners in *England*, or elsewhere: And the Governor there delivered up to him any *English* Prisoners that were brought in by Privateers; wherefore he desired those in our Custody might be dismissed, and the Bark discharged, excepting a Present of Wine in Return. With this, from the aforesaid Consul at the City *Laguna*, came another from the above-mentioned Merchants at *Oratavia* Port, much to the same Purport with the others, only offering to pay the Value of 450 Pieces of Eight, the Sum demanded for the Bark, in Wine, Brandy, Sugar, Oil, Barley, and Greens, to prevent incensing the Natives against them, not questioning but Reparation would be made them in *England*. The Captains *Rogers* and *Courtney* replied at the same time, threatening to cruise among the Islands, to make Amends for their lost Time, and to cannonade the Town of *Oratavia*, unless they received Satisfaction. On the 22d, at four in the Morning, we stood in for the Shore, making a clear Ship; but, soon after, we saw a Boat coming, with our

Owners Agent, and Mr. *Croft*, one of the *English* Merchants, bringing five Buts of Wine, and other Refreshments. We lay by off the Town, took the Goods out of the Prize, sold the Bark to Mr. *Croft* for 450 Dollars, and put the Prisoners aboard her. Thus ended this troublesome Affair, and we were once more at Liberty to mind our own Concerns, and to think of prosecuting our Voyage, which we did, after first holding a Committee, where the Whole of the late Transaction was candidly examined, and unanimously approved; which Method, for every body's Security, we steadily pursued through the whole Voyage; and felt the happy Effect of it on our Return, when every Transaction appears in its proper Light to our Owners.

8. On the last of September we ran by *Santa Lucia*, one of the Cape de Verd Islands; and, by eight in the Morning, being very near the West End of the Island of *St. Vincent*, we bore away between it and the Island of *St. Antony*, and then into the Harbour of *St. Vincent*; and, about eleven a Clock, came to an Anchor in ten Fathom Water, within the Rock: Then seeing several Men ashore, and knowing the Island not to be inhabited, Captain *Cooke* went in the Pinnace armed, to see what they were, and found them to be *Portuguese*, come from the Island of *St. Antony* to catch Sea Tortoises, or, as the Seamen call them, Turtles; who told him, we might wood and water here. This Island lies in Latitude of 16° 55' N. and 25° 36' Longitude from the Meridian of *London*. There are on it great Plenty of *Guiney* Hens, some Hogs and Goats; and, in the Road, we caught Plenty of Fish. In the Woods there are abundance of large Spiders, as big as small Walnuts; and their Webs very troublesome to get thro', being as strong as ordinary Threads, and very many of them. While we lay here, new Disturbances arose amongst the Men in relation to Plunder; for here we had an Opportunity of purchasing Things, and therefore every Man wished, that he had something to purchase with. The Effects taken in the late Prize occasioned these Heart-burnings; to put an End to all which, and to fix the People in a firm Resolution of doing their Duty, we determined to settle this Affair at once, by framing such Articles, as, without giving our Owners any Ground of Complaint, might inspire the Seamen with Courage and Constancy, and make them as willing to obey, as their Officers were ready to command. It cost some Trouble, to be sure, to adjust and settle these Articles; but that was thoroughly compensated, by our finding, that they effectually answered our Purpose; and that, among such a Number of People, there was not one who refused to comply. This Paper was drawn up in the following Terms.

The Articles to be observed on board the Duke and Duchels.

1. THAT all Plunder, taken on board any Prize by either Ship, shall be equally divided between the Companies of both Ships, according to each Man's respective whole Shares, as shipped by the Owners, or their Orders.

2. That what is Plunder shall be adjudged by the superior Officers and Agents in both Ships.

3. That if any Person on board either Ship do conceal Plunder, exceeding the Value of a Piece of Eight, during twenty-four Hours after the Capture of any Prize, he shall be severely punished, and lose his Share of the Plunder. The same Penalty for being drunk in the Time of Action, or disobeying the superior Officer's Command, or concealing himself, or quitting his Post in Sea or Land Service.

4. If any Prize be taken by Boarding, then whatsoever is taken shall be every Man's own, as follows; viz. a Sailor, 10 *l.* any Officer below a Carpenter, 20 *l.* a Mate, Gunner, Boatswain, and Carpenter, 40 *l.* a Lieutenant or Master, 80 *l.* and the Captains, 100 *l.* each, above the Gratuity promised by the Owners to such as shall signalize themselves.

5. Public Books of Plunder are to be kept in each Ship, attested by Officers; and the Plunder to be appraised by the Officers chosen, and divided as soon as possible after the Capture; every Person to be sworn and searched as soon

as they come aboard, by such Persons as shall be appointed for that Purpose; the Person or Persons refusing shall forfeit their Share of the Plunder as above.

6. In Consideration that Captain Rogers, and Captain Courtney, to make both Ships Companies easy, have given the whole Cabin-plunder, which, in all Probability, is the major Part, to be divided as aforesaid, we do voluntarily agree, that they shall have 5 *l.* per Cent, to each of them, over and above their respective Shares, in Consideration for what is their Due out of the Plunder aforesaid.

7. That a Reward of twenty Pieces of Eight shall be given to him who first sees a Prize of good Value, or exceeding fifty Tons in Burden.

8. That such of us as have not already signed to the Articles of Agreement, indented with the Owners, do hereby oblige themselves to the same Terms and Conditions as the rest of the Ships Companies have done, half Wages and half Shares.

9. And for the true Execution of the above Articles, according to the Intent and Meaning thereof, and to prevent Frauds relating to Plunder, we do actually agree, that four Men shall be chosen out of the *Duke*, and four Men out of the *Duchess*, two for the Ship's Company, and two for the Officers of each Ship, who are to receive Plunder into their Possession, and to search every Man aboard, and coming from each Prize; and we make this public, to the end that no Person, either Officer, or Fore-mast-man, may refuse being searched by those Men chosen to that Purpose, on Penalty of losing their Shares in the Prize and Plunder, and undergoing such Punishment as the Captains shall think proper to inflict on them.

To which Articles of Agreement we have set our Hands, as our full Intent and Meanings, without any Compulsion, dated October 7. 1708.

Signed by the Officers and Men of both Ships.

9. We were at this time under some Difficulties upon another Account: We had sent our Linguist on shore to get Refreshments. After staying two Days, in which time we heeled and cleaned our Ships, and got Wood and Water on board, our Boat returned with nothing but Limes and Tobacco, and no News of our Linguist: But, soon after, there came another Boat, belonging to that Part of the Island where the Governor lives, with his Deputy Governor, a Negro, who brought Limes, Tobacco, Oranges, Fowls, Potatoes, Hogs, Bananas, Mulk, Water-melons, and Brandy, which we bought of him, and paid in such Prize-goods as we had left of the Bark's Cargo, cheap enough. They are poor People, and will truck at any Price for what they want, in such Payments as they can make. We were now ready to fail, and, therefore, called a Council, to consider what was to be done with respect to our Linguist, who had promised the Deputy Governor to wait for him at the Water-side, but was not so good as his Word; and, therefore, as this appeared to be intirely his own Fault, the Officers of both Ships came unanimously to a Resolution, that we had better leave him behind, than suffer two Ships to wait for one Man who had disobeyed his Orders. We were the more inclined to do this, in order to set a proper Example, that other People might learn, when sent ashore, to comply with their Instructions, and come on board directly when they had done their Business, without flattering themselves, that fine Words, and fair Excuses, would atone for Breach of Orders, and the Delay of the Voyage, to gratify the Humours and Fancies of private Men. It was, indeed, but a very indifferent Place to leave him; but, on the other hand, as he knew the Language, was well acquainted with the People among whom he was left, and might easily find a Passage home, we persisted in our Resolution, and gave the necessary Directions for sailing as soon as possible, that we might not lose the Advantage of the Season, or be obliged to double *Cape Horn* at a wrong Time of the Year.

10. On the 8th of October, at seven in the Evening, after putting the Deputy Governor ashore, where he mult lie in a Hole of the Rocks, there being no House on that Part of the Island, we sailed, our Comfort having got before us, and lying with a Light for us. There were

several Negroes on the Island, that came from *St. Nicolas*, and *St. Antonio*, to make Oil of Turtle, there being very good green Turtle at this time of the Year, which I sometimes allowed our Men to eat; they have likewise wild Goats, but in no great Plenty, wild Asses, Guinea Hens, Kerlews, and abundance of Sea Fowls. Captain Dampier, and others aboard our Ships, that had formerly put in at *St. Iago*, another of these *Cape de Verd* Islands, told us, that though this Island is not often frequented by Ships, yet it is preferable to *St. Iago*, for such as are outward-bound; because it is a much better Road for Ships, and more convenient for Water and Wood, and has better Landing. The Island is mountainous and barren; the plainest Part lies against this sandy Bay, where we rode. The Wood that grows in it is short, and fit for no Use but Firing. They have very large Spiders here, which weave their Webs so strong betwixt the Trees, that 'tis difficult to get through them: Where we watered, there is a little Stream, that flows down the Hill, from a Spring, and is very good; but, in other Parts, it is brackish. This Island was formerly inhabited, and had a Governor; but is now only frequented, in the Season for catching Tortoises, by the Inhabitants of the other Islands, who are, for the most part, Negroes and Mulattoes, and very poor. The Stock of wild Goats in this Island is almost destroyed by the People of *St. Nicolas* and *St. Antonio*. The Heats were excessive to us, who came newly from *Europe*; so that several of our Men began to be sick, and were blooded. Some of our Officers, that went ashore to hunt, could meet no Game, but a wild Ass, which, after a long Chace, they got within Shot, and wounded; yet he afterwards held out so as to tire them, and they returned empty and weary. These Islands are so well known, that I need not say much of them: They are ten in Number, of which *St. Iago*, *St. Nicolas*, *Bonavista*, *St. Antonio*, *Brava*, *Mayo*, and *Fuogo*, are inhabited; the latter is so named from a Volcano. *St. Iago* is much the largest and best, and the Seat of the chief Governor: It produces a small Matter of Indico, Sugar, and Tobacco, which, with their Goat-skins, and others, they send to *Lisbon*. The Capital is of the same Name, and the See of a Bishop. There is also a Town, called *Ribera Grande*, which is said to consist of 500 Houses, and has a good Harbour towards the West. The Air of this Island is not very wholesome, and the Soil uneven. Their Valleys produce some Corn and Wine. Their Goats are fat, and good Meat; and the Shes are said to bring three or four Kids at a time, once in four Months. *St. Nicolas* is the best-peopled next to *St. Iago*. The Island *Mayo* has a great deal of Salt, naturally made by the Sun, from the Sea-water which is left from time to time in Pits on shore: It is known, they load many Ships with that Commodity in a Year, and are able to furnish some Thousands, had they Vent for it. The fine *Marroquin* Leather is made of their Goat-skins. The other inhabited Islands afford more or less of Provisions: They have their Name from *Cape Verd*, on the *African* Coast, from whence they lie about 160 Leagues to the Westward. In our Passage towards the Coast of *Brazil*, some new Disputes arose amongst the Men; and, after various Consultations, it was resolved, that one *Page*, who was a second Mate on board the *Duchess*, should be sent to serve on board the *Duke*, from whence Mr. *Ballet* was to remove on board the *Duchess*. Captain *Cooke* was sent to execute this Order; but *Page* refused to obey it; upon which a Dispute followed, that ended in Blows: However, *Page* was at last brought on board our Ship, where, being charged with Mutiny, he desired to go to the Head to end himself, before he made his Defence; which being permitted, he jumped over-board, in hopes of getting back to the *Duchess*, while both the Captains were absent; but he was taken up, brought on board again, and punished, which put an End to this Diffension.

11. On the 18th of November, we anchored before the Island of *Grande* in eleven Fathom Water. While we lay here, there were new Quarrels, and things had certainly come to a great Height on board the *Duchess*, if Captain Courtney had not put eight of the Ringleaders immediately into Irons, which frightened the rest, and, in all Probability, prevented an Attempt to run away with the Ship: Yet

did not quite free in the Afternoon Woods, thinking Sparks ran away Night were for fire really by Monkey Water, hollowing again. About Quarter-deck spied board; but they made our People that ran away, of them off the Island, immediately sent the coming up near no Purpose; at rowed in the Canoe a Friar, and had Mines, I suppose. The Friar had just full of Wood, as us he had some not run away wide hide, knew our Father back. The and was brought Slaves, that rowed where our Surgeon in two Hours time could; but he was and the Death of Justice in *Portugal*. Men were taken a Month we left this a short Description.

12. The Island a small Cliff and Middle of the high there is a small rises in three little the Island is the least it appears alike on round white Rocks to *Grande*, between in. On the Starboard the Main is much belt Way, when y the Starboard Side to the Watering-co to the fresh-water most Point of the is between small little the second Cove up behind the first Port two Islands. This are two other Cove between them, but this Cove. We found less than ten know or found the North-east about The Island of *Grande* Land, and so is the Water-side is thick abounds with Mon of good Timber, Oranges and Lem Woods. The Ne Rum, Sugar, and tho' not good to in Fowls and Hogs, son are cheap, but Corn, Bananas, and Pine-apples, except Calfado, (the) which they call have no kind of Salt most of the Time sun being right ov

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did not quite free us from ill Humours; for, on the 25th, in the Afternoon, two *Irish* Land-men stole into the Woods, thinking to get away from us, though two such Sparks ran away the 3d from the *Duchess*, and in the Night were so frightened with Tygers, as they thought, but really by Monkeys and Baboons, that they plunged into the Water, hallowing to the Ship, till they were fetched aboard again. About four next Morning, the Watch on the Quarter-deck spied a Canoe, and called her to come on board; but they not answering, and striving to get away, made our People suspect they had either got our Men that ran away, or were coming, by Agreement, to fetch them off the Island which was uninhabited. We immediately sent the Pinnace and Yawlafter them; the Pinnace, coming up near the Canoe, fired, to stay them, but to no Purpose; at last, they wounded one of the *Indians* that rowed in the Canoe: He that owned and steered her was a Frier, and had a Quantity of Gold, which he got at the Mines, I suppose by his Trade of confessing the Ignorant. The Frier had just run the Canoe ashore on a little Island, full of Wood, as our Boats landed; and afterwards told us he had some Gold there. A *Portuguese*, that would not run away with the Father, because he had no Gold to hide, knew our People to be *English*, and called the Father back. The Man that was wounded could not move, and was brought by our Men, with the Father and several Slaves, that rowed the large Canoe, on board our Ship, where our Surgeon dressed the wounded *Indian*, who died in two Hours time. I made the Father as welcome as I could; but he was very uneasy at the Loss of his Gold, and the Death of his Slave; and said, he would seek for Justice in *Portugal* or *England*. The next Day, both our Men were taken and put in Irons; and the last Day of this Month we left this Place, of which I shall give the Reader a short Description.

12. The Island *Grande* is remarkably high Land, with a small Cliff and a Tip standing up on one Side, in the Middle of the highest Land, easy to be seen, if clear. And there is a small Island to the Southward without it, which rises in three little Hummocks: The nearest Hummock to the Island is the least; as we came in-and-out we saw it, and it appears alike on both Sides. There is also a singularly round white Rock, that lies on the Larboard Side nearest to *Grande*, between it and the Main at the Entrance going in. On the Starboard Side there are several Islands, and the Main is much like Islands, till you get well in. The best Way, when you open the Coves that are inhabited on the Starboard Side going in, is to get a Pilot to carry you to the Watering-cove within *Grande*; otherwise find in a Boat to the fresh-water Cove, which lies round the inner westernmost Point of the Island, and near a League in the Passage is between small Islands, but room enough, and bold: It is the second Cove under the first high Mount, and round behind the first Point you see when you are in between the two Islands. This is the Cove where we watered; there are two other Coves very good, with some Shole-banks between them, but no Shole-ground before we come to this Cove. We found all the Passage in, and seldom found less than ten Fathom Water, but had not Time to know or found the rest of the Coves. The Town bears North-east about three Leagues distant from this Cove. The Island of *Grande* is near about nine Leagues long, high Land, and so is the Main within: All you see near the Water-side is thick, covered with Wood. The Island abounds with Monkeys, and other wild Beasts; has Plenty of good Timber, Fire-wood, and excellent Water, with Oranges and Lemons, with Guavas growing wild in the Woods. The Necessaries we got from the Town were Rum, Sugar, and Tobacco, which they sell very dear, tho' not good to smoke, 'tis so very strong. We had also Fowls and Hogs, but the latter are scarce; Beef and Mutton are cheap, but no great Quantity to be had; *Indian* Corn, Bananas, and Plantains, Guavas, Lemons, Oranges, and Pine-apples, they abound with, but have no Bread, except *Cassado*, (the same Sort as is eaten in our *West Indies*) which they call *Faranada Pan*, Bread of Wood; they have no kind of Salading. We had fine pleasant Weather most of the Time we were here, but hot like an Oven, the Sun being right over us. The Winds we did not much

observe, because they were little and variable, but commonly between the North and the East. We cleared an ordinary *Portuguese* here, called *Emanuel de Santos*, and shipped another, whose Name was *Emanuel Goncalves*. I had *Newboff's* Account of *Brazil* on board; and, by all the Inquiry and Observation I could make, found his Description of the Country, its Product, and Animals, to be just, particularly of that Monster called *Liboya*, or the Roebuck Serpent; which I inquired after, thinking it incredible, till the *Portuguese* Governor told me, there are some thirty Feet long, as big as a Barrel, and that devour a Roebuck at once, from whence they had their Name. I was also told, that one of these Serpents was killed near this Place a little before our Arrival. Tygers are very common here on the Continent, but not so ravenous as those of *India*. The Product of *Brazil* is well known to be Red-wood, Sugars, Gold, Tobacco, Whale-oil, Snuff, and several sorts of Drugs. The *Portuguese* build their best Ships here. The Country is now become very populous, and the People delight much in Arms, especially about the Gold Mines, where those of all Sorts resort, but mostly Negroes and Mulattoes. 'Tis but four Years since they would be under no Government, but now they have submitted. Some Men of Repute here told me, the Mines increase very fast, and that Gold is got much easier at those Mines, than in any other Country. The *Brazilian* Women are very fruitful, have easy Labour, retire to the Woods, where they bring forth alone, and return after washing themselves and their Child; the Husbands lying a-bed the first twenty-four Hours, and being treated as if they had endured the Pains. The *Tapoyars*, who inhabit the inland Country on the West, are the most barbarous of the Natives, taller and stronger than the rest, and indeed than most *Europeans*. They wear little Sticks through their Cheeks and Under-lips, are said to be Man-eaters, and ule poisoned Darts and Arrows; they change their Habitations according to the Season, and live chiefly by Hunting and Fishing. Their Kings, and great Men, are distinguished by the manner of shaving their Crowns, and their long Nails. Their Priests are Sorcerers; make them believe, that the Devils appear to them in Form of Insects; and perform their diabolical Worship in the Night, when the Women make a dismal Howling, which is their chief Devotion: They allow Polygamy, yet punish Adultery by Death; and when young Women are marriageable, but courted by nobody, their Mothers carried them to their Princes, who deflower them, and this they reckon a great Honour. Some of these People were much civilized by the *Dutch*, and very serviceable to them, but still kept under Subjection to their own Kings. We continued our Voyage, coasting very far to the South, where we endured great Cold, which affected our Men extremely, inasmuch that a third Part of both Ships Companies fell sick; and this induced us to bear away for the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; which we, however, did not find very easily, on account of its being laid down differently in all the Charts; and Captain *Dampier* was likewise a good deal at a Loss, tho' he had been here so often, and tho' he had a Map of the Island in his Head, that agreed exactly with the Country when we came to see it: Which ought to induce Sea-officers to prefer what is properly their Business to idle Amusements; since, with all this Knowledge, we were forced to make Main-land of *Cebis* in order to find this Island, and did not strike it without Difficulty at last.

13. On February 1. 1709. we came before that Island, having had a good Observation the Day before, and found our Latitude to be 34° 10' South. In the Afternoon, we hoisted out our Pinnace; and Captain *Dover*, with the Boat's Crew, went in her to go ashore, though we could not be less than four Leagues off. As soon as the Pinnace was gone, I went on board the *Duchess*, who admired our Boat attempting going ashore at that Distance from Land. It was against my Inclination; but, to oblige Captain *Dover*, I let her go: As soon as it was dark, we saw a Light ashore. Our Boat was then about a League from the Island, and bore away for the Ships as soon as she saw the Lights: We put our Lights aboard for the Boat, tho' some were of Opinion, the Lights we saw were our Boat's Lights: But, as Night came on, it appeared too large for that: We fired

our

our Quarter-deck Gun, and several Musquets, shewing Lights in our Mizen and Fore-shrouds, that our Boat might find us whilst we were in the Lee of the Island: About two in the Morning our Boat came on board, having been two Hours on board the *Duchess*, that took them up a-stern of us; we were glad they got well off, because it began to blow. We were all convinced the Light was on the Shore, and designed to make our Ships ready to engage, believing them to be *French* Ships at Anchor, and we must either fight them, or wait Water. All this Stir and Apprehension arose, as we afterwards found, from one poor naked Man, who passed, in our Imagination, at present, for a *Spanish* Garifon, a Body of *Frenchmen*, or a Crew of *Pirates*. While we were under these Apprehensions, we stood on the Backside of the Island, in order to fall in with the Southerly Wind, till we were passed the Island; and then we came back to it again, and ran close aboard the Land that begins to make the North-east Side. We still continued to reason upon this Matter; and it is in a manner incredible, what strange Notions many of our People entertained from the Sight of this Fire upon the Island. It served, however, to shew Peoples Tempers and Spirits; and we were able to give a tolerable Guess how our Men would behave, in case there really were any Enemies upon the Island. The Flaws came heavy off the Shore, and we were forced to reef our Top-sails when we opened the middle Bay, where we expected to have found our Enemy; but saw all clear, and no Ships, nor the other Bay next the North-east End. These two Bays are all that Ships ride in, which recruit on this Island; but the middle Bay is by much the best. We guessed there had been Ships there, but that they were gone on Sight of us. We sent our Yawl ashore about Noon, with Captain *Dover*, Mr. *Fry*, and six Men, all armed: Mean while we and the *Duchess* kept turning to get in, and such heavy Flaws came off the Land, that we were forced to let go our Top-sail Sheet, keeping all Hands to stand by our Sails, for fear of the Winds carrying them away: But when the Flaws were gone, we had little or no Wind. These Flaws proceeded from the Land, which is very high in the Middle of the Island. Our Boat did not return; we sent our Pinnace with the Men armed, to see what was the Occasion of the Yawl's Stay; for we were afraid, that the *Spaniards* had a Garifon there, and might have seized them. We put out a Signal for our Boat, and the *Duchess* shewed a *French* Ensign. Immediately our Pinnace returned from the Shore, and brought abundance of Cray-fish, with a Man clothed in Goat-skins, who looked wilder than the first Owners of them. He had been on the Island four Years and four Months, being left there by Captain *Straddling* in the *Cinque-ports*; his Name was *Alexander Selkirk*, a *Scottsman*, who had been Master of the *Cinque-ports*, a Ship that came here last with Captain *Dampier*, who told me, that this was the best Man in her. I immediately agreed with him to be a Mate on board our Ship: 'Twas he that made the Fire last Night when he saw our Ships, which he judged to be *English*. During his Stay here, he saw several Ships pass by, but only two came in to Anchor: As he went to view them, he found them to be *Spaniards*, and retired from them; upon which they shot at him: Had they been *French*, he would have submitted; but chose to risque his dying alone on the Island, rather than fall into the Hands of *Spaniards* in these Parts; because he apprehended they would murder him, or make a Slave of him in the Mines; for he feared they would spare no Stranger that might be capable of discovering the South Seas. The *Spaniards* had landed, before he knew what they were; and they came so near him, that he had much ado to escape; for they not only shot at him, but pursued him to the Woods, where he climbed to the Top of a Tree, at the Foot of which they made Water, and killed several Goats just by, but went off again without discovering him. He told us, that he was born at *Largo*, in the County of *Fife*, in *Scotland*, and was bred a Sailor from his Youth. The Reason of his being left here, was a Difference between him and his Captain; which, together with the Ship's being leaky, made him willing rather to stay here, than go along with him at first; and, when he was at last willing to go, the Captain would not receive him. He had been at the Island before to wood and water, when

two of the Ship's Company were left upon it for six Months, till the Ship returned, being chased thence by two *French* South Sea Ships. He had with him his Cloaths and Bedding, with a Firelock, some Powder, Bullets, and Tobacco, a Hatchet, a Knife, a Kettle, a Bible, some practical Pieces, and his mathematical Instruments and Books. He diverted and provided for himself as well as he could; but, for the first eight Months, had much ado to bear up against Melancholy, and the Terror of being left alone in such a desolate Place. He built two Huts with Pimento-trees, covered them with long Grass, and lined them with the Skins of Goats, which he killed with his Gun as he wanted, so long as his Powder lasted, which was but a Pound; and that being almost spent, he got Fire by rubbing two Sticks of Pimento Wood together upon his Knee. In the lesser Hut, at some Distance from the other, he dressed his Victuals; and in the larger he slept, and employed himself in reading, singing Psalms, and praying; so that he said, he was a better Christian, while in this Solitude, than ever he was before, or than, he was afraid, he should ever be again. At first he never eat any thing till Hunger constrained him, partly for Grief, and partly for want of Bread and Salt: Nor did he go to Bed, till he could watch no longer; the Pimento Wood, which burnt very clear, served him both for Fire and Candle, and refreshed him with its fragrant Smell. He might have had Fish enough, but would not eat them for want of Salt, because they occasioned a Looseness, except Cray-fish, which are as large as our Lobsters, and very good: These he sometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as he did his Goats Flesh, of which he made very good Broth, for they are not so rank as ours: He kept an Account of 500 that he killed while there, and caught as many more, which he marked on the Ear, and let go. When his Powder failed, he took them by Speed of Feet; for his way of Living, continual Exercise of Walking and Running, cleared him of all gross Humours; so that he ran with wonderful Swiftness thro' the Woods, and up the Rocks and Hills, as we perceived when we employed him to catch Goats for us: We had a Bull-dog, which we sent, with several of our nimblest Runners, to help him in catching Goats; but he distanced and tumbled both the Dog and the Men, caught the Goats, and brought them to us on his Back. He told us, that his Agility in pursuing a Goat had once like to have cost him his Life: he pursued it with so much Eagerness, that he caught hold of it on the Brink of a Precipice, of which he was not aware, the Bushes hiding it from him; so that he fell with the Goat down the Precipice, a great Height, and was so stunned and bruised with the Fall, that he narrowly escaped with his Life; and, when he came to his Senses, found the Goat dead under him: He lay there about twenty-four Hours, and was scarce able to crawl to his Hut, which was about a Mile distant, or to stir abroad again in ten Days. He came at last to relish his Meat well enough without Salt or Bread; and, in the Season, had Plenty of good Turneps, which had been sowed there by Captain *Dampier's* Men, and have now overspread some Acres of Ground. He had enough of good Cabbage from the Cabbage-trees, and seasoned his Meat with the Fruit of the Pimento-trees, which is the same as *Jamaica* Pepper, and smells deliciously: He found also a black Pepper, called *Malaga*, which was very good to expel Wind, and against Griping in the Guts. He soon wore out all his Shoes and Cloaths by running in the Woods; and, at last, being forced to shift without them, his Feet became so hard, that he ran every-where without Difficulty; and it was some time before he could wear Shoes after we found him; for not being used to any so long, his Feet swelled, when he came first to wear them again. After he had conquered his Melancholy, he diverted himself sometimes with collecting his Name on the Trees, and the Time of his being left, and Continuance there. He was at first much pestered with Cats and Rats, that had bred in great Numbers, from some of each Species, which had got ashore from Ships that put in there to wood and water: The Rats gnawed his Feet and Cloaths whilst asleep, which obliged him to chase the Cats with his Goats Flesh, by which many of them came so tame, that they would lie about him in Hundreds, and soon delivered him from the Rats: He likewise tame

some Kids; a singing and dancing Favour of Providence but thirty Years Inconveniencies, his Cloaths were Goat-skins, of the same, th Needle, but a Back, he made Hoops, that were upon Stones. him some Shirt Worsted of his pole. He had the Island. At his forgot his Language understand him halves. We offered it, having drank, and it was some time He could give us the Island, than what Plums, which are Trees, which are Rocks. Pimento of sixty Feet high ton-trees higher, The Climate is of the Year June and July, a small Frost, and The Heat of the is not much Thund He saw no venom any other fort of been put ashore he *nandez a Spaniard*, the Continent of which, being more Island, capable, of People, and be easily dislodged Smith's Forge of made a little Tent The *Duchess* had we had a small T employed, a few forts, all very good Hours, we could were Sea-fowls in The Governor sent Goats a Day for of the Greens, and soon of the Scurvy it a very agreeable hot, nor too cold refitting our Ships Water, that which cent, being spoiled wife boiled up about might have done Vessels. We refitted The Sailors forgot Butter, and find worked on our R referred to our Ship *English* Lamb, the Exchange. We Necessaries on board we were informed Ships were coming 14. The Island 33° 49' South, 1 dian Distance from the Compass here in Length about I know of nothing what may be seen NUMB. 11.

some Kids; and, to divert himself, would, now-and-then, sing and dance with them, and his Cats: So that, by the Favour of Providence, and Vigour of his Youth, being now but thirty Years old, he came, at last, to conquer all the Inconveniences of his Solitude, and to be very easy. When his Cloaths were out, he made himself a Coat and a Cap of Goat-skins, which he stitched together, with little Thongs of the same, that he cut with his Knife. He had no other Needle, but a Nail; and, when his Knife was worn to the Back, he made others, as well as he could, of some Iron Hoops, that were left ashore, which he beat thin, and ground upon Stones. Having some Linen-cloth by him, he sewed him some Shirts with a Nail, and stitched them with the Worsted of his old Stockings, which he pulled out on purpose. He had his last Shirt on, when we found him in the Island. At his first coming on board us, he had so much forgot his Language, for want of Use, that we could scarce understand him; for he seemed to speak his Words by halves. We offered him a Dram; but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but Water since his being there; and it was some time before he could relish our Victuals. He could give us an Account of no other Product of the Island, than what we have mentioned, except some black Plums, which are very good, but hard to come at, the Trees, which bear them, growing on high Mountains and Rocks. Pimento-trees are plenty here, and we saw some of sixty Feet high, and about two Yards thick; and Cotton-trees higher, and near four Fathom round in the Stock. The Climate is so good, that the Trees and Grass are verdant all the Year round. The Winter lasts no longer than June and July, and is not then severe, there being only a small Frost, and a little Hail; but sometimes great Rains. The Heat of the Summer is equally moderate; and there is not much Thunder, or tempestuous Weather of any sort. He saw no venomous or savage Creature on the Island, nor any other sort of Beasts, but Goats, the first of which had been put ashore here, on purpose for a Breed, by Juan Fernandez a Spaniard, who settled there, with some Families, till the Continent of Chili began to submit to the Spaniards; which, being more profitable, tempted them to quit this Island, capable, however, of maintaining a good Number of People, and being made so strong, that they could not be easily dislodged from thence. February 3. we got our Smith's Forge on shore, set our Coopers to work, and made a little Tent for me to have the Benefit of the Air. The *Duchess* had also a Tent for their sick Men; so that we had a small Town of our own here; and every-body employed, a few Men supplied us all with Fish of several sorts, all very good, in such abundance, that, in a few Hours, we could take as many, as would serve 200. There were Sea-fowls in the Bay, as large as Geese; but eat filthy. The Governor never failed of procuring us two or three Goats a Day for our sick Men; by which, with the Help of the Greens, and the wholesome Air, they recovered very soon of the Scurvy; so that Captain *Dover* and I both thought it a very agreeable Seat, the Weather being neither too hot, nor too cold. We spent our Time, till the 10th, in refitting our Ships, taking Wood on board, and laying in Water, that which we brought from *England* and *St. Vincent*, being spoiled by the Badness of the Casks. We likewise boiled up about eighty Gallons of Sea-lions Oil, as we might have done several Tons, had we been provided with Vessels. We refined it for our Lamps, and to save Candles. The Sailors sometimes use it to fry their Meat, for want of Butter, and find it agreeable enough. The Men, who worked on our Rigging, eat young Seals, which they preferred to our Ship's Victuals, and said, it was as good as *English* Lamb, though I should have been glad of such an Exchange. We made what Haste we could to get all the Necessaries on board, being willing to lose no Time; for we were informed at the *Canaries*, that five stout *French* Ships were coming together to these Seas.

14. The Island of *Juan Fernandez* lies in the Latitude of $33^{\circ} 40'$ South, Longitude from *St. Mary's* $5^{\circ} 38'$, meridian Distance from the same $4^{\circ} 43'$ West, the Variation of the Compass here 6° East. This Island is high ragged Land, in Length about six Leagues, and about three in Breadth. I know of nothing about it that may endanger a Ship, but what may be seen. We anchored in the great Bay, our belt

NUMB. II.

Bower in forty Fathom Water, and then carried the Stream-anchor in with the Shore, which we let go in about thirty Fathom Water, mooring on and off about a Mile from the Bottom of the Bay, where we found plenty of Fish of several sorts, as Silver-fish, Snappers, Bonetoes, and a very large Cray-fish. The Wind here commonly blows off the Shore, sometimes very hard Squalls, else generally calm; and the Water we rode in very smooth, by reason of the Winding of the Shore. The Man we found here, mentioned at our coming to this Island, told me, it had never blown in above four Hours all the time he was there. The Situation of the Island is North-west and South-east, and receives its Name from its first Discoverer *John Fernandez* a Spaniard. It is all Hills and Valleys, and, I question not, would produce most Plants, if manured; for the Soil, in most Places, promises well; and there are some Turneps, and other Roots, which, I suppose, were formerly sowed; and there is great plenty of Wood and Water, as also of wild Goats, which we daily took with Dogs, or else shot them. In every Bay, there are such Multitudes of great Sea-lions, and Seals of several sorts, all with excellent Furs, that we could scarcely walk along the Shore for them, as they lay about in Flocks, like Sheep, the Young-ones bleating like Lambs. Some of the Sea-lions are as big as our *English* Oxen, and roar like Lions. They cut near a Foot in Fat, having short Hair, of a light Colour, which is still lighter in the young ones. I suppose they feed on Grass and Fish; for they come ashore by the Help of their two Fore-feet, and draw their Hinder-part after them, and lie in great Numbers in the Sun. These we kill chiefly to make Oil, which is very good; but it is an hard Matter to kill them. Both the Seals and Lions are so thick on the Shore, that we were forced to drive them away, before we could land, being so numerous, that it is scarce credible to those, who have not seen them; and they make a most prodigious Noise. Besides, we met with such plenty of Fish, as Pollock, Cavallos, Hakes, Old-wives, and large Cray-fish, as good as our Lobsters, &c. that, in four Hours, two Men in a Boat near the Shore, in five or six Fathom Water, might take enough to serve 200 Men. There are but few Birds: One sort burrows in the Earth, like Rabbits, which the Spaniards call *Pardelas*, and say, they are good to eat. One of them flew into the Fire at our sick Mens Tent. And here are also Humming-birds, about as big as Bees; their Bill about the Bigness of a Pin; their Legs proportionable to the Body; the Feathers mighty small, but of most beautiful Colours. They are seldom taken, or seen, but in the Evening, when they fly about, and sometimes, when dark, into the Fire. I had almost forgot the wild Cats here, which are of several Colours; but, being of the *European* kind, no more need be said of them. I believe there is no venomous Creature on the Island. This Island produces a sort of Cabbage-tree, which is in the nature of a Palm; the Cabbage small, but very sweet. The Tree is slender and strait, with Knots about fourteen Inches above one another, and no Leaves, except at the Top. The Branches are about twelve Feet in Length; and, about a Foot and an half from the Body of the Tree, shoot out Leaves, which are four Feet long, and an Inch broad, growing so regularly, that the whole Branch looks like one intire Leaf. The Cabbage, when cut out from the Bottom of the Branches, is about a Foot long, and very white; and, at the Bottom of it, grow Clusters of Berries, five or six Pounds Weight, like Bunches of Grapes, as red as Cherries, bigger than our black Cherries, with a large Stone in the Middle, and taste almost like our Haws. The Trunk of the Tree is eighty or ninety Feet long, being always cut down to get the Cabbage. We found here some *Guiney* Pepper, and Silk Cotton-trees, with several other sorts of Plants, whose Names I am not acquainted with. Pimento is the best Timber, and most plentiful, on this Side the Island; but very apt to split, till a little dried. We cut the longest and cleancit to split for Fire-wood. The Cabbage-trees abound about three Miles in the Woods, and the Cabbage very good. Most of them are on the Tops of the nearest Mountains. In the first Plain, we found store of Turnep-greens, and Water-creffes in the Brooks, which mightily refreshed our Men, and cleansed them from the Scurvy. The Turneps, Mr. *Selkirk* says, are good in our Summer Months, which

is Winter here; but, this being Autumn, they were all run to Seed: So that we could not have the Benefit of any thing, but the Greens. The Soil is a loose black Earth, the Rocks very rotten; so that, without great Care, it is dangerous to climb the Hills for Cabbages. Besides, there are abundance of Holes dug in several Places by a sort of Fowls, like Puffins, which fall in at once, and endanger the wrenching or breaking of a Man's Leg. Mr. Selkirk told me, he had seen Snow and Ice here in July; but the Spring, which is in September, October, and November, is very pleasant, when there was abundance of good Herbs, as Parsley, Purslain, Sitches in great plenty, besides an Herb found by the Water-side, which proved very useful to our Surgeons for Fomentations. It is not much unlike Feverfew, of a very grateful Smell, like Balm; but of a stronger and more cordial Scent. It is in great plenty near the Shore. We gathered many large Bundles of it, dried them in the Shade, and sent them on board, besides great Quantities that we carried in every Morning to strew the Tents, which tended much to the speedy Recovery of our sick Men, of whom none died, but two belonging to the *Duchess*; viz. *Edward Wilt*, and *Christopher Williams*.

15. On February 12. we held a Consultation, in which we made several Regulations for preserving Secrecy, Discipline, and strict Honesty, on board both Vessels; and, on the 17th, we settled another Matter of as great Importance, which was, that two Men from on board the *Duke* should be put on board the *Duchess*, and two Men from on board the *Duchess* on board the *Duke*, in order to see, that Justice was reciprocally done by each Ship's Company to the other. On the 28th, we hoisted both Pinnaces into the Water, to try them under Sail, with a Gun fixed in each of them, and whatever else was requisite to render them very serviceable small Privateers. We found the Nights very cold, and the Days not near so warm as might have been expected in that Latitude, where there never falls any Rain, but such Dews in the Night, as are equivalent to it, tho' the Air is, generally speaking, serene. On May 15. in the Evening, we saw a Sail: Our Comfort, being nearest, soon took her. She was a little Vessel, of sixteen Ton, from *Payta*, bound to *Cheripe* for Flour, with a small Sum of Money to purchase it; the Master's Name *Antonio Heliagos*, a *Mestizo*, or one begotten between an Indian and a Spaniard; his Crew eight Men, one of them a Spaniard, one a Negro, and the rest Indians. We asked them for News, and they assured us, that all the French Ships, being seven in Number, sailed out of these Seas six Months ago; and that no more were to return: Adding, that the Spaniards had such an Aversion to them, that at *Callao*, the Seaport for *Lima*, they killed so many of the French, and quarrelled so frequently with them, that none were suffered to come ashore there for some time before they sailed from thence. After we had put Men aboard the Prize, he hailed off close on a Wind for *Lobos*, having shot within it; and, had we not been better informed by the Crew of the Prize, might have endangered our Ships, by running in farther, because there are Shoals between the Island and the Main. There is a Passage for Boats to Windward to come into the Road, which is to the Leeward of these Islands, in a Sound between them. It is not half a Mile broad; but above a Mile deep; has from ten to twelve Fathom Water, and good Anchor-ground. There is no coming in for Ships, but to Leeward of the Islands. We went in with a small Weather-tide, though I never perceived it to flow above three Feet whilst we lay here. The Wind commonly blows Southerly, veering a little to the Eastward. On the Eastermost Island, (which was on our Larboard Side as we lay at Anchor in the Sound) there is a round Hummock, and behind it a small Cove, very smooth, deep, and convenient enough for a Ship to careen in. There we haled up, and fitted our little Frigate. The highest Part of the Island appears, in the Road, not much higher than a large Ship's Top-mast-head. The Soil is an hungry, white, clayish Earth, mixed with Sand and Rocks. There is no fresh Water, or green Thing, on the Islands. Here is abundance of Vulturs *alias* Carrion-crows, which looked so like Turkeys, that one of our Officers, at landing, blessed himself at the Sight, and hoped to fare deliciously here. He was so eager, that he would not stay till the Boat could put him

ashore; but leaped into the Water with his Gun, and, getting near enough to a Parcel, let fly at them: But, when he came to take up his Game, it stunk insufferably, and made us merry at his Mistake. The other Birds here are, Penguins, Pelicans, Boobies, Gulls, and a sort of Fowls like a Teal, that nestle in Holes on the Land. Our Men got Loads of them, which they skinned, and praised them for very good Meat. We found abundance of Balustras, and empty Jars, that the Spanish Fishermen had left ashore. All over this Coast they use Jars instead of Casks for Oil, Wine, and all other sorts of Liquids. Here is abundance of Seals, and some Sea-lions. The Seals are much larger than at *Juan Fernandez*; but the Fur not so fine. Our People killed several, with a Design to eat their Livers; but one of our Crew, a Spaniard, dying suddenly after eating them, I forbade the Use of them. Our Prisoners told us, they accounted these old Seals very unwholesome. The Wind, always blowing fresh over the Land, brought an ugly noisome Smell aboard from the Seals ashore; which gave me a violent Head-ach; and every body else complained of this noisome Smell. We found nothing so offensive at *Juan Fernandez*. Our Prisoners told us, they expected the Widow of the late Viceroy of Peru would shortly embark for *Acapulco*, with her Family and Riches, and stop at *Payta* to refresh, or sail near in Sight, as customary, in one of the King's Ships of thirty-six Guns; and that, about eight Months ago, there was a Ship, with 200,000 Pieces of Eight aboard, the rest of her Cargo Liquors and Flour, which had passed *Payta* for *Acapulco*. Our Prisoners added, that they left *Seignior Morel* in a stout Ship, with dry Goods, for *Lima*, recruiting at *Payta*, where he expected in a few Days a French built Ship belonging to the Spaniards to come from *Panama* richly laden, with a Bishop aboard. *Payta* is a common recruiting Place to those, who go to or from *Lima*, or most Parts to Windward, in their Trade to *Panama*, or any Part of the Coast of *Mexico*. Upon this Advice, we agreed to spend as much Time as possible cruising off of *Payta*, without discovering ourselves, for fear of hindering our other Designs.

16. On April 1. we took a Gallcon, by which I mean no more than a Ship built in that manner, commanded by two Brothers, whose Names were *Joseph* and *John Morel*. She was of the Burden of 300 Ton, laden with dry Goods and Negroes. The next Day we took another Prize; and, on the 7th, Mr. Vanbrugh was removed from the Council. But here our Authors differ: Captain *Rogers* says, that Captain *Dover* accused him of great Insolence to him; but Captain *Cooke* says, that it was Captain *Rogers* himself that accused him, for offering to vote with him, right or wrong, upon all Occasions. It was a great Pity these Disputes happened at that time, when all things were preparing for Action, and a Resolution taken to attack the Town of *Guiaquil*, however provided; in order to which, it was determined to send the *Duke* and the *Beginning* to *Payta*, the latter to go in and take a View of the Harbour, to see if there were any Ships in it, and afterwards to cruise with thirty Men, in hopes of falling in with the aforesaid Bishop. This was a Season of great Consultation, which was soon succeeded by Action. And here I chuse to follow both Authors, in order to avoid that Air of Partiality and Vanity, which appears in one of them, the World desiring to know only Facts, and not being at all edified with the Disputes amongst two or three Captains for Command, tho' it does not appear, that Captain *Courtney* was ever affected with this sort of Folly. On April 11. there was a grand Council held on board the *Duke*, wherein all things were fully considered, the Conquest of *Guiaquil* resolved on, and a Paper, in the Nature of Instructions from the Committee to the Commanders in chief, was prepared; which, however formal it might seem, was undoubtedly a very right Method, and kept, as well as taught, every Man in his Duty.

17. On April 12. it was resolved in a Committee, not to send the *Beginning* Prize into *Payta*, as had been agreed on, for fear of being discovered; but to attempt the Town of *Guiaquil*, the Enterprize to be conducted by the three Captains *Dover*, *Rogers*, and *Courtney*; the first to command a Company of Marines of seventy Men; the second a Company of Officers and Sailors of seventy-one Men; the third such another Company of seventy-three Men; Captain

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Dampier, with the Artillery, and, for a Reserve, upon Occasion, twenty-two Men: In all, 238. Captain *Edward Cooke* to command the *Duchess*, with Forty-two Men; Captain *Robert Fry*, the *Duke*, with forty Men; Total, 320 Men: The *Blacks*, *Indians*, and Prisoners, were about 266 more. On the 13th, we haled in for *Cape Blanco*, that is, *White Cape*; and at Noon it bore East South-east, distant ten Leagues: A Committee being held, it was agreed, for the Encouragement of Officers and Men, that all Bedding and Cloaths, Gold Rings, Buttons and Buckles, Liquors and Provisions, for their own Expence and Use, with all Sorts of Arms, except great Guns for Ships, should be allowed as Plunder, to be equally divided to every Man aboard, or ashore, according to his whole Shares; that all wrought Gold or Silver, Crucifixes, Watches, found about the Prisoners, or wearing Apparel of any Kind, should also be Plunder, except Money, Womens Ear-rings, loose Diamonds, Pearls, and Precious Stones; and, in case any thing was not sufficiently explained in this Order, a Committee should, after the Expedition, meet again, upon Application made to them; and determine what further ought to be reputed Plunder, without Fraud to the Owners, or Prejudice to the Officers and Men: That no Persons should misinterpret this Allowance, so as to secure or conceal either wrought or unwrought Gold or Silver, Pearls, Jewels, Diamonds, or Precious Stones, not found about Prisoners, or their wearing Apparel, which should be looked upon as a high Misdemeanour, and severely punished: That none should keep any Plunder, but deliver it to his Officer publicly, and carry it to the Place appointed to deposit it: That in case any Town, Fort, or Ship, were taken by Storm, the Encouragement agreed on at the Island of *St. Vincent* mentioned, should be allowed to each Man, over-and-above the Gratuity promised by the Owners to those that signalized themselves: But if any Party should be engaged with another of the Enemy, and defeat them, then all the Prisoners, and the Arms and Moveables about them, should be divided among them only who were in Action: All the Plunder taken ashore, to be taken aboard by Persons appointed for that Purpose, and entered in public Books, for the Satisfaction of all concerned. Those who should commit any Disorder ashore, disobey Command, quit their Post, discourage the Men, behave themselves cowardly in any Action, burn or destroy any thing without Orders, or debauch Prisoners, to lose all their Shares of the Plunder, and be severely punished otherwise. On the 15th in the Morning, we saw a Sail near the Shore; and, having little Wind, the *Duke's* Boat, commanded by Capt. Fry, and the *Duchess's*, by Capt. Cooke, rowed directly for her, going off in such Haste, that neither of us had the Swivel Guns we used to carry in the Boats, nor our full Complement of Men, only ten Muskets, four Pistols, and not much Powder and Shot, nor any Water; and rowed very hard to come with the Ship for the Space of six Leagues: The *Duke's* Boat coming first near her, she put out Spanish Colours, fired a Gun at them, and hoisted a Spanish Flag at the Main-top-mast-head: The *Duke's* Boat then lay-by for us to come up; we saw she was French built, and, by the Account the Prisoners had given us before, concluded it must be the Ship we had been so long cruising for, which was to carry the Bishop. Our Ships being almost out of Sight, and the Spaniards so near the Coast, and making the best of her Way to run ashore in a sandy Bay, we resolved to lay her aboard in each Bow, and accordingly made the best of our Way, I being then on her Weather Quarter, and Captain Fry on her Lee: We delighted to have told them we were Friends, till got out of the Way of their Stern-chace; but the *Duke's* Men, thinking the Spaniards had been going to give us a Volley, poured in their Shot among them, then laid in our Oars, and fell to it: The Dispute was hot for a long time, we keeping a constant Fire, and the Enemy answering; who killed two of Captain Fry's Men, and wounded one of his, and two of mine. One of the dead Men was Captain John Rogers, our second Lieutenant, and Brother to Captain Rogers, who behaved himself very well during the Action. The *Duke's* Boat, finding the Enterprize too difficult, bore away; and some time after we did the like. Captain Fry, having put some of his Men

aboard us, given us some Powder and Shot, and taken in our wounded Men, stood away for the Ship, whilst I made again to the Ship, resolving to keep her from the Shore, and, rather than fail, to clasp her aboard; the Spaniards, perceiving what we designed, edged off to Sea, and we after them. Our Ships came up apace, and we kept close to the Spaniard, sometimes firing at him. The *Duchess*, being come up, fired a Shot or two at him; and then he struck, and we clapt him aboard. The Men begged for good Quarter, and we promised them all Civility imaginable. This Ship came from *Panama*, and was bound for *Lima*, to be fitted out for a Man of War, the Captain having his Commission accordingly. There were seventy Blacks, and many Passengers, with a considerable Quantity of Pearls aboard; the Lading, Balleen, and something belonging to the Bishop; but they had set him on Shore, with several Passengers, where they touched last. The Vessel was about 270 Ton Burden, commanded by Don Joseph Arizabala, who told us, the Bishop had been landed at Point *St. Helena*, and gone by Land to *Guiaquil*. We found several Guns in the Hold, for the Ship would carry twenty-four, but had only six mounted. Many of the Passengers were considerable Merchants at *Lima*, and the briskest Spaniards I ever saw. When the French had this Vessel, she was called *la Lune d'Or*, the Golden Moon. Captain Cooke (whose Account we follow) remained aboard her, sending the Captain and Prisoners to our Ships.

18. On the 21st in the Morning, the *Beginning* was sent a-head towards Point *Arena*, on the Island of *Puna*, for fear of any Danger; but she found there only an empty Vessel riding close under the Point: She proved to be a new Spanish Bark, that had been sent to load Salt; but the Men, having Sight of us, thought proper to abandon her: All Apprehensions were now totally removed, and, at five in the Afternoon, the Transports rowed for the Town of *Guiaquil*, and at eleven saw a Light in the Town; whereupon we rowed as easy as could be, for fear of Discovery, till within a Mile of it; then heard a Centinel call to another, talk some time, and bid him bring Fire. Perceiving we were discovered, we rowed over to the other Side, against the Town, saw a Fire made where the Centinels talked, and, soon after, many Lights all over the Town; and, at the Water-side, heard them ring the Alarm-bell, fire several Volleys, and light a Fire on the Hill where the Beacon was kept, to give the Town Notice, that we were come up the River. Hereupon the Boats came to a Grappling, and such an hot Dispute arose among some of our chief Officers, that they were heard ashore; but the Spaniards, not understanding what they said, fetched an Englishman, and conducted him along the Shore, to interpret what they heard. However, before he came, the Dispute was over. This Account we had from that very Englishman, who afterwards came over to us, and proceeded in the Voyage. A Council was held in the Stern of one of the Boats, to resolve, whether we should land immediately, or stay till Day-break; and the Officers differing in their Opinions, it was agreed, since we did not know the Ground, and the Barks were not come up, which had near half the Men and the Artillery, to stay till Day-light, when it was hoped the Barks would join; and fell a little Way down the River to meet them, hearing several Musquet-shots in our Way, which, at first, we thought might be from the Spaniards along the Shore. On the 22d, at Break of Day, we saw one of our Barks at Anchor close under the Shore, within a Mile of the Town, and at Flood, the other coming up the River; then rowed back to the Bark which had fired those Musquets at some Fishermen passing by, whom we took. When all our Forces were joined, we held a Council in the Pinnace, proceeded up the River, and sent a Flag of Truce with the Captain of the French built Ship, the Governor of *Puna*, and another Prisoner; then towed up the Barks a-breast against the Town, and came to an Anchor. When the Captain of the French built Ship came to the Corregidor, or Mayor of the Town, he asked our Number, which the Captain magnified. The Corregidor answered, They were Boys, and not Men: And the Captain replied, He would find they were Men; for they had fought him bravely in their

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open Boats, though he had killed one of the Commanders Brothers, and wounded and killed others; and, therefore, advised him to agree for the Ransom of the Town, for, though he had 3000 Men, he would not be able to withstand them: To which the Corregidor replied, My Horse is ready. On the 23d. having towed the Barks close up before the Town, and brought them to the Pinnace, went up the River after some Vessels, and brought six of them to an Anchor by our Barks; we also took Possession of two new, of about 400 Ton each; then went ashore with a Flag of Truce, and the Governor came on board one of the Prizes, to agree about the Ransom of the Town and Ships; but could not be then concluded, but promised to meet the Captains again at seven in the Evening; yet he was not so good as his Word. The Boats went up the River again to see for more Ships, and returned without finding any: However, we took several Canoes, with some Plate on board. On the 24th in the Morning, the Governor came off again to treat: Our Captains thought to have seized him, because he had forfeited his Word in not returning over Night, and sending Word that Morning, that he had more People come into the Town; but he, alleging that it was contrary to a Flag of Truce, was let on Shore again, and an Hour's Time given him to get his Men ready. However, the Boat went and came two or three times with the Flag of Truce; but the Governor and Captains not agreeing, all Things were made ready, and towed nearer the Shore, wearing our Union Jack at our Main-top-mast-heads. At four in the Afternoon the Men landed, with so much Bravery, that the Spaniards fired only their first Volley, and fled, our People pressing them, and pursuing them to their Cannon, which they soon gained, only the Gunner, who was an Irishman, standing by them till he was wounded in four Places, whereof he died soon after, as we were informed by some Prisoners we took. Our Men marched in a Body through both Towns, driving out the Enemy, placed three Guards in the three Churches, and set Fire to five or six Houses in the old Town, that stood adjoining to the Wood, lest the Spaniards should have any Cover from them to annoy our Guard, which was within Pistol-shot. All this Night they kept firing out of the Woods at our Centinels, or any other, that stirred out of the Guard, yet did no harm; several Parties of Horse and Foot came down, without making any Attempt: In the mean while the *Duchess's* Pinnace, which was commanded by Lieutenant *Connelly*, with twenty-two Men, went up the River, landed at every House, took their Plate, and what else of Value they found, and had some Skirmishes with the Enemy, in which one of our Men was wounded. On the 25th, the Enemy appeared thick in the Woods, sometimes coming out; and our Guards had some Skirmishes with them, in which one Man was wounded, so that they expected to be attacked. In the Night, one of our Centinels shot another of ours, who was going a little Way from his Post, and did not answer when challenged three times. Our first Lieutenant's Pistol went off by his Side, and wounded him in the Leg; and another of our Men was shot through the Foot by one of our People. Our Surgeon cut off a Man's Arm, who had been hurt with one of our Grenade-shells, which broke in the Bark when fired out of a Cohorne. The Afternoon was spent in shipping off Provisions from the Town, and disposing all Things, in case we should be attacked in the Night, the Enemy appearing about the Outhouses; for which Reason, the Captains thought fit to join all the Forces at the main Guard, where they had their Cannon mounted. On the 26th in the Morning, Captain *Courtney* marched to his Guard again, to cover the Men who were getting down Provisions, &c. Several Prisoners were taken, and brought to the main Guard. Messengers, with a Flag of Truce, came about ransoming the Town, but could not agree: In the Afternoon brought one Boat of Provisions aboard the Barks; and at three returned, to ransom the Town, which was at last agreed on for 30,000 Dollars; we to have three Hostages, and to stay at *Puna* till they could raise the said Sum, the People having carried their Money out of Town, and being so dispersed, that there was no raising it whilst we were there, the Inhabitants of the adjacent Country having withdrawn all their Effects. On

the 27th in the Morning, the Hostages for Ransom were put on board, as was a Boat's Lading of Brandy: We took down our Union Flag, and hoisted a Flag of Truce, firing a Gun for a Signal, that the Spaniards might come into the Town, and that no Hostilities should be committed on either Side during the Time we had agreed to stay for the Money, having before concerted with the Spaniards to make the said Signal for them to come in to secure what we had left, that the Indians and Blacks might not rob: And, I am apt to believe, they had plundered as much as we had taken; for we took several, as we went the Rounds, laden with Goods, which they owned they had stolen; and were afterwards informed, that, in the Hurry, the Inhabitants had given Plate and Money to Blacks to carry out of the Town, and could never hear of it after. In the Evening, Mr. *Hesley*, and Mr. *Duck*, were sent from the Ships in the last Prize, and the *Beginning* Galley, to the Island *Puna*, for Water, of which there began to be Want on board; and with Instructions to go up the River, to get Intelligence of the Forces on Shore, we at Sea having heard nothing from them since their Departure, and the Prisoners saying, they were certainly all cut off; which was but little regarded, any farther than to keep a strict Watch over them. In the Afternoon, the Men ashore went aboard the Barks, which carried them, and some others we had taken, up the River: At six weighed, and rowed off the Shore. On the 28th in the Morning, our Barks weighed with the first of the Floe, the *Duke's* Pinnace making the best of her Way down to the Ships, and the Float going ashore to fetch off the great Guns, then weighed, and fell down the River. Two of the Barks ran a-ground on the middle Shore, that lies right against the Island. In the Evening they were astoat again; then we towed them over on the Starboard Side, where the Chanel was, firing a Gun for the rest to weigh; and, at the last of the Ebb, came to an Anchor about a Mile from the Island, and saw the *Beginning*, and another Vessel, under the Shore, whether they were come for Water, took Water out of the Barks, and put into the *Beginning*, and dispatched her to the Ships. On the 29th in the Morning, the Barks weighed, and got down to *Puna*, where they anchored off the Town. Captain *Rogers*, in the *Duke's* Pinnace, came on board, and gave an Account, that they had taken, plundered, and ransomed the Town of *Guaquil*; that three of our Men had been killed; two by our own People, and one by the Spaniards; and four wounded: That the Inhabitants, whilst treating, had carried off their Money and Plate, retiring to the Woods, and leaving their Guns; four whereof were taken, with a considerable Quantity of Meal, Pease, Sugar, Brandy, and Wine, which was coming down in the Barks. What we killed and wounded of the Enemy could not be known, because they carried them off. The same Day *Hugh Tidcomb*, who was shot by his fellow Centinel, died. Having from the Ship-side discovered a Sail standing up the River, with the Tide of Flood; we sent both Ships Boat after her, and, at four in the Afternoon, she struck to the Boats. They brought her in at Night. She was a small Spanish Bark from *Cberipe*, and bound up to *Guaquil*, having on board 330 Bags of Meal, and 140 Arrobas, that is, 35 hundred Weight of Sugar, some Onions, Quince, and Pomegranates: This, with the six Barks, and two great Ships ransomed with the Town of *Guaquil*, makes fourteen Prizes taken in those Seas. Captain *Woods Rogers*, in his Relation, blames Captain *Courtney* for being in a Hurry to quit the Place, though he acknowledges, that his Lieutenant Mr. *Streton*, was shot by Accident in his Leg, his own Pistol going off unluckily, which rendered it necessary to send him instantly on board the Small-craft; and that most of their Men were grown careless, weak, and heartily weary of their new Trade of being Soldiers. One Circumstance he mentioned, which deserves Notice for its Singularity. As he was marching out of the Town, he happened to miss one *John Gabriel*, a Dutchman, who served in his own Company; and took it for granted, that he was either taken or killed. But the poor Fellow had a better Time of it: He happened to take up his Quarters in a certain House, where there was some excellent Brandy; which the Dutchman attacked for often

that, at last, it was taken by him, when he was in the Place. A little while after, he found the Dutchman so fast, that it was he was dead or alive. Experiment; but who advised him being done without and let him on his opened his Eyes, fible that he was find himself awake however, soon set Arms, and advising join his Companion did not need many he moved with all aboard. If this S adds an Observation of all the Men who a Soul, that drank man; which if true to be plundered by of their Profession. of Capitulacion, who interceded in it, desir and so they were, cumstance; viz. the Arms, which, the specified, to demon they consented to ously yielded, wh Articles, which for Money they wanted of Honour; a thing

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Whereas the V. Philip V. and in the Possession of *Woods Rogers*, Body of her Majesty Underwritten are: City, and to continue *Thomas Dorrer*, 20,000 Pieces of Gunpowder, the sum of the said during which time either Side between paid at *Puna*, in full the Hostages to be delivered immediately agree to remain in in any other Part of have voluntarily submitted O. S. and the 7th Lord 1709.

19. The Plunder from we received for we found there 230 fifteen Jars of Oil; 1 age, Iron-ware, and of Powder; about a Clothing and Necessaries in Plate, Ear-rings, Guns; and about 20 Musquet-barrels; a few; with about a Ton of Goods in the Town Sea-stores, with several Ships on the Stocks, and 1000 Ton, which cost the Anchor before the Barks ashore, and less. By this it appears; but this Ransom that we could not carry NUMB. II.

that, at last, it laid him on the Floor, and in this Condition he was, when Captain Rogers and his Men entered the Place. A little after, the Master of the House arrived, and found the Dutchman stretched at his full Length, and so fast, that it was a difficult Matter to distinguish, whether he was dead or asleep. The Spaniard resolved to make the Experiment; but, first of all, called in his Neighbours, who advised him to secure the Dutchman's Arms, which being done without any Difficulty, they next raised him up, and let him on his Feet, when, after a little Tottering, he opened his Eyes, and began to stare about him, being sensible that he was not asleep, and not very well fitted to find himself awake, and in such Company. His Landlord, however, soon set his Heart at Rest, by restoring him his Arms, and advising him to make all the Haste he could to join his Companions, who were not yet embarked. There did not need many Intreaties to set the Dutchman forward; he moved with all the Alacrity imaginable, and got safely aboard. If this Story be a little strange, Captain Rogers adds an Observation, that is still stranger, which is, that, of all the Men who landed on this Occasion, there was not a Soul, that drank a Cup too much, but this poor Dutchman; which if true, the Town of Guayaquil had the Honour to be plundered by the soberest Set of People, that ever were of their Profession. But it is now time to come to the Forms of Capitulation, which the Spaniards, as Persons most deeply interested in it, desired might be drawn up in proper Form; and so they were, with the Omission only of a single Circumstance, viz. that the Place was taken by Force of Arms, which, the Spaniards insisted, should be particularly specified, to demonstrate, that they had been beaten, before they consented to treat; and to this the English very willingly yielded, which produced the following Scheme of Articles, which satisfied both Parties, procuring one the Money they wanted, and satisfying the other as to the Point of Honour; a thing no Spaniard ever willingly gave up.

Contract for the Ransom of the Town of Guayaquil.

WHEREAS the City of Guayaquil, lately in Subjection to Philip V. King of Spain, is now taken by Storm, and in the Possession of the Captains Thomas Dover, Woods Rogers, and Stephen Courtney, commanding a Body of her Majesty of Great Britain's Subjects; we the Undersigned are content to become Hostages for the said City, and to continue in the Custody of the said Captains Thomas Dover, Woods Rogers, and Stephen Courtney, till 30,000 Pieces of Eight shall be paid to them for the Ransom of the said City, two new Ships, and six Barks; during which time no Hostility is to be committed on either Side between this and Puna; the said Sum to be paid at Puna, in six Days from the Date hereof; and then the Hostages to be discharged, and all the Prisoners to be delivered immediately: Otherwise the said Hostages do agree to remain Prisoners, till the said Sum is discharged in any other Part of the World. In Witness whereof, we have voluntarily set our Hands this 17th Day of April, O. S. and the 7th of May, N. S. in the Year of our Lord 1709.

19. The Plunder we took here, exclusive of the Ransom we received for the Town, was very considerable; for we found there 230 Bags of Flour, Beans, Peas, and Rice; fifteen Jars of Oil; 160 Jars of other Liquor; some Cordage, Iron-ware, and small Nails; with about four half Jars of Powder; about a Ton of Pitch and Tar; a Parcel of Clothing and Necessaries; and, as I guess, about 1200 l. in Plate, Ear-rings, &c. and 150 Bales of dry Goods; four Guns; and about 200 Spanish ordinary useless Arms and Musquet-barrels; a few Packs of Indico, Cocoa, and Annotto; with about a Ton of Loaf-sugar. We left abundance of Goods in the Town, besides Liquors of most sorts, and Sea-stores, with several Warehouses full of Cocoa, divers Ships on the Stocks, and two new Ships unrigged, upwards of 300 Ton, which cost above 80,000 Crowns; and then lay our Anchor before the Town. We were also to deliver four Barks ashore, and leave two here, to bring down the Ransom. By this it appears, the Spaniards had a good Bargain; but this Ransom was far better for us, than to burn that we could not carry off. The Hostages informed us,

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that, during the Treaty, 80,000 Pieces of Eight of the King's Money were sent out of the Town, besides their Plate, Jewels, and other Things of the greatest Value; so that it is certain, that, if we had landed at first, and given them no Time at all, we had been much greater Gainers than we were; and I have great Reason to believe, that we might, in that Case, have made 200,000 Pieces of Eight, in ready Money, Plate, and Jewels; and yet the Place had never been a poor for forty Years past, as at the Time we took it, there having been a Fire about a Year and an half before, which had burnt down best Part of the Town, and occasioned a very great Expence in rebuilding it. As it was, we thought ourselves very happy; and all imaginable Care was taken, that every Man concerned in the Expedition found his Account in it; by which the Expellency of the Articles before-mentioned fully appeared; and our People were so perfectly satisfied with the Usage they received on this Occasion, that they expressed the greatest Alacrity in the Execution of every Enterprize, that was afterwards undertaken. To say the Truth, this is a Matter of the utmost Importance with Privateers; for, if the Men have the least Jealousy of their being ill-treated, such Disputes arise, as do infinitely more Mischief, than the Value of what can be gotten by such Practices. But to proceed with our Affairs: When May 2. came, which was the last Day appointed to wait for the Money, and no Boat arriving, we began to be very uneasy. At length, however, a Boat arrived, and brought us 22,000 Pieces of Eight; which we received, and dispatched the Boat back again, telling them we designed to leave the Place the next Morning, and would carry away the Hostages, if they did not come time enough to prevent it. We staid, however, till the 6th; and then Captain Courtney was resolved to depart, being apprehensive, that we should be attacked by the French and Spanish Squadron. I endeavoured, but in vain, to convince him, that, as yet, we were not in any Danger of being attacked; because it was not possible, that the French and Spaniards could have received notice by this time at Lima, and have fitted out a Force sufficient to engage us. We failed however, and came to an Anchor, about four in the Afternoon, a few Leagues before Point Arena. The next Morning about two o'Clock, we were preparing to sail, when Mr. Morel, and a Gentleman from Puna, related to our Prisoners, brought us 3500 Pieces of Eight more towards the Ransom. This put us in so good an Humour, that, in the Afternoon, we discharged all our Prisoners, except the Morels, the three Hostages, and three or four more. The Gentleman, that came from Guayaquil, had a Gold Chain, and some other things of Value, with which he bought our Bark the Beginning, which was now of no further Use. We gave the Captain of the French Ship, three Negro Women; Mr. Morel, another; and to most of the Prisoners, their Wearing-apparel; so that we parted very good Friends. They told us, that one Don Pedro Cienfuegos, whom we put ashore at Puna, and who was a Man of great Credit, had got together a considerable Sum of Money, and designed to buy Goods of us; for which Purpose he would be down in twelve Hours time: But the Majority of our Officers would not believe them; but, conceiving this to be a Scheme for detaining us till the French and Spanish Fleet came, were in so much the greater Hurry to get away. But, before we proceed, let me give you a short Description of the Town of Guayaquil, as we found it.

20. Guayaquil is divided into two Parts, called the Old and the New Towns; both of them together consisting of about 500 Houses, joined by a long wooden Bridge, for People to pass over on Foot, above half a Mile in Length, with some Houses on each Side at a Distance. It is situated in a low boggy Ground, so dirty in Winter, that, without this Bridge, there would be scarce any going from one House to another: There is but one regular Street along the River-side to the Bridge, and from it along the Old Town. Before the Church of Sant Iago is a very handsome Parade; but the Church itself lies in Ruins. There are, in all, four Churches, viz. Sant Iago, or St. James the Apostle, which, as I said, is destroyed; St. Augustin, St. Francis, and St. Dominic; and before this last another Parade, with an Half-moon, on which six Guns may be planted; but there were none when we came. Besides these,

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there is a Chapel, and there had been a Church of *St. Ignatius*, belonging to the Jesuits, but burnt down. They were all decently adorned with Altars, carved Work, Pictures, an Organ in that of *St. Augustin*; but the Plate belonging to them was carried away, the Priests and Students being all gone into the Woods: Some of the Houses were of Brick, particularly about the Parade, before the Fire; the rest of Timber, or Bamboes split, and some of them decently furnished. In the Merchants Storehouses, there were great Quantities of Meal, Brandy, Sugar, Cloathing, Cordage, and Iron. The Inhabitants had some Calashes; but I know not of what Use they could be, unless to carry them a Stone's-throw to Church; especially in Winter, all about being so foul and boggy, that there could be no Road made for them. This morass Ground was full of the largest Toads I ever saw, some of them as big as an English Two-penny Loaf. There were 2000 Inhabitants of all sorts, including Indians, Mulattoes, and Blacks. The *Englishmen*, who had lived in the Town, told us, that the *December* before, when they had made public Rejoicings for the Birth of the Prince of *Murias*, which lasted three Weeks, they had mustered 1100 Foot, and 500 Horse, all in Arms, which came from the Country round about; besides a much greater Number unarmed, the greatest Part whereof must have been *Indians*. They baited 200 Bulls to Death after the *Spanish* Fashion, and ran at the Ring with their Spears; both which Exercises they are very expert in, and much addicted to. The *Sunday* before we landed, they had launched one of the new Ships in Presence of the Bishop; who asked what they might cost building; and was told, the one 40,000 Dollars, the other more, both of which designed to trade to *Chili*; and Orders were given not to employ the Carpenters about any other Work, till the King's two Ships, then expected from *Lima*, were rebuilt. This Town is well seated for Trade, and for building of Ships, as lying fourteen Leagues from Point *Arena*, and seven from *Puna*, up a large River, which receives several small ones that fall into it, with many Villages and Farm-houses round about. The Water is fresh for four Leagues below it; and all along the Banks grow abundance of Mangroves and *Saraparrilla*; and, on account of this latter, the Water is accounted good for the *French* Disease: However, when the Floods come down from the Mountains, the Water is not reckoned so wholesome, by reason it brings along several poisonous Plants and Fruits, among which is the *Manchavilla* venomous Apple, whereof all Birds that taste die; and we saw Hundreds of them dead on the Water whilst we were there. They have great Plenty of Bees, Goats, Sheep, Hens, Ducks, Muscovy Ducks, and some Sorts unknown to us in *England*; as also Horses, and great Numbers of Carrion-crows, which the *Spaniards* will not suffer to be killed, preserving them to devour all Carrion. The Ships here are built under Sheds, to shelter the Men from the Sun. The Town is governed by a Corregidor, being the supreme Magistrate appointed by the King. At our coming, the Officer was one Don *Jerónimo Bos*, a young Man about twenty-four Years of Age, born in the *Canaries*. It may seem a little extraordinary, that so young a Man should be intrusted with such a Command; but it is to be considered, that native *Spaniards*, for so such are accounted that are born in the *Canaries*, have much earlier Titles to Honour, than Persons born in this Country; and, indeed, by the Regularity of the *Spanish* Government, it is no hard Matter for a young Man, of a reasonable Capacity, to perform the Functions of it with Credit to himself, and so as to give Satisfaction to the People. The Accounts which have been given of this Place by the *French* Buccaneers are so false, that there is not the least Degree of Truth in them; inasmuch that, from their Descriptions, it scarce appears to be the same Place, had they not left infamous Marks of their bring here: For when they took the Town of *Guiaquil*, about twenty-two Years ago, they discovered little or no Bravery in the Attack, (tho' they lost a great many Men) and committed a deal of Barbarity and Murder after they had the Place in their Power, which was above a Month, here and at *Puna*. The Seasons here are improperly called Winter and Summer: The Winter is reckoned from the Beginning of *December* to the last of *May*; and all that

Season is sultry hot, wet, and unhealthy: From the latter End of *May* to *December* is serene, dry, and healthy, but not so violently hot as what they call Winter. These *Cocoa* is ripe, and mostly gathered between *June* and *August*; and of the other Fruits, natural to those Climates, some are ripe, and others green, all the Year. But, as our Prisoners furnished us with a very full and exact Account of all the adjacent Country dependent on the Government of *Guiaquil*, I have judged it requisite to add to this Account of the Town, a View likewise of the Province, that the Reader may perfectly apprehend the Condition of the *Spanish* Inhabitants therein; and judge from thence, as from a Sample, of the State of this great Empire of *Peru* at the Time that we were thus engaged in attacking in Ports and Coast; where we acted as became Men who had legal Commissions, and did nothing that was not justified by the Law of Arms, which, in time of War, is the Law of Nations. Having done this, I shall return to our Expedition, and not trouble the Reader with any Digressions for the future.

21. The City or Town of *Guiaquil* is the Metropolis of a Province of that Name in *Peru*, governed by a President, with five or six *Oidores*, which make a Royal Audiencia, or chief Court of Judicature, accountable only to the Viceroy in military Affairs; every Province has a Government of the same Nature. The Governors are commonly appointed, or, to speak more properly, purchase their Offices, in *Old Spain* for Life, or good Behaviour; and in case any die, or misbehave themselves, the Viceroy may name another during his Time, which ought to be but five Years; but sometimes he gets these Officers of his own placing confirmed by an Order from *Spain*, which is a considerable Part of the Viceroy's unknown Profits. The late Viceroy continued fourteen Years, several new ones having died by the Way. The King of *Spain* himself scarce lives in more Splendor, than his Viceroy in the City of *Lima*, where the chief Courts of Judicature are kept, and Appeals are brought thither from all Courts and Provinces of this extensive Kingdom. I should not here mention the vast Wealth the late Viceroy obtained during his Government, the Sum being so large, that I thought it fabulous; but that I was informed of it by so many Hands, who told me, that about four Years ago he died, worth, at least, 8,000,000 Pieces of Eight; and left it to his Widow and Children, but the greatest Part to his eldest Son, the *Conde de la Moncloa*, besides vast Sums he gave away in Charity during his Life-time, and the Churches, Friceries, and Nunneries that he built. He left a better Character behind him, than any Viceroy had done for an Age past. The *Conde*, his eldest Son, waits here, expecting to succeed the present Viceroy of *Peru* or *Mexico*, if the Government holds in *Old Spain*; but the People hope he will follow his Father's Example, rather than that of the present Viceroy: For whereas all former Governors discouraged Foreigners as much as possible, to secure the Trade to the *Spaniards*, the present Viceroy does all for the *French*; he openly espouses their Interest, and encourages them; whereas the *Spaniards* say, that he racks, and heavily oppresses, their own Countrymen. The Corregidor that died at *Guiaquil*, tho' he had possessed the Office but two Years, had amassed 300,000 Pieces of Eight, tho' his Post was not allowed to exceed above 2000 Pieces of Eight per Annum; but all the Corregidores make vast Advantages by Seizures, and trading privately by themselves. The Trade to and from *Mexico* is forbidden here, under the severest Penalty; especially transporting Quicksilver from *Peru* thither, because Quantities are brought from *Old Spain*, which is imposed on the Refiners at great Rates. Here are many Ships employed coasting in this Kingdom; but a Trade so severely prohibited between them and *Mexico*, that all the Commodities, with Silver and Gold in Returns, may have little other Circulation in these vast Countries, but by the Flota and Galleons to and from *Old Spain*. Yet, notwithstanding the Severity used against private Traders by the Viceroy and Corregidores, there are some that use it, who have no Mercy shewed them, if caught, all being shewed in the King's Name; tho' his Majesty has little or no Share of it, all such Seizures (as I am told) being divided amongst those Officers, and the poor Sufferer banished, or confined

to a Gao. All comes by the private Traders, in the Name of the *Peru*. a good Certificate their Commodities ever the Goods for fear of worse arrest in the Vice-serve; so that the chief Officers Viceroy are so the Corregidores Hand, which can publicly known; on their Accounts, of prohibited Goods. Thus, being their stop all Complaints they trade for have; whilst others are punished as above. unjustly are too much is no Country naturally oppressed, without Reason, with all that he comes hither like and that every Officer ten times more the Prey for him, that The Province about which makes it the repairing of Ships at a time on the Street chief Commodity is a *Cocoa*, which is the South Sea; the Year than 30,000 C and sometimes double generally at half an R so that the Cargo Eight and a half. Salt-fish from *Poir* *Quito*, and other disty of Timber is and other Sea-ports Freight, and is a p hence Rice, Cotton are no Mines of Sil of all sorts of Catt Island *Puna*, where could conveniently, so that all their Fl and other Places in ways Southerly. of Woollen Cloth, *Quito*. Their W &c. come from *Pi* ward: All sorts of name, whither the *Bello* out of the Ne that come and go i are no less than for the Port of *Guiaquil* of the World. A Boats in the River, that the Country Towns of the Prov put by the Corre the same River, at these of the Capital Distance. *Peru* Province, before the *quil*. In the Town *iards* compute at lieve, there are ma between the *Spania*

to a Gaol. All *English* and *Dutch* Goods, except what comes by the Gallions, are prohibited here; so that the private Traders, after they have, by Stealth, purchased them in the North Seas, must vend them in like manner all over *Peru*. And if the wholesale Merchants have not a good Certificate from the Commerce of *Seville*, that their Commodities come by the Flota or Gallions, whenever the Goods are questioned, they must discover them, for fear of worse Punishment, unless they have a good Interest in the Viceroy, which costs dear to purchase and preserve; so that the Trader makes little Profit, but where the chief Officers have a Feeling: Yet tho' those mercenary Viceroy's are so severe on others, they themselves employ the Corregidors to negotiate a Trade for them by a third Hand, which cannot be done to the Purpose without being publicly known; so that Ships are constantly employed on their Account, and carry Quicksilver, and all manner of prohibited Goods, to and from *Mexico*, out of bye Ports. Thus, being their own Judges, they get vast Estates, and stop all Complaints in *Old Spain* by Bribes. The Goods they trade for have a free Passage, and sail through the Continent; whilst others, if they do but offer at it, are punished as above. Their other Ways of getting Money unjustly are too many; but, in short, in my Opinion, there is no Country naturally more rich, nor any People more terribly oppressed. The *Spaniards* say, and I believe not without Reason, that a Viceroy, after purchasing his Place with all that he has, and quitting *Old Spain* as poor as *Job*, comes hither like an hungry Lion, to devour all that he can; and that every Officer under him in the Provinces (who are ten times more than necessary) are his Jackals to procure Prey for him, that they may have a Share of it themselves. The Province abounds with several sorts of good Timber, which makes it the chief Country of *Peru* for building and repairing of Ships; there is seldom less than six or seven at a time on the Stocks before the City of *Guayaquil*. The chief Commodity this City, and its chief Province, afford, is *Cocoa*, which is so plentiful, as to supply most Places of the South Sea; they say, there is never less exported in a Year than 30,000 Cargaus, each Cargau 81 lb. Weight, and sometimes double the Quantity: It was purchased generally at half an Rial per Pound, but now much cheaper, so that the Cargau may be bought for two Pieces of Eight and a half. Their Coasting Trade is for Salt and Salt-fish from *Point Santa Helena*, and most vend at *Quito*, and other distant Places within Land: A vast Quantity of Timber is laden here for *Truxillo*, *Chana*, *Lima*, and other Sea-ports, where it is scarce. It pays a great Freight, and is a profitable Trade. They export also from hence Rice, Cotton, and some dried jerked Beef. There are no Mines of Silver or Gold in this Province, but Plenty of all sorts of Cattle, and very cheap, especially on the Island *Puna*, where we supplied ourselves with what we could conveniently. Here is no other Corn but *Indian*, so that all their Flour is brought from *Truxillo*, *Cheripe*, and other Places in the windward Parts: It blows here always Southerly. They are also supplied with several sorts of Woollen Cloth, and very strong good Bays made at *Quito*. Their Wines, Brandy, Oil, Olives, and Sugar, &c. come from *Piscola*, *Nasca*, and other Places to Windward: All sorts of *European* Goods come hither from *Panama*, whither they are brought over Land from *Porto-Bello* out of the North Seas; so that the Number of Ships that come and go from hence, without including Coasters, are no less than forty Sail every Year; which shews, that the Port of *Guayaquil* is no mean Place of Trade in this Part of the World. A Market is also kept on Bark Logs and Boats in the River, every Day, before the Town, with all that the Country affords, in great Plenty. The other Towns of the Province are governed by Lieutenants, deputed by the Corregidor; above half of them border on the same River, and its Branches; so that they can join these of the Capital in two Tides, tho' at several Leagues Distance. *Porto Vaca* was formerly the Metropolis of the Province, before the Government was removed to *Guayaquil*. In the Towns, and the whole Province, the *Spaniards* compute at least 10,000 Inhabitants; but, I believe, there are many more, taking in all the mixt Races between the *Spaniards*, *Indians*, and Negroes, which they

divide and subdivide into eleven Denominations. The natural *Spaniards* are the fewest by far of all the Inhabitants; and, were it not for these Mixtures, which the Fathers of the Church keep united, the *Indians* might again take Possession of their Country; for the *Spaniards* would be too few to keep it, and much more incapable of peopling it. Few of those Prisoners that fell into our Hands were healthy and sound; near half of the *Spaniards* discovered publicly to our Doctors their Malady, in order to get Physic from them against the *French* Disease, which is so common here, that they reckoned it no Scandal to be deep in the Powdering-tub; and, the Heat of the Country facilitating the Cure, they make very light of it. All the *Spaniards* I discoursed allow, that this rich Country is not a tenth peopled, nor are half the *Indians*, far within Land, civilized; tho' they affirm, their King has, in the *West Indies*, more Subjects of several Colours, than in all *Spain*, or the rest of his Dominions in *Europe*; which may be true.

22. On May 11: we had a strong Gale at South South-west. We bore away for the *Gallapagos Islands*; and in a very melancholy Condition we were: For we had upwards of twenty Men taken ill on board the *Duke*, and near fifty on board our Consort seized with a malignant Fever, contracted, as I suppose, at *Guayaquil*, where I was informed, that, about a Month or five Weeks before we took it, a contagious Disease, which reigned there, swept off ten or twelve Persons every Day for a considerable time; so that the Floors of all the Churches (which are their usual Burial-places) were filled so fast, that they were obliged to dig a large and deep Hole, of about a Rood square, close by the great Church, where I kept Guard; and this Hole was almost filled with the Corpses half-putrefied. The Mortality was so very great, that many of the People had left the Town; and our lying so long in the Church, surrounded with such unwholesome Scents, was enough to infect us too. About this time Captain *Courtesy* was taken ill; and Captain *Dover* went on board to prescribe for him. In twenty-four Hours, we had fifty Men down, and the *Duchess* upwards of seventy; and, in the following twenty-four Hours, there were ten more down in each Ship. On the 17th, we discovered Land; and, on the 18th at Day-break, we were within four Leagues of two large Islands, almost joining together, having passed the other that we saw Yesterday. We sent our Boat ashore to look for Water, and agreed with our Consort where to meet, in case of Separation. They turned towards the Windward, and left us to try this Island for Water. All our Prizes were to stay near us under Sail, by a remarkable Rock. But, in the Afternoon, the Boat returned with a melancholy Account, that no Water was to be found, the Prizes we expected lying to Windward for us by the Rock, about two Leagues off Shore; but Mr. *Hailey* in a Bark, and the *Havre de Grace*, turned to Windward, after our Consort the *Duchess*; so that only the Gallion, and the Bark that Mr. *Selkirk* was in, staid for us. We kept plying to Windward all Night, with a Light out; which they followed. At five in the Morning, we sent our Boat ashore again, to make a further Search in this Island for Water. In the Evening, the Boat returned, and reported, that there was no Water to be found, though the People went three or four Miles up into the Country. They likewise told me, that the Island is nothing but loose Rocks, like Cinders, very rotten, and heavy; and the Earth so parched, that it will not bear a Man, but breaks into Holes under his Feet; which makes me suppose there has been a Vulcano here, tho' there is much shrubby Wood, and some Greens, on it; yet there is not the least Sign of Water; nor is it possible, that any can be contained on such a Surface. In short, we found these Islands very little answered either our Expectations, or the Descriptions we had of them; and our Loss of Mr. *Hailey*, who, with five of our Men, two *Spanish* Prisoners, and three Negroes, lost us in a Bark, where they were provided only with Water for two Days, and scarce any other Necessaries, together with many unlucky Accidents, made us wish ourselves from amongst these Islands; and therefore, on May 26. Captain *Dover* and I went on board the *Duchess*, where, after a Consultation, it was resolved to run in for the Island *Plana* to water, and so come

come off again, for fear of meeting with two French Ships, one of sixty, and the other of forty-six Guns, and the Spanish Man of War, who, we were advised, would be suddenly in Search of us; but, if we could find no Water in any of those Islands going in, we designed to fit our Ships there, and not go near the Main, our Ships being out of Order, and our Men sickly and weak, and several also having been buried. We failed on the 27th; and, on the 30th, we held another Council on board the *Duchess*, where it was agreed to go first to *Gorgona*, to see if there were any English Ships there, and afterwards to *Malaga*, *Malaga*, or *Madulinar*, where are some Indians, Enemies to the Spaniards, who, as the Pilots informed us, seldom came thither, nor could thence get Intelligence of us; and, if we could trade with the Indians, might have Swine and Fowls, good Bananas, Plantains, and other Refreshments. In this Course, the *Duchess* took a Prize, which proved to be a Vessel of the Burden of ninety Ton, bound from *Panama* to *Guiaquil*, called the *St. Thomas de Villa Nova*, *Juan Navarro Navaret* Commander. There were about forty People aboard, including eleven Negro Slaves; but little of European Goods, except some Iron and Cloth. The next we made the Island of *Gorgona*; and, on the 8th, our Boats brought in another Prize, which was a small Bark, of about fifteen Tons, called the *Golden Sun*. She belonged to a Creek on the Main, and was bound for *Guiaquil*, *Andros Enriquez* Master, with ten Spaniards and Indians, and some Negroes; no Cargo, but a very little Gold-dust, and a large Gold Chain; together about 500 *l*. Value, which were secured aboard the *Duchess*. On June 19. in the Evening, there was a Consultation on board the Ship above-mentioned, at which some of my Officers and Captain *Dover* assisted. Being discomposed, I was not with them; but resolved to act in Confortship, according to their Agreement. After they had examined the Prisoners, they resolved to go to *Malaga*, an Island which had a Road, where we designed to leave our Ships, and, with our Boats, row up the River for the rich Gold Mine of *Barbacore*, called also by the Spaniards the Mines of *St. Juan*, from a Village about two Tides up the River, of that Name. There we designed to surprise Canoes, as fitter than our Boats to go against the Stream; for this Time of the Year being subject to great Rains, which make a strong Fresh down the River, our Pilot, an old Spaniard, did not propose to get up to the Mines in less than twelve Days. I had often before suspected his Knowledge; but, according to their Resolutions on board the *Duchess*, we made Sail about twelve o'Clock that Night, and steered North-east for the Place. In the Morning, I discoursed Captain *Morel*, as I had done several times before, and all the rest of the Prisoners, who agreed, that this Island called *Malaga* was an unfrequented Place, and not fit for Ships, that ever they heard of. I had also two Prisoners on board, that were taken in the last Prize, who had been at the said Island very lately. I examined them separately, and they agreed, that a Ship could not be safe there; and that, the Place being so narrow, it was impossible to get in, but with the Tide, which ran very strong; that the Entrance was full of Shoals, and had not Water enough, but at Spring-tides, for our Ships to get out or in: Besides that, if a Ship gets loose, (as we must moor Head and Stern) she would turn all a-drift, and very much endanger the Whole. They added, that the River was so narrow, before we could get to the Mines, that the Indians and Spaniards might fell Trees across, and cut off our Retreat, there being thick Woods on the Banks of the River, from whence the Indians would gall us with their poisoned Arrows; for those about the Mines were at Amity with the Spaniards, and a bold and very numerous People. Upon this Information, I was surprised, that the Council had not informed themselves better, before they resolved on going to this Place, and immediately sent Mr. *White* our Linguist, with the two Prisoners, on board the *Linguist*, to undeceive Captain *Courtney*, and his Officers, and to desire his Company, with some of the rest, without Loss of Time, that we might agree how to act for our Safety and Interest, and not to proceed farther on this hazardous Enterprize. On a solemn Consultation, this was accordingly resolved; and, in Compliance of that Resolution, we came back to *Gorgona*, our Condition being so bad at this Jun-

cture, that, if we had been attacked, we should scarce have been in a Condition to have defended ourselves.

23. On the 13th of June, about four in the Morning, we anchored in forty Fathom Water, and resolved to careen the *Duchess* first, and then the *Duke*; our Sick we removed aboard the *Galloon*, and the sick Officers on board the *Havre de Grace*, where they had all the Conveniences we could afford them. We likewise set up a Tent ashore for the Use of the Armourer, and Cooper's Crew, and directed a Place to be cleared for our sick Men Tents; all which was performed with such Diligence, that, by the 18th, we got our Provisions on board, mounted all our Guns, having in fourteen Days caulked our Ships all round, careened, rigged, and stowed them again both fit for the Sea; which was great Dispatch, considering what we had to do was in an open Place, with few Carpenters, and void of the usual Conveniences for careening. The Spaniards, our Prisoners, being very dillatory Sailors, were amazed at our Expedition; and told us, they usually take six Weeks, or two Months, to careen one of the King's Ships at *Lima*, where they are provided with all Necessaries, and account it good Dispatch. On the 29th, we set up a Tent on shore for the Sick, who were, even by this time, much better than when we came to the Island, notwithstanding the Spaniards represented it as extremely sick and unwholesome; but the bare lying ashore, having their Doctors with them, and an Opportunity of walking about when they grew a little better, had so good an Effect, that while our found Men were employed in fitting our Ships for Sea, our sick Men gathered Strength enough to return to their Duty. Our Spanish Prisoners went into the Woods with us, shewed us Timber that was proper to be cut, and gave us every other kind of Assistance in their Power. We not only set up Coopers and Armourers Tents, but now set out Ground for a Rope-yard, erected a Tent for a Smith, another for a Block, the third for a Sail-maker, and each had his Crew to act under him, for the better Dispatch of Business. It is not to be supposed, that these People were all excellent in their Professions; but, however, they made a shift to carry on Things very well for our Work, Necessity and Practice having taught them many Resources, which the ablest Man, in their Branches of Business, would never have thought of, or, perhaps, could have been brought to believe practicable, if they had been told of them by others. By this Method of acting, we had settled not only a Plantation, but a Manufacture, on the little Island of *Gorgona*; and, as every Officer had his Charge, and surveyed a particular Sort of Artizans, we had Business enough upon our Hands, and were all thoroughly and pleasantly employed. Our Spanish Prisoners looked on with Amazement at our working from Break of Day till Night in that Climate, and in that manner; and, what most of all surprised them, was our finding out some new Expedient, when pressed by new Difficulties, and when, in the Judgment of our Spaniards, it was impossible for us to proceed any further; so that our Diligence and Success raised our Credit with them prodigiously. The Natives of *Old Spain* are accounted but ordinary Mariners; but here they are much worse, all the Prizes we took being rather cobbled, than fitted out for the Sea; so that, had they such Weather as we often met with in the European Seas in Winter, they could scarce ever reach a Port again, as they are fitted; but they fail here Hundreds of Leagues. The French used her as a Victualer, and sold her at *Lima*, as they had done several others, for four times the Money they cost in *Europe*. 'Tis certainly a good Method they took, at first trading hither, to bring a Victualling Ship, with no other Goods but Provisions and Stores, along with them. Generally one of these small Ships comes out with two Traders; and since in six, nine, or twelve, Months time which they stay in those Seas, they expend their Provisions, and lessen their Men by Morality or Desertion, they sell their Victualling Ship; and, being recruited with Men and Provisions out of her, they return, well victualled and manned, to *France*: But now they put into *Chili*, where they sell the remaining Part of the Cargo, and salt up a new Stock of Provisions for their homeward-bound Passage; so that they need bring no more Victuals.

24. While we were at the *Havre de Grace*, of each Ship aboard, we resolved to carry Ship to cruise in Seas. This was then employed from the 2^d she was completely of the *Marquis*, but we saluted each other on board her, drank her Majesty's own Success, in Commemoration after sent two *Marquis*; the *Duchess* taken at *Guiaquil*, twenty very good repaired, that they in *England*. The to provide her with I agreed to put to *Courtney* twenty-six, white Men, and to Commander, and Pope, to command Captain, with his Wages with ours in.

25. The next thing Prisoners, which but no Use at all. It should be all set ashore to engage them in a several times discourse about ransoming them to Advantage till now; because we have the Cargoes under deal with us. I proposed Days as near it as Money we should agree they left Hostages would carry to *England* provided we would Prize-goods. Thereupon, and putting a provided one of the cure, would be Hostages that neither of them World. I mentioned them here, provided pay us the Money at in six Days, if they Eight, being the lot Prizes and Goods, N with Strangers, especially prohibited in than the prime Cost to deal with us; so that unless we sold the finding it worth our must run in treating them all ashore, if the *Morels* and *Naves* vent our burning to Some of our People they were first taken now every body felt Method, because it untidy of trading, at which were of no hinder our sailing. we put seventy-two with our two Pinna 13th in the Morning our Prisoners, and twelve Hogs, and which were very of Value in the Village far up the River, the

24. While we were here, we agreed together to fit out the *Harve de Grace* with twenty Guns, and put Men out of each Ship aboard her under Captain *Cooke's* Command, resolving to carry her home with us, and to make a third Ship to cruise in our Company whilst we were in these Seas. This was the great Work on which we were employed from the 29th of June to the 9th of July, when she was completely finished; and we gave her the Name of the *Marquis*, having provided a good Entertainment: We saluted each of the other Ships with three Huzzas from on board her, distributed Liquor among the Company, drank her Majesty's and our Owners Healths, and to our own Success, in Conjunction with our new Consort. We soon after sent two of our Main-deck Guns on board the *Marquis*; the *Duchess* did the like; which, with four taken at *Guiaquil*, and twelve that were in the Ship, made twenty very good ones; the Carriages all new, or so well repaired, that they were as good and strong, as if mounted in England. The next thing to be considered was, how to provide her with Men: This was very soon settled; for I agreed to put thirty-five on board her, and Captain *Courtney* twenty-six, so that her Complement was sixty-one white Men, and twenty Negroes, Captain *Edward Cooke* Commander, and our second Lieutenant, Mr. *Charles Pope*, to command under him. We agreed, that the Captain, with his Officers and Men, should have equal Wages with ours in the like Posts, to encourage them.

25. The next thing of Consequence was to get rid of our Prisoners, which began to be a Burden upon us, and of no Use at all. It was therefore determined, that they should be all set ashore, after trying every Method possible to engage them in a Scheme for trading with us. We had several times discoursed the two *Morells*, and *Don Antonio*, about ransoming the Goods, and were in Hopes of selling them to Advantage, but deferred coming to Particulars till now; because we plainly saw, that unless they could have the Cargoes under a Quarter Value, they would not deal with us. I proposed going to *Panama*, and lying six Days as near it as they pleased, till they brought the Money we should agree for, at a moderate Rate, provided they left Hostages on board us, whom, on Failure, we would carry to England. To this they would have agreed, provided we would take 60,000 Pieces of Eight for all the Prize-goods. Then I proposed their ransoming the Galeon, and putting a great Part of the Goods aboard her, provided one of those three, and another they could procure, would be Hostages for the Sum. They answered, that neither of them would go Hostage to England for the World. I mentioned delivering the Galeon and Cargo to them here, provided two of them would be Hostages to pay us the Money at any other Place but *Panama* or *Lima*, in six Days, if they would give us 120,000 Pieces of Eight, being the lowest Price we would take for all the Prizes and Goods, Negroes, &c. They told us, that trading with Strangers, especially the *English* and *Dutch*, was so strictly prohibited in those Seas, that they must give more than the prime Cost of the Goods in Bribes, to get a Licence to deal with us; so that they could not assure us of Payment, unless we sold the Goods very cheap: Therefore, not finding it worth our Time, and knowing the Danger we must run in treating with them, we desisted, and ordered them all ashore, still hoping that this would compel the *Morells* and *Navarre* to get Money for us, and prevent our burning the Ships we could not carry away. Some of our People were for keeping several others when they were first taken, but they were over-ruled; though now every body seem to confess, that had been a better Method, because it would have given us a greater Opportunity of trading, and of ridding our Ships of those Goods which were of no Value to us here, and served only to hinder our sailing. But to proceed: On the 10th of July, we put seventy-two Prisoners on board the Bark, and, with our two Pinnaces, she sailed for the Main. On the 13th in the Morning, these Vessels returned from Landing our Prisoners, and brought off seven small Black Cattle, twelve Hogs, and six Goats, some Limes and Plantains, which were very welcome to us. They met with little else of Value in the Village they were at; and, the others being far up the River, they did not think it worth while to visit

them. The Country where they landed was so poor, that our Men gave the Prisoners five Negroes, some Bays, Nails, &c. to purchase themselves Subistence. The Inhabitants ashore had Notice of our taking *Guiaquil*, and were jealous of our being at this Island, because they heard our Guns when we fired, in order to scale them after creeneing. According to the Report of our People, our Prisoners were not extremely well pleased with the Change of their Situation, or even with the Recovery of Liberty, in such a Place; and seemed to regret the Advantages they enjoyed on board us. To say the Truth of the Matter, I verily believe, that *Don Antonio*, the *Fleming*, Sig. *Navarre*, and the *Morells*, did not expect to part with us so suddenly; but, by continuing with us, and knowing we could not carry away all the Prizes and Goods, they hoped we should of course have freely given them what we could not keep: We apprehended that was the principal Reason of their not closing with our Terms, which were advantageous to them; besides, should we have been attacked, they believed we must then put them in Possession of their Ships, which were of no Use for fighting. But, to obviate all their Hopes of benefiting themselves at this easy Rate, without participating of their Money, the Magnet that drew us hither, I made them sensible, at parting, that, as we had treated them courteously, like generous Enemies, we would sell them good Bargains for whatever Money they could bring us in ten Days time; but that we would burn what we did not dispose of, or carry away. They begged we would delay burning the Ships, and promised to raise what Money they could, and return within the Time to satisfy us. One of the chief Prisoners we now parted with, was *Don Juan Cordoba*, designed Governor of *Baldivia*, a brisk Man, of about thirty-five Years of Age: He had served as a Colonel in *Spain*, had the Misfortune to be taken in the North Seas by an *English* Privateer near *Porto-Bello*, and carried to *Jamaica*, from whence he was sent back to *Porto-Bello*. He complained heavily of the Usage he met with from the *Jamaica* Privateer; but we parted very good Friends, and he returned us hearty Thanks, and a Stone Ring for a Present to one of the *Duchess's* Lieutenants, that had lent him his Cabin while he was sick on board. We allowed Liberty of Conscience on board our floating Commonwealth to our Prisoners; for, there being a Priest in each Ship, they had the great Cabin for their Mass, whilst we used the Church of *England* Service over them on the Quarter-deck. On the 15th of June, came on board, in a small Canoe, one *Michael Kendall*, a free Negro of *Jamaica*, who had lived for some time as a Slave in the Village our People had plundered: He happened not to be there then; but, as soon as he had an Account of it, he fairly ventured his Life to get away to us. From him we received the following remarkable Account of an Attempt made upon the Gold Mines, in which he was himself concerned. His Relation was to this Effect: That, when War was declared at *Jamaica*, he embarked under the Command of one Captain *Edward Roberts*, who was joined in Commission from the Governor of *Jamaica*, with the Captains *Rash*, *Golding*, and *Pilkington*. They had 106 Men, and designed to attempt the Mines of *Iago*, at the Bottom of the Gulph of *Darien*. There were more Commanders and Men came out with them, but did not join in this Design. They had been about five Months out, when they got near the Mines undiscovers. They sailed fifteen Days up the River in Canoes, and travelled ten Days by Land afterwards: By this Time, the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, being alarmed, laid Ambuscades, and shot many of them. The Enemy having assembled at least 500 Men, and the *English* being diminished to about sixty, including the Wounded, the *Spaniards* sent them a Flag of Truce, and offered them their Lives, after a small Skirmish, wherein the *English* lost four, and the Enemies about twelve Men. The *English*, being in want of Provisions, quite tired out, and not knowing their Way back, agreed to deliver their Arms, on condition to be used as Prisoners of War. Having thus yielded, the *Spaniards* and *Indians* carried them in Canoes three Days up the River that leads to the same Mines they designed to attempt, treated them very well, and gave them the same Food that they eat themselves. But the

fourth Day, when they came to a Town beyond the Mines, and thought all Danger had been past, an Order came from the chief *Spanish* Officer to cut them all off, which the *Indians* and *Spanish* Troops did, as those poor distressed Wretches sat at *Victuals*; so that in this barbarous Manner they were all massacred in a few Minutes, except a *Scotts*, a *French*, and an *English* Boy, with twelve free Negroes, which, at the Intercession of a Priest, they kept for Slaves. This Man, being one of them, happened to be sold first to the Mines, where, he says, he cleared at least three Pieces of Eight a Day for his Master; and from thence he was sold to this Place. We took Notice of this to the *Morelli*, who came the next Morning with Money to ransom what they could of us, putting them in mind of the different Treatment they had from us, and how grateful they ought to be for it; which they seemed very readily to acknowledge, and, indeed, behaved, upon all Occasions, with much Honour. We sold them good Bargains, 'tis true; but, on the other hand, they ran great Hazards in trading with us, and trusted us always with their Persons and Money, at the same time that we had the Effects in our Hands they came to purchase. On the 18th, a Negro, belonging to the *Duke's*, was bit by a small, brown, speckled Snake, and died within twelve Hours, notwithstanding the Doctor used his utmost Endeavours to save him. There are abundance of Snakes on this Island; and, the *Spaniards* say, some are as thick as the Middle of a Man's Thigh. I saw one as big as my Leg, and above three Yards long. Their Bite proves generally mortal. In the Afternoon we had a Consultation, and agreed, that the same Bark we took, belonging to the Main, right against this Island, should be given to the Lieutenant's Brother that we plundered, and who came over with our Bark; for, being a Man in some Authority on shore, we hoped this Favour would influence them to trade with us whilst we were here. That Morning, Messieurs *Morell* and *Navarre* went a second time in our Bark for Money. One of the same Sort of Snakes, that killed the Negro, was found on our Fore-castle, as they went off, and killed by our Men. We suppose it came aboard on the Cable, they being often seen in the Water.

26. On the 1st of *August*, the Officers we appointed to appraise the Plunder, met on board the *Galloon*, and valued the Clothing, in order to divide it amongst the Officers and Men of each, according to their respective Shares. On the 3d in the Afternoon, they made an End of appraising the Cloths, at a very low Rate, amounting to four hundred Pounds; and the Silver-luted Swords, Buckles, Snuff-boxes, Buttons, and Silver Plate in Use aboard every Prize we took, and allowed to be Plunder, at four Shillings and Sixpence per Piece of Eight, amounted to 743*l.* 15*s.* besides 3*lb.* 12*oz.* which was in Rings, Gold Snuff-boxes, Ear-rings, and Gold Chains, taken about Prisoners. This I believe an exact Account. Early next Morning we had like to have had a Mutiny amongst our Men: The Steward told me, that several of them had last Night made a private Agreement; and that he heard some Ringleaders, by way of Encouragement, boast to the rest, that sixty Men had already signed the Paper. Not knowing what this Combination meant, or how it was designed, I sent for the chief Officers into the Cabin, where we armed ourselves, secured two of those mutinous Fellows, and presently seized two others: The Fellow that wrote the Paper we put in Irons: By this time, all Hands were upon Deck, and we had got their Agreement from those who were in the Cabin: The Purport of which was, to oblige themselves not to take their Plunder, nor to move from thence, till they had Justice done them, as they termed it. There being so many concerned in this Design, the Captains *Dover* and *Fry* desired I would discharge those in Confinement, upon their asking Pardon, and faithfully promising never to be guilty of the like, or any other Combination, again. The Reason we shewed them this Favour was, that there were too many guilty to punish them at once; and, not knowing what was designed aboard the *Duke's* and *Marquis*, we were of Opinion, they had concerted to break the Ice aboard the *Duke*, and the rest to stand by them. Upon this, I used all the Arguments I could offer, shewed them the Danger and Folly of Com-

binations, and exhorted them to believe, they would have Justice done them in *England*, should any thing seem uneasy to them now, or in the whole Course of the Voyage; adding, that we had done all that we could for their Good, and would continue our Endeavours, not doubting their good Intentions, provided they were not misled. With these, and other healing Arguments, all appeared easy and quiet, and every Man seemed willing to stand to what had been done, provided the Gentlemen, that were Officers, and not Sailors amongst us, had not such large Shares, which they alleged was unreasonable; and that they could not possibly, in a Privateer, deserve what they were allowed, in proportion to the Ship's Company. This we did in part yield to, in order to appease these Malecontents, by making some Abatements on Mr. *White's*, Mr. *Baib's*, and Mr. *Vanbrugh's* Shares; so that we hoped this difficult Work would, with less Danger than we dreaded, be brought to a Conclusion; for Disputes about Plunder are the common Occasion of Privateers quarrelling amongst themselves, and ruining their Voyages. Another Paper was drawn up, for every Man to swear what Cloaths, Goods, &c. he had received of the Agents, and to restore whatever he had taken without the Agents Knowledge; in order to a just Distribution of the Plunder; and every one was to oblige himself in a Penalty of twenty Shillings for every Shilling Value that should be found about him concealed, besides the former Penalty agreed on, of losing his Share of any Prize or Purchase, for concealing above the Value of half a Piece of Eight. And, for the Encouragement of Discoveries, the Informer was to have half the Penalty, and the Protection of the Commander. This Paper was objected against by several of the Officers, who insisted, that there ought to be a greater Latitude allowed them to advantage themselves, since they had ventured their Lives thither on so difficult an Undertaking: Which made us defer signing it till a better Opportunity; for, unless such Agreements as these had been constantly promoted, as Occasion required, the Temptation of Interest would have made us fall into irrecoverable Confusions aboard, which generally end in a Separation, or worse. Some time after this, I proposed another thing, which, I thought, would prove very advantageous for our Owners, and the common Interest; and this was, the sending Captain *Cooke*, in the *Marquis*, with a Cargo of our Prize-goods, to the *Brazils*; which Commission he would have executed. By this I proposed to save our Provisions, since he would not have required any great Stock for that Voyage, and, consequently, might have remained longer in the South Seas. In the next Place, I proposed Profit, for these Goods would have come to an extraordinary Market at the *Brazils*, and have yielded twice or thrice as much as we could make of them any other Way: And, lastly, after securing, in this manner, so considerable an Advantage on our Voyage, as we must have reaped from the Produce of these Goods, our Ships had been sufficiently provided for attacking the *Acapulco* Ship. But my Consorts did not understand, or at least would not approve, these Reasons; and so the Project fell to the Ground, which they, however, repented afterwards, when it was too late.

27. On the 7th, we gave Sig. *Morell* and *Navarre* their Ships, and all the Goods we could not carry away, for what Money our Agents received of them. As for the Effects in the Bark, we agreed for 12,000 Pieces of Eight, which, with 3000 there remained of the old Debt for the Ransom of *Guiaquil*, made 15,000 in the Whole, and which were to be brought in twelve Days. Captain *Cooke* valued the Money now on board, for the Use of the Owners, 20,000 Pounds, and the Goods at 60,000 Pounds. We gave these Gentlemen a Paper, which might serve to protect them, in case they fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; and we intended to have taken an Acknowledgment under their Hands, as to the Particulars of the Bargain; but the Bark sailed away from us in the Night. I cannot help taking notice here of the honourable Behaviour of our Crew during the Time these Prisoners were on board, in order to shew how much they regarded the Credit of their Commission, and of their Country. Amongst our Prisoners taken on board Sig. *Navarre's* Ship from *Panama*, there was a Gentlewoman, and her Family; her

eldest Daughter, teen, was newly We assigned them and none were to separate their Company. I shewed evident Misdemeanors. But, amongst us, my Charge of the Gallies Years of Age, he dian to Females, young Men had him amongst Privateers them to Temptations who behaved himself was some Days in stopped here to rest where he gained ments, for his C husband extolled some concealed male Negro, that w them narrowly; as Things, cunningly fore delivered to C of good Value. Y apparel and Necess and parted very fr who put them on sh they did expect, or been in the like C Gold, to purchase the Island of *Gorgona* h therefore it is need for which Reason w Voyage.

28. *August* 11. v up with a Bark w put Mr. *Selkirk* and were but very thin more Action than therefore thought a sidering where we But the Mystery w the Reader, that, on board the *Duke's*, Fellows, fit for Serv them, that, if they fully, their Slavery them engaged, and Use of Arms, which adding, that, if I these would teach *Kendall*, the *Jamaican* *Spaniards* to us at to be continually ex how soon we might the Names of those I bestowed Names o I made them drink At the same time, them, they must lo no more as Negro S exprest themselves we saw a Sail; and and took her in an H Ton, and had four-a in her. After this, where the *Indians* Help of a Priest, e 27th, we began to sent several of our b the *Marquis* ashore while the rest boade generally treacherou on them. Our Peo ular Notice, that were first daubed, we had amicably tre

eldest Daughter, a pretty young Woman, of about Eighteen, was newly married, and had her Husband with her. We assigned them the great Cabin aboard the Galleon; and none were suffered to intrude amongst them, or to separate their Company: Yet the Husband (I was told) showed evident Marks of Jealousy, the *Spaniards* epidemic Disease. But, I hope, he had not the least Reason for it amongst us, my third Lieutenant *Glendall* alone having Charge of the Galleon and Prisoners; for, being above fifty Years of Age, he appeared to be the most secure Guardian to Females, that had the least Charms, tho' all our young Men had hitherto appeared modest, beyond Example amongst Privateers: Yet we thought it improper to expose them to Temptations. At this time, Lieutenant *Conneley*, who behaved himself so modestly to the Ladies of *Guiaquil*, was some Days in Possession of *Navarre's* Ship, before we stopped here to remove these Prisoners aboard the Galleon, where he gained their Thanks, and public Acknowledgments, for his Civilities to these Ladies; and even the Husband extolled him. We had notice these Ladies had some concealed Treasure about them, and ordered a Female Negro, that we took, and who spoke *English*, to search them narrowly; and found some Gold Chains, and other Things, cunningly hid under their Cloaths. They had before delivered to Captain *Courtesy* Plate, and other things, of good Value. We gave them most of their Wearing-apparel and Necessaries, with three Female Mullatto Slaves, and parted very friendly. They confessed to our People, who put them on shore, that we had been much civiler than they did expect, or believed their Countrymen would have been in the like Case; and sent back the Husband with Gold, to purchase some Goods and two Slaves of us. The Island of *Gorgona* has been more than once described, and therefore it is needless to trouble the Reader with it here; for which Reason we shall proceed in the History of the Voyage.

28. *August* 11. we failed, and, the next Morning, came up with a *Bark* which created so much Uneasiness; and put Mr. *Selkirk* and his Crew on board her. As our Ships were but very thinly manned, and there was likely to be more Action than since we had been in these Seas, it was therefore thought advisable to recruit a little; which, considering where we were, will seem a little extraordinary: But the Mytery will be very soon explained, by my telling the Reader, that, on the 16th, we mustered the Negroes on board the *Duke*, and found them thirty-five, strong able Fellows, fit for Service. When they were together, I told them, that, if they would behave bravely, and act faithfully, their Slavery was at an End; on which thirty-two of them engaged, and desired they might be improved in the Use of Arms, which some of them already understood; adding, that, if I would allow them Arms and Powder, these would teach the rest. Upon this, I made *Michael Kendall*, the *Jamaica* free Negro, who deserted from the *Spaniards* to us at *Gorgona*, their Leader; and charged him to be continually exercising them, because I did not know how soon we might meet with an Enemy. I took down the Names of those that had any; and those that wanted, I bestowed Names on them; and, to confirm our Contract, I made them drink a Dram all round, to our good Success. At the same time, I gave them Bays for Cloaths; and told them, they must look upon themselves as *Englishmen*, and no more as Negro Slaves to the *Spaniards*: At which they expressed themselves highly pleased. The next Morning, we saw a Sail; and both the *Ducbes* and we gave Chace, and took her in an Hour's time. She was a Vessel of seventy Ton, and had four-and-twenty Negroes, Men and Women, in her. After this, we stood over to the Bay of *Jecames*, where the *Indians* are free; and, with much-ado, by the Help of a Priest, entered on Trade with them. On the 27th, we began to heel and clean our Ships Bottoms; and sent several of our best Sailors, and two Carpenters, to assist the *Marquis* ashore. Our Men kept one half at Arms, while the rest loaded the Boats, lest the *Indians*, who are generally treacherous, should watch an Opportunity to fall on them. Our People, that came off the Shore, took particular Notice, that the red Paint, with which the *Indians* were first daubed, was a Declaration of War; and, after we had amicably treated with them, they rubbed it off; but

still kept their Arms. We sent them three large wooden *Spanish* Saints, that we had out of *Morell's* Ship, to adorn their Church; which they accounted a great Present: And I sent a feathered Cap to the chief *Indian's* Wife; which was likewise very well accepted: And I had a Present of Bows and Arrows in Requital. In the mean time, our Linguist and Prisoner managed their Business beyond Expectation, selling very ordinary Bays at one Piece of Eight and an half *per* Yard, and other things in Proportion; so that we had Provisions very cheap. On *September* 1. we failed from thence; and, on the 6th, Captain *Courtesy*, Captain *Cooke*, and Captain *Dampier*, dined on board of me, when Captain *Cooke* complained of his Ship being crank; and that we need not have tacked so near the Shore, since we might easily have fetched the *Gallapagos* without tacking. All agreed to this, except our Pilot, who was positive of seeing other Lands about 100 or 110 Leagues from the Main, under the Equinox. He told us, he was at them formerly, and has described them in one of his Voyages; and that those Islands we were at, lay to the West of them: But we judged him mistaken, or we had seen them in the last Run to and from these Islands. On the 8th, we ran over and beyond where our Pilot affirmed the Islands were; so that we all agreed, that the Island he was at, when a *Bucannering*, could be no other, but those we were at, and were going to now, the nearest Part of them lying 165 Leagues to the Westward of the Main-land. The same Day, we made one of the *Gallapagos* Islands; and, the next Day, hoisted out our Pinnace: Captain *Dover* and Mr. *Glendall* went in her for the Shore. The *Ducbes's* Pinnace returned very soon, laden with Turtles. In the mean time, we came to an Anchor in about thirty Fathom Water, about two Miles off Shore, being rocky at Bottom. In letting go the Anchor, the Buoy-rope was immediately cut off; and our Ship drove; so that we thought our Cable was also cut: But, after driving about half a Mile, the Ship rode very well. In the Evening, our Boats, that left us after we came to an Anchor, returned, laden with excellent Turtle. We sent our Yawl and some Men ashore, to turn these Creatures in the Night: But to no Purpose; because we afterwards found, they only came ashore in the Day. I sent our Pinnace, and Lieutenant *Fry*, to found out a better Anchoring-place, while we hove up the Anchor, and came to Sail. Our Boat returned; and, by ten o'Clock, we had our Ship again to an Anchor within less than a Mile of the Shore, right against a white sandy Bay. I went ashore in the Pinnace, and carried Men to walk round the Bay, to get Turtles. The Island is high, like the rest; but some low Land on this Side down to the Sea. It is very rocky, dry, and barren, without Water, like those we had already seen. On the 12th, I sent to the *Ducbes*, who was at an Anchor a good Distance from us, to know how they were stocked with Turtle. At ten the Boat returned, with an Account, that they had about 150 Land and Sea Turtles; but not generally so large as ours. We had no Land Turtles as yet; but about 150 Sea Turtles. The *Marquis* had the worst Luck. On the 13th, the *Ducbes's* People having informed us where they got their Land Turtles, I sent our Pinnace, which, at Night, returned with thirty-seven, and some Salt they found in a Pond; and the Yawl brought twenty Sea Turtles: So that we were very full of them. Some of the largest of the Land Turtles are about 100 Pounds Weight; and those of the Sea upwards of 400. The Land Turtles laid Eggs on our Deck. Our Men brought some from the Shore, about the Bigness of a Goose's Egg, white, with a large thick Shell, exactly round. The Creatures are the ugliest in Nature; the Shell not unlike the Top of an old Hackney-coach, as black as Jet; and so is the outside Skin, but shriveled, and very rough. The Legs and Neck are long, and about the Bigness of a Man's Wrist; and they have Club-feet, as big as one's Fist, shaped much like those of an Elephant, with five thick Nails on the Fore-feet, and but four behind; and the Head little, and Visage small, like Snakes; and look very old and black. When at first surprised, they shrink their Neck, Head, and Legs, under their Shell. Two of our Men, with Lieutenant *Stratton*, and the Trumpeter of the *Ducbes*, affirm they saw vast large ones of this sort, about four Feet high. They mounted two Men on the Back of one of them, which, with its

usual slow Pace, carried them, and never regarded the Weight. They supposed this could not weigh less than 700 lb. I do not affect giving Relations of strange Creatures, so frequently done by others; but where an uncommon Creature falls in my Way, I cannot omit it. The *Spaniards* tell us, they know of none elsewhere in these Seas; but they are common in *Brasil*. On the 15th, we had a fine Breeze, came up to the rest, and agreed to lie by, with our Heads to the Eastward, till Midnight, being in Sight of the Rock, where we lost poor *Hatley*, when last here. On the 16th at four o'Clock in the Afternoon, we sent our Yawl for Captain *Cooke* and Captain *Courtesy*, with whom we agreed to bear away, seeing so many Islands and Rocks to the Westward, we did not care to incumber ourselves among them in the Night. By six, we found the Remedy worse than the Disease, and, at Mast-head, could see all low Rocks, almost joining from Island to Island, that we seemed Land-locked for three Points of the Compass, and no-way open, but to the South-east, from whence we came; so we resolved to return that Way, and made short Trips all Night, keeping continual Sounding, for fear of Shoals, and had from forty to sixty Fathom Water. In the Morning, we had got far enough to Windward to return. We could have no Observation, the Sun being in our Zenith, tho' we found the Weather here much colder, than in any Latitude within ten Degrees of each Side the Equator. The *Duckies* (not being so well provided with Turtle as we) sent her Boat ashore on another Island, where they got her Lading of excellent Turtle, leaving a vast Number on shore that they could not bring away. We had as many aboard as we had Room for. At seven we all joined, and agreed to lie-by till two in the Morning, whence we continued our Course, with an easy Sail, till Day-break: We were a-bread of the *Thoroughfare*, where we tried for Water the last time. I ordered a Gun to be fired at a venture, to see if it were possible Mr. *Hatley* could be there alive, and then seeing, or hearing us, might make a Smoke on shore, as a Signal; but we had no such good Luck; so that our Hopes for him were all vanished, and, we finally concluded, that we could do no more for him, than we have done already. The 18th and 19th, we saw several more Islands, one of them a large one, which we supposed reached near the Equinoctial, and abundance of small Islands betwixt us. The 19th at Noon, we had an indifferent good Observation, Latitude $2^{\circ} 2'$ North. We saw in all (some that we searched, and others that we viewed at a Distance at both times) no less than fifty, but none that had the least Appearance of fresh Water. Sig. *Morell* tells me, that a *Spanish* Man of War, employed to cruise for Pirates, was once at an Island that lies by itself in Latitude $1^{\circ} 20'$ or $30'$ South; they called it *St. Maria del Aquada*, a pleasant Island, and good Road, full of Wood, and plenty of Water, and Turtle of both Sorts, with Fish, &c. lying about 140 *Spanish* Leagues West from the Island of *Plata*; but, I believe, it is at least thirty Leagues more, and that it is no other but the same Island where Captain *Davis*, the *English* Buccaneer, recruited; and all the Light he has left to find it again is, that it lies to the Westward of these Islands he was at with the other Buccaneers, which, as I have before examined, can be no other than these Islands we have been twice at. We had no Occasion to look for this Island the second Trip, though, I believe, it is easy to find it without farther Directions. Here are most Sort of Sea-birds among these Islands, and some Land-birds, particularly Hawks of several Sorts, and Turtle-doves, both so very tame, that we often hit them down with Sticks. I saw no Sort of Beasts; but there are Guanas in abundance, and Land-turtle almost on every Island. 'Tis strange how the latter got here; because they cannot come of themselves, and none of that Sort are found on the Main. Seals haunt some of these Islands, but not so numerous, nor their Fur so good, as at *Juan Fernandez*: A very large one made at me three several times, and, had I not happened to have a Pike-staff, pointed with Iron, in his Hand, I might have been killed by him: I was on the level Sand when he came open-mouthed at me, out of the Water, as quick and fierce as the most angry Dog let loose: I struck the Point into his Breast, and wounded him all the three times he made at me; which forced him

at last to retire, with an ugly Noise, snarling, and shewing his long Teeth at me out of the Water. This amphibious Beast was as big as a large Bear.

29. On the first of *October* we made the Main-land of *Mexico*, which Captain *Dampier* no sooner saw, than he declared, it was in the Neighbourhood of that Place that he attacked the *Lesser Manilla* Ship in the *St. George*. Our Men began to grow ill again, and two of them dropt down on the Deck, occasioned by a kind of scorbutic Apoplexy; but, upon Bleeding, they came soon to themselves. The next Day we made Cape *Corientes*, which we knew by our Charts. Captain *Dampier*, indeed, had been here; but it was a long time ago, and, therefore, he seemed to know but little of the Matter; yet, when he came to land in Places, he recollected them very readily. Our Business now was, to look for the Islands called *Tres Marias*, to procure some Refreshments; and found this a Work of Difficulty, being very uncertain as to their Situation. On the 4th in the Afternoon, Cape *Corientes* bore East North-east about ten Leagues: The next Morning, being very clear Weather, we discovered two Islands at the Distance of fourteen Leagues, one bearing North by West, the other North by East. At Noon we had an Observation, and found ourselves in the Latitude of $20^{\circ} 45'$ North. The Sight of these Islands was very satisfactory; for, though our Men had their Fill of Land and Sea-turtle, which kept them from the Scurvy, yet I found them weak, it being but a faint Sort of Food, except they had enough Bread or Flour with it; whereas they had but a Pound and a Quarter of Bread or Flour for five Men a Day; which was done to prolong our Stock of Bread against we came to live wholly on our salt Provisions, and should be then forced to allow more. On the 6th, we sent Lieutenant *Fry*, in the Pinnace, on shore, on the Eastermost Island, to try whether there was any good Road or Convenience for us to recruit there. At nine they returned, and told me, the Island had foul Ground near half a Mile from the Shore, bad Anchorage, worse Landing, and no fresh Water, but Wood enough. A melancholy Fate to us, our Water growing short. We haled on a Wind for the middle Island, which Captain *Dampier*, I believe, can remember he was at, when he belonged to Captain *Swan*, and found Water. Having little Wind, we sent our Boat towards the Island, to view it, before we could get up thither with the Ship. The *Duckies*'s People, and our Pinnace, had been ashore at several Places on the South-east Side of the Island, and found better Water at every Place. On the 8th, those that had been on the Island reported, they saw no Sign of any Peoples being lately there, but found a human Skull above-ground, which we supposed to be one of the two *Indian* Captains *Dampier* tells us were left here by Captain *Swan* about 23 Years ago; for Victuals being scarce with these Buccaneers, they would not carry the poor *Indians* any farther; but, after they had served their Turns, left them to make a miserable End on a desolate Island. We kept a Light on all Night, and a Fire in the Island, that, if the *Mazze* and Bark, who had left Company, saw it, and had a Gale, they might come into Anchor-ground: But, having no Sight of them at Day-break, I went on board our Company, and proposed my going out to look after them; but they made light of it, and thought it needless, believing they would be in after us without any Assistance. The Remains of Cattle, Hogs, and Plantains, at *Pecamer*, held to the *Gallapagos*; and we fed on the Turtle ever since, excepting those two last Days. This accidental Stock of fresh Food was some Refreshment to our Men, and prolonged our Stock of European Provisions. On the 9th, I sent Lieutenant *Glendall* to view the other Side of the Island, and he told me, on his Return, that it was much better than this, had several sandy Bays, in which he saw the Tract of many Turtle. Upon this Intelligence, I sent back the Boat thither in the Evening, and next Morning they came aboard with a full Load of Turtle, and left the other behind them ready turned; and, which was of much greater Consequence, they found pretty good Water, whereas what we had hitherto drank was physical, and purged excessively. As we wooded, watered, and refreshed ourselves with fresh Provisions here, and as the

are Places very Islands of *Tres* four Leagues apart, most, which are five Leagues in Leagues the long Leagues: These Near the least Islands. One of like a Ship under usual Signal for These Islands has Pigeons, Doves killed great Numbers than ours: We have coons; the latter were easily beat worthy of Remark we found but two Streams near others which, I suppose that grow in the Turtle here are any I have seen; but three Sorts of different Sorts at several of them all, except Turtle, (as they are and some of them of that Sort, because Thole at the *Gallapagos* observed came a Night, quite different from the rest. All that them in the Night lay their Eggs, as these had 800 Eggs and ready for laying Turtle were six write, considering where-ever those Islands they have nothing to be better informed shore to watch the Eggs without Disturbance Time and Place. me, they found them, and, in about two in them, complete little longer, I made rough Satisfaction From whence I divers of our Sail found Eggs in the Days time after, but Films: This within that time observed, more of the Sand ever Numbers, and quite Fish about the Sorts mentioned Plenty of Turtle, the chief Officers without Hares, various Sizes and with Tufts of Feathers Anchor-ground Soundings, from the Shore. Betwixt the same Depth, no Shore, but with west Point, and fame, with another the least Island, the Shore.

30. On the 10th proved the Point the Sailors call C. NUMB. 12.

are Places very little known, I shall describe them. The Islands of *Tres Marias* lie North-west, in a Range about four Leagues asunder. The largest Island is the Westermost, which appears to be high double Land, and about five Leagues in Length; the Middle Island about three Leagues the longest Way; and the Easternmost scarce two Leagues: These are also high Lands, and full of Trees. Near the least Island are two or three small, broken, white Islands. One of the outermost of these appeared so much like a Ship under Sail at a Distance, that we gave the usual Signal for a Chace, but soon found our Mistake. These Islands have abundance of different Sorts of Parrots, Pigeons, Doves, and other Land Birds, of which we killed great Numbers, with excellent Hares, but much less than ours: We saw abundance of Guanas, and some Raccoons; the latter barked and snarled at us like Dogs, but were easily beat off with Sticks. I think the Water more worthy of Remark, than any thing we saw here; because we found but two good Springs, which ran down in large Streams near others, that were very bitter and disagreeable, which, I suppose, might proceed from Shrubs and Roots that grow in the Water, or from some Mineral. The Turtle here are very good, but of a different Shape from any I have seen; and, though vulgarly there are reckoned but three Sorts of Turtle, we have seen six or seven different Sorts at several times, and our People have eat of them all, except the very large Whooping or Loggerhead Turtle, (as they are called) found in *Brasil* in great Plenty, and some of them above 500 lb. Weight; we did not eat of that Sort, because then our Provisions were plentiful. Those at the *Gallapagos* Islands, both Male and Female, I observed came ashore in the Day-time, and not in the Night, quite different from what I have seen or heard of the rest. All that we caught in this Island, was by turning them in the Night, and were She's, which came ashore to lay their Eggs, and bury them in the dry Sand; one of these had 800 Eggs in its Belly, 150 of which were skinned, and ready for laying at once. I could not imagine, that Turtle were six Weeks in hatching, as some Authors write, considering the Sun makes the Sand so very hot where-ever those Eggs are found, and, instead of a Shell, they have nothing but a very thin Film: In order therefore to be better informed, I ordered some of our Men on shore to watch carefully for one, and suffer her to lay her Eggs without Disturbance, and to take good notice of the Time and Place. Accordingly they did so, and assured me, they found the Eggs added in less than twelve Hours; and, in about twelve Hours more, they had young ones in them, completely shaped, and alive: Had we itaid a little longer, I might have given myself, and others, thorough Satisfaction in this quick Production of Tortoises: From whence I am inclinable to credit the Report of divers of our Sailors, who assert, that where they have found Eggs in the Sand, and looked for them in three Days time after, in the same Place, they found nothing but Films: This shews, that the young ones are hatched within that time. They assured me also, that they had observed, more than once, that the young Brood run out of the Sand every Day, directly for the Sea, in great Numbers, and quicker than the old ones. There was little Fish about the Shores of this Island, and of the same Sorts mentioned at other Places in these Seas; but the Plenty of Turtle, at this time, supplied that Defect: We, the chief Officers, fed deliciously here, being scarce ever without Hares, Turtle-doves, Pigeons, and Parrots of various Sizes and Colours: Many had white, or red Heads, with Tufts of Feathers on their Crowns. We found good Anchor-ground about this middle Island, and gradual Soundings, from twenty to four Fathom Water, close by the Shore. Between this and the least Island, 'tis about the same Depth, where we were: Between them I found no Shole, but what was visible; as a Rock off the South-west Point, and a Shole off the North-east Point of the same, with another at a great Distance from that Point of the least Island, but neither runs above half a Mile from the Shore.

30. On the 1st of *November* we saw High-land, which proved the Point of *California*, or that Head-land which the Sailors call *Cape St. Lucas*. It was now necessary to

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put in Execution the Rules we had formerly laid down for Cruising; as also to settle our Regulations about Plunder, and against Gaming; which was done on the eleventh. According to our Agreement, mine was to be the outermost Ship, the *Duchess* in the Middle, and the *Marquis* next the Land; the nearest Ship to be six Leagues at least, and nine at most, from the Shore; the Bark to ply to-and-fro, and carry Advice from Ship to Ship: By this Agreement, we could spread fifteen Leagues, and see any thing that might pass us in the Day within twenty Leagues of the Shore; and, to prevent the Ships passing in the Night, we were to ply to Windward all Day, and drive all Night. On the 5th of *November* we changed our Situation, and the *Duchess* was next the Shore, and the *Marquis* in the Middle. It gave us great Satisfaction, to consider, that in this very Place, and about this very Day, Sir *Thomas Candish* took the *Manilla* Ship. On the 16th, we sent the Bark to look for Water on the Main; and next Morning they returned, having seen wild *Indians*, who paddled to them on Bark-logs: They were fearful of coming near our People at first, but were soon prevailed with to accept of a Knife or two, and some Bays; for which they returned two Bladders of Water, a couple of live Foxes, and a Deer's-skin. Till now, we thought the *Spaniards* had Missionaries among these People; but they being quite naked, having no Sign of *European* Commodities, nor the least Word of *Spanish*, we concluded they were quite savage. We dispatched the Bark and Boat a second time with Trifles, in hopes to get some Refreshment from them. On the 18th, before Sun-set, we could perceive our Bark under the Shore; and, having little Wind, she drove most Part of the Night, to be near us in the Morning: We sent our Pinnace, and brought the Men aboard, who told us, that their new Acquaintance were grown very familiar, but were the poorest Wretches in Nature, and had no manner of Refreshment for us: They came freely aboard to eat some of our Victuals, and, by Signs, invited our Men ashore. The *Indians* swam ashore to guide the Bark-logs that our Men were on, there being too much Sea to land out of our Boat. After they got safe on shore, the *Indians* led each of our Men, betwixt two of them, up the Bank, where there was an old naked Gentleman, with a Deer-skin spread on the Ground, on which they kneeled before our People, who did the like, and wiped the Water off their Faces without a Cloth. These that led them from the Water-side, took the same Care of them for a Quarter of a Mile, and led them very slowly, through a narrow Pass, to their Huts, where they found a dull Musician, rubbing two jagged Sticks across each other, and humming to it, to divert and welcome their new Guests. After these Ceremonies were over, our People sat on the Ground with them, eat broiled Fish, and were attended back in the same manner, with the *Indian* Music. The Savages brought a Sample of every thing they had, except their Women, Children, and Arms, which we find are not common to Strangers. Their Knives, made of Sharks Teeth, and a few other of their Curiosities, our People brought aboard to me, which I preserved, to shew what Shifts may be made. On the 28th in the Afternoon, we heard the *Marquis* fire a Gun, which was answered by the *Duchess*, who had the middle Birth. We tacked immediately, and made all possible Sail, supposing they had seen a Stranger. The *Marquis* stood to us, towards the Shore, and we soon met her: By four o'Clock I was aboard them, and inquired into the Cause of the Alarm; was surprised to hear they took us for the *Manilla* Ship, and the Gun they fired, was to alarm the *Duchess* to give Chace, as she had done all the Day, though not regarded by us, who knew the *Marquis*, and admired they could mistake the *Duke*. Immediately each Ship returned to his Station. Soon after our main Tie gave way, and our main Yard came down at once, but did no other Damage. Next Morning we saw the Bark coming off Shore, where she had been becalmed: Being longer wanting than usual, we were afraid they were cut off by the *Indians*. We got our Bale-goods up from abast, to see for the Leak; but all to no Purpose; we found several of the Bales that had received some Damage, which we dried and repacked, and fold what was damaged,

2 X

among

among the Ship's Company. The same Night, our Lazaretto-door being broken open, and losing Bread and Sugars, this Morning I ordered a Search, and found the Thief. I blamed the Steward for his Remissness: He told me, he lay next the Door, with the Key fastened to his privy Parts, because he had it once stolen out of his Pocket; I suppose by the same Thief, who was so dexterous as to get it now, without disturbing him; but, not being ingenious enough to fasten it to the same Place, he was discovered: His Mess-mate was also guilty, but, knowing his Friends *Brissol*, I was unwilling to punish him, though, Provisions being scarce, it made the Crime the greater; for we expected no Recruit till we got to the *East Indies*. I ordered the first to be severely whipt at the Geers, and the other, and a *Dutchman*, to be afterwards left with him in Irons. On the 9th of *December*, Mr. *Duck*, the Master of the Bark, came aboard, and presented me with some Dolphins he had from the *Indians*. I ordered our Master to go with him, and endeavour, if possible, to discover the Shore along to the Northward, to find out a better Harbour than that where the *Indians* lived; and, if they met with the *Duchess*, to tell Captain *Courtney*, I thought it convenient for one of the Ships to go into the Bay we had already discovered, and there to take in Water and Wood, &c. so to fit our Ships by turns, to save Time, and, consequently, Provisions, which began now to grow short with us. We were also something dubious of seeing the *Manilla* Ships, because it was near a Month after the Time they generally fall in with this Coast that we were here cruising for them; but, what embarrassed us most was, the Impossibility of procuring any Intelligence which might deliver us from this Perplexity. To act with Judgment and Spirit in so nice a Conjunction, it was resolved on the 4th, that the *Marquis* should go into the Harbour, in order to refit; that I and the *Duke* should keep the outward Birth, and the *Duchess* remain between us and the Shore. It was likewise fixed, that we should cruise but eight Days longer in hopes of this *Manilla* Ship. On considering our Provisions, we found the Bread on board all the Ships, at our present short Allowance, for about seventy Days at most. Our Run to *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones*, could not possibly be performed in less than fifty Days; which, added to the Time we were full to remain here, made it evident, that, on our Arrival there, we should have Bread only for eleven Days: And, even then, we ran two Hazards; the first, that our Voyage might be longer, and, in that case, our Bread must fail, before we arrived at *Guam*; the other, that, in case we had such a Remainder of Bread when we came there, it was not quite certain, that we should obtain a Supply. Yet, at all Events, we were obliged to resolve upon this Course, because it was simply impossible for us to go round by *Cape Horn*, and so to the *Brasilis*, where we might have sold our Goods to vast Advantage, and made our Voyage back to *Great Britain* in much less Time.

31. The Thoughts of all these Difficulties naturally made us a little melancholy: However, on the 21st of *December*, we bore away for the Port where the *Marquis* was refitting; but, about nine in the Morning, the Man at the Mast-head cry'd out, that he saw a Sail, besides the *Duchess* and Bark, distant about seven Leagues from us. We hoisted our Ensign immediately, and bore away after her; the *Duchess* did the like; but, it falling calm, I ordered the Pinnace to be manned, and sent out, to make what she was. In the mean time, our Ship's Company were strangely divided in their Opinions: Some were very positive, that it was the *Marquis* come out of Port; and, to confirm this, they asserted, that the Sail had no Fore-top-mast; upon which we recalled the Pinnace, put a Cap aboard her for the *Marquis*, and then sent her away again; and by this time it was Noon. All the rest of the Day we had very little Wind, so that we made no great Way; and the Boat not returning, kept us in a languishing Condition, not being able to determine, whether the Sail was our Consort the *Marquis*, or the *Acapulco* Ship. Our Pinnace was still in Sight, and we had nothing to do but to watch her Motions: We could see, that she made towards the *Duchess*'s Pinnace, which rowed to meet her: They lay together some time, and then the *Duchess*'s Pinnace went

back to their Ship, which gave us great Hopes. In order to obtain some Certainty, I ordered Mr. *Fry* on board the *Duchess*, in our Yawl, to know what that Ship was, and to agree, if she was not the *Marquis*, how to engage her: As soon as the Yawl was gone, we hoisted French Colours, and fired a Gun, which the Stranger answered; and thus, in some measure, cleared the Doubt. Mr. *Fry*, however, quickly returned, with the joyful News, that this was really the *Manilla* Ship, for which we had waited so long, and of seeing which we now began to despair. This revived all our Courage, and every body was as active in preparing for the Engagement, as we could possibly desire. The Thoughts of being made at once, dispersed all our melancholy Reflections on the Shortness of our Provisions, and our long Run to *Guam*: We had now nothing in our Heads, but being Masters of the mighty Treasure on board this *India* Ship; and every Moment seemed an Hour, till we came up with her. We agreed the two Pinnaces should tend her all Night, and keep shewing false Fires, that we might know whereabouts they and the Chace were; and, if we were so fortunate as to come up with her together, we agreed to board her at once. We made a clear Ship before Night, had every thing in Readiness to engage her at Day-break, and kept a very good Look-out all Night for the Boat's false Fires, which we saw, and answered frequently. At Day-break we saw the Chace upon our Weather-bow, about a League from us, the *Duchess* a-head of her to Leeward, near about half as far. Towards six our Boat came aboard, having kept very near the Chace all the Night, and received no Damage; but told us, the *Duchess* passed by her in the Night, and she fired two Shot at them, but they returned none. We had no Wind, but got out eight of our Ship's Oars, and rowed above an Hour; then there sprung up a small Breeze. I ordered a large Kettle of Chocolate to be made for our Ship's Company (having no spirituous Liquor to give them); then we went to Prayers, and, before we had concluded, were disturbed by the Enemy's firing at us. They had Barrels hanging at each Yard-arm, that looked like Powder-barrels, to deter us from boarding them. About eight o'Clock we began to engage her by ourselves; for the *Duchess*, being to Leeward, and having little Wind, did not come up. The Enemy fired her Stern-chace upon us first, which we returned with our Fore-chace several times, till we came nearer; and, when close aboard each other, we gave her several Broadsides, plying our small Arms very briskly; which they returned as thick for awhile, but did not ply their great Guns half so fast as we. After some time, we shot a little a-head of them, lying thwart her Hawke, close aboard; and plied them so warmly, that she soon struck her Colours two-thirds down. By this time the *Duchess* came up, and fired about five Guns, with a Volley of small Shot; but the Enemy, having submitted, made no Return. We went our Pinnace aboard, and brought the Captain, with the Officers, away; and, having examined them, found there was another Ship come out of *Manilla* with them, of larger Burden, having about forty brass Guns mounted, and as many Pattereroes; but, they told us, they lost her Company three Months ago, and reckoned she was got to *Acapulco* before this time, she sailing better than this Ship. This Prize was called by the swelling Name of *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion Difengano*, Sir *John Pickberry* Commander; she had twenty Guns, twenty Pattereroes, and 193 Men aboard, whereof nine were killed, ten wounded, and several blown up with Powder. We engaged them about three Glaffes; in which time, we had only myself and another Man wounded. I was shot through the Left Cheek; the Bullet struck away great Part of my upper Jaw, and several of my Teeth, Part of which dropped down upon the Deck, where I fell: The other, *William Powell*, an Irish Landman, was slightly wounded in the Buttock. They did us no great Damage in our Rigging, but a Shot disabled our Fore-mast. I was forced to write what I would say, to prevent the Loss of Blood, and because of the Pain I suffered by speaking. On the 23d of *September*, after we had put our Ships to rights, we stood in for the Harbour, which was distant about seven Leagues to the North-east. Our Surgeons went on board the Prize, to dress their wounded Men. About four in the Afternoon

we came to an anchor on board the *Marquis*, and which that Ship in going on board her was in the Evening Points; first, next, how we were Ship, which we bility of our taking We agreed that son to believe the mander of the man, viz. the famous Mr. *du* make the best To As to the other very desirous of the other *Manilla* Reflections call, of last Prize so soon Captain *Courtney* *Marquis*; and the Committee, forced to stay it however, agreed on board the *D* attack the *Acapulco*, she and the gone, we put P Prize, in order ment we made w Pieces of Eight agreed to sell the and to take the *du*, for the rou he very readily his Hand, that was settled, we sity, during the and for this we could.

32. On *Gbrigi* Top of an Hill, Sea, with Infls of Ships in the Colours, that w Prisoners, and t which indeed w that this was a manned, and b was carried, it for which we were tomorrow, the C diately sent the found there we instantly put all away her Sails, twenty-two Han keep, assist, and about 170, being Rudders, Sails, our Prize, a few give them Victu very safely; yet nant of each Shi our Prize, and in sifst our Consorts in Sight. Capt Prize, and exch that guarded the I was in so weak so much swelled loud enough to of the chief Off suaded me to st Prize. We were seven a Clock; which we took c

we came to an Anchor, and received the Compliments of all on board the *Marquis*, on our sudden and unexpected Success, and which afforded us no small Satisfaction: We found that Ship in good Condition, ready to sail, and all the Men on board her very brisk, and eager for Action. At eight in the Evening, we had a Consultation on the two great Points; first, what should be done with the Hostages; and, next, how we should act with respect to the other *Manilla* Ship, which we thought there was at least a great Probability of our taking, if we could remain here a little longer. We agreed that it would be best, since we had good Reason to believe the Hostages from *Guiaquil*, and the Commander of the *Manilla* Ship, who was a French Gentleman, viz. the Chevalier *Jean Picchetti*, Brother to the famous *Mr. du Cass*, to be Men of strict Honour, to make the best Terms possible, and then set them at Liberty. As to the other, we met with greater Difficulty. I was very desirous of going out with the *Duchess* to cruise for the other *Manilla* Ship; but there having been some Reflections cast, on account of the *Duchess* not engaging our last Prize so soon as it was thought she might have done, Captain *Courtesy* was absolutely bent on going out with the *Marquis*; and the Officers of both Ships voting for this in the Committee, my Proposal was over-ruled, and we were forced to stay in the Harbour against our Will. It was, however, agreed, that we should put ten of our best Hands on board the *Duchess*, that she might be the better able to attack the *Acapulco* Ship, if we saw her; and, on *Christmas-eve*, she and the *Marquis* sailed. As soon as they were gone, we put Part of the Goods aboard the Bark into the Prize, in order to send away our Prisoners. The Agreement we made with them was this: As there were still 4000 Pieces of Eight due for the Ransom of *Guiaquil*, we agreed to sell them the Bark and Cargo for 2000 more; and to take the Chevalier *Picchetti's* Bills, payable in *Lou-don*, for the round Sum of 6000 Pieces of Eight; which he very readily gave us, and an Acknowledgment under his Hand, that he thought it a good Bargain. When this was settled, we had nothing to look to but our own Security, during the small time that our Comforts were cruising; and for this we made the most prudent Disposition we could.

32. On *Christmas-day* we posted two Centinels on the Top of an Hill, from whence they had a fair View of the Sea, with Instructions, whenever they saw three Sail of Ships in the Offing, to make three Wafts with their Colours, that we might have Time enough to secure our Prisoners, and to get out to the Relief of our Comforts; which indeed we expected, as having certain Intelligence, that this was a much stronger Ship than the other, better manned, and better provided in all respects; so that, if she was carried, it must prove very hot Work on both Sides, for which we were to prepare. On the 26th, in the Afternoon, the Centries made three Wafts, and we immediately sent the Yawl to them for better Satisfaction, and found there were three Sail out at Sea: Upon which we instantly put all the Prisoners aboard the Bark, taking away her Sails, and fetched our Men aboard, leaving only twenty-two Hands belonging to us aboard the Prize, to keep, assist, and look after them. The Prisoners, who were about 170, being secured aboard our Bark without Arms, Rudders, Sails, or a Boat, and moored near a Mile from our Prize, a few more of our Men than was sufficient to give them Victuals and Drink, might have guarded them very safely; yet, for the more Security, we left a Lieutenant of each Ship, and the above Men well armed, aboard our Prize, and immediately weighed, in order to go and assist our Comforts to attack the great Ship, when she came in Sight. Captain *Dover* thought fit to go on board the Prize, and exchange Posts with one of the Lieutenants that guarded the Prisoners, and sent him to us in his stead. I was in so weak a Condition, and my Head and Throat so much swelled, that I yet spake in great Pain, and not loud enough to be heard at any Distance; so that all the rest of the chief Officers, and our Surgeons, would have persuaded me to stay in the Harbour in Safety aboard our Prize. We weighed our Anchors, and got under Sail at seven a Clock; we saw Lights several times in the Night, which we took to be our Comforts Boats making false Fires.

In the Morning, at Day-break, we saw three Sail to Windward of us; but were so far distant, that we could not make which were our Comforts, and which the Chace, till about nine a Clock, when we saw the *Duchess* and Chace near together, and the *Marquis* standing to them with all the Sail she could croud. We made what Sail we could, but were to Leeward of them three or four Leagues, and, having a scant Wind, made little Way. At Noon, they bore South-east of us, being right to Windward about three Leagues. In the Afternoon, we saw the *Marquis* come up with the Chace, and engage her pretty briskly; but soon fell to Leeward out of Cannon-shot, and lay a considerable time, which made us think she was some way or other disabled. I ordered the Pinnace to be manned, and sent away to her; and, if what we suspected proved true, and we had no Wind to get up with them before Night, our Boat might dog the Chace with Signals till the Morning, that she might not escape us, and the other Ships; but, before the Boat could get up with them, the *Marquis* made Sail, and came up with the Chace; and both went to it again briskly for four Glasses and upwards. Then the Ship, which we took to be the *Duchess*, steered a-head to Windward of the Enemy, I suppose to fix her Rigging, or stop her Leaks. Meanwhile the other Ship kept her in Play, till she bore down again; and each, firing a Broadside or two, left off, because 'twas dark. They then bore South of us, which was right in the Wind's Eye, distant about two Leagues: By Midnight we were pretty well up with them, and our Boat came aboard, having made false Fires, which we answered. They had been aboard the *Duchess*, and the *Marquis*; and told me, the former had her Fore-mast much disabled, and the Ring of an Anchor shot away, with several Men wounded, and one killed, having received a Shot in the Powder-room, and several in their upper Works, but all stopt: They engaged the Ship by themselves the Night before, which was what we took to be the Boats Lights, being out of the Hearing of the Guns. At that time they could perceive the Enemy was in Disorder, her Guns not being all mounted, and consequently their Netting-deck and Close-quarters unprovided; so that had it been my good Fortune, in the *Duke*, to accompany the *Duchess*, as I desired, we all believed we might then have carried this great Ship; or if they, in the *Duchess*, had thought of taking most of the Men out of the *Marquis*, who did not sail well enough to come up to their Assistance at first, they alone, very probably, might have taken her, by boarding at once, before the *Spaniards* had experienced her strength, being afterwards so well provided, as encouraged them to lie driving, and give us all Opportunity to board them when we pleased. Captain *Cooke* sent me Word, that the *Marquis* had fired near all her Shot and Powder; but had escaped very well, both in Masts, Rigging, and Men. I sent our Boat with three Barrels of Powder; and Shot in Proportion, and Lieutenant *Fry*, to consult our Comforts how to engage the Enemy to the best Advantage at Break of Day. The Chace had made Signals to our Ship all the Day and Night, because she took us for her Comfort, which we had in Possession; and, after it was dark, had edged away to us; otherwise I should not have been up with her, having very little Wind, and that against us. In the Morning, as soon as it was Day, the Wind veering at once, put our Ship about, and the Chace fired first upon the *Duchess*, who, by means of the Wind's veering, was nearest the Enemy; she returned it smartly; we stood as near as possible, firing as our Guns came to bear: But the *Duchess* being by this time thwart the Haws, and firing very fast; those Shot that missed the Enemy, flew from the *Duchess* over us, and betwixt our Masts; so that we ran the Risk of receiving more Damage from them, than from the Enemy, if we had lain on her Quarters, and cross her Stern, as I designed, while the Enemy lay driving there: This forced us to lie along-side, close aboard her, where we kept firing Round-shot, and did not load with any Bar or Partridge, because the Ship's Sides were too thick to receive any Damage by it; and, no Men appearing in Sight, it would have been a Clog to the Force of our Round-shot.

33. We kept close aboard her, and drove as she did, as near as possible: The Enemy kept to their Close-quarters; so that we did not fire our small Arms, till we saw a Mast

appear;

appear, or a Port open; then we fired as quick as possible. Thus we continued for four Glasses, about which time we received a Shot in the Main-mast, which much disabled it: Soon after, the *Duchess* and we firing together, we came back close under the Enemy, and had like to have been all aboard her; so that we could make little Use of our Guns. Then we fell a-stern in our Birth Along-side, where the Enemy threw a Fire-ball out of one of her Tops, which, lighting upon our Quarter-deck, blew up a Chest of Arms and Cartouch-boxes, all loaded, and several Cartridges of Powder in the Steerage; by which means Mr. *Vanbrugg*, our Agent, and a *Dutchman*, were very much burnt. It might have done more Damage, had it not been quenched soon. After we got clear of each other, the *Duchess* stood in for the Shore, where she lay braced to, mending her Rigging, &c. The *Marquis* fired several Shot, but to little Purpose, her Guns being small: We were close aboard several times afterwards, till at last we received a second Shot in the Main-mast, not far from the other, which rent it miserably, and the Mast settled to it; so that we were afraid it would drop by the Board; and, having our Rigging shattered very much, we steered off, and brought to, making a Signal to our Comforts what to do: In the Interim, we got ordinary Fishes for a Support to the Main-mast, and lashed it, as well as we could, to secure it at present. Captain *Courtney* and Captain *Cooke* came aboard, with other Officers; where we considered the Condition the three Ships were in, their Masts and Rigging being much damaged, in a Place where we could get no Recruit; that, if we engaged her again, we could propose to do no more than what we had already done, which was evident did her no great Hurt, because we could perceive few of our Shot entered her Sides to any Purpose; and our small Arms availed less, there being not a Man to be seen Above-board; that the least thing in the World would bring our Main-mast, and likewise the *Duchess's* Fore-mast, by the Board, either of which, by its Fall, might carry away another Mast, and then we should lie a perfect But for the Enemy, having nothing to command our Ships with; so that, by his heavy Guns, he might either sink or take us: That, if we went to board her, we should run a great Hazard in losing a great many Men, with little Hopes of Success, they having above treble the Number aboard to oppose us; and there being now, in all our three Ships, not above 120 Men fit for boarding, and those but weak, having been very short of Provisions; so that, if we had boarded her, and been forced off, or left any of our Men behind, the Enemy by that means might have known our Strength, and then gone into the Harbour, and took Possession of the Prize in spite of all we could do to prevent it. Besides, our Ammunition was very short, having only enough to engage a few Glasses longer: All this being seriously considered, and knowing the Difficulty we should have to get Masts, and the Time and Provisions we must spend before we could get them fitted, we resolved to forbear attempting her further, since our battering her signified little, and we had not Strength enough to board her: Therefore we agreed to keep her Company till Night, then to lose her, and make the best of our Way into the Harbour, to secure the Prize we had already taken. We engaged first and last about seven Hours, during all which time we had, aboard the *Duke*, but eleven Men wounded, three of whom were scorched with Gunpowder. I was again unfortunately wounded in my Left Foot with a Splinter, just before we blew up on the Quarter-deck; so that I could not stand, but lay on my Back in a great deal of Miserie, Part of my Heel-bone being struck out, and all under my Ankle cut above half-through; which bled very much, and weakened me, before it could be dressed and stopped. The *Duchess* had about twenty Men killed and wounded: Three of the latter, and one of the former, were my Men. The *Marquis* had none killed or wounded, but two scorched with Powder. The Enemy's was a brave lofty new Ship, the Admiral of *Manilla*, and this the first Voyage she had made. She was called the *Vigonia*, of about 900 Tons, and could carry sixty Guns, about forty of which were mounted with as many Pattereroes, all Brass; her Complement of Men on board, as we were informed, was above 450, besides Passengers; they added, that 150 of the Men

on board this great Ship were *Europeans*, several of whom had been formerly Pirates, and, having now got all their Wealth aboard, were resolved to defend it to the last. The Gunner, who had a Post in *Manilla*, was an expert Man, and had provided the Ship extraordinary well for Defence, which made them fight so desperately. They had filled up all between the Guns with Bales, to secure the Men: She kept a *Spanish* Flag at her Main-top-mast-head all the Time she fought us: We shattered her Sails and Rigging very much, shot her Mizen-yard, killed two of her Men out of her Tops, which was all the Damage we could see we did them, tho' we could not place less than 400 Shot (Six-pounders) in her Hull. These large Ships are built at *Manilla*, with excellent Timber, that will not splinter; they have very thick Sides, much stronger than we build in *Europe*. Thus ended our Attempt on the biggest *Manilla* Ship; which I have heard related to many ways at home, that I thought it necessary to set down a very particular Circumstance of it, as it stood in my Journal. Had we been together at first, and boarded her, we might probably have taken this great Prize; but, after the Enemy had fixed her Netting-neck, and Close-quarters, they valued us very little. I believe also we might have burnt her with one of our Ships; but that was objected against by all the Officers, because we had Goods of Value on board all our Ships. The Enemy was the better provided for us, because they had heard at *Manilla*, from our *English* Settlements in *India*, that there were two small Ships, fitted from *Brissol*, that designed to attempt somewhat in the South Seas, and that Captain *Dampier* was Pilot; which was the Reason they had so many *Europeans* aboard the great Ship, most of whom having, as I said, their Wealth aboard, they would fight to the utmost; and, having agreed to pay no Freight there, had filled up all between the Guns with Bales, to secure the Men. The two Ships were to have joined at Cape *St. Lucas*, expecting to meet us off Cape *Corientes*, or *Natividad*. This was a great Disappointment to us, and gave, no doubt, much Reputation to them: Indeed they defended themselves gallantly; and, in all human Probability, would have defended her to the last; and yet, perhaps, they were as much indebted to our Squabbles, as to their own Courage and Conduct: Which shews what Care ought to be taken on board all such Vessels, to avoid Disputes, which are always fatal to great Undertakings, and small ones. We were sensible of it, when it was too late; but our Sense of it would not recal what was past, nor could it prevent what was to come; for, instead of taking Warning, as reasonable People should have done, by the Effects of this gross Mistake, we, on the contrary, suffered ourselves to be thrown by it into new and greater Disorders, than had hitherto arisen during the Voyage.

34. On January 1. 1710. we returned again into Port; and, as we were now determined to make as quick Dispatch as possible in our Passage to the *East Indies*, we immediately parted with our Prisoners, giving them the Bark, with Water and Provisions sufficient for their Voyage to *Acapulco*. Then we applied ourselves to settling our own Affairs. We spent our Time to the 7th in refitting, wooding, and watering; and very satisfactory it was for us to find as much Bread on board the Prize, as, with our old Stock, might supply us in our long Run to *Guam*. On the 3d, we fetched our three wounded Men from on board the *Duchess*. One of them, whose Name was *Thomas Young*, a *Welshman*, had lost one of his Legs; another, who was also a *Welshman*, had his Face miserably torn; and a third, whose Name was *John Gold*, was wounded in the Thigh; and, besides these, there was a very honest *Portuguese*, one *Emmanuel Goncalves*, killed. About this time, Captain *Courtney*, and his Officers, with those on board the *Marquis*, were too willing to compliment Captain *Dover* with the chief Command of the Prize, which, till now, I thought he would not have accepted, his Posts already being above a Commander of any of our Prizes; but I and my Officers were against it, because we believed Captain *Fry*, or others, were fitter Persons to take Charge of her; which we insisted on: And Captains *Courtney* and *Cooke* came to me, where they agreed to a Paper, that was drawn up while we were all together, in such a manner, as I thought would have satisfied every one. Captain *Courtney* carried this Agreement

to Captain *Dover*, who, being content with the Prize, they spent some time in making Captains *Courtney* and *Cooke* brought a Paper, without which, without that should navigate, he should think fit this Morning, to ward, having her, and desired that the Committee would make use of then all aboard the our last Meeting, me, and my Office, directly answered by signed on the 9th. *Dover* might be a Owner, we all agreed care of her Cargo, could be made for the Consequence to us, instructions to me, the curest Methods to be so fortunate, as pulso Ships; so that Sides, I desired the determine what the Time might be lost the *Batcler*, to end long Debate, they were in equal Posts, the Ship, tho' under Command, or contrad Duty it was to see, to the Interest of the Nature of an Agent, at first; only he had which was so small a mon, that we all chose Officers, Men aboard her, the thirteen, which, we *Laf-Car*, and other Elements about 110 first Agreement, I went to my Instructions from ences about this Affairs safe Arrival in Great thirty-five good Hands put no more than and *Cooke*, and two to me, where we figured two Commanders, re amongst them; and of Rendezvous was to where we designed to willing to have come had not been satisfied to conceal it; and that in Justice to myself, give the Whole; which, because it was the like Circumstances, ours, there is nothing 35. As I have not descriptions, so, before to give the Reader because most of what fore it deserves the *Spanish*, that some *California* and the N meeting with those V dust not venture any Probability, it joins Northward: For the Sign of being near having more Territory

to Captain *Dover* to sign it; not doubting, but all would be content with what we had concluded; yet, to our Surprise, they spent the Remains of the Day, and, instead of making Captain *Dover* comply with it, undid all, and brought a Paper, which impowered him to be sole Commander, without the least Restraint of not molesting those that should navigate the Ship, but to order every thing as he should think fit. I sent a Letter to Captain *Courtney* this Morning, to know what Measures were going forward, having heard nothing from him since the 7th Instant; and desired that there might be no Loss of Time, but that the Committee might meet once more, to try if they would make use of their unbiased Reason: They were then all aboard the *Marquis*, where I heard they had, since our last Meeting, concerted how to frame a Protest against me, and my Officers of the Committee, which was immediately answered by a Protest from me, both which were signed on the 9th. I had always desired, that Captain *Dover* might be aboard her; for, being a considerable Owner, we all agreed he was a very proper Person to take care of her Cargo, and to have all Accommodation that could be made for him in that Ship, which was of such vast Consequence to us, and our Employers: That, in their Instructions to me, they strictly charged me to use the securest Methods to bring her safe home, in case we should be so fortunate, as we now were, to take one of the *Acapulco* Ships; so that, after the Protests were over on both Sides, I desired they might assemble together, and finally determine what the Majority would agree on, that no Time might be lost: So all the Council met again on board the *Batteler*, to endeavour an Accommodation. After a long Debate, they voted Mr. *Fry* and Mr. *Stretton* both to act in equal Posts, to take Charge of the navigating the Ship, tho' under Captain *Dover*; but they were not to be molested or contradicted in their Business by him, whose Duty it was to see, that nothing should be done contrary to the Interest of the Owners, and Ships Companies, in the Nature of an Agent, almost in the same manner I proposed at first; only he had the Title of chief Captain in that Ship, which was so small a Difference, where Titles were so common, that we all consented to it: And at the same time they chose Officers, agreeing, that we should put thirty Men aboard her, the *Duchess* twenty-five, and the *Marquis* thirteen, which, with thirty-six *Manilla* Indians, called *Laf-Cav*, and other Prisoners we had left, made her Complement about 110 Men. The Majority keeping to their first Agreement, I was obliged to come into it, according to my Instructions from our Owners; so that all our Differences about this Affair were at an End, and we drank to our safe Arrival in *Great Britain*. In the Mornings, we put thirty-five good Hands aboard her: The *Duchess* and *Marquis* put no more than their Share. The Captains *Courtney* and *Cooke*, and two or three more of the Committee, came to me, where we signed a Paper for Captain *Dover*, and the two Commanders, recommending Peace and Tranquillity amongst them; and that, in case of Separation, the Place of Rendezvous was to be *Guam*, one of the *Ladrone* Islands, where we designed to touch. I should have been very unwilling to have committed all this Dispute to Writing, if I had not been satisfied, that it was no longer in my Power to conceal it; and that, since it was known in part, I ought, in Justice to myself, my Friends, and to Truth itself, to give the Whole; which I conceive so much the more reasonable, because it may hereafter prove useful to Persons in the like Circumstances: And, in so perplexed a Business as ours, there is nothing so serviceable as Precedents.

35. As I have not filled this Work with a Variety of Descriptions, so, before I quit *America*, it may not be amiss to give the Reader some Account of *California*; the rather because most of what I relate I was Eye-witness of, and therefore it deserves the greater Credit. I have heard from the *Spaniards*, that some of their Nation had sailed as far betwixt *California* and the Main as 42° North Latitude, where, meeting with shoal Water, and abundance of Islands, they durst not venture any farther; so that, if this be true, in all Probability, it joins to the Continent a little farther to the Northward: For shoal Water and Islands are a general Sign of being near some Main-land. But the *Spaniards*, having more Territories in this Part of the World, than

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they know how to manage, are not curious after further Discoveries. The *Manilla* Ships, bound to *Acapulco*, often make this Coast in the Latitude 40° North; and I never heard of any, that discovered it farther to the Northward. Some old Draughts make it join to the Land of *Jesso*; but all this being yet undetermined, I shall not take upon me to affirm, whether it is an Island, or joins to the Continent. The *Dutch* say, they formerly took a *Spanish* Vessel in those Seas, which had sailed round *California*, and found it to be an Island; but this Account cannot be depended on, and I chuse to believe it joins to the Continent. There is no certain Account of its Shape or Bigness; and, having seen so little of it, I shall refer the Reader to our common Draughts for its Situation. What I can say of it from my own Knowledge is, that the Land where we were is, for the most part, mountainous, barren, and sandy, and had nothing but a few Shrubs and Buihes, which produced Fruit and Berries of several sorts. Our Men, who went in our Bark to view the Country about fifteen Leagues to the Northward, say, it was there covered with tall Trees. The *Spaniards* tell us of several good Harbours in this Country; but we found none of them near this Cape. We frequently saw Smoke in several Places; which made us believe the Inhabitants were pretty numerous. The Bay, where we rode, had but very indifferent Anchoring-ground in deep Water, and is the worst Recruiting-place we met with since we came out. The Wind, at this Time of the Year generally blowing over Land, makes it good Riding on the Starboard Side of the Bay, where you anchor on a Bank, that has from ten to twenty-five Fathom Water: But the rest of the Bay is very deep; and, near the Rocks, on the Larboard Side, going in, there is no Ground. During the Time of our Stay, the Air was serene, pleasant, and healthful; and we had no strong Gales of Wind, very little Rain, but great Dews fell by Night, when it was very cold. The Natives we saw here were about 300. They had large Limbs, very strait, tall, and of a much blacker Complexion, than any other People, that I had seen in the South Seas; their Hair long, black, and strait, which hung down to their Thighs: The Men stark-naked; and the Women had a Covering of Leaves over their Privities, or little Clouts made of Silk-grass, or the Skins of Birds and Beasts. All of them, that we saw, were old, and miserably wrinkled. We suppose they were afraid to let any of their young ones come near us; but needed not: For, besides the good Order kept among our Men in that respect, if we may judge by what we saw, they could not be very tempting. The Language of the Natives was as unpleasant to us, as their Aspect; for it was very harsh and broad, and they pronounced it so much in their Throat, as if their Words had been ready to choke them. I designed to have brought two of them away with me, in order to have had some Account of the Country, when they had learnt so much of our Language, as to enable them to give it; but, being short of Provisions, I durst not venture it. Some of them wore Pearls about their Arms and Necks, having first notched it round, and fastened it with a String of Silk-grass; for, I suppose, they knew not how to bore them. The Pearls were mixed with little red Berries, Sticks, and Bits of Shells, which they looked upon to be so fine an Ornament, that, tho' we had Glass-beads of several Colours, and other Toys, they would accept none of them. They coveted nothing we had, but Knives, and other cutting Instruments; and were so honest, that they did not meddle with our Coopers or Carpenters Tools; so that, whatever was left ashore at Night, we found in the Mornings. We saw nothing like *European* Furniture or Utensils about them. Their Huts were very low, and made of Branches of Trees and Reeds; but not sufficiently covered to keep out Rain. They had nothing like Gardens or Provisions about them. They subsisted chiefly on Fish while we were here, which, with the Miserableness of their Huts, that seemed only to be made for a time, made us conclude, they had no fixed Habitation here, whatever they might have elsewhere; and that this was their fishing Season. We saw no Nets or Hooks, but wooden Instruments, with which they strike the Fish very dextrously, and dive to Admiration. Some of our Sailors told me, they saw one of them dive with his Instrument, and, whilst he was under Water, put up his Striker, with

2 Y

a Fish

a Fish on the Point of it, which was taken off by another, that watched by him in a Bark-log. The Reader may believe of this what he pleases; but I give it the more Credit, because I myself threw some rusty Knives over-board, on purpose to try the Divers, who seldom missed catching a Knife before it could sink above three or four Fathom; which I took to be an extraordinary Proof of their Agility. Instead of Bread, they used a little black Seed, which they ground with Stones, and eat by Handfuls. Some of our Men thickened their Broth with it, and said, it tasted somewhat like Coffee. They have some Roots, that eat like Yams; a sort of Seeds, that grow in Cods, and taste like green Pease; a Berry, which resembles those of Ivy, and, being dried at the Fire, eats like parched Pease. They have another, like a large Currant, with a white tartish Pulp, a Stone, and a Kernel. This sort of Fruit they seem to value much. They have also a Fruit, which grows on the Prickle-pear-tree, tastes like Gooseberries, and makes good Sauce. They have many other Seeds and Plants unknown to us; but I was not in a Condition to view and describe them. They seem to have an hunting Season, by the Skins of Deer we saw among them. They paid much Respect to one Man, whose Head was adorned with Feathers, made up in the Form of a Cap. In other Respects, they seemed to have all things in common; for, when they exchanged Fish with us for old Knives, of which we had plenty, they gave the Knives to any that stood next; and, after they had enough, we could get no Fish from them. They appeared to be very idle, and seemed only to look after a present Subsistence. They observed our Men very attentively, while they cut Wood, and filled Water; but did not lend us an Hand at either, or indeed in any thing that required hard Labour. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows, with which they can shoot Birds flying. Their Bows are about seven Feet long, and of a tough Wood, unknown to us, with Strings of Silkglass; their Arrows about four Feet and an half, made of Cane, and pointed with Fish-bones, that they shape for the Purpose. Most of their Knives, and other cutting Instruments, are made of Sharks Teeth. I saw two or three large Pearls in their Necklaces and Bracelets; and the Spaniards told me, they had Quantities of them from the inner Part of the Gulph of California, where they have Missionaries planted among them. Our Men told me, they saw heavy shining Stones ashore, which looked as if they came from some Mine; but they did not inform me of this, till we were at Sea; otherwise I would have brought some of them, to have tried what Metal could have been extracted out of them. The Spaniards likewise informed me, that the Country in general within, on the Main-land of Mexico, is pleasant, and abounds with Cattle and Provisions of all sorts. The Natives grew very familiar with us, and came frequently aboard, to view our Ships; which they mightily admired. We saw no Boats or Canoes among them, or any Craft, but Bark-logs, which they steered with Paddles at each End. We gave one of the Natives a Shirt; but he soon tore it in Pieces, and gave it to the rest of his Company, to put the Seeds in, which they used for Bread. We saw no Utensils for Cookery amongst them; nor do I suppose they have any, for they bury their Fish in a Heap of Sand, and make a Fire over it, till they think it fit for eating. There were in this Bay all the Fish usual in these Seas. The fresh Water here is good; and they have abundance of Sarsphire. They make a Fire in the Middle of their Huts, which are very low and smoky. We saw no extraordinary Birds here. I was told by our People, that had been ashore, that they obtain Fire, by rubbing two dry Sticks one against the other, as customary amongst the wild Indians. The Entrance into the Harbour may be known by four high Rocks, which look like the Needles of the Isle of Wight, as you come from the Westward; the two Westermost in form of Sugar-loaves; the innermost has an Arch, like a Bridge, through which the Sea makes its Way. Here you ride Land-locked from East by North back to the South-east by East: Yet it is but an ordinary Road, if the Wind should come strong out of the Sea; which it never did while we lay there. I think it may not be amiss to add to these Facts, which cannot be disputed, some Conjectures, that carry in them great Probability, and, if ever they should be demonstrated to be Certainties, would be attended

with very important, and to us, that inhabit this Northern Part of the World, advantageous Consequences. There have been many Opinions started about the Peopling of America; but that which, to me, appears the most probable, is, that its Inhabitants came hither from Tartary, by that Northern Continent, which is supposed to join this Country to some Part of Asia: I say, to me this appears the most probable, and my Reason for it is this; because the Spaniards, who come hither annually from Manila or Luconia, one of the Philippine Islands in the East Indies, are forced to keep in an high Latitude, for the Benefit of the Westerly Winds; and have often founded, finding Ground in Latitude 42° North, in several Places of the Ocean betwixt the East Indies and America, which makes me conclude there must be more Land, tho' none of them, as I have heard of, ever saw any Continent, till they fell in with California in about 38° or 39° North Latitude. I have often admired, that no considerable Discoveries have yet been made in South Latitude from America to the East Indies. I never heard the South Ocean has been run over by above three or four Navigators, who varied very little in their Runs from their Course, and, by consequence, could not discover much. I give this Hint, to encourage our South Sea Company, or others, to go upon some Discovery that Way, where, for aught we know, they may find a better Country than any yet discovered, there being a vast Surface of the Sea from the Equinox to the North Pole, or at least 2000 Leagues in Longitude, that has hitherto been little regarded, tho' it be agreeable to Reason, that there must be a Body of Land about the South Pole, to counterpoise those vast Countries about the North Pole. This I suppose to be the Reason, why our antient Geographers mentioned a *Terra Australis incognita*, tho' very little of it has been seen by any-body. The Land near the South Pole in the South Sea, from California to Japan, is wholly unknown, altho' the old Maps describe the Straights of *Anan*, and a large Continent, which is but imaginary; for the Dutch themselves, who now trade to Japan, say, they do not yet know, whether it be an Island, or join to the Continent. I have now done with California, of which the Spaniards would know very little, but for these annual Vessels, that sail from Manila to Acapulco. As I have mentioned these Ships, I shall take Occasion to observe, that, generally speaking, those that come from Manila, are much richer than our Prize; for she waited a long time for the Chinese Junk to bring Silk, which not arriving, she came away with a Cargo mixed with abundance of coarse Goods. Several of the Prisoners assured me, that it was a common thing for a Manila Ship to be worth 10,000,000 Pieces of Eight; so that, had it not been for this Accident, we had taken an extraordinary Prize indeed. After my Return into Europe, I met, in Holland, with a Sailor, who had been on board the large Ship, when we engaged her; and he let us into the Secret, that there was no taking her; as the Gunner kept constantly in the Powder-room, declaring that he had taken the Sacrament to blow the Ship up, if we boarded her; which made the Men, as may be supposed, exceedingly resolute in her Defence. I was the more ready to credit what this Man told me, because he was regular and circumstantial in an Account of the Engagement, as I could have done from my Journal.

36. January 10. we weighed from Port Seguro, and were becalmed under the Shore till the 12th in the Afternoon, when there sprung a Breeze, which ran us out of Sight of the Land. We took our Departure from Cape Lucas, which bore North by East, at twelve o'clock. Distance fifteen Leagues: We were forced to go with little or no Refreshment, having but three or four Pounds, and very slender Stock of Liquor: Several of our Men were in a weak Condition, besides myself, Mr. Vanbrugh, and the rest that were wounded. We were forced to allow one Pound and an half of Flour, and one small Piece of Meat to five Men in a Melf, with three Pints of Water a Man for twenty-four Hours, for Drink, and dressing the Victuals. We struck down ten of our Guns into the Hold to ease our Ship. On the 16th, the *Batiscor* made a Signal, to give us some Bread, they having found a good Quantity of Bread and Sweet meats on board her, but little of Fish-kind. We had one thousand Weight of Bread

our Share, the hundred Weight Prize two Casks of Pork, they having in Flesh. On the very much discoloured immediately founded the *Duchess*, and we got into the L told us, it was Islands and Sholes time ago. Ever since *Acapulco*, runs in they make the Islands some Pieces and found the Thore, and forgave punished now, let to follow this bad our Runs so long. I ordered them to Watch to give them their Meats-mates, Irons. March the Northernmost bear seven Leagues; South-west five I great Shole between We ran along the of Guam, from which look at the Ships would venture on of the Island bore a low small Island, it and Guam. pleasant: Off it ward; but, keeping near it, there is the Shole. After Loof, and stood betwixt this and came heavy Flaws and at other times the Afternoon in the off Shore, where Island to the South Leagues; and an North North-west, our stopping at the visions was very halted; and what specially our Bread fourteen Days, at recruit quietly, we aboard, that were in case of sending of them, as we were Colours, came under in the Boat, where Friends, came on board from the Governor's Letter, and the next with a generous Countenance, which made us very ment was provided by Gentlemen, to whom myself; but was the *Batiscor*, which be sent from each handsome Present, vility, and the Rest the 12th, there was *Marquis*, to which after which, a Commission Resolution was current with several of who received them with Respect, having no Landing, and the

our Share, the *Duchess* as much, and the *Marquis* five hundred Weight; in lieu of which, we sent back to the Prize two Casks of Flour, one of *English* Beef, and one of Pork, they having but forty-five Days Provisions aboard in Flesh. On the 26th in the Morning, the Water was very much discoloured, at which being surprised, we immediately sounded, but found no Ground. We spoke with the *Duchess*, and agreed to go away West South-west, till we got into the Latitude of 13°, because our *Spanish* Vessel told us, it was dangerous going into 14°, by reason of Islands and Shoals, where a *Spanish* Vessel was lost some time ago. Ever since, the *Manilla* Ship, in her Return from *Arapulco*, runs in Latitude 13°; and keeps the Parallel, till they make the Island of *Guam*. On the 28th, the Steward muting some Pieces of Pork, we immediately searched, and found the Thieves: One of them had been guilty before, and forgiven, on Promise of Amendment; but was punished now, left Forbearance should encourage the rest to follow this bad Practice, Provisions being so short, and our Runs so long, which might prove of ill Consequence: I ordered them to the Main-jeers, and every Man of the Watch to give them a Blow with a Cat-of-nine-tails; and their Meis-mates, being privy to the Theft, were put in Irons. March the 11th, we had Sight of both Islands, the Northernmost bearing North North-west, distant about seven Leagues; and the Body of the Westernmost West South-west five Leagues. The *Spaniards* say there is a great Shole between these Islands, but nearest to *Serpana*. We ran along the Shore, being satisfied it was the Island of *Guam*, from whence there came several flying Procs to look at the Ships; they ran by us very swift, but none would venture on board. At Noon, the Westernmost Part of the Island bore West; and, at the same time, we made a low small Island, joining to *Guam*, with a Shole between it and *Guam*. The Island appeared green, and very pleasant: Off it there runs a Spit of Sand to the Southward; but, keeping it a good Birth from you, as you come near it, there is no Danger, being gradual Soundings to the Shole. After we were clear of it, we sprung our Looft, and stood in for the Harbour, which lies Midway betwixt this and the North Part of the Island. There came heavy Flaws of Wind off Shore, sometimes for us, and at other times against us; but we got to an Anchor in the After noon in twelve Fathom Water, about half a Mile off Shore, where there was a little Village. The small Island to the South bore South of us, distant about three Leagues; and another small one to the Northward bore North North-west, about two Leagues. The Necessity of our stopping at these Islands to get a Refreshment of Provisions was very great, our Sea-store being almost exhausted; and what we had left, was very ordinary, especially our Bread and Flour, which was not enough for fourteen Days, at the shortest Allowance. In order to recruit quietly, we endeavoured to get some of the Natives aboard, that were in the Procs, to keep them as Hostages, in case of fending any of our Men to the Governor. One of them, as we were turning into the Harbour with *Spanish* Colours, came under our Stern: There were two *Spaniards* in the Boat, who, on our assuring them, that we were Friends, came on board; and, soon after, came a Message from the Governor, to whom we wrote a very respectful Letter, and the next Day received a civil Answer to it, with a generous Offer of any thing the Island afforded; which made us very easy. On the 13th, an Entertainment was provided on board the *Batchelor* for the *Spanish* Gentlemen, to which I was carried, being not able to move myself; but was hoisted in a Chair out of the Ship into the *Batchelor*, where we agreed, that a Deputation should be sent from each Ship to wait on the Governor with an handsome Present, in Acknowledgment for his great Civility, and the Readiness he expressed to supply us. On the 15th, there was another Entertainment on board the *Marquis*, to which I was carried as to the former; and, after which, a Committee was held, in which our former Resolution was confirmed. On the 16th, our Pinnace went with several of our Officers to the Governor's ashore, who received them with all imaginable Friendship and Respect, having near 200 Men drawn up in Arms at their Landings, and the Officers and Clergy of the Island, to

conduct them to the Governor's House, which was a very handsome Seat, considering where we found it. They entertained them with at least sixty Dishes of several Sorts, the best that could be got on the Island; and, when they took their Leaves, each fired a Volley of Small-arms. They presented the Governor, according as we had agreed, with two Negro Boys, dressed in Liveries, twenty Yards of scarlet Cloth-ferge, and six Pieces of Cambrick, which he seemed wonderfully pleased with, and promised to assist us in whatever lay in his Power. The very next Day we got our Dividend, being about 60 Hogs, 99 Fowls, 24 Baskets of *Indian* Corn, 14 Bags of Rice, 44 Baskets of Yams, and 800 Cocoa-nuts. On the 18th, there was an Entertainment aboard us, where we had most of our Officers, and four *Spanish* Gentlemen from the Governor. I made them as welcome as Time and Place would permit, diverting them with Music, and our Sailors dancing till Night, when we parted well-pleased on both Sides. We got some more Bullocks on board, being small lean Cattle, but what we gladly accepted. Each Ship had fourteen in all. Next Morning each Ship had two Cows and Calves more: Being the last, we had a Meeting on board the *Marquis*, where it was agreed to make an handsome Present to the Governor's Deputy, who got our Provisions together, wherein he used all possible Dispatch. We gave him, and the rest of the Gentlemen, what they esteemed double the Value of what we received of them; which they certified under their Hands, and that we had been very civil to them: We also gave them the like Certificate, signed by all our Officers, to show to any *English* that might have Occasion to recruit there; and parted very friendly. Having finished that Affair, it was agreed, that we should steer from hence a West by South Course, to go clear of some Islands that lie in our Way; and then thought it proper to steer directly for the South-east Part of *Mindanao*, and from thence the clearest Way to *Ternate*. In the mean time I put an old *Spaniard* ashore, called *Antonio Gomes Figuero*, whom we took in the first Bark in the South Seas, and kept in order to carry him to *Great Britain*, to condemn all our Prizes taken there; but, he being now not likely to live, we agreed to dismiss him, he giving us a Certificate, that he saw us attack and take several Prizes, all Subjects to *Philip V. King of Spain*, &c. I gave him some Clothes, and other Things, to help him in his Sickness; then put him ashore to the Deputy Governor, and the rest of the *Spanish* Officers, who gave us a Certificate, that they received such a Person. The Governor presented us with one of their flying Procs or Prows, which I shall here describe, because of the Oddness of it: The *Spaniards* told me it would run twenty Leagues in an Hour, which I think exceeds the Truth; but, by what I saw, I verily believe they may run twenty Miles, or more, in the Time; for, when they viewed our Ships, they passed by us like a Bird flying. These Procs are about thirty Feet long, two broad, and about three deep; they have but one Mast, which stands in the Middle, with a mat Sail, made in the Form of a Ship's Mizzen. The Yards are slung in the Middle, and a Man sits at each End to steer her; so that when they go about, they don't turn the Boat as we do, to bring the Wind on the other Side; but only change the Sail, so that the Jack and Sheet of the Sail are used alike, and the Boat's Head and Stern are the same; only they change them, as Occasion requires, to sail either Way; for they are so narrow, that they could not bear any Sail, were it not for Booms that run out from the Windward Side, fastened to a large Log, shaped like a Boat, and near half as long, which becomes contiguous to the Boat: On these Booms a Stage is made, above the Water, on a Level with the Side of the Boat, upon which they carry Goods or Passengers. The greatest Inconvenience in sailing these Boats is before the Wind; for, by the Outlayer, which is built out on one Side, if the Wind presses any thing heavy on the contrary Side, the Boat is overfit, which often happens. As soon as the Boat returned from landing Signior *Figuero*, we put under Sail, having a fine Breeze of Wind at East North-east. April 14, in the Afternoon, we made Land, which bore West North-west, distant about ten Leagues; and supposed it to be the North-east Part of *Celebes*. We saw three Water-

spouts;

spouts; one of which had like to have broken on the *Marquis*, but the *Duchess*, by firing two Shot, broke it before it reached her. We saw a very large Tree afloat, with a Multitude of Fish about it, and two large Islands, the Southernmost bearing South-west, distant about eight Leagues, and the Northernmost West North-west, seven Leagues, both being the same Land we saw the Day before; and the latter we then supposed to be the South-east Part of *Morotay*; and the other, the North Part of *Gilolo*. In this Condition we sailed till towards the latter End of the Month, with this additional Vexation, that our Ship was to leaky, that it was as much as four Men were able to do to keep her free half an Hour. Captain *Dampier* discouraged us very much: He had been twice here, and therefore what he said amongst the Seamen, passed without Dispute; and he laid it down as a thing certain, that if we could not reach *Ternate*, or find the Island of *Tula*, it was impossible for us to get any Refreshment, there being nothing to be met with on the Coast of *New Guinea*. There were, in the mean time, great Heart-burnings on board all the Ships about the Reduction of our Allowance, so that we were obliged to enlarge it again; so little is Reason able to prevail against Hunger. We held frequent Consultations, but to very little Purpose; and, though we sailed the best Part of the Month of May through the Straights of *New Guinea*, yet we were able to observe nothing worth mentioning, except that it is most certain, these Islands, which are scattered through the Straights, and few or none of which are peopled, would all of them bear Spice, and afford immense Riches to this Nation, if they were settled. It may, indeed, be objected; That, from the Account I have given of the Difficulty of this Passage, no great Encouragement can arise to the fixing Colonies or Plantations there: But to this I answer; That this Difficulty arises intirely from the Want of proper Charts, for the Direction of such as sail in those Seas; and these might certainly be very soon provided, if such Settlement came once to be considered as a national Concern. The Passage, otherwise, is not either difficult or dangerous: But, when Men are at a Loss how to steer, are short of Provisions, in leaky Ships, and clogged with great Cargoes, they may have many Reasons to complain, which, with good Management, might never befall any of the Vessels employed in settling those Islands. On the 18th of May, we passed between the High-land of *New Guinea* and the Low-land of *Gilolo*: And, on the 20th, we made another high Island, which we took to be *Ceram*; and Captain *Dampier* inclined to think our Conjecture was right.

37. On May 24. being in the Latitude of the Island of *Bouro*, we expected to make that Land, which is about twenty Leagues to the South-west of *Ceram*, and near the same Distance, in a Parallel, with *Ambon*, which we designed to have touched at, if the Wind had proved favourable: But, as the South-east Monsoon was now set in, we were out of hopes of reaching it; and, notwithstanding the Skill of Captain *Dampier*, we were still very doubtful, whether the Island we passed by last, was *Ceram* or *Bouro*. By an Observation we had at Noon, it appeared, that we were in $4^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude, and $237^{\circ} 29'$ Longitude West from *London*. As we were now in the Latitude of the Southern Part of *Bouro*, we imputed our not feeling it, to the Currents setting us to the Westward of it. The next Day, we came to a Resolution not to spend any more Time in searching for *Bouro*; as also to drop our Design of going to *Ambon*, and to make the best of our Way for the Straights of *Bouton*; where, if we arrived safely, we might get Provisions sufficient to carry us to *Batavia*. In pursuance of this Agreement, we haled away South-west by South for them, having a fresh Gale of Wind at East; but, by two in the Morning, we fell in with a Parcel of Islands to the Eastward of *Bouton*; and had certainly been ashore on one of them, had not the Weather cleared up at once. We made a shift, and wore: The Ships then stood off North-east from the Land till Day-break, when we saw it trending from South by East, to South-west by South, about six Leagues Distance, which made a fine large Bay; but, as we stood in, we perceived an Opening, and that there were two Islands, with three

lying thwart the Outlet to the Southward of both: We houted out our Pinnace, and sent her ashore; the *Duchess* did the same, from whence they brought off some Coconuts, of which there were Plenty there; and told us, there were *Malayan* Inhabitants, who seemed to be very friendly. Up the Bay we saw several Boats, Houses, and abundance of the native *Malayans* walking along the Shore: We sent in our Boats for Provisions and Pilots, and myself and the *Marquis* turned up very near to the Town; but, finding several times, found no Ground. The Natives informed us, there was a Bank, opposite to the Town, where we might anchor. Abundance of People came off with *Indian* Wheat, Coconuts, Yams, Potatoes, Papas, Hens, and several sorts of Birds, to truck with us for Cloaths, Knives, Scissars, and other Toys, being very civil to all Appearance. They are *Mohammedans*, of a middle Stature, and tawny; but the Women are somewhat clearer than the Men; having very long black Hair, their Mouths, Lips, Noies small; they wear a Linen Waistcoat, which reaches only to the lower Part of their Breasts; and about their Waist a Piece of Cloth, three or four Yards wide, and a Yard deep, which they wrap about them, instead of a Petticoat. The Men that came off were all naked, having only a Cloth rolled about their Middle, to cover what ought to be; some of the better sort of People had a loose sort of Waistcoat, and a Piece of Linen rolled about their Heads, with a Cap of Palm-tree-leaves, to keep the Sun from scorching. They brought off several Cicatoes and Parrots, very fine Birds. Along the Shore-side, we saw several Weirs they had to catch Fish. In turning up, we found the Current very strong against us, and the Prize lost Ground considerably; wherefore, in the Evening, the *Duchess* fired a Gun; we ran out, and drove all Night. The Names of these two Islands are *Cambora* and *Wanbat*: These Islands lie in Latitude $5^{\circ} 13'$, Longitude 238° West from *London*. We stood from those Islands to the Westward, and ran along-shore, as near as we durst, to weather the Westernmost Point of Land, where we expected to find an Harbour; but, as we neared it, found a long Tract of High-land, trending to the Southward as far as South-west and by South: We agreed in Opinion That was the Island *Bouton*, but that we had overshot the Straights. We made Sail to see if we could discover any Land farther to the Southward; but, finding none, we failed on, keeping the Wind as near as possible, because of the Current, which sets strong to the South-west. By two a Clock in the Morning, we were near a small Island, that bore South South-west of us about two Leagues; but, having clear Weather, we stood from it till Day-break, there being no other Land near it that we saw, except that we came from, which we had opened five Points farther to the Westward. I was unwilling to act any longer without the Consent of the Committee: So the major Part of us met aboard the *Duchess*, where we agreed to stand back and make the Land plain, so as to be fully satisfied what it was, and withal to find a Recruit of Water and Wood, before we proceeded any farther, being in want of every thing, being then in South Latitude $5^{\circ} 50'$, Longitude $238^{\circ} 38'$ W. from *London*. In pursuance of this Agreement, we stood back the next Day, and made little or no Sail all Night. In the Morning, we had very fine clear Weather, and made the Land exceeding plain, which was very high, with Islands under it. It looked most of it as if inhabited, being pretty thick of Wood, and promising us, in other respects, Plenty of Refreshments; but our Misfortune was that we could not meet here with any Ground that would hold our Anchors; and, the next Day, the *Duchess*, standing over to the other Side of the Bay, had no better Fortune, but was forced to return, without anchoring, to us again. A little before she came back, our Boat, which we had sent on shore, returned; the People on board having, by Presents, engaged some of the *Malayans* to come aboard with them; in which they certainly judged right, tho' we could make no Use of their Intelligence for want of an Interpreter: I sent to the *Batchelor*, who had one, but Captain *Dover* refused to let him come to me, not withstanding he had no Use for him: Then I sent a second time, that I might know the best Anchoring place for our Ships, and treated the People with Sweetmeats, and other

Things they fancy them aboard the *Batavia* near us; but on the Shores, not want of the *Ling* the *Malayans* that Signs, and pointed they called *Doroo* has been formerly tells us of a Town the King refused the bare Story. U Pinnaces and the L Town, being willing the King of vilions, for which the better Appearance along with him Feet. There are P Northward six Le Ship might, on O could have carried were not willing to create more than enough to keep co

38. On the 30th the King, with a N Shores nor Stocking The first Question on board, was, H without Leave fult *Bouton*? He brou flaped Cloth, a Bo &c. as a Present fr Officers we had sent had been very well the King refused, is veral great Guns: 2 Guns fired by every which he seemed ver tered at the Island s us with Fowl, *Indi Guiney* Corn, &c. v old Cloaths, &c. 2 dear; yet our Offic than was intended, those *Moor* being v from them every I Pinnace came down were four Laits of R King, and cost 600 lowed to make up light; and that M ment. The next M bured among the fou deliver it, and receiv the King, was detain fions began to come Town of *Bouton* is fien Top whereof is a l on which there are C King, and confide said Fort, where an King has five Wives called *Pury Bassas*, Heads, to manage the black Hair, wears Spangles; goes alw sometimes clad like pears in State, has a Jacket. In Council, Cloth; is always att Match-locks; beside Head-piece, and can other holds a Shield; at his Feet, one her a lighted Match outh his Spitting-ba it on his Left Hand,

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Things they fancied, but could not keep them, or send them aboard the *Bateler* to secure her, seeing white Shole-water near us; but they passed by us, in danger of running on the Sholes, not knowing the best Anchoring-place for want of the Linguist, I so earnestly desired to understand the *Malayans* that had now left us. At parting, they made Signs, and pointed to the Land to the Northward, which they called *Boeros*. Our Pilot, Captain *Dampier*, says he has been formerly through the Straights; and, in his Book, tells us of a Town, near the South Part of them, where the King resided; but he knew nothing of it now, except the bare Story. Upon this, we agreed to find one of the Pinnaces and the Linguist along with him, to find out the Town, being willing to venture him to wait on his Majesty the King of *Banton*, to solicit for a Supply of Provisions, for which we would gladly pay; and, to make the better Appearance, we sent Mr. *Vanbrugh* and Mr. *Cannely* along with him. The Water flows here above fifteen Feet. There are Places near to the Town, which lie to the Northward six Leagues, from whence we rode, where a Ship might, on Occasion, be laid ashore to refit; and we could have carried the *Duke* thither to stop her Leak, but were not willing to lose Time, since we found it did not increase more than one Pump could vent, which we had Men enough to keep continually going.

38. On the 30th, in the Morning, a Prow came from the King, with a Nobleman on board, who had neither Sholes nor Stockings; and a Pilot to carry us up to Town. The first Question this *Indian* Lord asked, after he came on board, was, How we durst come to an Anchor there, without Leave first had and obtained of the great King of *Banton*? He brought each Commander a Piece of *Banton* striped Cloth, a Bottle of Arrack, some Rice in Baskets, &c. as a Present from the King; as also a Letter from the Officers we had sent ashore, giving an Account, that they had been very well received; and that the Town where the King resided, is large, walled, and fortified, and has several great Guns: Another Present was returned, and five Guns fired by every Ship, at the Messenger's going off, at which he seemed very well pleased. We wooded and watered at the Island *Sampo*, and several Prows came off to us with Fowl, *Indian* Corn, Pumpions, Papas, Lemons, Guiney Corn, &c. which they trucked for Knives, Scissars, old Cloaths, &c. The People were civil, but told very dear; yet our Officers making a longer Stay at the Town than was intended, we began to suspect they were detained, those *Moors* being very treacherous: However, we heard from them every Day; and, on June 5. the *Duchess's* Pinnace came down with Mr. *Coveley*, who told us, there were four Laits of Rice coming, which was bought of the King, and cost 600 Dollars, 50 Dollars in Tale being allowed to make up the Weight, because the Royals were light; and that Mr. *Vanbrugh* was detained for the Payment. The next Morning it came, and was equally distributed among the four Ships; some great Men coming to deliver it, and receive the Money: A *Portuguese*, sent by the King, was detained till our Boat returned, and Provisions began to come more plentifully, and cheaper. The Town of *Banton* is seated on the Ascent of an Hill; on the Top whereof is a Fort inclosed with an old Stone Wall, on which there are Guns and Pattercoes mounted. The King, and a considerable Number of People, live in the said Fort, where an Herb-market is kept every Day. The King has five Wives, besides Concubines, and four Men, called *Pury Bassas*, who carry great Canes, with Silver Heads, to manage their Affairs. His Majesty, on his long black Hair, wears a sort of green Gause, strewed with Spangles; goes always bare-footed and bare-legged; is sometimes clad like a *Dutch* Skipper; but, when he appears in State, has a long Calico Gown over his short Jacket. In Council, he sits on a Chair covered with red Cloth; is always attended by a Sergeant and six Men, with Match-locks; besides three others, one of which wears a Head-piece, and carries a large Scimitar in his Hand; another holds a Shield; and the third a great Fan. Four Slaves sit at his Feet, one of them holding his Betel-box, another a lighted Match, another his Box to smoke, and a fourth his Spitting-bacon. The petty Kings and great Men sit on his Left Hand, and before him; every one attended

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by a Slave in the Council-chamber, where they chew Tobacco, and chew Betel, in the King's Presence; and speak to him sitting cross-legged, joining their Hands, and lifting them up to their Forehead. The Town of *Banton* is very populous; and by it runs a fine River, which, they say, comes down from ten Miles up the Country, ebbs and flows considerably, and has a Bar at the Entrance; so that Boats cannot come out at Low-water. At least 1500 Boats belong to this River, fifty whereof are Prows for War, carrying Pattercoes, and forty or fifty Men each. About fifty Islands are tributary to the King, who sends some of his Prows, once a Year, to gather in the Tribute, which consists of Slaves, each Island giving him ten Inhabitants out of every hundred. There is one Mosque at *Banton*, which is supplied with Priests from *Moca*, the People being *Mohammedans*. They are great Admirers of Music; their Houses are built upon Posts; *Dutch* Money is current here, and *Spanish* Dollars. On the 17th, our Pinnace returned, with Mr. *Vanbrugh*, and all our Men, having parted very friendly with his Majesty, but could not get a Pilot for Money: However, we resolved to stay no longer, and to trust wholly to Almighty Providence for our future Preservation. We dismissed the *Portuguese* Linguist, and began to unmoor our Ships. The next Day, we made three Islands to the Northward of *Zalayer*; and the Looming of other Land to the Westward of all which, we took to be the Southermost Part of *Celebes*. On the 10th, our Pinnaces came up with this small Vessel, who told them, they were bound for *Macassar*, a *Dutch* Factory, on the South Part of *Celebes*. The Pinnace took the Master of her on board, who promised to pilot us, not only through the Straights of *Zalayer*, but to *Batavia*, if we would keep it secret, for fear of the *Dutch*. He sent his Vessel to lie in the narrower Passage, between the Islands, till such time as our Ships came up. About four a Clock we entered the Strait, betwixt the Islands that are next to *Zalayer*, and another little one to the Northward of that, being the middlemost of the three; having found a good Passage, three Leagues over, all deep Water, steering through North-west by West, to give the Larboard Islands a good Birth; then we made the Southermost Part of *Celebes*. The same Morning, the Pilot promised to carry us through the Channel the great *Dutch* Ships generally went for *Batavia*, and by that means avoid the Sholes, called the *Brill* and *Bunker-ground*. The *Brill* has very uneven Soundings; and, in many Places, but three Fathom Water, and less: So we haled away to the Northward, keeping the Island *Celebes* aboard, the South-west Part of which trends away in Low-land, with high Mountains at the Back of it; and off the Point there lies a Rock, pretty high and remarkable. At four o' Clock we came in to Sounding, and had ten Fathom; the first cast the Rock off; the South-west Point bore then North, distant about six Leagues; and we had an Island a-head of us, from North-west by West, to North North-west, being low and level, about three Leagues long, and near the same Distance from the Main: As we entered, it grew narrower; we stemmed with the North Part of the Island, till we came within a League and half of it; then steered North a little, to weather a Spit of Sand lying off the Island, by which means we opened three small Keys; after we were clear of the Shole, we haled up about seven, and came to an Anchor under the Island, behind the Spit of Land, in ten Fathom Water, very good clean Ground. The Rock of *Celebes* then bore North-east by North four Leagues, the Northernmost of the Keys two Leagues, and the middlemost West South-west three Leagues: The other being shut in with the long Island, we kept the Land going all the Way constantly thro', and had never less than six Fathom, nor more than ten: As soon as it was Day, we weighed, and went betwixt the two small Keys, keeping nearest the Northernmost Sounding all the Way, and had no more than ten Fathom. The Water still deepening, being clear of them, we haled away West, and then South-west, having a fresh Gale at South-east, and South-east and by East; no Land in Sight at Noon, but Part of the High-land at *Celebes*, which bore East, distant about twelve Leagues. It was very well for us that we met with this Pilot; for, having no good Charts, nor any one acquainted with those Seas, we had

run greater Hazards. On the 14th, we ran by the Island *Madura*, which is about four Leagues long, lying East and West, on the North Side of *Java*, the Land we made in the Morning being the North-east Part of it; which, agreeing with the Pilot's Knowledge, made us the more certain. On the 17th, we made the High-land of *Cerikon*, which bore South-west. In the Morning, we saw a great Ship right a-head; and, being very eager to hear News, I sent our Pinnace aboard, to know what she was. She proved a Dutch Ship, about 600 Ton, and fifty Guns, belonging to *Batavia*, and was plying to some of the Dutch Factories for Timber. They told us, that it was thirty Dutch Leagues from hence to *Batavia*; but no Danger. We borrowed a large Draught, which was very useful to us, and left them at Anchor. Towards Noon we made the Land, being very low; but had gradually Soundings, by which we were satisfied in the Night how to sail by the Sand. In the Afternoon, we saw the Ships in the Road of *Batavia*, betwixt thirty and forty Sail, great and small; and got happily to Anchor just after Sun-set, betwixt six and seven Fathom Water, at the long-desired Port of *Batavia*, in Latitude $6^{\circ} 10'$ South, Longitude $252^{\circ} 51'$ West from London. By our Reckoning here, we altered our Account of Time, having, as is customary, lost almost one Day in running West so far round the Globe. When we came in Sight of *Batavia*, and especially after some Sloops had been aboard us, I found, that, after sailing so long with them, I was absolutely a Stranger to the Humours of our People. A few Days before, they were perpetually quarrelling and jangling; a disputed Title to a Lump of Sugar would have created a Tumult, which could have been laid by nothing, but the Prospect of a small Dram: But now there was nothing but hugging and shaking by the Hand, and blessing their Stars, and questioning if there was such a Paradise upon Earth; and all this because they had Arrack for Eightpence a Gallon, and Sugar at a Penny a Pound: The next Minute all together by the Ears again, about who should put the Ingredients together; for, the Weather being hot, and the Materials excessively cheap, Labour was now become a very considerable Thing.

39. We anchored here in five Fathom Water, the Ground so soft and oozy, that the Anchor links above a Fathom; so that it cannot foul: And therefore Ships always ride single. The Town bore South by East, distant a Mile and an half; and the Island *Onreft* bore North-west by North, distant two Leagues and an half. At this Island the Dutch clean and careen all their Ships, and have two Windmills on it to saw Timber. They hale their Ships along the Side of a Wharf, where there are two Cranes to discharge them, and Storehouses to lay up the Goods. The Dutch fired thirteen Guns to salute the Dutch Flag; but, it being Night, he did not answer: Yet the next Morning he sent his Boat aboard, to beg my Pardon for that Omiffion, which he would then repair. Soon after, the Duke fired thirteen Guns; and the Dutch Flag answered both our Ships Gun for Gun. Between twelve and one, two English Gentlemen came aboard us, the one Captain of an English Ship, there being three and a Sloop in the Road, all belonging to *Madras*. All of us, who were Commanders, went ashore, and landed at *Bomb Key*, whence we proceeded to the Shabander, who conducted us to the Cattle before *Abraham van Ribbeck*, General of *India*, who received us very civilly; but was very inquisitive, and shewed visibly an Intention to find some Pretence for denying us what we asked, and had Occasion for. To satisfy him effectually, and prevent all Disputes, we not only shewed him our Commissions, which, in Fact, was all he had a Right to demand; but we likewise gratified him with an Extract of our Journal and Proceedings, that he might be convinced, that we had acted fairly, and done nothing, but what was justified by our Commissions. After all, we were forced to bear, not only with his haughty Airs, and the natural Slowness of Dutch Councils, but with many other disagreeable Circumstances, that shewed us plainly, we owed little, if any thing, to Friendship or Good-will. Soon after our Arrival at *Batavia*, we went about fitting the *Marquis*; but, being first ordered upon the Carren, the Shabander having allowed us several *Malayan* Caukers, when we came down to the Bends, we found them, as well as the Stern and Stern-post, so

much worm-eaten and rotten, the Ship being very old, and having only a single Bottom, that we ordered a Survey of Carpenters to view her, who all agreed, there was no fitting her in that Place for going about the Cape of *Good Hope*, her Condition being extraordinary bad; which obliged us to hire a Vessel to take out her Lading. Then we applied ourselves to fitting of the other Ships; but could not, at any rate, obtain Leave of the Government to repair to the Isle of *Onreft*; but were allowed to go to the low small Island *Hera*, which is near the other, inhabited by a few *Malayan* Fishermen: And on it was abundance of Coco-nuts, Plantain, Papa, Guava, and other Fruit-trees. The Government allowed us a small Vessel of that sort they call *Champans*, to careen our Ships by. We then hove down the *Duke* and *Duchess*, and found their Sheathing also very much worm-eaten in some Places. The *Duchess*, in heaving down, sprung her Fore-mast; but we soon got another. And the *Duke*, after careening, was still leaky. The *Marquis* took in all the Lading of the other Ships, and lay aboard on the Off-side, to relieve the other Ships when on the Carren. When the Ships were fitted, we returned again to *Batavia* Road, where we rigged the three, and fold the *Marquis*, after taking out all the Goods, and most of the Stores, to Captain *Opie* and Captain *Oldham*. Then all the Officers and Men were distributed among the other Ships, except one *Dutchman*, who ran away. The Weather was extreme hot during our Stay. Many Officers and Men fell sick; and I was one of the Number. The Master of the *Duke*, the Gunner of the *Duchess*, and several of our Men, died of the Flux. *John Read*, a young Man belonging to the *Duchess*, venturing to swim, had both his Legs snapped off by a Shark, which, at the second Bite, before we could get him on board, took off the Bottom of his Belly; so that he was dead before we could take him up. During our Stay, we had the Liberty of the Town and Markets, to buy what we pleased; yet found it very difficult to get salt Provisions, and were therefore obliged to kill several Bullocks, and pickle the Flesh, taking out all the Bones. Arrack, Rice, and Fowls, were cheap; and Beef not above two Stivers a Pound. Several English Ships arrived here at this time; as the *Recheffer* and *Springer* for *China*, Captain *Opie* in a separate Stock-ship; and others of those Parts. The Bay is seldom without some large Dutch Vessels, driving a great Trade from thence to all the Countries round about. There are various Descriptions of this famous City in all Languages; so that I might well dispense with a Description of it here: But, as what I have to say regards Time as well as Place, and may serve to exhibit a Picture of the State of Things at that particular Juncture, I flatter myself, that the following succinct Account will not be found either useless or disagreeable. The City of *Batavia* lies on the North-west Side of the famous Island of *Java*, in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 50'$ South. The East and West Winds blow all the Year along the Shore, besides the ordinary Land and Sea-winds, which exceedingly cool the Air, and make it pleasant; otherwise it would be intolerably hot. Their Summer begins in *May*, with continual Breezes from the East, and a very clear Sky, till the latter End of *October*, or Beginning of *November*, when the Winter begins with hard Rains, which hold sometimes three or four Days without Intermiffion. In *December* the West Winds blow very violently; so that there is little Trade on the Coast of *Java*. In *February* the Weather is changeable, with sudden Thunder-storms. In *March* they begin to blow. *June* is their pleasantest Month. In *September* they gather up their Sugar and Rice. And, in *October*, they have plenty of Fruit and Flowers, Plants and Herbs of most sorts. There is a large, fenny, plain Country before the City; but this is exceedingly well improved by the Dutch: And, to the East, it is very full of Wood and Morasses. The City is square, with a River running thro' it, and fortified by a strong Wall, and twenty-two Baffions. About ten Years past, there was an Earthquake, which overturned Part of the Mountains in the Country, and altered the Course of the River; so that the Canals in and about *Batavia* are not near so commodious as they have been, nor the Entrance into the River so deep; and, for want of a strong Current of Water to keep it open, they are forced to employ a large Engine to preserve the Mouth of the River navigable.

small Vessels to in a Bay, in which which so break of yet it is safe. They are faced with S which is shut up by Soldiers. The for smaller Vessels Streets run in str Feet broad on ea next the Houses built and inhabite reckon fifty-six B The Country-seat rally neat and we Fruit and Flowe Quantities of Coco Groves. They h Crofs Church, bu There are two o for the *Portuguese* plc. There is one The Town-house Centre of the City where all Courts a Civil Government nators and Directo an inner Court, in Row of Stone Pil Here are Hospitals, as in *Amsterdam*, w most Cities in *Eura* spital in this City nage their Charity looks despicable in greater Privileges i else; for, on fight Hulstards, and sh told me at *Batavi* Causes all dependi th: m were Divorce are Criminals, are e bour, under a Guar Moats round the Ci Three Leagues We where all the Com Magazines of naval And the Castle at B and has four Baffions and provided with Citadel, the Dutch Members of the Co of *Batavia*, have the is of Brick, large a Council-chamber, th Accounts. The G Governor gives Aud to him by the Shaba Rooms. The Garri strong; and all the Provisions, as well much under, except Privileges, and mak General lives in as Train and Guard, u of Foot, with Halba domed with Silver- when he goes abroa those of most Prin guards and Train. of the twenty-four C whom must alway the greatest Trade he ms, live according olatrous Worship; hairs with the Com res, and particularly Note, when any of

small Vessels to come into the Canals of the City. It lies in a Bay, in which there are seventeen or eighteen Islands, which break off the Sea, that, tho' the Road is very large, yet it is safe. The Banks of the Canals through the City are faced with Stone on both Sides, as far as the Boom, which is shut up every Night at nine o'Clock, and guarded by Soldiers. There are Canals cut out of the main River for smaller Vessels; and every Boom pays Toll. All the Streets run in straight Lines, most of them being above thirty Feet broad on each Side, clear of the Canals, and paved next the Houses with Bricks. All the Streets are very well built and inhabited, fifteen of which have Canals; and they reckon fifty-six Bridges on them, most of them of Stone. The Country-seats and Buildings round the City are generally neat and well-contrived, with handsome Gardens for Fruit and Flowers, Fountains, and Statues. The vast Quantities of Cocoa-nut-trees every-where afford delightful Groves. They have fine Structures here; particularly the Crois Church, built of Stone, and the Inside very neat. There are two or three Churches for the *Dutch*, and two for the *Portuguese* Protestants, who are a mixt sort of People. There is one Church also for the Protestant *Malayans*. The Town-house is built of Brick, in a Square, about the Centre of the City, two Stories high, and very finely built; where all Courts are held, and all Matters relating to the Civil Government of the City are determined; and the Senators and Directors of the Military Affairs meet. There is an inner Court, inclosed with an high Wall, and a double Row of Stone Pillars, where the Officers of Justice live. Here are Hospitals, Spin-houses, and Rasp-houses, the same as in *Amsterdam*, with all other public Buildings, equal to most Cities in *Europe*. The *Chinese* have also a large Hospital in this City for their aged and sick Persons; and manage their Charity so well, that you never see a *Chinese* that looks despicable in the Street. The *Dutch* Women have greater Privileges in *India*, than in *Holland*, or any-where else; for, on slight Occasions, they are divorced from their Husbands, and share the Estate betwixt them. A Lawyer told me at *Batavia*, he has known, out of fifty-eight Causes all depending in the Council-chamber, fifty-two of them were Divorces. Great Numbers of the Natives, who are Criminals, are chained by Pairs, and kept at hard Labour, under a Guard, perpetually clearing the Canals and Moats round the City, or any other Work for the Public. Three Leagues West from the Town is the Island *Onrust*, where all the Company's Ships are refitted. There are Magazines of naval Stores, defended by Platforms of Guns. And the Castle at *Batavia* is quadrangular, lies in a Level, and has four Bastions and Curtains, faced with white Stones, and provided with Watch-houses. In this Castle, or rather Citadel, the *Dutch* Governor General, and most of the Members of the Council of *India*, with the other Officers of *Batavia*, have their Residence. The Governor's Palace is of Brick, large and well-built. In this Palace is the Council-chamber, the Secretary's Office, and Chamber of Accounts. The General's Hall is hung with bright Armour, Ensigns, Flags, &c. taken by the *Dutch* here. The Governor gives Audience to Strangers, who are introduced to him by the Shabander, who is Commissioner of the Customs. The Garison on Duty is generally about 1000 strong; and all the Outworks are said to be furnished with Provisions, as well as can be; but the Soldiers are kept much under, except the Governor's Guards, who have large Privileges, and make a fine Appearance. The Governor General lives in as great Splendor as a King: He has a Train and Guard; viz. a Troop of Horse, and a Company of Foot, with Halbarbs, in Liveries of yellow Satin, richly adorned with Silver-lace and Fringes, to attend his Coach, when he goes abroad. The Guards are as well equipped as those of most Princes in *Europe*. His Lady has also her Guards and Train. He is chosen but for three Years, out of the twenty-four Counsellors, called *Rads* of *India*, twelve of whom must always reside in the City. The *Chinese* have the greatest Trade here, farm most of the Excise and Customs, live according to their own Laws, and are allowed their idolatrous Worship; and have a Chief, that manages their Affairs with the Company, who allows them great Privileges, and particularly a Representative in Council, who has Vote, when any of the *Chinese* are tried for Life. But

these Privileges are allowed only to such *Chinese* as inhabit here; for others are not permitted to stay above six Months in the Town, or on the Island *Java*. The other Strangers, besides *Europeans*, are *Malayans*, with some from most Parts of *India*. The *Javanese*, or antient Natives, are numerous, and said to be barbarous and proud, of a dark Colour, and flat Faces, thin, short, black Hair, large Eyebrows and Cheeks. The Men are strong-limbed; but the Women are small. The former have a Wrapper of Calico three or four times round their Bodies; and the latter from their Arm-pits to their Knees. The Men have two or three Wives, besides Concubines; and the *Dutch* say, they are much addicted to lying and stealing. Those on the Coast are generally *Mohammedans*; but the others *Pagans*. The Women are not so tawny as the Men, and many of them handsome; but, in general, amorous, and unfaithful to their Husbands, being very apt to give Poison, which they do very cunningly. The Town is very populous; but not One-sixth of them *Dutch*. The *Chinese* here go all bare-headed, with their Hair rolled up, and long Gowns, carrying Fans in their Hands. The *Dutch* say, they are more indolent, and acute in Trade, than themselves. The Discipline and Order of the *Dutch* here, both in Civil and Military Affairs, is truly admirable. They have all the Necessaries for building and careening Ships, as well as in *Europe*; and their Officers as regular as in his Majesty's Yards; whereas we have nothing like it in *India*. They keep the Natives very much in Awe, being perfectly despotic in their Government; because, they say, the Natives are naturally so treacherous, that they are obliged to punish them severely for small Faults: But they are more tender to the *Chinese*, because of the great Trade they have by their Means; and that they pay great Rents for their Shops, besides large Taxes; and from 16 to 30 per Cent. for Money, which they frequently borrow of the *Dutch*. I was told there are here about 80,000, who pay the *Dutch* a Dollar a Head each Month, for Liberty to wear their Hair, which they are not allowed to wear at home, since they were conquered by the *Tartars*. There come hither from *China* fourteen or sixteen large Junks yearly, being flat-bottomed Vessels, from 3 to 500 Tons Burden. The Merchants come along with their Goods, which are lodged in different Partitions in the Vessels, like Warehouses, for which they pay a certain Price, and not for the Weight or Measure of the Cargo, as we do; so they fill them with what they please. They come in with an Easterly Monsoon, and generally arrive in *November* or *December*, and return the Beginning of *June*; so that the *Dutch* have all *Chinese* Commodities brought to them, cheaper than they can fetch them: And, being conveniently situated for the Spice-trade, they have all in their own Hands. *Batavia* wants no Commodities that *India* affords. They have seldom less than twenty Sail of Ships at *Java*, from thirty to fifty and sixty Guns each, with Men enough for them on all Occasions; so that they might easily drive us out of most Parts, if not all *India*, should we ever have an unfortunate War with them. Their Soldiers are very well trained, and there is a Company always on Duty at every Gate of the City and Citadel; and they have 7 or 8000 disciplined *Europeans* in and about the City, who can be assembled and ready for Action at a very short Warning. It is the Metropolis of their *Indian* Settlements, and sends Governors and Officers to all the rest. The late General, before we came hither, had War with the *Indians*, which, I was informed, had like to have spoiled their Settlements; but, at last, they divided the Natives amongst themselves, brought them to a Peace on advantageous Conditions, and are now pretty secure of the Sea-coasts. There are many pleasant Seats about the City, and the adjacent Country abounds with Rice, Sugar-cane-fields, Gardens, and Orchards, Mills for Sugar, Corn, and Gunpowder; so that this is one of the pleasantest Cities in the World. I do not think it so large as *Bristol*; but it is more populous. They have Schools for *Latin*, *Greek*, &c. and a Printing-house. They have lately begun to plant Coffee here, which thrives very well; so that, in a little time, they may be able to load a Ship or two: But I am told, it is not so good as that in *Arabia*.

40. On the 17th of *October* we arrived at the Watering-place on the Main, having sailed from *Batavia* on the 14th.

On the 19th, at two in the Afternoon, we came to an Anchor with our best Bower, in a Bay about a League to the Westward of Java Head, in fifteen Fathom Water, only Ground, about a Mile from the Shore; sent our Pin-nace for Water, and then our Sail-maker, Wooders, &c. Captain Pike, and Mr. Block, came in a Boat from Batavia, the first of them, chiefly, after his Steward, who, I suppose, had concealed himself, unknown to most of us, aboard the *Batcbelor*. In the Evening, Captain Pike lent us his Boat and Men; we put into her several of our Men, with Arms and Provisions from each Ship; and sent her away to *Pepper Bay*, to buy Fowls, and other fresh Provisions, giving them for that Purpose Knives, and other Toys, which the Natives there value above Money. In the Evening we had much Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, which put us in Fear for the Men sent to *Pepper Bay*; continued wooding and watering till the 28th, and sent several Men ashore to kill Buffaloes, which being extremely wild, they could shoot none, and durst not stay ashore at Night, by reason of the many Tygers: One of them was very near seizing a Man of ours, who, to save himself, was obliged to take the Water; at least twenty Shots were made at the Tyger before he went off, and they saw several others at the same time. The Indian King, and his People, dealt friendly with us, trucking Fowls, and what else they had to spare, for Knives, and the like. They generally came aboard every Day, and, we giving them some Trifle at parting, they were kind to our Men ashore. The Wind being commonly at South-east, and a fresh Gale, we were under some Apprehensions for our Men sent to buy Fowls in *Pepper Bay*, having heard nothing of them since their Departure, and mistrusting the Boat might be overtaken, or the Men detained by the *Javans*. But, on the 25th in the Evening, the Boat returned, to our great Satisfaction, with the Men, bringing about twelve Dozen of Fowl, some Mangoes, &c. Captain Pike's Steward came on board the *Duchess*, hoping we would conceal him; but was immediately sent on board the *Batcbelor* to his Commander, who gladly received, and promised to pardon him. On the 28th of December, Mr. James Wale, our chief Surgeon, died; and we buried him decently the next Day, with our Naval Ceremonies, as usual, being a very honest useful Man, a good Surgeon, and bred up at *Leyden*, in the Study of Physic, as well as Surgery. We made Land the 15th of December, came in with the Shore the 18th, and had Sounding in 60 and 70 Fathom, the Ground grey-gret with small Stones and Shells; had a strong Southerly Current, South Latitude $34^{\circ} 2'$, Longitude $334^{\circ} 34'$ West from London. The same Day we had very hard Flaws of Wind off the High-land, till we came within Sight of the Lion's Head and Rump, two Hills over the *Cape Town*; and this Day we arrived in the Harbcur of the Cape, saluted the *Dutch* Fort with nine Guns, and were answered by seven. We anchored in six Fathom Water, about a Mile off Shore, and found only one *English* Ship, called the *Donagat*, Captain Cliff Commander, homeward-bound from *Mocho*, and two *Middleburghers*, outward-bound for *Batavia*, in the Harbour, besides the Guard-ship, and two or three Gallies. On the 29th, we moored our Ship, and got down our Yards and Top-masts, to guard against the hard Flaws of Wind off the Table-land, which frequently blow very fresh between East South-east and South-east. We sent sixteen sick Men ashore. On the 1st of February, I offered some Proposals, in Writing, to Captains *Dover* and *Courney*, with the rest of the Committee; wherein I told them, it was my Opinion, we should lose too much Time to stay for the *Dutch* Fleet, in order to have the Benefit of her Convoy to *Holland*; which would not only be out of our Way, but very tedious and chargeable; and we having large Quantities of decaying Goods on board, the Time we should lose by waiting for the *Dutch*, might be advantageously employed in *Brasils*, where we could lie in very little Danger of the Enemy, and vend them at great Rates, and thence get to *Bristol* through the North Channel, having the Summer before us, continuing in the Latitude of 55° or 56° , two or three hundred Leagues before we got the Length of the North of *Ireland*; and by that mean, might avoid the Tract of the Enemy. I earnestly

pressed, that, if they could not agree to this, one of our Privateers might take this alone, and the other keep with the *Batcbelor* and *Dutch* Fleet. But the Majority was against any thing but going home with the *Dutch* Fleet all together; so that all I could do more, was to remind them of examining the Goods aboard the *Batcbelor*, and to take out of her so much Goods in safe Package, as would lie in the like Room of *European* Goods, on board the *Duchess*; that, if any Accident should happen to the *Batcbelor*, we might have Part of her Value in another Bottom. I desired, if any amongst them were not of this Opinion, they would give their Reasons to the contrary in Writing; but we could agree on nothing. On April 2, at Day-break, the Flag hoisted a blue Ensign, loosed the Foretop-sail, and fired a Gun, as a Signal to unmoor. As we were heaving in our Cable, it rubbed against the Oakum, which had got into the Leake, and occasioned the Ship to be as leaky again as ever, she having been indifferent tight for some time, and we were in hopes it would have continued. About Noon I came aboard very thin, and in no better Health than I was when I went first ashore at our Arrival here: Presently after I went aboard the Flag, there being a Signal made for all the *English* Commanders. We had before received our Orders, which were very particular, and to be punctually observed. About four in the Afternoon, the Flag, Vice, and Rear-admirals, weighed with Part of the Fleet, and fell down to *Robins* or *Penguin* Island, where they lay for the rest of the Ships. On the 6th, in the Afternoon, we all weighed from *Penguin* Island, being sixteen *Dutch*, and nine *English* Ships, having a fine fresh Breeze at South South-east. The Cape of *Good Hope* has been so often described, that I do not think it necessary to detain the Reader with any Account of it here. There happened nothing remarkable in our Voyage till June 5, when the Admiral made a Signal for all the *English* Commanders, and some of the *Dutch* Skippers, to come on board; where we had an excellent Entertainment; and the good Humour of the *Dutch* Admiral soon made all the Company understand each other without a Linguist, tho' we had much ado to get one at first meeting: We parted before the Sun set, and had a fine Day. The 28th, being got into the Latitude of 31° North, we had thick foggy Weather; so that the Flag fired two Guns every Half-hour, and each Ship answered with one. This continued several Days, which consumed a great deal of Powder; but, by the Noise of the Guns, it was easy to keep Company, tho' sometimes so thick for several Hours, that we could not see three Ships Length. On July 14, we saw two Ships in the Afternoon; one of which we spoke with, being a *Dane*, bound for *Ireland*; she informed us of the *Dutch* Men of War that were cruising for us off *Sbetland*, (being ten Sail) whom we saw four or five Days ago, and reckoned herself now about four Leagues from the Land. We had Sounding then in seventy Fathom Water, brown gravelly Ground. I just had time to send the Owners a Copy of my Letters from the Cape of *Good Hope*; and to let them know, that we were now got so far safe towards the Conclusion of a fatiguing Voyage. In the Morning, we made *Fair Island*, and *Foul Island*, lying off of *Sbetland*. Presently after we saw the Men of War; but, having little Wind, and they a good Way distant from each other, we could join but one of them by Noon. The next Day all the Men of War joined us, except one or two, with the Fishing-doggers, which were cruising off to the North-east of *Sbetland*. After mutual Salutations, both by the *English* and the *Dutch* Ships, some of the Men of War was sent out to see for the missing Ships. The Inhabitants of those Islands came aboard with what Provisions they had, being very poor People, and subsist most by Fishing. On the 17th, I wrote a single Letter to the Owners in general, by a *Scotts* Fishing-boat belonging to *Sbetland*, advising them of our joining the Men of War who are ordered with the Fleet to the *Indies*, where we hoped to meet an *English* Convoy. The *Dutch* India Admiral, though but a Company's Ship, wearing Flag, gives Signals and Orders to the *Dutch* Men of War, which is not suffered among the *English*; and, in the whole Run from the Cape, kept an exact Discipline in the Fleet, not suffering any of the Commanders to

out of the Ship or Leave. On Commodore m Land; present Colours. The we parted with of the Men of the Flag, and modore, and after him in Sight of over the Bar, their own Count Faberland. At Anchor in six F On the 24th in order to go up us, we gave him Afternoon I went from our Owner from hence. On had Orders to b *Dutch* Convoy to aboard from *Amst* on the 1st of *Aug* charged what Men and afterwards w the *Duchess* and *B* *Vlister*, being a b ing, we had New *Hilidar*: Mr. *Pop* Morning, came a they went for the for *Amsterdam*. V their coming and and others, bound Convoy the same I the 6th, we weigh Comforts, it being for our better Secu the *India* Compan had dealt for noth obviate this, and *India* Company, of respect, the Officers there never was an or any Transactio visions, and other Suspicion might re drawn up, and the luntarily swore to had News of our C was very acceptable in the utmost Unc home, so that we aboard, till now we for falling down to Afternoon, we go our Convoy at *Am* way, and *Dunwich* Morning, the Win the *Tenel*, and by to In the Afternoon, to; and next Mo bore away again t *Dutch* Men of War *London*: After seei ward, with the *C* next Morning. O consulting, that our the Sea, in case we requested Captain please to stay, tho we could be provi *sterdam*; which was Day, we weighed, On the 1st of *Octob* an Anchor in the came on board; a went on shore with NUMB. 13.

out of the Ships to visit each other at Sea without a Signal, or Leave. On the 23d, the Weather being close, the Commodore made a Signal about ten o'Clock for seeing Land; presently all the Fleet answered him with their Colours. The Pilot-boats coming off aboard the Ships, we parted with the *Rotterdam* and *Middleburgh* Ships, most of the Men of War going with them to see them safe in. The Flag, and all the *English* Ships, saluted the Commodore, and afterwards we saluted the Flag, to welcome him in Sight of *Holland*; and, as soon as they were got over the Bar, the *Dutchmen* fired at their safe Arrival in their own Country, which they very affectionately called *Fatherland*. About eight at Night we all came safe to Anchor in six Fathom Water, about two Miles off Shore: On the 24th in the Morning, the *Dutch* Flag weighed, in order to go up to the unliving Place: As he passed by us, we gave him three Huzzas, and nine Guns. In the Afternoon I went up to *Amsterdam*, where we had Letters from our Owners, to direct us how to act, and proceed from hence. On the 28th, the *English East India* Ships had Orders to be in Readiness for sailing with the first *Dutch* Convoy for *London*. We got some Provisions aboard from *Amsterdam* on the 30th. When I came aboard, on the 1st of *August*, by Consent of our Council, we discharged what Men we shipped at *Batavia* and the Cape, and afterwards went away from *Amsterdam*. On the 4th, the *Duchess* and *Batcbelor* went up to the Road called the *Visiter*, being a better Road than the *Texel*. In the Evening, we had News of some of our Owners being at the *Hilddar*: Mr. *Pope* went to wait upon them, and, in the Morning, came aboard with them: After a short Stay, they went for the *Duchess* and *Batcbelor*, desiring thence for *Amsterdam*. We welcomed them with fifteen Guns at their coming and going. The *English East India* Ships, and others, bound for *England*, weighed with the *Dutch* Convoy the same Day, having a fine Gale at North-east. On the 6th, we weigh'd from the *Texel*, and went up to our Comforts, it being by a particular Order from the Owners, for our better Security, being obliged to wait here, fearing the *India* Company would be troublesome, although we had dealt for nothing but Necessaries in *India*. In order to obviate this, and convince the World, as well as the *East India* Company, of our Honesty and good Conduct in this respect, the Officers first drew up an Affidavit, setting forth, there never was any Commerce carried on in the *Indies*, or any Transactions of buying and selling, but for Provisions, and other Things, for the Ships; and, that no Suspicion might remain, an Abstract of our Journal was drawn up, and the best Part of the Ship's Company voluntarily swore to it. On the 19th in the Afternoon, we had News of our Convoy lying without the *Texel*; which was very acceptable to the Crews of each Ship, who were in the utmost Uneasiness at our long Stay, being just at home, so that we had much ado to keep the Companies aboard, till now we got every thing in Readiness, in order for falling down to them. On the 20th, about five in the Afternoon, we got down to the *Texel*, where we found our Convoy at Anchor, being the *Essex*, *Canterbury*, *Medway*, and *Dumwich* Men of War. On the 22d in the Morning, the Wind being at North-east, we weighed from the *Texel*, and by ten of the Clock got clear of the Channel. In the Afternoon, the Commodore took the *Batcbelor* in tow; and next Morning, the Wind being against us, we bore away again for the Harbour, as did likewise four *Dutch* Men of War, that came out with us, bound for *London*: After seeing us safe in, he stood off to the Northward, with the *Canterbury* and *Medway*, but came in the next Morning. On the 24th, our Officers met, where, consulting, that our three Ships wanted Necessaries to keep the Sea, in case we should meet with bad Weather, we requested Captain *Rossey* our Commodore, that he would please to stay, should the Wind be fair, till such time as we could be provided with the said Necessaries from *Amsterdam*, which was granted. On the 30th, at Break of Day, we weighed, as did likewise four *Dutch* Men of War. On the 1st of *October*, about eleven o'Clock, we came to an Anchor in the *Downs*, where several of our Owners came on board; and, after they had visited every Ship, went on shore with some Prisoners, to examine them about

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our Capture, &c. At three this Morning, the *Essex* made a Signal to unmoor; and betwixt nine and ten weigh'd, he being ordered up to the Buoy in the *Nore*, and we to make the best of our Way to the *Hope*. *October* 14. at eleven o'Clock, we and our Comfort got up to *Eriff*, where we came to an Anchor, which ends our long and fatiguing Voyage.

41. It was owing to this Expedition of *Woods Rogers*, that the Spirit of Privateering in the South Seas was not totally lost in *England*, where abundance of Art had been used to propagate an Opinion, that it was simply impossible for any Privateer Squadron to act with Success, at least for their Owners; and that, if any thing was taken, it must be in a bucanneering Way, that is, for the sole Advantage of the Crew: But, in all these respects, this Voyage has undeceived us, and plainly shewn, that, under proper Command, our People are able to do as great Things now, as ever they did in the Days of *Elizabeth*; and, indeed, it is offering the greatest Indignity to our Seamen to think otherwise. Amongst the rest of the Bug-bears invented to terrify our People from going into those Seas, one was, the dreadful Treatment they met with from the *Spaniards*, when, by any Accident, they fell into their Hands. As to this, Captain *Rogers* has set the Matter in its true Light. He deplores the Loss of Mr. *Hatley* in the most affecting Terms; probably from an Opinion, that he might be starved at Sea, or forced to live ashore on some of the barren *Gallapagos* Islands; but he very fairly tells us, that, after that Gentleman fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, he was very kindly treated, and sent up to *Lima* as a Prisoner of War, which was what he had Reason to expect. It is indeed true, that, when he and his Boat's Company landed at *Cape Passao*, and surrendered themselves, they were very barbarously used, having their Hands tied behind them, hung up by their Necks, and almost half-slayed with Whips: But then, by whom was this done? Why, by a mixed People, the Off-spring of Negroes and *Indians*, who bore an implacable Hatred to every Man of a white Complexion, out of mere Aversion to the *Spaniards*. In this Distress they had probably ended their Days, but for a Priest, who interposed, and preserved them. As for the *Englishmen*, that remained in that Country, (which is perhaps the hardest Case that can be put, with respect to the Danger of those Expeditions) Captain *Stradling*, of whom we have said so much in the last Section, after returning safe to *London*, though he remained long a Prisoner in those Countries, gives us the following Account of their Condition, melancholy indeed, as Exiles from their native Country, but not very frightful in other respects.

"In *Mexico*, the Prisoners, who are employed in cutting Logwood, have no way to escape the Severity of the *Spaniards*, but to turn Papists, and be baptized after their manner: Then they have the Liberty to chuse a Godfather, who is generally a Man of Note, and they serve him as a Footman in Livery. One *Boyle*, who joined Captain *Rogers* at *Guiaquil*, was baptized there by an Abbot in the Cathedral of *Mexico*; had Salt put in his Mouth, and Oil poured upon his Head; and small Parcels of Cotton, which rubbed it off, were distributed as precious Relics among the Penitents, because taken off the Head of a converted Heretic, as they called him. The native *Spaniards* enjoy all Posts in the Church and Monasteries, and admit no *Indians*, nor any mixed Breed, to those Preferments; which they think a necessary Piece of Policy, that they may the better keep the Country in Subjection to *Spain*. Some of those Prisoners, who are forced to be pretended Converts, do now-and-then make their Escape, tho' it be dangerous to attempt it; for, if taken, they are generally confined to the Work-houses for Life. There are several *Englishmen*, who were Prisoners in this Country, that, by Compliance, have obtained their Liberty; particularly one *Thomas Bull*, who was born in *Dover*, and taken in *Campeche*. He was a Clockmaker, had been eighteen Years here, and was about forty-five Years old, lives in the Province of *Tabasco*, and grown very rich. One Captain *Thompson*, born in the *Isle of Wight*, had been here about twenty Years, is about fifty Years old, grown rich, and com-

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"manded the Mulattoes, who took Captain Pack at the Beginning of the War. The Person who told me this, was a Combmaker, and endeavoured to escape from *La Vera Cruz*; but was taken, and sent Prisoner to *Mexico*, where he came off to *Peru*, after he had his Liberty, by pretending he went to buy Ivory to make Combs. He gave me a long Account of his Ramble amongst the *Indians*, and says, that he was at the Mouth of the River *Mississippi*, which falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*, but could not pass it: He adds, that the *Indians*, on the Bay *Pillacki*, have murdered several of the *Padres*, out of an Aversion to the *Spaniards*, but shewed a great Inclination to trade with the *English*. Such of them as will not turn Papists, are kept in close Custody, either in the Mines, or Workhouses, at *Mexico*, which City is about as long as *Brissol*. Those that are put in Workhouses are chained, and employed in carding of Wool, rasping of Logwood, &c. They have more Manufactures of Woollen and Linen in *Mexico* than in *Peru*: Abundance of Raw Silk is brought from *China*; and, of late Years, wrought up into rich Brocades, equal to any made in *Europe*. The Mulattoes and *Indians*, on very slight Occasions, are put into the Workhouses, and kept there till they pay their Debts or Tribute; but no *Spaniards*, except for the worst of Crimes. There are many *Englishmen*, who were taken cutting Logwood in the Bay of *Campeche*, in several of those Workhouses. They have abundance of Sheep in the Country, which yield excellent Wool, of which the *English* Prisoners have taught them to make Cloth, which would be worth about 15 s. a Yard in *England*; but there it yields eight Pieces of Eight. They have also taught them to make Bays, and other sort of coarse Woollens. At *Chepa* in *Mexico*, about Latitude 12° North, there is a great River, which sinks into the Earth at once, runs under the Mountains, and rises with a large Stream, about fifteen Leagues from the Place where it sunk. This River is twice as broad as the *Tyames*; it afterwards joins that of *Tabasco*, and falls into the North Sea, as most of the great Rivers of this vast Continent do. About this Place there are high Mountains, with Plains on the Top, where the Air is very temperate, and all our *European* Fruits grow; whereas, at the Bottom of those Mountains, they have none but the Fruits of hot Climates, tho' 'tis not above five Leagues asunder. There are also Woods of Pines, &c. on those Mountains, amongst which there are Birds, which sing together in an agreeable Concert, that resemble a fine Organ; so that Strangers are amazed to hear such Music strike up of a sudden in the Woods. There is also a strange Creature in those Woods, called by the *Spaniards* an *Ounce*, much of the Size of a Wolf-dog; but it has Talons, and the Head is more like that of a Tyger: It kills Men and Beasts, which makes travelling thro' the Woods dangerous; yet this Creature is reported to eat nothing but the Heart of its Prey. I had many more Relations from this Man, who had been seven Years a Prisoner in this Country; but they being too tedious, I shall add nothing more concerning *Mexico*, but that the Worm is larger, and eats the Bottoms of the Ship more, on its Sea-coast, than any other Place. All the Coasts, from *Guiaquil* in *Peru*, to the Northward, as far as the Latitude of 20° in *Mexico*, are reckoned unhealthy, but the contrary from *Guiaquil* Southward."

The next remarkable Thing in this Voyage, is the Prudence shewn in the Oeconomy of it, which ought to recommend it as a Precedent on all such Occasions for the future; and this excellent Management appeared particularly in the Method taken of holding Councils before any Transactions of Importance, to consider the proper Means for effecting it; and then, when the Thing was fresh in every body's Head and Memory, to bring the Conduct of the Affair under Examination, so as to procure another Resolution of the Committee, either approving or disapproving it. By this Measure all Facts were so effectually settled, that they would admit of no Disputes after they came home; and it is very plain, that the Debates which happened aboard, were hindered from growing to a dangerous Height by this very thing: For, as nothing could be absolutely determined while they were aboard, every body was anxious and affi-

duous in settling properly the Papers, upon the Testimony of which, the Sense of their Owners, in regard to their Conduct, was to be determined; and thus the Hopes of prevailing at home, made People easy under what they took to be Hardships abroad. In saying this, however, I differ in Opinion from Captain *Woodes Rogers*, who, tho' he had experienced the Benefits resulting from this Method of acting, yet is pleased to say, "Another great Inconvenience we laboured under, was the want of Power to try Offenders, as on board his Majesty's Ships of War; which obliged us to connive at many Disorders, and to be mild in our Punishments: But which was still worse, there was no sufficient Power lodged in any one Hand, to determine Differences amongst our chief Officers; which was a great Omission, and might have proved of dangerous Consequence, because of the Divisions which happened amongst us." Yet I dare say it will be apparent, notwithstanding the Captain's Observation, that if any such Power had been lodged, even in himself, it must have done more Hurt than Good; since nothing but the Uncertainty of whose Conduct would be approved or disapproved at their Return, prevented Malcontent Officers from endeavouring to form Parties among the Ship's Company, which Reason and Experience shews us, is the most dangerous Thing that can happen in Expeditions of this sort; and which, as the Reader will remember, proved the Ruin of Captain *Dampier's* Design, of which we have given a long Account in the preceding Section: But it is natural for Men in Power to believe the Extension of their own Authority as profitable to others, as agreeable to themselves.

A third Circumstance that deserves Regard, is the Weakness of the *Spaniards*; for it appears plainly, that they were not, at this time, in a much better Condition than when *Drake* and *Candish* ravaged their Colonies; and of this Captain *Rogers* was so sensible, that, in the Preface to his Book, he lays it down as a thing extremely practicable, not only to plunder the *Spanish* Settlements on the Coast, but even to fix Garisons there, which, he thinks, it would not be in the Power of the *Spaniards* to expel, before they received a Relief from *Britain*. "Our taking of *Guiaquil*," says he, with an Handful of raw undisciplined Men, is a sufficient Proof of this; and they may soon forcibly themselves, so as no Power, that can be brought against them, would be able to dislodge them. The whole *Spanish* Force in that Sea consists but of three small Ships; and their Land Troops are so little accustomed to War, that they are not able to look a Body of disciplined Men in the Face, as we ourselves and others have found by Experience: Besides, the Natives of *Chili*, who are a brave People, have such an Aversion to the *Spaniards*, because of their Cruelty and Oppression, that, when they find the Mildness of an *English* Government, they will readily join us, in order to be freed from that intolerable Servitude, under which they have groined so long." I will not take upon me to say, that, at this time, such a Scheme as he recommends would be practicable; but this, I think, I may safely say, that nothing that has since happened, down to the Time of the present War, has shewn such a Design to be impossible. At the time Captain *Rogers* wrote, he had before his Eyes the Example of the *French* carrying on, partly with, and partly without the Consent of the *Spaniards*, such a Commerce in that Part of the World, as enabled them to make head against the rest of all *Europe*: Which is a Circumstance that deserves to be very well considered; since, if the Wealth of *Spain*, in the Hands of *France*, may prove the Ruin of all her Neighbours, it seems to be a natural Inference, that it is not only lawful, but absolutely incumbent upon us, to prosecute the only Method that can possibly prevent it. The Account he has given of the Matter is this: "The *French* sent from *Rebelle*, in 1698, two Ships, under the Command of *M. Boucquesne* *Conin*, of *St. Malo*, to the South Sea, with a Cargo of Goods, to try what could be done: Trade there, as appears by his Journal. They have improved his Discovery, and carried on such a vast Trade in those Seas ever since, that there have been in the South Sea, in one Year, seventeen Ships of War and Merchantmen, with all sorts of Goods; and the Advantage they made of it was so great, that I was in-

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"formed, by several Merchants whom we took in those Seas, that, by a modest Computation, the *French*, in a few of the first Years of that Trade, carried home 100 Millions of Dollars, which is near twenty-five Millions Sterling, besides the Advantages they made by trading to the North Sea, when they convoy the *Spanish* Gallies and *Flota* to and from the *West Indies*." This was written before the Close of the last War; and it is worthy of Notice, that, since the present War commenced, the *French* and *Spaniards* have had recourse again to the same Expedition, I mean that of licensing Ships from *St. Malo* to trade to the South Seas, contrary not only to Treaties, but in direct Violation of the Privileges of the native *Spaniards*, who cannot but be sensibly affected, to see the only Trade they have, and by which alone they are able to bear the heavy Burden of a *French* Government, thrown into the Hands of Foreigners. But, however angry they may be, it does not appear, that at this Juncture they have the Means of redressing this Grievance in their own Hands; whereas, so far as it affects us, we certainly have; and, either by following these *French* Interlopers into the South Seas, or by watching them closely in their Return home, may render ineffectual this Expedition for turning the Riches of the new World to the Subversion of the Peace of the old. If this cannot be done, our ruining the *French* Trade elsewhere will fall short of the End proposed; because, being temporary only, if they can find a Way to carry on this Commerce effectually in the mean time, it will, in a great measure, supply the Losses they sustain in the other Branches of their Commerce: As, on the other hand, if we can put an End to this, as well as to the rest, it must soon bring the War to a Conclusion; for the modern Maxim, that Money does all Things, is never found more agreeable to Truth, than when applied to military Affairs, which demand so great and so constant an Expence, that, if a Nation cannot supply it, she must be content to accept of those Terms, and remain in that Condition, which her Neighbours are willing she should be in; and this is that Condition, to which I conceive we would be willing to reduce the *French*.

Before I take my Leave of this Subject, I cannot forbear putting the Reader in mind of the great Utility of Voyages to the South Seas; and observing, that as these can never be undertaken but when we are at War with the *Spaniards*, so that Opportunity ought never to be let slip; since, otherwise, we are in Danger of losing all Knowledge of that Navigation, to which we have a Right in common with the rest of Mankind; which, some time or other, may turn to the infinite Advantage of the *British* Nation. The Reader has seen what Succession of Adventurers there has been from the Days of Queen *Elizabeth* to this time; all of whom have intimated the mighty Advantages that might be expected from our endeavouring to fix in some Part, rather than be continual Wanderers in the South Seas. The grand Objection has been, that it is very difficult to furnish Provisions for so long an Expedition, or to keep our Ships sufficiently manned, so as to be in a Condition of settling when they come thither. But, perhaps, we ought to inquire, whether these Difficulties really spring from the Design itself, or from our Method of managing it; for, undoubtedly, if there be not as much of Prudence in the Conduct of a public Scheme, as is generally seen in the Management of a private Concern, we may easily guess what will be the Fate of it. The good Sense and great Attention of the *Bristol* Merchants, appear in the Precautions they took for the right Management of this Expedition, which effectually answered their Intentions: And shall we be weak enough to believe, that a Project, formed for the common Benefit of the *British* Nation, might not be as well regulated, and as successfully executed, as one which tended only to the Benefit of a few Merchants in one of its Ports? It is easy enough to conceive, that if wrong Methods are used, or right ones neglected, if Ships go out at improper Seasons of the Year, heavily loaded with Things unnecessary, commanded by unexperienced or fifth-water Seamen, who think any Hardship intolerable, we need not wonder that things miscarry. But this very Voyage of Captain *Woods Rogers* clearly demonstrates such a Design to be very practicable, notwithstanding what

is daily thrown out to make the contrary Notion gain Belief; for their Ships were much fuller of Men than is usual for Ships of their Burden, and yet they carried Provisions for sixteen Months; which puts it beyond all Dispute, that Men of War, and Transports, may conveniently go on this Expedition, well filled with Men, and carry twelve Months Provision at least for each Ship: Besides, for every Man of War, or Transport, that carries considerable Numbers of Men, a proportionable Victualler may be allowed, with no more Men than are enough to sail her; so that she may carry eight or ten Months Provisions more for the other Ships, that embark the Men. Thus a sufficient Number may go for a Settlement, and fully victualled for twenty-two Months, which is time enough, and to spare, to go and return from the South Seas; and, if any Ship should lose Company, there is little Danger of their meeting again at Places appointed for Rendezvous. 'Tis true, the Distance from Home is great, but the Ships that have traded thither find it an easy Passage in a proper Season; and their Men continue more healthful, than those that trade to the *West Indies* by the North Seas. The general Distemper in such long Voyagers is the Scurvy; and the Methods to prevent the ill Effects of it are so well known, that they may be easily provided against. The Ships may likewise refresh by the Way, first at the *Cape de Verd* Islands, and then at *Brasil*; betwixt which, and the South Sea, is the longest Passage, and that, in all Probability, cannot exceed ten Weeks at Sea; so that, when they arrive at *Chili*, the Climate is so wholesome, and agrees so well with *European* Constitutions, that such as are sick speedily recover. Then, as to proper Places for a Settlement, where Provisions abound, there are so many of them on the Coast of *Chili*, &c. that a Body of Men disciplined, and under good Commanders, may easily settle there. It is not indeed easy to say, where such a Settlement might be made with the greatest Probability of Success; but, sure, it is very strange, that no Attempt has been hitherto made to discover that Continent that lies between *California* and *Japan*; since, that there is such a Continent, seems to be a Point the *Spaniards* are as industrious to conceal, as other Nations are negligent of inquiring after it, though none of their Subjects, that ever were in those Seas, quitted them, without recommending it to the Notice of their Countrymen. Sir *Francis Drake*, the first, and, perhaps, the most knowing of our Discoverers, took Possession of *California*, with this View particularly. The brave *Candish*, his only Rival in Reputation, suggested the same thing; and, if I mistake not, delivered his Thoughts at large on this Subject, in a Discourse directed to the Queen his Mistress, and delivered to his Patron the Lord *Hunsdon*, in relation to a Map of *China*, which he brought over, and of which I shall have Occasion to speak more largely in another Place. Captain *Dampier*, though he was far from being a deep Politician, yet saw and mentioned the Expediency of some such Settlement; which was again hinted by Captain *Rogers*. If the Reader should incline to be farther informed, as to the Advantages that might be reasonably expected from our having a Colony in those Parts, I will endeavour to give him some Satisfaction in that Particular. First, then, this Situation would afford us an Opportunity of corresponding in both the *East* and *West Indies*, and that with much greater Ease than the *Spaniards* find in carrying on their Trade between *Manilla* and *Acapulco*; because we should not have above half the Run of their Ship to either of the *Indies*; and, as the Winds on that Coast are constant and regular, we must, in the Space of a few Years, establish a safe and certain Correspondence. In the next Place, there is the highest Probability, that, in such a Climate, we might meet with, or, in a short Space, create, a considerable Demand for our coarse Cloths, and other Manufactures, which would be doubly advantageous to the Nation, by encouraging Industry at home, and increasing and enlarging our Navigation. There is another Circumstance that deserves to be mentioned, and it is this; that such a Colony would give us an Opportunity of examining effectually, whether there be any such thing as a practicable Passage into these Seas, either from the North-east, or the North-west; which is an old Question revived of late Years, and with good Reason, since the Solution of it would not only

only redound to the Benefit of several Nations, but to that of Europe in general.

It, notwithstanding all that has been said, there should appear something romantic, or, perhaps, ridiculous, in supposing the public Councils of this Nation in such a Situation, as that Projects of this Sort should be esteemed worthy their Notice, or any Part of our Naval Force employed at such a Distance, and where their Commanders could expect so little, even from the Success of their Undertaking, what hinders, that a private Company, by which I mean a Copartnership of particular Merchants, may not carry into Execution such a Design? We have seen, by a Variety of Instances, by the *East India Company* in *Holland*, by the *English East India Company*, by our *Levant*, by our *Hadjons-bay*, but especially by our *Russia Company*, what private Merchants are able to do, if properly countenanced and encouraged. The *Dutch* and *English East India Companies* role both of them out of private Undertakings, while the State wisely assisted and supported them by her Authority, for the sake of promoting the public Good. If, therefore, at this Juncture; when there are so many private Men who have acquired large Fortunes, while the settled and ordinary Trade of the Nation is in some measure necessarily suspended by the War; while the Interest of the public Debt continues low, and yet that Debt is daily increasing; if, I say, while Things are in such a Situation, a Body of Merchants should undertake to discover new Countries, and to make new Settlements, what Reason is there to doubt of their meeting with Encouragement and Success? There needs no mighty Sum to fit out two Privateers, and a Tender; and, besides, the very Expences of the Voyage might be probably borne by the Prizes taken in the South Seas, or both Schemes pursued at once, by wintering in *California*, and waiting the Arrival of the *Acapulco* Ships upon those Coasts. It is on all Hands acknowledged, that the Climate is temperate and healthy, that the Natives are friendly and honest, that the opposite Continent of *America* is very rich, and but thinly peopled by the *Spaniards*; so that, on the Whole, there is nothing astonishing or absurd in supposing, that 3 or 400 Men, well-disciplined, and under experienced Commanders, should maintain themselves here, without any great Difficulty or Inconvenience, for seven, eight, or nine Months: We think it no Hardship to keep them continually on Ship-board, for two or three Years, in other Services, to at least as little Purpose. There is, however, another Thing to

be considered, and it is this; that, sailing from *California* in a higher Latitude than usual, they might, if they found it practicable, winter in any new-discovered Port, and be sure to return time enough to *California*, to accomplish the other Part of their Scheme; or, if they should fail of meeting with a proper Port in any of the Islands or Continent between *California* and the *East Indies*, they may continue their Voyage to *China*, where they might find themselves at Liberty to form and execute new Projects, equally honourable to themselves, and advantageous to their Owners. At all Events, therefore, a Scheme of this Sort, judiciously carried into Execution, must be very beneficial to the Nation: It would serve to extirpate old Errors, by informing us of new Truths; it would heighten our Credit for Maritime Power and Skill; it would exercise Men of active Spirits, improve their natural Parts, and point out to them the Means of transmitting Wealth to their Descendants, and their own Fame to latest Posterity. If it should be demanded, why I am so warm in recommending such a Design; my Answer is, because I think it for the Service of my Country, which can never be made happy at home, or maintain her Reputation abroad, but from the Appearance of such a Spirit, as would be necessary to accomplish such a Design: And therefore to labour in exciting this, seems the highest Point of Patriotism, of which a private Man is capable. If a severer Critic should inquire, What Connexion this has with my History; I answer, The closest that can be: For, to what End do we record the Transactions of Times past, but that they may become Examples to succeeding Ages? This Voyage of the *Duke and Duchess* was, by far, the most successful of any that was ever set on foot at the Expence, and under the Management, of private Merchants; and, beheld in that Light, is, of all others, the properest to encourage *British* Traders to exert themselves in the same Way. I might perhaps go too far, should I assert, that this Voyage gave Rise to the *South Sea Company*; but thus much I can safely say, that the Success of this Voyage was what the Patrons of that Company chiefly insisted upon in their Defence, when the Plan of it was attacked as insufficient and chimerical. I shall, however, conclude with this Remark, that, as this is the last *English* Voyage of its kind so prosperous, and so well conducted, as to merit such Observations, so the Succinctness with which I treat the rest, will sufficiently excuse my dwelling so long on so agreeable and so important a Subject.

SECTION XVII.

The Voyage of Captain JOHN CLIPPERTON round the World, from an authentic Journal.

1. The Occasion of the Voyage, and the Reason of obtaining the Emperor's Commission. 2. The English and Flemish disagree, and the Emperor's Commission is laid aside. 3. Captain Shelvocke removed, and Captain Clipperton appointed Commander in Chief. 4. Instructions given by the Owners. 5. The Ship sail from Plymouth, February 15. 1719; and are separated in a Storm. 6. Captain Clipperton prosecutes his Voyage to the Canaries. 7. Arrival, and Description of the Cape de Verde Islands. 8. Continuation of his Voyage to the Streights of Magellan. 9. They arrive at the Island of Juan Fernandez, and cruise there for the Speedwell. 10. Proceed for the South Seas, where they make abundance of Prizes. 11. One of the Prizes escapes, and alarms the Coast. 12. They continue cruising with good Success. 13. A further Account of their Transactions in those Seas. 14. Their amazing Success, notwithstanding the Smallness of their Number. 15. A Conspiracy among the Crew to run away with the Ship, and turn Pirates. 16. Sail for the Gallapagos Islands. 17. Meet with Captain Shelvocke very unexpectedly on the Coast of Mexico. 18. Separate from him again, and go to the East Indies. 19. Arrive at Guam, and are very ill treated by the Governor. 20. Continue their Voyage thence for China. 21. Come into the Port of Amoy with great Difficulty. 22. A Mutiny there, in which Captain Clipperton is deprived of his Command. 23. The Consequences of that Mutiny, and the Captain's Care for his Owners. 24. Their Arrival at Macao. 25. The Crew separate, and shift for themselves. 26. Captain Clipperton returns Home, and dies of a broken Heart. 27. Remarks upon the Voyage.

AT the time that the Affairs of this Nation, and of all Europe, were extremely embarrassed, by Disputes between the late Emperor Charles VI. and his Catholic Majesty King Philip V. of Spain, and the Quadruple Alliance was negotiating, some Merchants here, foreseeing that it could not be long before we broke

with Spain, or Spain broke with us, resolved, about the Beginning of the Year 1718, to fit out two Ships for the South Seas, in hopes that they might make as happy a Voyage as the *Duke and Duchess* had done, under the Command of Captain Woodes Rogers; and, with this View, they provided two fine Ships, in every respect fit for the

Chap. I.

Voyage; the *Swedish*. But expected between have his Imp Scheme was for very necessary on board the R Command of t per Authority Seamen, who v induced the Gen mendation of o of Captain Geo nant in the Roy Officer, and ev ever bore Comm Pars, ready Sp made him a ver this Scheme, a tions he received commanded by to wait for the E Flemish Officers as as much Wine the Supply of bo cold a Climate, a vision in the Sou try for the sake o

2. It was in th tain Shelvocke fail of his Commissio Imp al Court, a the Air of a Gern the Names of the ty-six Guns, and and the lesser, of named the *Starve* rial Majesty's Prin Captain Shelvocke 3 Officers; and wh with his Wine and the *Downs*, where *Eugene*, that had b was likewise instru there, by hoiting viuing Strangers al that might give ind ing into the Desig Ship. But Captai discretionary Power manage Things in Firing of Guns, an by degrees; and, a *Flemish*, and fix C Confort the Prince some time. The the first Uneasiness, at Deal for several puts quickly grew *Flemish* Seamen, co of being commande such a manner, that them; and, as the these Disputes were Ship's Crew was in they might easily h mixt Company, of the *Spaniards*, was, Event, a very imp Care and Expence i obliged to lay aside Emperor's Commiss induced, since they making use of it, between Great Brit lived to procure K back all the Men at ha-gers, and allowi his Resolution was NUMB. 13.

Voyage, the one called the *Speedwell*, and the other the *Sweeps*. But the War not breaking out so soon as was expected between the two Crowns, it was judged requisite to have his Imperial Majesty's Commission. When the Scheme was settled and adjusted on this Foot, it was thought very necessary to find out some Gentleman who had served on board the Royal Navy, that might take upon him the Command of the Expedition, and be able to carry a proper Authority over the *Flemish* Soldiers, as well as *English* Seamen, who were on board. This Situation of Things induced the Gentlemen Proprietors, on the warm Recommendation of one of their own Number, to make Choice of Captain *George Shelvoocke*, who had served as a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, had the Character of being a good Officer, and was certainly as accomplished a Seaman as ever bore Command. He was, besides, a Man of quick Parts, ready Speech, and very winning Address; which made him a very proper Person for carrying into Execution this Scheme, as it was then modelled. The first Instructions he received, were to proceed with the *Speedwell*, then commanded by Captain *Robert Mitchell*, to *Offend*, there to wait for the Emperor's Commissions, and to receive his *Flemish* Officers and Seamen on board the Ship, together with as much Wine and Brandy, as was thought proper for the Supply of both Ships, during so long a Voyage, in so cold a Climate, as that of *Cape Horn*; and for their Provision in the South Seas, which was bought in that Country for the sake of Cheapness.

2. It was in the Month of November 1718, that Captain *Shelvoocke* sailed to *Offend*, in order to execute this Part of his Commission. To shew the greater Respect to the Imperial Court, and, at the same time, to give this more the Air of a German Expedition, it was resolved to change the Names of the Ships; and therefore the biggest, of thirty-six Guns, and 180 Men, was called the *Prince Eugene*; and the lesser, of twenty-four Guns, and 106 Men, was named the *Starenberg*, after Count *Starenberg*, his Imperial Majesty's Prime Minister. The Complement of Men Captain *Shelvoocke* was to take in, was sixty *Flemings*, under 3 Officers; and when he had got them on board, together with his Wine and Brandy, he was to proceed directly for the *Dowms*, where he was to meet his Consort the *Prince Eugene*, that had been fitted and manned in the River: He was likewise instructed to make no sort of Shew or Parade there, by hoisting of Colours, giving Entertainments, inviting Strangers aboard, or, in short, doing any thing that might give inquisitive People an Opportunity of prying into the Design of the Voyage, or the Strength of the Ship. But Captain *Shelvoocke*, apprehending that he had a discretionary Power, and, perhaps, finding it impossible to manage Things in that Country without a little Shew, some Firing of Guns, and now-and-then a Dinner, gave into it by degrees; and, at last, failed for the *Dowms* with ninety *Flemings*, and six Officers on board, where he found his Consort the *Prince Eugene*, which had waited for him there some time. The Accident of his staying so long, created the first Uneasiness, his Owners having some of them waited at *Deal* for several Days, in Expectation of him; but Disputes quickly grew high, when it was found, that the *Flemish* Seamen, confiding in their Numbers, and proud of being commanded by their own Officers, behaved in such a manner, that the *English* knew not how to act with them; and, as there was constantly a mixed Command, these Disputes were so often repeated, that at last the whole Ship's Crew was in a Flame, and the Owners saw, what they might easily have guessed before, that to send out a mixed Company, of *Englishmen* and *Flemings*, to cruise upon the *Spaniards*, was, in itself, a very ill-judged, and, in the Event, a very impracticable thing; so that, after all the Care and Expence it had cost them, they found themselves obliged to lay aside all Thoughts of proceeding under the Emperor's Commission; to which they were the more easily induced, since they were no longer under a Necessity of making use of it, the War being, by this time, begun between *Great Britain* and *Spain*. It was, therefore, resolved to procure King *George's* Commission, and to send back all the Men and Officers to *Flanders*, paying their Charges, and allowing two Months Wages to the Men. This Resolution was no sooner taken, than it was put in

Execution: But, before we part with his Imperial Majesty's Commission, it may not be amiss to take a Copy of it. I have always had a great Dislike to filling up Books with public Instruments and Records; but this Commission of the Emperor's is really a Curiosity, in point both of Style and Substance; and, as I believe it is the only one of its kind that ever was procured by *British* Subjects, I hope my Readers will be very well satisfied with my inserting it, especially when I observe, that this Commission was obtained before the *East India* Company was erected at *Offend*; which shews how dangerous a thing it is, for the Subjects of the maritime Powers to apply to foreign Princes for Commissions, since it opens the Secrets of their Trade, and puts such Courts upon Schemes they would not otherwise have thought of. But to the Commission: Thus it ran.

A Translation of the Imperial Commission.

"Charles VI. by the Grace of God, Emperor of the Romans, always August; King of Germany, Castile, Leon, Arragon, Naples, Sicily, Jerusalem, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Navarre, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, the Balearic Islands, Seville, Sardinia, Corduba, Corsica, Murcia, Juan Algaras, Algier, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, also of the East Indies, the Islands and foreign Lands of the Western Sea, &c. Archduke of Austria; Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Milan, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Luxemburg, Wirtemburgh, the Upper and Lower Silesia, Alben, and Neapatis; Prince of Suabia; Marquis of the sacred Roman Empire, Burgau, and Moravia; Earl of Habsburgh, Flanders, Tyrol, Barcelona, &c. We make known and testify to all the World, by the Tenor of these Presents, that of our own Motion, and from the Fulness of our Power, we have allowed and granted our Imperial Permission, and free Liberty, to the faithful, and (of us) most deserving Man *George Shelvoocke*, upon a certain and experienced Opinion of his Honesty, confirmed by a long Series of good Actions, to prepare and fit out for War the Ship called the *Prince Eugene*, able to carry thirty-two Guns, or thereabouts, and to sail with her well fitted and furnished with Arms, thro' any Seas far and wide, to follow and pursue any such as are the Enemies of our most August House, but chiefly the Enemies of the Christian Name, and to take and seize their Ships, to the end that our Subjects, and our Shores, may be freed from the Incurfions of the Turks, and be rendered safe from all Enemies; or that our Enemies may be punished for their Insolence, should they offer any Injury to our Dominions or Subjects. But we have not otherwise granted and allowed this Power and *Cæsarean* Permission to the aforesaid *George Shelvoocke*, than upon Condition that he suffer the aforesaid Ship, with all the Effects wherewith she is laden, to be estimated and valued by our General Archthlaffic College, commonly called The Office of Admiralty of the Spanish Flanders; and that he fit out and furnish the said Ship for War, by Order and Appointment of the said Office of Admiralty; and also give the proper Security, and take the usual Oath required by the said Office, or to whomsoever the Admiralty shall authorize and empower, by Order of our Governor, or our Plenipotentiary in Flanders, viz. that he is the true Commander of the Ship; and that he will exactly observe our Orders and Rules relating to Naval Affairs and Hostilities; and take care, they be inviolably observed by the Seamen, and such as sail with him: Likewise, that a List or Catalogue be made, in which the Names and Surnames of the Persons who serve in the said Ship, with their Birth, Country, and Habitation, be clearly expressed, that the Commerce of our Subjects own Confederates shall not be disturbed, or any ways hindered; that Ships taken from the Enemy shall not be sunk in the Sea, nor the Prisoners set on shore, or dispersed on Islands, or distant and remote Countries, to hide and conceal the nature of their Booty: That no Chests, Boxes, or Trunks, which shall be found in the Ship when taken, shall be opened, or any Part of the Prize-goods taken away, moved, or clandestinely fold: Lastly, that he use his best Endeavours

"vours to procure the Writings and Proofs relating to the Goods aboard the Prize-ships, that the Action and Seizures may be approved by the Officers of the Admiralty above-mentioned; to which Officers he is to deliver those Proofs, together with the Prize; and also to acquaint them with the Day, Hour, and Place of the Sea; in which the Ship was taken: But if he should be compelled by Strefs of Weather, or Enemies, to make into another Port, he must inform the above-mentioned Office of Admiralty of all these Things; and, by the Direction and Appointment of the same, pay the tenth Part of the Value of the Prize, the Expences in unloading the Goods, and Warehouse-room, being first deducted.

"Upon these Conditions we do allow and grant, to the above-named Captain *George Shelbocke*, the free Use of our *Casarian* and Imperial Flag, Arms, and Ensign; and we command our Generals, Governors, and chief Commanders, by Sea or Land, and all the Officers and Attendants of our Ports, (and we also desire of the Governors, Commanders, and Attendants, and Officers of our Allies, and neutral Princes) that they kindly receive the said Captain *George Shelbocke* into the Ports or Stations of their Jurisdictions, protect him with their Patronage, and allow and permit him freely to sail, pass and repass, and act in an hostile manner against our Enemies, under the Limitations above-mentioned, for we think it expedient for our Imperial Service; nor shall we act otherwise towards the Subjects, or any Commanders of Ships of our Allies, or neutral Princes, but treat them with the same Favour and Protection: In Testimony of which, we have ordered and commanded these Presents, subscribed by our own Hand, and authorized by the Seal of our Imperial Arms, and under-written by *Ramundus a Vilina Perlas*, Marquis of *Rialp*, our Secretary of State, as usual, to be made. Given in our City of *Vienna*, 16 July, A.D. 1718, of our Government of the Empire 5. of *Spain* 13. of *Bohemia* and *Hungaria* 5.

"CHARLES."

"The said Captain *George Shelbocke* may make use of this Imperial Commission in warring against the *Spaniards*, and any Subjects of the Possessor of that Crown; but not against any other Power, though even Enemies to the Christian Name, on either Side of the Equinoctial Line, nor do them the least Injury. Done at *Brussels*, the 28th of Sept. 1718.

"CASTILLON."

3. A Commission once obtained from his *Britannic Majesty*, the Ships returned to their old Names, the *Success* and *Speedwell*; but another Revolution happened of a more extraordinary Nature, which was, the turning Captain *Shelbocke* out of his Command, and making him but second in this Expedition. This was, in all Probability, owing to some little Mistakes in his Conduct when he made that short Trip to *Flanders*, as well as to the Change of Circumstances, which might have inclined the Proprietors to prefer another Officer, since now the whole Fate of the Expedition depending on the perfect Knowledge of, and right Conduct in, the South Seas, a Man of another Turn was necessary. This Officer, who was thus preferred to Captain *Shelbocke*, was a Person we have often mentioned before; viz. Captain *John Clipperton*, who, in Captain *Dampier's* Voyages, is called *Clippington*, who served under him in the Capacity of a Mate, and of whose Adventures, after his Separation from *Dampier*, we have already given a Detail: But, as we are now to accompany him a second time round the World, it may not be amiss to give a farther Account of him; the rather, because what I deliver, is from unquestionable Authority, having been favoured with many Lights in compiling of this Voyage. He was born at *Tarmonth*, in the County of *Norfolk*; and his Relations being most of them Seafaring People, he was from his Infancy bred up in that way; and, having failed in almost all Sorts of Vessels to most of the Ports of *Europe*, once to the *West Indies*, and once round the Globe, he had by this means gained great Experience, and was

allowed, by all who knew him, to be an able Pilot, an experienced Seaman, and an Officer as capable of conducting the Expedition he undertook, as any Man then in *Great Britain*. It is true, Captain *Clipperton* had his Faults; as, indeed, who is without them? but they were very far from being either gross in themselves, or dangerous to other Men. He was a blunt, rough, free-spoken Sailor, had not much the Air of a Gentleman, and, therefore, he never affected it; was free and easy amongst his Seamen, and, though he was somewhat passionate, yet he was soon appeased, and was ready to repair any Injury or Injustice he had done in Heat of Blood. He had a strict Regard to what he took to be his Duty, was a Man of honest Principles, and had a great deal of Justice and Humanity in his Nature. His Circumstances were but indifferent, which induced him to undertake this Voyage for the Rafting himself, and his Family, which he left during this time in *Ireland*. The Character Captain *Clipperton* had obtained amongst the Merchants for his Skill, Fidelity, and steady Courage, recommended him to the Proprietors of this Expedition, who, having now advanced upwards of fifteen thousand Pounds towards it, thought proper to put him into the *Success*, and intrust him with the chief Command, leaving Captain *George Shelbocke* in the *Speedwell*, where he had under him, as his second Captain, a Person we have often mentioned before, viz. Captain *Simon Hatley*, the same whom Captain *Woodes Rogers* left among the *Galapagos* Islands, and who was a long time afterwards Prisoner among the *Spaniards*.

4. The Instructions these Gentlemen received, were in Substance these: That they should proceed with all imaginable Diligence to *Plymouth*; from whence they were to sail, with the first fair Wind, for *Cape Horn*, or the Straights of *Magellan*, and to make their Passage either round that Cape, or through those Straights, as should to them appear most convenient; then to sail into the South Seas, cruise on the Coasts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, and endeavour, if possible, to meet the *Acapulco* Ship. To prevent all Disputes and Disorders, their Proprietors directed the Captains to adhere steadily to these three Maxims: First, To be careful, above all things, not to separate from each other; because that would, in all Probability, prove the Ruin of their Voyage. They were next enjoined to undertake nothing of Importance without holding a Council of Officers, stating the Question in Writing that was to be debated, drawing up the Resolution, with the Reasons upon which it was grounded, in concise Terms, and obliging every Officer present to sign it. They were, lastly, directed to call a Council in the same manner, as soon as possible, after any Action had happened, or any Prize of Consequence been taken, in which the Conduct of the Officers concerned might be examined, and a true Judgment passed upon it on the Spot, subscribed by the Persons assisting at the Council, to prevent all Possibility of Dispute. That neither of the Commanders might take Offence at the Strictness of these Rules, or not enter sufficiently into the Motives of them, the last thing the Proprietors did, was, to present each of the Captains with Mr. *Rogers's* Voyage, that they might never be at a Loss for proper Precedents throughout the Expedition. But these Precautions proved in a great measure useless, since the Expedition wore an unfortunate Aspect from the Beginning; for the Ships were obliged to lie three Months at *Plymouth*, waiting for a Wind: During which time, all Things fell into Confusion, and Factions were formed, in which the Crews of both Ships were involved, as were the Historians of this Voyage rightly observes, from the Captains down to the Cabin-boys. Captain *Shelbocke* highly stomached the Affront that had been offered him, in giving his Ship, and the chief Command, to another Person; and Captain *Clipperton* being a boisterous, knowing *Shelbocke's* Relentment, having himself strong Passions, and not being able to conceal them, they were nothing but Debate and Disputes; so that every Post carried up Complaints to the Proprietors, and brought down Instructions, Reproofs, and Exhortations to Concord and Harmony, so long as they remained in Port. It is certainly a very tedious and troublesome Office, to be charged with to record the first of Quarrels; but, as the Fate of a

Voyage depends on the Account, we had, indeed, but it is to tell of for his Friend which he ought Owners, and in this, as well proved the Cause

5. On the 13 *Clipperton*, and with a fair Wind, perhaps ever happened had still on board other Lagers, and, how fatal at this time, will fresh Gales, squall unbent their best their Anchors, a shorter Sail for that he came this complained to the Ship, which proceeded aloft; and therefore Brandy, which was Opportunity of the Hold, which would better than he did was, undoubtedly *perion*; though, as it argued very little leaving him; and *perion* had not an order to have the Voyage. On the between nine and ten take in their Top-made a Signal for *Shelbocke* readily of Ships were under Canvas all the Night in the Afternoon, *perion*, in the *Success* East, whereas Captain *Clipperton*, Journal, stood away Day they never saw Seas by mere Accident History we proposed Captain *Clipperton*, which hitherto the though there are extant; viz. one by other by Captain *B* the Captain's Apology contains abundance of entertaining Style, a Account very agreeable some Years after, *Clipperton*, and is written by the Author professes no Prejudice in his Power steadily in his Resolution, in which, however, some Extracts from his Voyage. But this Reflections and Invections the Threat of the of either Voyage: divide them; and, Power, the Risk and done with it, and Captain *Clipperton's*

Voyage depends upon them; and, as it would be impossible to understand what follows, without such a previous Account, we must go through it as well as we can. It had, indeed, been happy for the Proprietors, the Reader, and myself, if, on mature Consideration on the Consequences that must attend perpetual Heart-burns and Disputes between the Commanders, they had wisely removed one, or both; in which case, they might, very probably, have made as prosperous a Voyage as the *Duke and Duchess*. But it so fell out, that the Concern every Gentleman had for his Friend in Post, got the better of that Concern which he ought to have had for himself, his Fellow-Owners, and the common Good of the Voyage; so that in this, as well as in many other Cases, private Views proved the Cause of public Ruin.

5. On the 13th of February 1719, the *Success*, Captain Clipperton, and the *Speedwell*, Captain Shelvocke, sailed with a fair Wind, but, with as odd a Circumstance, as perhaps ever happened; which was this: That the *Speedwell* had still on board the whole Stock of Wines, Brandies, and other Liquors, designed for the Supply of both Ships; and, how fatal a Mistake it was not to divide them before this time, will very soon appear. On the 15th, they had fresh Gales, squally, with Rain. In the Evening, they unbent their belt and smallest Bowers in the *Success*, stowed their Anchors, and found themselves often obliged to shorten Sail for the *Speedwell*. Captain Shelvocke tells us, that he came this Day under the Lee of the *Success*, and complained to Captain Clipperton of the Crankness of his Ship, which proceeded from their having too much Weight aloft; and therefore desired him to send for his Wine and Brandy, which would give him (Captain Shelvocke) an Opportunity of striking down some of his Guns into the Hold, which would have enabled him to have sailed much better than he did: But this, it seems, was neglected; and was, undoubtedly, a very great Omission in Captain Clipperton; though, at the same time, we must acknowledge, it argued very little Distrust in him of Captain Shelvocke's leaving him; and is the fullest Proof possible, that Clipperton had not any Intention to desert the *Speedwell*, in order to have the sole Conduct and Management of the Voyage. On the 19th, there arose a violent Storm between nine and ten at Night, which obliged both Ships to take in their Top-sails. The Gale increasing, the *Success* made a Signal for the *Speedwell* to bring to; which Captain Shelvocke readily obeyed; and, by eleven o'Clock, both Ships were under bare Poles, not able to suffer one Knot of Canvas all the Night through. On the 20th, about two in the Afternoon, the Storm abated, and Captain Clipperton, in the *Success*, made Sail, steering South and by East, whereas Captain Shelvocke, according to his own Journal, stood away to the North-west; so that from this Day they never saw each other, till they met in the South Seas by mere Accident. Here then properly begins the History we propose to include in this Section, viz. that of Captain Clipperton, in the *Success*, round the Globe, of which hitherto the World has had no distinct Relation, though there are two Histories of this Voyage already extant; viz. one written by Captain Shelvocke, and the other by Captain Beagb. The former is, strictly speaking, the Captain's Apology for his own Conduct; though it contains abundance of curious Things, is written in a very entertaining Style, and has a Spirit in it, which enlivens the Account very agreeably. The other, though published some Years after, contains the Charge against Captain Shelvocke, and is written with uncommon Acrimony. The Author professes an Intention to do his Adversary all the Prejudice in his Power, and appears to have perused very steadily in his Resolution to the very last Page in his Book; in which, however, there are many curious Things, and some Extracts from a Journal of Captain Clipperton's Voyage. But this whole Book is so blended with Reflections and Invectives, that it is no easy Matter to pursue the Thread of the Relation, so as to judge of the Effects of either Voyage: And, therefore, I found it necessary to divide them; and, having stated, as fairly as was in my Power, the Rise and Subject of this Dispute, I have now done with it, and shall content myself with prosecuting Captain Clipperton's Voyage round the World; in which

he met with a great Variety of Accidents that deserve to be known; performed some Things worthy of Notice; and, certainly shewed as great an Inclination to do Justice to his Proprietors, and to maintain the Honour of his Country, as, from a Man under his Circumstances, could be expected: And therefore I have always thought it hard, that private Prejudices should hinder his Merit from being brought into public View.

6. As Captain Clipperton, who was now at Sea, was very indifferently provided, without his Consort, he was obliged to take upon him a discretionary Power of dispensing, in some respects, with his Instructions; but this he exercised very rarely, and with the uttermost Caution. In regard to essential Points, he never digressed from them, but consulted his Officers constantly, and did his utmost to prosecute his Voyage with Effect. The first Place of Rendezvous appointed by them was the *Canary Islands*; and, therefore, he sailed thither with such Expedition, that he arrived there on the fifth of March; and, having taken in some Refreshments, for which, as all his Liquors were on board the *Speedwell*, he had great Occasion, he continued cruising, as directed by his Instructions, in that Station, for ten Days, in hopes of seeing his Consort; but, being disappointed, he resolved to continue his Voyage, for fear he should miss her at the next Place of Rendezvous, which was at the Cape de Verd Islands; and, accordingly, he left *Gomera* on the 15th, in order to be early in his next Station. These Islands, which the Ancients called the *Fortunate Islands*, by reason of their Fertility and Temperature of Air, having been discovered by the Spaniards in the Year 1402, they named them the *Canaries*, or the *Islands of Dogs*, because they found great numbers of these Creatures here. They are seven in all, viz. *Lancerota*, *Fuente* or *Fort Ventura*, the *Great Canary*, *Teneriff*, *Gomera*, *Hiero* or *Fero*, and *Palma*. The *Great Canary* is far distant from the others, and contains 9000 Inhabitants. It is the Seat of the Bishop, the Inquisition, and of the Council Royal, which governs all the seven Islands. There is a Mountain on the *Teneriff*, called the *Pic of Teneriff* or *Terraia*, which, according to the common Opinion, is the highest in the World. It may be distinctly seen at sixty Leagues Distance. There is no travelling to the Top of it but in July and August, because all the Year besides it is covered with Snow; though there is none to be seen at other Places of that Island, nor in the other six, at any Time of the Year. It is three Days Journey to the Top of it; whence you may easily see all the *Canary Islands*, though some of them are sixty Leagues distant. *Hiero*, or *Fero*, is also one of the biggest, but very barren, and so dry, that there is not one Drop of fresh Water to be found in it, except in some Places on the Sea-side, where it is also very troublesome and dangerous to fetch it; but this Place the Providence of God supplies with Rain, to remedy that Inconvenience; for there grows, almost in every Place, a sort of Tree, which is pretty big, and incomparably thick of Branches and Leaves; and its Leaves are long and narrow, always green and lively: This Tree is always covered with a little Cloud, that hangs over it, and wets the Leaves by its Dew, so that a fine clear Water distils from them into little Pails, which the Inhabitants set to catch it. This Water falls in such large Quantities, that it not only abundantly supplies the Necessity of the People, but is sufficient also to water the Cattle. The *Canaries* in general are very fertile, and abound with all Sorts of Provisions: They afford great Store of Cattle, Store of Corn, Honey, Wax, Sugar, Cheese, and Skins. The Wine of that Country is pleasant and strong, and transported into all Parts of the World. The Spanish Ships, that sail into *America*, commonly stay at those Islands to take in Provisions. On the Right-hand of those Islands, about 100 Leagues off, the Mariners very often perceived an Island named *S. Baranora*; they say it is all over green, very pleasant, and full of Trees, and has Plenty of all manner of Provisions: They likewise say it is inhabited by Christians, but no Man can tell of what Denomination they are, nor what Language they speak. The Spaniards in the *Canaries* often have attempted to go thither, but never could find the Way into it; which raised an Opinion in the People, that it was an Illusion,

Illusion, or an enchanted Island; or that the Island is only seen at certain times, and not always. But others allege a better Reason, by saying, the Island is small, and almost covered with Clouds; and that they drive the Ships from it. However, it is certain, that there is such an Island, at such a Distance from the *Canaries* as I mentioned before.

7. On the 21st in the Evening, they saw *St. Vincent*; and, about ten the next Morning, anchored in the Bay, where they found a *French Merchant-Ship*, and the *Diamond of Bristol*, taking in a Cargo of *Alfira* for *Jamaica*. This was the next Place of Rendezvous. They spent ten Days cruising in the Neighbourhood, in hopes of meeting with their Comfort the *Speedwell*, but in vain; which put the Crew much out of Heart: So that Captain *Clipperton* found it a very difficult Matter to engage them to continue the Voyage. And indeed, considering the Condition they were in, it is no Wonder, that they were a little diffident of the Success of their Expedition, considering the Course they were to steer, which was for the Straights of *Magellan*, without any Supply of Wine, Brandy, or other Liquor, to keep up their Spirits; and withal their Force so inconsiderable, that they had great Reason to doubt, whether it would be possible for them to undertake any thing, or even get safely out of the South Seas, in case they found nothing worth undertaking. Before we quit these Islands, it will be proper to give a short Account of them, as they were at this time: The *Cape de Verd Islands*, which are, by the *Dutch*, called the *Salé Islands*, from the Quantity of Salt found there, were discovered by the *Portuguese* in the Year 1572, who inhabit some of them to this Day. They are ten in Number; viz. *St. Iago*, *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, *St. Antonio*, *St. Nicolas*, *Ilha Blanca*, *Ilha de Sal*, *Ilha de Maio*, *Ilha de Fogo*, and *Ilha de Boa Vista*. They reach from the *Green Cape*, of which we shall speak hereafter, 160 Leagues into the Sea. Some were of Opinion, that they were named *Green Islands* from the *Green Cape*; others, because the Sea that surrounds them is covered with a green Herb, by the *Portuguese* called *Sergalfo*, or *Cresses*; because it is much like Water-cresses. This Herb so covers the Sea, that you can hardly see the Water; nor can Ships sail thro' it, but with a stiff Gale of Wind. It produces Berries, much like white Gooseberries; but they have no manner of Taste. Nobody can tell how it grows; for there is no Ground or Land about the Place where it floats upon the Water: And it cannot come from the Bottom of the Sea, because the Sea is very deep, and, in many Places, unfathomable. You begin to see that Herb, when you come to the Latitude of 34°, where it lies so thick, that one would take it for so many Islands; but, what is more observable, you cannot see this Herb any-where else. When the *Portuguese* discovered those Islands, they were all desert and uninhabited; but now they afford plenty of Rice, Meal, *Tartarian Wheat*, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, Bananas, Ananas, Ignames, Batatas, Melons, Cucumbers, Pumpions, and several other sorts of Fruits. They produce also Garden and Wild-figs, have Vineyards which bear Grapes twice a Year, and abundance of great and small Cattle, but especially Kids. The Islands of *Boa Vista*, *Maio*, and *de Sal*, have Meat enough to lade the Ships, that go to *Brazil*. The Capital City is *St. Iago*, the Governor whereof commands all the Islands under the King of *Portugal*, and resides there. It hath also an Archbishopric; and the Jurisdiction of that Prelate reaches not only over the Islands, but over all the Conquests the *Portuguese* have made on this Side the Cape of Good Hope. All the Islands of *Cape de Verd* are good Places to take in fresh Water upon a long Voyage; for, in the Island of *Maio*, as we said before, there is a little River to the East, and, the Land being uninhabited, nobody can hinder you from taking it; and, coming back, you may touch at the Island of *St. Antonio*, where there is also very good fresh Water, with good Refreshment of Fruits, as Oranges, &c. There are in that Island some *Portuguese*; but so few, that they cannot hinder you from taking what you please.

8. On May 29. they had an Observation, and found themselves in the Latitude of 52° 15' South, being then off *Cape Virgin Mary*, the North Point of the Entrance of the Straights of *Magellan*, distant from *Fuego*, one of the *Cape de Verd Islands*, 1580 Leagues, meridional Difference 36°

4' West. The next Day, they entered the Straights, which appeared like a large deep Bay. Proceeding higher up to *Queen Elizabeth's Island*, they sent their Pinnace ashore on the Main to a fresh-water River, which was at this time frozen up. They saw large Flocks of Geese and Ducks hereabouts; but they were very shy. The Surgeon's Mate, by some Accident, was left ashore, when the Boat came off; and the next Morning, when he was brought aboard, he was near dead with Cold. They remained some time at *Queen Elizabeth's Island*, which is dry, and, generally speaking, barren, except as to Salads, of which they found great plenty, that were of infinite Service to them at that time, when they were sick of the Scurvy. The only Herb, that deserves to be particularly taken notice of, was *Smallage*, of an extraordinary Size, which they eat raw, boiled in their Soups, and kept the Juice of it in Bottles. On June 12. they sent their Carpenter, with their Casks, on shore, to fill their empty ones, and to look a proper Piece of Wood for a Mizen-mast. They met with great plenty of Wild-fowl and Shell-fish on shore; which were very welcome to all the Ship's Company, who found their Stomachs increase, as they were obliged to come to Short-allowance. On the 22d, they anchored in a fine Bay, which, from its Depth, they called *No-bottom Bay*. The Trees on shore were very high, and loaded with Snow; so that there could not be a more astonishing Prospect. On the 29th, came a Canoe, with four *Indians*, that is to say, two Men, a Woman, and a Boy, on board them. They were of a middle Stature, dark Complexion, their Faces broad and round, low Foreheads, black Hair, very lank, and short, with no Cloathing, except a Piece of Skin to cover their Middles. What seemed most remarkable was, their having a kind of a Streak round their Wrists, of an Azure, perfectly fine. It seems, that these Savages are extremely jealous of their Women; for, notwithstanding all that could be said to them, they would not permit the Woman, who was with them, to come on board. Captain *Clipperton* ordered them Bread and Cheese, and a Dram of Brandy, tho' it was very scarce. The former they eat very heartily, or rather greedily; but the latter proved disagreeable to their Smell, and they could not be prevailed upon to taste it. They brought some wild Geese and Ducks, which they exchanged for Knives; and had a Fire in the Middle of their Canoe, which was made of the Bark of Trees sewed together. They had Bows and Arrows, and some Fishing-tackle along with them. After about two Hours Stay, they rowed ashore, making Signs, that they would come again. The next Day in the Afternoon, the Pinnace was sent ashore, and returned in the Evening, with the *Indian Canoe* laden with large Mussels, which the *Indians* had trucked with their People for Bread, Knives, and other Things. In the Beginning of the Month of July, they found the Weather very moderate. The Natives were very far from being so mischievous a People as they are generally represented; of which they had two remarkable Instances: The first was, that one of their Men, whom they had on shore two Nights and a Day, was very kindly treated by them: The other, that one of the Natives being, by Accident, left on board the Ship, they came the next Day, without any Fear, and carried him away with them; which shews, that, if they are well treated, they are not treacherous. Another *Indian Canoe*, that came on board, had several Women in it, each with a Necklace of very small shining Shells of five or six Rows, very neatly strung, which looked like Mother-of-pearl. All this time, their Ship's Company was very sickly, and scarce a Day passed, but some or other died; which was generally attributed to their want of something comfortable in so rigorous a Climate; for, tho' they had sometimes fair moderate Weather for two or three Days together, yet it was continually varying; and, perhaps, for two or three Days afterwards, they had nothing but Snow, Rain, and Sleet, with great Flaws from the Shore, that were intolerably sharp. On July 8. they buried their Master Gunner ashore, under a treble Discharge of their Small-arms. They caused a large Plank to be driven at the Head of his Grave, on which was the following Inscription: *Mr. William Pridham, Gunner of the Success, deceased July the 7th, 1719, in this Straights, and lies buried here.* On the 20th in the Morning, Captain *Mitchel* and Lieutenant *Dotifon* went in the Pinnace

Terra del Fuego Discovery of the have went thro' see if there was furnished with a 29th, the Pinnace which the *Tartar* hazardous to go short, and, that were forced to re thoroughly; yet well of Cape *2* a Seal, which as any Veni tain *Mitchell*, with to look for this n mination, could but only into an that their Ship After Captain *M* their Voyage thro Danger and Diffic short Allowance, Men. On *August* the Crew were th that it was simply thing immediately mined to pursue h solved to iter for and last Place of 9. On *September* anchored before s searched very dilig many of the *Spee* ner of Purpose. I tpects, with his Inf ing about the Illan an Inscription to b the Landing-place. Crew to come altho thus. Captain *John* *Myers* was Surgeon tremely well know Ship's Company. Name was not infer that having cruised b also a long time Pr think fit to give the He next sent ashore of all the Convene very; but found it Sick to Health, or lerable Spirits, wit Brandy, or other st given to drinking in the Thoughts of be sick, dejected them changeable while the falling, and they had ever, they took a gr them for the present their Sea Store, bec ing them; some *Fr* Island, having left a g likewise wooded and eleated their Ship, th to act in the South S to cruise alone; for nion, that the *Speede* so to his Ship's Com them from curling co ning away with the sick Men did wit very extraordinary, Island, compared w were sure to meet w Captain *Clipperton* saining in Possession dance of which, the NUMB. 13.

gorra del Fuego, or the South Shore, in order to make a Discovery of the Passage that the *French Tartan* is said to have went through into the South Sea May 1713, and to see if there was any anchoring beyond Cape Quad, being furnished with all Necessaries for that Purpose. On the 29th, the Pinnace returned, having found the Passage thro' which the *Tartan* passed, but so narrow, that it was judged hazardous to go far that Way: But their Provisions fell short, and, that Place affording no manner of Supply, they were forced to return, before they could satisfy themselves thoroughly; yet they found several good Bays to the North-west of Cape Quad to anchor in. The *Indians* gave them a Seal, which they broiled and roasted, and said it eat as well as any Venison. On August 1. in the Morning, Captain Mitchell, with three other Officers, went a second time to look for this new Passage; but, after the strictest Examination, could not find, that it led into the South Seas, but only into an icy Bay, and this Passage too so narrow, that their Ship could not have made Way through it. After Captain Mitchell returned, they resolved to prosecute their Voyage through the Straights, which, with much Danger and Difficulty, they did, being all the time at very short Allowance, viz. at one Piece of Beef or Pork to six Men. On August 18. they arrived in the South Seas, but the Crew were then in so weak and weary a Condition, that it was simply impossible for them to undertake any thing immediately: Besides, Captain Clipperton was determined to pursue his Instructions closely; and therefore resolved to steer for the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, the third and last Place of Rendezvous.

9. On September 7. Captain Clipperton, in the *Success*, anchored before the Island *Juan Fernandez*, which he searched very diligently, in Hopes of finding some Testimony of the *Speedwell's* having been there, but to no manner of Purpose. His next Care was to comply, in all respects, with his Instructions, by remaining upon, and cruising about the Island for a full Month. He likewise ordered an Inscription to be cut, on a remarkable Tree, fronting the Landing-place; so that it was impossible for any Ship's Crew to come ashore, and not see it. This Inscription ran thus. Captain John — *W. Magee*, 1719. This *William Magee* was Surgeon on board the *Success*, and a Person extremely well known by Captain *Shelbooke*, and all his Ship's Company. The Reason why Captain Clipperton's Name was not inserted in this Inscription, was plainly this; that having cruised before in the South Seas, and having been also a long time Prisoner among the *Spaniards*, he did not think fit to give them Notice of his Return into those Parts. He next sent ashore most of his sick People, and made use of all the Conveniences the Island afforded for their Recovery; but found it extremely difficult, either to restore the Sick to Health, or to preserve those that were well in tolerable Spirits, without so much as a Drop of Wine, Brandy, or other strong Liquor; not that his People were given to drinking in an extravagant Degree, but because the Thoughts of being without any Cordial, if they fell sick, dejected them excessively. The Weather was very changeable while they continued there, abundance of Rain falling, and they had also some hard Gales of Wind: However, they took a great many Goats, which not only served them for the present eating, but likewise served to increase their Sea Store, because they had an Opportunity of salting them; some *French Ships* that had touched on the Island, having left a great Quantity there ready made. They likewise wooded and watered with great Convenience, and cleaned their Ship, that the might be in the better Condition to act in the South Seas, where it was now visible they were to cruise alone; for Captain Clipperton was clearly of Opinion, that the *Speedwell* was lost; or at least he gave out to his Ship's Company to pacify them, and to hinder them from cursing continually Captain *Shelbooke*, for running away with their Liquors, which, however, some of the sick Men did with their dying Breaths. One thing was very extraordinary, that the Beauty and Fertility of this Island, compared with the Dangers and Difficulties they were sure to meet with in the South Seas, tempted four of Captain Clipperton's Men to enter into a Scheme for remaining in Possession of so valuable a Country. In pursuance of which, they actually ran away from the Ship,

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and betook themselves to the Mountains: As it was very inconvenient to lose so many good Hands at such a time, and not a little dangerous to leave them in such a Place, Captain Clipperton ordered the necessary Measures to be taken for apprehending them, but without Effect. At last, the Day before the Ship was to leave the Island, Captain Mitchell, with some more Officers, went in the Pinnace to the East Part of it, to look for these four Men, who had then absented a Fortnight, two of which Men they found in the Custody of the Goat-hunters, having met with them in Pursuit of their Game; who affirmed, they had greater Difficulty in securing these Fellows, than in killing double the Number of Goats; because they were forced to fire several times at them before they would surrender. The Prisoners acknowledged, that, for the first five Days, they were hard put to it, being forced to subsist wholly on the Cabbage-trees, of which here is great Plenty; but added, that, having, by good Fortune, one Night found some Fire that was left by their Hunters, it served them in good stead; for they could then dress their Flesh, and fill their Bellies. The same Evening, they brought on board all the Fish they had salted, four Casks of Seal-oil, and whatever else belonged to them. As soon as the Crew were on board and mustered, on October 7. they prepared to sail; and, in the mean time, Captain Mitchell went on shore again in the Long-boat, to set up a Cross already cut for that Purpose, at the Foot of which he buried a Bottle, in which was contained a Letter for Captain *Shelbooke*, directing another Place of Rendezvous, and some proper Signal to know each other by at Sea. At eight in the Morning, they weighed from the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, and left their two Men in Possession of it, who are to be reputed Successors to Governor *Salkirk*; tho', for any thing I know, we have not the slightest Memoirs of their Administration.

10. After leaving the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, Captain Clipperton sailed Northward, till he was in the Parallel of *Lima*, where he intended to act, though he was now in a very indifferent Condition, having lost thirty Men between the Time of his passing the Equator, and his leaving the Island of *Juan Fernandez*. His Men expressing some Uneasiness in relation to Plunder, he resolved, if possible, to set that Point to rights, by fixing a Paper to the Main-mast, which was affixed to by the whole Ship's Company.

"I. The Man who first spies a Sail, proving a Prize, to have five Dollars for every hundred Ton the Prize measures.

"II. Every Man aboard a Prize, found drunk, or in any indecent Act with a white or black Woman, to be punished according to the Nature of his Offence.

"III. Every Man, of whatsoever Degree, concealing any Money, or other Thing, above the Value of half a Dollar, shall forfeit his Share of such Prize, and twenty Dollars out of his Share in the next that shall be taken."

On October 25. being in the Latitude of *Lima*, they gave Chace to a small Vessel, which they came up with, and took about eleven a Clock. She was their first Prize, and but an ill Omen of their Success in this Profession, since she proved, in all respects, hardly worth taking. She was a Snow of forty Ton Burden, laden with Sand and Rubbish for Manure: She had seven *Indians*, and two Negroes aboard, her Master being left sick ashore. All that Captain Clipperton's People could find worth taking, was two Jars of Eggs, as much Treacle, and a Couple of Pieces of Eight in ready Money. The next Day, they met with a better Prize, which was a Ship called the *St. Vincent*, of 150 Tons, laden with Wood from *Guaiquil*. There were two Friars, sixteen *Indians*, and four Negroes aboard. On the 30th, they had the good Fortune to take a large Ship, bound from *Panama* to *Lima*: She was called the *Trinity*, of the Burden of 400 Tons; and had been taken by Captain *Rogers*, when he plundered *Guaiquil* ten Years before: She had a great many Passengers on board, and a Lading of considerable Value. On November 2. they took another Prize, which was a Vessel of seventy Tons, on board of which were the Countess of *Laguna*, and several other Passengers, a great deal of ready Money,

Money, and upwards of 400 Jars of Wine and Brandy, which were Articles very much wanted. Captain *Clipperton* desired the Countess to inform him, whether she was inclined to stay on board the Prize, or accept of the Accommodations they were able to afford her on board the *Success*. She made the former her Choice, and the Captain very politely sent an Officer of Marines, with a Guard, on board the Prize, to prevent her being molested; and with strict Orders, to suffer nobody to enter her Cabin but her own Domestic: And he likewise sent Part of the Wine and Brandy on board the other Prizes, for the Use of his Seamen, who were in Possession of them, and to whom, no doubt, this was a very welcome Refreshment.

11. It is a Mistake that many able Officers, both by Sea and Land, have committed, and therefore we need the less wonder at it in Captain *Clipperton*; that the Desire of Acquiring grows with Acquisition, till the Power of preserving is absolutely lost: He had already detached several Officers, and above a Third-part of his Company, to take care of his Prizes; and yet was as eager to take more, as if, instead of a Privateer weakly manned, he had commanded a Squadron of Ships of War. On the 12th, they discovered a Vessel at some Distance, which was a *London* built Pink, of 200 Tons Burden, bound from *Panama* to *Lima*, with Wood, a Cargo of very little Value to them; yet this Prize they added to their Number. The Name of her was the *Kojario*; and her Master, who was a very cunning Fellow, soon saw the Error that *Clipperton* had committed, and resolved to take Advantage of it: He guessed, by the Number of Prizes that were already with the *English* Commodore, he could not send many Men on board his Ship; and, having about a dozen Passengers, he directed them, under the Command of a *French* Boat-swain, to hide themselves in the Hold, with Orders, on his making a certain Signal, to seize as many of the *English* as came down; assuring them, that he, with the Ship's Company, would be able to manage the rest. As soon as the Ship struck, Captain *Clipperton* sent Lieutenant *Serjeantson*, with eight Men, to take Possession of her; who, as soon as he came on board, ordered all that appeared to him, such as Seamen, *Indians*, and Negroes, into the great Cabin, and placed a Centinel at the Door of it. Thinking that all Things were now secure, he commanded the Top-sails to be hoisted, in order to stand to the Commodore: The Men, not in the least apprehensive of Danger, went down into the Hold to see what was in the Ship; upon which the Passengers, who were concealed, sallied out; knocked most of them down; and the *French* Boat-swain, coming behind Mr. *Serjeantson*, knocked him down likewise, and then ordered them to be all bound. The *Spaniards* in the great Cabin, in the mean time, secured the Centinel, and, having thus recovered their Ship, began next to consider what they should do with her. The Captain was for getting ashore at all Events; which Design of his he pursued so eagerly, as to run his Ship upon the Rocks, where himself, his Company, and his Prisoners, were all in equal Danger; which he no sooner perceived, than he ordered all the *English* to be unbound, and, by good Fortune, every Man of them got safe on shore; after which, Lieutenant *Serjeantson*, and his People, were sent away directly Prisoners to *Lima*. The Viceroy of *Peru* was no sooner acquainted with this hardy Action, than he gave Orders for the building a new Ship at *Guayaquil* for the Captain, and ordered all the Traders to be taxed towards the Expence of her; intending this as a Reward for the Service he had rendered to the Public, and hoping thereby to encourage others to behave as he had done. On the Arrival of the Prisoners at *Lima*, they were closely examined; and one of them gave a full Account of every thing he knew, and particularly of the two Men left upon the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, and of the leaving there a Bottle, with a Letter in it for his Comfort: Upon which, the Viceroy ordered a small Vessel to be fitted out, to fetch away those two Men, and the Bottle containing the Signals; and this was accordingly performed. I have drawn the Whole of this Relation together, that the Reader might have it in one View; and shall now return to Captain *Clipperton*, and the manner in which he prosecuted his Voyage after this unlucky Accident.

12. It was the 20th, about three in the Afternoon, when he perceived, that his last Prize was retaken; for, making a Signal to attack, and observing that the *Pink*, instead of obeying it, made all the Sail she could for the Shore, he immediately suspected what had happened; and, finding it impossible to come up with her, began to consider next what was fittest for him to do, to prevent the bad Effects that might be reasonably apprehended from her Crew getting on shore: And therefore the next Morning he very prudently determined to set all his *Spanish* Prisoners at Liberty, as well to save Provisions, which, at that time, he could very ill spare; as that their good Usage might be speedily known, and returned to such of his Men as were in their Power. It is not easy to conceive, how a wild, or a better, Expedient could be thought of at such a juncture; and therefore it is but doing Justice to this Cause to remark, that his so suddenly recollecting himself, and correcting his Error, was sufficient to excuse him; especially if we reflect, that, for one Officer, capable of making such an Amends for it, there might be twenty found, who, after falling into such a Mistake, could never think of making any Amends at all, but rather employ their Wits in framing Fictions to conceal it. On the 24th, they took another Prize, called *Cayetan*, of about 200 Tons Burden, laden with Wood from *Panama* for *Lima*, having on board forty Negroes, and thirty *Spaniards*, most of them Passengers. On the 27th, they came to an Anchor with all their Prizes at the Island *La Plata*, where the Captain began seriously to consider, how he should make the most of this Expedition for his Owners, as well as himself, and his Company. He knew that all the Coast was alarmed; and that two Men of War, one of fifty, the other of thirty Guns, were fitted out on Purpose to take him: He was sensible, that the Goods he had on board were not likely to be ranfomed in that Part of the World; and that they would prove mere Drugs, if brought into this; and therefore laid all these Things together; and, reflecting on a Proposition formerly made by Captain *Woodes Rogers*, to send a Cargo of such kind of Prize-goods to *Brasil*, he resolved to try the Experiment; and according he fitted out the Bark, in which he took the Countess of *Laguna*; mounted her with eight Guns; and, putting on board her thirteen *Englishmen*, and ten Negroes, with what Provisions and other Necessaries he could spare, he called her the *Chickadee*. Into this Vessel he put a Cargo of *European* Commodities, valued at 10,000 Pounds and upwards; and, on the 28th, she sailed for *Brasil*, under the Command of Captain *Mitchell*. As soon as she was gone, the Captain determined to part with his other Prizes, both of which he presented to the *Spaniards*, after taking out of them what he thought valuable, and detaining only the Captain of one of them for his Pilot, and all the Negroes; after which she sailed from that Island, in order to cruise in his former Station.

13. On December 12. they saw a Sail about five in the Evening, and, at seven, took her. She was called the *Rojas*, bound from *Clerippe* for *Panama*, laden with Provisions. Their Launch and Pinnace were all Day employed in bringing on board the Flour, and other Provisions, in order to discharge her. Having got as much Flour out of her as they could well stow away, they cut her Main-mast by the Board, lest she should overboard, and so let her go. The Prisoners informed them, that their Men, who were lately taken by the *Spaniards*, were sent to *Lima* by Land. Here they continued to cruise, standing off all Day, and towards the Shore at Night; but nothing happened till the 27th, that they anchored in *Guanabaco Bay*, in nine Fathoms, dry Ground, and found two Ships at Anchor. They fired a Shot at each; but they made no Return. Sending then their Boats aboard, they found them abandoned, and could discover, that all the Lading had been just taken out, and nothing left aboard, except some Bread, and a few Jars of Water. They hung out a Flag of Truce, and fired two Guns at half an Hour's Interval, hoping they would have come aboard to ransom their Ships. They answered from Shore; but, no Boat coming, they fired again, and remained there till the next Day, when, seeing it was in vain to wait any longer, and that they would neither ransom nor beg their Ships, they pulled down the Flag, and set the

Ships on Fire. (solved to bear Islands, there be there unmolested and accordingly put this Design anchored in *Torres* *Torres* Island, in they found goods and after ten Days Northward. I that this intirely thrown upon him civil Account of to observe, that, History of Circum comparing their Mistakes, comm each other, and them entertained, rest.

14. On the 23 ing till eleven at N on their firing of proved to be the having on board the President there, a *Lima*. This was ten was circumven Seas, when he was who now lay at his standings, with all a *Spaniard* dying of this Ship, the Man ing to their Ceren Office for the Deac which lay ready on a large Bag of Balis thrice, as their Cult a good Voyage, the presently floated, and fee it, which the N very ill Omen, and ing Accident to b Priest, who was on swain of that Ship, Island of *Velas*, w they would persuad cattle to the Shore. Goods they liked On the 16th, they fr some Fowls and Fr the same time decl would not suffer the Captain *Mitchell* had of their Cattle; but they had been forced appeared the more p cloaths belonging to body. The next D *Villa Roche* were in Honour, to which since he endeavoured Men, and secure the er. Upon this, Cap days; yet, on the 2 ready to go ashore, le on April 14. the Ma me aboard; and, anson, the Lady a marquus only remain der delivered up to sion, Captain *Chipp outwitted by th ford, and thereby p Captain for trusti the Gulf of *Amo* re, repaired to the h great Ease. On*

Ships on Fire. After the taking of these Ships, it was resolved to bear away for Retirement to the *Gallapagos* Islands, there being a greater Probability of their doing it there unmolested, than in any other Part of the South Seas; and accordingly, towards the latter End of the Year, they put this Design in Execution. On January 9. 1720, they anchored in *York Road*, on the North Side of the *Duke of York's Island*, immediately under the Equinoctial, where they found good Water, scrubbed and cleaned their Ship, and after ten Days quitted those Islands, and sailed to the Northward. I cannot help remarking upon this Occasion, that this intirely justifies Captain *Cowley* from the Aspersions thrown upon him by later Writers, as if he had given a fanciful Account of those Islands; and I must intreat my Readers to observe, that, among other Advantages resulting in this History of Circumnavigators, it is no small one, that, by comparing their Accounts, we correct abundance of their Mistakes, committed chiefly from their Prejudices against each other, and from the Passion that almost every one of them entertained, of passing for an abler Seaman than the rest.

14. On the 21st, they made a Sail, and continued chafing till eleven at Night, when they came up with her; and, on their firing of their first Gun, she struck. This Ship proved to be the *Prince Eugene*, bound from *Panama*, and having on board the Marquis *de Villa Roche*, who had been President there, and all his Family, who were going to *Lima*. This was the very Ship, in which Captain *Clipperton* was circumvented, and taken in his last Voyage in these Seas, when he was very indifferently used by this Marquis, who now lay at his Mercy, and whom he used, notwithstanding, with all the Civility possible. On February 1. a Spaniard dying of a Wound he had received at the taking this Ship, the Marquis desired he might be buried according to their Ceremonies; which was granted. When the Office for the Dead had been performed, and the Corpse, which lay ready on a Grating, was thrown over-board, with a large Bag of Ballast tied at his Feet, the Spaniards crying thrice, as their Custom is on such Occasions, *Bon Voyage*, i. e. a good Voyage, the Body, to the Admiration of every one, presently floated, and continued floating as far as they could see it; which the Marquis *de Villa Roche* concluded to be a very ill Omen, and declared, that he expected some surprising Accident to be the Consequence. On March 8. a Priest, who was on board the *Prince Eugene*, and the Boat-swain of that Ship, desired Leave to go on shore on the Island of *Velas*, which was granted them, on condition they would persuade the Inhabitants to drive some Black-cattle to the Shore, in order to exchange them for what Goods they liked best; which they faithfully promised. On the 16th, they returned with four Head of Black-cattle, some Fowls and Fruit, as a Present to the Marquis; but at the same time declared, that their *Mitake* or Governor would not suffer them to trade. They likewise said, that Captain *Mitchell* had been ashore there, and had shot some of their Cattle; but that 200 Men appearing under Arms, they had been forced to retire: Which Account of theirs appeared the more probable, from their having Linen and Cloaths belonging to Captain *Mitchell's* Men in their Custody. The next Day, some Letters from the Marquis *de Villa Roche* were intercepted, very little suitable to that Honour, to which the Spaniards Nobility usually pretend, since he endeavoured to stir up the People to surprise their Men, and secure the Boat, when they came ashore to water. Upon this, Captain *Clipperton* confined him for some Days; yet, on the 20th, he allowed the Marquis and his Lady to go ashore, leaving their only Child as an Hostage. On April 14. the Marquis, his Lady, and the Governor, came aboard; and, an Agreement being made for their ransom, the Lady and Child were sent on shore, and the Marquis only remained as an Hostage. The Prize was soon delivered up to the Captain. In this whole Transaction, Captain *Clipperton* appears to have been deceived and outwitted by this Nobleman, who barely broke his Word, and thereby provoked the Crew to murmur against the Captain for trusting him. On April 20. they anchored in the Gulph of *Amapala*; and, not being able to water there, repaired to the Island of *Tigers*, where they did it with great Ease. On June 4. they sailed to *Gorgona* on the

same Errand, and were well supplied. On the 24th, they made another Prize, which proved the *St. Vincent*, which they had taken once before. She was now commanded by Don *Clement de Andrade*, laden with Timber and Coco-nuts. On August 11. they anchored, with their Prize, at the Island of *Lobos de la Mar*, where they set up Tents on shore, scrubbed and cleaned their Ship, and took whatever they thought valuable out of their Prize.

15. The Ship's Company, while they lay here, talked over their Affairs, till they began to think them desperate. Sometimes they reflected on the Captain, for pretending to remain in these Seas without their Comfort: At other times, they blamed him for giving into the Spaniards Marquis's Project for ransoming his Ship, which, they believed, would never be performed: And now-and-then the Ship's Corporal, one *James Roeb*, a bold, busy, intriguing Fellow, threw in some sly Insinuations, that, if they must go through such Hardships, it was better they should do it for their own sakes, than for other Peoples. And one *Joseph Maynard*, the Boat-swain's Mate, pushing Things still further, a Plot was at last formed for seizing the Captain, the rest of the Officers, and running away with the Ship. They likewise agreed, that, when their Design was brought to bear, the Officers should be set on shore on the Island of *Lobos*, and all, who afterwards opposed them, shot without Mercy. This wicked Contrivance, however, was happily discovered on September 6. the two Ringleaders severely punished, and the rest pardoned; by which wise Conduct the Conspiracy was suppressed. On the 17th, they took a Fishing-boat, with a good Quantity of Salt-fish, well cured; but found the *St. Vincent*, which they had left at Anchor under the Island of *Lobos*, driven ashore, and sunk; and, upon this, they put thirty-eight Spaniards Prisoners on board the Fishing-boat, and sent them away. On November 1. they entered the Bay of *Conception*, where missing a Prize that out-failed them, they bore away for *Coquimbo*, where they took a Ship laden with Tobacco, Sugar, and Cloth, in their Passage. On the 6th in the Afternoon, they opened that Harbour, where they saw three Men of War lying, with their Top-sails loose; and, seeing no sooner spied them, than they cut their Cables, and stood after them. The *Success* haled close on a Wind, and their Prize did the same; upon which the Spaniards Man of War, that sailed best, gave Chase to the latter, and, at three in the Afternoon, came up with, and took her. The other two Ships crowded all the Sail they could, till about four in the Afternoon, when the biggest, having her Mizzen-top-mast carried away, fired a Gun, tacked, and stood in for the Shore; which favourable Opportunity the *Success* embraced to make her Escape. In the Spaniards Prize, they lost their third Lieutenant Mr. *James Milne*, and twelve of their Men. The Captain of the Spaniards Man of War, who took him, was the famous Don *Blas de Lefso*, who was Governor of *Cartagena*, when attacked by Admiral *Vernon*. Don *Blas* treated his Prisoner a little roughly at first, being enraged to find he had mistook the English Privateer, and only retaken a Spaniards Prize, and, in the first Transport of his Passion, struck Mr. *Milne* over the Head with the Flat of his Sword; but, when he came to himself, he sent for him up; and, finding him stripped by his Soldiers, he generously asked his Pardon, ordered him a new Suit of Cloaths, and kept him for some time on board his Ship. He afterwards procured his Liberty at *Lima*, paid for his Passage to *Panama*, where he gave him a Jar of Brandy, and another of Wine, for his Sea-sickness, put 200 Pieces of Eight in his Pocket, and sent him to *England*. This unlucky Accident of losing their Prize revived the ill Humours among *Clipperton's* Men, who did not indeed plot again, but became exceedingly dejected. On the 16th, they saw another Sail, and gave Chase, which, after a few Guns fired on both Sides, bore away, being a clean Ship, and left them; which was another lucky Escape: For she was likewise a Ship of Force, fitted out to take Captain *Shelbocke*, and commanded by one *Fitzgerald*, who, knowing this was not *Shelbocke's* Ship, and doubting what Strength she might be of, had no great Stomach to engage her. These repeated Disappointments, as they broke the Spirits of his Crew, so they had a very bad Effect on Captain *Clipperton* himself, who began now to betake himself to drinking; and, as this Vice generally grows upon People

People under Misfortunes, he grew at last to such a Pitch, that he was hardly ever quite cool or sober. It was chiefly owing to this unhappy Practice, that he fell into so many Errors in his future Conduct. And, though it is true, that Drunkenness is rather an Aggravation than an Excuse, yet, if we consider, that this poor Man was a mere Sailor, and had not had the Benefit of a liberal Education, that he fell into it purely through Despair, and that he still shewed, upon all Occasions, great Marks of an humane and generous Disposition, together with an inflexible Honesty, in regard to his Owners Concerns, we cannot help pitying him; because it is impossible to say, how far human Nature is able to bear, without the Help of certain Supports, such an heavy Load of Misfortunes as this poor Gentleman met with.

16. In this sad Plight they resolv'd to continue cruising to the North, not only in Search of Plunder, but also of a Supply of Provisions, and especially of Flour, having expended all they had, and being reduced to three Pounds of Indian Corn for a Mess of six Men, and that but once a Day. In this Cruise they had but indifferent Fortune; and, therefore, on the 27th, being in Sight of Point Helena, they resolv'd to set ashore the Spanish Prisoners taken in the last Prize, in which they afterwards lost Lieutenant Milne; and then determin'd to go once more to the Gallapagos Islands, in order to refresh quietly, and restore their People to Health and Spirits; which Scheme they immediately put in Execution. In their Passage to these Islands, they began to suspect some Error in their Log-line; and, upon measuring, found it three Fathoms too short, which occasioned an Error in this Run of fifty-two Miles, or thereabouts. On the 4th of December, they lost Mr. Thomas Fairman their Purser; and the same Day found themselves very near the Gallapagos Islands, and in the Latitude of 36 North, with a very strong Current to the South-west; against which they were oblig'd to ply. On the 6th, they sent the Pinnace to discover an Anchoring-place at one of the Islands, which return'd without finding any, but saw abundance of Tortoise ashore. Upon this, they sent the Pinnace and Yawl to get some; and they return'd with Fish enough to serve the Company a Day; but, there running a prodigious Surf, they could not land or look for Turtle. They kept plying off and on, and founded in foul Ground from eighty to fifty Fathom. The Lat. of the Island 9 North. It was a mere Rock; so they left it, and steer'd away for another South-west, being the same which the Spaniards make to lie under the Equator; they run along shore, but could find no Anchoring; so that, being unwilling to lose more Time, they made the best Way they could to the Isle of Cocos, where they hop'd certainly to get some Fish, Fowl, and Coco nuts, molt of their People being very sick and weak. On the 7th and 8th, they saw several Islands to the North-east, but pass'd through them very happily, and got quite clear of them by the 9th; but, as their People daily fell sick, they grew very apprehensive of the Dangers that must ensue in case of their missing the Island. On the 17th in the Morning, they had the Satisfaction of beholding the long-look'd for Island of Cocos, at the Distance of about nine Leagues to the North-west, which fill'd them with inexpressible Joy. On the 18th, they went all ashore, that could be spared from on board the Vessel with Safety, in order to build a kind of Booth for the Reception of their Sick; which, as soon as it was finish'd, were carried ashore, and conveniently lodg'd. The Marquis de Villa Roche went also ashore, where they got great Plenty of Fish, Fowl, and Eggs, together with Cocoa-nuts, and other Refreshments. The Captain open'd here the last Hogsh'd of Brandy for the Use of the Ship's Company, and gave every Man a Dram a Day; and, on New Year's-day, he allow'd a Gallon of strong Beer to every Mess; and, by having this Plenty of nourishing Food, and much Ease, the Crew began to recover, and were able to wood and water, though with much Difficulty; for there was a great Swell coming in from the Northward constantly at Full-moon and Change; therefore they were forced to wait till the Spring-tides were abated, before they could get any thing off. On the 17th of January 1721, the Captain made the necessary Dispositions for sailing; but it

was three Days before he could get his People on board, and then there were no less than eleven of them missing, viz. three Englishmen, and eight Negroes. It is not easy to conceive, what could induce the former to hazard themselves in such a Place as this, at so great a Distance from the Continent, so little frequented by Ships, and where they had but a small, indeed scarce any, Chance of ever getting off; but it must be attributed to their Dread of the Dangers and Fatigues to which they were continually expos'd on board, and to their living constantly at Short-allowance; whereas here they were sure of Plenty of Provisions, without any other Labour than that of procuring and dressing them. It is also more than probable, that they might receive some Assurances from the Marquis, of their having a Ship sent for them, when he obtained his Liberty; which, at best, was an hazardous Contingency, and, there is great Reason to doubt, was never performed, as the Reader will see in the Sequel of this Voyage.

17. On the 25th, they arriv'd on the Coast of Mexico, where they met with an extraordinary Adventure; for, discovering a Sail about seven in the Evening, they sent their Pinnace to give Chase; to whom she stuck about eleven: And, on the Return of the Pinnace, they had the surprising Account, that this was a Spanish Ship, call'd the *Jesus Maria*, but now in the Hands of Captain Shelbocke, who command'd her; and the Account he gave of the Matter to their People was this, that he had no more than forty of his Men aboard, the rest being all dead, or dispersed: That he lost the *Speedwel* at Fernandez, where they staid five Months, and built a Bark out of the *Speedwel's* Wreck; with which they put to Sea, and coasted along Chili and Peru, meeting several Ships; but could do nothing with them, till they came to Pisco, near Lima, where they took this Prize, being the Ship he went in there to look for. They differ'd much in their Account, but had no regular Command among them, being all alike. As the Method is in the West India Privateers, they had chosen a Quarter-master, carrying every thing by a Majority of Votes; so that they found they had quite broken their Articles with their Owners, and had shar'd all among themselves. On the 27th, Captain Shelbocke hoist'd St. George's Colours, and fired three Guns, as a Signal to speak with them; on which the *Success* lay-to for his Boat, which came aboard with a Letter for Captain Clipperton; who immediately sent back the Boat for their Purser, to be examin'd concerning their Actions on the Coast of Brazil, and elsewhere: They sent away the Boat; but the Purser, Mr. Hendric, staid, who gave but a dark Account of their Proceedings, that he was not allowed to take any Account of the Treasure for the Owners: At eight Captain Shelbocke came aboard, being sent for by Captain Clipperton, and the Agent, to give an Account of his Transactions. The Boat brought Mr. Dad, their Lieutenant of Marines, to continue in the *Success*, having been used very ill for his Attachment to the Owners Interest; at least as he asserted, and was firmly believ'd by Captain Clipperton, and his Officers. The next Day Captain Shelbocke sent on board them six Chests of Pitch and Dammer, and two Barrels of Tar, with six Slabs of Copper: Captain Clipperton spar'd him twenty-four Quarter-deck Guns, some great Shot, and Compass, and a few other Necessaries. His People laid out a great deal of Money with the Crew of the *Success*, for Cloaths, Shoes, Hats, and other Necessaries: There remain'd with them also two of the *Speedwel's* Officers, Mr. Hendric, the Purser, and Mr. Dad, the Lieutenant of the Marines, desirous to go with them to China. The *Success*, still keeping to the Northward, on the Coast of Mexico, saw Captain Shelbocke several times as they were sensible, by his making Signals; but, considering, in the Beginning of the Month of March, that both Time and Place afford'd them a fair Opportunity of coming up with the Manila Ship, before she enter'd the Gulf, the Officers determin'd, the next time they saw Captain Shelbocke, to propose to him the making such a Signal. On the 13th, they made a Sail, which, by its Signals, proving to be Captain Shelbocke, they brought to; and the Captain, with his Lieutenants, came aboard them. At this general Consultation it was agreed by the Officers of both Ships, that the Attempt should be

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made jointly; and that, to prevent their meeting with the same Fate which befel Captain Rogers and Captain Courney, when they attempted the biggest *Manilla* Ship, they should run her aboard at once, having indeed no other Chance for taking her. Accordingly they cruised for her; and, on the 15th, Captain Clipperton held another Consultation, wherein Proposals being agreed on, were signed, and sent to Captain *Shelvocke*; that if he and his Crew would refund all the Money shared among themselves contrary to the Articles with the Owners, and agree to put it in a joint Stock, then all Faults should be forgot, both Companies would unite, and proceed to cruise for the *Acapulco* Ship. This Proposition was but indifferently received by Captain *Shelvocke*, and his People; who did not care to part, in any Shape, with what they possessed, and therefore declined giving any Answer to this Proposal. We shall, in the next Section, mention the Reasons assigned by Captain *Shelvocke* for this manner of proceeding: Our Business at present lies with Captain Clipperton, and his People, who, perceiving that there was nothing to be expected from their Consort, determined to manage their own Affairs the best way they could. In the first Place, they considered, that the Time of meeting with the *Manilla* Ship was by some Days elapsed; that most of their People were weak and sickly; that, even at their present short Allowance, they were victualled but for five Months; and that, consequently, it was their Business to think of going directly to the *East Indies*, without Loss of Time, in order to preserve what they had got for their Owners and themselves. This Resolution appeared, in every respect, so reasonable and well-founded, that it was instantly put in Execution; and, without waiting for, or consulting Captain *Shelvocke* any more, they concluded to leave the South Seas, being then to the South South-east of Port *Marquis*, and in the Latitude of $16^{\circ} 50'$ North. In order to understand the latter Part of this Account, it is necessary to say somewhat of the Times when these *Acapulco* Ships sail. They usually leave the *Philippine* Islands about the Beginning of *July*, and they arrive at the *Ladrones* about the Beginning of *September*: From thence they proceed to *Acapulco*; in which Port they are commonly expected about the Middle of *January*; and then the Ship usually remains in Port till towards the latter End of the Month of *April*, and then she sails again from *Acapulco* for *Manilla*. Yet this is not to be considered as a constant Rule; for, according as the Winds set in earlier or later, it alters. In the present Case, it is plain, the Ship they waited for, was not the Vessel expected from, but the Galeon that was to return to, the *Philippine* Islands; on board which, there is always a prodigious Quantity of Silver: Yet it must be owned, that either the Ship failed earlier than usual, or else they left her behind them when they sailed for the *East Indies*, whither we now are to extend them.

18. The Run from the Coast of *Mexico* to the Island of *Guam*, they performed in fifty-three Days; and, on the 10th of *May*, arrived in Sight of the Island *Serpana*, in the Latitude of $13^{\circ} 42'$ North; though, in the *Spanish* Charts, this Island is generally laid down in 14° . In this Passage they lost six of their People, and the rest of them were so weak and low, that nothing could be a more joyful Sight to them than this Island. They determined, however, to proceed to that of *Guam*, as best known to *Europeans*, and where they were most likely to meet with Provisions; in which, perhaps, they judged the Matter wrong; for, in their present weak Condition, it would have been more advisable to have gone to *Serpana*, where the *Spaniards* have not so great a Force. May the 13th, they anchored in the Road, and sent their Pinnace ashore, with a Flag of Truce, in order to obtain some Provisions; but the People sent them for Answer, That, without the Governor's leave, they could not trade with them for Fish, Fowl, or Greens: And, therefore, Applications were immediately made to him for that Purpose; which had, at present, a favourable Reception. Mr. *Godfrey*, the Owners Agent, who had been sent up to *Umatla*, where the Governor lives, returned on the 16th on board one of their Proes, with a message, importing, That if they behaved civilly, and did honestly, they should be furnished with Provisions.

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Soon after their own Launch arrived, and brought on board some Cattle, Bread, Sugar, Brandy, Fruit, and Greens. On the 17th, the Governor sent them an handsome Present of Palm-wine, Sugar, and Brandy, with a large Quantity of Chocolate. In Return for which, his Health was drank by the whole Ship's Crew, under a Salvo of Seven Guns: This was the last Act of Civility that passed between them: But, before we come to these Disputes, it will be necessary to say something of the State of the Island at that Time. This Island lies directly North and South; and, according to the best Account that could be obtained of it, from a Negro belonging to the Marquis de *Villa Roche*, who travelled quite round it, it is near ten Leagues in Length, and five in Breadth: There are several Villages upon it; but the most remarkable are these that follow; viz. *Amatta*, *Atry*, *Agana*, *Anigua*, *Afa*, *Hugaste*, and *Rigues*. The native Inhabitants were formerly very numerous, not fewer, it is said, than 15,000; but, at this time, there were scarce a tenth Part so many, at least under the Dominion of the *Spaniards*; for there are still some hundreds that have established themselves in the Mountains, and preserve their Freedom, notwithstanding all the Efforts made by the *Spanish* Governor to reduce them. These *Indians* are a strong, active, vigorous, and warlike People; but, withal, reputed equally cruel and treacherous: Perhaps, the *Spaniards* exaggerate their ill Qualities to extenuate their own; for it is certain, they have used these People hardly. The *Spanish* Garrison consists of 300 Men, which are relieved from time to time from the *Manillas*; and his Catholic Majesty allows 30,000 Pieces of Eight per Annum for their Maintenance; though it is of no other Use, than to afford Succour to the annual Ship in her Passage to and from the *East Indies*, in which respect it is of great Service.

19. On the 18th of *May*, their Prisoner, the Marquis de *Villa Roche*, went ashore, in Company with the Agent, the first Lieutenant and Doctor having agreed with the Governor about his Ransom; they gave him five Guns at landing. Our Launch was employed six Days in bringing Wood, Water, and Provision aboard; during which time, the Governor desired he might have some Arms and Ammunition in Exchange: Accordingly Captain Clipperton sent him twelve Fuzees, three Jars of Powder, sixty round Shot, four Pair of Pistols, besides Cutlasses, long Swords, and Daggers. The 25th, they received a Letter, wherein the Governor demands the Marquis's Jewels, some consecrated Plate, and two Negroes, being Christians, and Subjects to the King of *Spain*; as also a Certificate, under the Captain and Officers Hands, that Peace was proclaimed, detaining Mr. *Godfrey* and Mr. *Priety* till all this was performed. Hereupon the Captain sent a Letter, with a Certificate, that the *Solidad*, the last Prize we took on the Coast of *Chili*, told us, there was a Peace between *England* and *Spain*; but, withal, assured the Governor, that if he did not, in twenty-four Hours, send the Ransom with the two Gentlemen, he would demolish the Houses upon the Shore, burn the Ship in the Harbour, and do all the Mischief he could at the *Philippine* Islands. Soon after they received a Letter, that the Governor would pay for the consecrated Plate, and desired more Powder and Shot: To which the Captain answered, That he would not spare any more, or Negroes. On the 28th, their Yawl went ashore for more Provision; but the Officer, who had the Government of the Village, told them, we should have no more, unless they sent more Powder and Shot: Upon which they immediately weighed, staying for no Answer by Mr. *Godfrey* or Mr. *Priety*, and sent the Pinnace a-head to found, making the best of their way to the Ship in the Harbour. The People ashore had raised a Battery during this sham Treaty, from whence they began to fire at their Pinnace; which, being returned, gave Account, that what Channel they found, was within Pistol-shot of the Shore. At six in the Afternoon, making up to the Ship, they ran a-ground, the *Spaniards* having carried her in shoal Water; so that now they sustained two Fires, one from the Battery over their Heads, and another from the Ship. At nine they got foul of the Rocks, where they cut away two of their Anchors, endeavouring to get the Ship off; during which time, the Enemy fired so warmly with Stones and Shot,

Shot, from a new Battery erected on an Hill, that they suffered extremely in their Hull and Rigging. They had three Men wounded, besides the Misfortune of losing Mr. Davison, their first Lieutenant, who was an honest Man, and a good Officer. Thus the *Success* was forced to lie in a miserable Condition, exposed to the continual Fire of the Enemy, who, in the Night, had still this Advantage of them, that the Surface of the Water being as smooth as a Mill-pond, easily shewed them their Position; whereas they had no other Direction for their Aim than the Flashes of the Guns from the *Spanish* Battery. In this Emergency, the Captain being overcome with Liquor, and quite unable to command the Ship, the Officers came to a Resolution of running out clear of the Enemy as soon as they could get the Ship afloat; and signed a Paper to indemnify Mr. Cook, if he would take upon him the Command. At four in the Afternoon they set her a floating, and cut away the small Bower-anchor; but, in ten Minutes, they ran a-ground again; at nine carried out the Kedge-anchor; but, in heaving, the Hawler broke: They immediately carried out another Hawler, with a Lower-deck Gun to it, having now lost all their Anchors, and still a-ground. At two in the Forenoon the Enemy hail them several times to surrender, or expect no Quarter; at five they carried out the Main-top-mast Shroud-hawler on the Starboard-bow, with another Gun, still plying the Enemy with their great Guns below, and Small-arms in the Poop. They did them little Mischief, though the *Spaniards* never missed them; especially their Boats, as soon as they saw them stir. At eleven in the Forenoon they carried out the rest of the small Bower, with two Lower-deck Guns, right a-head, into five Fathom; they cleared away the Hold, ready to start their Water, to make the Ship lighter; got their Upper and Lower-deck Guns forward, to bring her by the Head, the Ship hanging abait on the Rock; they kept two Guns out of the Stern-ports continually firing at the Enemy's new Battery, but could not bring them to bear: During this twenty-four Hours, they had happily only one wounded; but the Ship was wretchedly torn and mangled between Wind and Water. The 30th, at six in the Afternoon, the Ship floating, they cut away the Yawl, being sunk with the Shot; the other Boats were much damaged; they hove to their small Bower, then cut away it and the other two Hawlers, and sent their Pinnace a-head, to tow the Ship off: Just as they got afloat, the Enemy fired so smartly from the new Battery, that their Shot raked them through between Wind and Water, killing one of their People, and wounding two others. Thus they lost both their Bow-anchors and Cables, the Stern and Kedge-anchors, four Hawlers, four of their Lower-deck Guns, and nineteen Barrels of Powder, two Men killed, and six wounded, having stood for no less than fifty Hours a fair Mark for the Enemy to fire at; and, if they had not got clear, it was believed they would have sunk them before Morning. The whole Crew were very sorry for Mr. Godfrey and Mr. Priddy, not knowing how the Governor might use them ashore. At ten in the Forenoon they brought-to, and began to splice their Rigging, not a Rope of which escaped a Shot; as for the Masts and Yards, they were all severely peppered, and the Carpenters worked all Night, stopping the Holes in the Ship's Bottom. At seven in the Forenoon they stowed their Guns in the Holdbar in the Ports, hoisted in the Launch and Pinnace, and at Noon steered away West, with an easy Sail, hoping to save their Passage before the Monsoons came on. Their Carpenters were employed in fixing the Masts and Yards, and the rest of their People in fixing the Rigging. At six in the Afternoon the Body of the Island *Guan* bore East seven Leagues, from whence they took their Departure, North Latitude $13^{\circ} 20'$, allowing half a Point North-east Variation, designing now for *China*. This was certainly one of the worst Errors committed by *Clipperton*; for he should never have quitted the Marquis, who had behaved so dirtily to him before, without having the Money in his Hand; nor had the Marquis any Title to Favour: A Nobleman, that nets the Scoundrel, degrades himself. Besides, if Captain *Clipperton* had kept the Marquis, there had been an End of all his Schemes, and either the *Spanish* Governor of *Guan* would not, or could not, have treated him as he

did; for it is more than probable, that he was forced to behave in this strange Manner by the Marquis. The last Mistake of *Clipperton*'s was his pretending to attack the Town in the manner he did. The Commander of a Privateer should never attempt Revenge, unless he is certain of compassing his Design; and, if he had dissembled, as well as the Enemy, he might have found an Opportunity of making them repent their ill Usage.

20. It was a very dangerous Voyage upon which they were now to enter: The Run from *Manilla* is generally esteemed 400 Leagues, and they were to sail much farther, without any considerable Addition to their Stock of Provisions, ruffled by the late Accident, and apprehensive that their Vessel would scarce last out the Voyage; for, on the 23d of *June*, they found her, on a strict Examination, in a very shattered Condition, having scarce a whole Timber in her upper Works, discovered one of their Fashion-pieces to be shot through, which, being the chief Support of the After-part of the Ship, they were obliged to trap her, to keep her together. It blowing pretty fresh, they durst not carry Sail, but were forced, for a Week together, to sail under bare Poles, through variable Winds, and bad Weather. This was a melancholy Condition for People to be in, in Seas with which they were little acquainted, and sailing by Draughts on which they could not depend. Yet, the Journal I make use of, acknowledges, that both *Dampier's* Accounts and Charts were right, and that to a Degree of Exactness, much superior to those laid down by Persons of much greater Figure; so that if it had not been for his Assistance in his Books and Charts, they could scarce have extricated themselves from the Difficulties they were in. On the 24th of *June*, they were in Sight of the *Bahce* Islands; and, on the last Day of the Month, they saw the Island-shoals of *Prata*. On the 1st of *July*, they fell in with other Islands, and found several Boats that were fishing; though no such Islands are laid down in any Chart, and this put them intirely out of their Way; is that, not being able to form any Judgment of their true Course, they anchored under one of these Islands, in 13 Fathom Water, and dispatched away their Pinnace for Intelligence, how *Macao* bore from them, for which Port they were bound.

21. On the 2d of *July*, the Pinnace returned with a Boat, in which there were three *Chinese* Sailors, whom they could not understand, and from whom all they could learn was, that *Canton* lay to the South-west. On the 3d, finding they were too far to Leeward of *Macao*, and not being able to get a Pilot, they resolved to take the only Course there was left them to take, which was, to sail for *Amoy*, before which Port they arrived on the 5th in the Evening, but were afraid to enter it in the Night, and therefore plied off and on till Day-light. They took notice of a great Number of Snakes in the Sea, which were brought down by the Rivers that empty themselves on that Coast. The Entrance of the Port of *Amoy* is remarkable enough; for it has an high Mountain, on the Top of which is a Tower, which may be seen twenty Leagues off at Sea; on the West Side of it is a little Island, that lies immediately before the Bay. The River *Changeben* discharges itself here into the *Chinese* Sea, and thereby forms a spacious Bay, about eight Leagues in Circuit, where Ships may lie very safely at Anchor, all the Difficulty being in their getting once into Port; which they accomplished very happily in the Evening of the 6th of *July*, and were extremely well pleased to find themselves once more in a Place where they might hope to obtain Refreshments, to be able to repair their Ship; or, if that should be found impracticable, to obtain a Passage from thence to *Europe*. The Captain too rejoiced as much as any of them; for, having had his full Share of Afflictions and Misfortunes at Sea, he was extremely delighted with the Prospect of securing a small matter of Money to his own Use, and sending home what belonged to the Owners, in case his Ship was really, as the People reported, pail repairing.

22. They were no sooner anchored in this Port, than they had ten Customhouse Officers put on board them. At *Amoy*, as in most other Ports in *China*, the Customs are under the Direction of a single Mandarin, styled the *Master General of the Customs*. The *French* call the

Officer *Hoppo*, the Pronunciation of which is justly reputed an invariable Name. Man they can after saying the Character of it I shall only add thought to be principles of Honesty house Officers to be; and when ten answered, to gain; and the der to obtain F. house Officers ne ber of Men and intended to stay then they depar mutinied, and in pay them their *Success* was in no made this Deman lor, to whom we in the Captain's had best desist, u Balls through his all regular Proce rity. The People some Cattle, Fo were paid: And, to wait on the Ho treated them with anchor in the Ha foon were over; soon after receive Compensation, un ing to 1700 Dolla already taken not to Captain *Clipperton*. Mr. *Davison* succe the unfortunate A who now deman in which he was fi by a continual Cor *Clipperton*, and the things were likely Allowance should Prisoners, and to N board them from the trouble; for the N While these Disput go ashore, without person would have declared on their Si things fell into Cor they had their Prize Credit of their Cou due to their Officer the Place, whom the would do them J Mr. *Clipperton* was Mandarin's demand Men Satisfaction, th newed that they w their Return to Lo (now styled) gave th which produced a G ship, with a perem in *Clipperton*, imm en over to the Ma ty. This Transac ut, as they must b well upon them, b 23. On September ant to the Mandat served for such as w those who were d rved on board the

Officer Hoppo; which may, perhaps, set us right as to the Pronunciation. The *Chinese*, in general, are very justly reputed the craftiest People in the World; and it is an invariable Maxim of their Policy, to chuse the cunningest Man they can find to execute the Office of Hoppo; and, after saying this, we need not descend to the particular Character of the Man Captain Clipperton had to deal with. I shall only add, that the People of *Amoy*, in general, are thought to be the least nice in Points of Honour, or Principles of Honesty, in *China*. The first thing these Custom-house Officers demanded was, what the Ship was reputed to be; and what Business she had there. Captain Clipperton answered, the Ship belonged to the King of *Great Britain*; and that she put in there by Stress of Weather, in order to obtain Provisions and other Necessaries. The Custom-house Officers next demanded an exact Account of the Number of Men and Guns, their Cargo, and the Time they intended to stay; all which they put down in Writing, and then they departed. The very next Morning, the Men mutinied, and insisted, that the Captain should immediately pay them their Prize-money, because they were satisfied the *Success* was in no Condition to put to Sea. The Man, who made this Demand, was one *John Dennison*; and Mr. *Taylor*, to whom we are indebted for this Account, interposing in the Captain's Behalf, one *Edward Boreman* told him, He had best desist, unless he had a mind to have a Brace of Balls through his Head; so that here was plainly an End of all regular Proceedings, as well as of the Captain's Authority. The People brought aboard a good Quantity of Rice, some Cattle, Fowls, Wood, and Water; for which they were paid: And, on the 12th, the Officers went on shore, to wait on the Hoppo, who had a very fine Palace, and who treated them with great Civility, and gave them Leave to anchor in the Harbour, and to remain there till the Monsoons were over; for which, however, he demanded, and soon after received in ready Money, a very extraordinary Compensation, under the Title of Port Charges, amounting to 1700 Dollars, which is about 400 *l.* Sterl. We have already taken notice, that Captain *Mitchell* went out Second to Captain Clipperton; and that, on his going to *Brasil*, Mr. *Darvion* succeeded him; and, on his being killed in the unfortunate Affair of *Guam*, Mr. *Cook* succeeded him, who now demanded thirty Shares, in Right of his Office; in which he was supported by the Men, whom he courted by a continual Compliance with their Humours. Captain Clipperton, and the rest of the Officers, seeing the Turn things were likely to take, were very desirous, that some Allowance should be made to the Officers that were taken Prisoners, and to Mr. *Hendrie* and Mr. *Dod*, who came on board them from the *Speedwell*: But their Endeavours were fruitless; for the Men would hear of no such Allowances. While these Disputes lasted, some took it in their Heads to go ashore, without asking Leave; and, when Captain Clipperton would have corrected them, the whole Company declared on their Side, and prevented it. After this, all things fell into Confusion: The Men refused to work till they had their Prize-money; and, to shew they valued the Credit of their Country no more than they did the Respect due to their Officer, they applied to the chief Mandarin of the Place, whom the *Chinese* style *Hysung*, and desired, that he would do them Justice against their Captain. Upon this, Mr. Clipperton was summoned before him; and, on the Mandarin's demanding a Reason why he refused to give his Men Satisfaction, the Captain produced the Articles, which shewed that they were not to share their Prize-money, till their Return to *London*. But Captain *Cook* (for so he was now styled) gave the Mandarin another sort of Account; which produced a Guard of Soldiers being sent on board the Ship, with a peremptory Order from the Mandarin to Captain Clipperton, immediately to settle the Shares, and pay them over to the Men; with which he was obliged to comply. This Transaction would admit of some Remarks; but, as they must be obvious to every Reader, I shall not dwell upon them, but proceed with my Relation.

23. On September 16, this Distribution was made, pursuant to the Mandarin's Order; and, no Allowance being reserved for such as were taken Prisoners, the Representatives of those who were dead, or the two Gentlemen, who had served on board the *Speedwell*, the Prize-money stood thus:

	Dollars.
The Share of Money and Plate	280
The Share of Gold	100
The Share of Jewels	39

The Total of a Fore-mast-man's Dividend - 419
Which, at 4 s. 8 d. a Dollar, makes *English Money*
97 *l.* 15 s. 4 d.

According to this Distribution,	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The Captain's Share was	1466	10	00
The second Captain	733	35	00
The Captain of Marines, Lieutenants of the Ship, and Surgeon	488	16	08

But tho' Captain *Cook*, and his Associates, had the good Luck to carry their Point in this manner, yet Captain Clipperton's Defence had so much Weight with the chief Mandarin, that, before he obliged him to proceed to this Distribution of Shares, he ordered one Half of the Cargo to be secured for the Benefit of the Owners, which, in ready Money, wrought Silver, Gold, and Jewels, amounted to between 6 and 7000 *l.* Sterl. which he caused to be immediately put on board a *Portuguese East Indiaman*, called the *Queen of Angels*, Don *Francisco la Vero* Commander: Which Ship was unfortunately burnt at *Rio Janeiro* on the Coast of *Brasil*, June 6. 1722. So that of these Effects the Owners received no more, the Charges of Salvage deducted, than 1800 *l.* I have drawn all these Facts together, tho' the last of them did not happen till their Arrival at *Macao*, that the Reader might, in one View, see the Consequences of this Mutiny, and the Means, by which the Proprietors of this Expedition were defeated of its Profits, notwithstanding all the Care that Captain Clipperton could take to secure their Property. The Reader will easily perceive, that there was a strange Mixture of Right and Wrong, of Justice and of Violence, in the Conduct of the *Chinese* Mandarin towards Captain Clipperton and his People. I have endeavoured already to throw some Light upon the Subject, by giving the Reader a general Account of the Disposition and Conduct of these People; but, as I have some very particular Memoirs, not only of this Transaction, but of the State of Things in general in this Port at that time, I presume I shall do him a Pleasure, if I dwell somewhat longer upon this Subject. The People, and even the Mandarins, at *Amoy*, have so managed Matters for a long Space of Time, that, amongst their Countrymen, who should know them best, they have acquired to their Port the Epithet of *Hiamush Booz*, i. e. *Amoy* the wicked, or, still more literally translated, *Amoy* the roguish. The Fishermen upon the Coast shake their Heads, and pronounce these Words with a very significant Air, whenever they meet with any *European* Ship inclined to put into that Port; but, for want of understanding the Language, or, perhaps, from a Confidence in their own Prudence, they very rarely make a right Use of these Warnings; which, in a short time, however, they are sure to repent: For it is a certain Rule, that particular Provinces never acquire such Marks or Characters of Dishonesty, without deserving them. The Custom of this Port is, to disarm every Ship that comes into it, and then to send two Frigates, or, as they are called in the *Chinese* Tongue, *Chanpans*, full of Men, to ride near the Vessel, in order to observe her, and execute the Directions, which the Mandarins may send them. Besides the monstrous Imposition, under the Name of Port-Charges, which has been already mentioned, they have some other strange Methods of coming at Money here; for tho' the Small-craft of the Country seem to have free Liberty of carrying on board all sorts of Provisions, which, being in great plenty there, ought to be afforded at a moderate Price, yet, in Reality, every one of these Vessels goes on board the *Chanpan* first, and there pays a Consideration for Leave to go on board the strange Vessel; and, by this means, the Price of all manner of Provision is raised about a third. Another mean Artifice, practised by the Mandarins, is, sending Presents of Wine, Provisions, and costly Curiosities, to the Captains, and other Officers; of which, when the Ship is ready to sail, they send a very exact Memorial, with the Prices tacked to it; and the last Article is so much for the Clerk's writing the Bill: Which must be discharged in Money or Commodities,

dities, before their Arms or Ammunition are returned. It would require a Sheet or two to lay open all the rest of their Practices; and therefore I shall content myself with giving the Reader an Account of what happened to a *British* Ship in this Port in the Year 1715, which, very probably, was of Service to Captain *Clipperton*, and hindered him from being worse treated than he was. This Ship anchored in the Port of *Amoy*; and, having run through the whole Circle of their Frauds, sold the best Part of their Cargo, at last, to Merchants recommended by the chief Mandarin, who very fairly became Bankrupts in twenty-four Hours after they had the Goods in their Hands. The Captain bore this with the greatest Patience; he did not so much as suffer any harsh Expression to escape him; he took all things in good Part, and even duped the *Chinese* themselves by his studied Dissimulation; but, as soon as he had Licence to depart, he made a clear Ship, loaded all his Guns, ordered his Men to their respective Posts, and then cut away a *Japanese* Junk of twice the Value of his Cargo, and carried her into the Bay directly. This surprised the *Chinese* excessively; but they immediately fitted out twenty or thirty Chanpans, crowded full of Men, who had the Courage to venture very near the *British* Ship, till the Captain discharged a Stern Gun; and then they fled precipitately into Port. This Affair being brought before the Emperor, he ordered all the Mandarins at *Amoy* to be cashiered, and Satisfaction to be made for the *Japanese* Junk out of their Effects; only the chief Mandarin had a milder Sentence than the rest, being mulcted a Year's Profits of his Employment. This gave them a great Dread to the *English* Ships; and perhaps one Reason that induced them to side with the Seamen against Captain *Clipperton* was, that they might have Power on their Side. In short, during the Stay they made of ten Weeks, they sufficiently experienced all the Artifices of this fraudulent and covetous People, from whom the Captain had now no way to defend himself, but was obliged to submit to whatever they demanded. By December 25. the Season and their Inclinations concurred to deliver them from so uneasy a Situation; for, by this time, even the common Men began to be weary of the Place, or rather of the People, who carried their Scheme of Politics quite through, and, in small as well as great Matters, shewed themselves as finished Cheats, as the World could possibly produce, of which almost every Man, who dealt with them, was a competent Witness. On September 25. their Arms and Ammunition were again put on board the *Success*, and the very same Day they weighed out of the Harbour, and got into the Road or Gulph, from whence they proposed going to *Macao*, in order to have the Ship surveyed, the Crew insinuating, that she was not in a Condition to put to Sea, in order to return home; and Captain *Clipperton* affirming the contrary, as well knowing, that they insisted on this Point purely to justify their own Conduct, and prevent their being punished in *England* for their Behaviour in *China*.

24. On September 30. they weighed Anchor from the Bay of *Amoy*, which lies in the Province of *Tonkin*, in order to proceed to *Macao*, in the Road of which they anchored October 4. This was formerly one of the most considerable Places in *China*, tho' it is now much fallen to Decay. This Place has been now above 150 Years in the Hands of the *Portuguese*: And the Manner in which they became possessed of it is an excellent Specimen of *Chinese* Generosity; for they, coming from *Malacca* and *India* to trade with the *Chinese*, and being overtaken with the bad Weather, some Ships miserably perished, for want of secure Harbours, in the Islands about *Macao*; which made them ask some Place of Safety to winter in, till the Season would allow them to return home: And the *Chinese*, for their own Advantage, gave them a Spot of rocky Land, then inhabited by Robbers, that they might expel them, as they did. At first, they were permitted to build thatched Houses; but afterwards, having bribed the Mandarins, they not only erected substantial Structures, but Forts. One of these is at the Mouth of the Harbour, called the *Fort of the Bar*, the Wall of which terminates at the Rock called *Appenba*, which is an Hermitage of the Fathers of the Order of St. *Augustin* on the Hill. The other, being the biggest, is called the *Fort of the Mountain*, because situated on the very Top of an Hill. There is also another high Fort, called *Nuestra*

Senhora da Guia, or, Our Lady of Guidance. The City of *Macao* stands on a Peninsula; and there is a very strong Wall built across the Isthmus, with a Gate in the Middle of it, through which the *Chinese* go in and out at Pleasure; but it is Death for any *Portuguese* to pass that way. Some Travellers have reported, that the *Portuguese* were Sovereigns here, as in other Places in the *East Indies*: But they never were; for the *Chinese* are much too wise a People to suffer any thing of that kind. It is indeed true, that, taking all things together, the City of *Macao* is as fine, or perhaps a finer City, than could be expected, considering its untoward Situation. It is likewise true, that it is very regularly and very strongly fortified; and that there are upwards of 200 Pieces of Brass Cannon upon its Walls: But, with all this, it can only defend itself against Strangers. The *Chinese* ever were, and ever will be, Masters of it, without firing a Cannon, or striking a Blow. They have nothing to do, but to shut that Gate, which they have often done, and place a Guard there; for *Macao* is then undone. The Inhabitants cannot subsist so much as for a Day, without receiving Provisions from the adjacent Country; and, besides, the Place is so shut in by well-peopled Islands, and the *Chinese* are so much Masters at Sea, that, on the slightest Difference, the *Portuguese* at *Macao* might be starved. But to proceed from Reasoning to Facts: The *Portuguese* have indeed the Government within the City-walls over their own People, and yet *Macao* is, strictly and properly, a *Chinese* City; for there is a Governor resident upon the Spot, and an *Hoppe*, or Commissioner of the Customs; and these *Chinese* Mandarins, with all their Officers and Servants, are maintained at the Expence of the City, who are at the Charge of the *Portuguese* Government also. In spite of all this, the Inhabitants were formerly excessively rich, which was owing to the great Trade they carried on to *Japan*, which is now, in a manner, lost: But, as they are seated near *Canton*, and are allowed to go to the two annual Fairs at that City, and to make trading Voyages when they are over, they still find a way to subsist, and that is all; for the prodigious Presents they were forced to make to the *Chinese* Mandarins upon all Occasions, eat up, in a great measure, their Profit. A Vessel, that goes to *Canton*, pays, in the first Place, 100 *l.* Sterl. for Leave to trade; they are next forced to make a considerable Present for Permission to have their Goods brought on board by the *Chinese*, to whom they not only pay ready Money for what they buy, but advance it likewise sometimes a Year before hand. After all this, there is a Present necessary for Leave to depart, which is at least double to what was given for Leave to trade; and they pay Duties to the Emperor for all they buy, over and above these Presents to his Ministers. As soon as Captain *Clipperton* in the *Success* entered the Port, he saluted the Forts, which Compliment being returned, he went on shore, and found in the Place the Captain of a *Portuguese* Man of War, whose Name we have mentioned before, and who undertook to carry what belonged to the Owners to *Brasil*. The Crew found themselves a little at a Loss here, the *Portuguese* Captain dealing absolutely in favour of their Commander; and therefore Mr. *Cook*, and another Gentleman, proposed going to *Canton*, to consult Mr. *Winder*, Supercargo to an *East India* man, and Son to one of the principal Proprietors, as to the Measures which should be taken about carrying the *Success* home; and, upon their Return, the Ship was surveyed, condemned, and sold for 4000 Dollars; which was much less than she was worth; but that was none of Captain *Clipperton's* Fault, who, to shew that he still adhered to his former Opinion, agreed with the Persons who had bought her for his Passage in her to *Batavia*; a plain Indication, that there was no Danger of her foundering at Sea. The Ship sold, the Crew immediately conceived, that every Man was at Liberty to shift for himself, and to use his best Endeavour to save what little was left him, after so unlucky an Expedition. They had Reason indeed to think it so lucky, since they were, by this time, satisfied, that Captain *Mitchell*, his Crew, and Cargo, were all gone to the Bottom, or else fallen into the Hands of the Spaniards, which was to them pretty much the same thing. It was, however, some Consolation to them, that they were in the Neighbourhood of the *English* Factory at *Canton*; and therefore

six Dollars apiece. *Chinese* Boats that, in hopes of *England*, and one: But, before the Danger; and wait for another upon this Loss as they heard was, and that most of a short Stay at *Taylor's* getting going thither in of the *English* *S* Dollars an Head some Cafes, then their Passage, the Mandarin's, who winked at those to raise a confidant the Pirates, and sengers for their ber of Facts that boasted Wisdom Science of dextro spection of the L they are as much the Use of the *C* *Chinese* boast that haps, a better T them, than by an provement, their this political Trade 25. On Novemb at *Canton*, where imaginable Afflict was what they no time, several Ship in *India*, and the Vessels being solic perion's Men on b to *Great Britain* Favour; and acco *Taylor*, and two o Captain *Peacock*, a *ropean* Ships lay, The rest of their C 9th, they failed, in *East India* man, and Mr. *Taylor* arrived cember, failed from bruary, came to S arrived in *London*. ed, some sooner, s as for Captain *Mi* Crew, he was nev stroyed on the Islr sake of getting fre considered as the Administration, I Reason. In the first tain *Rogers* lays up gage Captain *Clipp* Way, especially fi mended Captain R Rule and Guide of pence. In the nex in itself so very rar who had the Good trying the Experin Prizes they had tak the South Seas, be venvors for Licence Profits could refult ers or Sellers. Th back again to *Europ* fore, if there was where they might b duce invested 10, as NUMB. 14.

six Dollars apiece being required for a Passage in one of the *Chinese* Boats thither, twenty of them agreed to it immediately, in hopes of getting a Passage from thence home to *England*; and of this Number Mr. Taylor the Mate was one: But, before they came to sail, he had a Foresight of the Danger; and therefore chose to lose his Money, and wait for another Convenience; and he had Reason to look upon this Loss as a Piece of Frugality, since the next News they heard was, that the Boat had been taken by a Pirate, and that most of the People had lost their Things. After a short Stay at *Macao*, an Opportunity offered for Mr. Taylor's getting speedily and safely to *Canton*, a Mandarin going thither in an armed Boat, for which he, and the rest of the *English* Seamen that went with him, paid twenty Dollars an Head: And their Passage taught them, that, in some Cases, there may be Frugality in Expence; for, in their Passage, they saw a Pirate take a Boat in Sight of the Mandarin's; which plainly shewed, that the Government winked at those things, and perhaps thought it good Policy to raise a considerable Revenue, partly by Presents from the Pirates, and partly by Sums paid by Merchants and Passengers for their Protection; which is one among a Number of Facts that might be brought to prove, that the boasted Wisdom of the *Chinese* is nothing more, than the Science of dextrously hiding their Robberies from the Inspection of the Law; a sort of Practice, in which, perhaps, they are as much exceeded by some Northern Nations, as in the Use of the Compaſs, of which, notwithstanding, the *Chinese* boast that they were the first Inventors; and, perhaps, a better Title might be made to that Invention by them, than by any body else; but, with respect to Improvement, their Compaſs, and their Manner of managing this political Trade of Pirating, are equally clumsy.

25. On November 4. they arrived at the *English* Factory at *Canton*, where they were well received, and promised all imaginable Assistance towards their getting home, which was what they now chiefly aimed at. There were, at this time, several Ships there ready to sail, first for several Ports in *India*, and then for *Europe*. The Captains of these Vessels being solicited by the Factory to take Captain Clipperton's Men on board, they met, and agreed to carry them to *Great Britain* for five Pounds a Man, being a very great Favour; and accordingly they all paid their Money. Mr. Taylor, and two or three more, went aboard the *Maurice*, Captain Peacock, at *Wanapo*, being the Place where the *European* Ships lay, about three Leagues down *Canton* River. The rest of their Company divided in several Ships. On the 9th, they sailed, in Company of the *Maclefield*, an *English* East Indiaman, and an *Offender*, called the *House of Austria*. Mr. Taylor arrived safely at *Batavia* in the Month of December, sailed from thence to the Cape of Good Hope in February, came to *St. Helena* in March, and, in May 1722, arrived in *London*. The rest of the Ship's Company returned, some sooner, some later, as Opportunities offered; but, as for Captain Mitchell, who was sent to *Brasil* with a small Crew, he was never heard of, and most probably was destroyed on the Island of *Velas*, where he went ashore for the sake of getting fresh Provisions. This has been generally considered as the greatest Blemish of Captain Clipperton's Administration, I must confess I think, without any just Reason. In the first Place, I conceive, the great Stress Captain Rogers lays upon that Expedient might very well engage Captain Clipperton to try what might be done in this Way, especially since the Owners had so strongly recommended Captain Rogers's Account of his Voyage, as the Rule and Guide of that, which was to be made at their Expence. In the next Place, I must own, I think the Project in itself so very reasonable, that I do not wonder an Officer, who had the Good of the Voyage at Heart, was desirous of trying the Experiment. They very well knew, that the Prizes they had taken would produce little or nothing in the South Seas, because the Sums, demanded by the Governors for Licences to trade, were so extravagant, that no Profits could result from such a Commerce, either to Buyers or Sellers. They knew too, that carrying those Goods back again to *Europe* was doing little or nothing; and therefore, if there was a Probability of sending them to a Place, where they might be sold to great Advantage, and the Produce invested in, as to procure considerable Profit on the

NUMB. 14.

Voyage from *Brasil* to *London*, it appears to me in the Light of a very good Design. As to the Vessel in which Captain Mitchell embarked, it was very fit for his Purpose, and every way well provided; and his Crew, of thirteen *English*, and ten Negroes, sufficient for the Navigation. Captain Mitchell himself was a very good Officer, and, for any thing that appears, was very well satisfied with the Command to which he was appointed: Neither is there the least Intimation, that this Scheme of Captain Clipperton's was censured, even by his own mutinous Crew, till the Event shewed, that it was unsuccessful: So that, on the Whole, I think, the Captain was rather to be commended than condemned for this Action, by which he could propose no Advantage to himself, but in common with the Owners, from the Success of the Voyage. But it is time to quit these Reflections, in order to come to the last Scene of Captain Clipperton's Life.

26. He failed in the *Success*, after she was sold, as a Passenger, from *Macao* to *Batavia*; from whence he procured a Passage home in a *Dutch East India* Ship, and arrived, in the Beginning of June 1722, at *Galway* in *Ireland*, where he left his Family, in a very bad State of Health, occasioned partly by his great Fatigues, but chiefly through the Concern he was under for the Loss the Owners had sustained by this unfortunate Voyage. It may indeed be objected, that, on his Arrival in *Holland*, he ought to have returned thence to *London*, and given the Proprietors the best Account in his Power of the Undertaking, and of his Management. But, when we reflect, first, on his sending home their Moiety of the Profits in the *Portuguese* Ship, which, by the way, very nearly reimbursed the Expence they had been at in fitting out the *Success*, the Purchase-money of the Ship being taken in, and if we next advert to the weak Condition he was in, when he went to *Galway*, where he did not live a Week, we may very well excuse him. He might very probably have hoped, that the Comfort of seeing his Wife and Children might contribute to restore his Health, and enable him to make a Voyage to *London*, when in a Condition, to settle his Accounts; or, if he found himself so very low, as absolutely to despair of recovering at all, it was very natural for him to desire the Satisfaction of seeing his Family in his last Moments. But, above all, we ought to remember, that it was not in his Power to do more for the Proprietors, than he had done; and therefore he was at the greater Liberty to take all the Care he could of his private Concerns. It is a very easy matter to censure the Conduct, blacken the Memory, and misrepresent the Actions, of a poor Man in his Grave; but, from this plain and faithful Account of all his Transactions, I dare say, every impartial Reader will agree, that he was an Object of Pity, rather than Repentment, since, after so many long Voyages, in which he suffered so many and so great Hardships, he died at last of a broken Heart, with a broken Fortune.

27. The Remarks that have been made on the last Voyage, have such a Relation to this, that, if I was not, as I really am, pretty much frightened for Room, I should not take up much of the Reader's Time in Observations. A very few Remarks are necessary, and I shall make but a few, and such as have a Tendency to explain the Nature of all Expeditions of this Kind. In the first Place, I shall take notice, that the Expence of this Adventure, though much larger than it need have been, by procuring his Imperial Majesty's Commission, and the wasting some Money in *Flanders*, was not excessively great, or such as ought to discourage all future Undertakings of this Nature. It was, as the Proprietors themselves admit, no more than 14,000*l.* and, when it is considered, that two large fine Ships were fitted out, capable, in all respects, if their Commanders had agreed, and done their Duty, of combating the whole Force of the *Spaniards* in the South Seas, if, I say, we consider this, and suffer ourselves at the same time to remember, that at least as much is spent in a Season at *Vauxhall*, or *Ranelagh*, we may justly wonder, that the South Seas do not swarm with *English* Privateers. It is true, there are some *French* Ships gone thither by Permission, which may be of tolerable Strength; but, except these, there is no Reason to suspect, that the *Spaniards* are stronger, than at the Time Captain Clipperton made his Voyage. Our Efforts, during this War, have been chiefly

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made

made in the North Seas; and, therefore, the Spanish Governors have turned their Attention mostly on that Side, and, consequently, they neglected this. It must be owned, that Captain Clipperton's Voyage proved a great Loss to his Owners, who did not receive above 2000*l.* for between seven and eight that they laid out: Yet, if we consider, that, notwithstanding his Separation from his Comfort, and many other unlucky Accidents that he met with, he actually secured 6000*l.* for his Owners, besides 5000*l.* lost with Captain Mitchell, and one thousand more, for which the *Success* was sold, we shall find, that he made more than a saving Voyage of it; and that, consequently, if both Ships had done their Duty, the Expedition had been at least as gainful as that of the *Duke* and *Duchess*, which cost very little more than this, and which produced 170,000 Pounds, one Moiety of which belonged to the Proprietors; which is sufficient to shew, the ill Turn that this Affair took, ought by no means to discourage us from undertaking such an Expedition for the future; since we can scarce propose any other, that has a Prospect of being more advantageous, or less hazardous. I shall next observe, that the Skill of Captain Clipperton has fully shewn us, that there is nothing extremely dangerous in a Voyage to the South Seas. He sailed on the 15th of February, and he entered the Straights of Magellan the 29th of May, which makes but seventy-three Days in the Whole, out of which we are to take twenty, that he cruised for his Comfort at the *Canaries*, and *Cape de Verde* Islands; so that we may very well suppose, that, if the Ships had been together, and had met with none of these unlucky Accidents, they might in three Months have doubled *Cape Horn*. To these Observations I shall add another, and so conclude. It appears to have been Captain Clipperton's Intention to have come home in the *Success*, instead of selling her at *Macao* for about half what she was worth; and, if he had done this, it is very highly probable, he had saved all the Money which was lost in the *Portuguese East Indiaman*, and made a tolerable Voyage. The contrary Scheme, of selling, destroying, and getting home at any Rate, appears to have been pursued by Captain Cook, and the Ship's Company, who, provided they got Possession of the Shares they had carved out for themselves, were not in any Pain about the Interest of the Proprietors. This shews how necessary it is to be secure as to the Characters of under Officers, before they are employed in Expeditions of this Nature. A Man

of a narrow and selfish Disposition, who has nothing at Heart but the adding to his own Fortune by any Method, and at any body's Expence, will never fail to invent, or to promote, any Scheme that seems calculated for his own Advantage, tho' diametrically opposit to the Design of the Voyage: And the having a Spirit or two of this Sort, is sufficient to disturb and confound any Privateer's Crew; since such are generally made up of Men low in Birth, mean in Understanding, and necessitous in point of Fortune, which was the Case here, as Captain Betagh acknowledges in the Account of the Voyage, where he professes, that, when they left *Phymouth*, he was sure the Ship's Company could not raise 5*l.* amongst them all. It is true, there might be a Difficulty in getting many Persons of Sense, Probity, and in tolerable Circumstances, to undertake a Privateering Voyage to the South Seas: But, this is what need not be endeavoured; for tolerable Terms, granted to half a dozen Seafaring People, would answer the End, and procure the Captain, or Commander in Chief, Friends enough to support him, whenever he was in the Right; for, though it be very easy to seduce the private Men by enflaming Speeches, yet it rarely happens, that they plot and execute any wicked Design, without the Encouragement, or Connivance at least, of some of their Officers; but, when once they are satisfied, that a Party is formed amongst them against the Commander in chief, they are always backward in their Duty, think every thing that is expected from them a Hardship, and are never to be satisfied as to their Demands of Plunder, &c. As a further Proof of this, the Reader need only observe, that while Captain Mitchell, and Mr. Davison, were on board, there fell out none of these Disputes, none of these Mutinies; but, after the unfortunate Business at *Gnam*, when Captain Clipperton had made so free with the Glais, as not to be able to command when the Ship was in the utmost Danger, there was an End of Discipline; and Cook, who appears to have been raised on that Occasion to a temporary Command, by the Consent of the Ship's Crew, invested himself thenceforward with a Title and Authority of second Captain; and pushed the Business of sharing the Prize-money, that he might be considered in that Quality upon the Distribution of the Money; which single Act was the absolute Ruin of the Voyage. Such untoward Influence may one Man's Vices have on the Fortunes of many.

SECTION XVIII.

Captain GEORGE SHELVOCKE's Voyage round the World from his own Account.

1. The Author's Departure from England, and Separation from Clipperton.
2. Proceed to the *Canaries*, and *Cape de Verd* Islands.
3. Their Arrival at the Island of St. Catharine's, on the Coast of Brazil, Proceedings there, and Description of that Island.
4. Disputes and Disturbances among the Ship's Crew, and the Means taken to appease them.
5. Continuation of the Voyage to the Straights of le Maire, and Passage through them.
6. They cruise on the Coast of Chili, with indifferent Success.
7. Arrival at, and Description of, the Island of Chiloe.
8. Arrival in the Bay of Conception.
9. Sail for the Island of Juan Fernandez.
10. Prosecute their Voyage, and cruise on the Coast of Peru.
11. Arrival in, and Description of, the Port of Arica.
12. Transactions in the Cruise from thence to Payta.
13. Arrival at, and Attack of, the Town of Payta.
14. A smart Engagement with the Spanish Admiral in the South Seas.
15. Sail back to the Coast of Chili, and are shipwreck'd on the Island of Juan Fernandez.
16. Account of their Transactions while forced to remain on that Island.
17. Build a Bark there, in order to proceed again into the South Seas.
18. Description of the Island of Juan Fernandez, in the Condition which they found it.
19. They attack and make themselves Masters of Iquique.
20. Take a large Spanish Ship, called the *Jesu Maria*, on the Coast of Peru.
21. Continue their Voyage to the Island of Quibo.
22. Their several Interviews with Captain Clipperton in the *Success*.
23. Cruise on the Coast of Mexico, and take another large Spanish Ship, called the *Sacra Familia*.
24. Sail once more for Quibo, and are exposed to great Hardships in their Passage.
25. They are attacked by a stout Spanish Ship, and, after an obstinate Dispute, take her.
26. Other Adventures in those Seas.
27. Arrival at Puerto Seguro, on the Coast of California.
28. Description of the South Part of that Country, and its Inhabitants.
29. Sail from thence for the East Indies, and arrive safely at Canton.
30. Proceed from thence for England, and arrive safely at London, August 1. 1722.
31. Remarks upon this Voyage.

IN the Introduction to the former Voyage, I have given a large Account of the Motives on which it was founded; the original Plan of acting under

an Imperial Commission; the Reason why this Plan was changed, and Captain Clipperton advanced to the chief Command; so that there needs nothing more on that Subject

here. I shall therefore leave the Scheme of the Command of the *Success* to Mr. William Boscawen, who has taken himself has therefore I have as it is in my P. explanatory Circ as may let the R of February 17. Company with t pany together no nine and ten o' Storm of Wind our Top-sails: very much pref *Success*'s Lee; v ing-to: By elev with our Yards Knot of Canvas Mizen. About Quarter, and dro our Stern dead L of Water before were, for a confi sions of foundering Danger; we were Wind, nor could Lee one being a this, had a Success so that none coul choly Straights, t could have recou God that we were On the 20th, we Vessel, so that at Midnight set th In the Morning, t was not secured Storm so terrified that I was inform upon bearing away a Complaint again was so very crank us to the South Mutineers by Real Purpose: They co firm Resolution of ing to England; who, appearing up appearing resolute, seemed inclinable hardly stubborn Fel the rest of the Crew all Memory of pa future Conduct, ol

2. As the *Canadevous*, we contin several Ships in o *Success*, but were a ever. On the 17th and cruised there th in which Time the kept the taking a fr salt, and some Wi after the Boat's C Prize to the Ship. as the *Cape de V* them, we might ei intelligence of, Ca uth of April in th w a Wreck, and smoke on the Land hat came off, and a *East Indiaman*, Cap tistfortune of runn upon which, I beg

nothing at my Method, invent, or to for his own Design of this Sort, is the Crew; now in Birth, point of For- ogb acknow- the profits, Ship's Com- is true, there ons of Sense, undertake a , this is what as, granted to ver the End, chief, Friends n the Right; ivate Men by hat they plot ne Encourage- their Officers; erty is formed chief, they are thing that is never to be . As a further ve, that while n board, there ese Mutinies, when Captain as not to be tmost Danger, who appears to mporary Com- invetted lum- rity of second ing the Prize Quality upon le Act was the ward Influence of many.

Account.

the Canaries, aft of Brazil, Ship's Crew, le Maire, and Arrival at, for the Island arrival in, and 13. Arrived l in the South dez. 16. in, in oration e Condition a Take a cargo e Island e on the Coa ore for Quib. th Ship, and al at Puerto and its In- Proceed from is Voyage.

this Plan was ed to the chie on that Subje

here. I shall therefore observe, that, according to the new Scheme of the Voyage, Captain *Shelvocke* retained the Command of the *Speedwell*, a Ship of 24 Guns, and 106 Men; his second Captain was Mr. *Simon Hatley*, who has a very good Character in Captain *Rogers's* Voyage; and Mr. *William Betagh* was Captain of Marines. The Captain himself has written an Account of the Expedition, and therefore I have it in my Choice to make use of it as far as it is in my Power; adding, as Occasion requires, such explanatory Circumstances from Captain *Betagh's* Account, as may let the Reader into the whole Affair. On the 13th of February 1719, we sailed, says Captain *Shelvocke*, in Company with the *Success*, from *Plymouth*, and kept Company together no longer than to the 19th, when, between nine and ten o'Clock at Night, there came on a violent Storm of Wind at South-west, which obliged us to take in our Top-sails: The Gale increasing upon us, and being very much pressed, I haled up my Fore-sail under the *Success's* Lee; upon which they made a Signal for bringing-to: By eleven o'Clock we were under bare Poles, with our Yards a-portland, not being able to suffer one Knot of Canvas all Night, except for a little while a reefed Mizzen. About Midnight, a Sea struck us upon the Quarter, and drove in one of our Quarter's, and one of our Stern dead Lights, where we shipped great Quantities of Water before we were able to stop them again, and were, for a considerable time, under continual Apprehensions of foundering. This Accident exposed us to the greatest Danger; we were not able to get the Ship before the Wind, nor could we work the Pumps upon Deck, the Lee one being all the time under Water; and, besides this, had a Succession of prodigious Seas driving over us, so that none could stand on their Legs. In these melancholy Streights, the Chain-pump was the only thing we could have recourse to, by means of which it pleased God that we were delivered from impending Destruction. On the 20th, we had no Sight of the *Success*, or any other Vessel, so that at Noon we set the Main-sail double-reefed, at Midnight set the Top-sails, and stood to the North-west. In the Morning, the Helm-coast was washed away, which was not secured again without much Difficulty. This Storm so terrified the greatest Part of our Ship's Company, that I was informed, that seventy of them were resolved upon bearing away for *England*; and that they had formed a Complaint against the Ship; for they alleged, that the was so very crank, that he would never be able to carry us to the South Seas. I endeavoured to appease these Mutineers by Reason, and fair Usage; but to very little Purpose: They continued, in spite of all I could say, in a firm Resolution of pursuing their first Design, and returning to *England*; but, having recourse to my Officers, who, appearing upon the Quarter-deck, well armed, and appearing resolute, the Mutineers lost their Spirits, and seemed inclinable to do their Duty, except two or three hardly stubborn Fellows, whom I ordered to the Geers; but the rest of the Crew interposed, and promising to wipe off all Memory of past Offences, by the Regularity of their future Conduct, obtained their Pardon.

2. As the *Canaries* was the first Place of our Rendezvous, we continued our Course thither; and, meeting several Ships in our Passage, inquired carefully after the *Success*, but were able to gain no Intelligence of her whatever. On the 17th of March, we arrived at the *Canaries*, and cruised there the Time appointed by our Instructions; in which Time there happened very little remarkable, except the taking a small Prize of sixteen Ton, with a little salt, and some Wine, on board; and the best Part of the latter the Boat's Crew drank, before they brought the Prize to the Ship. The next Place I thought of going to was the *Cape de Verde* Islands, in Hopes, that, amongst them, we might either meet with, or at least gain some Intelligence of, Captain *Clipperton*. We arrived on the 4th of April in the Road of the Isle of *May*, where we saw a Wreck, and an *English* Ensign flying near a great smoke on the Land. As we stood in for Information, a Boat came off, and acquainted us, that it was the *Vanzittern* East Indiaman, Captain *Hide* Commander, who had the Misfortune of running ashore about three Weeks before. Upon which, I began to think, that this might be a good

Opportunity of supplying myself with such Necessaries as we wanted; and therefore asked the Mate, If I could have any Planks or Nails out of the Wreck? He told me, that the Ships in the Road to Leeward had got every thing that could be saved out of her. But, when I came to enter the Road, all the Ships that were there, being thirteen in Number, opposed it, from a Supposition, that I was a Free-booter; but, being convinced, the Commodore, and the rest of the Masters, came on board, and made their Excuses, promising I should have whatever I wanted. But, after all, I was able to obtain nothing more than two or three Sheathing-boards, and a few Tons of Salt. A little before we arrived here, my Gunner, whose Name was *Turner Stevens*, very gravely proposed to me, and the rest of the Officers, cruising in the Red Sea: For, said he, there can be no harm in robbing those *Mahomedans*: The poor *Spaniards* they are good Christians, and it would, doubtless, be a Sin to injure them. Upon which, I immediately ordered him into Confinement. After this, he, in a very outrageous Manner, threatened to blow up the Ship. Therefore, for these, and many other Reasons, I discharged him, at his own Request, being very glad to see every body else as well pleased as myself at his Departure: I also left my chief Mate here, at his own Desire, having been guilty of several Misdemeanours; but particularly, the Night after we anchored, he had the Impudence to quarrel with Mr. *Brooks*, the first Lieutenant, and to fight with him; which caused no small Disturbance on board; for which I corrected him, and was very well satisfied to find him so inclinable to leave us, he having been a very troublesome Person. On the 18th, we weighed from the Island of *May*, and arrived the same Day in the Road of *Porto Praya*, on the Island of *St. Iago*, which is the chief of the *Cape de Verdes*, and had Abundance of fair Promises from the commanding Officer; which ended, however, in nothing more than getting a little Provisions: And here I sold our small Prize for 150 Dollars to the Governor (Captain *Betagh* affirms, the Purchase-money was but eighty Dollars); and finding, after repeated Experiments, that there was no sort of Dependence to be made on this *Portuguese* Officer, I resolved to quit this Island without Delay; the rather, because I had thought of another Place, where I had Hopes of obtaining whatever was necessary for our Passage into the South Seas. The Place I intended for was the Island of *St. Catharine's*, on the Coast of *Brazil*, in the Latitude of 20° 30' South; which, according to the Account given of it by Mr. *Frezier*, abounds with all the Necessaries of Life, and with such Conveniences especially as are requisite in long Voyages. On the 20th, we sailed from *St. Iago*, from whence we had a very bad Passage, being twenty-one Days before we crossed the Equinoctial: While we were between the two Trade-winds, we had generally little variable Breezes all round the Compass, sometimes great Squalls of Wind and Rain, with Thunder, Lightning, &c. and, in short, the most uncertain Weather imaginable. We were fifty-five Days in going to *St. Catharine's*, during which, little remarkable happened; except that, on the 4th of June, we made *Cape Frio*, bearing West seven Leagues distant at Noon, Latitude, per Observation, 23° 41' South; and, on the 5th in the Afternoon, we saw a Ship stemming with us, whom we spoke with. I ordered the five-oar'd Boat to be hoisted out, and sent Captain *Hatley* in her, to inquire what News on the Coast; and gave him Money to buy some Tobacco; for the *Success* had got our Stock on board of that, as well as other Things, which created a West-country Famine among us. When *Hatley* returned, he told me, she was a *Portuguese* from *Rio Janeiro*, and bound to *Pernambuco*; that he could get no Tobacco; and had therefore laid out my Money in unnecessary Trifles, viz. China Cups and Plates, a little Hand-keft of Drawers, four or five Pieces of *China* Silks, Sweet-meats, Bananas, Plantains, and Pompons, &c. I gave him to understand, that I was not at all pleased with him for squandering away my Money in so silly a Manner: He answered, "That he thought what he did was for the best; that he had laid out his own Money as well as mine, and, in his Opinion, to a good Advantage; and that, to his Knowledge, the Things he bought, would sell for double the Money

"Money they cost, at the next Port we were going to." However, I assured him, I did not like his Proceedings by any means. The Account which Captain *Benab* gives of this Matter, is very different. He asserts, that Captain *Shelbocks* ordered Imperial Colours to be hoisted, and then obliged the *Portuguese* to bring to: Captain *Hailey*, going aboard with a Boat's Crew, armed each Man with a Cut-las, and a Pair of Pistols, put the *Portuguese* Captain in such a Fright, that he not only sent all Sorts of Refreshments, but a dozen Pieces of Silk, flowered with Gold and Silver, worth about three Pounds a Yard, several Dozens of China Plates and Basons, a Japan Cabinet, and three hundred Moidores in hard Gold, ninety-six of which were afterwards found upon *Hailey* when taken Prisoner by the *Spaniards* in the *West Indies*, where this Fact, having to strong an Appearance of Piracy, had like to have cost him his Life.

3. On the 23d of *June*, they anchored before the Island of *St. Catharine*, where, says Captain *Shelbocks*, the first thing I did, was to send the Carpenter ashore, with all the People that could be useful to him, in felling of Trees and sawing them into Planks: The rest of the Crew were employed in other necessary Services: And, in the mean time, the Captain of the Island, and the rest of the Inhabitants, came off every Day with fresh Provisions; which was a very great Convenience, because it hindered our People from breaking in upon their Sea-stores, while they continued in this Harbour. I purchased likewise 21 Black Cattle, several Hogs, and 200 large salted Drum-fish; together with 150 Bushels of a sort of Meal which the *Portuguese* call *Farinha de Fao*, which is the Flour of Cassia-root, as fine as our Oatmeal; a very hearty Food, and prepared with very little Trouble. I likewise bought 160 Bushels of Calavances, some with Money, at the Rate of a Dollar a Bushel, and some with Salt, exchanging one Bushel for another; adding to all this a very necessary Article; which was, a good Quantity of Tobacco. The Account given by Monsieur *Frezier*, of this Island, is very exact, except in two Particulars: The first is, that he takes no notice of an Island lying between that of *Gall*, and the Continent of *Brazil*; the next, a Reef of Rocks, which is a very material Omission. In all Descriptions of this Kind, Care should be taken to set down every thing plainly, so as to prevent any Doubts from arising in the Minds of such as are to make use of these Descriptions, especially with regard to Roads, Anchoring-places, and where Water is to be taken in. For want of Accuracy in this respect, such as have no other Guide but their Books and Charts, which was our Case, are liable to run into dangerous Errors, and such, perhaps, as admit of no Remedy; and, for this Reason, where-ever I venture upon any Descriptions, I shall be more careful to lay down what may be of Use, than to entertain the Reader with Matter of Amusement. But, to return from these Reflections, to that which occasioned them. In order to arrive at the Anchoring-place, you must continue to sail in the Channel between *St. Catharine's* and the Continent, till you come within or near two small Islands, which, as yet, have had no Name given them: Over-against the Northernmost of these is the Watering-place on *St. Catharine's*, near to the Entrance of a small Salt-water Creek; opposite to which, you may come-to in six or seven Fathom very safely, the Bottom being a fine grey Sand. The Island of *St. Catharine's* is about eight Leagues and an half in Length, but, in Breadth, nowhere exceeds two Leagues; and the Channel, between it and the Continent, so narrow in one Part, as not to be much above a Quarter of a Mile in Breadth: It is all over covered with inaccessible Woods, so that, excepting the Plantations, there is not a clear Spot upon it. The least Island about it is in the same Manner, abounding with a great Variety of Trees, and Undergrowth with Brambles and Thorns, which hinder any Access; and the main Continent of *Brazil* may be justly termed a vast continued Wilderness. The *Sassafras*, so much esteemed in *Europe*, is so common there, that we laid in a good Quantity, instead of other Wood, for firing. They have there great Plenty of Oranges, both China and Seville, Lemons, Citrons, Limes, Bananas, Palm, Cabbage, Melons of all Sorts, and Potatoes. They have the Sugar-cane very large and good,

but make little or no Use of it for want of Utensils, so that the little Melasses and Rum they have they sell very dear. As to their Game, there is hardly any to be had, although the Woods are full of Parrots, which are good Eating, and are always seen to fly in Pairs, notwithstanding there may be some hundreds in a Flock, Macaws, Cockatoes, Plovers, and a great Diversity of other Birds, of curious Colours, and peculiar Shapes, particularly one somewhat larger than a Thrush, which has a Spur in the Joint of each Wing. The Flamingoes are very often seen here in great Numbers; they are of a very fine Scarlet, and appear extremely beautiful when flying; they are about the Size of an Heron, and not unlike them in Shape. 'Tis quite otherwise with the Fishery; for, as they have abundance of several Sorts of good Fish, so they have almost every-where the best Convenience for haling the Seyne. All their Bays and Creeks are very well stocked with Mulletts, large Rays, Grunters, Cavallies, and Drum-fish, so called from the Noise they make, by which they are followed to Shore-water, and taken; some of which are twenty or thirty Pounds Weight, and their Scats are almost as big as a Crown-piece; the *Portuguese* call them *Moroes*. You may go up three or four Miles into the Salt-water Creek before-mentioned, to be near the Watering-place, where each Rock, Stone, and even the Roots of the Mangrove-trees, afford a delicious Sort of small green Oysters: Likewise, among the Rocks by the Sea-side, you find what is commonly called the Sea-egg; in its outward Form, it nearly resembles a Dockbur, excepting that they are generally three or four times as big, and are of a Sea-green or deep-purple Colour; but, in the Inside, they are divided in Partitions, like Oranges; each Partition contains a yellow Substance, which is eaten raw, and, in my Opinion, exceeds all the Shell-fish I ever tasted; they have Prawns of an extraordinary Size; and, in our Nets, we sometimes caught the Sea-horse. On the Savannas of *Arizaba*, on the Continent, over-against the Southernmost Part of *St. Catharine's*, they have great Numbers of Black Cattle, some of which we were sufficiently supplied with from thence, and which we bought at a very reasonable Price. The Character of the *Portuguese* of this Island is, that they are a Parcel of Banditti, which come for Refuge here from the neighbouring and more strictly governed Colonies of *Brazil*: *Emanuel Manja*, who was what they called the Captain of the Island, was still their Chief, as much as in *Frezier's* Time; however, for my Part, I can but do them the Justice to say, that they traded with me very honestly, and were very civil to every one, but those who gave them those gross Affronts hereafter mentioned. They enjoy the Blessings of a fertile Country, and a wholesome Air; and stand in need of no Necessaries, except Cloathing. They have Fire-arms sufficient for their Use; and, indeed, they have need of them very often; for they are greatly troubled with Tygers; but Use has made them almost obliged to Inconvenience; yet, in their Houses, they are obliged to keep a great many Dogs, to destroy those venomous Creatures, who oftentimes make a prodigious Havock amongst them. I have been told, that a Tyger has killed eight or ten Dogs in a Night; but, if it be Disputable, they seldom escape from them; for they then afford the Inhabitants a kind of Diversion, and an Opportunity to destroy them effectually. In short, nothing is more common, than to see the Prints of Tygers Paws upon the sandy Beach: As to their fine Dwelling-houses, mentioned by Monsieur *Frezier*, none of us could see any such thing; nor have they any Place worthy the Name of a Town, nor any Fortification of any kind, except the Woods, which are a certain Retreat and Security against any Enemy that may attack them. As to the *Indians* of those Parts, I cannot say much of them, having never seen above two or three of them.

4. There happened, during the Stay we made at *St. Catharine's*, some Passages worthy of Notice, of which therefore I shall give a concise Account: On July 2. we saw a large Ship at Anchor under *Parrots* Island, about five Miles below the Place where we lay; upon which, after taking the necessary Precautions for securing the Watering-place, and what we had ashore there, I sent my Launch, well manned and armed, under the Command of a Lieutenant,

to know what he did not to go on board, and the Lieutenant merely one of our Squadron, commanding Officers and Sea Number of about the *Spanish* Service, having of a Rupture been pleased with this with the Manner Lieutenant had board the Stranger that *M. la Jonquiere* next Day, he sent with an Invitation was extremely well heard, that *Hailey* 100 Moidores, as Boat's Crew, in mined into this as been found guilty tain of the *Portuguese* such Proof as telt against him; in the South Seas vile Actions on the utmost Danger of *Portuguese*; which prevent or punish, Favourite with my Captain, with several on board to dine my Boatwain, which, with the easily quelled: A quiet, made a very Madness of their B that, the next Day all the Blame upon alleging, that he the same time, that French Ship; which Experience, to be was continually in of whom, he prett went, upon all Occ On the 15th, we saw Mouth; who, as for again: Which filled sions of her being c immediately; and weighed, and fell d next Morning, and Guns. Three French him; but I had two man, in lieu of the *Jonquiere* the Justice every respect, as be a Man of Honour. again under French man of *St. Malo*, commanded by *M. Coats of Chili* and saw coming in before This Gentleman about Curious Manner, ca under a foreign Cro he being one of *Mal South Seas* was, to interlopers: Which were not above two that escaped falling in all legal Prizes. He Character; and after takes in his Book; believe, because I wa Design of deprivi

to know what she was; but with a strict Injunction to him not to go on board. About Noon, the Launch returned; and the Lieutenant reported, that she was the *Ruby*, formerly one of our Men of War, but now one of *Martinet's* Squadron, commanded by one M. *la Jonquiere*; that his Officers and Seamen were, most of them, *French*, to the Number of about 420; and that, tho' she was actually in the *Spanish* Service, yet they had not the least Design to molest us, having quitted the South Seas, upon a Report of a Rupture between *France* and *Spain*. I was very well pleased with this Information; but by no means satisfied with the Manner in which it had been obtained, because my Lieutenant had disobeyed my Orders, and had been on board the Stranger. It appeared, however, afterwards, that that M. *la Jonquiere* was a Man of strict Honour. The next Day, he sent me an Assurance of his good Intentions, with an Invitation to dine with him; which I accepted, and was extremely well entertained. About this time I first heard, that *Halley* had plundered the *Portuguese* Captain of roo Moidores, and had distributed Part of them among his Boat's Crew, in order to engage them to Secrecy. I examined into this as strictly as possible, with Intent, if he had been found guilty, to have delivered him up to the Captain of the *Portuguese* Island; but, not being able to obtain such Proof as was necessary, all I could do was to protest against him; which Protest I gave to Captain *Clipperton* in the South Seas. The same Man committed to many vile Actions on the Island, that our People were in the utmost Danger of their Lives, from the Repentment of the *Portuguese*; which ill Conduct of his I was neither able to prevent or punish, because he was now become the greatest Favourite with my mutinous Crew. On July 6. the *French* Captain, with several of his Officers and Passengers, came on board to dine with me. While they were in the Ship, my Boatwain, whose Name was *Hudson*, raised a Mutiny; which, with the Assistance of the *French* Gentlemen, was easily quelled: And M. *la Jonquiere*, when things were quiet, made a very handsome Discourse to them on the Madnes of their Behaviour; which had so good an Effect, that, the next Day, they appeared very submissive, and laid all the Blame upon the Boatwain; who excused himself, by alleging, that he was mad with Drink, beseeching me at the same time, that he might have Leave to go home in the *French* Ship; which I readily gave him, knowing him, by Experience, to be a very dangerous Fellow, and one who was continually incensing the People against their Officers, of whom, he pretended, there were too many; and was wont, upon all Occasions, to style them the Bloodsuckers. On the 15th, we saw a large Ship lying in to the Harbour's Mouth; who, as soon as they discovered us, turned out again: Which filled M. *la Jonquiere* with such Apprehensions of her being our Consort, that he resolved to be gone immediately; and accordingly, when Night came on, he weighed, and fell down the Harbour, and went to Sea the next Morning, and, at his Departure, saluted me with five Guns. Three *Frenchmen* belonging to me went away with him; but I had two *Frenchmen*, and one *Maribrewan* *Irishman*, in lieu of them. On the Whole, I must do M. *la Jonquiere* the Justice to say, that he behaved towards me, in every respect, as became a Gentleman, a good Officer, and a Man of Honour. On the 25th, the large Ship appeared again under *French* Colours. She was called the *Wife* *Solomon* of *St. Malo*, of forty Guns, and about 160 Men, commanded by M. *Dumain Girard*, and bound to the Coasts of *Chili* and *Peru* to trade, and the same Ship we saw coming in before, and had spoken with the *Ruby* at Sea. This Gentleman abused M. *la Jonquiere* to me in the most scurrilous Manner, calling him Rencgado, for having served under a foreign Crown against his own Countrymen; for the being one of *Martinet's* Squadron, their Business in the South Seas was, to sweep those Coasts clear of the *French* Interlopers: Which they did very effectually; for there were not above two or three, out of twelve or thirteen, that escaped falling into *Martinet's* Hands, who made them all legal Prizes. He likewise gave M. *Frezier* a very bad Character; and asserted, that there were many gross Mistakes in his Book; which, however, I did not absolutely believe, because I was a little suspicious of his having a sinister Design of depriving me of the Lights this Book affords:

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And indeed I found him, in every respect, a very subtle mercenary Man, full of Conceit and Vanity. I made, however, what Use of him I could, by purchasing Cheefe, Butter, Nails, and other Necessaries; which made me conceive myself in a pretty good Capacity for finishing the Voyage, which was now upon my Hands. This Success abroad did not hinder our having great Storms at home; for my Crew, being informed, that the People on board the *Duke* and *Duchess* had been but indifferently used with respect to their Prize-money when they came home, resolved to secure themselves in time; and, by the Advice of one *Matthew Stewart*, who was chief Mate, drew up a Paper of Articles relating to Plunder, and sent me a Letter, signed by them, in which they insisted on its being made the Rule of our Voyage. I took some time to consider of this, which did not please them; and therefore they drew up a Letter of Attorney to this *Matthew Stewart*, and sent him to solicit an Answer, or rather my Consent, to their Demands; which, finding my Officers equally cold in advising or acting with me, I laboured to decline. But, after some few Days Murmuring and Uneasiness amongst themselves, and no Work going on, the Ship's Company came all on the Quarter-deck to me in a mutinous Manner, desiring to know my final Resolution, saying, that I knew theirs, which was that they would stand by; telling me, that they knew how to provide for themselves, without running such certain Hazards for uncertain Gain; and clamoured, in a most outrageous Manner, against Mr. *Godfrey*, who was our principal Agent, and against one of the chief of the Gentlemen Owners, saying, They had been well informed what a Pay-master he would make, if their Fortunes should fall into his Hands, with a thousand scurrilous Expressions; which astonished me. In short, finding them deaf to any thing I could urge against them, and so perversely obstinate in requiring me to comply with them, by signing their Articles; and considering the Prospect I had of meeting Captain *Clipperton* in the South Seas, when they must be again reduced, and made subject, to their first Articles, or, at least, under the same Restriction with those under his Command; and verily believing, that the Consequence of my Refusal, in this Particular, would be no less than their running away with my Ship, and following the old Gunner's Scheme (It must certainly have been something like; for I could not think of any other way they could have of providing for themselves, as they called it); therefore, upon these Considerations, both myself, and all my chief Officers, thought it more advisable, for the general Good, to sign, rather than to suffer them to proceed in such piratical Manner. As soon as they had gained their Point, they expressed a great Satisfaction; and promised me, that they would always be ready to hazard their Lives on any Undertaking, that I should think conducive to attain the Ends we were fitted out for. However, upon the Whole, tho' it may be called a desperate Remedy, when one was not certain what might be the Consequence of it, it ought to be looked on as applied to a desperate Disease, and as the only Means left to prevail on them to go on quietly in our Expedition; for the most favourable Conjecture that could be made, in case of my not condescending to their Request, was, that they would have certainly deserted, and have left me and a few others here, to have ended so promising an Undertaking in this Port. But to go on with our Voyage: August 3. there came in the *St. Francisco Xavier*, a *Portuguese* Man of War, of forty Guns, and 300 Men, from *Lisbon*, bound to *Macao* in *China*, commanded by Captain *Riviere*, a *Frenchman*. I made no doubt, but that Captain *Halley's* Affair would be reported to this Gentleman by some of the Inhabitants; and therefore told him, that I expected he would go and vindicate himself to the *Portuguese* Captain, to prevent any Disturbances that might arise by the Account of his Mismanagement on board the *Portuguese*, which we met at Sea; to which he readily replied, that he would. Therefore, to give him an Opportunity of doing it, I sent a Compliment by him to M. *Riviere*, to whom he acquitted himself so well, as to give that Gentleman Satisfaction. On the 6th, three of my Men deserted; and, having Intelligence, that they had been seen at our Tents, I sent one of my Mates in the Pinnace after them, with Orders to go no farther than the Tents, but to return without Loss of Time;

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for I was heaving up my Anchor, with Design to fall below the Road that Night, that I might be in Readiness the next Morning: But, missing them at the Place they were sent to, they thought fit to go up to the Portuguese Plantations, which were two Leagues farther. It being Midnight, the Inhabitants were apprehensive it was *Hatley*, who was come to take his Leave of them in the Manner he had threatened. However, they suffered them to go up to their Dwellings, to search for those they wanted; but my Men, finding a different Reception from what they used to meet with, suspected some Malice against them, and therefore made their Way to the Boat. In the mean time, some of the Portuguese had placed themselves in Ambuscade, to destroy them as they returned to the Water-side. No sooner had they got into the Boat, than they heard them rushing from the Woods, crying, *Kill the Dogs! kill all the English Dogs!* This Outcry was followed by a Volley of Small-arms; which wounded three, two through their Thighs, and another through the Arm. After this, they discharged several times; but did no further Damage. The Wounded sustained a great Loss of Blood, being so long before they got aboard; for they were above three Leagues distant from the Ship. This Accident obliged me to weigh again the next Morning, and return into the Road, to try to punish those, who had been concerned in this Barbarity. With this View, I sent a Letter by *Hatley* to the Captain of the Portuguese Man of War; but, at his Entrance into the Ship, he was furiously assaulted by *Emanuel Manfa*, the Captain of the Island, crying out, That this was the Rogue, who had committed so many Insolences towards them; who had burnt one of their Houses, and had made it a common Practice to reproach him with the Name of *Queruo*, i. e. Cuckold. Upon his Exclamations, the Ship's Company sided with *Manfa*, and mobbed *Hatley*, and would have certainly used both him, and his Boat's Crew, very scurvily, had not the Captain, and his Officers, with much Difficulty, prevented it; for they were exasperated to that outrageous Height, that it is more than likely they would have murdered him, had they not been hindered. The Portuguese Captain wrote me a Letter, to excuse what had happened, and to desire, that I would come aboard; which I did, and was very kindly entertained, receiving eleven Guns at parting. The next Morning, *M. la Riviere* came aboard, with his chief Officers, to breakfast with me, and fell a Tide's Work down the River with us. At his going away, I could give him but three Guns, having only four mounted, the rest being struck down into the Hold, to ease the Ship, and make her stiff when we came to Sea. We were now ready to depart, and I had made the Ship perfectly fit to go thro' the tempestuous Navigation we were to expect in sailing to the Southward. I had made our Stern as firm as possible, covering it intirely with thick Plank; and had only left two small Skuttles to give Light into the great Cabin, and had furnished ourselves with Plank to build an Awning; but chose rather to fet it up at Sea, than make a longer Stay here.

It is proper to take notice, that Captain *Betagh*, in his Account, gives a very different Turn to every one of these Facts; for he asserts, that Captain *la Jonquiere* could not speak one Word of English; and that they had no live People in the Ship who could speak French: So that, had he really harangued the Company of the *Speedwel*, his Eloquence had been all thrown away. He asserts, that all the Business of *Matthew Stewart* the Mate was the Captain's own Contrivance. He charges him likewise with breaking or reducing many of the Officers; denied, that he purchased a third Part of the Provisions he mentions; and positively affirms, that it was Lieutenant *Randal*, and not *Hatley*, who burnt the House on *St. Catharine's*, and thereby exasperated the Portuguese to such a Degree, that they would have been glad of any Opportunity to have cut off his People as they went ashore. But the worst of all is the Story he tells us of the Money, which purchased those Provisions at *St. Catharine's*, which, as it rests intirely on the Credit of Mr. *Betagh*, I shall give it you in his own Words, tho' I do not mean to perplex my Reader with many such Anecdotes: A *Creslian Spaniard*, says he, belonging to one of Captain *Jonquiere's* Lieutenants, having robbed his Master of 100 Quadruples, each of which is four Pistoles, absconded

into the Woods, designing to take his Passage with us round Cape Horn to his own Country again. *La Jonquiere*, and his Lieutenant, applied to *Sbelvoche*, desiring, that, in case he should be found, and the Money upon him, he would secure him, and take it from him, giving *Sbelvoche* Directions how to remit the Money to France, on his Arrival in Europe: All which he faithfully promised to perform. As soon as the *Ruby* sailed, the Fellow appeared to our Men at the Watering-place, with one Moiety of the Money in his Pocket, desiring, I suppose, to pay for his Passage with it; but *Sbelvoche*, not content, ordered him to be seized to the Geers, where he was whipped and pickled; which was repeated every Monday for a Month. But the Fellow, who had run the Risque of hanging for it, and knew the Value of Money as well as the Captain, stood the Lash, without confessing he had any more: So he remained on board, and had his Passage. He attributes the Civilities of *M. la Jonquiere* to his having a great Sum of Money for the King on board a Ship, which was crowded likewise with twenty Priests; and, out of 400 Seamen, he had not sixty that were able to walk the Deck: Which was owing to his doubling Cape Horn in the Winter, and being furnished with but indifferent Provision, because the Spaniards know not either how to cure, or to pack it.

5. On August 9. we took our Departure from the Northmost Point of *St. Catharine's* in the Latitude of $27^{\circ} 20'$ South, 50° Longitude West from the Lizard. From thence to the 10th, we had showery foul Weather. I kept the Lead constantly going on the Coast of Patagonia, and met with regular Soundings; and, from the Latitude of 40° to that of $50^{\circ} 30'$ South, we frequently saw Shoals of Seals and Penguins, and were constantly attended with Pintado-birds, about the Bigness of a Pigeon. The French call them *Damiers*, because their Feathers, being black and white, are disposed in such a Manner, as to make their Backs and Wings appear chequered, like a Draught-board. These were accompanied with Albitrosses, the largest sort of Seafowls, some of them extending their Wings twelve or thirteen Feet: And, whilst we had the River of Plate open, the Sea therabouts was covered with prodigious Quantities of large Sea-weed, which often incommoded us, it being impossible to avoid running sometimes amongst it; which gave us much Trouble to clear ourselves of it, and at the same time deadened our Way: But, as we went Southward, we were freed from this Inconveniency; after which, we had, on the Surface of the Water, abundance of Things, like white Snakes. We took some of them up; but could not perceive there was any Life in them, nor were they formed into the Shape of any kind of Animal, being only a long Cylinder of a white sort of Jelly, and may probably be the Spawn of some of the large kind of Fish. As we advanced to the Southward, I observed, that most of my People's Stomachs increased; which was to be attributed to the Sharpness of the Cold, and was a Circumstance that had been observed before. This occasioned Disputes in all Quarters of the Ship, and even at my own Table, where Captain *Betagh* of the Marines insisted on an Augmentation of Provisions in such coarse Terms, and with such Circumstances of Disrespect, that I thought it necessary to confine him, till he wrote me a submissive Letter; and then I released him. But, however, this Squabble occasioned my being obliged to grant the People an extraordinary Meal every Day, either of Flour or Calavances; which at once reduced our Stocks of Provisions, Wood, and Water, which, as I then foresaw, proved afterwards a great Inconvenience. But to return to our Voyage, and such Occurrences as were remarkable therein: I think, tho' it has not hitherto been noted, it is a Matter not altogether unworthy of our observation and Reflection, that the Whales, Grampuses, and other Fish of a monstrous Bulk, are in such Numbers on the Coast of Patagonia, that they were really offensive to us very often; for they would come so close to us, as almost to stifle us with their Stench when they blew; and would be so near to us, that I have thought it impossible to escape thinking upon them on every Scud of a Sea. I am a Stranger to the Greenland Fishery; therefore cannot say, whether a Trade might not be carried on here. I may venture to affirm, that it is a safer Navigation; and I am apt to believe, that there is a greater Certainty of succeeding

September 19th he discoloured a found twenty-five but did not die. At six the next I no Sight of Land had; which I did very near the East this Bank-shoal, ing like the Top of Colours from what I had my Course for the proached the Coast Weather. On the Mountains of the intirely covered w us was at least eight but, before we could Mist returned: I then brought to. eady Sail to the South very clear, when about five Leagues of la Maire. We of the most desolate be conceived, seem of Mountains one Snow. Before we we had not been the Currents, from the of the River of Plate with incredible Rap we had gained form flacked. We the Fathom, a rocky Opportunity to make We had a clear View uncomfortable Land with Snow to the v the Likeness of an These Straights are Map of them, be Leagues wide, and Northern Tide rufh which had brought u ther Remarks, and ally, to see how fast ing we had a fresh the same time, we cannot judge this Hour. In short, w Hour's time. Upon there arose such a sh so lofty, that we al Poop-lanterns into the most violent Manner ber Helm; but, a put through the Stre at North-west, with the Morning, had a After we had got w and brought them a our Bows, and make and found it very co now began to feel th Winds of themselves out they were always which, continually be ased the Masts, and manner, made our S e accustomed to the ink it tolerable. W ill; for it was com together lying to un socks of prodigious w. Now we began lit of our Awning red without it. The

September 19th about Midnight, I perceived the Water to be discoloured all at once; whereupon we sounded, and found twenty-six Fathom: Which done, I stood off to Sea; but did not deepen our Water in the running of five Leagues. At six the next Morning, we had thirty Fathom; but had no Sight of Land, tho' some were of Opinion, that they had; which I did not depend upon. This Bank must lie very near the Entrance of the Straights of Magellan. On this Bank-hole, we saw great Numbers of Blubbers, appearing like the Tops of Umbrellas, curiously streaked with all sorts of Colours; which were a Species intirely different from what I had ever seen before. From hence I shaped my Course for the Straights of *le Maire*; and, as we approached the Coasts of *Terra del Fuego*, met with very foggy Weather. On the 23d, the Fog clearing up, we saw some Mountains of stupendous Height on *Terra del Fuego*, intirely covered with Snow. The nearest Point of Land to us was at least eight Leagues distant, bearing South-west; but, before we could make any further Discovery, the Mist returned: Therefore I stood off for some time, and then brought-to. At four the next Morning, I made an easy Sail to the South-eastward, and, at Day-light, it proved very clear; when I found I had fallen in with the Land about five Leagues to the North-westward of the Straights of *le Maire*. We had now a full, but melancholy Prospect of the most desolate Country (to all Appearance) that can be conceived, seeming to be no other than continued Chains of Mountains one behind another, perpetually hid by the Snow. Before we came on the Coast of *Terra del Fuego*, we had not been sensible of any Help or Hindrance by any Currents, from the Time that we had got to the Southward of the River of *Plate*; but, this Afternoon, we were hurried with incredible Rapidity into those Straights; and, just as we had gained somewhat more than Mid-passage, the Tide slack'd. We then sounded, and had but twenty-seven Fathom, a rocky Bottom. At the same time, I took an Opportunity to make what Observation I could of the Place. We had a clear View of *Staten-land*, which yields a most uncomfortable Land-chape of a surprising Height, covered with Snow to the very Valt of the Sea, and bears more of the Likeness of an huge white Cloud, than of firm Land. These Straights seem to answer very well to Mr. *Fremier's* Map of them, being about seven Leagues through, six Leagues wide, and lie almost North and South; but the Northern Tide rushed upon us with a Violence equal to that which had brought us in. It prevented my making any further Remarks, and afforded Matter of Astonishment to us all, to see how fast we were driven out again, notwithstanding we had a fresh fair Gale at North-west, and when, at the same time, we went six Knots by the Log; by which I cannot judge this Tide to run less than ten Knots in an Hour. In short, we were quite carried out in about an Hour's time. Upon the shifting of the Tide to Windward, there arose such a short Sea, which, at the same time, was so lofty, that we alternately dippe'd our Bowprit and our Poop-lanterns into the Water. Our Ship laboured in the most violent Manner, and did not answer the Guidance of her Helm; but, at Midnight, the Tide shifted, and we put through the Straights, steering South, with a brisk Gale at North-west, without seeing the Land distinctly; and, in the Morning, had a very good Offing to the Southward. After we had got well to Sea, we unlocked our Anchors, and brought them ast, and got in our Sprit-fail-yard, to ease our Bows, and make every thing as snug as possible. We had found it very cold before we came this Length; but now began to feel the Extremity of it. The bleak Westerly Winds of themselves would have been sufficiently piercing; but they were always attended either with Snow or Sleet, which, continually beating on our Sails and Rigging, had made the Masts, and every Rope, with Ice, and had, in a manner, made our Sails almost useless to us. So much were we accustomed to the most severe Storms, that we used to think it tolerable Weather, if we could bear a reefed Main-sail; for it was common with us to be two or three Days together lying-to under bare Poles, and exposed to the shocks of prodigious Seas, much larger than any I ever saw. Now we began to be thoroughly sensible of the Benefit of our Awning; and indeed we could have scarce lived without it. The Winds reigning thus tempestuously,

without Intermision, in the Western Board, we were driven to the Latitude of $61^{\circ} 30'$ South. Add to this, our Misfortune of having continual misty Weather, which laid us under hourly Apprehensions of running foul of Islands of Ice; but, thank God, we escaped that Danger, though we had many Alarms by Fog banks, and other false Appearances. Notwithstanding we had the Days very long, yet it was very seldom that we could get a Sight of the Sun; so that we had but one Observation of the Variation in all this Passage, which was in the Latitude of $60^{\circ} 37'$ South, 5° to the Westward of the Straights of *le Maire*, where we found it $22^{\circ} 6'$ North-east. On October 1. at seven in the Evening, as they were furling the Main-sail, one *William Camell* cried out, That his Hands and Fingers were so benumbed, that he could not hold himself; but, before those that were next him could come to his Assistance, he fell down, and was drowned. The Cold is certainly much more insupportable in these, than in the same Latitudes to the Northward; for, altho' we were pretty much advanced in the Summer-season, and had the Days very long, yet we had continual Squalls of Sleet, Snow, and Rain; and the Heavens were perpetually hidden from us by gloomy Clouds. In short, one would think it impossible, that any living Creature could subsist in so rigid a Climate; and indeed we all observed, that we had not had the Sight of one Fish of any kind, since we were come to the Southward of the Straights of *le Maire*, nor one Sea-bird, except a disconsolate black Albitrois, which accompanied us for several Days, hovering about us, as if it had lost itself, till Mr. *Hailey*, observing, in one of his melancholy Fits, that this Bird was always hovering near us, imagined, from its Colour, that it might be an ill Omen; and so, after some fruitless Attempts, at length shot the Albitrois, not doubting that we should have a fair Wind after it. On the 22d about eight at Night, our Fore-top-mast was carried away; and we rigged another the next Morning. We kept creeping very slowly to the Northward, having, from that time we passed the Straights of *le Maire*, met with contrary Winds, and the most uncomfortable Weather; under which nothing could have supported us, but the Hopes of coming speedily into a warmer and better Climate.

6. We cheered our Spirits as well as we could with these Expectations till the 14th of November at Noon, when we first saw the Coast of *Chili*; and here again we found ourselves under very great Difficulties; for our tedious Passage, and extraordinary Consumption of Provisions, had reduced us to such an extreme Necessity of Water and Wood, as well as dry Food, that every body saw the Necessity of our repairing to some Place where, we might supply ourselves with all we wanted; but, where this Place was to be found, was the next Question, and that none of the easiest to resolve. I thought first of *Narborough's* Island; but, when we came thither, we found the Road so unsafe, that I was forced to fail for the Mouth of the River *St. Domingo*, on the Continent; at the Entrance of which, we found twenty-eight Fathom Water; but, as we advanced, we found it shole from eighteen to less than five Fathom, as fast as a Man could heave the Lead: Being therefore unwilling to run too great a Risk in a Place so unfrequented, and being only a single Ship, I instantly stood out to Sea again, where, meeting with windy, rainy, and thick Weather, we were blown farther to the Northward than we designed. In this Distress, a Frenchman I had on board, whose Name was *Joseph de la Fontaine*, propos'd going to the Island of *Chiloe*, which lay a little to the Northward, and where he assur'd us we could not fail of meeting with whatever we wanted, there being, as he asserted, no Place in the South Seas capable of accommodating us so well in all respects. He told us farther, of his own Knowledge, having been there, that the Towns of *Chacao* and *Calibuco*, the first on the Island, and the second on the Continent, were rich Places; that the former was the usual Residence of the Governor; and that, at the latter, there was a wealthy College of Jesuits; and that there were considerable Magazines, which were always well-stocked with Provisions of all Kinds. At the same time that he acquainted me with this, he insinuated the same Account, with some Additions, into his Shipmates, who, with one Voice, concluded, that, if I pass'd

by

by this Island, our Expedition might probably end without doing any thing; since it was likely, that Captain *Claperton* had already alarmed the Coast, the natural Consequence of which must be, an Embargo laid on all Ships trading to Leeward. Yet it was not without mature Deliberation, that I formed a Resolution of going to *Chiloe*, and could not but think myself happy in having so good a Prospect, in this Exigence, of preventing such Evils as might, in all Likelihood, have ensued. The chief Thing that encouraged me to make an Attempt at *Chiloe*, was to get such an additional Supply of Provisions, as should (in case the Coasts were already alarmed) enable us to retire to some obscure unfrequented Island, there to remain till the *Spaniards* should imagine we had abandoned their Seas, and then to come upon them again, where they had not the least Apprehensions of being molested by us. On the 30th, we entered the Chanel that divides the Island of *Chiloe*, and the Continent of *Chili*, and stood in for the Harbour, under French Colours, with Intent to surprize and attack the Towns of *Chacao* and *Calibuco*; but, when we came into the Chanel, our Pilot seemed to be as much a Stranger to it as myself; and the Wind beginning to blow fresh, and thick Weather coming on, I anchored at ten in the Morning in thirteen Fathom, between the Point of *Carlampe*, and a small Island called *Pedro Nunez*. Immediately after we had come to the Windward, the Tide made out with a prodigious Rapidity, which instantly caused a great Sea; and the Wind increasing, made the Chanel all about us appear like one continual Breach. In the mean time our Ship laid a great Strain on her Cable, which parted at two in the Afternoon. We could have no Hopes of recovering our Anchor, because the Buoy had been flayed and sunk an Hour or two before we had been thus forcibly set adrift. In short, I did not think it safe, or prudent, to hazard the Loss of another Anchor, where there was nothing to be looked for but Misfortunes; and therefore directly crossed the Chanel for the Island of *Chiloe*, in a boisterous Gale, thick rainy Weather, all surrounded with foaming Shores, and in a manner lost in a Navigation unknown to any of us: When we had advanced within a Mile of *Chiloe*, we ranged along-shore to the Southward, in hopes to discover the Town of *Chacao*: We passed by two commodious Bays, but had nothing like a Town appearing near them; and at length came about a Point of Land, which is to be known by an high Rock, like a Pyramid, which almost joins to it. Having rounded this Point, I found myself intirely out of the Tide, and commodiously sheltered from all other Inconveniencies; and therefore anchored over-against a Crofs which was fixed on the Northern Side of the Harbour, and had just Day-light enough to direct us to a Retreat from the Dangers we might have been exposed to amongst such Variety of violent Tides, unfrequented Channels, and foul Weather. In order to execute my Design effectually, I sent the next Morning my second Lieutenant in my Pinnace, well manned and armed, to look for these two Towns; and, at the same time, Captain *Hatley* went in the Launch, to find out, if he could, a Watering-place; nor was it long before he returned with an *Indian*, who had shewn him as convenient a Place as he could desire, where he might at once get both Wood and Water without any great Trouble, even under the Command of our Cannon, and out of all Danger of being surprized; upon which I sent some Hands into the Launch with Casks immediately to be filled, and People to cut Wood, well armed, with an Officer of Marines, and ten Men, to be on the Guard. The *Indian* gave us Hopes of a sufficient Supply, but came in the Evening to my People who were ashore, to acquaint them, that the Country was forbidden to bring any thing to us. The Pinnace not being yet returned, this Information made me apprehend, that the Enemy had taken her, and had by that means learnt what we were. This gave me inexpresible Concern, inasmuch as I knew not which way to act; for, being in an absolute State of Uncertainty, I was more at a Loss, and more confounded, than if I had been sure that the Pinnace had been in the Enemies Hands, for then there had been but one Way left for me to take; which was to have proceeded by Force, and to have been contented with what, by this means, we could have ob-

tained. On the 3d of December, about seven in the Evening, a *Spanish* Officer, in a Boat rowed by eight *Indians*, came on board from the Governor, to know what we were. As I intended to pass upon him for a French Captain, who was well enough known in those Seas, at least by Name, I ordered, that none should appear upon Deck but such a spoke either French or *Spanish*, that this Officer might see or hear nothing which might give him just Grounds to suspect the Truth of that Account which I thought proper to give him. This Precaution was taken as soon as the *Spanish* Boat appeared in Sight: As it drew near, I hoisted French Colours; and, when the Officer came on board, I told him; that my Ship was the *St. Rose*, homeward-bound; that my Name was *Jean le Breton*; and that all the Business I had upon this Coast, was to intreat the Governor to spare me what Provisions he could with Convenience afford. The Officer heard me with great Civility, and seemed to yield an implicit Credit to all I said; it did not board all Night, and went off the next Morning, in all Appearance, very well pleased. On the 5th in the Morning, two Boats lay towards us, full of armed Men; who, after taking a View of us, went to a small Island in the Mouth of the Harbour; upon which, I ordered all my Men to put on their Grenadiers Caps, and spread themselves upon the Deck, in order to appear as terrible to them as possible. On the 6th, we saw a white Flag flying on Shore; on which I sent away my Launch, completely manned and armed, to the Place where the Flag was; but they found none to treat with them, nor any thing there except a Letter, which was made fast to the Flag-staff, and a Dozen of Hams lying close by. This Letter was from Don *Nicolas Salas*, Governor of the Island, who first intimated, that he much doubted, whether the Ship was the *St. Rose*; next, he complained of the Behaviour of the People in the Pinnace; and, lastly, he desired me to quit the Coast. To this Letter I returned an Answer in the properest Terms I could devise. Early the next Morning the white Flag was hoisted again; and, on sending ashore, I obtained an Answer, couched in civil Terms indeed; but, at the same time, refusing me absolutely any Refreshments, which was what I wanted; and intimating, that I should restore the *Indians* taken by my Pinnace; when, in Fact, I knew less of the Pinnace than he did, and was really of Opinion, that he had the People in his Hands, of whom he pretended to complain. As I was now in Despair of ever seeing my People, which were absent in the Pinnace, and being as much at a Loss to know how or whereabouts *Chacao* was situated, as I was the first Day I came here, because we had no Draught of this Island that I could depend on, I determined to alter the Style of my Letters, and try what could be done by breaking with him, being determined, by some means or other, to make Amends for my Loss of Time in coming hither, by such a Recruit of Provisions as could be got, though even in the most hazardous Manner, since it was impossible I should proceed without it. In pursuance of this Resolution, I wrote him a very brisk Letter, in which I told him, The Provisions I was determined to have; by fair Means, I could; but by other Means, if they could not be had the same Way; adding, in order to strike a Terror, that if he brought down all the Forces of the Country upon the Coast, it should not deter me from the Prosecution of my Design; and this Letter was conveyed in the same manner with the former. But, by this time, beginning to doubt whether much was to be got by a Negotiation with the Governor, I the next Day dispatched my first Lieutenant, Mr. *Brooks*, in the Launch, with nine-and-twenty Men completely armed, and ordered him to bring on board the Provisions he could meet with. In a short time after he was gone, there came a Boat, with a Message from the Governor, signifying, that, if I would send an Officer to *Chacao*, he would treat with me. But, I gave him no Answer, That I would treat no-where except on board my own Ship; and farther gave him to understand, that it was now too late, since I had already dispatched upon the Coast to take all they could find. In the Evening the Launch returned, and brought with her a large Piragua, the *Indians* taken, and were both laden with Sheep, Hogs, Barley, and green Pease and Beans; and, soon after, the

Pinnace arrived, that I had not time. The *Indians* through fever with great did by making seventy Leagues could have Numbers to when there was *Spanish* Sergeant of Violence, and as some of this Addition, shore, whom the Officer had Reason for not Sight of the *Indians* and that in the Boat, to this strange Mounable Oppor seized, of reduc before it in fort Governor was been for a who Force of the *Indians*, who were there were the Island; and nion; but both in their City, I where the poor mages; upon th to their Towns, what we wanted which, in the Seq self in coming hither which Purpose, I played in bringing Decks full of live and such Quantities of *Indian* Corn, that I tation, we had ad we brought from with the Effects of my Departure. I for my own Credit properly seconded any exact Description as I had a very with it, I think it t scription of it in my 7. *Chiloe* is the fi of *Chili*; and, tho is considered by the and for which they when strange Ships they did not conti which, for this Par dinary; at which has gone through the Place it is. The South, is, from No Length, but in Bre It is watered by few of useful Trees; and you are near it, where Farms and Plantations from one at Grounds. Within contains more Island which are said to have. Among these, rents, so violent, that I would advise all S to keep the Island from Northernmost Point at a pretty good Numb. 14.

Pinnace arrived, with all their Crew; but were so terrified, that I had no Hopes of their being fit for Service in a little time. The Officer told me, that he had fought his Way through several Canoes of armed *Indians*, and that it was with great Difficulty he got clear of them; which he did by making his Passage round the Island, which was seventy Leagues. This nothing but an Excess of Terror could have urged them to, even if they had had such Numbers to encounter as they reported; but, especially, when there was but one Boat of unarmed *Indians*, with a *Spanish* Sergeant, who came off to them without the least Shew of Violence, as the Governor mentions in his first Letter, and as some of themselves afterwards confessed; but, with this Addition, that there were great Numbers of People on shore, whom they were apprehensive would follow them. The Officer had no Excuse, nor could he allege any better Reason for not returning on board as soon as he had got a Sight of the Town, but that the Tide hurried him away; and that in the Flight he had forgot, that he had a Grappling in the Boat, to come to with, till the Tide had shifted. By this strange Mismanagement of theirs, I missed a favourable Opportunity, which otherwise I should have seized, of reducing the Town of *Chacao*. Had I appeared before it in forty-eight Hours after my Arrival, when the Governor was totally unprovided, whereas now he had been for a whole Week together mustering the whole Force of the Island, and had brought together (as the *Indians*, who were on board my Pinnace, told me, that there were) near a thousand armed *Spaniards* on the Island; and my *Frenchman* was of the same Opinion; but both agreed, that, if I would let them alone in their City, I might do what I pleased in the Country, where the poor *Indians* must bear the Weight of all Damages; upon this, I laid aside all Thoughts of going to their Towns, under Hopes of furnishing myself with what we wanted from the *Indian* Plantations and Farms, which, in the Sequel, afforded us, what I proposed to myself in coming hither, a competent Stock of Provisions; to which Purpose, I kept one of my Boats continually employed in bringing Provisions. By the 16th, we had our Decks full of live Cattle, Poultry, and Hams in abundance; and such Quantities of Wheat, Barley, Potatoes, and *Indian* Corn, that I was satisfied: On a moderate Computation, we had added four Months Provisions to the Stock we brought from *England*; so that I was very well satisfied with the Effects of our Stay at *Chiloe*, and prepared for my Departure. I might certainly have done much more for my own Credit, and my Owners Profit, if I had been properly seconded by my Officers. As I do not know of any exact Description of this Island in our Language, and as I had a very good Opportunity of being acquainted with it, I think it my Duty therefore to give the best Description of it in my Power.

7. *Chiloe* is the first of the *Spanish* Possessions on the Coast of *Chili*; and, though it produces neither Silver nor Gold, is considered by them as a Place of very great Consequence; and for which they would be under much greater Concern, when strange Ships enter the Ports or Harbours of it, if they did not confide in the Number of its Inhabitants, which, for this Part of the World, is really very extraordinary; at which the Reader will be less wonder, when he has gone through this Description, and finds how fine a Place it is. The Body of this Island, lying in 42° 40' South, is, from North to South, about thirty Leagues in Length, but in Breadth not above six or seven Leagues. It is watered by several Rivers, and produces several kinds of useful Trees; and yields an agreeable Prospect when you are near it, when one sees the great Number of *Indians* Farms and Plantations, which are dispersed at small Distances from one another, among the Woods, on rising Grounds. Within it is formed an Archipelago, which contains more Islands than are well known; the least of which are said to have many Inhabitants, and abound in Cattle. Among these, there are very uncertain Tides and Currents, so violent, that it is by no means safe to venture near. I would advise all Strangers, who go in at the North-end, to keep the Inland-side of the Channel aboard, giving the Northernmost Point of *Chiloe* a good Birth; that is, keeping at a pretty good Distance; which done, run along shore

NUMB. 14.

to Southward, and you will pass by two Bays, which seem to be commodious; but hold your Way till you come to a Point, almost contiguous to which is a high Rock, somewhat like a Pyramid; pass between this Rock and a small high Island, which you will see near it, and run a little Way directly up the Harbour, which looks like the Entrance of a River, and you will have a safe Port to drop your Anchor; but, in going in, take care that you do not fall under five Fathom Water from the Shore; for the nearer you advance to the small Island before-mentioned, the less Water you meet with; therefore keep your Lead going, and be bold with the Shore towards the North Side of the Harbour; when you are in, you will have the greatest Depth, but the Southernmost Side is Shole. My Pilot carried me a contrary Way to what I have now directed; for he advised me to keep to the Main-land of *Chili*, which I did till I had got the Length of the Point of *Carlinago*, having to the Southward of me several small Islands, which you will see as soon as you have the Channel open. This proved a frightful and unfortunate Passage to me, since the Loss of my Anchor here was one of the greatest Damages I could have sustained: In short, if any Ship should be by Necessity, or otherwise, driven to this Island, I have given the safest Instructions they can follow. The Soil is very fertile, and produces all sorts of our *European* Fruits and Grains, together with fine Pasture-lands, where-with they graze great Numbers of Cattle, particularly Sheep. The Air is wholesome, it being situate in a temperate Climate: But I think it reasonable to conclude, that their Winter Season is very rigid, the Island being bounded on the West by an immense Ocean, without any other Land to screen it from the cold moist Vapours, which are brought thither by the Violence of the tempestuous Westerly Winds, which, for the Generality, reign in these Latitudes; all which must render it an uncomfortable Place in the Winter Months; forasmuch as it is to be considered, that the same Parallels of Latitude to the Equator are much more cold, than they are to the Northward. They have abundance of very handsome middle-sized Horses, which are said to mount with great Dexterity; and have likewise a Creature, which they call *Guanacos*, or *Carneros del Tierra*, i. e. the Country Sheep; these partake very much of the Resemblance of a Camel, but are not near so large: They have long Necks, and I have seen of them between five and six Feet high; their Wool (which is no other than a fine sort of Hair) is extremely fine; they smell very rank, and move with a very slow majestic Pace, which hardly any Violence can make them quicken. Nevertheless, they are of great Service at the Mines in *Piru*, where they are employed in carrying the Ore, &c. Their Flesh is very coarse, which we experienced by some of them we had salted for our future Use: Besides these, they have *European* Sheep, and great Numbers of Hogs, but are not overstocked with Black Cattle. Here is no want of Fowl, both wild and tame: Of the wild there are several sorts peculiar to the Country; and, in particular, a sort of small Geese, which are found on the Banks of their Rivers, which not only afford an agreeable Prospect of their beautiful Whiteness, but are also of an excellent Taste: As to their tame Poultry, they are of the same kind with ours. The Inhabitants are almost, in all respects, the same with those on the main Continent of *Chili*. They are of a moderate Stature, of a deep olive-coloured Complexion, and have coarse shaggy black Hair, and some of them have Countenances by no means disagreeable: They seem to be naturally of a fierce warlike Disposition; but the common Oppressions of the *Spaniards*, and the Artifices of the Jesuits, who are Missioners in those Parts, have sufficiently curbed and broken their Spirits. Monsieur *Frezier* gives us an Account, that the *Indians*, inhabiting the Continent to the Southward of this Island, are called *Cbonos*; and that they go quite naked; and that, in the inland Part, there are a Race of Men, of an extraordinary Size, called *Cacabues*; that these, being in Amity with the *Cbonos*, have sometimes come with them to the Dwellings of the *Spaniards* at *Chiloe*. He adds, he was credibly informed, by several who had been Eye-witnesses, that some were about nine or ten Feet high: But I had a Sight of two, one whereof was a *Cacique*, who came from the Southward of

the River *St. Domingo*, who seemed to me to differ little or not at all from the *Chilinsians* as to their Persons; as to their Habit, they are decently clad, in what they call *Poncho Montana*, and *Poulains*: The *Poncho* is a sort of square Carpet, with a Slit cut in the Middle of it, wide enough to slip over their Heads; so that it hangs upon their Shoulders, half of it falling before, and the other behind them; under this, they generally wear a short Doublet on their Heads. They have the *Montera*, which is a Cap made almost in the same manner with those of our Postillions; and on their Legs they sometimes have the *Poulains*, which are a sort of knit Buskins, without Feet to them; in short, their Appearance bears little or no Likeness to the Savage. Their Habitations are better than are commonly made use of by such a sort of People, being indifferently large, and firmly built with Plank, but have no Chimneys: Their Houses are very black and footy within-side; they inclose some of their Grounds with Palisadoes. Notwithstanding a sufficient Plenty of every thing necessary for a comfortable Subsistence, the Inhabitants are debarred, in some measure, from tasting of the Fruits of their Labour, particularly in the Article of Bread; for, not having the Conveniences for grinding and preparing their Wheat, they are put to the miserable Shift of making Cakes of the Sea-weeds, which, however, through Use, are esteemed by them, and were not disapproved of by several of my People, who eat some: Besides this, they have their Maize, or *Indian Corn*, which they manage in several manners to answer the End of Bread; and add to all this, their Abundance of Potatoes, and other Roots. As to Liquors, these *Indians* have not been contented with the Produce of Brooks and Springs, like many Nations of their Complexion; but have found out a Means of making a Liquor called *Chicha*, of the *Indian Corn*: In this they, doubtless, followed the Footsteps of their near Neighbours on the Continent of *Chili*; but their Drunken-bouts being generally the first Rise of Seditions and Revolts, the *Spaniards* take care to set Bounds to them in that Particular, as much as they possibly can. Their Arms are of several Sorts; those that have no *European Weapons*, retain their own, such as Pikes, Darts, &c. They are particularly dextrous in throwing a slinging Noose, at the End of a long Thong of Leather, wherewith they are sure of catching an Ox, Horse, &c. or any thing, even in its full Career; this they call a *Lays*. In short, by all I could see of these, and hear of the *Chilinsians*, they seem to resemble them in almost every respect; and there can be no Wonder at that, when one considers their close Neighbourhood with the Mainland of *Chili*. They make use of small Drums, some of which I have seen; they are very small, and the Heads of them made with Goats-skins with their Hair on, and make a sad dull Sound. They carry on a small Woollen Manufacture, consisting in Carpets, and Necessaries for Apparel before-mentioned. They likewise export Cedar, both in Plank, and wrought in Boxes, Chests, Escritoires, &c. wherewith they supply all *Chili* and *Peru*. As to their *European Trade*, they have none; but the *Spaniard*, who came from the Governor, told me, that the People of this Island wondered, that trading-ships never put in here: For, said he, we have a great deal of Money amongst us; and have here a safe Port, free from the Dangers incurred by going to Leeward, where they are in perpetual Uneasiness for fear of the Men of War; whereas Business might be done, and all be over, before they could be advised of it at so great a Distance as *Lima*, could be there fitted out, and come so far to Windward. It has been observed of the *Indians of Chili*, that, in two Articles in their way of Living, they differ from all other Nations that have yet been heard of. The first is, that they have no Notion of a superior Being of any sort, and of consequence pay no Worship to any supreme Power: And the second is, that they are such Enemies to civil Society, that they never live together in Towns and Villages; so that the Country seems to be thinly inhabited, tho' it is very populous; for they live dispersed in Farms at a good Distance one from the other, every one having their Plantations; so that almost every Family enjoys the Necessaries of Life of their own manuring and feeding: However, though they are thus scattered, they are not wholly independent; for they have

all of them a Chief of their particular Tribe or Clan, who is called a *Cacique*; and his Dwelling is conveniently situated amongst them, for the more speedy summoning them together on Affairs of Importance; which he does by founding a sort of Horn, which heard by his Vassals, they repair to him without Delay. The *Cacique* commands them in War, &c. and has an absolute Power of executing Justice amongst his Subjects, who are likewise his Relations, he being only the Head of a Family, all the inferior Branches of which adhere to the Interest, and obey the Commands of their Lord, whose Authority is hereditary. In all these respects, the Inhabitants of this Island resemble those of the neighbouring Part of the Continent, excepting that their *Caciques* are, in some measure, stript of their real Authority by the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*; who, having these People in a more secure Subjection than those on the Continent, keep them in the most laborious Slavery by their Menaces, and hard Usage; whilst the Missionaries blind them with the superstitious Dust of an imperfect Conversion to Christianity, of which none of them know any more, than that they were baptized, without learning for what End; so that their Devotion consists of mere Idolatry to the Image of the Cross, or any of the Saints. The *Spanish* Clergy take no Pains to undeceive them; but probably think they have gained their Ends, if their Ignorance contribute towards the making them contented under the Rigour of the *Spanish* Government. Thus the common Sort being deluded, and the *Caciques* having changed their lawful Prerogative for the vain Ostentation of being allowed to wear a Silver-headed Cane, which puts them upon the Rank of the *Spanish* Captains in outward Appearance, they are become a miserable Prey to the Will of their despotic Masters. The *Spaniards*, notwithstanding all this, have sometimes stretched their Administration to so great a Height, that the *Indians* have been obliged to defend themselves, and have begun to think, that Death is preferable to their Slavery; for Mr. *Frezier*, in his Voyage, has given us an Account of what happened at the Time that he was at the South Seas, wherein the *Indians* killed fourteen or fifteen of the *Spaniards*, who took a sufficient Revenge; for, in Return, they massacred 200 of them, going into the very Islands to destroy them; which struck such a Terror to those poor People, that they were glad to fit down quietly under their Misfortune: And, though the *Spaniards* are but badly equipped with Arms, they have never dared to take such Advantages over their Oppression as they daily might, since the Number of Whites is but inconsiderable, when compared with the Multitude of the Natives; and to which they might be encouraged by the indolent Neglect of the *Spaniards*, who suffer what time fortified Places they have in this Island to run to Ruin; so that any *European Power* might, with Ease, possess themselves of it; which might be of the greatest Consequence, since it is capable of affording a Subsistence to a very numerous Colony, which might be of unpeakable Detriment to the Inhabitants of *Chili* and *Peru*. In regard to ourselves, of what Benefit (in case of a War with the Crown of Spain) the taking of this Island might be, I leave to more penetrating Judgments to consider; and shall only add, that the Artifices of the Missionaries are the chief Security of the *Spaniards* in this Place, as well as of most of the rest of their Settlements in *South America*. Their Embarkations are particular in this, that, for want of Nails, and other Utensils, they few their Boats together very artificially with Ozers: They are composed of three Pieces, viz. the Sides and the Bottom, each of which is an entire Piece of Timber, and row in the same manner that we do, with more or fewer Oars, according to their Bigness. Our Business being now over, I proposed to sail from hence for the Island of *Juan Fernandez*.

It is now requisite to take notice of what Captain *Bout* says, as to some of the Points mentioned in the former Part of the Relation: He admits, that there were Differences between him and Captain *Shelwacke* on the Subject of eating; and he gives this Reason for it, that he drank hard, and had a very small Stomach; whereas he thought other People, who had a better, were great Gluttons: And, upon this Falling-out, he was confined to Confinement, and such a Confinement, as might

induce him to take procure his Inland on the Arms-chest confined just there and the Bedding, hardly Room to the bility of sitting up there: And, when the Centinel was Sword. And thus nobody daring to before this, was a Occasion it was, that but he asserts, that has produced in him have been produced in the Book been acknowledge every thought as bad a pleaded to represent a very fair Proposal he represents it as avoid meeting M asserts, that the P He says, that this is being unfrequent and difficult Navig Captain *Shelwacke*, Difficulties and Da they were no soon surrounded with te certainty and Rapi meeting there, as judicious Mariner to under the Bow with Island, then immed so that the Ship, coo most powerful of West Shore into t he rent ran with such In that the Sand appea all which together at the Anchor brought when they did, even for, had the touchen ment, have broken the Current. He r the Ship's Name, a very poor Contriva the *Spanish* Governo worse Opinion of th ing thus to impose u more to exercise, h than a formal Desig the *Spaniards*. As to not allow it any kin going in, which must peril. Such is the C of the Voyage. Let *Shelwacke*, and the I land of *Chile* to th ill hear Captain *B* 8. I was determin land of *Juan Fern* ad should certainly h any were unfortun advantages that mig ay of Conception. *Shelwacke*, who per at Expedition was e ther through the Fa mistakes in the *Fren* hole, had answered elined to credit him et of the World, w er, and where he, ger than the rest, w an heretally was. Bu ated our Company

induce him to take any Step, that was thought necessary to procure his Enlargement; for he was laid at his full Length on the Arms-chest at the Bulk-head in the Steerage, and confined just there; and, what with the Height of the Chest, and the Bedding, the upper Deck was so very close, he had hardly Room to lie extended upon it, there being no Possibility of sitting up; so that his Victuals were brought him there: And, when he offered to make Water upon Deck, the Centinel was always close at his Heels, with a Drawn Sword. And thus he continued twelve or fourteen Days, nobody daring to speak to him, except Mr. *Kendric*, who, before this, was also turned out of the Mess. Upon this Occasion it was, that he wrote a Letter to Captain *Shelvocke*; but he asserts, that it was not the Letter that the Captain has produced in his Book; and avers, if such a Letter could have been produced, as it might have been, had the Copy in the Book been printed from the Original, he would acknowledge every Title of the Charge, and submit to be thought as bad a Man by the Reader, as the Captain was pleased to represent him; which, to me, I own, appears a very fair Proposal. As to the Scheme of going to *Chiloe*, he represents it as the Captain's own, calculated purely to avoid meeting Mr. *Clipperton* at *Juan Fernandez*; and asserts, that the People, generally speaking, were against it. He says, that this was a Port known to nobody; and that its being unfrequented was a Proof, that it was a dangerous and difficult Navigation; which was often represented to Captain *Shelvocke*, but to no manner of Purpose. All these Difficulties and Dangers they experienced in the End; for they were no sooner entered, but they found themselves surrounded with terrible Breakers; for such were the Uncertainty and Rapidity of the several Tides or Currents meeting there, as at once to astonish and baffle the most judicious Mariner to describe them. They were first taken under the Bow with a Current setting from the Lee of one Island, then immediately under the Quarter with another; so that the Ship could not answer her Helm. At last, the most powerful of these Currents horrid her away on the West Shore into the Fathom and an half, where the Torrent ran with such Impetuosity, and the Ground was so foul, that the Sand appeared on the Surface from the Bottom; all which together afforded a dismal Prospect. However, the Anchor brought her up, which if they had not let go when they did, every Man must inevitably have perished; for, had she touched the Bottom, there she must, in a Moment, have broken to Pieces, or overbet by the Strength of the Current. He ridicules the whole Affair of changing the Ship's Name, and assuming the French Captain's, as a very poor Contrivance, which had little or no Effect; for the Spanish Governor was not so easily cheated, but had the worse Opinion of the Person he dealt with, for endeavouring thus to impose upon him. And, as to the sending Men ashore to exercise, he represents that as very little better than a formal Design of throwing them into the Hands of the Spaniards. As to the Project of seizing *Chiloe*, he will not allow it any kind of Merit, because of the dangerous going in, which must expose Ships of any Size to the utmost peril. Such is the Commentary of *Betagh* upon this Part of the Voyage. Let us now return to the Text of Captain *Shelvocke*, and the Prosecution of the Voyage from this Island of *Chiloe* to the Bay of *Conception*; after which we will hear Captain *Betagh* again.

8. I was determined, says he, to go from hence to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, as my Instructions directed; and should certainly have done so, but that the Ship's Company were unlikely possessed with an Opinion of mighty Advantages that might be obtained by a short Trip to the Bay of *Conception*. This was put into their Heads by the Frenchman, who persuaded us to go to *Chiloe*; and, tho' that Expedition was not over-advantageous, yet, as it failed either through the Faults of our own People, than from any Mistakes in the Frenchman's Information, which, on the whole, had answered tolerably well, the Crew were still inclined to credit him; a thing natural enough in a strange Part of the World, where we knew not well what Course to take, and where he, who had never so little more Knowledge than the rest, was sure to be esteemed much wiser than he really was. But the Secret, by which this Man captivated our Company to such a Degree, was this: He flat-

tered them with the Hopes of making their Fortunes in a very short Time, and at a very small Hazard. He premised, that he had been there before, and therefore knew what he said; and next laid it down as a Fact absolutely certain, and not all to be controverted or called in question, that there were always five or six Sail of Ships in the Road of *Conception*, and others daily coming in and going out; that they had very often, both Ways, considerable Sums of Money and Plate, and other valuable Things, on board; that, tho' they were large Ships, they had little or no Force; and that there was no Fortification to protect them, so that, if there were twenty Sail, we could not meet any Opposition in the taking them all; that their Cargo consisted chiefly of Corn, Wine, Brandy, Flour, Bread, jerked Beef; that the Ships bound to *Conception*, always bring Money with them to purchase their Cargoes, besides the Booty that might be got from rich trading Passengers, who carry on a considerable Commerce between this Port and *Buenos Ayres* over Land; and that we could not fail of having the Ships ransomed, that should fall into our Hands, at very great Rates; inasmuch that, if we could but get into *Conception* before they had any Knowledge of us, it was past all Doubt, that we should make our Fortunes. He therefore advised them to endeavour to prevail upon me to make the best of my Way thither: For, tho' it was certain, the Governor of *Chiloe* would send our Defetter to *Conception* with all imaginable Dispatch; and that, since it would be two or three Months Journey by Land, he would infallibly convey him by Sea in some small Vessel; and that, if they arrived at *Conception* before us, the rest of the Coast would, in a very small time, be universally alarmed; by which means we should not have an Opportunity left of meeting with any thing, till they had imagined, that we had abandoned their Seas; as every-body, in those Cases, are fond of delivering their Sentiments, and as it is impossible to keep a Ship's Company in so much Awe, in so remote a Part, as in short Voyages near home, every one of my Ship's Company, who could say any thing at this Juncture, did not fail to speak their Minds somewhat insolently. One *William Morbrey*, who was one of those I had out of the *Ruby*, and had been in these Seas several Years, took upon him to tell me, that it could not signify much, if we arrived two or three Days sooner or later at *Juan Fernandez*; that I was a Stranger here; but that the Frenchman and himself were so well acquainted, that every body hoped I would be advised, and go to *Conception*: And begged I would not put a mere Punctilio of Orders in the Balance against such a Prospect, nay, Certainty of Success, if we were so happy as to arrive there in time. In short, they all together assured me, that they had the Proprietors Interest in View, as much as their own; and that they would perish, before they would injure them in any respect: But at the same time told me, that, if I had not Success in my Proceedings, nobody could be blamed, but myself; intreating me not to lose this Opportunity, wherein they were resolved to stand by me, and the Gentlemen in *England*, with all Fidelity. In our Way to *Conception*, we made the Islands of *Mocho* and *St. Mary* on December 23. and, the same Evening, arrived in the Bay of *Conception*; but could not be certain, that we saw any Ship in the Road: And therefore I immediately gave Orders to man and arm our Boats, to go up in the Night to surprise whatever Vessels might be there; with strict Orders, if they found any thing too strong for them, to make it their Business to prevent the Ships sending any thing ashore, till the Wind permitted me to work up to them; which I endeavoured all Night long, but to very little Purpose: For, at Day-light, I could discern nothing above us. Captain *Halley* returned about Noon in the Pinnace, and informed me, that he had taken a Ship called the *Salidad d' Auday*, which was the only one there, that was about 150 Tons Burden; and, being lately come from *Baldivia*, had nothing on board, except a few Cedar-planks; that there was nobody on board of her, except the Boatswain, an old Negro, and two Indian Boys; and that he had left Mr. *Brooks* the first Lieutenant in Possession of her, with Orders to bring her down the first Opportunity. In his Return to my Ship, he took a small Vessel of about twenty-five Tons, near the Island *Zuriquie*, (which lies in the Harbour) where she had been to take in

Pears, Cherries, and other Fruits, for the *Conception* Market. This Vessel belonged to a Priest, who had been gathering Fruits, and was now made a Prisoner in her; for, having the Curiosity to advance too near my People, in order to discover what they were, he and his Cargo unluckily fell into their Hands, together with four or five *Indians*. Immediately after they had taken this, there was another small Boat, which came in between the Island of *Quiriquine* and *Talgaguana*. I perceived by my Glasses, that she passed within less than Pistol-shot of my Pinnace, and yet Captain *Hatley* did not engage her; for which he made no other Excuse when he came aboard, but that he did not mind her, tho' his Boat's Crew all agreed, that she was full of Men. On the 26th about Noon, Mr. *Brooks* brought down the Ship they had taken, and anchored about half a Mile short of us. The Boatwain of her had not been aboard of us above two Hours, before he gave an Information of a Vessel laden with Wine, Brandy, and other valuable Things, bound to the Island of *Chiloe*, lying at Anchor in the Bay of *Herradura*, about two Leagues to the Northward of us. Upon this, I ordered Mr. *Randall*, second Lieutenant, with the Boatwain of the *Salidad*, with twenty-five Men, to go thither in the *Mercury*, as we called our Fruit Bark, with positive Orders not to set a Foot on Shore, or make any hazardous Attempt. But, the next Evening, they returned with a dismal Story; viz. that they went into the Bay, and found the Vessel haled dry ashore; upon which the Officer ordered his People to land, and bring away what they could out of her, whilst himself, and three or four more, kept the Bark afloat. When they came up to her, they found her empty; but, at the same time, seeing a small House just by the Vessel, they began to be of Opinion, that the Cargo was lodged there: Upon which, the Officer immediately ordered them up; so away went the poor Fellows, with nobody at the Head of them, without any Regard to Order, every one endeavouring to be foremost: But their Career was soon stopped; for they had no sooner got upon the Bank, than they discovered the Enemy rushing furiously upon them. Some of our Seamen were of Opinion, that they might have made a safe Retreat, if they had not been affronted at the very strange Manner in which they were attacked, by having a Number of Horses come up without Riders; but, as soon as they heard those behind them, my People bestirred themselves, in order to make the best of their Way to the *Mercury*; by which means, all, except five, escaped; and these five were taken after they were gotten into Shore-water. It was very fortunate for them, that, by some Accident, their Vessel was aground; for otherwise they must have been all cut off. As it was, the *Spaniards* thought fit to retire as soon as they were within Mulquet-shot, and our People then found it no difficult matter to get their Vessel about again. The Water being now very low, they were obliged, as they went out, to keep near to a Point of Land, from whence the *Spaniards*, under the Shelter of the Wood, galled them; the Wind being fair, they soon passed it, and, lying all close in the Bottom of the Bay, they had only one Man wounded, who was shot through the Thigh. They told me, they perfectly saw the Manner how the *Spaniards* came down upon them; viz. that they were preceded by twenty or more Horses abreast, linked to each other; there were two deep; then came the Enemy mounted, and lying upon their Horses Necks, driving the others along; and were not once seen to sit upright in their Saddles, except when there was no Danger, or to fire their Mulquets. When they had got near my People, they threw out Lines, with Nooses at the End of them, to catch them; and, accordingly, *James Daniel*, one of my Foremast-men, was ensnared, after he had run a good Way into the Water, but was dragged out again after the Rate of ten Knots an Hour. In short, they are universally dexterous at this; for I have seen a *Spaniard* bring a Man up by the Foot as he ran along the Deck; and, they say, they are sure of any thing they fling at, at the Distance of several Fathoms. These Misfortunes and Disappointments made my Crew extremely uneasy, and might have had very bad Consequences, if, when we least expected it, we had not been agreeably surpris'd by the Sight of a large Ship, which we saw coming about to the Northernmost Point of the Island of *Quiriquine*. It being

almost dark, she could not perceive what we were, so that they stood in without Fear or Apprehension. This sudden Appearance put us into no Hurry; for we were always clear, and ready for Action; our Launch was immediately manned to intercept their going ashore, or going to Sea again, and my Cable was ready to slip, if there had been a Necessity for it. As soon as she had approached us near enough, I hailed her; to which they returning no Answer, I fired into her; which was no sooner done, than I ordered the Launch to put off directly: The Enemy, upon this, shortened Sail, but kept fast their Anchor; and, just as I was going to slip my Cable, the Launch came up with her, and gave her a Volley of Small-arms, and they instantly came-to, and called for Quarter. It was about two o'Clock in the Morning before my Boat returned to inform me of any News of her, when they brought with them the *Spanish* Captain, and some of the chief Passengers, who acquainted me, that their Ship was called the *St. Fermin*; that she belonged to, and came last from *Callao*; that she was about 300 Tons Burden, and had a very small Cargo on board, which consisted of Sugar, Melasses, Rice, coarse *French* Linen, and some Cloths and Bays of *Quito*, together with a small Quantity of Chocolate, and about 5 or 6000 Dollars in Money and wrought Plate. I sent Mr. *Hendry*, the Owners Agent, on board of her in the *Mercury*, to inspect her Lading, and to order every thing he could find valuable out of her; and the Ship's Company sent their Agent likewise: In the Afternoon they returned, and brought all the Bales, Boxes, Chests, Portmanteaus, &c. that were in her; and also all the Rice, with a large Quantity of Sugar, Melasses, and Chocolate, and about 7000 Weight of very good Rusk, with all the other Fables and Stores. Don *Francisco Larragan*, who was the Captain, intreated the Liberty to ransom this Ship; which I willingly consented to, and gave him Leave to go in his own Launch to *Conception*, with a Merchant, who was likewise a Prisoner, to raise the Money: In the meantime we were busy'd in searching our Ship, that nothing might be concealed; and every body was strictly looked after, by People appointed for that Purpose, who examined the Pockets, &c. of all such who at any time came from on board the *St. Fermin*; and our Carpenter was employed in making a slight Deck over the *Mercury*, it being probable, that she would be of great Use in coasting along shore. On the 30th, a Boat came aboard from the Governor, with a Flag of Truce, and an Officer, who acquainted us, that two of the People taken in the last Summish were alive, but much wounded; he likewise brought a Present of seven Jars of very good Wine, and a Letter from the Governor Don *Gabriel Cano*, in which he demanded a Sight of my Commission, the sending after *Joseph de la Fontaine*, who had been Servant to Captain *la Jonquiere's* Mate, and some other Things, that I thought unreasonable; with a Promise, that, in case I complied with them, he would enter into a Treaty. To cut Matters short, I resolved to send Captain *Betagh* to the Governor, in order to treat by Word of Mouth. In the meantime I received other Messages, and other Letters, from the Governor; and, at last, a formal Treaty was begun, in which I demanded 16,000 Dollars for the Ransom of the *St. Fermin* alone, and they offered 12,000 for both the Ships and Bark: And, while Things remained in this Situation, the Governor employed all his Skill and Care to draw together such a Body of Men, as might not only resist him from any Apprehensions of our attempting any thing ashore, but likewise enable him to make some Attacks upon us; so that, finding all his *Spanish* Punéto too much entrap and abuse us, I first set Fire to the *Sancti Spiritus*, then, having first given them Time to comply with the proposal I made, I next set Fire to the *St. Fermin*, which threatened to do, having taken care beforehand to lay the Condition to quit the Bay of *Conception* immediately. Captain *Betagh*, in his Remarks, asserts positively, that *Hatley* chased the Bark, which Captain *St. Fermin* suffered to escape, till he was within the Reach of the *Mercury's* Guns upon their Platform. He informs us also, that the Cargo of the *St. Fermin* was worth about 100,000 Dollars, and that the five Men out of the *Mercury* were attempting to take an empty Ship.

9. On the 27th Captain, to *Juan* the Sea was perfectly occupied by which, for any thing next Day Mr. *St. Betagh's* Motion. calculated, they refused: Accordingly Plunder, after the in Money or Goods ing, we saw the ill Body of it bore W Mendian Distance nation, per Amplitude standing off and on fishing, who, not that *Clipperton* had stop her Leaks, with Fish, of which we At length, going off thing that might in some of my Men as was the Name of cut out under it, up was agreed on, by Actions being thus evident, he never pany, or join with confirmed in the directly made the bet the additional Stock Condition as to Prov On the 21st, having went along shore, I Marines, with eight *Mercury's* Crew; and in for the Land, which being discovered from Officer have a Copy necessary Instructions land of *Copiapó*, to be *Bullfinch* was to look is called *Caldera*; near and from whence the Quantities, in small Vantage, that, being they could have no Self in the Ship came and lay-to to the So perceived by the Port ing in this Posture of seaward the Mouth of ce to fish between after saw a Sail crouding to be too big for the Officer told me, that could see no Shipping visible of his Error, which was about six I ordered him to be reac the next Morning, as he returned with not taken on the *Mercury* had looked and saw nothing; but, had to come off to bottom of the Bay, till Numb. XV.

9. On the 7th of January 1720. I failed, says the Captain, to Juan Fernandez; and, on the 8th, we observed the Sea was perfectly red; the Spaniards say, that this was occasioned by the Spawn of Camarones, or Prawns; which, for any thing I know, may be a Mistake. The next Day Mr. Steward, the Ship's Agent, took an Account of the Prize; and I ordered Mr. Hendrie, the Agent for the Owners, to take an Account on their Behalf. The Plunder was sold at the Mast, by the Ship's Agent, at very extravagant Prices. Captain *Belagb* insisted positively, that whatever was not entered in Bills of Lading, or put on board upon Freight, ought to be considered as Plunder. This might have occasioned very bad Consequences, if I had not referred them to their own Articles at *St. Catharine's*, telling them plainly, that they had gone far enough in this, and that they should not exceed them; upon which they acquiesced, not a Soul seconding Captain *Belagb's* Motion. The Account being taken, and Shares calculated, they demanded a Division; which I could not refuse: Accordingly each Man had, for Prize-money and Plunder, after the Rate of ten Pieces of Eight per Share, in Money or Goods. On the 11th, at six in the Morning, we saw the Island of Juan Fernandez; at Noon, the Body of it bore West South-west, distant five Leagues; Meridian Distance from *Conception* 275 Miles West; Variation, per Amplitude, 6° 23' East: To the 15th, I kept standing off and on the Shore for my Boats, which were a fishing, who, not having hitherto discovered any Marks, that *Clipperton* had been here, sent the *Mercury* ashore to stop her Leaks, while the Boats we employed in catching Fish, of which we failed as many as filled five Puncheons. At length, going on shore to make a nicer Search for any thing that might inform us of some News of my Comfort, some of my Men accidentally saw the Word *Magee*, which was the Name of *Clipperton's* Surgeon, and Captain *John* cut out under it, upon a Tree, but no Directions left, as was agreed on; by him, in his Instructions to me: His Actions being thus grossly repugnant to his Instructions, it was evident, he never meant I should ever keep him Company, or join with him again. However, being by this confirmed in the Certainty of his Arrival in those Parts, I directly made the best of my Way from hence, being, with the additional Stock of Fish caught here, in a pretty good Condition as to Provisions, and having all our Casks filled. On the 21st, having a Design to look into *Copiapo*, as I went along-shore, I sent Mr. *Dodd*, second Lieutenant of Marines, with eight Men, as a Reinforcement to the *Mercury's* Crew; and the next Evening they left us, steering in for the Land, whilst I kept the Offing, to prevent our being discovered from the Shore. I took care to let the Officer have a Copy of my Commission, together with all necessary Instructions; and appointed the Moro, or Head-land of *Copiapo*, to be our Place of meeting again: Their Business was to look into the Harbour of that Place, which is called *Caldera*; near to which there are some Gold Mines, and from whence they export that Metal in considerable Quantities, in small Vessels; and the *Mercury* had this Advantage, that, being built in the Manner of the Country, they could have no Suspicion of her. The next Day myself in the Ship came in Sight of the Head-land of *Copiapo*, and lay-to to the Southward of it, that I might not be perceived by the Port, which lies to the Northward. Lying in this Posture over-against a small Island, which lies thwart the Mouth of the River *Copiapo*, I sent the Pinace to fish between the Isle and the Continent, and soon after saw a Sail crowding towards us; she at first appeared to be too big for the *Mercury*, but proved the same. The Officer told me, that he had looked into the Port, but could see no Shipping there; upon which I made him sensible of his Error, and sent him to the right Place, which was about six Leagues to the Northward of us; and ordered him to be ready to look into *Caldera* by Day-light. The next Morning, as soon as they were gone, the Pinace returned with nothing but a few Penguins, which they had taken on the Island, which abounds with them; the *Mercury* had looked into the *Caldera* the next Morning, and saw nothing; but, instead of making use of the Land-ward to come off to me, they kept along-shore, in the Strait of the Bay, till the Sea-breeze came in so strong,

NUMB. XV.

that they were very near losing their Vessel on a Lee-shore, and could not come to me till the Morning; by which they hindered me almost a whole Day and Night's sailing, which was more than our Circumstances could dispense with. On the 27th, I sent Mr. *Brooks*, the first Lieutenant, and Mr. *Rainor*, first Lieutenant of Marines, to relieve Mr. *Randal*, and Mr. *Dodd*, in the *Mercury*. I had fitted her up with a Gang of Oars; and, upon Trial, they gained Way, after the Rate of three Knots, which might render her extremely beneficial and useful to us in a Calm. February 5. I dispatched Mr. *Brooks* a-head, to discover if there were any Shipping at *Arica*, in the Latitude of 18° 20' South. The next Day, at one in the Afternoon, (after having ranged along-shore by the Breaks of *Pisagua*, *Camarones*, and *Vitor*) I had a Sight of the Head-land of *Arica*, and the Island of *Guano*, with a Ship at Anchor on the Northern Side of it, and saw the *Mercury* standing out of the Bay; by which I judged the Ship was too warm for her, and therefore made all possible Haste to get up to her with my Ship. When we came into the Port, we found the Ship had been already taken, and that the *Mercury* was accidentally adrift. This Prize was called the *Refario*, of the Burden of one hundred Ton, laden with Cormorants Dung, which the Spaniards called *Guano*, and make use of it for manuring the Land which produces the Codpepper, of which they make a vast Profit in the Vale of *Arica*. There was not in this Ship one white Face, except the Pilot, whom I resolved to send ashore, to see if the Owners would ransom the Ship, knowing that the Cargo was worth Gold to them, though it was downright Dung to us; and the Event verified my Conjecture.

10. The next Morning I received a Letter from the Owner, wherein, after insinuating pitifully on his Distress and Poverty, as well as his having a large Family to provide for, he promised to meet us at *Hilo*, or at *Quaco*, in order to treat for a Ransom: This Letter was signed *Miguel Diaz Gonzales*. Soon after, we took a small Vessel, of ten Tons Burden, with a Cargo of dried Fish and *Guano*, lying within a Mile of the Town. By this Time all the adjacent Country was in Arms, and drew down in great Numbers to the Coast, well mounted and armed, and, to all Appearance, well disciplined. However, to make Trial of their Courage, and, indeed, to give my own People Spirits, by shewing them what sort of an Enemy they had to contend with, I ordered the *Mercury* and Launch to advance towards the Shore, as if I had really intended to make a Descent, though the Landing-place is altogether impracticable there, at least to *European* Embarkations. I likewise cannonaded the Town very briskly, and, though the Balls did not do Execution, yet they ploughed up the Sand before the *Spanish* Line of Horse, and threw it all over them; but neither this, nor the Approach of my Small-craft, made any sort of Impression, but they remained firm, and shewed, at least, the Countenance of as good Troops as could be wished for, to my very great Disappointment, since it shewed my People, that the Spaniards were far from being such Cowards as they were represented. The Merchant that wrote to me in the Morning, came on board as soon as it was dark; and, having Reason to believe him perfectly honest, but frightened in his Circumstances, I agreed on restoring to him his Ship, and six Negroes, for 2500 Pieces of Eight, with this Reservation, that I would have every thing out of her that might be useful to us. In short, he was so punctual, and so expeditious, that at ten the next Night he brought the Sum agreed for; viz. 1300 Dollars Weight in Ingots of Virgin-silver, which the Spaniards call *Pinnas*, and the rest in Pieces of Eight; for which I restored him his Ship and Negroes. This Gentleman made a great Inquiry after *English* Commodities, and offered great Prices for them, complaining, that the *French* only supplied them with paltry Things, and Trifles, for which they ran away with many Millions; and asked, Whether all the *English* Merchants were asleep, or grown too rich, since, notwithstanding their Ports were not so open as in other Parts of the World, yet they knew how to manage Matters very well; and that their Governors, being generally *Europeans*, whose Stay in the Country seldom exceeds above three

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Years, they made use of any Means to improve their Time; and that there were Ways of gaining them so far, as to make them act very obligingly: Much more he said, as to the Blindness of the *English*, who had suffered the *French* Pedlars to carry on, uninterrupted, the most considerable Branch of Commerce in the World. Before he took his Leave, he desired me to carry his Ship to Sea with me two or three Leagues, and then turn her adrift: The Intent of which was, to deceive the Governor, and the King's Officers: And told me farther, That if I would meet him at *Hilo*, which was about twenty-five Leagues to the North-westward, he would purchase what little coarse Merchandise we had, which might be done there with all imaginable Privacy: The Master also of the small Boat came off upon a Balise, which is an old Sort of Embarkation, made of two large Seal-skins, separately blown up like Bladders, and then made fast, and joined together by Pieces of Wood; on this he brought off two Jars of Brandy, and forty Pieces of Eight, which, considering his mean Appearance, was as much as could have expected. One Part of his Freight was valuable, which was a good Parcel of excellent dry'd Fish.

Captain *Betagh*, in his Remarks, is very severe on almost every one of the Transactions mentioned: In two long Paragraphs, he defends himself from the Imputation of Mutiny, by absolutely denying the Facts Mr. *Skelvocke* produces in Support of it. He observes, that Captain *Clipperton*, during his Stay at the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, did every thing that became him, in order to secure the Company of his Comfort, by burying a Bottle, with Instructions, at the Foot of the Cross, erected on that Island; and if this, by an unforeseen, avoidable Accident, was afterwards discovered to, and taken away by the *Spaniards*, that was none of *Clipperton's* Fault; and, as the Fact was known to Mr. *Skelvocke* before he wrote, he ought to have forbore any Reflections on that Subject. Then, as to the Attack on *Arica*, he puts it in this Light: The Captain, says he, went on board the *Mercury*, accompanied by Mr. *Stewart*, three more Officers besides myself, and a few Men; brought the *Speedwell* and *Mercury's* Broad-side to bear on the Town; he began to cannonade it, which really had no other Effect, than to scare away the Women and Children; for the Men, contrary to our Expectation, assembled on the naked Beach, and suddenly erected a good Breast-work of Stones, and what Rubbish they could find, gallantly standing our Fire; but the Swell giving us some Motion, we could not bring our Guns to bear, so as to dislodge any of them. Mr. *Skelvocke*, being tired with destroying his Ammunition, sends an *Indian* Prisoner, under a Flag of Truce, to demand of the Town what they would please to give to be rid of us; and, though he says nothing of this, the *Indian* leaped out of the Boat, swimming through the terrible Breakers, which made Landing there impossible, delivered his Message, and returned faithfully the same Way to the Boat, with their Answer; viz. That they cared not a Fig for any such *Barraccho*, that is, Drunkard, the most contemptuous Name they can make use of. Upon which, our Captain called for his Pinnace, and, taking *Stewart* with him, went aboard in a Pet, but left the rest of us to unmoor the *Mercury*, and carry her out into the Road: At his getting into the Boat, the Inhabitants gave us a regular Hedge-fire, and three Huzzas, or Horse-laughs. The Number of *Spaniards* which assembled on this Occasion, might be about five or six hundred. It is certain, that these Accounts are very different, and yet I am very far from conceiving them irreconcilable. Mr. *Betagh* tells us very truly what he saw, and what his Opinion was; but, as to Captain *Skelvocke's* Design, nobody could let us into that but himself; and he owns it very fairly; and, at the same time, frankly acknowledges, that he was disappointed, and that the *Spaniards* behaved in a manner very different from what he expected; in which his Antagonist also agrees. We are now to take a View of the Town of *Arica*, at the time these Gentlemen were there; and, to be sure, nothing is more useful, than such accurate Descriptions, drawn by Eye-witnesses, because they shew us, how Things alter in that Part of the World, and hinder Politeness from thinking they are to find every Place in the

South Seas in the same, or a better Situation, than it was fifty or an hundred Years ago.

11. The Port of *Arica*, which was formerly so famous for the great Quantities of Plate continually shipped off there, is now much diminished in its Riches, and appears to be no other than an Heap of Ruins, except the Church of *St. Mark*, and two or three more, which look tolerably well: That which helps to make it look the more desolate is, that the Houses below are covered only with Mats. This Town, being situated on the Edge of the Sea, in an open Road, has no Fortification of any kind to defend or command the Anchoring, they thinking it sufficient, that Nature has provided for their Security by the great Breach of the Sea, and the rock Bottom near the Shore, which threatens inevitable Destruction to an *European* Boat, or any other Embarkation, but what is contrived for that Purpose. To obstruct the Landing of Enemies, the *Spaniards* had made Intrenchments of unburnt Bricks, and a Battery, in the Form of a little Fort, which flanks the three Creeks; but it is built after a wretched manner, and is now quite falling to Ruin, so that the said Village deserves nothing less than the Name of a strong Place, given it by *Dampier*, because he was repulsed there in the Year 1680. The *English* being convinced of the Difficulty of landing before the Town, landed at the Creek of *Chacota*, which is to the Southward of the Head-land, whence they marched over the Mountain to plunder *Arica*. The Earthquakes, which are frequent there, at last ruined the Town; for what bears the Name of *Arica* at present, is no more than a Village of about 150 Families, most of them Blacks, Mulattoes, and *Indians*, and but few Whites. On the 26th of November 1605, the Sea, being agitated by an Earthquake, suddenly flooded, and bore down the greatest Part of it: The Ruins of the Streets are to be seen to this Day, stretching out near a Quarter of a League from the Place where it now stands. What remains of the Town, is not subject to such Accidents, because it is seated on a little rising Ground at the Foot of the Head-land. Most of the Houses are built with nothing but Falcines, of a sort of Flags or Sedge, called *Tolora*, bound together, standing Endways, with Leather Thongs, and Canes, crossing them; or else they are made of Canes set upright, and the Intervals filled up with Earth. The Use of unburnt Bricks is reserved for the stately Houses, and for Churches; no Rain falling there, they are covered with nothing but Mats, which makes the Houses look as if they were Ruins when beheld from without. The Parish-church is handsome enough, being dedicated to *Saint Mark*. There is a Monastery of seven or eight Mercenarians, an Hospital of the Brothers of *St. John* of God, and a Monastery of *Franciscans*, who were coming there to settle in the Town. After having destroyed the House, they had half a Quarter of a League from it, though in the pleasantest Part of the Vale, as near the Sea. The Vale of *Arica* is about a League wide, next the Sea, all a barren Country, except the Place where the old Town stood, which is divided into little Meadows of Clover-grass, some Spots of Sugar-canes, with Olive and Cotton-trees intermixed, and Marshes full of the Sedges used, as above, to build Houses. It is thrust in to the Eastward. Growing narrower that Way, a League up, is the Village of *St. Michael de Sapa*, where they begin to cultivate the Agi, that is, *Guiney* Pepper, which is found throughout all the rest of the Vale; and there are several scattered Farms, which have no other Product but the Pepper. In that little Space of the Vale, which is so narrow, and not above six Leagues long, they sell yearly of it to the Value of above 80,000 Crowns. The *Spaniards* of *Peru* are so addicted to that Sort of Spice, that they dress no Meat without it, though so very hot and biting, that there is no enduring of it, unless well used to it; and as it cannot grow on the *Puna*, that is, the Mountain country, abundance of Merchants come down every Year and carry away the *Guiney* Pepper that grows in the *Arica*, *Sama*, *Taena*, *Lacumba*, and others ten Leagues about, whence it is reckoned, there is exported to the Vale above 600,000 Pieces of Eight, though fold cheap. Considering the Smallness of the Place, it is hard to believe that such vast Quantities should go from thence.

cepting the Vales up, that there is produced by me and before, is the Parish in such a manner for one of all Sorts but particularly to know how to manage and fit to be trained is, not in a strain the Disposition to them, may carry them they lay about Guanaco Birds-dun Hollow of a Mountain add a little more they add a good because it never Salts it contained. Plants, as has been it is laid down a ment, the Necessity the Difference of the Guana, or Du *Arica* make use of *Indians* of *Peru*, *Caracac*, and, by the Country Sheep to their Bodies, a Sheep's Head; the Middle, thro' which any that offend the Faces, it makes a an Itching: Their like the Camels, to would well enough on the Back: The plain white is wanting four Feet, to four a hundred Weigh with wonderful Gravity no beating will make impossible to make lie down till it is taken Food is a Sort of except that it is a the End; it is called with nothing else; they are Creatures of Feet, like Sheep, yet carry Ore to the Mountain any Guide to the loaded. Above the them sure-footed at use of it to hold of Scent, and even of Rust, in Spots, and that of the Vicuña like the Llamas, except lighter; their Wool valued. They are killed as deserves to be driven them into some Corra's fast across, with Bits of Wool cunning, coming to the tion of these Bits of go any farther, for then the *Indians* End of Leather Th with them, they leap Vicuñas follow them more corpulent; they another Sort of black *Alpacas*, whose Legs are shorter, and has some Resemblance *Indians* make several them carry a Burden

cepting the Vales, the Country is every-where so parched up, that there is no Green to be seen: This Wonder is produced by means of that Bird's Dung, which, as was said before, is brought from *Iquique*, and fertilizes the Earth in such a manner, that it yields four or five hundred for one of all Sorts of Grain, Wheat, *Indian Corn*, &c. but particularly the *Agi*, or *Guiney Pepper*; when they know how to manage it right: When the Seed is sprouted, and fit to be transplanted, the Plants are set winding, that is, not in a strait Line, but like an S; to the end that the Disposition of the Furrows, which convey the Water to them, may carry it gently to the Foot of the Plants; then they lay about each Plant of *Guiney Pepper*, as much Guanano-Birds-dung, above-mentioned, as will lie in the Hollow of a Man's Hand: When it is in Blossom, they add a little more; and, lastly, when the Fruit is formed, they add a good Handful, always taking care to water it, because it never rains in that Country; otherwise, the Salts it contained, not being dissolved, would burn the Plants, as has been found by Experience. For this Reason it is laid down at several times, with a regular Management, the Necessity whereof has been found, by Use, and the Difference of the Crops produced. For carrying of the Guanano, or Dung, to the Lands, they generally at *Arica* make use of that Sort of little Camels, by the *Indians* of *Peru*, called *Llamas*; by these of *Chili*, *Chille huque*; and, by the *Spaniards*, *Carneros de la Tierra*, or the Country Sheep. Their Heads are small, in proportion to their Bodies, something resembling both an Horse and a Sheep's Head; the Upper-lip, like an Hare's, is cleft in the Middle, thro' which they spit ten Paces from them against any that offend them; and, if that Spit falls on their Faces, it makes a reddish Spot, which is often followed by an Itching: Their Necks are long, bowing downwards, like the Camels, towards the Fore-part of the Body, which would well enough resemble them, if they had a Bunch on the Back: The Figure I here insert, may serve to explain what is wanting in Description; their Height is from four Feet, to four and an half. They generally carry only an hundred Weight, and walk, holding their Heads up with wonderful Gravity and Majesty, so regular a Pace, that no beating will make them go out of it. At Night it is impossible to make them move with their Burden; they lie down till it is taken off, to go and graze; their common Food is a Sort of Grass somewhat like the small Rush, except that it is a little finer, and has a sharp Point at the End; it is called *Yabo*. All the Mountains are covered with nothing else; they eat little, and never drink, so that they are Creatures easily kept. Though they have cloven Feet, like Sheep, yet they make use of them in the Mines to carry Ore to the Mill: As soon as loaded, they go without any Guide to the Place where they are used to be unloaded. Above the Foot they have a Spur, which makes them sure-footed among the Rocks, because they make use of it to hold or hook by. Their Wool has a strong Scent, and even disagreeable; it is long, white-grey Rusty, in Spots, and very fine, though much inferior to that of the *Vicunna*. The *Vicunna* are shaped much like the *Llamas*, except that they are much smaller and lighter; their Wool being extraordinary small, and much valued. They are sometimes hunted after such a manner, as deserves to be related: Many *Indians* get together to drive them into some narrow Pals, where they have made Corals fast across, three or four Feet from the Ground, with Bits of Wool and Cloth hanging at them; the *Vicunna*, coming to pass them, are so frighted at the Motion of these Bits of Wool and Cloth, that they dare not go any farther, so that they press together in a Throng, and then the *Indians* kill them with Stones made fast at the End of Leather Thongs. If any *Guanacos* happen to be with them, they leap over the Corals, and then all the *Vicunna* follow them. The *Guanacos* are larger, and more corpulent; they are also called *Viscachas*. There is another Sort of black Creatures like the *Llamas*, called *Alpagues*, whose Wool is extraordinary fine, but their Legs are shorter, and their Snouts contracted, so that it has some Resemblance of an human Countenance. The *Indians* make several Uses of these Creatures; they make them carry a Burden of about 100 Weight; their Wool

serves to make Stuffs, Cords, and Sacks; their Bones are used to make Weavers Utensils; and, lastly, their Dung serves to make Fires to dress Meat, and to warm them. Before the last Wars, the *Armada*, a little Fleet, composed of some Ships of the King's, and of private Persons, resorted every Year to *Arica*, to bring thither the *European Commodities*, and *Quicksilver*, for the Mines of *La Paz*, *Oruro la Plata*, or *Chiguizaca*, *Potosi*, and *Lipes*, and then carried to *Lima* the King's Plate, being the fifth of what Metal is drawn from the Mines; but, since no more Gallies came to *Porto-Bello*, and the *French* have carried on the Trade, that Port has been the most considerable Mart of all the Coast, to which the Merchants of the five Towns above, being the richest in Mines, resort. It is true, that the Port of *Cobija* is nearer to *Lipes*, and *Potosi* than *Arica*; but, being so desert and barren, that there is nothing to be had for Men or Mules to subsist, they chuse rather to go some Leagues farther, and be sure to find what they want; besides that it is not a very difficult Matter for them to bring their Plate thither privately in the Mals, and to compound with the *Cortegidores*, or chief Magistrates, to save paying the Fifth to the King.

12. As soon as I got out of the Road of *Arica*, says Captain *Shelvocke*, I shaped my Course for the Road of *Hilo*, in Sight of which we came in the Afternoon, where we saw a large Ship, and three small ones, at Anchor: The great Ship immediately hoisted *French Colours*, and proved to be the *Wife Solomon*, of forty Guns, commanded by Mr. *Dumain*, who was now resolved to protect the Vessels that were with him, and obstruct my coming in. It being dark before I could get into the Road, I sent my third Lieutenant, Mr. *La Porte*, who was a *Frenchman*, to let him know who we were; but my Officer had no sooner got into the Ship, than they tumbled him out again, calling him Renegade; and sent me Word, that, if I offered to anchor there, they would sink me. Mr. *La Porte*, upon this, told me, that, to his Knowledge, the *French Ships* had often taken *Spanish* Commissions; at such times as there were *English* Cruisers on those Coasts; as a Recompence for which Service, they had great Liberties allowed them in the way of Trade. He farther assured me, that he could plainly see, that Mr. *Dumain* had double-manned his Ship with the Inhabitants of the Town, who were partly *French*; and that, in short, he designed to be with me as soon as the Wind came off shore. While we were talking this Matter over, the *Frenchman* fired several Guns at us, to shew they were ready, and designed to be with us speedily. I must confess, this heated me not a little; and the first thing that occurred to me, was turning the *Mercury* into a Fireship, by the Help of which I might, without any great Difficulty, have roasted this insolent *Frenchman*. But, reflecting on the Situation of Things at Home, and fearing that, however unwarrantable his Conduct might be, my attacking him might be thought as unjustifiable, I thought it best to stand out of the Harbour, which accordingly I did. On February 12. the Moiety of the Money taken at *Arica* was divided amongst the Ship's Company, according to the Number of their Shares. On the 22d, we found ourselves in the Height of *Calao*, which is the Port of *Lima*; upon which I furled all my Sails, to prevent being seen, resolving to get away in the Night; because, if we had been discovered from thence, we were morally certain of being pursued by some of the *Spanish* Men of War that are always in that Harbour. On the 26th, the Officers in the *Mercury* desiring to be relieved, I spoke to Captain *Hatley*, whose Turn it was to command her. As this Gentleman had been for a long time Prisoner among the *Spaniards*, he knew the Country perfectly well; and, having travelled between *Lima* and *Pavia* by Land, he had observed several rich Towns; which put it into his Head, that something might be made of cruising along that Coast, as far as the Island of *Lobos*, which lies in the Latitude of 7° South; and I, as it was very natural for me to do, approved of this Proposition, the rather because it was extremely probable they might meet with some of the *Panama* Ships, which always fall in with the Land, in order to receive the Benefit of the Land Winds. As the whole Ship's Company seemed to be extremely delighted with Captain *Hatley's* Project, I judged it requisite to augment

their Complement of Men, put a Month's Provision on board, mounted two Quarter-deck Guns on the *Mercury*, lent Captain *Hayley* my Pinnace, gave him a Copy of my Instructions; though it was very likely, that I should have frequent Sight of the *Mercury*, between the Time of our Separation and our coming to the Island of *Lobos*, where was our Rendezvous, and not above sixty Leagues from us. As soon as every thing was ready for their Departure, Captain *Betagh*, whose Turn it was to relieve the marine Officer in the *Mercury*, being unwilling to go, went amongst the People; and, with a frightful Countenance, told them, that he, and the rest that were to go with him, were sent for a Sacrifice. Upon this, I address'd myself to the Ship's Company; telling them, that I did not know what this ungovernable Fellow meant by this Uproar; and appeal'd to them all, if it had not been customary with me to relieve the Officers in this manner, ever since we had this Vessel in Company; and asked them, if ever they heard me call upon any particular Person by Name to go on any Enterprize, but left it to every Man's Choice to go out of the Ship upon any Service; and, in a Word, desired to know who among them were of *Betagh's* Opinion: Upon this, they with one Voice declared, that they had never entertained any such Thought; but, on the contrary, I should find them obedient to any Commands I should lay upon them. This done, I order'd the *Mercury* alongside, and acquainted her Crew with the Speech *Betagh* had made in the Ship; and desired to know, if any of them were under any Apprehensions of being sold or sacrificed: At which they set up an Huzza, and begged that they might go on the intended Cruise in the *Mercury*. Accordingly, *Hayley* and *Betagh* went on board of her, and put off from us, gave me three Cheers, and stood right in for the Land. I think it will not be altogether improper to take notice of their Proceedings after they left me, as I have been informed by themselves and by Prisoners; viz. The very next Day they took a small Bark, laden with Rice, Chocolate, Wheat, Flour, &c. and the Day following another; on the 4th Day, they became Masters of a Ship of near 200 Tons, 150,000 Pieces of Eight. Flushed with this Success, *Betagh* prevail'd on *Hayley*, and the greatest Part of the People with them, not to join me again; telling them, that they had sufficient to appear like Gentlemen as long as they liv'd, but that it would be nothing when the Owners Parts were taken out, and the Remainder divided into 500 Shares: And therefore he thought, since Fortune had been so kind to them, they would be highly to blame, if they did not lay hold of this Opportunity of going to *India*; since they had Provisions, and every thing they could wish for in their Voyage, and the Happiness, into the Bargain, of having a Gentleman amongst them, Captain *Hayley*, who was, doubtless, able to conduct them to some Part of the Coasts of *Asia*. This was soon resolv'd on, and they fell to Leeward of the Place of Rendezvous. But *Hayley*, sighing within himself the vast Run, and the many Hazards of the Undertaking, and knowing well what Treatment he should find in *India*, if his Treachery was discover'd, could not readily determine what he had best do in this Case, but kept hovering on the Coast; and, in the Interim, some of his Crew went away with his Boat to surrender the Vessel to the Enemy, rather than be concerned in such a piratical Action. But *Betagh* and his Gang still kept *Hayley* warm in Liquor, and, in the End, brought him to a hix Resolution of leaving these Seas. But no sooner had they clapp'd their Helm a-weather, than they saw a Sail standing towards them, which, in short, proved to be a Spanish Man of War, who caught them, and spoil'd their *India* Voyage. The English were treated very indifferently; but *Betagh*, who was of their Religion, and of a Nation which the Spaniards are very fond of, was made an Officer, and us'd very respectfully. On the 29th, in the Morning, we saw a Sail at Anchor in the Road of *Guancabaco*; at 11, we came up, and anchored along-side of her: There was no body on board of her but two Indian Men and a Boy: She was call'd the *Garmasia*, of about 100 Tons, and had nothing in her but a little Timber from *Guiniqui*, from whence she lately came. By these Prisoners I was inform'd, that there was a rich Ship in the Cove of *Payta*, who put in there to repair some Damages

she had sustained by a Gale of Wind: Upon which I immediately went to Sea; but, in purchasing the Anchor, the Cable parted, and I lost it. I took my Prize with me, the being new and well-fitted, and like to sail well: I call'd her the *St. David*, and designed to have made her a complete Fireship as soon as the *Mercury* join'd us, who had Materials on board of her for that Purpose. The next Day I look'd into *Cheripe*, from whence I chased a small Vessel, of which when I came within half Cannon-shot, the Crew ran her on shore. The next Morning, finding myself in the Neighbourhood of the Island of *Lobos*, where I had appointed our Rendezvous with the *Mercury*, I sent Mr. *Randall*, my second Lieutenant, ashore, with two Letters in two Bottles, directing Captain *Hayley* to follow us to *Payta*, towards which Port I now made the best of my Way; and, on March 8. found myself before it; and sent Mr. *Randall* to look into the Cove, in order to bring us an Account what Ships were there, that we might know what to think of the Information we had received.

There is scarce a Circumstance in all this Account, which Captain *Betagh* does not only dispute, but deny. As to the *Mercury*, on board which they were sent to cruise, he observes, that she was a flat-bottomed Vessel, that would neither row nor sail, and, in short, an absolute Lighter. He says next, that the Course they were directed to steer, was exactly in the Tract of the Enemy; so that he really judg'd it to be the Captain's Design he should be taken: And he likewise admits, that, upon his hinting this to the Purser, Captain *Shelbocke* call'd up all Hands, and discour'd them in the manner before-mentioned. With regard to Prizes, he admits the taking of two, one a Bark, the other an old English Pink, bound from *Panama* to *Lima*; which, instead of having 150,000 Dollars on board, after they had examin'd her very closely, did not appear to have on board her so much as a single Half-crown, the Vessel being bound in her Ballast with a small Parcel of Pedlary Ware from *Panama* to *Lima*; whereas, had she been going from *Lima* to *Panama*, she might probably have had a considerable Sum on board. We went into this Prize immediately, leaving only a Hand or two to take care of the *Mercury*, says Captain *Hayley*; and we were soon after taken by one of the Spanish Cruisers, call'd the *Bruna*, of thirty Guns, as we were plying between *Lobos* and *Cape Blanco*, having been twice on shore in this Island, without being able to discover any Signs of our Captain's having been there, much less meeting with any Instructions to him at *Payta*. As to the persuading Captain *Hayley* to go to *India*, and all that depends upon that Story, Captain *Betagh* denies it utterly; affirms, that, though he was brought up a Papist, he became a Protestant so soon as he came to Years of Discretion; that he never was in the Spanish Service; tho' he owns he was very kindly treated by Don *Pedro Midranda*, Admiral of the South Seas, on account of Mr. *Betagh's* having some Knowledge of St. *Charles Wager*, to whom Don *Pedro* thought himself excessively oblig'd. As the Author of this History, I do not pretend to enter at all into the Discussion of these Points: I only report Facts as I find them, and leave it entirely to the Reader's Judgment, who was, and who was not, in Fault. I proceed now with the Voyage, as it is presented by Captain *Shelbocke*, whom we left beating up for *Payta*.

13. On the 21st, says he, I came within seven Leagues of the Place; and, steering directly for it, enter'd the Cove of *Payta* about four in the Afternoon, with French there being a small Ship in the Harbour, of which Mr. *Brooks*, my first Lieutenant, soon became Master, and sent in with the Launch well manned for that Purpose. About 7 in the Evening, I came to an Anchor about a Quarter of a Mile from the Town: The taking of *Payta* being in the Scheme of our Voyage treated as a Matter of great Importance, I consult'd my Officers concerning the properest Methods of doing it. The Town appear'd to be indifferently large and populous; and it was very probable there might be some Land Forces, to defend a Place well known as this, which is the Rendezvous of Ships coming from *Panama* and *Calao*: However, I had only forty-six Men at two of the Clock the next Morning, viz. Mr. *Gouldie*, the Master, and some others, not

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look after the Negroes we had, who ought not to be trusted with the Ship by themselves, but also to bring the Ship nearer in, that we might the more expeditiously embark what Plunder we might get. Being now ashore, I marched up to the great Church without meeting any Opposition; and, indeed, found the Town intirely deserted by the Inhabitants. At Day-light, we saw great Bodies of Men on the Hills on each Side of us, who, I expected, would have paid us a Visit, but found, as we marched up the Hill towards them, we drove them before us. All this time, we took no Prisoners, except an old *Indian* and a Boy, who told me, Captain *Clipperton* had been here, some time before, to set Prisoners ashore; who assured them, that he would do them no Injury, nor give them any Trouble. But the Inhabitants, not thinking fit to trust him, had removed their Effects up the Mountains, amongst which was Part of the King's Treasure, amounting to 400,000 Pieces of Eight, which would have been a fine Booty, had Captain *Clipperton* thought fit to have accepted of it; since it is certain, he would have met with no more Difficulty in subduing this Place, than I did: But suddenly, upon hearing a Gun fired, I halted; and, Word being brought me, that the Ship was ashore, I hurried off with some Precipitation, carrying with us the Union Flag, which I had caused to be planted in the Church-yard ever since Sun-rising. As we re-embarked, the Enemy came running down the Hills hallowing after us: When I came on board, I found her intirely aloof, but within her Breadth of the Rocks; the Water being smooth, I soon warped her off again; after which, we returned to take Possession of the Town in the manner we had done before, and the *Spaniards* as peaceably retired up the Hills again. But this Accident being happily over, the Remainder of the Day was spent in shipping off what Plunder we had got, which consisted in Hogs, Fowls, brown and white Calavances, Beans, *Indian* Corn, Wheat, Flour, Sugar, and as much Cocoa-nut, as we were able to stow away, with Pans and other Conveniences for preparing it; so that we were supplied with Breakfast-meat for the whole Voyage, and full of Provisions of one kind or other. In the Afternoon, there came a Messenger to know what I would take for the Ransom of the Town and Ship; to which I answered, that I would have 10,000 Pieces of Eight, and those to be paid within twenty-four Hours, if he intended to save the Town, or Ship either. At eight, the next Morning, I received a Letter from the Governor, signifying, that, as I wrote in *French*, neither he, nor any about him, could understand the Contents; but, if I would let him know my Demands in *Latin* or *Spanish*, I should not fail of a satisfactory Answer. In the Afternoon, I sent one of the Quarter-deck Guns ashore; which, being mounted at our Guard, was fired at Sun-set, Midnight, and Break of Day. The next Morning early the Messenger returned, and brought with him the Captain of the Ship I had taken; and, as soon as I had heard of their Arrival, I went on shore to know what they had to propose. I very soon understood from them, that the Governor was determined not to ransom the Town at all Events; and that he did not care what I did to it, provided the Churches were not burnt: To which I answered, that I should have no Regard to Churches, or any thing else, when I set the Town on Fire; though, in fact, I never designed to destroy any Place consecrated to Divine Worship. As for the Captain of the Vessel, I told him plainly, that, if he did not ransom her immediately, he might expect to see her in Flames. This seemed to make as great an impression upon him as I desired; and he promised, in three Hours time, to be down with the Money. As soon as I had given these People the Hearing, I caused every thing to be taken out of the Town that could be of any use to us; and, when this was done, I ordered it to be set on Fire in two or three Places at once; and, as the Houses were old and dry, the Place became a Bonfire instantly. In the midst of this Conflagration, the People on board my Ship made continual Signals for me to come on shore, and kept firing perpetually towards the Mouth of the Harbour. As I could only guess, from these Appearances, that something extraordinary had happened, the sole measure left for me to take, was to get on board as soon as

I could, which accordingly I did, in a Canoe; with only three Men aboard with me.

14. It was evident enough to me, before I reached my Ship, what had thrown my People into such a Panic; for I saw a large Ship lying, with her Fore-top-sail a-back, with her *Spanish* Flag flying at her Top-mast-head; at which Sight two of my three Men were ready to faint; and, if it had not been for my Boatwain, I doubt whether I should have got on board the Ship. When I looked back to the Town, I could not help wishing I had not been so hasty, since, had the *Spanish* Admiral acted with Vigour, he had taken the Ship long enough before I could have gotten on board. In Justice to Mr. *Colden* the Master, I must observe, that he fired so smartly on the *Spaniard* as he came in, that he put him upon taking those Precautions, which, had he known our Strength, were very unnecessary; and, as this took up Time, it gave me an Opportunity of coming on board. In the mean time, my Officers ashore were so unwilling to leave behind them a Gun we had mounted in the Town, that they spent so great a Space in getting into the Boat, that I began to be much afraid the Enemy would have attacked us, before the Launch could have rowed aboard. But he was not in such an Hurry, thinking that I could not well pass by him, and therefore suffer'd my Men to come off, who were about fifty in Number; but was within less than Pistol-shot of us, before they had all got into the Ship. Upon which, we cut our Cable, and, our Ship falling the wrong Way, I had but just Room enough to fall clear of him. Being now close by one another, his formidable Appearance struck an universal Damp on every one's Spirits. Some of my People, in coming off, were for jumping into the Water, and swimming ashore, as some actually did; But now, when they saw a fine *Europe*-built Ship of fifty Guns, the Disproportion was so great between us, that there could be no Hopes of escaping him, being under his Lee. I endeavoured to get into shole Water; but he becalmed and confined me for the greatest Part of an Hour, handling me very roughly with his Cannon; but made little Use of Small-arms. He never had Patience to let us be quiet along his Side; but, whenever he was ready with his Fire, he gave his Ship the Starboard-helm, to bring as many of his Guns as he could to bear on us, and, at the same time, kept me out of the true Wind. We made the briskest Returns we could; but the Misfortune was, that, in the precipitate Confusion in getting off from the Town, most of our Small-arms were wet; so that it was late before they were of any Use. There was, during this, a confused Scene ashore, of the Town on Fire, and the People, who had flocked down the Hills to extinguish it, some of whom answered the End of their coming, whilst others were employed in beholding the Engagement. I was long in Despair of getting away from the *Spaniard*, and could foresee nothing, but that we should be torn in Pieces by him, unless we had an Opportunity of trying our Heels with him whilst our Masts were standing. I expected every Minute they would board us; and, upon hearing an Hallowing amongst them, and their Forecastle full of Men, I concluded they had come to a Resolution of entering us: But I presently saw the Occasion of these Acclamations was, their having shot down our Ensign-staff, upon which they were in hopes we had struck; but I soon undeceived them, by spreading a new Ensign on the Mizzen-throwds; upon Sight of which, they lay as snug as before, and held their Way close on our Quarter. Intending at last to do our Business at once, they clapped their Helm a-starboard, in order to bring their whole Broadside to point on us; but their Fire had very little Effect, and it muzzled themselves; which gave us an Opportunity of getting away from them. This was certainly a lucky Escape, after an Engagement for about three Glasses with an Enemy so much superior; for he had fifty-six Guns, we but twenty mounted; they had 450 Men, we, on our Part, did not exceed seventy-three, and eleven Negroes and two *Indians* included in that Number: He had further this vast Odds over us, of being in a settled Readiness, whilst we were in the utmost Distraction. Add to all this, our Small-arms being useless, by being wet; and, in the Middle of the Engagement, One-third of my People, instead of fighting, were hard at Work to make a further Preparation for an obstinate

obstinate Resistance; particularly the Carpenter, and his Crew, were busied in making Ports for Stern chase Guns, which (as it happened) we made no Use of. Yet we were not altogether unhurt; the Loss of my Boat and Anchor was irreparable, and may be said to be the Cause of that Scene of Trouble, which followed; for we had now but one Anchor, that at *Payta* being the third we had lost; and were intirely destitute of a Boat of any kind. I have been since informed, that we placed some Shots very well, and that we killed and wounded several of the Enemy.

It is a very different Account that Captain *Betagh* gives of this Matter, of which, however, he tells us, he was extremely well informed; because, in the first Place, he had the Story fresh at *Payta*, within a Day or two after the Thing happened, and was afterwards on board the *Peregrine* at *Lima*, by which means he was an Eye-witness of the Force of the Ship. Instead of fifty-six Guns, he insists, she carried but forty; and, instead of 450 Men, he is clear, that 350 were the most that ever were on board, and these such a mixt Crew of ignorant Wretches, that twenty expert Seamen, in his Opinion, had been more than a Match for them. As for the Commander, continued he, whom Captain *Shelvocke* calls an Admiral, he was a *Croliian*, a mere fresh-water Man, who never saw any Action before: And, as for the People aboard him, they were composed of Negroes, *Mestizos*, and *Indians*; besides which, there were not above a dozen white Facts in all: For this Ship was designed to carry the late Viceroy Prince *Santo Bueno*, his Family, and Retinue, to *Acapulco*; but, in the mean time, being ordered a short Cruise on the Coast, she failed so heavy, that the *Spaniards* never expected she would be of any Use against the *English* Privateers, and, for that Reason, put all their able-bodied Men aboard the other three Cruisers the *Zelestin*, *Brilliant*, and *San Francisco*, which were light Ships, and good Sailors. The *Peregrine* was so unable and unwilling too, that, if she had not found the *Speedwell* in Harbour, she would never have followed her to Sea; for it was related at *Payta*, the first Fire from the *Speedwell* terrified the Enemy so very much, that they could not tell whether they were dead or alive. They all immediately ran from their Quarters, and the very Steersman, who had the Helm, quitted it; so that the Ship, which was then close-haled standing in, came with her Head-stails in the Wind, and muzzled herself; that is, she lay bobbing up and down, with her Sails flapping against the Mast; nor could it be otherwise, where there were only a few good Officers among a mere Mob of black People, scared out of their Wits. The Commander, and his Officers, did all they could to bring them to their Duty: They beat them, swore at them, and pricked them in the Buttocks: But all would not do; for the poor Devils were relolved to be frightened. Most of them ran quite down into the Hold, while others were upon their Knees, praying the Saints for Deliverance. The *Speedwell* did not fire above eight or nine Guns, and, as these were found sufficient, Captain *Shelvocke* had no Occasion to waste his Powder. But it is plain the *Peregrine* might easily have run him aboard, if there had been but a few good Seamen to stand by the Bowsins and Braces. However, this Panic of theirs gave *Shelvocke* a fair Opportunity to get his Men aboard, cut his Cable, and go away right afore the Wind. This, he assures us, was the Truth of the Matter. But to return to the Captain, and his Relation:

15. In the Evening, I, with much-ado, slipped away from the *Brilliant*, the Admiral's Consort, on board of which was *Betagh*, who desired he might have the Honour to board me first; and this Escape I made with Difficulty enough, and found myself, when at Liberty, in a very uncomfortable Condition; for we had not the least Hopes now, or at least any Certainty, of meeting with the *Success*; so that we had little Good to expect from Friends. As to our Enemies again, I was informed at *Payta*, that they had laid an Embargo of five or six Months; so that we had nothing to expect on that Side. A third Misfortune was, that I saw our Prize, which I intended for a Fireship, taken by the *Spaniards*, and therefore had all the Reason in the World to expect, they had perfect Information of all our Designs. Add to these Mischiefs, that I had but one Anchor, and no Boat at all; and it will not be wondered, that I gave up

all Views on the Town of *Gulaguil*, where I proposed to have made an Attempt, having certain Intelligence, that several Ships of considerable Value lay in that River, by dint of the Embargo, which, if I had been better provided, would, in this Case, have done me a Service. In this Situation, I called my Officers together, to let them know, that it was my Sentiment, that we had much better go to Windward, since, in spite of all their Embargoes, the *Spaniards* must carry on their Trade with *Chili*; after which, I proposed watering at *Juan Fernandez*, and then cruising on the whole Season on the *Coast of Peru*, *Valparaiso*, and *Cochin* Traders, amongst whom we should be stocked with Anchors, Cables, Boats, and a Vessel to make a Fireship of, on which I mightily depended, since I could see but little Probability of joining the *Success*. I also proposed, before I left the Coast of *Chili*, to make the Town of *la Serena* or *Cochin*. This being universally approved of, we got our Tacks aboard, and stretched to Windward. My Intention, after this, was for the Coast of *Mexico*, there to run to the Height of the *Tres Marias* and *California*, as the most likely Place to meet the *Success*; both of which Places would have been commodious, the first for salting Turtles, and the last for Wooding and Watering. There I should also be ready in the Season to lie in the Track of the *Manilla* Ship; which if I should have the Fortune to meet, (having a Fireship) I would have tried what I could have done with her; but, if I could not have prevailed, I must have contented myself with cruising on the *Peruvian* Ships, which bring Silver to *Acapulco*, to purchase the *Indian* and *Chinese* Commodities, which the *Manilla* Ships bring thither. On the 26th, we secured our Masts, and bent a new Suit of Sails, and stood to the Southward, expecting to gain our Passage in about five Weeks. The Day after, the Carpenter began to build a Boat to water the Ship. On the 31st, as we were pumping the Ship, the Water came out of the Well, not only in a greater Quantity than usual, but also as black as Ink; which made me judge, that some Water came at our Powder; and accordingly, going into the Powder-room, I heard the Water come in like a little Sluice, which had quite spoiled the greatest Part of our Powder; so that we only saved the Quantity of six Barrels, which I ordered to be stowed away in the Bread-room. It pleased God, that we had fair Weather; otherwise it would have been an hard Matter for us to have kept ourselves above water. We found the Leak to be on the Larboard-side, under the lower Cheek of the Head, occasioned by a Shot, which had lodged there; which, falling out, left Room for a Stream of Water. We brought the Ship by the Stern, and, with great Difficulty, stopped it securely. At that time, we had a large Stock of Provisions, and every one lived as well as he could have wished, each Man having a Quart of Chocolate, and three Ounces of very good Ruff, for Breakfast every Morning, and fresh Meat or fresh Fish every Day, of which we had such a Plenty about the Ship, that we could almost always take our Choice of Delphin or Albicore. On May 6. we made the Westermost of the Islands of *Juan Fernandez*, the Body of it being Northward by North, distant twelve Leagues; and, the Day after, the Carpenters completed the Boat, which would carry three Hogheads. On the 11th, we saw the great Island of *Juan Fernandez*, bearing East half South, by Observation the Body of it lying in the Latitude of 33° 25' South: A joyful Sight at that time, tho' so unfortunate to us afterwards. In Captain *Betagh's* Account, the going to *Juan Fernandez* is represented as a direct Design to lose the Ship, and to cruise for the future in a Bottom, to which, in their Judgment, the Owners had no Title. I must, for my own Part, acknowledge, that I cannot understand it to be so, in a Bark built out of the Remains of the *Speedwell*; they were as much in an Owners Bottom, as in the Ship herself; and, if they could imagine this would be obtained by taking and cruising in another Ship, then he might as well have quitted the *Speedwell*, under Pretence of the Leak, and gone to Sea in a Prize, without the hazardous Experiment of the Shipwreck. Captain *Betagh* mentions the Suspensions of the Seamen, as direct Evidence of the Fact, that they looked for it, and expected it would fall out, as it really did. It is also suggested by Captain *Betagh*, that abundance of Things of Value were brought on board

without their knowing it, not comprehending that they did not carry a vast quantity of Goods together, very plain to me. Ship, who, if he would not have the Captain's Relation; but could not depend; which I thought a new Road for a few twenty Tuns of Goods anchored in the Port, was of the Length being made fast, gave us an Opportunity of avoiding immediate Danger, in our Behalf. Length farther to where we did, we as the touched the some Part or other the Shocks the had have thrown us a mast, Fore-mast, &c. In short, Words, condition we were in, unfortunately shipwreckers came to beat some Necessaries of Fire, wrapped the round it, and, notwithstanding very foundly in doing what we were so scattered, them together: So, being any thing, but they were employed Preparations to settle destroyed, and even Calk of Beef, and washed whole on the all forts irrecoverable been of Use to us, I should have obliged to the Gentle Chest in the great of the Bread-room took some Pains in Tent, and at length not half a Mile from within a Stone's-throw, and Trees. People settled with and, having a cold, and others, and other Sea-lions, whilst them, under the ourselves, as well approaching Wind, Evening in making which my Officers selves quietly in times bewailing our pair; at other times something might be lost with the Carpenter make Brick without any further Humour, whom I found as could do for us in the building of a ship, I hoped he could do

without their knowing how; which is another thing I cannot comprehend; for Captain *Shelvocke*, and his Son, could not carry a vast Quantity on shore themselves; and it is very plain to me, that there was not a single Man in the Ship, who, if he had been trusted with so dark a Secret, would not have discovered it. But to proceed with the Captain's Relation: I plied, says he, off and on till the 21st; but could not get so much Water as we daily expended; which made me think it requisite to anchor in the Road for a few Hours: And, in order to it, I prepared twenty Tuns of Casks to raft ashore, then worked in, and anchored in forty Fathom Water, and made a Warp, which was of the Length of three Haufers and an half, which, being made fast to the Rock, kept the Ship steady, and gave us an Opportunity of haling our Raft of Casks ashore and aboard. The next Morning, we were ready to go to Sea; but had no Opportunity of doing so for four Days together, during which we anchored in the same Manner. On the 25th, an hard Gale of Wind came out of the Sea upon us, and brought in a great tumbling Swell; so that, in a few Hours, our Cable parted: A dismal Accident this, there being no Means to be used, or the least Prospect of avoiding immediate Destruction. But Providence interposed in our Behalf so far, that, if we had struck but a Cable's Length farther to the Eastward or Westward of the Place where we did, we must have inevitably perished. As soon as the touched the Rock, we were obliged to hold fast by some Part or other of the Ship, otherwise the Violence of the Shocks she had in striking might have been sufficient to have thrown us all out of her into the Sea. Our Main-mast, Fore-mast, and Mizzen-mast, went all away together. In short, Words are wanting to express the wretched Condition we were in, or the Surprise we were under of being unfortunately shipwrecked. In the Evening, all the Officers came to bear me Company, and to contrive to get some Necessaries out of the Wreck; and, having lighted a Fire, wrapped themselves up in what they could get, lay round it, and, notwithstanding the Coldness of the Weather, slept very soundly. I would have set the People to Work in doing what we proposed the Night before; but they were so scattered, that there was no such thing as getting them together: So that all Opportunities were lost of regaining any thing, but some of our Fire-arms. But, while they were employed in building Tents, and making other Preparations to settle themselves here, the Wreck was intirely destroyed, and every thing that was in her lost, except one Cask of Beef, and one of *Farina de Pao*, which were washed whole on the Strand. Thus were our Provisions of all sorts irrecoverably gone, and whatever else might have been of Use to us, except what I have already mentioned. I should have observed, that I saved 1100 Dollars belonging to the Gentlemen Owners, which were kept in my Chest in the great Cabin. The rest, being in the Bottom of the Bread-room for Security, could not be come at. I took some Pains in finding a convenient Place to set up my Tent, and at length found a commodious Spot of Ground, not half a Mile from the Sea, and a fine Run of Water within a Stone's-cast of each Side of it, with Firing near at hand, and Trees proper for building our Dwellings. The People settled within Call about me, as well as they could; and, having a cold Season coming on, some of them thatched theirs, and others covered them with Skins of Seals and Sea-lions, whilst others got up Water-butts, and slept in them, under the Cover of a Tree. Having thus secured ourselves, as well as possible, against the Inclemency of the approaching Winter, we used to pass our Time in the Evening in making a great Fire before my Tent, round which my Officers in general assembled, employing themselves quietly in roasting Crayfish in the Embers; sometimes bewailing our unhappy State, and sinking into Despair; at other times feeding ourselves up with Hopes, that something might be done to set us afloat again. I consulted first with the Carpenter, who answered, That he could not make Brick without Straw; and walked away from me in surly Humour. From him I went to the Armourer, whom I found at the Wreck, and asked him, What he could do for us in his Way, that might contribute towards the building of a small Vessel. To which he answered, He hoped he could do all the Iron-work, that was necessary for

such a thing; that he had, with much Labour, gotten his Bellows out of the Wreck, with four or five Spadoes, which would afford him Steel; and that there could be no want of Iron along the Shore; and that he did not doubt, but we should find a great many useful Things, when we came to set to work in good Earnest; and desired I would, without Loss of Time, order some Charcoal to be made for him, whilst he set up his Forge. Upon which I called all Hands together, and gave it them as my Opinion, that there was a great Probability we should be able to effect the building a Vessel to transport us; but that it would undoubtedly be a laborious Task, and would require the utmost Endeavours from them all; and put the Question to them, Whether we should make a Beginning, or no. To which they, with one Voice, consented, and promised to be extremely diligent in Work; and begged me to give them Instructions how to proceed. I then ordered those, who were wooding before the Ship was lost, to bring in their Axes, that I might send them to cut Wood to make Charcoal, while the rest went down to the Wreck, to get the Bow-sprit ashore, of which I intended to make the Keel; and prevailed on the Carpenter to go with me, to fix on the properest Place to build upon. In a Word, the People found a great many useful Materials about the Wreck, and, amongst the rest, the Top-mast, which, being made fast to the Main-mast, was washed ashore, and, tho' of no small Weight, would not, at this time, have been exchanged for Gold.

16. On June 8. we laid the Blocks to build upon, and had the Bow-sprit ready at hand. The Carpenter, suddenly turning short upon me as I stood by him, swore an Oath, He would not strike another Stroke upon it; that he, truly, would be nobody's Slave; and thought himself now upon a Footing with myself. I was at first angry; but at last came to an Agreement to give him a four Pistole Piece as soon as the Stern and Stern-post were up, and 100 Pieces of Eight when the Bark was finished; and the Money to be committed to the Keeping of any one he should name till that time. Upon this, he went to work on the Keel, which was to be thirty Feet in Length, her Breadth by the Beam sixteen Feet, and seven Feet deep in the Hold. In two Months time we made a tolerable Shew, which was, in a great measure, owing to the Ingenuity of *Poppleston* my Armourer, who did not lose a Minute's time from the Work of his Hand, and Contrivance of his Head. This Assiduity of his, I dare say, was greatly owing to the just Sense he had of our forlorn State, with which he seemed to be much affected. This Man made us a little double-headed Maulet, Hammers, Chisels, Files, and a sort of Gimblers, which performed very well; nay, he even made a Bulkmould, and an Instrument to bore our Cartouch-boxes, which we made of the Trucks of Gun-carriages, which washed ashore (these we covered with Seals-skins, and contrived so as to be both handy and near): And had enabled himself to perform any Iron-work the Carpenter wanted; and did not only do us this Service in his Way, but also began and finished a large serviceable Boat, which was what we much stood in need of. But I must observe, that, in the Beginning, the People behaved themselves very regularly, half of them working one Day, and half another, and seemed to be easier and easier under our Misfortunes every Day. They treated me with as much Regard as I could wish, and, in a Body, thanked me for the Prospect they had of a Deliverance. I never failed to encourage them by such Stories of Things or Actions that I heard to have been done by the Number of Men in Distresses of this kind; and always pressed them to stick close to the Work, that we might get the Bark ready in time; and told them, that, to our Comfort, we had three of the best Ports in *Chili* within 120 Leagues of us. This instilled new Life into them; and they often declared, that they would do their utmost to finish her with all Expedition, which was a most agreeable Hearing. But, instead of enjoying Peace long, we became a Prey to Faction; so that it was a Miracle, that we got off from this Place by any Endeavours of our own: For, after they had gone through the most laborious Part of the Work, they intirely neglected it; and many of my Officers deserted my Conversation, to herd with the meanest of the Ship's Company. I was now confirmed in the Suspicion I had

some time before, that there was a black Design in Embryo; for, when I met by chance any of my Officers, if I asked them, What they were about, and why they would set so contrary to their Duty, as to divert the People from their Work, one would answer, That he did not know whether he should go off the Island, or no, if my Bundle of Boards was ready; and others told me, That they did not care how Matters went; they could shift for themselves, as well as the rest. And, when I spoke with the meaner Sort, some would be furly, and say nothing; others would be Slaves to nobody; but would do as the rest did. In the Midst of these Confusions, I ordered my Son to secure my Commission on some dry Place of the Wood or Rocks, if such could be found; for I well remembered how *Dampier* had been served in these Seas. At length I, one Afternoon, missed all the People, and could see nobody, but Mr. *Adams*, Surgeon, Mr. *Hendry* the Agent, and my Son, and Mr. *Dodd*, Lieutenant of Marines, who, for some Reasons best known to himself, had feigned Lunacy. I could not devise what could have become of them all; but at Night was informed, that they had assembled at the great Tree, to consult together; where they had formed a new Regulation, and new Articles, whereby they excluded the Gentlemen Adventurers in *England* from having any Part of what we should take for the future; and divested me of the Authority of their Captain; and had regulated themselves according to *Jamaica* Discipline. The chief Officers, among the rest, had chosen one *Morpbew* to be their Champion and Speaker. This Man addressed himself to those that were present, to acquaint them, "That they were now their own Masters, and Servants to none; that altho' Mr. *Shelvoocke*, their former Captain, took upon him to command them to do this and that, &c. he ought to be made sensible, that, whoever was their Commander now, it was their Courtesy that made him so; but that, however, Mr. *Shelvoocke* might have the Refusal, if the Majority thought fit, but not else. But, at the same time, observed to them, that my Command was too lofty and arbitrary for a private Ship; that I should have continued in Men of War, where People were obliged quietly to bear all Hardships imposed upon them, whether right or wrong." To which some present, who had a Regard for me, answered, "That they never knew or saw me treat any body unjustly or severely; and that, however rigid I might be, they had nobody else to depend on; and that they would all do well to consider, how many Difficulties I had already brought them through; that, supposing we were preserved out of the Hands of our Enemies, how many more were to come, no one could tell; that, if they expected or intended to return to *England*, it could be by no other Means than taking a Turn round the World; and that, in that Case, there was none capable to undertake the Care of them, but myself: And reminded them of my Commission, and the Respect due to me upon that, besides the Protection they would receive from it, should they fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards*." This had some Effect on the meaner Sort; but they were diverted from the Thoughts of returning to Obedience by the chief-concerned, who were no less than my first Lieutenant *Brooks*, &c. who had made the fore-mentioned *Morpbew* his Confident, even on board the Ship; for having served as Foremast-man the Voyage before he was made my Lieutenant, he had contracted a mighty Liking to the Forecastle Conversation: And, besides this, they were again supported by Mr. *Randall* my second Lieutenant, who was *Brooks's* Brother-in-law, and others, who, forgetting all the Obligations they owed to the Gentlemen in *England*, and all the Respect due to me, were now running into Ingratitude, and into an irrecoverable Damage to their Characters and Interests. The first and most remarkable Outrage committed by this Gang of Levellers, was on Mr. *la Perie* my third Lieutenant, whom *Morpbew* assaulted in a barbarous Manner, and knocked him down on the Beech, whilst Mr. *Brooks* stood by an Eye-witness of this Brutality. I expostulated with him upon his Conduct warmly; but with very little Effect: So that I saw plainly, that there was an End of all regular Authority amongst us. Very soon after, the Affair came to be fully explained; for the Men framed a new Set of Articles, by which they put themselves upon the

Jamaica Discipline, declaring, that, as I had been their Captain, so they were content I should be their Captain still, and, as a further Mark of their Regard, they were willing to allow me six Shares; whereas, according to the *Jamaica* Model, I ought to have only four. Upon the same Plan, many of my Officers were reduced; for Instance, Mr. *la Perie*, Mr. *Dodd*, and Mr. *Hendry*, were declared Middle-men: And to this Scheme their superior Officers readily consented; so that there was no hindering it from being carried into Execution. Only Mr. *Coldsea* the Master maintained a kind of Neutrality, and neither promoted nor opposed the Designs, that were going forward. In the Distress, I thought it lawful, and even necessary, to comply with their Demands; and therefore, in Conjunction with the rest of my Officers, I signed those Articles: And then I thought I should have been able to have got them to work hard on the Bark, that was to carry us off; but I soon found, that I was sure to be mistaken, whenever I entertained any good Opinion of them. Instead of listening to my Advice, which, at the same time, was intirely consulted for their Service, they broke into another Meeting at the great Tree, where they came to a Resolution to demand what little Money I had saved for the Owners, which amounted to 750 Pieces of Eight in Virgin Silver, a Silver Dish weighing 75 Ounces, and 250 Dollars in ready Money; with which I was obliged to comply, and was then treated worse than ever, having only the Refuse of the Fish, when they had eaten the best, being glad, after an hard Day's Work, to dine upon Seal; while Mr. *Morpbew*, and his Counsellors, feasted on the best Fish the Sea afforded. The next Stroke of their Insolence was, to get the Arms out of my Hands, of which I had hitherto taken the greatest Care, because, having but one Flint to a Musquet, and but very little Ammunition, I foresaw, that, if this was wasted, we must be undone: All which I represented to them, when they made their Demand, but to no manner of Purpose; for they not only took the Arms, but, as imagined, they squandered away the little Powder, and the few Bullets we had left, in killing Cats, or any thing else that came in their Way, and they could fire at. This concise History of our Transactions in the Island of *San Fernandez*, from May 24. to August 15. and, I believe, the impartial Reader will agree, that no Man could suffer more than I did, lead a worse Life, or have a more uncomfortable Prospect.

The Account Captain *Bitagb* gives, is so diametrically opposite to what we have already had from Captain *Shelvoocke*, that, to shew my Impartiality, I am obliged to repeat what he has delivered. All his People, says Captain *Bitagb*, have assured me, and many others, that there was no Wind at all when the Ship was lost; for, as Captain *Shelvoocke* very well knew, that if he should be caught by a Gale in that perilous Road, and so poorly furnished with Ground-tackle, they must inevitably have perished, by reason of the prodigious Breaks the Sea makes in any thing of Weather against the funk Rocks and Stones all along the Shore, he therefore took care to secure all their Lives by destroying his Ship in fine serene Weather; which the ingenious Captain performed by bringing a Spring on his Cable, with which he stove his Ship's Broadside against the Swell, and kept her in that Position while the Cable was torn asunder. Mr. *Dodd*, who did not pretend to be a Seaman, asserted, that, about three Hours before the Ship went ashore, some Hands were at work on the Quarter-deck, haling in an Hauser, which was made fast to the Cable; and that he inquired of *Gilbert Henderson*, the Gunner, what that was for. *Henderson* answered him, that, if he would be rightly informed, he must go and ask the Captain. To confirm this, several of his People made Affidavit, that it blew no Wind at all; that every Soul of them got commodiously on shore; and that it is their Belief, he lost the Ship on Purpose: And it is remarkable, he made not one Trial to prevent it. As soon as the Cable parted, Mr. *la Perie*, his third Lieutenant, being in immediate Ruin, cry'd out, Set the Forefall, begging thereby to do some good; and, while *Edward Papp*, and others, were actually upon the Yard, *Shelvoocke* having ordered them down, and, taking the Helm in his Hand, said, Never mind it, Boys; stand all fast; I will lay her on

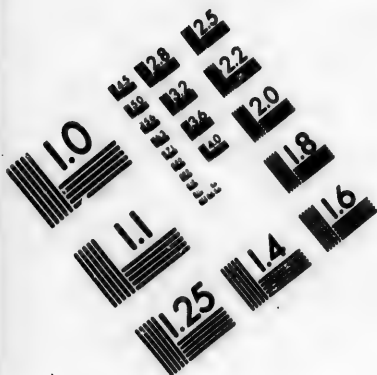
Feather-bed; his great Indolence, or other thing of this kind. That *Shelvoocke* was a considerable Gaining manner: A Value of every and the remainder to the whole, out of which *Holley*, as I have named, two countenances, the pany, and there were none Captain was to this, I say, is this Proposition, and an example of a *Spanish* fifty Pounds: The Owners, as I have said, and the Countess, the Pounds: But, as I have said, the Share would be therefore, the Pounds. As to *Bitagb* gives, that Captain *Bitagb* the 10th having got the upon that Occasion them. But, as this must have been the eight Stocks, which it is impossible Cause, since the and no absolute so that all I can Sides have stated the Captain's Report. 17. On the 17th at Sea put us into the Bay, I ordered the Negroes and under the Land, and off to her. A Man of War came to seek us were about, and have the whole I was not long away larger, and thing of us. Under Arms, and some measure, I told them, I was order: To their own for their own told them, that it required every their best Endeavour, against any thing prejudicial could be gone, and to be Slaves, great deal of Considerate, and is that, (as I always one of the and so wilfully which was likely Reason to recover the ill Confusions, and the sets of Advantages and Interests to them in a

Feather-bed, which, as it proved a very hard one, shewed his great Indifference as to the Fate of the Ship. Another thing Captain *Belagb* infills peremptorily upon, is this; That, by the Change of Circumstances, Captain *Shelvocke* was so far from losing, that he was a very considerable Gainer; and this he demonstrates in the following manner: According to the original Articles, half the Value of every Prize was to be for a share for the Owners, and the remaining Part divided into Shares, in Proportion to the whole Ship's Company, which made them 650; out of which the Captain was to have sixty; Captain *Hutley*, as second Captain, thirty; Captain *Belagb*, of the Marines, twenty; and so on from the Alteration of Circumstances, the lessening the Number of the Ship's Company, and the Reduction of the Officers that still survived, there were now less than fifty-two Shares; out of which the Captain was to have six, according to the new Regulation. This, I say, is Captain *Belagb's* manner of demonstrating this Proposition; but, upon considering it attentively, I think an Example will make it much clearer. I will suppose a *Spanish* Prize taken of the Value of six hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling; then half of it belonging to the Owners, the Shares are plainly worth ten Shillings apiece, consequently, the Captain's sixty Shares come to thirty Pounds: But, according to the new Rule of dividing, each Share would be worth twelve Pounds ten Shillings; and, therefore, the Captain's six Shares were worth seventy-five Pounds. As to the getting Possession of the Arms, Captain *Belagb* gives a very strange Account of it; for he says, that Captain *Shelvocke*, for certain Reasons, celebrated the 10th of June as a Festival; and that the Men having got the Arms, with his Consents, to fire Volleys upon that Occasion, they absolutely refused to part with them. But, according to Captain *Shelvocke's* Relation, this must have happened long after the 10th of June, since it was the eighth before their Bark was put upon the Stocks, which gave Occasion to all the subsequent Disputes. It is impossible to say any thing as to the Merits of this Cause, since there are positive Assertions on both Sides, and no absolute Evidence, or authentic Proof, on either; so that all I can do is, to report the Facts fairly, as both Sides have stated them; which having done, I return to the Captain's Relation.

17. On the 15th of August, the Sight of a large Ship at Sea put us into the utmost Confusion. Before he crossed the Bay, I ordered the Fires to be put out, and confined the Negroes and Indians, lest the Ship should be becalmed under the Land, and any of them should attempt swimming off to her. I conceived it impossible, that the should be a Man of War, which, having Advice of our being lost, came to seek us; yet I knew, if the discovered what we were about, and the Wreck on the Shore, we should soon have the whole Force of the Kingdom of *Chir* upon us. I was not long under these Apprehensions; for the kept away large, and at too great a Distance to perceive any thing of us. On this Occasion I got most of the People under Arms, and was glad to see so many of them, in some measure, obedient to my Command. I, upon this, told them, I was pleased to see their Arms in such good Order: To which they answered impertinently, That it was for their own Sakes. But, before they were dispersed, I told them, that the Necessity of our Affairs was such, that it required every one to give their Assistance, and use their best Endeavours, to get the Bark afloat, instead of shalling against their Captain, which would in the End be highly prejudicial; that, if we were discovered, all Hopes would be gone, and we could reasonably expect no other, than to be Slaves in some of the Mines; that we had still a great deal of Work, and never above ten of the more considerate, and commonly but six or seven, who attended to that, (as they knew) to shew an Example, I was always one of the Number. But they were so obstinate, and so wilfully insensible of the impending Destruction which was likely to fall upon us, that the more I made use of Reason to reclaim them, the more I remonstrated to them the ill Consequences that would attend their continual obstinacies, and the more I encouraged them by future Prospects of Advantage, the more they ran into a confused Disposition and Interruption of any thing that might be of Service to them in any respect. The next Day they divided

amongst themselves, upon this Question, Whether the Bark should be carried on, or whether they should build two large Shallops, and set what was done of the Bark on Fire. The Favourers of this new Design, who were headed by *Morpheus*, and his Friend, aimed at a Separation by this Means, and did not doubt they should have their Ends, considering the great Influence they had as yet had over their Fellow-sufferers; but, as this must be carried by a Majority of Votes, according to their own Articles, they attended before my Tent to debate this Matter; which they did in a noisy clamorous Manner on both Sides. But, in order to come to a Conclusion, I positively assured them, that Boats would be impracticable; because our Tools, and Materials too, were almost worn out and gone; therefore it was in vain for them to dispute about it. The Workmen, and a considerable Majority of the rest, sided with me in the Behalf of the Bark; but, at Night, the Carpenter sent me Word, that if I did not deliver him the Money agreed at the Beginning, notwithstanding the Terms for the Payment of it were not executed, I should not see his Face again; so I was obliged to raise the Money for him. The most provoking Part of this Proposal was, that the Fellows who took upon them to harangue and flatter first, were those who had never done an Hour's Work since we had been cast away; but, not gaining their Point, they openly declared I should not be their Captain, and that none but *Brooks* should be their Commander; which was (perhaps) what that young Man aspired to, and had long expected, if one may draw reasonable Conclusions from his Deportment to me; and he, undoubtedly, might have been their Commander, had it not been for the People of the Boatwain's Tent, who, although they were fond of thinking themselves their own Masters, and would not submit to regular Command, yet had that Respect left, as not to give their Consents, that I should be left on the Island. I must own, that it was a thing very indifferent to me, had I not thought, that I acquitted myself of my Duty, in doing what in me lay, to hinder so many of his Majesty's Subjects, entrusted under my Care, from becoming Vagabonds. To complete our Divisions, there arose a third Party, who resolved to have nothing to do with the other two, purposing to stay on the Island. These were the Number of twelve, who had separated from the rest, and never appeared, except in the Night, when they used to come about our Tents to steal Powder, Lead, and Axes, and, in short, whatever else they could lay their Hands on. But in a little time I found means to manage them, and took all their Arms, Ammunition, and the rest of their Plunder from them; and threatened, that, if they were found within Musquet-shot of our Works or Tents, they should be treated as Enemies. A little afterwards, these Divisions so weakened the Power of the whole Body, that by degrees they began to listen to what I said; and I prevailed so far, as to get most of them in a working Humour. Mr. *Brooks* came now with a feigned submission, to desire he might eat with me again; but, in the main, did not lessen his Esteem for *Morpheus*: However, his Disimulation proved of singular Service, in contributing to the finishing the Bark, which claimed the Assistance of all our Heads and Hands; for, when we came to plank the Bottom, we had very vexatious Difficulties to encounter with; for, having no Plank, except Pieces of the Wreck's Deck, we found it so dry and stubborn, that Fire and Water had hardly any Effect in making it pliable, and fit for Use; it rent, and split, and flew, like Glass; so that now I had substantial Reasons to believe, that all our Labour was vain, and that we must quietly sit down with the disagreeable Hopes of being taken off by some *Spanish* Ship some time or other, and, after all our Troubles, be led to a Prison to reflect on our past Misfortunes: However, by constant Labour, and Variety of Contrivances, we in the End patched her up, in such a manner, that, I dare say, the like was never seen; and I may safely affirm, that such a Bottom never swam on the Surface of the Sea before. September the 9th, the Boat that I have already mentioned to be begun by the Armourer, was launched; and, being now in a way of completing our Bark, there yet remained unconsidered, and undetermined, what Provisions we could get to support us in our Voyage: This was as necessary to be looked into, as the finishing our Embarkation,





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barkation, the one being useless without the other; and all the Stock we had, was one Cask of Beef, five or six Bushels of Farina, or Cassia Flour, together with four or five live Hogs. I made several Experiments to save both Fish and Seal, but it was impossible to be done without Salt: At length, we luckily thought on a Method of curing the Conger-eel, by splitting them, and taking out the Backbone; then dipped them in Sea-water, and, lastly, hung them up to dry in a great Smoke. But no other Fish could be preserved after that manner: Therefore the Fishermen were ordered to make it their Business to catch what Congers they could; and now several of the People, who had not yet struck a Stroke, began to repent of their Folly, as they grew weary of living on this Place; and offered their Service to go a fishing, with some foolish Excuse or other, for being so long idle, and asked my Pardon, promising not to lose a Moment for the time to come. The new Boat, being sent to try her Fortune, returned at Night, and brought with them a great Parcel of Fish of several Sorts; amongst which were 200 Eels, which was a good Beginning, and every Tent took their Proportion of them to save and cure, and the Boat was haled up every Night, and a strict Watch was kept over her, to prevent any making their Escape. Having this Conveniency of a large Boat, I desired Mr. Brooks, our only Diver, to try what he could recover from that Part of the Wreck which lay without: He accordingly went, and could find but one small Gun, which he weighed, and brought ashore, together with two Pieces of a large Church Candlestick, which was a Part of the Gentlemen Owners Plate. Our Boat was daily employed in fishing, the Armourer constantly supplying them with Hooks, and there was no want of Lines, which were made of twisted Ribband, of which, a great Quantity was driven ashore. In the mean time, those who were ashore made Twine-stuff for Rigging, &c. and patched up the Canvas for Sails; the Cooper completed his Casks, and, in a short time, we had Malts on-end, tolerably well rigged, and made a good Figure. But, notwithstanding this Shew, I had a Damp upon my Spirits, when I reflected within myself on the certain and unavoidable Difficulty we should find in calking her tight, which was like to prove a very ugly Piece of Work, where one had bad Seams, wretched Tools, and indifferent Artificers to deal with, which was our Case: However, when we had done it, and came to put it in the Water, to try the Fitness of our Work, it was followed by an universal Outcry, A Sieve! a Sieve! And now every one appeared truly melancholy and despondent, inasmuch that I was afraid they would not have used any farther Means; but, in a little time, by incessant Labour, we brought her into a tolerable Condition, and, having repaired the Ship's Pumps, I contrived them to fit our Bark: This, they cry'd, was a poor Dependence; but I desired them to have Patience, and continue their Aid, in doing what more could be thought of, and prepare to launch her, and then we should be better able to judge what we might expect before we ventured to Sea in her; and that, in the mean time, the Cooper should make a Bucket for each Man, if his Materials would hold out. This being approved on by all, we agreed to put her in the Water the next Spring-tide, which fell out the 5th of October 1720. by which time we had saved 2300 Eels, weighing, one with another, one Pound each, and about sixty Gallons of Seals Oil, to fry them in. This, with what I mentioned before, was all our Sea-stock. The appointed Time being come, we were all ready; but, in launching her, as she fell from the Blocks, that which was to receive her abast gave way, and down she settled, and stuck fast, our Launch being with the Head towards the Sea. I thought we were irretrievably spoiled now; but, when we came to make Purchases to raise her again, happily found she did not hang so heavy as I dreaded; by which means we got her clear off, and saved the same Tide. As she went off, I named her *The Recovery*, though I was sadly afraid of hearing ill News from thence afloat in her. All Things, however, answering pretty well, we resolved to run the Hazard of going off in her; and, with that View, made all possible Dispatch in getting Things on board: After all, a dozen of our People chose to remain on shore, rather than run the Hazard of going to Sea in such a Vessel; and sent me Word,

when I pressed them to it, That as yet they did not think themselves sufficiently prepared for the other World; and with them remained about as many Negroes and Indians. When we first came on shore, the Weather would not permit us to go a fishing, so that we were then constrained to live upon Seals; the Entrails of which, I must confess, are tolerable Food; but the constant and prodigious Slaughter we made of them, frightened them from our Side of the Island. Such as eat Cats, which I could not do, declared them to be eat nourishing Food. When we were able to fish, we were in a great measure delivered from these Hardships; but some of our mischievous Crew, for what Purpose it is impossible to say, set the Boat adrift, and so she was lost. We were then reduced to the Necessity of making Wicker-boats, covered with Sea-lions Skin, which did well enough on the Coast; but we durst not venture with them into the Bay, and, consequently, were worse provided with Fish than we need have been. We fry'd our Fish in Seal-oil, and then eat it, without Bread, Salt, or any thing to relish it, except a little wild Sorrel. We slept under as indifferent Covering as ever People had, our Habitations being partly covered with the Boughs of Trees, and partly with Seal and Sea-lions Skins, which were often torn away in the Night by sudden Flaws of Wind from the Mountains. It is certain, that, take it all together, a most wretched Life we led; and therefore there is nothing more astonishing, than that the Sense of common Misery did not oblige us to live in Unity, and in a friendly Correspondence; which might have lessened many of these Inconveniencies, and have rendered the rest tolerable. Some Men, however, are of such boisterous and unruly Tempers, that neither good Usage can oblige, or Hardships compel them to a reasonable Behaviour.

18. This Island of *Juan Fernandez* has been so often described, that I shall give the Reader only my particular Remarks as an Eye-witness, intending thereby to represent the State of the Island as we left it. It lies in the Latitude of 3° 30' South, at the Distance of about 90 Leagues West from the Continent of *Chili*. It may be about three Leagues long, and two broad, made up intirely of Mountains and Valleys; so that there was no walking a Quarter of a Mile upon a Flat. The Anchoring-place is on the North Side of the Island, which is distinguished by a Table-mountain, with an high sharp Peak on each Side. It is not safe to anchor in less than forty Fathom Water; and, even there, Ships are very much exposed to sharp Gales from the North, which blow frequently, and do sometimes a great deal of Mischief. To say the Truth, there cannot be a more unpleasant Place to anchor in; for the Bay being surrounded with high Mountains, there is a constant Succession of dead Calms, and of sudden stormy Gusts of Wind. But it is now time to confine ourselves to the Land, and describe what is met with on shore. It enjoys a fine wholesome Air, inasmuch that, out of seventy of us that were on it for the Space of five Months and eleven Days, not one had an Hour's Sickness, notwithstanding that we fed on such foul Diet without Bread or Salt; so that we had no Complaints amongst us, except an incessant craving Appetite, and the want of our former Strength and Vigour. For my own Part, I must acknowledge the Bounty of Providence, that gave me Strength to cope with such Vexations as I met with; for, although I lost much of my Flesh, I became one of the strongest and most active Men on the Island: From being very corpulent, and almost crippled with the Gout, I walked much, and worked hard every Day, without being in the least afflicted with that Disorder; and may say, that, if it had not pleased God so to have enabled me, we might probably have remained there for Years to come, since it is a Place little frequented by the *Spaniards*. The Soil is fruitful, abounding with various sorts of large and beautiful Trees, mostly aromatic; the Names of those we knew were the Pimento-tree, which bears a Leaf like a Myrtle, but somewhat larger, with a blue Blossom; their Trunks are short and thick, and their Heads very bushy, and as round and regular as if they were kept so by Art. There is another Sort, much superior in Bulk to the former, which I take to be somewhat like that which affords the Jesuits Bark. On the Tops of some of the Mountains are Plains covered with Groves of the *Italian Laurel*, mentioned by *Frezier*

in his Description of *Chili*; these grow up in a strait slender Body, from which sprout small irregular Branches, from the Root to the Top, bearing Leaves like the Laurel, but smaller. Palm-trees are likewise found in most Parts of the Island, growing in smooth Joins like a Cane, some thirty, some forty Feet high: The Head of them is like that of a Cocoa-nut-tree, except that the Leaves of them are of a paler Green, and bear large Bunches of red Berries, bigger than a Sloe; they taste like our Haws, and have a Stone as big as that of an Heart cherry. That which we call the Palm-cabbage, is the very Substance of the Head of the Tree; which being cut off, and dismembered of its great spreading Leaves, and all of it that is hard and tough, you find inclosed a white and tender young Head, with its Leaves and Berries perfectly formed, and ready to supply the Place of the old one. When in Search of them, we were obliged to cut down a lofty Tree for every one we got. One good Quality belonging to the Woods which cover this Island is, that they are every-where easy of Access, there being no Undergrowth, except in some of the deepest Valleys, where the Fern grows exceeding high, and of which there are even large Trees, with Trunks of good Substance. Some of the *Englisb*, that have been here formerly, have sowed Turneps, which have spread very much; as have also two or three Plantations of small Pompons; but my Men had never Patience to let any of these come to Maturity. We likewise found Plenty of Water-cresses, and wild Sorrel: There are some Hills remarkable for a fine red Earth, which I take to be the same with that of which the Inhabitants of *Chili* make their Earthen-ware, which is almost as beautiful as the red *China*. The Northern Part is very well watered, by a great many Streams which come down the narrow Valleys: This Water keeps well at Sea, and is, I dare say, as good as any in the World. Down the Western Peak, contiguous to the Table-mountain, fall two Cascades, at least 300 Feet perpendicular, close by each other, about twelve Feet in Breadth, which probably supply most of the other Runs of Water: What with the rapid Descent of these Waters, and the Palm-trees which grow up close by the Edges of them, adorned with vast Bunches of red Berries, it yields as agreeable a Prospect as can be. We should have had no want of Goats in the Mountains, could we have conveniently followed them; and Cats are also numerous; they are, in Size and Colour, exactly the same with our House-cats; those who eat them have assured me, that they found a more substantial Relief from one Meal of them, than from four or five of Seal or Fish; and, to their great Satisfaction, we had a small Bitch, which would catch almost any Number they wanted in an Hour or two. The *Spaniards*, before they settled in *Chili*, left a Breed of Goats here, and have since endeavoured to destroy them, by leaving another Breed of Dogs, but with no great Effect. There are not many sorts of Birds; but the Sea, on the Coast, abounds with a greater Variety of all sorts of fine Fish, than almost any I know: As for the Seals, and Sea-lions, so much has been said of them by others, that I need not dwell upon them. The former are called by the *Spaniards Lobos de la Mar*, from their Resemblance of a Wolf; but the *Dutch* call them Sea-dogs. My Opinion is, that they may very probably be called Seawolves, their Heads resembling that Creature: They have a fine iron-grey Fur, and are of the Bigness, when full grown, of a large Mastiff: They are naturally surly, and fearful on the Approach of any body: They have two Fins, which compose their Tails, with which they make Shift to get along much faster than the Lions, which are very large unweildy Creatures, but withal prodigiously full of Oil.

19. *October 6.* in the Evening, we departed, with nothing to subsist at Sea with but the smoked Congers, one of which was allowed to each Man for twenty-four Hours, one Cask of Beef, and four live Hogs, which had fed all the time on the putrescied Carcasses of the Seals we had killed, with three or four Bushels of Meal. We were upwards of forty crowded together, lying upon the Bundles of Eels, in no Method of keeping themselves clean; so that all our Senses were as much offended as possible. There was not a Drop of Water to be had, without sucking it out of the Cask with the Barrel of a Musket, which was made use of by every body promiscuously; and the little unfavoury

Morsels we daily eat, created perpetual Quarrels, every one contending for the Frying-pan. All the Convenience we had for a Fire, was only a Half-tub filled with Earth, which made it so tedious, that we had a continual Noise of frying from Morning to Night. I proposed that we should stand to the South-east, toward the Bay of *Conception*, that being nearest to us. Every Day, while the Seabreeze continued, we were hard put to it; for, not having above sixteen Inches free Board, and our Bark tumbling prodigiously, the Water continually ran over us; and, having only a grating Deck, and no Tarpawlin to cover it, except the Bark's Top-sail, which was but thin, our Pumps would but just keep us free; notwithstanding which, I was uneasy by bearing away, *Conception* being our chief Dependence. On the 10th, at four in the Morning, we fell in with a great Ship; and, by the Moon-light, I could plainly see she was *Europe* built. We were obliged to act in such a manner, as the Nature of our Case required, which was desperate: Therefore I stood for her; and, we being rigged after the manner of the Small-craft of the Country, they did not regard us till Day-light; which coming on, before we could get quite up with her, they discovered the Brownness of our Canvas, and immediately suspected us, wore Ship, and haled close on a Wind to the Westward; then hoisted their Colours, and fired a Gun, and crowded away from us, and left us behind them at a great rate; but, it falling calm two Hours after, we had recourse to our Oars, and approached them with tolerable Speed; and, in the mean time, overhauled our Arms, which we found to be in a very bad Condition, One-third of them being without Flints, and but three Cutlasses; so that we were not at all prepared for boarding, which was the only means we could have of taking any Ship: We had but one small Cannon, which we could not mount, and therefore were obliged to fire it as it lay along the Deck; and, to supply it, we had no more Ammunition than two Round-shot, a few Chain-bolts, and Bolt-heads, the Clappers of the *Speedwel's* Bell, and some Bags of Beech-stones to serve for Partridge. In four Hours we came up with them, every one seeming as easy in their Minds, as actually in the Possession of her; and were only sorry, that she was not deeper laden than she seemed to be: But, as we advanced nearer, I saw her Guns, and Pattereroes, and a considerable Number of Men on the Deck, with their Arms glittering in the Sun. The Enemy desired us to come on board them; and, at the same time, gave us a Volley of great and small Shot, which killed our Gunner, and almost brought our Fore-mast by the Board. This unexpected Reception staggered a great many, who before seemed to be the forwardest, that they lay on their Oars for some time, notwithstanding that I urged them to keep their Way; but, recovering again, rowed close up with them, and engaged them, till all our small Shot was expended, which obliged us to fall a-stern to make some Slugs: In this manner we made three Attempts, without any better Success. All the Night we were busied making Slugs, and had provided a large Quantity the next Morning, when we came to a final Resolution, of either carrying her, or of submitting to her; and accordingly, at Day-break, I ordered twenty Men, in our Yawl, to lay her athwart the Hawse, whilst I boarded her in the Bark: The People in the Boat put off, giving me repeated Assurances of their good Behaviour; but the very Instant we were coming to Action, a Gale sprung up, and she went away from us. This Ship was called the *Margaretta*, and was the same which had been a Privateer belonging to *Saint Malo*, and mounted forty Guns all the last War. In the Skirmishes we had with her, we had none killed, except *Gilbert Henderson*, our Gunner, and three wounded, which were Mr. *Brooks*, first Lieutenant, thro' the Thigh, Mr. *Coldsea*, the Master, thro' the Groin, and one of the Fore-mast-men in the Small of his Back: Two of these did very well; Mr. *Coldsea*, indeed, lingered in a miserable manner for nine or ten Months afterwards, but at length recovered. Our Condition now grew worse and worse: The Seas being too rough for our uncomfortable Vessel, I proposed that we might get into fair Weather, but to take *Cogimbo* in our Way, to try what could be done there. This was agreed on; but, the very Morning we expected to go into *Cogimbo*, there came on a very hard

hard Gale of Wind, which lasted four Days; during which time we had no Hopes of living; we were obliged to scud under bare Poles, having our Yawl in Tow, and having but a short Scope of Boat-ropes for her. The excessive Fright of this Storm made many of the People form a Resolution of going ashore the very first Opportunity they could lay hold on: I had no room left to give them further Hopes, till at length, calling to mind Mr. Frazier's Account of the Island of *Iquique*, I mentioned the Surprizal of that Place, it being but a small Lieutenantcy, and where we might, in all Probability, get some wholesome Provisions, and a better Bottom than our own. Every one approved of this, and the Sun shining upon us, and lying dry again, it infused some Vigour into us, and we directed our Course for that Island. The Evening after we saw *Iquique*, which appeared no other than as a white Rock, at the Foot of the High-land of *Carapuccho*. It was Sun-set before the Boat departed; which, endeavouring to land under the Cover of the Night, had like to have been lost among the Breakers. At last they heard the Barking of Dogs, and saw the Light of some Candles; but, having experienced the Hazard of Landing in the Dark, made their Boat fast to a Float of Sea-weeds, for want of a Grappling: In this Posture they remained till Day-light, and then rowed in between the Rocks, and were received by some *Indians* on the Shore, with an ignorant Welcome: Being ashore, they went to the Lieutenant's House; and, finding it locked, broke it open, and romaged the whole Village, and found a Booty, more valuable to us at present, than Gold or Silver, which consisted of sixty Butchels of Wheat-flour, 120 of Calavances and Corn, some jerked Beef, Pork, and Mutton, 10,000 Weight of well-cured Fish, a good Number of Fowls, some Rusk, and four or five Days Eating of soft Bread, together with five or six Jars of *Peruvian* Wine and Brandy; and had the good Fortune to find a Boat near the Shore, to bring off their Plunder, which otherwise would have been of little Use to us, our own Boat being laden with Men. Meanwhile we, in the Bark, were carried away to the Northward, by the Current, out of Sight of the Island; and they, not having laden their Boats before the Heat of the Day, had a laborious Task to row off their heavy-laden Boats; whilst we were under the melancholy Apprehensions, that our People, not finding any thing considerable, had taken it into their Heads to stay ashore, and desert us: But these Clouds dispersed, when, towards the Evening, I perceived two Boats approaching us very fast, and discovered them as much burdened as they could safely be. Words cannot express the Joy that reigned among us when they came aboard: The Scene was now changed from Famine to Plenty; the Loaves of soft Bread were distributed, and the Jars of Wine broached; but I took care they should drink moderately of it, each Man having no more than half a Pint: And, after living a Day or two on wholesome Diet, we wondered our Stomachs could digest the rank nauseous Eels fried in Train-oil; and could hardly believe, that we had lived on nothing else for a Month past. I was assured, by my second Lieutenant, that the *Indians* did not express any great Concern at what happened, but seemed rather to be pleased at our plundering the *Spaniards*; so natural it is for bad Masters to find Enemies in their Servants.

This little Island of *Iquique* lies in the Latitude of 19° 50' South: It is about a Mile and an half in Circumference, and half a Mile, or thereabouts, from the Main-land of *Peru*, the Chanel between full of Rocks. It is of a moderate Height, but the Bulk of it is entirely composed of Cormorants-dung, which, as I have before observed, is made use of for manuring the Land, which produces Cod-pepper. In Colour it is exceeding white; so that Places covered with it appear, at a Distance, like Chalk-cliffs. The Smell of it is certainly very offensive, and, in all Probability, very unwholesome; but the Gain that is made of it very considerable, since several Ships load here every Year, and carry it to *Arica*. There are no Inhabitants on it but Negro-slaves, who clean and prepare it in large Heaps near the Shore, ready for Boats to take it off. As to the Village, where the Lieutenant resides, that is on the Continent, close by the Sea-side; it consists of about sixty scattered ill-built Houses (which hardly deserve that Name)

and a small Church; there is not the least Verdure to be seen about it, nor does it afford the least Necessary of Life, nor even Water, which they are obliged to fetch from the *Quebrada*, or the Break of *Pisagua*, in Boats, ten Leagues to the Northward. Being, therefore, a Place so miserable, we may conclude, that the Advantage accruing to them by *Guano*, or Cormorants-dung, is the only Inducement to bring Inhabitants to this Place. This last Inconvenience was what, I suppose, led them to the Contrivance of building their Habitations on the Main-land; which, though it is a Situation as hideous as can be imagined, and not wholly out of the Stench of the offensive Vapours of the Isle of *Iquique*, yet is not quite so suffocating. But although the Land is so desolate and forbidding, the Sea affords two or three sorts of excellent Fish, of such Kinds as I never saw before; one of them is like a large Silver Eel, tho' much thicker in proportion to its Length; these and the rest are equally delicious. They cure them in a cleanly manner, and export great Quantities of them by the Ships which come from *Guano*. By two *Indian* Prisoners we were informed, that the Lieutenant of *Iquique* had a Boat at *Pisagua*, which was sent for Water, of which as we began to stand in need, I sent Mr. *Randall*, second Lieutenant, in quest of her; but this failed; and though they mistook the Vessel, they landed in a dangerous manner, on a sort of a Float called *Balfes*, much in Use on this Coast; they brought off only a few Bladders of Water, and three or four *Balfes*, very artificially sewed, and filled with Wind, made fast along-side one of another: On these the Rowers sit, looking forward, with a double Paddle; and, as fast as he can perceive the Wind to escape from under, he adds a Supply, by a Contrivance for that Purpose. These are the chief Embarkations made use of by the Fishermen, and are serviceable for landing on this Coast, which has hardly one smooth Beach from one End to the other of it. We should have looked into the Port of *Arica*, but that we heard there was a Ship of Force there. We continued our Course to *Le Nasca*, of which Port we met with a large Ship, about two Hours before Day-light. It was ten in the Morning before we came up with her, tho' we rowed very hard; and after a brisk Dispute, which lasted six or seven Hours, and then the Sea-breeze coming in very strong, we were obliged to leave her. This Ship was called the *St. Francisco Palacio*, of 700 Tons, eight Guns, and ten Patenereroes, a great Number of Men, and well provided with small Arms; although she was so deeply laden, that, as she rolled, the Water ran through her Scuppers, over her, upon Deck; so that she had more of the Resemblance of an ill-contrived wooden Cattle, than of a Ship, according to the Fashion of building at present in *Europe*. It was our ill Fortune to meet two of the best equipped Ships, in the Private Trade, at that time, in the South Seas. In this Action, we had not above twenty small Arms that were of any Use, which was the Effect of their inconsiderate Proceedings on *Juan Fernandez*; but, notwithstanding this, they were so impatient, that some of them were resolved to go and surrender immediately to the Enemy. To prevent this, I ordered four Men, I thought I could trust, into our two Boats, to put it out of their Power; but those two that were in the best Boat deceived me, and went away with her; and my first Lieutenant, and *Morpheu*, made a Party to go away with the only Boat we had left; which they had certainly effected, but that it blew so hard the next Day, as to hinder them from executing their Design; the Knowledge of which I was forced to dissemble, as I was conscious I had not Power enough to punish them.

20. We stood, the Day following, into the Road of *Pisco*, where we saw a very fine Ship, and resolved unanimously to board her. We first ordered our Boat to intercept theirs; which they mistook: But we kept our Resolution nevertheless; and, to our great Satisfaction, when we came to board, the Captain, and all his Officers, met us with their Hats off, beseeching us to grant them good Quarters; which we readily did. She was a good Ship, of about 200 Tons, called the *Jesu Maria*, almost laden with Pitch, Tar, Copper, and Plank; but nothing else. The Captain offered 16000 Dollars for her Ransom; but I could not comply, the *Recovery* being disabled in her Masts by boarding; and not only so, but I was hindered by the Consider-

tion, that now we might have Room enough to enjoy ourselves, some Cleanliness at least, an Article we had been perfect Strangers to ever since we had departed from the Island of *Juan Fernandez*. We therefore made the utmost Dispatch in getting every thing out of the Bark. The *Spanish* Captain informed me, that the *Margaretta* had been arrived some time at *Calao*, where she had given a full Account of us; that the Captain, and three Men, were killed in the Action; and that the Priest, and several others, were wounded; and that she was now ready to put to Sea again, with an Addition of ten Guns, and fifty Men, to cruise for us; and that the *Flying jib*, a Frigate of twenty-eight Guns, was already out with the same Intent; and that there was Advice sent both Ways along-shore, and Commissions to equip what Strength they had to catch us. All the Night, they were upon the Watch at the Town, making a Shew, by the continual firing of Guns, to give us an Earnest of what we must expect, if we should attempt a Descent. Having cleared our Bark the next Morning, we gave her to the *Spanish* Captain; and, as soon as the Breeze sprung up, we weighed, and went to Sea, and, in going out, met with our Boat, that had left us. They edged towards us, imagining we were *Spaniards*, by which means we got them again. The two Fellows were almost dead, having neither eat nor drank any thing for three Days past, and had just been ashore on a small Island near this Harbour, to kill some Seals, to drink their Blood. They had no Excuse, but that they fell asleep; and that the Breezes had wafted us in the Bark away from them. We had not much time to observe the Place, which, however, upon a transient View, appeared to us very pleasantly situated among Orchards and Vineyards. After we left it, we proceeded along the Coast very cautiously, as knowing, that we were now almost in the Mouths of our Enemies, and that the least Act of Indiscretion must throw us into their Hands. We ventured, however, to look into the Roads of *Guancabaco*, *Malabrigo*, and *Ceripe*; but, seeing no Shipping in them, passed on between the Island of *Lobos de Tierra* and the Continent. On November 25, we found ourselves near the Saddle of *Payta*; and I immediately bethought me, that, tho' our Force was much diminished since we last took it, yet we might, without any Hazard, surprise them in the Night. Accordingly, we endeavoured to get in with the Ship, till, it growing calm, it was thought better to defer it till the Morning, since our being in a *Spanish* built Ship, would be sufficient to deceive the Inhabitants, and make it impossible for them to suspect us. In the Morning, the People ashore, observing the Fatigue we underwent in making so many short Trips to gain Ground to Windward, sent off a large Boat, full of Men, to help us to bring in our Ship, and inquire News of us. As soon as we saw them making towards us, I ordered, that none should be seen, but such as wore the *Spanish* Complexion and Dress, who were ready to answer such Questions as they asked in hailing us, and give them a Rope to make fast their Boat when they clapped us aboard, while some should be concealed under the Gunnel, with Musquets ready to point into their Boat, and command them in as soon as they had made themselves fast. This Stratagem had its Effect. I examined the Prisoners of the Condition of the Town, which, they assured us, was very poor at present, there being neither Money nor Provisions in it; and shewed me a small Bark on shore, which Captain *Clipperton* had sent in a little while before, with some of his Prisoners; upon which every thing had been again removed into the Country. This unwelcome News did not hinder us from keeping on our Way, with our *Spanish* Colours flying, till we came to the Anchorage. I sent Mr. *Brooks*, as soon as our Anchor was down, with both the Boats, and twenty-four Men, no more of them appearing than those that rowed, and two or three sitting in each, the rest, with their Arms, lying in the Bottoms of the Boats; so that, when my People landed, they found the Children playing on the Beach, who immediately took the Alarm, and ran away at the Sight of armed Men. In an Instant, the whole Place was in a Consternation, and happy was the Man who could make his Escape, the Town being left destitute, and the Enemy being too nimble of Foot for ours to overtake them. They ranacked *Payta*, and, upon a strict Search, found, that our Prisoners had not deceived us in saying the Place was

poor; for they could find nothing but a few Bales of coarse Cloth, about 500 Weight of dried Dog-fish, two or three Pedlars Packs, and an inconsiderable Quantity of Bread and Sweat-meats: So that we had but small Employment for our Boats. But, though we had so little Success in our Land Enterprize, we took a Booty as we lay at Anchor in the Ship; which was a Vessel with about fifty Jars of *Peruvian* Wine, and Brandy. The Master of her told me, that he was come by Stealth from *Calao*, there being Orders, that none but Ships of some Force should stir out. He told me the same Story that the Captain of the *Jesus Maria* had before, and gave me to understand, that it would be next to impossible for me to get off from the Coast without being taken. But to return to the Town: My People were in no great Hurry to quit it, and, it being now dark, some of the *Spaniards*, who were lurking about the Out-skirts of the Town, hearing so many Small-arms fired in the Road, instantly concluded, that our Ship was attacked, and were in hopes, that some of their Men of War were come again to deliver them from the Hands of their Enemies. Upon these false Surmises, they began to assemble together; and, being apprised of the small Number of *English* ashore, who did not exceed eighteen, came down the Hills in a great Fury. At first my People, not doubting they were in Earnest, took Refuge in the biggest Church, resolving to defend themselves there; but at length they marched out, and formed themselves into a Line, kept their Drum beating, and, one of them firing a Musquet at random, they spoiled the *Spaniards* Jest, heard no more of them, and embarked very quietly. From hence we directed our Course for the Island of *Gorgona*, in the Bay of *Panama*; and, in our Passage thither, built a Tank, or wooden Cistern, to hold ten Tons of Water. In our Way, we made the Island of *Plate*, Cape *St. Francisco*, and *Gorgonella*, or *Little Gorgona*; and, on December 2, arrived at the Island of *Gorgona* itself, where we had the Advantage of filling our Water-cask in the Boat, the Water running in small Streams into the Sea; and cut down our Wood at High-water-mark: So that, in less than forty-eight Hours, we did our Business. From this Place we hurried away, for fear of those who might be in quest of us; and, having got out of the Track of the Enemy's Ships, consulted on the properest Method of proceeding: And then the Majority were for going directly for the Coasts of *Asia*. Upon which, we changed our Ship's Name from the *Jesus Maria* to the *Happy Return*, and applied all our Endeavours towards quitting these Coasts; but the Winds and Current were contrary; and some against this Motion did so much Damage clandestinely to our Tank, that the greatest Part of the Water leaked out, so that this, with continual contrary Winds, and dead Calms, which had detained us, till our Provisions were much exhausted, rendered us incapable of undertaking so long a Run: Therefore, to furnish ourselves with what we wanted, I proposed a Descent on *Rio Lejo*, in the Latitude of $11^{\circ} 50'$ North, on the Coast of *Mexico*; but, in our Way thither, we accidentally fell in with Cape *Burica*, in the Latitude of $8^{\circ} 20'$ North; and then, on second Thoughts, judged it would be safer for us to make some Attempts on the Island of *Quibo*, in the Latitude of $7^{\circ} 30'$ North, where, by Captain *Rogers's* Account, I guessed there were Inhabitants, who lived plentifully on the Product of that Island.

Captain *Betagh*, in his Remarks, gives us quite a different View of every Transaction: He asserts, of his own Knowledge, that the *Margaretta*, instead of being a forty Gun Ship, carried only thirteen Guns; and further asserts, that the Commander of her, who was a *Frenchman*, told him, they had not above a dozen Cartridges of Powder on board, and two or three Small-arms belonging to the Passengers, with only Stones and Ballast for Shot. He likewise assures us, that they suffered no other Hurt, than a Negro being wounded in the Cheek; and that a Man stood by the Colours, ready to strike them, in case Captain *Shelvocke* had boarded her; but that it was the Captain, and not the Men, who thought it best to sheer off, without making such an Attempt. He admits, however, that Captain *Shelvocke* did his utmost Endeavour to take the other great Ship; but that, his Bark being too slight, he failed. He likewise acknowledges, that the Captain was in the right not to ac-

cept the 16000 Dollars offered him for the *Jefus Maria*; because it gave him an Opportunity of cruising in the South Seas, or of going to *Asia*, whenever he thought it necessary. But let us now return to the Voyage:

21. On January 13. 1721. we entered, says the Captain, between the Islands of *Quibo* and *Quivetta*, in twenty Fathom Water, over-against a sandy Bay, which promised us great Conveniences for Wooding and Watering. I therefore sent the Boat thither to view it, who reported, that there was a good close Harbour a little to the South; and that they saw no Signs of Inhabitants, except three or four Huts by the Water-side, which, they supposed, had formerly been made use of by Pearl-fishers, there being great Quantities of Mother-of-pearl-shells about them. I considered the Matter attentively, and at last resolved not to shut myself up in a close Harbour, for fear of bad Consequences. As soon as Day broke the next Morning, we saw two large Boats rowing in for *Quivetta*, one of them having *Spanish* Colours flying; which gave me some Apprehensions, that they might have some Intelligence of, and intended to attack us. It may not be amiss to inform the Reader here, that the Mulattoes on the Coast of *Mexico* are remarkable for their Courage, and have sometimes done very bold Actions in such small Embarkations as these. However, as to the People we had to do with, they continued their Course, till we saw them go into a small Cove on the Island of *Quivetta*; which gave us very great Satisfaction, as it convinced us, that they had no Thoughts of attacking our Ship. The Tables were now turned, and, from contriving how to defend ourselves, we began to turn our Thoughts on the Means of engaging them; and, after a little Debate, whether it would be prudent for us to attack them in our Boat, it was resolved, on all Hazards, to go after them in our Yawl; which Enterprize was commanded by Mr. Brooks first Lieutenant, who found them all ashore, brought away their Piraguas, and two Prisoners; the one a Mulatto, the other a Negro. The rest fought for Refuge in the Woods. We took all their Provisions, which consisted of a little Pork, and some green, ripe, and dried Plantains. There was a large Quantity of the latter, which, being pounded, made a grateful Flour to the Taste, indifferently white; and, all together, made up a Month's Bread. The Mulatto mortified us very much, by telling us, that a Vessel, laden with Provisions, had passed very near to us in the Night; but, to make amends, promised to conduct us to a Place, where we might supply ourselves without Hazard, provided we were not above two or three Days about it; wherefore we were very brisk in getting our Wood and Water. On January 16. we weighed from hence for *Mariato*, that being the Name of the Place we were bound to. In going out from *Quibo*, we were in imminent Danger of being horrid by the Current upon two Rocks, lying at a small Distance from one another off the Northernmost Point of *Quivetta*; but, having cleared them, we steered through *Canal Bueno*, or the *Good Channel*, so called, from its Safety, being free from dangerous Sholes and Rocks. It might as properly be called the Straights of *Quibo*, which forms the Western Side of it, extending about eight or nine Leagues North and South. Over-against the South Entrance of these Straights, at the Distance of a League from Point *Mariato*, which is the Westernmost Point of the Gulph of *St. Martin*, lies the Island of *Sebaco*, which is, to the best of my Judgment, about ten Leagues in Circumference. I ran along the South End of it, and found every Point flat at least a League from the Shore; and, on the 19th in the Evening, we got safe in between *Mariato* and the Island of *Sebaco*, and anchored in six Fathom Water, over-against a green Field; which is Instruction sufficient, there being but that clear Spot thereabouts. Our Pilot desired we might be going at least three Hours before Day-light, and that then we should be in good time at the Plantations. Accordingly, I went at two the next Morning in our own Boat, and ordered the two Lieutenants in the two Piraguas, leaving my Son, and a few with him, to take care of the Ship. Our Pilot, having us in Charge, carried us up some Part of the River of *St. Martin*, and, out of that, into several Branches of very narrow Creeks, amongst many Groves, where we had not Room to row. I could by no means approve of this Navigation, and there-

fore kept a strict Eye upon our Guide, and was ready to suspect, that he had no good Design in his Head. We landed just at Day-break, and, when we came on the Bank, found ourselves in a fine Savannah or Plain; and, after a March of about three Miles, came to two Farm-houses: But those belonging to them made their Escape, except the Wife and Children of one Houfe. We had the Satisfaction of seeing, that this Place answered the Description that had been given us of it, being surrounded by numerous Herds of Black Cattle, Hogs, and plenty of Fowls of all sorts, together with some dried Beef, Plantains, and *Indian* Corn; and, for the present, we were entertained with a Breakfast of hot Cake and Milk: A Diet we had been long unacquainted with. When it was broad Day, I saw our Ship close by us; upon which I asked our Mulatto, How he came to bring us so far about? Who answered, That there was a River between us; and that he did not know, whether it was fordable, or not. I therefore sent some to try, who found it was not above Knee-deep: Wherefore, to avoid carrying our Plunder so far by Land and Water, I ordered, that our Boats should row out of the River of *St. Martin*, and come to the Beach over-against the Ship. We had not been long here, before we had the Master of the Family in Custody, who brought Horfes with him, and desired we would make use of him in any thing he could serve us. This Offer was kindly received; and I presently employed him to carry what I thought fit to our Boat. This done, he went among his Black Cattle, and brought us what Number I thought we could save; for we had but little Salt, and I could not afford Water to keep them alive when we came to Sea; so that, as soon as they were on board, they were killed, and their Flesh preserved by cutting it into long Slips, of the Thickness of one's Finger, and then sprinkling it with so small a Quantity of Salt, that we did not use above four or five Pounds to 100 Weight. Having let it lie together two or three Hours, we hung it up to dry in the Sun two or three Days successively; which perfectly saved it, which could not have been done in any any other way, by any other Quantity of the best Salt. As we had now done all we proposed, we departed from hence the next Morning, with our Decks full of Fowls and Hogs, amongst which one had his Navel on his Back; which, the *Spaniards* say, when wild in the Woods, is a terrible Creature to meet with, altho', at their full Growth, they are but small. We returned by the same Way that we came, through *Canal Bueno*, and made a Stop at *Quibo*, to complete our Water; and, when we sailed, gave our two Prisoners the largest Piragua, that those still remaining at *Quivetta* might return from whence they came. But I must here inform my Reader, that the Wine and Brandy we had taken, had worked so briskly with my Ship's Company, as to divide them into two Parties, inveterate to the last Degree one against another, who used to be so firmly united at first; inasmuch that I have had, in one Night's time, the Ringleaders of both of them desiring me to espouse their Cause, both assuring me, that the other had a Design on my Life; and urged me to take the Opportunity to murder those, who were not of their Faction. It is even unaccountable to myself, how the Mischief was diverted; for I could use no Means, but speaking calmly to them on both Sides, and suffer them (indeed it was out of my Power to hinder it) to get drunk as often as they would; and, in that Condition, they have often, all together, been skirmishing with each other; and I have had, more than once, my Cloaths almost torn off my Back in endeavouring to part them. It was happy, that this Trade did not last long; for, while they had any thing to drink, I judged it unsafe to lay my Head on my Pillow; which almost wearied me out of my Life. But their free Access to the Liquor shortened the Term of this miserable Way of passing our Time; and tho', while it held, it was attended by some vexatious Consequences, yet it had this one good Effect, that it helped off with the liquid Evil at a great rate. Necessitous Hunger obliged them to act jointly and vigorously together at *Mariato*; but, after having glutted themselves a Day or two, they relapsed again, and were as distracted as ever, though now in the midst of a moderate Plenty. My Land, as well as Sea-officers, were now obliged to learn, at least, how to steer, in order to take their Turns with the Seamen.

Such was the Pass they had now brought themselves to ; for, by sinking my Authority, they had absolutely lost their own, and were even in a worse Situation than I ; inas- much as the Crew, for their own sakes, were obliged to have recourse to me upon all Emergencies, obeying me punctually while those lasted, and abusing me plentifully as soon as they were over.

22. On the 25th of January in the Morning, we discovered a Sail about two Leagues to the Leeward : We gave them Chase till such time as we discovered they were Europe built ; and then, fearing she might be one of the Enemies Men of War, I clapped on a Wind, and in half an Hour it fell calm. We soon after saw a Boat rowing towards us, which proved the Pinnace of our Comfort the *Success*, commanded by their first Lieutenant Mr. *Deviston*. This Interview amazed us both ; he was surpris'd to find me in such a Condition, and I no less at finding him in those Seas. I entertained him with a Rehearsal of our Misfortunes, which had happened in the long Interval, since we were separated near the Coast of England, till our present Meeting ; and he, on his Part, entertained me with remarkable Incidents which had fallen out with them ; particularly, that about a Twelvemonth before they had taken a new French Brigantine, and put their Officers and Ship's Company's Plunder on board of her, which they valued at 10,000 Pounds Sterling ; that their second Captain Mr. *Mitchell* was intrusted with the Command of her, and was ordered to go with her to some Island on the Coast of Mexico, and there to stay till Captain *Clipperton* joined him with his Ship ; but that they never could find the Island since, and therefore judged, that poor *Mitchell*, and his Men, were either starved, or murdered by the Spaniards or Indians, who are very dexterous at that kind of Work, or that he had perished with the Island, which Captain *Clipperton*, and some others, were of Opinion was sunk, since by all their Endeavours, they could not find it out. Startled at so improbable a Conjecture, Mr. *Deviston* continued, that I need not be surpris'd at it, since such Submersions were very common on the Coasts ; and began to tell me of a dreadful Instance of it on the Coast of Peru, which had happened a little before ; for, says he, my Captain, having a Desire to look into the Road of *Cheripe*, when we arriv'd there, we found the Town, and a great Part of the Land, which formed the Road, intirely under Water ; but, I undeceived him in this, by telling him, how lately we had seen that very Place. The Truth of it is, that Captain *Clipperton*, though he was reputed to be well skilled in this Navigation, was always unfortunate in finding out any Port, &c. and, left his continual Blunders should be imputed to his Ignorance, he always found out some Expedient to evade any Suspicion of his Inability. The Story of Captain *Mitchell*, who was a very worthy Man, and an expert Sailor, is, in all its Circumstances, very tragical ; there was always a Jealousy between him and his Captain, who ordered him to a Place (and pretended to give him infallible Directions to find it) which never could be found afterwards, and, it is my Opinion, never was above Water ; and the unfortunate Gentleman, without doubt, perished in some obscure miserable Manner, in the Quest of a Place that was never yet, and perhaps never will be, discovered. In our Discourse, I asked Mr. *Deviston* the Value of their Booty, who assured me, that it did not exceed 70,000 Dollars, but that they had lost great Opportunities : That in October 1720. they were in the Bay of *Conception*, and had the Misfortune of leaving three laden Ships behind them, and missed a fourth, that was coming into the Bay, which was so near as to hail them, talk to them, and was becalmed by them ; and that, though it was probable, that their Launch would have taken them all four, yet, through their Captain's Deafness to Advice, they took none of them ; and that, moreover, they had never cleaned their Bottom, notwithstanding they had it several times in their Power to do it ; and that this Negligence had like to have cost them dear ; for, in their Return from *Conception*, they looked into *Cumbebo*, where they saw five Ships at Anchor, three of which let slip after them, and neared them apace ; but, by the Favour of thick Weather, and a hard Gale of Wind, they got clear of them : And further, that off the Port of

of *Calao*, they fell in with the *Flying Fish*, a Frigate, which by unpardonable Mismanagement on the Part of *Clipperton*, got safe from them, although deeply laden with a valuable Cargo. Such was my Discourse with Mr. *Deviston*, when a Gale sprung up, which interrupted us, and I bore down upon the *Success*, and went on board of her. I gave Captain *Clipperton*, and Mr. *Godfrey*, the Agent General, the whole History of my Voyage hitherto, and expected that I should have been treated by them as one belonging to the same Interest, but found I was mistaken ; for they were unwilling to have any thing to do with me, since my Ship was lost. However, I conceived, he would not be so inhuman as to deny me the Supply of such Necessaries as I wanted, and he could conveniently spare. The Answer was, That I should know more of his Mind the next Day. Amongst other Discourse, he told me, that he was just come from the Land of *Cheris* ; that his People were sickly, and at very short Allowance : Whereupon I offered my Service to pilot him to *Mariato*, which was not above thirty Leagues distant from us, where he might have refreshed his Company, and supplied himself with what he would. But this was not accepted, he being resolv'd to make the best of his Way to the *Tres Marias*, where he said there was Turtle enough to be had ; so I left him for that Night. The next Morning, as I was going on board of him again, with some of my Officers, he at once spread all his Canvas, and crowded away from us who were in the Boat ; upon which I returned to our Ship again, and made Signals of Distress, and fired our Gun several times, which was not regarded by him, till his very Officers exclaimed at his Barbarity, and at last he brought-to. When I had sailed up with him, I sent Mr. *Brooks*, first Lieutenant, to know the Reason of his abrupt Departure, and to tell him, that we stood in need of several Necessaries, which I would purchase of him : Upon these Terms he spared me two of his Quarter-deck Guns, sixty round Shot, some Musquet-balls and Flints, and a Spanish Chart of the Coast of *Mexico*, and Part of *India* and *China*, an half Hour and an half Minute Glass, a Compass, and about 300 Weight of Salt ; but, all the Arguments I could use, could not persuade him to spare us the least thing out of his Surgeon's Chest for the Relief of Mr. *Coldsea*, our Master, who was still very ill of his Wounds received in the Engagement with the *Margareta*, about three Months before. We returned, for what we had of him, some Bales of coarse Broad-cloth, as much Pitch and Tar as he would have, some Pigs of Copper, and I gave him a large silver Ladle for a dozen of Spadoes. When this was concluded, I asked him if I could be of any Service to him ; and assured him, that I had a pretty good Ship under Foot, though she made but a poor Figure ; and believed that I could hold him Way, and that he knew that our Cargo was pretty valuable. To which he answered, That, if I had a Cargo of Gold, he had no Business with me ; and that I must take care of myself. Mr. *Hendry* the Agent, Mr. *Rainer*, and Mr. *Dodd*, Lieutenants of Marines, seeing but little Prospect, that we should ever get Home, and being weary of the hard Work that was imposed on them, desired I would let them go on board the *Success* for a Passage to England ; which I having consented to, they went on board accordingly, and *Clipperton* left us to shift for ourselves near the Island of *Cano*. Having this Supply, I was for going to the Southward into the Bay of *Panama*, to try our Fortunes there ; but the Majority opposed me through Fear, and were for going to the *Tres Marias*, to salt Turtle there, and then stretch over for *India*. We directed our Course thither, but the Wind near the Land continued reigning in the Western Board ; and the Coast of *Mexico* lying nearest North-west by West, and South-east by East, we crept to Windward, but very slowly, and at so tedious a Rate, that we began again to be very short of Provisions before we had got the Length of *Rio Lejo*, which renewed our Design of landing there, which had been laid aside on our Supply got at *Mariato*. But this Intention was no sooner resumed, than frustrated ; for we were blown past it by a *Tegoantepague*, for so the Spaniards on this Coast call a violent Gale at North-east.

As we continued our Voyage along-shore, we a few Days after met the *Succesi* in quest of *Sonfonate*, where they expected to receive the Marquis of *Villa Roeb's* Ransom, who had been for some time Prisoner on board of them. We ranged close under their Stern, and asked how Captain *Clipperton*, and the rest of the Gentlemen, did; but it was not thought proper to return us any Answer: So, without any Concern, he steered one Way, and we another. After this, calm and contrary Winds, and unaccountable Currents, reduced us to a small Allowance, which we were obliged to diminish daily; and should have been in worse Distress than ever, had it not been for the Turtle which we from time to time took on the Surface of the Water. We had continual Look-outs for them, and they were easily known, at a great Distance, by the Sea-birds which perched on their Backs; so that, upon Sight of these, we laid aside the Advantages we might have made of the Wind, to embrace any Offer of prolonging our Provisions. Upon the Whole, though we lost some of our Way in Pursuit of them, yet they had a worse Consequence, for the Dressing them made a great Consumption of Water; and this Relapse into a State of Famine, threatening us with certain Perdition, if Means were not timely used to avoid it, made me propose the Plundering some small Town as we coasted along-shore. *Guatimco* was the nearest to us of any; but, the very Morning that we were standing in for it, we saw a Sail a considerable Way to Leeward of us: We thought it more proper to take this Ship, than to venture ashore, and therefore bore down to her, which, in the End, proved to be the *Succesi*; I forgot to mention the Signal that was agreed on between us at first, in case of our meeting at Sea, which was, to clew up the Main-top-gallant-sail, and fire a Gun to Leeward. This Signal I made, as soon as I thought we were near enough for him to perceive it; whereupon he haled on a Wind, and did not so much as lay-by a Moment for us to come up with him; so that we were now so far to the Leeward of our Port, by bearing down to him, that it was needless to have beat up against the Wind for an Uncertainty. This brought us down to a small earthen Plate of Calavances for twenty-four Hours, which not being sufficient to keep us alive, we had recourse to the Remainder of our smoked Congers, which had for some Months been neglected, and had been soaking and rotting in the bulge Water, and was certainly as disagreeable Food as could be tasted.

Under these calamitous Circumstances did we meet the *Succesi* a fourth time, near the Port of *Angels*, in 16° 50' North Latitude; and, after having made the appointed Signal, stood so near to one another, that a Biscuit might have been tossed from Ship to Ship, but did not exchange a Word; for Captain *Clipperton* had ordered all his Officers, and Ship's Company, to take no Notice of us; which, I presume, was the greatest Indication of an inhuman Disposition, who could unconcernedly see us wandering up-and-down an inhospitable Coast, in want of every thing necessary to keep the Sea; nor was the Faultiness of our Ship all, but we had also our Provisions to seek; and, where to find any, none of us could tell; for all of the Coast that we had seen, was so wild and open to the Sea, that it would have been impossible for us to have landed, which, indeed, nothing could have urged us to, but the Extremity of Want we were in at this Time. And so truly sensible was *Clipperton* of the Difficulties and Hazards we had to cope with, if my Design was for going to *India*, that he said, that the Child that was born the Day before, would be grey-headed with Age before we should arrive there; intimating, by that Expression, that it was impossible for us to do it: Notwithstanding which, he could see us on the Brink of undergoing the greatest Severities our ill Conduct could load us with, and not lend us a helping Hand to deliver us from impending Ruin, although he could foresee no means by which we might avoid a lingering Death by Sea, or throwing ourselves upon the barbarous *Indians*, or *Creslian Spaniards*; who, if we had escaped the Fury of the Surf on the Strand, might have put an ignominious End to our Lives, they having been rarely known to give any Quarter.

On March 12. being off the Port of *Acapulco*, towards the Evening, we saw a Ship between us and the Shore: I bore down to her; till, perceiving her to be a large *Europe* built Ship, with *Spanish* Colours flying, I concluded that she was the *Peregrine*; who, as I have been informed, was to have carried the Prince of *St. Bueno* to this Port, in his Way to *Spain*. With these Suspicions, I haled again on a Wind; which he seeing, pulled down his *Spanish*, and hoisted an *English* Ensign, and made the Signal agreed on between *Clipperton* and me for knowing one another; as also his old Signal to speak with me, as fixed amongst other Signals between us before we came out of *England*. Notwithstanding which, I should hardly have trusted him, had we not been so near *Acapulco*; whither, I thought, *Clipperton* might have come with a Resolution of cruising for the *Manilla* Ship, and wait for her coming out of that Harbour; and, thinking herself too weak, was now willing to reinforce herself with what Strength I could assist him: So that, making no doubt but it was he, I bore down upon him; and, being come along his Side, he sent Captain *Cooke*, his second Lieutenant, in his Yawl, with an obliging Letter to me; wherein he informed me, that he was cruising for the homeward-bound *Manilla* Ship, and desired I would assist him in the Enterprize, and come on board him the next Morning, to consult on the properest Methods of attacking her; and proposed an Union of our two Ships Companies. I was very well pleased at this Offer; and, without Hesitation, returned him Word, that I would be with him early. In the mean time, I read over his Letter to my People publicly, and exhorted them seriously to consider the great Benefits that would accrue to us, on all Sides, from it. Upon which, they all expressed the utmost Willingness to join in such an Undertaking: But, as *Clipperton* had used us so unhandlome, they desired I would get some Security for their Shares, signed by Captain *Clipperton*, Mr. *Godfrey*, the Agent, and the rest of their Officers. So I went on board, according to Appointment, with Mr. *Brooks* and *Randall*, my Lieutenants, and was received with a seeming unreserved Civility; and, all Animosities being, as it were, lost in Oblivion, nothing now appeared among us but a perfect Harmony. I first told Captain *Clipperton*, and Mr. *Godfrey*, that my Officers, &c. expected such a Paper from under their Hands, as should intitle them to such Shares, as were allowed them by the Owners Articles: To which they answered, that it was but reasonable that they should be satisfied in that; and immediately drew up an Instrument fully worded, and signed it; which was all my People desired to make them easy. We then proceeded upon our main Business; and, after a mature Deliberation, it was thought most advisable, that I should send the greatest Part of my Men on board the *Succesi*, as soon as we saw the *Manilla* Ship come out of *Acapulco*, and leave only a Boat's Crew with me to bring me away, in case I should have Occasion to make use of mine as a Fireship, or a Smoker, as we proposed, if we found them too hard for us; and it was determined to board her at once, because otherwise we should have had much the worst of it, on account of their superior Weight of Metal, and the better Capacity of their Ships to bear a Cannonading. *Clipperton* assured me, he was certain of the Time she would sail from this Port, which the *Spaniards* say is always within a Day or two after *Passion-week*, of which we had a Fortnight yet to come. Before I returned to my own Ship, I acquainted Captain *Clipperton* with our Shortness of Water: Upon which he told me, that he had eighty Tons, and that he would spare me as much as I would have, or any thing else his Ship afforded. I had now the Pleasure of enjoying my Command in as regular a manner as ever, every one, from the highest to the lowest, expressing the Satisfaction they had in the Prospect before us. But *Morpheu*, the Ringleader of all our Disorders, fearing my Repentment would fall heavily upon him, after all, thought it was his best way to insinuate himself into the Favour of the Captain and Officers of the *Succesi*; which he did effectually, by an humble submissive outward Deportment, and prevailing Presents. In short, he had his End, and left me to go on board there on March 14. in the Evening; and, the next Day, Mr. *Raine*

came on board of us to visit his old Ship-mates, and to stay with us all Night. I constantly kept reminding *Clipperton* of our want of Water, and he as often promised to supply us with a large Quantity at once. Thus we cruised in good Order, and with a great deal of Hope, until *March 7*. the Time appointed for me to suffer the most prodigious Piece of Treachery that could be committed. But, in order to give my Reader an exact Account of the Circumstances of it, I must inform him, that we used to cruise off-and-on the Shore at such a convenient Distance, as not to be discovered from the Land: At the same time it was next to impossible, for any Ship to stir out of the Harbour of *Acapulco* without our seeing them; and we, not failing so well as the *Success*, it was *Clipperton's* Custom to shorten Sail for us, particularly in the Night, and shew us Lights on all necessary Occasions: But, towards this Evening, he stretched a-head of us about two Leagues, and I could not perceive, that he so much as lowered a Top-gallant-sail for us to come up with him: However, I kept standing after him, till we were almost on the Breakers of the Shore; which of consequence obliged us to tack, and stand out to Sea. The next Morning we had no Sight of any Ship near us, which laid me under the most terrible Apprehensions, considering the sad Condition we were in for want of Water, and the vast Distance we were from any Place where we could expect to get any; having now no Choice left, but either to beat up 220 Leagues to *Tres Marias*, or to bear away for the Gulph of *Amapala*, at a much more considerable Distance. I was afterwards informed, by some of Captain *Clipperton's* Officers I met with in *China*, that he committed this Cruelty absolutely against the Will, and even against the repeated Remonstrances, of his Officers, who abhorred such an Act of Barbarity. I was likewise informed by some *Spaniards* from *Manila*, that the *Acapulco* Ship sailed about a Week after we left the Cruise: This Ship was called the *Santo Christo*, carried upwards of forty Brass Guns, and was exceedingly rich; so that I leave the Reader to judge, how the Thoughts of such a Disappointment must affect me.

These several Interviews with Captain *Clipperton* are the most important Circumstances in the History of this Voyage, and therefore deserve to be very seriously examined. We have stated them in the former Section in quite another Light, and from unexceptionable Authority, that of an impartial Person, who had no particular Prejudice to Captain *Shelvocke*, and who was far enough from being blind to *Clipperton's* Errors. From the Consideration of this, Captain *Brady*, speaking of *Shelvocke's* Account of the Loss of Captain *Mitchell* in the *Chibby*, makes the following very judicious Observations. The Journal, says he, (meaning Mr. *Taylor's*) tells us how he was fitted out, and whither bound; that his Cargo was 10,000 Pounds Value. It is impossible then, supposing a real Misunderstanding, that *Clipperton* would pay so dear to get rid of this Gentleman: It is certain, he never embarked his Men in Lighters, or in empty Prizes, with any Design to make away with them, as *Shelvocke* served us. Captain *Mitchell* was put aboard a clean Ship, well manned, and provided with Stores and Necessaries, and a valuable Parcel of Goods, to dispose of, at *Brasil*, for the Owners Advantage, in order to secure them something; and it is true, that neither he, nor the twenty-three Men with him, were ever yet heard of: But how was *Clipperton* chargeable with that? or what Excuse can Captain *Shelvocke* make for these impious Reflections, but a sort of Pleasure he has in being revenged on the Memory of the Dead! Thus far *Mitchell* may be accounted for: The Journal tells us, that, being obliged to Wood and Water, he touched to the Northward at Port *Velas*, where, it is very probable, he and his Men became a Prey to the Enemy; for the same Article mentions, that several of *Clipperton's* Men saw some Shirts, and other Things worn by the Natives, which, by the Marks in them, convinced them *Mitchell* had been there. As to all that is said from *Darwin's* Conversation, we are to consider, that this Man was dead before it was published, and therefore could not confirm or disavow it. It likewise appears from the Journal, that Captain *Clipperton*, and his Company, looked upon *Shelvocke*, and his, as Persons on a different Footing: And, indeed, how could

they think otherwise? Does not Captain *Shelvocke's* own Account speak it? And might he not very well apprehend, that Captain *Clipperton* might fear the Corruption of his Crew, by their associating too freely with Men who had given such Evidence of their bad Principles. As to their adjusting all Differences, and comforting together again, let us hear what Captain *Brady* says on it. As to the Remarks, says he, that Captain *Shelvocke* has made upon this Transaction, and the Pains he has taken to represent *Clipperton* as a Monster, they do not deserve any Regard. The Journal says, the Proposal to *Shelvocke* was this; That if he and his Crew would refund all the Money shared amongst themselves, contrary to the Owners Articles, and put it in a Joint-stock, then all Faults should be forgot, both Companies unite, and proceed to cruise for the *Acapulco* Ship: The very next Article in the Journal is, that, not hearing from Captain *Shelvocke*, and the Time for the *Acapulco* Ship setting out for *Manila* being several Days past, resolved in Council to make our best Dispatch for the *East Indies*. Here is the plain true Account of the Affair, and how the Treaty broke off. But *Shelvocke* has laboured hard to pervert the Truth of this Fact, as he has done all the rest, thinking to gain Pity from Mankind, by telling what he suffered through the Deceit of *Clipperton*, never expecting that these Things would be refuted and cleared up. Besides, there may be other Reasons assigned for *Clipperton's* sudden Separation, though not entered in the Journal; for he knew, before he left *England*, that the *Spanish* Fleet were all taken and destroyed by Admiral *Byng*, and therefore a Peace was probably concluded, being two Years past; and might think *Shelvocke*, who had not made his Fortune while the War lasted, and had really ruined the Project, ought, of the two, to be the Sufferer: It is very likely *Clipperton*, for these Reasons, did not care to embarrass his Ship just upon the Point of his leaving the South Seas; but, on second Thoughts, concluded, it was better to keep what he had got. These, I say, are very fair Conjectures; but the Reason, mentioned in the Journal above, is sufficient of itself; for *Shelvocke* thought the Conditions proposed by *Clipperton* were too strict: He did not care to refund what he had unlawfully shared, which, doubtless, he ought to have done; and, for the Neglect of which, it is evident, the whole Affair ended. Discussing this Business has taken up a great deal of Room, though I have been as concise as possible; but it is some Comfort, that we have now, in some measure, arrived at the End of these Disputes, and may pursue our Relation without any farther Interruptions. We will therefore resume the Captain's Narration, and take notice of that Change of Fortune he met with, at a time, when, in his own Opinion, his Affairs were most desperate; which shews, that, in these Seas, Men never want Resources, if there be any Degree of Courage and Conduct in their Commander.

23. In the Situation we were in, all Things were to be hazarded, and any Experiment to be tried, which had the least Appearance of succeeding. We continued our Course therefore, under all the Inconveniences that perhaps any Ship's Company ever endured, distressed for Provisions, weak in point of Number, and so far from being united, that the Sense of common Danger could not restrain us within the Bounds of common Civility to each other, though all Things depended upon right Behaviour. The Winds and Weather, however, continued so favourable to us, that on the 30th of *March* we found ourselves before the Port of *Sanfonmate*: It was about Sun-set when we looked into this Harbour, where we discovered a Ship of good Size, lying at Anchor: Upon this, as it was a fine Moon-light Evening, I sent my first Lieutenant, with some of our best Hands, in the Yawl, to see what she was. The Boat had not been long gone before we heard two Guns fired; and soon after my Lieutenant returned, and reported, she was a stout large Ship, with one Tire of Guns at least. We little regarded her Strength, or our own Weakness, believing our Necessities would make us a Match for her; and therefore I continued plying in all Night, and prepared to engage her. At Sun-rising, the Land-breeze blew so fresh off from the Shore, that we worked in but slowly; in the mean time, we received all

their Fire upon every Board we made, without making them the least Return, and their Boat was employed to transport Soldiers from the Shore to the Ship. They hoisted a Jar, of about ten Gallons of Powder and Match, at each Main and Fore-yard-arms, and Bowprit-end, to let fall on our Decks, if we boarded them; which Contrivance, if it had taken Effect, would have soon made an End of both Ships, and those that were in them. Seeing them so desperate in their Preparations to receive us, I could not but expect a warm Dispute; but, as our Cafe would not admit any Neglect of what offered, though at ever so hazardous a Rate, their Contrivances for Defence did not much dismay us. About eleven in the Morning the Sea-breeze came in, and, that I might make our small Force the most beneficial to us, I ordered our three Guns to be brought over on the Side we were like to engage them; and, being within less than Musquet-shot, discharged them: The Sea-breeze freshning ran us upon them very fast, whilst our Small-arms were effectually employed to break the Powder-jars before we actually boarded them; which we did without Delay; and, after the Exchange of a few Shot, when aboard of each other, they submitted. This Ship was called the *Sacra Familia*, of three hundred Tons, six Guns, and seventy Men. She had a great Number of Small-arms, Grenade-shells, and Shot; they had been for some time before arrived from *Calao*, with Wine and Brandy; but had now nothing in her but fifty Jars of Gunpowder, a small Parcel of Rusk, and jerked Beef: In short, she could hardly be said to be worth the Trouble we took, or the Risk we ran; but she having the Character of being a better Sailor, and visibly better fitted than ours, I changed Ships, and we all went on board our Prize, which had been equipped in the warlike Manner we found her, and commissioned on Purpose to take us, if she should chance to meet us in her Way. Our Small-arms (to do Justice to my People) were handled with the greatest Dexterity; but, being employed mostly in shattering the Powder-jars, that the combustible Matter in them might fall into the Water, there was none killed but the Boatwain, and only one slightly wounded; but, if our Small-arms had not been so usefully diverted, there could not have failed of being a considerable Slaughter amongst them; on our part, we did not receive the least Damage. The Merchant we had taken in this Action, seemed to be inclinable to purchase the *Jesus Maria*, which we had quitted; and, when he heard, that her Cargo consisted of Pitch, Tar, and Copper, he immediately consented to my Demand, and went ashore to raise the Sum. We had so little Provisions to spare, that we could not afford to keep any Prisoners in Possession; and therefore dismissed all the Whites, *Indians*, &c. detaining only the Negroes; and, that we might lose as little Time as possible, we set immediately to work, to over-haul our Rigging and Sails, that we might get our Ship ready for the Sea: But I was interrupted in this, by a Letter which came from the Governor of the Place in the Evening, which none of us could understand: But, by the Messenger that brought it, we found it was some Account of a Truce on foot between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*; and that the Governor requested me to stay five Days, that he might thoroughly satisfy me in it, by shewing me the Articles of Accommodation. I thought this very odd; and told the *Spanish* Gentleman, that it was not a peaceable or friendly Reception I met withal; and asked, how they came to arm themselves in so desperate a Manner, and why the Governor did not chuse to send a Flag of Truce to me with this Information, before we engaged, having the whole Morning beforehand; and why these Articles were not on board the Ship, she coming from *Lima*, from whence they said they received these Papers: And proceeded to tell him, that it was very strange to me, that none of the Officers we had taken Prisoners, should know any thing of the Matter: But that, notwithstanding all this, I had such a Regard for the very Name of Peace, that I would stay fifteen Days, if the Governor would supply us with Water and Provisions; and that, if he did not, I could not pretend to make above Twenty-four Hours stay here. I sent him also a short Answer to his Letter, excusing myself, on account of our understanding *Spanish* but indifferently; in which I told him,

that if, as he suggested, there was a Peace concluded between their *Britannic* and *Catholic* Majesties, I was ready, on due Proof, to act as he expected; but, in the mean time, I hoped, that as we were now Friends, he would permit me to have such small Refreshments as we wanted from his Port. The Governor, upon the Receipt of my Letter, expressed great Satisfaction, and seemed to make no Difficulty of granting my Request. Our Boats therefore, went on shore every Morning with their Flag of Truce. We received, for the first four Days, eight small Jars of Water; and, on the 5th, they reduced us to five Jars; and, during the whole time, had but one small Cow, which was attended by a Boat full of Men; amongst which were two Priests, who, with a Shew of Friendship, brought with them a Paper in *Spanish*, which they called the Articles of Peace, so wretchedly written and blotted, that, had it been *English*, we should have been puzzled to read it. I therefore desired the Priests to translate it fairly into *Latin*, which they promised to do; they took the Papers with them, and, for my farther Satisfaction, told me, that the Governor would send for some *Englishmen*, who lived at the City of *Guatemala*, if I would continue in the Road three Days longer: To which I answered, that he might take his own Time. In two Days after this, when the Boat went ashore as usual, the Governor ordered them to be made Prisoners as soon as they landed. I was all the Day in Suspense, not being able to guess what could detain them on shore; but was far from imagining, that the Governor would make such a Breach in the Laws of Nations. But, in the Evening, I was astonished to see only two of my Boat's Crew, in a small leaky Canoe, with two Letters, one from the Governor, the other from Mr. *Brooks*, my first Lieutenant: The Governor in his required me to deliver up the *Sacra Familia*, and surrender myself, and that otherwise he would declare us Pirates: And Mr. *Brooks* in his told me, that all he could learn, since he had been a Prisoner, was, that the Governor was endeavouring to bully me. The Governor proposed two Ways of conveying us out of the *Spanish* Dominions; the one to *Vera Cruz* by Land, or to *Lima*, in *Peru*, by Sea. These Offers I equally disliked; for I did not like a Journey, of 1300 Miles at least, through such a Country of barbarous People, nor yet a Voyage to *Lima*, under their Conduct. My two Men, who brought these Letters, told me, that *Frederic Mackenzy* had let the Governor into the Secret of our Necessities, and of my former Design of getting Water on the Island of *Tygers*, in the Gulph of *Amapala*, which he said he would take care to prevent, if we dared to attempt it; and believed, that he had us now safe enough, knowing that we had no other Boat left but a very small Canoe. Notwithstanding this, and though I saw there was no relying on the Honour of these People, I was willing to come to a farther Treaty; but I knew not how to communicate my Mind to the Governor, since it would have been an unreasonable Request in me, to have desired any of my Men to carry a Message to a Place where they were to be made Prisoners: But the two who brought the Letters off, voluntarily offered their Service, and a third went with them to throw out the Water; and I sent a Letter by them, in *French*, to this Purpose: "If I could be assured of a safe and sure Conduct for ourselves and Effects to *Panama*, and from thence, by the Way of *Portobelo*, to some of the *British* Plantations, we would come to a farther Treaty; which, if he intended, he must signify by firing two Guns, and by sending my People, and the usual Supply; otherwise Necessary would oblige me to fail that Night." But I received no manner of Answer to this; therefore I weighed before Day the next Morning, and lay-to in the Bay till ten of the Clock, expecting I should hear from the Shore; but nothing appearing, I made Sail, leaving behind me the *Jesus Maria*, a much more valuable Ship than the other. The Actions of this Gentleman shewed there could be no Peace: However, I instantly ordered a formal Protest to be drawn up against him.

24. When we got out to Sea, we reduced ourselves to a Pint of Water for twenty-four Hours, and directed our Course for *Amapala*, which was about thirty-five Leagues to the South South-east of this Place, in order to get

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Water there on the Island of *Tygers*. The Loss of my Officers and Boat's Crew sensibly diminished the Number of white Faces amongst us, and our Strength would have been so much weakened by it, that we should never have been able to have managed this great Ship, with her large heavy Cotton Sails, if we had not taken our Negro Prisoners along with us, who proved to be very good Sailors. The Loss of our Boat was a great Inconveniency to us; but, as I thought of only taking Water enough to *Panama*, where we were fully bent to surrender ourselves, if it was really Peace, I thought we could make shift with her to get such a Quantity as we should want in two or three Days time. The Winds being favourable, we arrived there in ten Days following: As soon as we entered the Gulph, we found ourselves in the midst of several small Islands, amongst the rest the Island of *Tygers*, where we expected a Supply of Water: But our Expectations proved vain; for, after an hazardous and fruitless Search for it, not only on that, but some of the greenest of the other Isles, there was not the least Drop of fresh Water to be found on any of them. Surrounded on all Sides with unhappy Circumstances, we weighed our Anchor on the 13th of *April*, before Day-break; and, having now open Sea before us, I brought my People in general to an obdurate Resolution, not by any means to surrender on this Part of the Coast, let the Consequence be ever so miserable. Upon this unanimous Agreement, having not forty Gallons of Water in the Ship, and no other Liquids, we came to so small Allowance as half a Pint of Water for twenty-four Hours; and even this Allowance was rather too large, considering that there was no Place that we knew of, where we could get any, nearer than the Island of *Quibo*, which was about two hundred Leagues Distance from us; and we were forty-three in Number, reckoning our Negroes. Thus resolved, we shaped our Course for *Quibo*; but, having very uncertain Winds and Weather, were thirteen Days at this Allowance; during which time, there is none, that has not experienced it, can conceive what we suffered in a sultry Clime, by the perpetual Extremity of Thirst, which would not permit us to eat an Ounce of Victuals in a Day. We constantly drank our Urine, which, though it moistened our Mouths for a time, excited our Thirst the more. Some attempted to drink large Quantities of the Sea-water, which had like to have killed them.

We were, however, unexpectedly assisted; for, on *April* the 25th, we came up with the Island of *Cano*, in the Latitude of 9° North, which, by the Verdure of it, promised to yield us Water, if we could get our Canoe ashore. Under Hopes of Succour from this little Isle, we came to an Anchor on the North-west Side of it, and it was as much as we could do to hand our Sails, stop the Cable, &c. We soon began to imagine that we could see a Run of Water; but, at the same time, dreaded the dangerous Surf, which broke on the Beach all round those Parts we had seen of it. Nevertheless, Mr. *Randal* was sent with some Jars, to try what could be done; but they not returning till it was very late at Night, I was fearful they were lost, or that, not finding Water there, they were gone to the Continent; but, to my unspeakable Satisfaction, they came aboard with their Jars filled. Any one may guess the Excess of Joy which there must naturally be amongst Men who were thus opportunely delivered from the Hands of Death; but, as they did not bring above sixty or seventy Gallons of it, I took care to restrain them from the Use of it, allowing to each Man only a Quart to be immediately distributed to them. What made me the more strict in this was, that Mr. *Randal* assured me, that the Breakers were so hazardous, that he believed we should not be able to get any more; but that very Night we chanced to have a Shower of Rain, which we made the best Use of, by catching what we could of it in Sheets, Blankets, &c. During this Thirst, we constantly wished for rainy Weather, and had often good Reason to expect it by louring black Clouds, which seemed every Minute to be ready to discharge their Burdens; yet never did before to any Purpose. Being willing to make another Essay the next Day, I sent the Boatwain, and some with him, to make a second Attempt; but, after having been quite round the Island, and waited the whole Day in Search of a smooth Beach, he

could not see one Spot where he might venture on shore. Therefore, thinking we had a Stock sufficient to carry us to *Quibo*, which was about thirty Leagues from us, I weighed the next Day, and, in ranging near the Island, saw a smooth Beach, which induced me to send the Boat a third time, that we might be provided against such contrary Currents or Calms as we might meet with in our Way: Accordingly they went and filled nine Jars; which done, we held our Way to the South-eastward, and in a few Days arrived at *Quibo*, and anchored at the same Place where we had been twice before.

Captain *Belagh* is very severe in his Reflections on Mr. *Shelvocke's* Management at *Sanfonnate*, where he says expressly, that he got rid of six more of his People; after which, he explains his Meaning, and vindicates his Assertion thus: I don't expect, says he, the World will judge of this Affair as I do, because those who are ignorant of the Circumstances of these Things, and unacquainted with *Shelvocke's* personal Behaviour, cannot make a proper Censure. When a Man dies in a Course of Physic, who knows whether it is Chance or Design in the Doctor? The Patient is gone by legal Prescription: So here, a Gentleman is clearly ordered ashore into the Enemy's Hands, and, if he never returns, who can say it is a Design, or Accident? Thus much is certain, they went without a Hostage; though *Shelvocke* always had strong Notions of the *Spaniards* Resentment, and their manner of Revenge, especially in *Mexico*, where the *Indians* are the cruellest People alive; and, while he was speaking of *Mitchell's* Story, we find him quick enough to leave it past Doubt, that he and his Men perished in some obscure Manner; and yet he must now send a young Gentleman ashore into the Clutches of this Enemy, at a time, when he knew the whole Coast was exasperated, and himself destitute of all common Necessaries, with a very indifferent Force, and, consequently, not able to resent any Affront, much less to avenge himself on the Governor, in case he detained *Brooks* and his Men. *Shelvocke*, immediately before and after this, acted in an hostile Manner on that Coast; and, even in their View, he took this Ship, called the *Holy Family*, where the Boatwain lost his Life; so that, if poor *Brooks* and his Men were sacrificed by way of Atonement, it is no severe Suspicion. He adds to this some other Circumstances to support the Opinion he has given; but as these are not at all material to the History of the Voyage, I shall not dwell longer upon them, but proceed.

25. We pursued our Business of wooding and watering in this Island pretty cheerfully, and yet without being in any great Hurry, for several Reasons; but the principal was, that as we were now within fourscore Leagues of *Panama*, it was very requisite to deliberate seriously on our Scheme of surrendering there to the *Spaniards*, since we all knew, that this Step once taken, there would remain no room for Deliberation afterwards. We considered, that the very Situation of this Place afforded us many Advantages; for *Panama* is by no means strong towards the Sea, and, therefore, having a good Ship, we thought it would be no difficult Matter to settle the Terms of the Treaty while we continued at a Distance. We likewise reckoned upon some Assistance from the South Sea Company's Factors who were settled there, who might have interceded for us; and, in case a Peace was concluded, procure us a safe and speedy Passage to *Europe*. But, as there was something exceedingly disagreeable in the Notion of a Surrender, especially to such kind of Enemies as the *Spaniards*, it cannot be wondered, that we were not much in a Hurry about it, especially as we were here a little at Ease, and enjoyed a great many Conveniences that we had been Strangers to a long time before. The free Use we made of the excellent Fruits of this Island brought the Flux amongst us, which, though in the main, I believe, did little Hurt, but served rather to preserve us from the Scurvy; yet it weakened us very much, and interrupted our Work for two or three Days; which time we spent in Consultations about our future Conduct, whenever it should please God we should put to Sea again; but our Views were so different, and our Minds so distracted, that we could come to no Resolution, but that of continuing

thing here, till we saw what might happen, and in hopes of meeting with something to our Advantage.

It may not be amiss to enter into a particular Account of so remarkable a Place as this, because hitherto our Travellers have scarce vouchsafed to take notice of it, as if there was not as much Reason to give Descriptions of Places where good Settlements may be made, as where good Settlements are made. This Island of *Cocha* or *Quibo* is almost in the same Parallel of Latitude with *Panama*, and is about nine Leagues in Length, and fair in Breadth, of a moderate Height, covered all over with inaccessible Woods, always green; and though it was, perhaps, never inhabited, yet it abounds with Papas, Limes, and some other Fruits I never saw before, which are near as good, though wholly neglected, as those that have the greatest Care taken of them in some other Islands in as promising a Latitude; from whence we inferred, that the Soil is fruitful: And, if ever it be inhabited, and cleared of the Incumbrances of Woods, with which it is choaked at present, it might be made productive of every thing our best Islands yield in *America*. But the *Spaniards* having so much more on the Continent than they know what to do with, and it being Prudence in them not to send away Colonies from amongst them to people Islands, which might weaken their Force on the Continent, and knowing they are secure from the Attempts of an *Euro-pean* Nation to settle on them, who might, by that means, annoy their Coasts, it lies neglected; though I cannot help thinking, being a very considerable Pearl-fishery, it would be worth while to make a small Settlement here: But the Pearl-fishers, not being able to dive with their Piraguas in the time of the Vandevals, which is a black stormy Season, for four or five Months in the Year, beginning about *June*, and ending in *November*, and being withal so near the Continent, and *Panama* in particular, which must be the Market for a Commodity of that Price, they have not yet thought it worth while; so that all the Settlement they have here, are a few Huts scattered up and down in several Parts of this Island and *Quibetta*, made use of by the Divers at the Season they come hither, to open the Oysters, ear, and sleep in. The sandy Beach is covered with Shells of fine Mother-of-pearl of all Sizes; and, in going no farther than up to the Middle in the Sea, you may reach large Oysters from the Bottom. This pleased us at first, not so much from the Hopes of finding any valuable Pearl in them, as to eat them; but, when we came to make Trial, we found, that Nature had not ordained this Fish to be at once Riches and Food; for they are tough as so much Leather, and by no means palatable. As to any other sorts of Fish, as we had no Seyn, I cannot say much of them, nor give any Account of their various Kinds; but only take notice, that we used to observe a large Sort of flat Fish, that often jumped a great Height out of the Water. These are reported to be very destructive to the Pearl-divers; for, when they return up again, if they take not great Heed, these wrap their broad Sides about them, and keep them in their mortal Embraces, till they are drowned: Therefore, to prevent this, the Divers always carry a sharp-pointed Knife, and, upon Sight of any of these as they look upwards, they carry the Point of it above them, and, by that means, stick it into his Belly, and hinder him from his mischievous Intent. There is yet another thing, which must make Diving here a Matter of great Danger, since the Sea hereabouts is dreadfully pestered with Alligators, one of which, some of us fancied, we saw swimming under the Water near Point *Mariato*, which is but a few Leagues from hence. There is a great Variety of Birds, and also great Numbers of black Monkeys and Guanoes, who mostly frequent the Streams of fresh Water. There are some Guanoes here of an extraordinary Size, mostly of brownish-yellow Streaks about the Head, and in other Places grey, with black Streaks, &c. There cannot be a more convenient Place for Wooding and Watering; for the fresh Water runs in several Streams, larger and smaller, on the Sand of the Beach; and Wood grows within less than twenty Yards of the Sea-side. Having got clear of this Place, and nothing thought of but our speedy Return, we met with strong Currents against us, together with contrary Winds and Calms, which detained us several Days under the Mountains of *Guanabo*. On the 15th of May, a small Bark, taking us for *Spaniards*, bore

down to us. The Master of her was mightily surprised, when he found his Mistake; but soon recovered, when he learned we were bound for *Panama*; and readily offered to pilot us thither; but had heard of nothing like a Truce. He belonged to, and was bound for, that Port. This Vessel was called the *Holy Sacrament*, and came last from *Choripa*, laden with dried Beef, Pork, and Hogs. He desired I would take her in tow, complaining, that the Currents drove him off Shore; so that he could not fetch the Land, tho' he had constant Sight of it; and that, by this means, all his live Cattle were almost dead for want of Water; and that she was, at the same time, so leaky, that his People were no longer able to stand at the Pumps. Upon the hearing of this, I took her into tow, and kept the Master of her on board, sending some of my Hands to assist them; and spared them as much Water and Indian Corn as I could. It may appear strange, that this Opportunity of supplying ourselves with Provisions did not make an Alteration in our intended Proceedings; but every one was so tired of the Sea, so worn out by a continual Want of all Necessaries, and disheartened by our perpetual Misfortunes, that they were willing to embrace any Opportunity of going ashore at any rate. Indeed, as to myself, I was glad, that this Bark fell into our Hands; because, if we found the Governor of *San-juanes* News to be false, we might be thoroughly enabled, by this Help, to go to *India*. To this End, I designed to anchor a great Way short of the Town, and keep Possession of the *Holy Sacrament*, in case the President should not have complied with such Terms as I esteemed safe and honourable; and then we should have it in our Power to retire ourselves, by keeping out of their Hands. But, all this while, we had not determined who should be the Person intrusted with the Flag of Truce; for my People, having known so much Treachery acted amongst themselves, were apprehensive the Person sent would only make his own Case good to the Governor, and not return again. Therefore, after all, my Son was thought the properest to go, as being sure of his Return, if it was purely for my sake. This, and many other Objections, were started, that could not be so easily removed; notwithstanding we kept on our Way, fixed in our Resolution.

On the 17th, another Bark came down upon us, stood pretty near us, and then sheered off again. Upon which, I sent Mr. *Randal* in our Canoe, to inform them of our Design; but they no sooner saw him approaching them, than they hoisted *Spanish* Colours, and fired. The next Morning, we looked into the Bay, to see if he had lain at Anchor there all Night; and, as soon as he saw us coming, he renewed her Fire. Upon which, at his own Request, I sent the Master of our Bark, with four Negroes, in a Canoe, with a Flag of Truce, to inform them of our Intentions. A Gale of Wind interrupted this Dispute, and at last forced the Canoe we sent on shore, without Danger, I dare say, to their Lives; for they seemed to make this their Choice. On the 19th, we saw a Sail a-head of us, standing along-shore: Upon which, we let go the Bark we had in tow, and spread all the Sail we could; so that, by Night, we were at a considerable Distance from our Bark, which had four of our own People, and five *Spaniards* in it. I was for lying-by in the Night, that our own Vessel might come up; but my Company differed from me, and it was carried by a great Majority, that we should continue to croud Sail all Night; so that, by Day-break on the 26th, we were within less than Gun-shot of the Chace. I immediately ordered our Colours to be spread, fired a Gun to Leeward, and sent a Man upon their Poop to wave a Flag of Truce; but they, upon the first Sight of our *English* Ensign, fired at us, and so continued to do, with their Decks full of Men, hollowing, and abusing us with the grossest Appellations. Notwithstanding this, I made no Return, until I came close upon their Quarter, and then sent one of their Countrymen to the Bow-sprit-end, to inform them in *Spanish*, that we were bound to *Panama*; and desired to treat peaceably with them; and hoped, at least, that they would have some Regard to the white Flag, which they saw flying: But still they continued their Fire, and *Borachos*, and *Peros Ingleses*, i. e. *Drunkards*, and *English Dogs*, was all we could get from them: And perceiving, that the more compliant our Deportment was, the more

inhumanly

inhumanly they insulted us, I conceived it full time to begin with them; and therefore met them with our Helm, and soon convinced them of their Error, and, in a Word, gave them to warn a Reception, that they sheered round off from us. We just missed getting hold of them; but, it falling almost calm, we continued our Engagement for the Space of two or three Hours, at the Distance of Musquet-shot; but at length a Breeze wafting us nearer to them, we found, as fast as we approached, their Courage cooled. But their Captain, still bravely persisting, and encouraging them, and exposing himself in the most open Manner, was at length shot through the Body, and dropped down dead. Upon this, they immediately, with one Voice, cried out for Quarter, and put an End to our Dispute. We commanded them to hoist out their Launch; but they answered, That their Tackle, and all their Rigging in general, were so shattered, that they could not possibly do it in any time. Therefore we hoisted out our Canoe, which we had taken out of the *Holy Sacrament* the Day before; and Mr. Randall, and two or three more, went in her on board the Prize. They found all the Prisoners in the most submissive Posture, asking Mercy; which they could have no great Cause to expect, after their direct Breach of the Laws of Arms and Nations. Mr. Randall sent away the most considerable of the Prisoners, who informed me, that their Ship was called the *la Concepcion de Resova*, belonging to *Calao*, but came last from *Guancabaco*, of the Burden of 200 Ton, laden with Flour, Loaves of Sugar, Boxes of Marmalade, Jars of preserved Peaches, Grapes, Limes, &c. mounted six Guns, and had seventy odd Men, well provided with Small-arms, &c. and was, in particular, one of those Ships, which were fitted out in an extraordinary Manner, and commissioned to take us; so that she was the second of those warlike Merchant-ships that we had taken. In this Engagement, the *Spanish* Captain and a Negro were killed, and one or two slightly wounded; but their Rigging, Masts, and Sails, were much disabled, particularly their Fore-mast, which, by a Shot that passed through the Body of it, was much shattered. On our Part, there was little or no Hurt done, except to our Gunner, who was slightly wounded in the Forehead by a Pistol-ball, and our Main-mast, which had a small Piece carried out of the Side of it. We had now about eighty Prisoners of all Colours, and not above twenty-six of ourselves. When the *Spanish* Gentlemen came on board, they would not give me Time to ask them, how it came to pass, that they would not hearken to our peaceable Offers; but fell to excusing themselves, and laying all the Fault upon their dead Captain Don *Joseph Desoria*, who vowed in a Passion, that we should have no Terms, but his own; and that he would take us by Force. And indeed it is my Opinion, that this was the Inclination of all of them, till they found our Strength; and then, seeing their own Case desperate, would have been for a Parly. Amongst our Prisoners, we had several of Note, particularly Don *Baltazar de Abarca Conde de la Rosa*, an *European* Nobleman, who had been for some time Governor of *Pisco*, on the Coast of *Peru*, and was now upon his Return to *Spain*; and Captain *Morell*, who had formerly been taken by Captain *Rogers*, &c. All of them were treated with the utmost Civilities, which they wondered at; because, from a Prejudice they had against our Cruisers, and from a Self-conviction of their own Behaviour towards their Prisoners, they could not expect but to have been dealt with very roughly.

In this Situation, we were in the very Track of all the Shipping bound to *Panama*, not above thirty Miles from that Place, few in Number, and Part of us sick; all which Considerations moved us to be as expeditious as possible in examining the Contents of our new Prize the *Concepcion*; and, tho' the best Part of the Work was done by our Prisoners, yet it took us up full two Days. We were, by this means, as well as by faint Winds, and stark Calms, hindered from rejoining our Bark, till the 22d. As we bore down towards her, and came pretty near, we were extremely surpris'd to see, that the only came to, and fell off, altho' all her Sails were set; and what amazed us most was, that we saw nobody stirring in her. As soon as we came up with her, I sent the Boat on board; and the Officer, that went in her, immediately called out to me, that there was no Soul in her;

but that her Decks and Quarters were covered with Blood. This was a melancholy hearing, since it plainly appeared, by many Circumstances, that the *Spanish* Crew had murdered those of my People, who were sent to assist them: A cruel Return for our Civilities and Services to them! It seemed strange to me, that our Men should run the least Hazard of exposing themselves to be thus butchered; for they were four in Number, completely armed, and there were but five of the *Spanish* Crew, two of whom were Boys. These vile Wretches doubtless took the Opportunity of the *English* being lost in Sleep, and then murdered them, not doubting but they should meet with Thanks and Encouragement for so foul a Barbarity. The Names of those thus destroyed were *John Giles*, *John Embin*, *John Williams*, and *George Chappel*. But it is very probable, that these Murderers paid with their Lives for those they had taken away; for, being above four Leagues from the Land, and having no Boat, they probably jumped into the Sea on the Appearance of our Ship, thinking they should meet immediate Death, if they had fallen into our Power, as a just Reward of so horrid a Crime; which they themselves were so sensible of, that they endeavour'd to hide the Deck, which was dyed with Gore all over, by throwing the Flocks out of Beds over it; so that, till they were removed, the Blood was not to be seen. This tragical Accident was the Cause of a general Melancholy amongst us, and spoiled the Satisfaction we had enjoyed a Day or two past, on account of our late Prize. Our Prisoners, seeing such an universal sudden Change in us, began to be alarmed, and looked at each other, as if they all expected to undergo the same Fate our unhappy Companions had met with. This made me fearful, on the other Side, lest their dreadful Apprehensions of our Revenge upon them, should stir them up to offer at some desperate Attempt upon us, they being eighty in Number, and we not above seventeen on board at that time, and, when we were all together, not above twenty-five, that could stand on their Legs: Therefore I was directly forced to shew some Heat, in ordering all our Prisoners to go into the Stern-galley, (which was very large) except the Nobleman, and some of the chief of them, whilst we kept Guard in the great Cabin. The *Spanish* Gentlemen, who were not confined, in a very moving Manner, lamented to me the unhappy Deaths of my Men, and their own hard Fate, in having been, in some measure, Eye-witnesses of this bloody Murder; and let fall some Expressions, whereby I perceived, that they were afraid, that I intended to shew some Severities towards their People on this Occasion. Having a good Interpreter between us, I assured them, that, if I had so revengeful an Inclination, the Laws of my Country would restrain me from putting it in Execution; that I acted by virtue of my King's Commission, who, in his Orders, forbade, in the strictest Manner, all Acts of Inhumanity or Oppression towards our Prisoners; which Assurance, I desired, might make them perfectly easy: And they solemnly promised, that, if it was possible any of those Murderers could be found living, the two Kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico* should be alarmed to bring them to Justice; and begged of me to think myself secure as to themselves, and the rest of their Countrymen my Prisoners, who would sooner suffer any thing, than harbour any Thought, that might be prejudicial to our Lives and Liberties, even though they should have the most encouraging Opportunity of putting it in Execution; and assured me, on their Honour, that they thought they should never be able to make a just Return for the generous Entertainment they had met with from me. Notwithstanding this, I took some Measures to secure our Prisoners of the meaner Sort; and then halted the *Holy Sacrament* along-side of us. She was half-full of Water, and the greatest Part of her dried Beef was wet, and spoiled; but all that was not damaged we took out, together with some live Hogs, and then gave her to Don *Baltazar de Espina*, who, by the Death of Captain *Joseph Desoria*, became Commander of the *Concepcion*; and, that Night, kept a stricter Watch than we had before, tho' none of us had had scarce any Sleep since we had taken this Ship. The next Day, being as willing to get rid of them, as they were to have their own Ship restored to them, and pursue their Voyage, I deliver'd the *Concepcion* into the Possession of Don *Baltazar de Espina*, &c. after having taken

taken out of her twelve Months Provision of Bread, Flour, Sugar, and Sweetmeats, and a like Proportion for the *Succes*, which I expected to find at the *Tres Marias*. I likewise took away their Launch, and their Negroes, to assist us in the Management of our Ship, knowing, that we could not well hold out much longer, if the Work was not made easier; and, since we had a large Ship, and a Run of 175° to fail, I thought we could do no other, than reinforce ourselves by the Assistance of these Blacks, who are commonly good Sailors in those Parts; and indeed, as it afterwards happened, we should never have reached the Coasts of *Afia*, or any other Land, without them.

The most important and remarkable Part of Captain *Bezagb's* Book is that which has Relation to the Circumstances mentioned in the foregoing Paragraphs, every one of which he either controverts or denies. He thinks, that the Sailing to *Panama* is a full Proof, that the Men set on shore with Lieutenant *Brooks* at *Sanjonnate* were sacrificed; because, says he, had the Captain intended them fairly, he would have gone to *Panama* at once, where he was sure of a better Reception than in any other Port of the South Seas. He next remarks, that the Captain got rid of four of his Men more, by putting them on board of the Bark, out of pure Civility, as the Captain calls it; upon which Mr. *Bezagb* is extremely severe: But then the Reader is to consider, that the Justice of his Observation depends on the Truth or Falshood of Captain *Shelvocke's* Relation; for if we take the Thing upon his Stating, that he actually informed the Captain of the Bark of his intention to surrender, and put his Men on board purely to assist in working the Vessel, then there is nothing absurd or ridiculous in Captain *Shelvocke's* styling this a Piece of Civility, which aggravated the Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, in killing the Men that were put on board: But if these Men had Possession of the Bark, as a Prize, that will alter the Case, and justify Mr. *Bezagb's* Reflections. I must confess, it seems very probable, that the *Spaniards* considered the Thing in this Light; for otherwise, why did the Master of the Bark, and those who were with him, run themselves on shore, when he sent them into the Bay of *Panama* in a Canoe? Or, why does Captain *Shelvocke* blame his Men for not taking sufficient Precautions? If they were put on board out of Civility, they were to trust the *Spaniards*; if they did not, it is plain they were in Possession, and the Bark was their Prize. For my own Part, I take the Truth of the Matter to be this: The Captain of the Bark understood her to be a Prize; and, after he got ashore, procured sufficient Assistance to retake her; but, doubting whether he should be able to get into Port before *Shelvocke's* Return, he carried off his own Crew, and murdered the *Englishs*. This, I say, is my Notion of the Matter; and I leave it intirely to the Reader's Consideration, whether 'tis probable or not. But we are now come to a Matter of far greater Consequence, indeed a Matter which gives us the greatest Light into the true Scheme of, at least, the latter Part of the Voyage; and therefore I shall give it in Mr. *Bezagb's* own Words, from whom we have this Information. It is, indeed, a very extraordinary Piece of secret History, and worthy the Reader's Attention; the rather as it seems to be supported by Evidence, and explains abundance of dark Things in the preceding and in the subsequent Part of this Expedition, and is intirely different from any thing that is to be met with in the Conduct of Captain *Clipperton*, who is loaded with so many heavy Charges by Captain *Shelvocke*. Thus speaks Captain *Bezagb*: "This being the great Crisis of Captain *Shelvocke's* Voyage, I shall be more particular in relating the Affair of this last Prize, which will open the most notorious Scene of Deceit that has appeared yet. This Ship was called the *Conception*, Don *Stephen de Recova* Commander, bound from *Calao* to *Panama*, having on board several Persons of Distinction, particularly the *Comde de la Rosa*, a *Spanish* Nobleman, who had been some time Governor of *Pisco*, and was now going to *Spain*, laden with Flour, Sugar, Marmelade, Peaches, Grapes, Limes, &c. &c. Now, be it known to all Men, that that *et cetera* was an hundred and eight thousand six hundred and thirty-six Pieces of Eight; and *Shelvocke* little thought, when he took

this Prize, or compiled his Book, that I, of all Men, should have this exact State of this Affair: He often said, he would never give the Gentlemen Owners a fair Account; and I have often promised, in this Treatise, to prove that he did say so; and now we have both made our Words good, I have not only an authentic Account, but I will declare also how I got it. When I was carried Prisoner to *Lima*, I had Leisure enough to reflect on my Misfortunes, how likely I was to be ruined, and the Owners to be cheated; so that, to prepare them in Defence of their Rights, I wrote over to one of them the Substance of what had occurred to me; how *Shelvocke* had mismanaged, how arbitrarily he had acted in Defiance of their Articles, and what his private Intentions were in the future Part of the Voyage. As soon as I came to *London*, which was in *October* 1721, I confirmed the Purport of my Letter, with several new Circumstances; for all which Performance of my Duty, I do suppose my Name has met with so much Reproach in Captain *Shelvocke's* Book; but, besides my Advice, the Gentlemen had many Proofs from other Prisoners, and other People. Eleven Months after, being *August*, Captain *Shelvocke* himself arrived, and waits immediately on the said Gentlemen, to compound in the Lump for all his Transactions, not owning any thing of this Prize, which he had unlawfully shared, and every thing else, among three-and-thirty of them. Instead of compromising the Matter, the Gentlemen read him a Letter, secured him, and the same Day had him confined in *Wood-Breet Compter*. A few Days after, his Pupil, *Stewart*, arrived at *Dover*, and was seized by the honest Warden of the Castle, according to Directions, who faithfully secured his Book of Accounts, and brought it, with the Prisoner, to the Owners, from whom I had the Book, and copied the Dividend, which is as follows:

Names	Quality	Number of Share	Dollars	Engl. Money
<i>George Shelvocke</i>	Commander	6	11385	2642 10 0
<i>Samuel Randal</i>	Lieutenant	2½	4718	
<i>John Rayner</i>	Capt. Marines	2½	4718	1100 17 0
<i>Bloufield Caldesi</i>	Master	2½	4718	each.
<i>Nicholas Adams</i>	Surgeon	2½	4718	
<i>Matthew Stewart</i>	First Mate	2	3775	
<i>Monfieur Leporte</i>	Second Mate	2	3775	
<i>George Heybal</i>	Boatwain	2	3775	880 16 8
<i>Robert Davenport</i>	Carpenter	2	3775	
<i>William Clark</i>	Gunner	2	3775	
<i>James Daniel</i>	Midshipman	1½	2830	
<i>David Griffith</i>	ditto	1½	2830	
<i>Christopher Hawchins</i>	ditto	1½	2830	
<i>Oliver Lefevre</i>	Sail-maker	1½	2830	
<i>John Dayde</i>	Surgeon's Mate	1½	2830	660 0 0
<i>William Morgan</i>	ditto	1½	2830	each.
<i>John Pepple, sen</i>	Armourer	1½	2830	
<i>James Mayest</i>	Cooper	1½	2830	
<i>John Pearson</i>	Carpenter's M.	1½	2830	
<i>Geo. Shelvocke, jun.</i>		1½	2830	
<i>William Clement</i>	Able Seaman	1	1887½	
<i>John Norris</i>	ditto	1	1887½	
<i>James Montville</i>	ditto	1	1887½	
<i>Georg Gill</i>	ditto	1	1887½	440 7 ½
<i>Peter Fero</i>	ditto	1	1887½	each.
<i>John Smith</i>	ditto	1	1887½	
<i>Edward Atcoch</i>	ditto	1	1887½	
<i>John Thobald</i>	Barber	1	1887½	
<i>William Burrows</i>	Old Seaman	2	1415½	330 6 10
<i>Daniel Mc Donald</i>	ditto	2	1415½	each.
<i>Richard Croft</i>	ditto	2	1415½	
<i>John Rabins</i>	Groomet	2	943½	220 4 ½
<i>Benedict Harry</i>	Cook	2	943½	each.
33		521	98604½	23008 15 0

"Here the Reader perceives the Sum Total of this Dividend to be short of what I said the Capture amounted to; but, in order to set that Matter right, there is a secret Article of 627 Quadruples of Gold, which *Shelvocke* graciously shared among private Friends; each of which Quadruple, or double Doubloon, is worth sixteen Dollars, or Pieces of Eight;

And makes	Dollars { which, at 4 s. 8 d.	l. s. d.
in whole	10,032 { each, makes	2340
which being	98,604½ — or —	23,007 15 6
added to the		
makes	108,636½ — or —	25,348 11 6

" All which Money *Shelvocke* has the prodigious Modesty to conceal; and only says, the Prize was laden with Flour, Sugar, Fruit, &c. *Stewart's* Book mentions the 627 Doubloons, but not a Word how they were divided; so that we must imagine them to be sunk among both the *Shelvockes* and *Stewart*; for, as *Stewart* was Agent, Cashier, and Paymaster, it was an easy Matter to hide a Bag of Gold from the Public, and dispose of it afterwards in a Committee of two or three."

26. It was not only an Act of Generosity towards our Spanish Prisoners, but an Act of Prudence also with regard to our own Conduct, the parting, as we did, with the *Conception*, and all on board her. They were but three Days in our Possession, and in that time treated with so much Humanity, that we had the uttermost Reason to believe they retained a grateful Sense of our Kindness. The great Point now to be managed, was to obtain the Consent of my People to sail as far North as *California*, before our intended Voyage to the *East Indies*, for which, if we were not in as good a Condition as we could wish, we were, at least, in a better than we were before, or than, all Things considered, we had any Reason to expect, since we had a good Ship, fifteen Guns, Ammunition enough to supply them, and a reasonable Quantity of Provisions. We still wanted, however, somewhat to complete our Wood and Water for so long a Voyage; so that the procuring this was naturally our first Care. The Ship's Company thought of going to the Island of *Quibo*, which was, indeed, the nearest Place to us: But the going thither was attended with two great Inconveniences: Of these, the first was the Danger of the Road; which, as the stormy Season was coming on, and we were but very indifferently provided with Ground-tackling, must have exposed us to many Dangers: The second, that, as the Island of *Quibo* was at a very small Distance from *Panama*, we had Reason to fear the *Spaniards* would send a Ship of War from thence in Search of us; which would have put an End to all our Designs, since we had now no further Hopes of there being a Peace, and consequently had laid aside all Thoughts of surrendering. Upon these Considerations, it was determined to ply up to *Cano*; where, having a good Boat, we soon did our Business. In our Passage thither, the Sweetmeats of all kinds were divided among the Messes; but one of the Men complained he had a Box of Marmalade he could not stick his Knife in, and desired it might be changed: I opened it, and found a Cake of Virgin-silver in it, moulded on purpose to fill such Boxes; and, being very porous, was of near the same Weight of so much Marmalade, the Weight being 200 Pieces of Eight: In overhauling the rest, we found five more: This was a Contrivance to defraud the King of *Spain* of his Fifths, which he lays a Claim to in all the Silver taken out of any of the Mines in *Peru*. We, doubtless, left a great many behind us; so that this Deceit served them in a double Capacity, of wronging their King, and blinding their Enemies. An Affair, as vexatious as this, fell out on board a Prize the *Success* had taken, where they found a very considerable Quantity of *Pinas*, or Virgin-silver, in the Form of Bricks, very artfully plastered over with Clay, and dried in the Sun: As they never burn their Bricks in that Country, they took them to be really such; and therefore threw a great Number of them overboard, as so much Rubbish, and made no Discovery till the four or five last Pieces. How true this is, I can't say; but it was reported to me as Matter of Fact by several of the Officers belonging to Captain *Clipperton*. I must observe here, that every thing taken in the *Conception* was divided according to the Articles last settled at the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; or, in other Words, according to the usual Custom of Privateers, which gave me six Shares only instead of sixty; and they refused to allow me an hundred Pounds, which I had laid

out of my own Money for necessary Supplies at the Island of *St. Catharine's*. I found myself also under many other Difficulties as to the Course we were to steer, because the Ship's Company were well enough informed, that, in order to go to the *East Indies*, there was no Necessity of running farther to the North than the Latitude of 13° ; and therefore I was obliged to insist, in the best manner I could, on the Advantages that might be drawn, with respect to cleaning and refitting our Ship, from the favourable Situation of *Porto Seguro* in *California*; and it was not without a great deal to do, that I induced my People to listen to this with a Degree of Patience. At last, having brought them to my Purpose, I weighed from *Cano*, and steered Northward, having favourable Winds for forty-eight Hours, and afterwards inconstant Gales, and very bad Weather, which induced me to think of getting farther out to Sea, in hopes of meeting there with more settled Weather, which, in our Circumstances, was a Point of the utmost Importance. This Design I immediately put in Execution, and found, that, at sixty Leagues Distance, we had Winds variable, and between seventy and eighty Leagues Distance they settled at East North-east and North-east: Therefore I kept this Distance from the Land, till we had run the Height of 20° North; and were not, in all this Passage, in the least sensible of any Currents, being also intirely out of the Way of the frightful Riplings, and Overfalls of the Water, which we frequently met withal nearer to the Land, which alarmed us in the Night, when we have been becalmed in deep Water; for we frequently heard a Noise, as of the Fall of Water passing through a Bridge, a considerable time before it came to us, which afterwards passed by us at a very great Rate: All the Effect it had on the Ship, was to make her answer her Helm wildly, if we had any Wind; but when it has happened, that we have met these moving Waters very near the Shore, we could not perceive, that we either gained or lost any Way by them, though we have continued in them for a Quarter of an Hour together. I have observed these Overfalls both to come from the Westward and Eastward; but, by getting out to Sea, we were not only clear of these Inconveniences, but were also out of the Way of the black Season, which began to be fixt on the Coasts; for, at *Cano*, in going thither, we felt very hard Gulls, with black rolling Weather, frequent and violent Thunder and Lightning, attended by heavy Showers of Rain. In this Passage, we were continually accompanied by vast Shoals of Fish, such as Dolphin, Bonita, Albicore, and Angel-fish, which are in Shape like Salmon, and have Scales like them, but a Tail like the Dolphins; and also nearly resemble them when in the Water, they appearing in all the beautiful Colours that the Dolphin has; and as for eating, are by much the best Fish that swim near the Surface. We were almost continually plagued with Flocks of these sort of Birds, so well known to Seamen by the Name of Boobies; and their Dung, which stinks intolerably, proved a Nuisance not to be described, notwithstanding all the Pains we could take to keep the Yards, Tops, and Decks clean. In the Beginning of *August*, we reached the Island *Tres Marias*, but could see no Sign of Captain *Clipperton's* having been there; and were also disappointed in our Hopes of finding Water; since, on the strictest View we were able to take of all three Islands, nothing like a Spring was to be discovered in any of them, notwithstanding what some former Writers have said of their meeting there with Water in abundance.

27. After having spent about three Days in searching of these Islands, I thought it best to stand over for the Main-land of *California*, as well for procuring what was wanting in our own Ship, as in Hopes of meeting once more with the *Success*. Accordingly, on *August 11*, we made that Coast; and the Inhabitants, as soon as they discovered us, made Fires on the Shore as we ran by them: Towards the Evening, two of them came off to us on a Bark-log, but were a long time before they would accept of our Invitation to come into the Ship; at length, after a great many Signs which we made to them, they ventured; when, in a Moment, seeing the Whites and our Blacks promiscuously stand together, they, with angry Countenances, separated them from us, and would hardly suffer them

them to look upon us : They then made Signs to us all to sit down ; which done, one of them put himself into strange Postures, and ran from one to the other of us, talking to us with great Vehemence, and seemed to be in a perfect Transport of Ecstasy, continually singing or speaking, and running about so fast, till he was quite out of Breath. The Night coming on, they were for departing, and we gave them a Knife or two, an old Coat, and some other Trifles, which pleased them very well ; and they, by Signs, gave us repeated Invitations to go ashore with them. On the 13th, at Day-break, we found ourselves near *Pueris Sengwe* ; some of the Natives came out on Bark-logs to meet us, whilst others got upon the Tops of the Hills and Rocks near the Sea-side, making Fires for us : There was an universal Joy spread through them ; those that were near the Rocks to see us, came in running up-and-down to one another ; and those that came out to see us on Bark-logs, paddled with all their Strength, impatient to have a nearer View of us. Our Anchor was no sooner down, than they came off to us in Crouds, some few on their Bark-logs, but most of them swimming, talking and calling out to one another in a confused Manner ; our Ship was in an instant full of these swarthy Gentry, quite naked ; amongst the rest was their King, or chief Man, whom we could not distinguish by any particular Ornament, nor by any Deference that was paid to him ; the only Ensign of Sovereignty which he bore about him, was a black round Stick, made of an hard Wood, of about two Feet and an half in Length ; this being observed by some of my People, they brought him to me ; upon which, he concluding that I was the Chief in the Ship, in a very handsome manner delivered his black Sceptre to me, which I immediately returned to him. This Man, notwithstanding his savage Appearance, had a good Countenance, and his Behaviour had something noble. I soon found a way to regale them ; for we had a great Quantity of Sweetmeats : I therefore ordered what deep Dishes I had to be brought upon the Deck ; the Jars were broached, and the Dishes filled with the choicest of *Peruvian* Conserve ; they were every one accommodated with Spoons, and, though they could not sit regularly to their Entertainment, because of their Numbers, who had all an equal Welcome to the good Cheer, yet, as we kept continually replenishing their empty Dishes, they were all satisfied with as much as they cared to eat : Their Food they liked extremely well ; and the Spoons, which were mostly Silver, they returned with great Honesty, which they would doubtless have done, had they been Gold, the Value of those Metals being unknown to them. Having thus commenced a Friendship with them, I sent an Officer ashore to view the Watering-place ; and, to make him the more Welcome, I sent with him some coarse blue Baize, and some Sugar, as a Present to the Women, amongst whom it was to be equally distributed. The King, seeing our Boat ready to put off, was for waiting on her with his Bark-log, but I intreated him to take a Passage in our Boat ; which he seemed to be mightily pleased with. The Remainder of the Day was spent in an Interview between us and our wild Visitors, who behaved themselves in general very quietly and peaceably. The Officer returning with an Account of his civil Reception, we prepared our Casks to send ashore the next Morning. Indeed, from some Accounts which I had read concerning these People, I apprehended no Molestation from them in wooding and watering ; though, at the first View, the Country and Inhabitants would dissuade me from venturing freely amongst them ; they even appeared so terrible amongst our Negroes who had been born in *Guinea*, that one of them, who had been sent with the Officer on shore, was afraid to stir from the Boat, and all the while kept an Ax in his Hand to defend himself from any that might attack him : But this Dread proceeded from the Contempt which the two first that came off to us had expressed towards our Negroes, in separating them from the Whites. As soon as the Night approached, all the *Indians* swam ashore again, so that we had the Pleasure of a clear Ship to rest ourselves in after the Fatigues of the Day.

The next Morning by Day-break our Boat went ashore with those designed to cut Wood, and fill Water ; and, before the Sun was up, we were again crouded with our

former Guests, who seemed as if they were never tired with gazing at us, and our Ship. But, that nothing should be wanting in us to keep up the Amity we had already contracted, I ordered a great Boiler to be carried ashore, with good Store of Flour and Sugar, and a Negro Cook, to be continually boiling Hasty-pudding for the numerous Spectators on the Beach ; and it really behaved us to keep in their Favour, since, whether in the Ship, or on the Strand, we were wholly in their Power ; those on shore being perpetually surrounded by Multitudes, and we in the Ship were from Morning till Night so incommoded by them, that we could hardly move fore and aft through the Crouds of them that were staring at us. They at first were idle Lookers on, till their natural Compassion for the few Men, whom they saw rolling of great Casks of Water over the heavy Sand, in the sultry Heat of the Day, induced them to help us, together with the kind Treatment they met with from us, and the particular Readiness of their Chief to serve us, by shewing his People a good Example ; for, after Mr. *Randall*, my Lieutenant, took up the first, he took up the second Log of Wood, to carry to the Boat, and was immediately followed by two or three hundred of them, so that they eased my Men of a great Fatigue, and shortened the Time we had Occasion to stay at this Place : They likewise rolled our Cask down to the Boat, but always expected a white Face to assist them, who, if he did but touch it with his Finger, was sufficient Encouragement for them to persevere in their Labour. We even found Means to make them, who used to be all Day on board, useful to us ; for when we came to heel the Ship, we crouded them all over on one Side, which, together with other Shifts, gave us a very considerable Heel, while we cleaned and paid our Bottom with Pitch and Tallow ; and so tractable were they, that they would sit very quietly on the Side they were bid to go to, till we ordered them to disperse themselves, that we might bring the Ship upright again. Thus they repaid our Civilities by their Services, and every Day they seemed more and more fond of us. When our Boat went on shore in the Morning, there was a constant Retinue waiting for our People on the Beach, and particularly those, who, by a better Dress, they guessed to be above the common Rank ; these they always received with such formal Ceremonies, as could not be expected in such a Place ; for, as soon as they came out of the Boat, they were immediately laid hold on by two *Indians*, who led them between them, and were followed by a great many Couples, Hand-in-Hand ; thus they led them up to the River, and then left them to their own Liberty, to proceed in the Direction and Execution of their Business. By this time the Rumour of our Arrival was spread through all the neighbouring Parts ; and some of different Clans, from those who inhabited the Land about this Bay, came daily to view us ; those who came from any Distance in the Country could not swim ; and, that they were different from those we had first seen, appeared by the Manner of painting themselves, and other little Distinctions, which were visible amongst them ; but they all united amicably to assist us, and hardly any were idle but the Women, who used to sit in Circles, on the scorching Sand, to give Attendance for their Share of what was going forwards, which they used to receive without any quarrelling amongst them about the Inequality of the Distribution, although some, who had no Spoons, fared but poorly ; but, at last, there were few of them that had not something to serve them to eat their Spoon-meat, encouraged thereto by our constant Supplies of it, with which we fed several Hundreds every Day. Thus, by a mutual Exchange of good Offices one toward another, they thought themselves happy in us, and we thought ourselves fortunate in meeting so timely and necessary Assistance ; for it is probable, that my Men might have contracted a dangerous Sickness by working so laboriously in the Heat of the Day, after being in a manner worn out by what they had already undergone. Having already completed our Business in the Space of five Days, we, on the 18th of *August*, prepared for our Departure, and employed the Morning in making a large Distribution of Sugar amongst the Women ; and to the Men we gave a great many Knives, old Axes, and old Iron, which we had taken in our Prizes ; these were

the most useful Things to them, and of which they stood most in need. In Return, some of them gave us Bows and Arrows, Deer-skin Bags, live Foxes and Squirrels, &c. That we might appear as awful to them as possible, I ordered five Guns to be fired on the loosing our Top-sails; the Noise of which mightily frightened them; and, upon seeing our Sails loosed, there was an universal Damp upon their Spirits, which might be easily perceived by the lively Sorrow that was painted in all their Countenances; Their Women were all in Tears, when my People had executed their Orders, and were coming off to the Ship; and a great many of the Men staid in the Ship all the while we were purchasing our Anchor, and did not offer to stir till we were under Sail; and then, with the most dejected Aspects, leaped overboard. That Evening we took our Departure from Cape *St. Lucas*, in our Way to *China*.

23. After making some Stay in *California*, and having got thorough an Acquaintance with its Inhabitants, it is but natural for me to attempt, as others have done, to give some Account of it, the rather, because great Things have been expected from a perfect Knowledge of its Extent and Boundaries; though, for my Part, I must confess, I believe such a Discovery would produce few real Advantages, how much Satisfaction soever it might give to the Curious. The *Spaniards*, whose Interest and Opportunities are greater than ours, or, indeed, than any other Nation in *Europe*, have, of late especially, been extremely negligent in this respect. Their annual *Acapulco* Ships are often obliged to run into high Latitudes for the Benefit of Westerly Winds; and, in doing this, have sometimes had Soundings in their Passage, which certainly afforded a great Probability of finding Land, tho' I never heard, that they pushed any such Discovery. However, for this, and many other Reasons, I am inclined to think, that *America* and *Asia* are joined by some Tract of Land to the Northward. Leaving, however, these Conjectures to be supported or confuted by future Discoveries, I shall confine myself to Facts, and report only what I have seen or known, for the Information of the present Age, and of Posterity. The Eastern Coast of that Part of *California*, which I had a Sight of, appears to be mountainous, barren, and sandy, and very like some Parts of *Peru*; but, nevertheless, the Soil about *Puerto, Segura*, and (very likely in most of the Valleys) is a rich black Mould, which, as you turn it fresh up to the Sun, appears as if intermingled with Gold-dust; some of which we endeavoured to wash and purify from the Dirt; but though we were a little prejudiced against the Thoughts that it could be possible, that this Metal should be so promiscuously and universally mingled with common Earth, yet we endeavoured to cleanse and wash the Earth from some of it; and the more we did, the more it appeared like Gold. In order to be further satisfied, I brought away some of it, which we lost in our Confusions at *China*. But, be that as it will, it is very probable, that this Country abounds in Metals of all Sorts, though the Inhabitants had no Utensils or Ornaments of any Metal whatsoever; which is no wonder, since they are so perfectly ignorant in all Arts.

This Soil produces Plenty of Wood; but the Trees are very small, hardly deserving a better Name than that of *Bushes*: But Woods, which are an Ornament to most other Countries, serve only to make this appear the more desolate; for the Locusts swarm there in such abundance, that they don't leave a green Leaf on the Trees. In the Day-time, these destructive Insects are perpetually on the Wing, roving in Clouds, and are extremely troublesome by flying in one's Face: They are in Shape and Bigness exceedingly like our green Grasshoppers, but differ from them in their Colour, which is yellow. No sooner had we come to an Anchor, than they came off in such abundance, that the Sea about us was strewn with their dead Bodies. Thus, by the incessant Ravages of those Locusts, the Prospect of the Country thereabouts is stripped naked, notwithstanding the natural Warmth of the Climate, and the Goodness of the Soil. I don't know, that any of our former Navigators have observed this in their Accounts of this Place; and therefore am persuaded, that they are

troubled with this Plague only at this Season of the Year; and, in Confidence of this, I gave them a large Quantity of Calavances, and shewed them how to sow them. But, if I should be mistaken in my Conjecture, and these Vermin infect the Country the whole Year round, the sowing these, or indeed any other kind of Vegetable, will be of very little Use. The Harbour of *Puerto Seguro* was so called by Sir *Thomas Candish*: It lies about two Leagues to the North-east of Cape *St. Lucas*; and is, when you are in it, a very safe and good Port, and extremely convenient for Privateers that are cruising for the *Manilla* Ship. The Watering-place is on the North Side, in a small River, which there empties itself into the Sea, and may be known by the Appearance of a great many green Canes, which grow in it, and which always preserve their Verdure, because the Locusts will not touch them, which is owing to something in those Canes noxious to that Insect.

It is now requisite, that I should enter on a particular Description of the People of this Country, for various Reasons, but particularly these: That hitherto they have been little known, have been sometimes misrepresented, and have been particularly considered by me, in Lights, which, very probably, no other Man will enjoy, as it is certain no *Englishman* ever had them before me. The Men are all tall, stait, and well-set, have very large Limbs, with coarse, black, shag Hair, which does not reach down to their Thighs, as a late Navigator reports in his Voyage, nay, descends hardly down to their Shoulders. The Women are of a much smaller Size, their Hair much longer than the Mens, with which some of them almost cover their Faces. Some of both Sexes have good Countenances, but of a much darker Complexion than any *Indians* I saw in these Seas, being of a deep copper Colour. Such is their Simplicity, that the Men go quite naked, without the least thing to cover them, and wear nothing but a few Trifles, which they look upon as Ornaments; such as a Band or Wreath of red and white Silk-grass, which some wear round their Heads, adorned on each Side with a Tuft of Hawks Feathers; others have Pieces of Mother-of-Pearl, and small Shells, tied in their Hair, and hanging about their Necks; some have a large Necklace, of six or seven Strings, composed of small red and black Berries; some are scarified all over their Bodies; others use a kind of Paint, some besmearing all over their Faces and Breasts with black, and others are regularly painted all over, from the Face to the Navel, with black, and from thence, down to their Feet, with red. The Women, on the contrary, wear a thick Fringe of Silk-grass, reaching from their Middle down to their Heels, and have a Deer-skin carelessly wrapped over their Shoulders; some of the better Sort have the Skin of a large Bird wrapped about them in the same manner. From what I have been relating, the Reader may reasonably conclude, that nothing can be more savage: But there is a wide Difference between what one would upon the first Sight expect to find from them, and what they really are; for all that I could discern in their Behaviour towards one another, and their Deportment towards us, they are endued with all the Humanity imaginable; for, all the time we were there, and constantly among so many Hundreds of them, there was nothing to be perceived but the most agreeable Harmony, and most affectionate Esteem for one another, inasmuch that when any of us gave any thing that was eatable to any one of them in particular, he always divided it into so many Shares as there were Persons about him, and commonly reserved the least for himself: They seldom walk single, but go most by Pairs, Hand-in-Hand: They appear to be perfectly meek; and there is no Indication of Cruelty in either their Aspects or Actions: They, indeed, seem to be pretty haughty towards their Women; which, perhaps, may proceed from too great an Opinion of the Superiority of their own Sex. They lead a careless Life, and have every thing in common, searching for nothing beyond the necessary Supports of Life; by which means they are free from the anxious Troubles to which those are subject, amongst whom Luxury and Pride have got any Footing. They never offered to pilfer or steal any of our Tools, or other Utensils,

which

which might have been of Service to them: So strict was their Honesty in this particular, that some of my Men, who had been cutting Wood all Day, and were coming on board in the Evening, forgetting that they had left their Axes in the Wood; it being observed by one of the *Indians*, he immediately spoke to the King; who sent him into the Woods to fetch the Axes; which he did, and delivered them to my People, with an apparent Satisfaction, that they did not go away without them.

In a Word, they pass their Lives in the pure Simplicity of the earliest Ages of the World, before Discord and Contention were heard of amongst Men. They, as yet, have never been tainted with the Conversation of other Nations, which might have perverted their Morals; and have never been irritated by the Oppressions of a Conqueror, who, by exercising Cruelties over them, might have taught them to delight in Barbarity, as happened to the *Indians of Mexico and Peru*, who doubtless had their Propensity to Inhumanity greatly augmented by the *Spaniards*, who shewed them an horrid Example, by their continual Butcheries of the *Indians*. Hitherto the *Californians* may be said to act according to the Dictates of Nature, whilst we act contrary to Reason. One of our late Navigators has represented them as idle and lazy, and jealous of their Women; alleging, that he could never have a Sight of any, but such as were old. I cannot tell how that Gentleman, and his People, treated them; but we found, that they are not so by Inclination, but rather from their being under no Necessity of doing any thing laborious. And, as to their Women, we have had the Company of some Hundreds of young and old every Day, who never made any Scruple of appearing amongst us; nor did the Men shew the least Discontent at it: And I may venture to say, that we engaged them so far by trifling Presents and Entertainments, that nobody, upon those Terms, need want their Assistance for the future, tho', perhaps, scarce any may have so much Provisions to spare, as I had at that time, to regale them.

I must not omit one thing, in which they would always have the Mastery of us; and that was in taking Snuff, which they would never permit any of us to use, but immediately, upon seeing us take a Pinch out of our Boxes, they would run to us, and, with great Earnestness, twist it from between our Fingers, and throw it away. What could be the Ground of this Aversion, I cannot conceive, except that some of them had suffered Death or Sickness by taking some particular Thing up their Noses. They likewise would never suffer me to look through my Prospective, imagining, that there was something extraordinary in that Piece of Wood, that I had so often recourse to it to look on the Shore; which I did to observe how the Work went on on the Beach, they not apprehending, that it was possible that my Eyes could receive any Assistance by it. Their Language is guttural and harsh; they talk a great deal; but we never could so much as understand one Word. I had once some Thoughts of bringing some of them away with me, especially the youngest, that they might learn our Language, and give us some Information of their Country; but, as we could not make them understand us, we must have seemed to them to have taken them away by Force; which perhaps would have exasperated them: And as this would have been of ill Consequence to such Ships as may have Occasion to go thither for the future, I therefore laid aside all Designs of that kind. Their Manner of living in their Dwellings is very mean; for they can scarce shelter them. And, as to their Diet, I believe it is mostly Fish, which they frequently eat raw: They sometimes bake it in the Sand. They seldom want plenty of this, because the Men, being expert Harponiers, go out to Sea on their Bark-logs. On these they venture out, rowing with a double Paddle, and, with their Harpoons, (which are made of a sort of hard Wood) strike the largest Albicores, and bring them in. This was surprising to us, who had often experienced the Strength of that Fish; for, tho' we frequently got hold of them with very large Hooks, made fast to Eight-strung-rope, we were obliged to bring the Ship to, in order to get them in, and that by the Help of nine or ten Men; which is as much as they can sometimes do: So that one would imagine, that, as soon as the *Indians* had struck one of those on his light Embarkation, it would run away with him, and his Bark-

log; but they have some Slight in their Way of managing them, that their Resistance and Struggling is in vain. There are hardly any Birds there, except a few Pelicans. When they want to drink, they go up to their Middle in the River, and there take up the Water between their Hands, or stoop down, and suck it up.

Thus, between Hunting, Fishing, Eating, and Sleeping, their Time is divided, which, between their Exercises, and the Springiness of their Diet, is prolonged to a great Extent; and many of both Sexes live to a very old Age, as their grey Hairs, and extraordinary Wrinkles, testify. Their Bows are about six Feet in Length; and their Arrows seem to be somewhat too long for their Bows. Considering they have not Tools requisite to make such Things, it must take them up a great deal of Time. Their Bow-strings are made of Deer-sinews; and their Arrows are composed of an hollow Cane, Two-thirds of their Length; and the other, next the Point, is of an heavy kind of Wood, headed with a Piece of Flint, and sometimes Agate, the Edges of which are cut in Teeth, like a Saw; and the Point is very sharp. They made no manner of Shew with their Arms to us; and it was rare to see any in the Hands of the Men. The Women commonly go out with them in the Woods, in Search of Game; which is their chief Employment. They have need of some Arms to defend them against the wild Beasts; for I saw some of the Men, who had received great Hurts from them, particularly one old Man, who had his Thigh almost torn in Pieces by some Tiger or Lion; and his Thigh, tho' quite healed, was frightfully scarred. It is impossible for me to say any thing particular concerning their Government, except this, that it is not very strict or rigorous. When their King went abroad, he used to be attended by a Train of a great many Couples, Hand-in-Hand. In this Manner was he coming out of the Woods the first Morning after our Arrival, when, perceiving one of my Officers cutting down a Tree, with Silver Lace on his Waistcoat, he judged him to be better than ordinary, and immediately took an Opportunity of shewing both his Authority, and his Civility, by ordering one of his Attendants to take the Ax from him, and work in his stead. In short, in every respect, they seemed to enjoy perfect Tranquillity, to the Happiness of which nothing could be added, but the true Knowledge of God, and the right Way of worshipping him.

As remarkable Accidents naturally strike the Spectator in such a manner, as to create deep Impressions, I cannot conclude this Description of the Country and People of *California*, without taking notice of a Circumstance in relation to their Fishing, which surprised me very much; and, as it is a remarkable Instance of their Agility in the Water, and will convey a clearer Idea of their Manner of Fishing, than can be given any other way, I lay it before the Reader, to whom, I persuade myself, it will be very agreeable: It happened one Day whilst I was there, that a monstrous kind of flat Fish was sunning himself on the Surface of the Water, near the Shore. Some of the *Indians*, seeing it, went into the Water, to the Number of twelve, and surrounded him; which, upon finding himself disturbed, dived; and they went down after him; and it was with much Difficulty that he got from them the first time. In an Hour afterwards, he came again; and sixteen or seventeen of the *Indians* swam off, and encompassed him, as before; and, by tormenting him after their Manner, they, by their Art, insensibly drove him ashore; for all their Strength, put together, was certainly inconsiderable to his, when in the Water. When his Belly touched the Ground, the Force, with which he struck the Beach with his Fins, is not to be expressed, no more than their Agility about him, who were endeavouring to kill him, for fear the Surf should let him afloat again. They at length dispatched him by the Help of a Dagger, which my Lieutenant *Randall* lent them, who was standing by. They soon cut him in Pieces, which were distributed to all that came. The Fish, by the nearest Computation, was fourteen or fifteen Feet broad, but not so much in Length. Notwithstanding he was of the flat Kind, he was very thick, and had an hideous large Mouth. But it is now time to return to our Voyage.

29. On August 18. 1721, we sailed from *Puerto Seguro* for *Canton in China*, as the Place where it was most likely

to find *English* Ships, on board which we might secure our Passage home. Our Ship was in a very bad Condition, the Length of our Voyage considered, since our Sails and Rigging were so thin and rotten, that if, in this very long Passage, any Accident had befallen us, either in our Masts or Sails, it would have gone very hard with us, having no Change of either, and being at such a dreadful Distance from any Place, where we might hope for Relief; but, as this was a Case of Necessity, we were obliged to run all Hazards, and to endeavour, by Care and Industry, to supply those Deficiencies, which were not to be remedied any other Way: And, as we had already happily got over many Difficulties, that seemed unformountable in their Prospect, it filled us with Hopes, that we should likewise get over these; which, with the pleasing Expectation of reaching our native Shore, gave us Spirits enough to undertake so tedious a Navigation in so weak and comfortless a Condition; for, besides the bad State of our Ship, we were now so thinly manned, that, without the Assistance of our Negroes, it would scarce have been possible for us to have managed the Vessel, there not being now thirty white Faces amongst us: So much had untoward Accidents reduced our Crew!

On the 21st, we discovered an Island, bearing West South-west, 110 Leagues distant from Cape *St. Lucas*: I endeavoured to get in with it, but could not approach it nearer than the Distance of two Leagues; and, the Night coming on, and it blowing very fresh, I did not think it proper to lose so much Way, as we might in the Night, by lying-by, or plying in, for it. I judged it to be seven or eight Leagues in Circumference; on the South-west of it there appeared a large Bay, with an high Rock in the Middle of it. This Iste my People called *Shelvocke's* Island, after my Name. From hence we steered down gradually, into the Parallel of 13° North, but had our Way stopped for two or three Days by Westerly Winds, which none could ever have expected in such Latitudes, and at a Distance of 5 or 600 Leagues from any Land. We grew impatient at such an uncommon Delay, and began to dread meeting with many such contrary Winds in this Passage; we made several Conjectures on what might be the Cause of it, but none that were very probable; but the Trade-wind prevailing again, we kept in the Tract of 13° North, except when we judged ourselves to be near the Shoals of *St. Baribolomew*, and then haled a Degree more Northwardly, and so continued for a Run of about sixty or seventy Leagues. A Fortnight after we had left *California*, my People, who had hitherto enjoyed an uninterrupted State of Health, began to be afflicted with the Sickness which particularly affected their Stomachs, which was, undoubtedly, owing to the Quantities of Sweetmeats they were continually devouring; and also to our common Food, Puddings made of very coarse Flour, and Sweetmeats, and salt Water instead of fresh to moisten them; and dried Beef, the best Part of which was destroyed by Ants, Cock-roches, and other Vermin. We could not afford fresh Water to boil the Kettle once in the whole Passage; so that this way of living brought the Scurvy and other Distempers upon us, which was a very melancholy State. This Sickness increased upon us every Day, insomuch that, out of our small Number, we buried two in one Day, which were *John Popplestone*, the Armourer, and the Carpenter's Mate; besides whom, the Carpenter, Gunner, and several others, together with some of our best Negroes, died.

We now laboured under the greatest Misfortunes that could happen to us, the greatest Part of my People being disabled, and my Ship being very leaky; and we had just at this time the ill Luck to have one of our Pumps split, and rendered useless: Under these unhappy Circumstances we were pushed forward by favourable Gales, till we came within eighty Leagues of *Guam*, one of the *Ladrone* Islands, where we met with dismal Weather, tempestuous Winds, varying round the Compass: This was the more frightful to us, as we were not in a Condition of helping ourselves, there not being above six or seven that were able to do any Work, though Necessity obliged even those that were extremely low and weak to lend what Help they could. These boisterous Gales had raised a Sea, wherein our Ship laboured so much, that the Knee of her Head, and the whole Beak-

head, became loose; so that the Bowsprit fetched away, and played with the Motion of the Ship, continued so to do all the rest of the Time we were at Sea: Our Main-mast stood for some time without Shrouds on the Larboard-side, till we could unlay our best Cable to make more, having knotted and spliced the old ones, till our Labour was in vain. In the midst of this I was taken violently ill, and had no Expectation of living much longer, till the Gout, seizing me, gave me some painful Hopes of the Continuance of my Life. In the Beginning of *October*, we made the Island of *Guam*, 100 Leagues short of Captain *Rogers's* Account, who makes 105° Difference of Longitude between this and Cape *St. Lucas*, and we did not make quite 100°. We passed between the forementioned Iste and *Serpana*, and saw several flying Procs, but none came near us that Day: We had heavy squally Weather, which obliged me to keep the Deck, where, in the Rain, I caught a Cold, which threw me into a worse Condition than before, in which I continued all the Time I was in *China*. The Island of *Guam* appears very green, and is of a moderate Height; the Prospect of Land was very agreeable to us, after having run so great a Length; and we could, with the greatest Pleasure, have stopped to have purchased some Refreshments of Fruits, such as Lemons, *Saville* Oranges, &c. which would have been very good for such of us as had the Scurvy: But tho' we were upon the Point of perishing, we dared not venture in, for fear the Inhabitants should take the Advantage of our Weakness, to make some Attempt upon us. The Night after we had seen the Island of *Guam*, we had our Main-top-sail split, which, as it happened, proved no Loss of Way; for, during several Days afterwards, we had such Weather, that we could bear no more than our lower Canvas, which sufficiently tried the Strength of our Ship, which was now very much impaired. I shaped my Course from *Guam* for the Island of *Pormosa*, to which we had a very long Voyage, and of course a very melancholy one, since the Sickness increased daily; so that, by *November* 3. when we had Sight of that Island, the Ship and Ship's Company were both in a manner worn out. The next Day, we doubled the South Cape of that Island, and passed within a League of the Rocks of *Pele Rete*, and by there were sensible of a very strong Current. The Inhabitants of the Island of *Pormosa*, from the Time they had Sight of our Vessel, made Fires continually along the Coast; but we were so weak, that we did not think it prudent to put into any of their Harbours. We directed our Course from thence for the neighbouring Coast of *China*; and, on the 6th, found ourselves at the Mouth of the River *Loma*, where we had twelve Fathom Water. Here we saw abundance of Fishing-boats, but, the Weather proving hazy, we could not plainly discover whereabouts we were; and therefore used all the Methods we could devise, to get some of the Fishermen on board, who might pilot us to *Macao*; but, as we neither understood them, nor they us, we soon found that was impracticable; and therefore were forced to keep the Land close aboard all Day, and come to an Anchor every Evening; which was a mighty Fatigue to our Ship's Company, who were so universally down with the Distemper reigning amongst us, that it was as much as we could do to find any body to steer the Ship: Thus we were four Days lost in the Mist, and surprised at the Sight of a great many Islands, which were omitted in our Charts, on some of which we saw large Fortifications: This made us believe, that the Current had carried us to the Southward of our Port, and suggested to us every thing that might cast us down; for, though the Sea was covered with Fishing-barks, we could not find any of them that could set us right, or give us any Directions we could understand. On the 10th, towards the Evening, as we were passing thro' a very narrow Chanel, between a Couple of Islands, a Fisherman that was near us, observing, by our manner of working, that we were afraid to venture thro', made Signs to us with his Cap to bring to, till he came up with us: When he came, he seemed to understand, in general, that we inquired of him about the Situation of *Macao*; and therefore made Signs to us, that he would conduct us thither, if we would give him as many Pieces of Silver, as he counted little Fish out of his Basket, which amounted to forty: We accordingly counted out forty

Dollars in an Hat, and gave them to him; upon which he came into the Ship, and took us in Charge, and carried us through the narrow Chanel, and, at Sun-set, brought us to an Anchor: The next Morning we weighed again, and kept the Main-land of *China* close aboard; and, at Noon, he brought us abreast of *Pulo Lantoon*, from whence we could see two *English* Ships under Sail, who were passing by the Island of *Macao*, in their Way from the River of *Canton*. They took no Notice of us, and kept on their Way: This made us very uneasy, fearing that we should miss of a Passage to *England* this Season. The next Day, in the Afternoon, we anchored in the Road of *Macao*, near the Entrance of the River of *Canton*, which we never should have found out by any of our Charts. I much admire at the Incongruities with which these Coasts are laid down to the Eastward of *Pulo Lantoon*; for there runs a Cluster of Islands, extending upwards of twenty Leagues, which are not in the least taken notice of by our Hydrographers; nor did I ever meet with any Navigator that knew any thing of them. The Coast of *China*, near them, is rocky, mountainous, and barren; but, as to the particular Situation of these Isles, my Sickness hindered all the Observation I should have made of them. *Macao* being a Place where Ships always stop for a Pilot to carry them up the River of *Canton*, I sent an Officer with a Compliment to the Governor, and with Orders to bring off a Pilot with him; but I heard nothing of him till the next Morning, which gave me many disquiet Apprehensions.

Early the next Morning, there came off a great many of the *Success's* People; I was amazed at the Sight of them, and was at first very glad to see them; but my Mind changed a little when I heard their Story; wherein they acquainted me, that their Commander *Clipperton* had left me designedly; that they went directly to *Guam*, one of the *Ladrone* Islands, where they were very well refreshed and supplied with Provisions; that their Captain there sold the Governor a great Quantity of Powder and Shot, and several other valuable Things; and permitted the Marquis of *Villa Rica* to go ashore, with Mr. *Godfrey* the Agent, and a marine Officer, who went to settle the Accounts. As soon as they were landed, and the Boat came off again, Captain *Clipperton* weighed with his Ship, in order to attack a Ship of twenty Guns from *Manilla*, which had lain quietly in the Road with them all the time till now: In approaching her, he ran his Ship upon the Rocks, and soon found the Enemy was prepared; for they had raised two Batteries, of half the Ship's Guns, to receive him. I am almost ashamed to relate this Man's Behaviour in this Skirmish; for *Clipperton*, perceiving his Case desperate, and the Loss of his Ship past Redemption, had recourse to his Case of Brandy for a Supply of Spirits, to animate him in making a vigorous Defence; but he took so abundantly of that intoxicating Cordial, that he, in an instant, became dead-drunk, tumbled down on the Deck, and snored out his Time in a beastly Manner, whilst his first Lieutenant, *Douglon*, undertook the Command of the Ship, which he bravely executed till he was killed. He was succeeded by Captain *Cooke*, their second Lieutenant, who made a gallant Resistance, and got the Ship afloat again, after she had lain on the Rock forty-eight Hours, all which Time *Clipperton* had been lost between sleeping, and drinking as fast as he waked; so that he did not recover himself, till they were out at Sea. Thus they lost their Prisoner the Marquis de la *Villa Rica*, and also Mr. *Godfrey*, the Agent-general, and one of their Marine Officers; which gave the Ship's Company such a Dislike of *Clipperton*, that they would not suffer him to have the Command of them, but locked him up in his Cabin, and intreated Captain *Cooke* to take the Command of the Ship. They endured bad Weather between *Guam* and *Amoy*, in *China*, whither they got with much Difficulty: There they made a Dividend of all they had taken, half to the Owners, and half to the Ship's Company. From thence Captain *Clipperton* designed for the Straights of *Malacca*; but his People, fearing he had no good Intention in his Head, would go no farther than *Macao*, that being a Christian Port. They told me, the Gentlemen Adventurers in *England* were much obliged to the Governor of this Place; who, being informed that *Clipperton* could not be prevailed on to remit their Effects

Home in the *English* Ships lying at *Canton*, obliged him to send what belonged to them in one of their own Ships, which was ready to depart for *Lisbon*: There he sold his Ship the *Success* for about 1000 l. Sterling. I must observe on this Passage, that whatever these Officers told him, in Excuse of themselves, the Facts were quite otherwise, as appears in the foregoing Section; where it is fully shewn, that Captain *Clipperton* sent the Money to the Owners of his own Motive, and would have brought the Ship Home, if he had not been hindered. But to return to the Captain's Relation. On the 12th, about Noon, a Pilot came off to us, and we immediately weighed, and entered the River of *Canton*, being assured, that there still remained some *European* Ships at *Wampo*, where they lie in this River, about ten Miles short of the City of *Canton*. We were four Days plying up to the Road, between the lower Bars, where, finding the *Bonetta* and *Hastings*, two *English* Indian Traders, I anchored, and sent an Officer, to desire them to instruct us how to behave ourselves in this Port, and to acquaint me with the Customs of it: To which they answered, that since the *Cadogan* and *Francis*, two *European* *English* Ships, were lying at *Wampo*, they would advise me to send up to their Factories at *Canton*, to acquaint them of our Arrival, and the Reasons which obliged me to come thither: Which I accordingly did the next Day, and borrowed one of their Flags the next Day, to hoist in our Boat, without which we should have met with great Trouble from the *Hoppomen*, or Custom-house Officers. I sent, by my Officer, Letters to the Captains of the *English* Ships, signifying the Necessity which forced me into those Parts; and desired they would, as far as in them lay, succour and protect us, assuring them, that I acted by virtue of his Majesty's Commission, which I also sent to them, that they might peruse it. I weighed the next Morning, and worked up to *Wampo*, where I found, besides two *English* Ships, three *French* ones, viz. the *Galatea*, the *Prince of Conti*, and the *Maur*; and also one *Offender*, and a small Ship from *Manilla*. Here I was in Hopes that all my Troubles would have ended, and that I should have had full Leisure to refresh myself after so many and great Fatigues: But I soon found, that these Expectations were very ill-grounded; and that, after all the Perils from which I had escaped, I was to fall into that which is least to be endured, I mean Perils amongst false Brethren.

30. A most unlucky Accident, which happened the very same Evening that we anchored at *Wampo*, gave Birth to my Troubles in *India*, though, with respect to me, it was not only unforeseen, but absolutely unavoidable, and the pure Effects of that Eageriness, which possessed all the Ship's Company, to get out of this Part of the World at any rate. If there had been any Government among the *English* settled here, so as that my Authority might have been supported, undoubtedly this unlucky Business never would have fallen out; but, as it was, it could be imputed to nothing, but the Want of such an Establishment. The Thing, in few Words, fell out thus: One of my Men, whose Name was *David Griffith*, being in an Hurry to remove his Effects on board the *Bonetta's* Boat, in which he was, happened to be chaled by an *Hoppo* or Custom-house Boat. The Fellow, being a little in Liquor, and fearing they would take what Silver he had from him, fired a Musquet at them, and killed an *Hoppoman* or Custom-house Officer. Early the next Morning, the Corpse was laid at the Door of the *English* Factories; and there were *Chinese* Officers lying in Watch for the first *Englishman* that came out. It happened, that a Supercargo belonging to the *Bonetta* was one of the first; and they immediately seized on him, carried him away, and afterwards led him about the Suburbs of *Canton* in Chains. All that could be said or done by the most considerable of the *Chinese* Merchants, who were Correspondents with the *English*, availed nothing. In the mean time, my Man, who had committed the Fact, and another, were put in Irons on board the *Francis*, which was *chopped*, that is, seized, till the Man guilty of the Crime was delivered to them; and, when he was put into their Hands, and carried to *Canton* in Chains, the Supercargo was released. I had not been here many Days, before I was deserted by all my Officers and Ship's Company, who were continually employed in removing their Effects from on board my Ship, to some of the

European

European, contrary to my Knowledge, then confined to my Bed. My Officers were engaging the *Indian* Gentlemen in their Interest, and had left my Son, with a few Negroes, to look after my Ship, and defend my Effects, which I thought on the Brink of falling into the bottomless Pit of *Chinese* Avarice. In short, the Ship's Company had so many Ways of disposing of their Effects, that it was impossible to oblige them to do what I should have thought Justice to the Gentlemen in *England*. In few Words, they were all soon recovered of their Illness, by the Assistance they met with, and were become their own Masters. There were no Magistrates to appeal to onshore, that would have done me so much Service, as to have obliged them to keep to their own Ship; and my Brother Officers, commanding the *English* Ships, could not, through Fear of a Misrepresentation of their Actions to the *India* Company by their Supercargoes, afford me such an Help, as, perhaps, they would have been inclined to, through a Sense of their Duty. But the Gentlemen, who presided over the Trade, so little regarded it, that they had a mind to refuse me a Passage in one of their Ships; and, in Effect, I was treated by them, as one Enemy would treat another in a neutral Port; for as they looked upon me, for offering to come within the *East India* Company's Limits, without considering the Necessities that forced me to commit that Trespass.

The Captains *Hill* and *Newsham*, when they came to see me, were afflicted at the ruinous Appearance of my Ship, and could scarce think it was possible he should have undertaken so long a Stretch. The Rottenness of our Corridage, and the Raggedness of our Sails, filled them with Admiration and Pity of my Condition; inasmuch that, at their first Visit, when I had given them a short History of my Voyage, and desired they would receive my Officers and Ship's Company, with their Effects, they answered, That, since they plainly saw my Ship was in no Condition to stir any farther, upon Payment of our Passages, they would entertain us, as soon as we pleased. This I depended upon, and expected no further Trouble, than to remove ourselves at any time; but I found that I had, through Ignorance, applied to the wrong Persons; for the Supercargoes were angry, that I had not sent to them, who, when afloat, are the chief Men, tho' they are only Passengers when aboard; so that I was quite neglected, and the *English* Captains ordered to fall down with their Ships five or six Miles below us. Thus I left destitute, in the Company of five foreign Ships, who, seeing that my own Countrymen were so careless of me, were so kind as to offer me their Service, and assisted me with what they could: And, had it not been for them, I do not know but that I might have suffered to the last degree; for I was under perpetual Apprehensions, that the *Chinese* had a Design to seize my Ship. When the Murder of the Custom-house Officer was, in a manner, forgot, there was an outrageous Action committed by what they call a *Little Mandarin*, who, at the Beginning of these Troubles, had Warrants given him to take all the *English* he should meet; which he neglected, till all was over: But, passing by the *European* Factories, he ordered his Attendants to seize on all the *English* they saw in the Shops thereabouts; and accordingly they took nine or ten, as well *French* as *English*, and carried them away, with Halters about their Necks, to the *Chantock's* or *Viceroy's* Palace in the City. Upon this, there was Application made to the *Hoppo*; who represented Matters to the *Chantock* in favour of the injured *Europeans*: Upon which, the *Mandarin*, who was guilty of this Violence, was sent for; and he, being unable to vindicate himself, was degraded from his Post, bamboo'd, which is a severe Punishment used in most of the Eastern Governments, and rendered incapable of acting again; and the *Europeans* directly discharged. However, in the mean time, the *English* seem to me to be tyrannized over by the *Chinese*, and exposed to the Caprices of every Magistrate; which made me the more urgent to be on board one of the *European* Ships: And, as I had now discovered my Mistake in addressing the Captains, which had disgusted the Supercargoes, I sent a Letter to them, not to desire, but to demand, a Passage for me, my Officers, and Ship's Company; which, I was sensible, they could not refuse: And indeed they did not; but their Condescension was accompanied with a Charge to the *India* Captains, not

to receive any thing belonging to us, except it was assigned to the *East India* Company in *England*. I was now informed of the *Hoppo's* Demand for Anchorage in the River. I had been long in Suspense upon that Head, and all along apprehended, that I should have some extravagant Exaction imposed upon me: And indeed so it happened; for they demanded 6000 *Tabel*; and, to quicken me in the Payment of it, and to shew me they were in Earnest, there was a Penalty annexed to this Extortion, of 500 additional *Tabel*, for every Day we failed in the Payment. In short, there was no means by which I could evade this unconscionable Imposition. In vain I shewed the *Hoppo* my Commission, which was also read in the *Chinese* Tongue to him; and to as little Purpose did I also remonstrate, that I came with no other Design, than to obtain a Passage home in one of our Country Ships, my own being incapable of going farther. It was insisted upon, though it was but a Day before I could possibly find that Sum up, I should add 500 *Tabel* for Neglect of Payment; so that they received from me 6500 *Tabel*, 2166 *l. 13 s. 4 d.* Sterling; which was about six times as much as the *Cadogan* paid, which was the largest *English* Ship there, and measured a third more than mine. I soon after sold her for 2000 *Tabel*; which Money, and the rest of my Effects, were assigned to the *India* Company: And I prevailed with most of my Officers and Ship's Company to take their Passages in the *English* homeward-bound Ships.

It cannot be expected, considering the short Stay I made here, the bad State of Health I was in, and the Troubles I met with during that Space, I say, these Circumstances being considered, it cannot be expected, that I should be able to give any tolerable Account of this Place, from my own Observation; and, to copy others, would be inconsistent with the Design of this Work. I shall content myself therefore with observing, that, at the time I was there, the *English* had no settled Factory at *Canton*, but were only permitted to hire large Houses, or, as they are called in the Language of the Country, *Hongs*, with convenient Warehouses adjoining, to receive their Goods before they are shipped off; and, when this is done, they pay the Proprietors their Rent, and take other Warehouses, if they think proper, the next time they have Occasion for them. The Business I had to transact kept me, notwithstanding the utmost Diligence I could use, in a constant Hurry, till the Ships were ready to depart, which was in *December* 1721; at which time, heartily tired of the Country, and the Usage I had met with, I sailed in the *Cadogan*, Captain *John Hill*, in Company with the *Francis*, Captain *Newsham*, who, sailing better than we did, left us as soon as we got out to Sea. Captain *Hill*, finding his Ship very tender, put into *Batavia*, to bring her into a better Trim. At *Batavia* we continued about ten Days; but I can give no particular Description of this Place, being, at that time, not able to stand on my Legs, and was abroad but twice in a Coach to take the Air two or three Miles out of the City; in which little Tour we had a great Variety of very beautiful Prospects of fine Country-seats and Gardens: And indeed every thing round us carried a Shew of the greatest Industry. As to the City itself, the Buildings are, in general, very handsome, which form very regular Streets, having Canals running through most of them, with Trees planted on each Side of them; so that this City may be justly called a fine Place. But, I confess, the Sight is the only Sense that is gratified here; for, when the Tide is low in the Canals, they smell very offensively, and breed great Numbers of Musketoes; which are more troublesome here, than ever I felt them in any other Part of the World. A great Part of the Inhabitants of *Batavia* are *Chinese*, who are remarkable there for wearing their ancient *Chinese* Dress, with their Hair rolled up in such a manner, that there is no great Difference between the Mens Appearance and the Womens: Ever since the Revolution in *China*, the *Tartarian* Dress has been imposed upon the whole Kingdom, which was not effected without great Bloodshed; for many of the *Chinese* were so superstitiously fond of their old Modes, that they unaccountably chose the Loss of Life, rather than the Loss of their Hair, it being the *Tartarian* Custom to shave their Heads all over, except the Crown, from whence hangs a long Lock, which they plat in much such a manner as we

do a Thong. The *Dutch* have laid hold of this superstitious Folly of those *Chinese*, who live under their Protection, and exact from all the Men a Poll-tax, of a Dollar a Month, for the Liberty of wearing their Hair, which, if they contented themselves with a Dollar a Year, would amount to a considerable Revenue.

While we were at *Batavia*, Captain *Hill* was informed, that there were several Pirates in these Seas: He therefore joined the *Dutch* homeward-bound Fleet in *Bantam* Bay. The *Dutch* Commodore promised to assist Captain *Hill* in Wooding and Watering at *Mew* Island, the Water at *Batavia* being very bad. We met the *Francis* in the Straights of *Sunda*, who, we imagined, had been a great Way a-head of us. Upon our joining Captain *Newsham*, the *Dutch* made it a Pretence to leave us before we had got the Length of *Mew* Island; and Captain *Newsham* also deferred us the same Evening; so that we were left by ourselves. We continued at *Mew* Island six or seven Days, during which time several Boats came from *Prince's* Island, and brought us Turtle, Cocoa-nut, Pine-apples, and other Fruits: Some of these informed us, that there had been two or three Ships at this Island a few Days before us, which gave us some Uneasiness, not knowing what they could be: Some of the People, having seen some wild Cattle grazing near the Island, went on shore to kill them; but, before they had advanced near enough, they discovered a small Tyger, and a Tract of an old one, upon which they retired to the Boat. From *Mew* Island we had a very pleasant Passage to and about the Cape of *Good Hope*, which, in my Opinion, was greatly owing to Captain *Hill's* good Conduct, in coming in with the Land bumes; I mean, upon the Eastermost Part of the Bank, and keeping a moderate Distance from the Land; I cannot be positive, but I think we never exceeded a Degree, generally less, and sometimes even made the Land. The three Voyages I have been this Way, I had the good Fortune of being with Gentlemen who proceeded in the same manner as Captain *Hill* did, and with the like Success. The small Experience of my own before, and an Instance or two in this last Passage, makes me of Opinion, that there is too much Caution used in coming in with the Land in Soundings; for it is known, that the severest Gales in this Part reign from the North-west to the South-west; the first Quarter blows off from the Land, and the other is a bold Wind on the Coast; and it is certain, that the Wind out of the Sea has scarce ever been observed to blow strong for any time, and never home to the Shore. This I have been informed of, both by *English* and *Dutchmen*, of greater Experience than myself in those Parts of the World. I don't remember, that, in all the time we were approaching the Cape of *Good Hope*, we took in our Top-sails above once for a Squall, which was over in an Hour's time; and another time, being threatened by the Appearance of bad Weather, Captain *Hill* made all the requisite Preparations to receive it; which done, he stood in for the Land, under Hopes of avoiding the seemingly approaching Storm; and he was undoubtedly right in his Judgment; for, in a few Hours, we had fair Weather, a favourable Gale, and all our small Sails set; and, at the same time, there remained a great Appearance of foul Weather to the Southward, and so continued to do for several Days afterwards. This I should not have observed, did not what I am going to relate evidently demonstrate, that it blows hard Westerly some Distance from the Land, when you have fair Weather near the Shore. I have observed before, that the *Francis*, and *Dutch* Ships, had seven Days Advantage of us, by leaving us in the Straights of *Sunda*; notwithstanding which, we gained the Cape as many Days before the *Francis* did, altho', at the same time, she sailed very considerably better than we; and, as to the *Dutch* Ships, there was no Shew of their Arrival when we left the Cape. The Officers of our Ship, by comparing their Accounts with some of the Gentlemen belonging to the *Francis*, found that she had suffered a great deal of bad Weather; whilst we, who were within ten Leagues, or thereabouts, to the Northward of them, or nearer Shore, enjoyed fine pleasant Weather, and fair Wind, continually, till we arrived in *Table Bay*, which we did the latter End of *March* 1722. This I should think of sufficient Weight to induce others to pursue

the same Tract. We found here Governor *Beau*, in the *London East Indiaman*, and others, bound for *England*. From the Cape of *Good Hope* we had an agreeable Passage to *St. Helena*, and from thence to *England*. We made the Land's End the latter End of *July*; and, being come into the *British* Chanel, met with brisk Gales from the Western Quarters, with thick foggy Weather. The 30th, in the Evening, we anchored under *Dungeo's*; and, the same Night, some of the Supercargoes and Passengers, and myself, hired a small Vessel to carry us to *Dover*, where we arrived early the next Morning, and, the same Day, proceeded towards *London*, where we arrived the 1st of *August* following. This ended a long fatiguing Voyage, of three Years, seven Months, and eleven Days, after having sailed considerably more than round the Circumference of the Globe; and having undergone a great Variety of Troubles and Hardships, both by Sea and Land, and made some Discoveries, which, it is hoped, are worthy the Notice of the Curious.

31. As we have been obliged to take up a great deal of Room in giving the Reader the History of this Voyage, we shall be as succinct as possible in our Remarks upon, though there are many Things which might justify a fuller and more copious Criticism on the Captain's Conduct. It is very clear, from the Whole of this Relation, that the Captain's Work was intended to be what we have represented it, viz. An Apology for his own Behaviour; which was occasioned by a Law-suit commenced by the Proprietors against him upon his Return home. This created a great Noise in the World, and People gave their Opinions very freely, without, perhaps, entering into the Merits of the Cause. Captain *Skelvocke*, therefore, wrote this Book to bring the Affair before the Public, and to leave, for the Judgment of Posterity, his State of his own Case. It must be confessed, that he has put it into a very fair Light, and shewn a great deal of Skill and Address in finishing, to the very utmost, such Parts of the Picture as are likely to strike the Reader most, and to give him strong Impressions in the Captain's Favour. Such are the Mutinies that fell out in the Beginning of the Voyage; the tedious, troublesome, and melancholy Sojournment in the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; the Diligence, Skill, and Care, he shewed in getting a Bark framed out of the Wreck, and carrying off in it such a Body of People, almost against their Consent, at least without their Affluence; and many more, which the Reader will easily discern, without pointing them out. But Captain *Betagh*, being returned from the *Spanish West Indies*, thought it requisite, for his own Justification, to attack Captain *Skelvocke's* Account almost in every Part of it, as we have already shewn; and which Remarks tend to support a Charge which falls naturally under the three following Heads:

The first is, that the Disputes which happened amongst the Crew were of his own contriving and fomenting; in Proof of which, he alleges, that *Matthew Stewart*, who was at the Head of all these Mutinies, was absolutely *Skelvocke's* Creature. He takes notice likewise, that this seditious Temper of his Crew serves for a general Excuse for every wrong Step taken through the Voyage. It was an Attempt of his Men to return to *England*, that made him do many strange Things at first sitting out. At *St. Catharine's*, he says, that they forced him to sign the new Articles, or else they would have run away with the Ship. Going into *Chiloe*, he says, was the Men's Fault, where they so narrowly escaped a Shipwreck. At going into *Conception*, a little to Leeward, he says the same. At *Fernandez*, he says, they forced him to divide the Owners Money, and enter upon the new *Jamaica* Discipline. Upon meeting *Clipperton*, he says, it was his Men who demanded a Confirmation of the first Articles with the Owners, after they had twice made new ones for themselves. When he left the four Men aboard the Bark, where they were murdered, he says, his People would not let him bring to till she came up; yet it was these very Men, that professed themselves willing to obey him in every thing, when he put Captain *Hayley* on board the *Mercury*, and treated with Scorn the Objections made to his Conduct, though founded in a Desire of preserving them from the bad Effects of it: It was these Men, also, who thanked

him for their Preservation at *Yum Fernandez*; though, if some of them may be believed upon their Oaths, they might, with full as much Reason, have thanked him for their Shipwreck; and, after all, it was these very People that made him a Pretext of an Island in his Passage home, and obstinately persisted in calling it by the Name of a Captain they neither loved nor feared. Is not this very strange, and does it not prove, that these Accounts are very inconsistent, and, consequently, deserve no great Credit? This, I say, is Captain *Belagb's* way of Reasoning; of the Justice of which, the Reader will decide as he sees Cause.

The second Head of the Accusation is, as to the Money taken in the *Conception*, and sunk in the unaccountable Article of an *Escatera*. This was not only a Fraud upon the Owners, but a Fraud, that, after all his Quarrels with them, he durst trust to his whole Ship's Company, which seems to speak a greater Confidence in them, than might be expected from the Character given them in the Captain's Book. If he really thought the Loss of his Ship put an End to the Claim of his Proprietors, why did he conceal the taking of this large Sum of Money, since, if he believed his own Notion rightly founded, the owning it could do him no hurt? On the other hand, when he had concealed it, what Hopes could he have of its remaining a Secret, unless, notwithstanding all he has said of his Crew, he was satisfied they would not make any Discovery of this important Point? The passing over of which gives a great jealousy, that other Matters are not very fairly stated. To which may be added, the palpable Misrepresentations of the unfortunate Captain *Clipperton*, and the suppressing the true Cause of his leaving them; *viz.* because Captain *Shelvocke*, and his Company, would not comply with their original Articles, and, consequently, were no longer to be considered as Men acting on the same Bottom with those in the *Success*, who had made these Articles the constant Rule of their Conduct.

The last, and by much the worst, Head of this Accusation is, that of faciliating his People, that he might manage his own Designs more easily, gain greater Sums on the sharing of Prizes, and keep the Secrets of his Administration in fewer Hands. There is something so barbarous in this Supposition, that one would be tempted to think it incredible, if one had not Captain *Shelvocke's* Authority to the contrary, who, by blaming Captain *Clipperton* for this very Behaviour, admits, that there are some English Captains capable of such things. A Circumstance shocking to every honest Mind. Captain *Belagb*, in order to support this heavy Charge, produces the following Account of what became of the People who were originally put on board the *Speedwell*, under the Command of Captain *Shelvocke*, being in all 106 Men. Out of these, says Mr. *Belagb*, there were turned ashore, at *St. Iago* and *St. Catherine's*, before we got into the South Seas, eight, *Andrew Pedder*, chief Mate; *Henry Chapman*, third Mate; *Charles Turner*, Gunner; *Henry Hudson*, Boatswain; *William Parsons*, and *William Coon*, Boatswain's Mates; *George Linns*, and *Charles Perry*, Seamen. Commanded ashore near *Conception*, in *Chili*, where they were murdered, three, *John Eady*, Midshipman; *John Daley*, and *George Mague*, Marines. Sent a cruising, to be taken Prisoners, fifteen, *Simon Hatley*, second Captain of the *Speedwell*; *William Belagb*, Captain of Marines; *Gilbert Hamilton*, Ensign; *John Sprake*, second Mate; *Nicolas Laming*, Boatswain; *Christopher Pressick*, Surgeon's first Mate; *Robert Cabler*, Sergeant of Marines; *Matthew Appleton*, *Marion Hayden*, *Richard Bond*, *Richard Gleys*, *John Painter*, Seamen; *John Wilson*, *John Nicholson*, and *Thomas Barnett*, Marines. Ordered on a Cruise, in a Bark, with one Week's Provision, and obliged then to surrender on the Coast, eleven, *James Hopkins*, third Mate; *Robert Rowlands*, Midshipman; *William Dolson*, *Thomas Wilkinson*, *Edward Oving*, *John Bone*, *Charles Weatherly*, *William Kitching*, *Richard Croft*, *John Guaiter*, and *John Gandy*, Seamen. Left on *Fernandez*, eleven, besides thirteen Indians, *John Wisdom*, *Joseph Monro*, *William Blew*, *John Riddleclay*, *Edmund Hyoes*, *Daniel Harvey*, *William Gidley*, *John Robinson*, *Thomas Hawkes*, *James Row*, and *Jacob Borden*, Seamen. Left in a Prize, and murdered,

four, *John Giles*, Sergeant of Marines; *John Emlin*, Seaman; *John Williams*, Marine; *George Chapple*, a Laid. Sent ashore, into the Hands of the Enemy, without a Hostage, and never since heard of, six, *Edward Brook*, first Lieutenant; *William Tandy*, Midshipman; *Frederic Mackenzie*, *Robert Bowman*, *Richard Phillips*, and *John Poulton*, Seamen. Begged their Passage with *Clipperton*, to be freed from *Shelvocke's* Tyranny, three, *James Hendrie*, Agent for the Owners; *Thomas Dodd*, Lieutenant of Marines; and *William Morphey*, Midshipman. Died four, *Richard Arscott*, in the *Speedwell*; and *Edmund Phillips*, in *Shelvocke's* Bark; *William Campbell*, drowned, going round *Cape Horn*; and *Richard Hannab*, drowned, going to the Wreck from *Fernandez* Island. Defected at *St. Catharine's*, three, *Abraham Dutoir*, *Antony Wood*, and *William Leveret*. Staid on board the *Ruby*, at *St. Catherine's*, two, *William Mariner*, Sailmaker; and *Lawrence Lancette*, of the Carpenter's Crew. Lost ashore at *Payta*, *Richard Bavin*. Defected at *Chiloé*, *Robert Morris*. In all twenty-three. Staid with *Shelvocke*, and divided all, thirty three; which, taken together, makes the Total of the Ship's Company one hundred and six.

It is certain, that all these Instances are far enough from being positive Evidences of the Charge before-mentioned; but it must be at the same time allowed, that they are abundant Instances of Carelessness and Indiscretion: For, after an Officer had once met with such a Misfortune as losing a Part of his Crew, either by sending them on shore, or exposing them in Prizes, it ought to have rendered him excessively cautious for the future; more especially when Captain *Belagb* had told him, in the Face of his Men, that the true Design of putting him on board the *Mercury* was to get rid of him. Upon the Whole, the Affair had to indifferent an Aspect, and the Proprietors thought themselves so much injured by the Loss of all the Expenses they had been at in fitting out these Ships, that they took every Method possible to embarrass and distress Captain *Shelvocke* on his Return. He was, at the same time, attacked by the Spanish Minister, who presented to the late King *George I.* at *Hanover*, a Memorial, complaining of his attacking and taking a Spanish Ship worth 100,000 Pieces of Eight, in Breach of the Treaties between the two Crowns. But, after all, there does not seem to have been any just Foundation for this Complaint, the Spaniards themselves having been the Aggressors; and there is no Law so cruel as to oblige a Man to suffer his Crew to be killed, and his Ship beaten to Pieces, rather than dispute the Power of those, who are inclined to so barbarous an Action. The then Administration seem to have been sensible of this; for we do not find, that they directed any Prosecution against the Captain for this Conduct, as at that time they certainly would have done, if they had conceived him punishable by Law. As to the Disputes between him and his Owners, I know not how they ended; but, very probably, in a Way little satisfactory to either, since such Prosecutions as they carried on must have given Mr. *Shelvocke* a great deal of Trouble, at the same time that they could not in the least contribute to the repairing of their Loss. The worst of it was, that the Issue of this Voyage gave the Public a bad Idea of all Expeditions to the South Sea, and induced many to suppose, that whatever Offers were made of that kind on the Disputes that happened afterwards between us and Spain, were calculated purely for the private Advantage of the Persons by whom they were propounded: And I doubt, that somewhat of this sort still prevails; for otherwise, surely something had been undertaken before this time by Privateers in the South Seas.

It cannot be denied, that this was, almost in every respect, an ill-conducted, as well as an unsuccessful Expedition; and yet, if we examine Things closely, we shall see, that there is no Reason to be discouraged by the Unluckiness of this Attempt. There is a Light, in which this Voyage may be viewed, that will afford quite another kind of Prospect. It is a Fact not to be controverted, that the *Speedwell* made her Voyage round *Cape Horn* into the South Seas, and took afterwards abundance of Prizes on the Coasts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, without the least Assistance from her Comfort. This then furnishes us with the following Observations, that it is possible for a Ship of 200 Tons, with 100 stout Men

on board, under proper Officers, to make such an Expedition into these Seas, as may prove very advantageous to them, and to their Owners; for, according both to Captain *Shelvocke* and Captain *Betagh's* Account, the Expence of this Ship did not much exceed 6000 *l.* and the Profits of their Voyage, if prudently and honestly managed, could not have amounted to less than 50,000 *l.* If therefore we consider this Case as it is now stated, instead of frightening, it ought to encourage us to Undertakings of a like kind; for, if such a Ship, so indifferently manned, subject to perpetual Mutinies, and without any just Regard to the true Interests of the Voyage, could perform so much, and the principal Officers on board her come off so well, it is a natural Conclusion, that a Ship of the same Force, well manned, and properly commanded, might do much more, and return safe. If we suffer our Opinions to be governed purely by Events, we may come to fancy, that the greatest Naval

Power in the World can perform little by Sea, because, perhaps, some Instances may be given in some certain Period of Time, wherein something like this may have happened; but, alas! this is a very wild Way of Reasoning, and we may, with the same Justice, imagine, that, because a stout Man does not resent a Scratch on the Forehead in his Sleep, he could not avenge himself, if awake, upon the feeblest of his Enemies. To say the Truth, it is such Notions as these that keep us asleep. One such Expedition, as that of Captain *Rogers*, proves more in favour of our sending Ships to the South Seas, than ten such unlucky Adventures as this can prove against it; for these only shew, that, when Commanders disagree, and their Men become mutinous, Mistake follows upon Mistake, till all falls to Ruin. Which is a Lesson that may be learnt, without going to the South Seas; and therefore concludes nothing as to the Point in question.

SECTION XIX.

Captain BETAGH's Observations on the Country of Peru, and its Inhabitants, during his Captivity.

[By Way of APPENDIX to the former Section.]

1. The Reason of adding this Relation to the foregoing Voyage.
2. The Manner of the Captains Hatley and Betagh's being taken by the Spaniards.
3. Are sent to Lima.
4. Observations on the Pedlars, or Travelling Merchants, on that Road.
5. Arrival at Lima; and Captain Hatley's Misfortune there.
6. Condition of the English Prisoners in those Parts.
7. Description of the City of Lima.
8. Account of the Government of that City.
9. The excessive Gallantry of its Inhabitants.
10. Their public Diversions.
11. The Backwardness of the Spaniards in making Discoveries in America.
12. The principal Mines in Chili and Peru.
13. The Manner of Working these Mines.
14. Some Remarks on their Product, and of its different Value at different Times.
15. Observations on the Trade of Chili.
16. A short History of the French Interlopers.
17. The Author's Return to England.

1. **A**FTER having given the Readers so much dry and unpleasant Matter from Captain *Betagh's* Book, I think it but Justice to him, and to myself, to extract, from the same Performance, what may serve to justify the Character I have already given this Work, and which, I really think, it deserves. The Time he lived among the Spaniards, and the Manner in which he was treated by them, gave him such an Opportunity of not only acquainting himself with their Manners and Customs, but with their Genius, and Maxims of Government, as no Englishman, of late Years, can pretend to; and the lively Manner, in which he tells his Story, gives it so much Beauty and Spirit, that, I think, I cannot do better, than to keep as near his own Words as possible. And, as to its finding a Place here, the principal Motive that determined me was, its coming in more naturally as a Supplement to Captain *Shelvocke's* Voyage, to which there are frequent References, than it would have done any-where else.

2. It was, says he, in the Beginning of the ever-memorable Year 1720, and about the Middle of March, when Captain *Shelvocke* sent *Hatley*, and the rest of us, to seek our Fortunes in the Lighter called the *Mercury*. Himself, in the *Speedwell*, went to plunder the Village of *Poyta*, where we might easily have joined him, had he imparted his Design to us. However, we had not cruised long in Sight of Cape *Blanco*, before we took a small Bark, with a good Parcel of Chocolate and Flour. There was an elderly Lady aboard, and a thin old Frier, whom we kept two or three Days; and, after taking out what we wanted, we discharged the Bark, and them together. Soon after this, we took the *Pink*, which *Shelvocke* calls the rich Prize. She had no Jealousy of our being an Enemy, but kept her Way, till, seeing the *Mercury* standing towards her, she began to suspect us. About Noon, she put the Helm hard-a-weather, and crowded all the Sail she could afore the Wind; and, being in her Hallast, this was the best of her Sailing, which also proved the greatest Advantage they could give us; for, had she held her Wind, we, in our flat Bottom, could never have come up. About ten at Night, with rowing and hard fishing, we got within Shot of the Chace, and brought

her to, being pretty near the Shore. They were about twenty Persons aboard, thirty of whom were Negroes. *Hatley*, upon going aboard, left myself and *Preffick*, with four more Hands, in the *Mercury*, where we continued two or three Days, till an heavy Shower of Rain spoiled all our Bread, and other dry Provisions. It was then time for us to get aboard the Prize; which we did, sending three Hands to take care of the *Mercury*.

We stood off-and-on the said Cape seven or eight Days, expecting to meet the *Speedwell*; and there we let aloft the Spanish Captain, the Padre, and some Gentlemen Pilfengers: At last we spied a Sail plying to Windward. Not doubting it was the *Speedwell*, or the *Success*, we stood towards her, whilst she edging towards us, about ten in the Morning, we were got near enough to discover she was a Ship of War, as the proved, tho' neither of these we wished for. The Master of our Prize had before informed us, that he met the *Brilliant* cruising for our Privateers, which, till now, we intirely disregarded. Upon this, Captain *Hatley* advising with me what to do, we concluded, that some Advantage might be made of the Information given us by the Spaniards, that, as the *Brilliant* had spoken so lately with the *Pink*, probably there would not be many Questions asked now: Upon which, *Hatley* and I dressed ourselves like Spaniards, and hoisted Spanish Colours; we confined our Prisoners in the great Cabin, suffering none of them but the Indians and Negroes to appear upon Deck, that the *Pink* might look as she did before: In which Contrivance we had succeeded, but for the Obstinacy of *Jehu Sprake*, whom we could not keep off the Deck. As the Admiral came up, he fired a Gun to Leeward: Hereupon we lowered our Top sail, making easy Sail till we got alongside of him: Their first Question was, If we had heard any thing of the English Privateer? We answered, No: The next was, How it happened we were got no farther on our Way to Lima? We answered, By reason of the Currents: They asked us two or three more Questions, which we still answered in Spanish. They seemed thoroughly satisfied, and were getting their Tacks aboard in order to leave us, when *Sprake*, and two or three more of our Men, appeared

appeared on the Main-deck; a *Frenchman* aboard the Admiral, looking out at the Mast-head, cried out, seeing their long Trowlers, *Par Dieu, Monsieur, ils sont Anglais*; they are *Englishmen*: Upon this they immediately fired a broadside into us, with round and Partridge-shot, by one of which *Hatley* was slightly wounded in the Leg.

3. As soon as we struck our Flag, the Enemy sent for all the *English* on board, and ordered two of their own Officers into the Prize. The *Spanish* Admiral then bore directly down upon the *Mercury*, and fired then her five-and-twenty Guns at least, which bored her Sides through and through; but, such was the Construction of that extraordinary Vessel, that, though full of Water, there was not Weight enough to sink her, and the three Men who were in her escaped unhurt. Don *Pedro Alvarado*, the *Spanish* Commander, ordered these three Men into his own Ship, in which he intended to sail to *Paya*: As for me, he gave Directions, that I should be sent forty Miles up the Country, to a Place called *Piura*; and was so kind as to leave Mr. *Preffick*, the Surgeon, and my Serjeant *Cobbs*, to keep me Company: As for Captain *Hatley*, and the rest, they were ordered to *Lima* by Land, which was a Journey of four hundred Miles; for that poor Gentleman had the Misfortune to be doubly under their Displeasure; first, for returning into those Seas after having been Prisoner so long, and being so well used amongst them; and next, for the *Cape Rio* Business, I mean the stripping the *Portuguese* Captain, a good Quantity of whose *Moultres* were found about him. The Design of the Admiral, in this, was, to have that Affair taught to the Bottom, and the Guilty severely punished, without exposing the Innocent to any Danger. Here, therefore, I shall take my Leave of Captain *Hatley* for the present, and proceed to the Observations I made on the Road, as the Admiral was so good as to send me up into the Country till his Return from his Cruise to *Paya*, when, as I shall inform the Reader in its proper Place, I again rejoined him.

As the Weather in this Part of the World is much too hot to permit People to labour in the midst of the Day, the Custom is to travel from six in the Evening till eight in the Morning. My *Indian* Guide set me on the best Mule he had, which not caring to follow Company, I led my Fellow travellers the Way till ten o'Clock, while Day-light lasted. I observed the Country one open Plain, with *Indian* Plantations, regularly enough laid out on each Side of us. This champagne Country is from thirty to one hundred Miles broad, and extends three hundred Miles along-shore; for I was moving to the Southward, having the *Cordiller* Mountains on the Left Hand, and the great Ocean on the Right. If this Land was well watered, as the Soil is pleasant and fertile, it might be as fine a Country as any in the World; but Travellers are here obliged to carry Water for their Mules, as well as themselves. At the Approach of Night we were puzzled in the Way; I often found myself stopped by great Hills of Sand, and my Mule as often endeavoured to pull the Reins out of my Hand; which proving troublesome, the *Indian* advised me to throw the Reins on the Mule's Neck; and, as soon as that was done, the Creature easily hit the Way. These Sands are often shifted from Place to Place, which I take to be occasioned by the strong Eddies of Wind reverberated from the Mountains. At Night we rested a little at an old empty House in a Coppice, about half Way, which the Guide told us was built by the Inhabitants of *Piura*, for the Accommodation of the Prince *St. Bueno*, Viceroy of *Peru*, when they met him at his Entrance on his Government, and regaled him. At seven in the Morning we arrived at *Piura*, being an handsome regular Town, situate on the Banks of the River *Collan*. The *Indian* conducted us to the House of an honest *Spanish* Gentleman, and his Wife, who having received his Charge, the Guide returned to *Paya*. In a Quarter of an Hour's time, the Town's people flocked in to see the Rarée-show; and, instead of being used like Prisoners at Discretion, we were entertained with Respect and Civility, which we were not sure to meet with. Our Landlord, I should say, Keeper's Name, was Don *Jeronimo Baldivieso*: He had five Daughters; upon the Sight of whom, and their beneficent way of receiving us, we hoped our Time would slide easily

away, and our Captivity prove no-way disagreeable. I began now to be sensible of the Admiral's Favour, in ordering us to this Place; for he had such Interest in all the Kingdom of *Peru*, that, for his sake, we found very good Treatment. After we had refreshed ourselves, according to the Custom of the Place, with Chocolate, Biscuit, and Water, we were diverted with the Sound of a *Waltz* Harp in some inner Apartment: The Artist had good Command of it; for I heard Parts of several famous *Italian* as well as *English* Compositions; and, upon inquiring, found, that all the honest *Spaniards*'s Daughters had learned Music, and sung or played upon some Instrument or other. Though, at first, this seemed a little unaccountable to us, yet I afterwards found, that Music was common in *Peru*; for the *Italian* Party having a few Years before prevailed at the Court of *Madrid*, the late Viceroy, Prince *St. Bueno*, who was an *Italian*, had brought a great many Musicians of that Country along with him, which has now spread Music every-where; and it is as good in *Peru*, as in *Old Spain*. I the rather take notice of this, because, by our being Lovers of Music, and behaving peaceably and civilly to the Inhabitants, we passed our Time very quietly and cheerfully, being exposed only to one Inconvenience, which lasted so long as we remained here: This was, the daily assembling of the People to stare at us, which myself, and my Serjeant *Cobbs*, bore pretty well, for, being used to exercise in Public, we could turn to the Right and Left without being much incommoded: But our Companion Mr. *Preffick*, being a graver Man, at first hung down his Head, and was very melancholy; but, by degrees, he grew better acquainted with the People, and found Reason to like them so well, that, when we were to remove, we had much to do to make him change his Quarters.

4. Almost all the Commodities of *Europe* are distributed through the *Spanish* America by a Sort of Pedlars or Merchants, on Foot, who come from *Panama* to *Paya* by Sea, and, in their Road from the last-mentioned Port, make *Piura* their first Stage to *Lima*, disposing of their Goods, and lessening their Burdens, as they go along. Some take the Road through *Caxamarca*, others through *Truxillo*, along-shore from *Lima*: They take their Passage back to *Panama* by Sea, and perhaps carry a little Cargo of Brandy with them: At *Panama* they again stock themselves with *European* Goods, returning by Sea to *Paya*, where they are put on shore; there they hire Mules, and load them, the *Indians* going with them, in order to bring them back; and so these Traders keep in a continual Round, till they have got enough to live on. Their travelling Expences are next to nothing; for the *Indians* are brought under such Subjection, that they find Lodging for them, and Provender for their Mules: This every white Face may command, being an Homage the poor *Indians* are long accustomed to pay; and some think they have an Honour done into the Bargain, except, out of Generosity, they now-and-then meet with a small Recompence. In the *British* and *French* Nations, a Pedlar is despised, and his Employment looked upon as a mean Shift to get a Living; but it is otherwise here, where the quick Return of Money is a sufficient Excuse for the Manner of getting it; and there are many Gentlemen in *Old Spain*, who, when their Circumstances in Life are declining, send their Sons to the *Indies* to retrieve their Fortune this way: Our Lodging was in an Outhouse purposely for these travelling Merchants. According to the *Spanish* Custom, we had our Dinner sent to the Table under Cover, where Don *Jeronimo* and we eat together, while the good Lady of the House, and her Daughters, sat together in another Room. This is the Practice at all Meals, and, if any strong Liquors are drank, it is then. In all our Conduct, I think the good *Spaniard* was never disobliged, except once, when he saw me drinking a Dram with the Doctor at a little Victualling-house. As nothing is more disagreeable to the *Spaniards* than Drunkenness, I had much ado to make Amends for this Step towards it; though they admit of Gallantry in the utmost Excess; so that it is only changing one Enormity for another. After we had passed about six Weeks at *Piura*, our *Indian* Guide came again to conduct us to *Paya*, the Man of War being returned. When we were

upon the point of taking Leave, our Surgeon was missing, which retarded us a Day longer. They had concealed him in the Town, and designed to keep him there, as he was a very useful Man; and if he could have had a small Chest of Medicines, he might soon have made a handsome Fortune. However, the next Day we mounted our Mules, and parted with great Reluctance, especially with our kind Host *Don Jeronimo*, and his Family. We went aboard the *Brilliant* at *Paya*, which, having done nothing at Sea, made a sort of cruising Voyage to *Calao*, the Port of *Lima*. The Civility I received from the Admiral or General of the South Seas, as he is there called, is what I have already mentioned. I shall here only add one Circumstance to the Honour of *Monfieur de Grange*, a Captain under the General. As soon as we were taken by the *Brilliant*, as aforesaid, this Gentleman, seeing the Soldiers had stripped us, being the Conquerors useful Perquisites in all these Cases, he generously gave me an handsome Suit of Cloaths, two Pair of silk Stockings, a Hat, Wig, Shirts, and every thing according; so that instead of suffering, I was, in reality, a Gainer by this Accident.

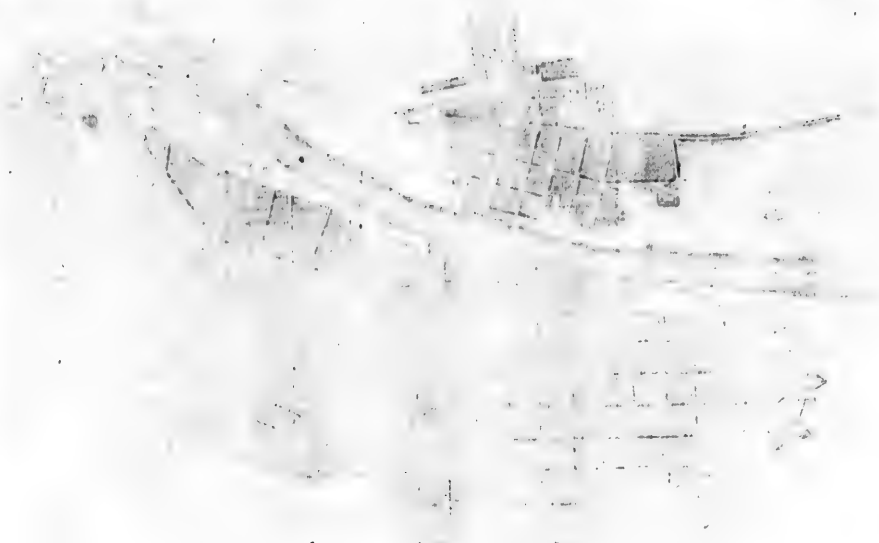
5. Our Voyage to *Lima* took up about five Weeks; and, as soon as we arrived there, we were immediately sent to the same Prison in which the Ship's Company were confined, who were sent hither before us, Mr. *Hatley* only excepted; who, for the Reasons before-mentioned, was confined by himself, and very roughly treated. In a short time after our Arrival, Commissioners were appointed to hear our Cause, and to determine, whether we should be treated as Criminals, or as Prisoners of War: The Reason of this was, the Charge brought against us for Piracy, not for what we had done in the South Seas, or, at least, not for that only, but upon a Supposition, that we plundered the *Spaniards* there, because none but *Spaniards* were to be met with, having used the like Violence, as their Charge set forth, against other Nations, before our Arrival in these Seas: Which would have shewn a piratical Disposition through our whole Conduct. And of this they thought they had probable Proof, since, by the *Moidores* found upon *Hatley*, it appeared they were taken from the Subjects of a Prince in perfect Amity with the Crown of *England*: But, it was happy for us, that the Viceroy, *Don Diego Morfilis*, who was an Archbishop, and in the Decline of Life, was pleased coolly to discriminate the Affair, and, finding really but one of us guilty, would not sign any Order for shedding innocent Blood: As for *Hatley*, some were for sending him to the Mines for Life, others for hanging him; but the several Accounts of Captain *Shelbooke's* vile Proceedings contributed to his Deliverance, the Truth of which here were enough of our People at *Lima* to witness; for, besides Lieutenant *Serjeantson*, and his Men, who were brought hither, came the Men who *Shelbooke* sent with *Hopkins* to shift for themselves in a poor empty Bark, who, for want of Sustenance, was forced to surrender to the *Indians*; so that the Court believing *Shelbooke* more a Principal in that piratical Act than *Hatley*, and supposing we had been plagued enough before we came hither, they thought fit to let us all go by degrees: *Hatley* indeed was kept in Irons about a Twelvemonth, and then was allowed to return to *England*. I was much more happy in this respect, since my Imprisonment lasted but a Fortnight; which was owing to the Interposition of Captain *Fitzgerald*, a Gentleman born in *France*, who had a great Interest with the Viceroy, and who, upon his becoming Security for me, permitted me to have the Liberty of the City, provided I was always forthcoming when I was called for. As I was now pretty much at Ease, I began to look about me, and to inform myself of what was passing in this Part of the World.

6. Among the first of my Inquiries, was that after the Condition of other *English* Prisoners, in the Place; and, upon asking for Mr. *Serjeantson*, and his Men, who were here before us, I understood, that most of them had taken up the Religion of the Country, had been christened, and were dispersed among the Convents in the City. The first that I saw, had got his new Catechism in one Hand, and a Pair of large Beads dangling in the other. I smiled, and ask'd the Fellow, How he liked it. He said, very well; for, having his Religion to chafe, he thought theirs better than none,

since it brought him good Meat and Drink, and a quiet Life. Many of *Shelbooke's* Men followed this Example; and I may venture to say, this was as good a Reason as most of our People could give for their occasional Conformity. It is here reckoned very meritorious to make a Convert, and many Arguments were used for that End; yet was there no Rigour shewn to bring any of us over. Those who thought fit to be baptized, had generally some of the Merchants of *Lima* for their Patrons or Godfathers, who never failed giving their Godchildren a Suit of Cloaths, and some Money, to drink their Healths. About this time, four or five of *Clipperton's* Men, and as many of *Shelbooke's*, got Leave from their Convents to meet together at a Publick-house kept by one *John Bell*, an *Englishman*, who had a Negro Wife, that, for some Services or other, had got her Freedom. The Design of this Meeting, was to confirm their new Baptism with a Bowl of Punch: The Consequence of which was, they all got drunk, and quarrelled; and, forgetting they were true Catholics, mistook an Image of some honest Saint, that stood in a Corner, for one of their own Company, knocked him down, and demolished him. I, missing the Fellows for a few Days, inquired at *John's* House what was become of them: He told me the Story, and said, they were all put in the Inquisition; for, the thing having taken Air, he was obliged to complain of it, or go thither himself; but promised, that, underhand, he would endeavour to get them released; which, I found afterwards, was done in five Days, so that they had time to repent, and be sober. *Bell* said, if the Men had still remained Heretics, this Drunken-bout had not come within the Verge of the Ecclesiastical Power; but, being Novices, and just admitted into the Church, they were the easier pardoned, as their Courage upon the Saint was no Proof of their Relapse into Error, or an Affront to the Catholic Faith, since due when they were all disordered in Liquor. At length, about a dozen Men in both our Ships, being well instructed, were discharged from the Cloysters, and sent to *Calao*, to help to careen and fit out the *Flying-jib*, then designed for *Europe*: Here they entered into a Project to run away with the *Margarita*, a pretty sailing Ship, that lay in the Harbour, and go upon the Account for themselves, which differs nothing from Piracy; but, not knowing what to do for Ammunition, and a Compass, they applied to Mr. *Serjeantson*, telling him, they had a Design to steal away by Land to *Panama*, where, being an *English* Factory, they might have a Chance to get home; that they had got half a dozen Firelocks, with which they might kill wild Hogs, or get some Game, as they went along, if he would be so kind as to help them to a little Powder and Shot, and a Compass to steer their Way through the Woods. The Fellows, by begging, and making Catholic Signs to the good People at *Lima*, that they were poor *English* newly baptized, had got together some Dollars, which they desired *Serjeantson* to lay out, who, not mistrusting the Plot, took their Money, and bought them what they wanted. Thus furnished, one of them came to me at *Lima*, and said, there was an Opportunity offered to make my Fortune, by running away with the *Margarita* at *Calao*, if I would embrace it: Whereupon he told me the Story, and that *Sprake* was to have the Command, as being the only Artificer among them. I answered, that it was a bold Design; but, as Captain *Fitzgerald* had engaged for my Honour, I was obliged not to meddle with it. In a few Days the Plot was discovered, their Lodgings were searched, their Arms taken away, and they put in Prison. The Government was greatly provoked, and had near determined their Execution, when an Order came to release all but *Sprake*, who, being the Projector, was kept in Irons two or three Months, and then set at Liberty. If this shews the restless enterprising Temper of our Seamen, it proves, at the same time, that the *Spaniards* in *Peru* are by no means so cruel, either in Religious or State Prosecutions, as in *Europe*; though I am inclined to think, that the Conversion of these People, such as it was, operated greatly in their Favour: It may be also, that they were some way influenced by Fear, since the *English* Privateers were still upon the Coast; and, in case they had received Intelligence of these People being severely dealt with,

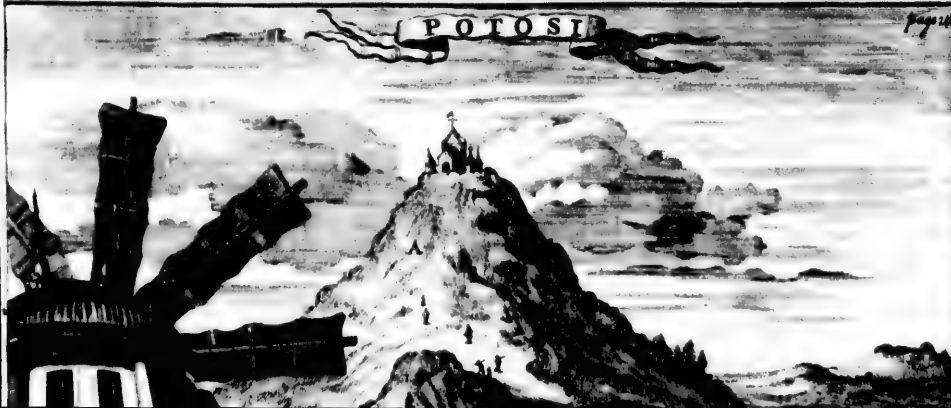
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| 1 The Royal Square. | 8 The University is the Chapel. | 15 St. Kacharinas Gate. | 23 The Hospital for Sakers. |
| 2 The Vice Royal Palace. | 9 The Mint. | 16 Pardo Gate. | 24 The Hospital for Blacks. |
| 3 The Royal Court. | 10 The Fifth Market. | 17 Gate of the Corrales or the Indebowre. | 25 The Noviciate of the Jesuits. |
| 4 The Archbishop's Palace. | 11 The Market for small Wares. | 18 St. Claras Gate. | 26 The Meadows or Riding Place. |
| 5 The Stone Bridge. | 12 The Royal Gate of Callao. | 19 Wickes or Tally gates. | 27 The Bethlehemians. |
| 6 The Square of St. Inquisition. | 13 The Gates of St. Francis. | 20 A Powder and Corn Mill. | 28 The Capucines. |
| 7 The Inquisition. | 14 Macamandanga Gate. | 21 A Water Mill to beat Copper. | 29 The Transverran Nuns. |
| | | 22 The Cathedral. | 30 The Barefoot Friars. |



with, might have revenged it on some of their Prisoners. But it is to little Purpose to employ one's Thoughts in attempting to discover the Motives of an Act of *Spanish* Policy, since, whatever those Motives were, the Act in itself was compassionate and good.

7. The Dominions, which the *Spaniards* possess in *America*, are so large, and so valuable, that there is no Doubt, if they were properly governed, they might render that Monarchy equally formidable in *Europe*, and the *Indies*. The long Stay I made in *Peru*, the present State of which there are few Opportunities of knowing in this Part of the World, afforded me the Means of examining with Leisure and Attention their Manner of Living, the Form of their Government, the Nature of their Amusements and Diversions, which, in this Country, take place of Business, and furnished me with many Opportunities of inquiring into those Things very minutely, which did not fall immediately under my Observation as an Eye-witness: And of these I shall endeavour to give the Reader as clear, as distinct, and as accurate an Account, as is in my Power, with the greatest Regard to Truth, and constantly distinguishing between what fell immediately under my Knowledge, and what was derived to me by the Information of others. This was certainly the best Use I could make of that Leisure I enjoyed, while a Prisoner in the Hands of the *Spaniards*; and may possibly contribute more to the Service of my Country, than if I had employed myself in Privateering on the Coast. I shall begin with the Description of the Place, where I spent most Part of my Time, and which, as it is the Centre of the *Spanish* Government in these Parts, enabled me to gain a greater Insight into their Affairs, than if I had passed my Days in any of their Ports, or in an inland City, less frequented. The Liberty I was allowed, and the kind Usage I received, made this still the more easy; and therefore it may be depended upon, that what I offer the World is a fair and genuine Representation of Matters of Fact, and not a fine-spun Story, framed from Conjecture and hearsay. If, after all, the wide Difference between the Manners of these People and those in the Northern Part of *Europe*, should give it an Air of Extravagance, I must desire the Reader to reflect, that this is not owing to me, but to the Subject. A Man, who undertakes to describe Things he has seen, must describe them as they are, without Regard to the Appearance they may make in the Eyes of others. But to come to the Point: The great and rich City of *Lima* is the Metropolis of *Peru*, and the Seat of an Archbishop. It is a regular-built City, the Streets all straight and spacious; so that you go through it any Way, without turning a Corner. It is composed of little Squares, like *St. Iago*, the Capital of *Chili*; which was copied from this. It stands in an open Vale, having only a gentle Stream to water it, and which divides it, as the *Thames* does *London* from *Southwark*, allowing for the great Disproportion. The Port of *Lima* is at *Callao*, seven Miles below it. The Houses are only one Story high, of twelve or fourteen Feet, because of the frequent Earthquakes in that Country. There are about eight Parishes, three Colleges for Students, twenty-eight Monasteries of Friars, and thirteen Monasteries of Nuns; so that the Religious take up a fourth Part of the City. However, by the quick Flow of Money, and the vast Sums bequeathed, being the Effects of Celibacy, they are all well endowed and supported; besides which, there are two Hospitals for the Sick, Poor, and Disabled, and where several of our Men were kindly looked after. The Length of the City, from North to South, is two Miles, the Breadth one and an half, the Wall, with the River, making a Circumference of six Miles. On the East Part of the Stream lies the other Part of the City, being joined by a very handsome Stone Bridge of seven Arches. I computed that there were 60 or 70,000 Persons in *Lima*, all Sorts and Colours included; and I do not wonder at any Multiplication in a City, which is the Centre of so much Affluence and Pleasure; for, besides the natural Increase of the Inhabitants, all Ships that trade that Way, whether private or public, generally leave some Deserters, who chuse to stay behind, from the Encouragement all white Faces meet with. Of all Parts of the World, the People here are most expensive in their Habit. The Men dress as they do in *England*, their Coats being either of Silk, or fine *English*

Cloth, and Hair Camlets, embroidered, or laced with Gold and Silver; and their Waistcoats commonly the best Brocades. The Women never wear Hoops or Stays, only a stitched Holland Jacket next their Shifts. They generally throw over their Shoulders a square Piece of Swan-skin Flannel, intirely covered with *Flanders* Lace; besides the Silver or Gold Lace round the Petticoat. When they walk out, the Creolian Women are veiled, but not the Mulatto; and, till the Age of thirty or forty, they wear no Headcloaths, their Hair being tied behind with fine Ribbons: But the Pride of the Sex appears chiefly in *Mechlin* and *Brussels* Lace, with which they trim their Linen in a most extravagant Manner, not omitting their Sheets and Pillows, besides the outward Covering of the Mantle aforesaid. Their Linen is doubly bordered with it, Top and Bottom, with Ruffles of four or five Furlongs hanging down to the Knee. Then, as to Pearls and precious Stones, which they wear in Rings, and Bracelets for the Neck and Arms, they are very extravagant, tho' the Value is hardly equal to the Shew they make.

8. The Viceroy has an handsome Palace in the great Quadrangle of the City, which I take to be near as large as *Lincoln's Inn-Fields*, *London*. His Salary is ten thousand Pounds a Year; and his Perquisites double that Sum: And though his Government expires at three, four or five Years End, as the King pleases, yet, it is supposed, he makes a good Fortune for Life; for he has all Places in his Gift, both in the Government and Army, throughout *Peru*, except particular Persons are sent or nominated by the King. The judicial Court consists of twelve Judges, not to mention the inferior Officers, Council, and Solicitors: Here all Causes should come to be decided, but they are too often determined beforehand in Favour of the Party who gives most Money; and tho' these vast Dominions abound in Riches, yet there is not abundance of Work for the Lawyers, because the Statutes are few and plain, which is certainly happier than a Multitude of Laws explaining one another, till they are so intricate, that the Issue of a Cause depends more upon the Craft of a Solicitor and Advocate, than the Truth of the Case. Besides all this, a Multiplication of Laws begets an Infinity of Attorneys and Counsellors, who live high and great upon the Distresses of other People, and as often argue a Man out of his Right as into it. These Hardships are past retrieving; because every Magistrate knows his Reign to be but short, and, if he don't make a Fortune he is laughed at; so that they wink one at another; and the great Distance between *Peru* and *Spain*, is a Reason the King's Orders are seldom regarded, being two Years going backward and forward; whence arise many clandestine Doings; for, according to Law, the King should have a twentieth Part of the Gold, and a fifth Part of all Silver; but there are vast Quantities that never pay Duty, carried privately over the Continent the North Way, as well as the South, by trading Ships; and tho' there are prodigious Sums allowed for the Militia, Garrisons, and Repairs of Fortifications, yet it is not One-half applied: From all which it is easy to imagine, what immense Revenues would come to the Treasury at *Madrid*, if his Catholic Majesty was but faithfully served.

The Country in *Peru* is naturally subject to Earthquakes; at *Lima* they had two great ones about fifty Years ago, which overturned Houses, Churches, and Convents; and, in the Reign of *Charles II.* the late King of *Spain*, there was an Earthquake near the Equinoctial Line, that lifted up whole Fields, and carried them several Miles off: Small Shocks are often felt without doing any Harm; and I have been two or three times called out of Bed when such a thing has happened, tho' we have heard no more of it; but, upon these Occasions, the Bells always toll to Prayers. Notwithstanding this Country, especially nigh the Coast, has suffered much by Earthquakes, yet their Churches are lofty enough, and neatly built: That Part of their Architecture, which requires most Strength, is generally finished with burnt Bricks; but their Houses are all built with Bambo, Canes, and Bricks, dried only by the Weather, which are durable enough, because it never rains: The Covering is a Matting with Ashes upon it, to keep out the Dews, which is all the Wet they have. The small River of *Lima* is mostly Snow-water, descending from the neighbouring

Mountains, which are covered all the Year with Snow, but partly dissolved in the Summer Season, which is from *September to March*. One would expect it much hotter thereabouts than it is, there being no Proportion between the Heat of this Climate in *America*, and the same Degree of Latitude in *Africa*: For which there are two Reasons; the one is the cool Temper of the Air, proceeding from the congealed Snow on the Mountains, which diffuses itself every Way; the other is the Humidity of the Vapours, which hang over the Plains, and which are so frequent, that, when I came first to *Lima*, I often expected it would rain. These Vapours are not so coarse, low, and gloomy, as our Fogs; nor separated above, like our Summer Clouds; but an Exaltation between both being spread all round, as when we say the Day is overcast: So that sometimes a fine Dew is felt upon the outward Garments, and discerned by the Eye upon the Knap of the Cloth. This is an happy Convenience at *Lima*, the People being thus freed from One-half of the Day from the Sun; and, tho' the Afternoon be Sun-shine, 'tis very tolerable, being mixed with the Sea Breezes, and not near so hot as at *Lisbon*, and some Parts of *Spain* in *Europe*, which are thirty Degrees further from the Equator. The want of Rain in this Part of the Continent obliged the poor *Indians*, before the Conquest, to make Dams and Canals, for bringing down Water from among the distant Mountains; which they have done with such great Labour and Skill, that the Valleys are properly refreshed, producing Grass, Corn, and Variety of Fruits, to which the aforesaid Dews may also a little contribute; and therefore this shews, that there is no judging from Circumstances, whether a Country be habitable or not, since, in this respect, nothing would seem more conclusive, than the absolute want of Rain. A *Spanish* Historian has given us the natural Cause of this perpetual Drought: He observes, that the South-west Winds blow upon the *Peruvian* Coast all the Year round, and the Ocean is therefore called *Pacific*, because the Winds never disturb the Waters: These easy Gales always bear away the Vapours from the Plains, before they can rise, and form a Body sufficient to defend in a Shower; but, when they are carried farther and higher, they grow more compact, and at length fall, by their own Weight, into Rain. They have Plenty of Cattle, Fowl, and Fish, and all Provision common with us, except Butter, instead of which they always use Lard; they have Oil, Wine, and Brandy enough, though not so good as in *Europe*. They drink much of the Jesuits Herb Camini, brought from *Paraguay* by Land; for all *East India* Tea is forbid: They make a Decoction of it, and suck it thro' a Pipe; it is generally here called *Matea*, being the Name of the Bowl out of which they drink it. Chocolate is their usual Breakfast, and a Grace-cup after Dinner; sometimes they drink a Glass of Brandy for Digestion, but scarce any Wine at all. In the Kingdom of *Chili* they make a little Butter, such as it is; and their way of doing it is remarkable: The Cream is put into a Sheep-skin, and kept on Purpose for that Use; two Women lay it on a Table, and shake it between them, till it comes.

9. The *Spaniards* are no Friends to the Bottle; yet Gallantry and Intrigue are here brought to Perfection; for they devote so much of their Time to the Service of the Fair Sex, that it is unmannerly not to have a Mistress, and scandalous not to keep her well. As for the Women, they have many Accomplishments, both natural and acquired; their Conversation is free and sprightly, their Motion graceful, their Looks winning, and their Words engaging: They have all a delicate Shape, not injured with stiff-bodied Stays, but left to the Beauty of Nature; so that there is no such thing as a crooked Body among them. Their Eyes and Teeth are particularly excellent; and their Hair, being generally of a dark polished Hue, is finely combed, and platted and tied behind with Ribbands, but never disguised with Powder; for the Brightness of their Skins round the Temples appears very well shaded through the Hair, like Light through a Landkip. Tho' Amours are universal at *Lima*, yet the Men are careful enough to hide them; for no indecent Word or Action is allowed in public: They have two Seasons for these Entertainments; one is at the *Sejta*, or Afternoon's Nap, which is commonly with the Mistrels; the other is in the Evening, cross the Water,

in Calafes, or at the great Square in the Town, where the Calafes meet in great Numbers towards the Dusk, these are slung like our Coaches, but smaller, and many of them fit only for two, sitting opposite: They are always drawn by one Mule, with the Negro Driver upon his Back; and it is usual, among those Calafes, to observe several of them with the Windows close up, standing still for half an Hour together. In these Amusements, they have several Customs peculiar to themselves: After Evening Play-ers, the Gentleman changes his Dress from a Cloak into a Montero, or Jockey-coat, with a Linen faced Cap, and a Handkerchief about his Neck instead of a Wig: If he wears his Hair, it must be tucked under a Cap, and that flap all down; so that it is an universal Fashion to be disguised some way or other; for those who have no Mullets, are ashamed to be thought virtuous, and must be in some Mask or other to countenance the Way of the World. But, as all this is Night-work, they have an established Rule to prevent Quarrels, which is, never to speak or take Notice one of another, whether they are going in quest of, or visiting their Ladies; so that, in short, the Forepart of the Night is a Masquerade all the Year round. Among the Rank of People who do not keep Calafes, there are several Points to be observed, particularly when they take the Evening Air; one Couple never walks close upon the Heels of another; but, to prevent the publishing any secret Whispers, each Couple walks at the Distance of twelve Yards at least; and if any Lady drops a Fan, or any thing, by Accident, a Gentleman may civilly take it up; but he must not give it to the Lady, but the Gentleman who a with her; for the may be the Sister or Wife of him that takes it up; and, as the Women are all veiled, these Laws are invented to prevent any impertinent Discovers. A Freedom of that kind is looked upon as the highest Air-front in all Gallantry, and merits a drawn Sword through the Liver: They are so careful in these Rules, that if any Man sees his intimate Friend any-where with a Woman, he must in no wise take notice of him, or speak of it afterwards: Things of this Nature are all done with the greatest Gravity imaginable, and the Practice of Gallantry becomes, by this means, decent, soft, and easy: But, notwithstanding the Commerce of Love is here so regularly settled, yet there are Jealousies now-and-then subsisting, which sometimes have ended fatally. There was a Story of this sort pretty fresh when I was at *Lima*: A young Lady had for some time, as she thought, been the sole Sovereign of her Lover's Heart; but, by Chance, she found him in Company with another Woman; and, as our inimicable *Spaniards* have it, "Trifles, light as Air, are, to the Jealous, Confirmations strong," she waited therefore no further Proof of his Infidelity, nor expected any Excuse for the Wrong done her; but suddenly drew his Dagger, and dispatched him. She was soon brought to Trial; and, when every one expected she would pay the Forfeit of her Life, her Judges gave it this Turn, that it was not Malice, but Excess of Love, that prompted her to the rash Deed: She was therefore acquitted; but some nice Casuists thought she should, in Honour, have hanged herself. How agreeable were these Practices are to the *Cruel Spaniards*, yet they cause an Inconvenience to Society; for the Men are so sensibly taken up with these sort of Matters, that the Women engross most of their Time, and spoil public Conversation. For this Reason, there are no Taverns or Coffee-houses; so that the Men are only to be met with at their Offices, or at Church. The same Inconvenience, in a greater or less Degree, attends this Propensity to Gallantry, where-ever it prevails; and may be justly considered as the Bane of Industry, corrupting the Minds of both Sexes, and infilling the basest Principles of Indolence and Debauchery.

10. It is chiefly owing to this effeminate Disposition, that all manly Exercises, all useful Knowledge, and that noble Emulation, which inspires Virtue, and keeps alive Respect to the public Good, are unthought of here: For, as there is naturally a great Mixture of Phlegm and Stubbornness in *Spanish* Constitutions, so whatever settles amongst them into a Custom, obtains the Force of an inviolable Law; and, however absurd, however contrary to Religion or Virtue, however noxious to Society, or fatal to private Peace, is not to be rooted out by Art or Force. *Am.*

Amusements, therefore, that serve to relax the Labours of the Industrious in other Countries, and yet keep alive the Vigour and Activity of Body, and of Mind, are never known in *Peru*; and whoever should attempt to introduce them, would be considered as an Innovator, which, among *Spaniards*, is a frightful Thing: Nor would they suffer themselves to be convinced, that martial Exercises, or literary Conferences, are preferable to Intrigues. They have, however, a sort of Playhouse, where the young Gentlemen and Students divert themselves after their Fashion; for what Performances they have in the Dramatical Way are so mean, that they are hardly worth mentioning, being Scripture Stories interwoven with Romances, and, which is still worse, with Obscenity.

It was at this Theatre, that two *Englishmen*, of Monsieur *Martinet's* Squadron, fought a Prize a little before I came to *Lima*: They first obtained Leave of the Viceroy to exercise at the usual Weapons; and, after the Shew-day was fixed, most of the Time was taken up with preparatory Ceremonies, to bring, as we phrase it, an House; preceded by Beat of Drum, in their *Holland* Shirts and Ribbands, saluting the Spectators at the Windows with a Flourish of the Sword; so that, by the extraordinary gallant manner of the Thing, the whole City came to see the Trial of Skill: Some gave Gold, but few very less than a Dollar: When the Company, Male and Female, were close packed together, the Masters mounted the Stage; and, after the usual Compliment, peculiar to the *English* Nation, of shaking Hands before they fight, they retired in great Order, and stood upon their Guard. Several Bouts were played without much Wrath or Damage; but the Design of this Meeting being more to get Money, than Cuts or Credit, one of the Masters had the seasonable Fortune to receive a small Hurt on the Breast, which, having blooded his Shirt, began to make the Combat look terrible; upon which the Company fearing, from such a dreadful Beginning, that the Zeal of the Champions might grow too warm, and conceiving, till they were reconciled, no Man in the House was safe, unanimously cried out *Basta, Basta*, which signifies *Enough, Enough*; and so the House broke up. The Sailors, finding this a better Prize than any they ever met with at Sea, humbly besought his Excellency to grant them a Licence for another Trial of Skill; but the Viceroy, and all the People, were against it, from a religious Objection that could never be got over; and that was, lest the Fellows should kill one another, and die without Absolution. One cannot help observing, when so fair an Opportunity offers, that the public Diversions of any Place always shew the Temper of a People; whence appears the Danger of introducing, under the Notion of Elegance, the Amusements of a debased or an effeminate Nation, because, in time, they every-where produce the same Effects; that is to say, they mould those, amongst whom they are introduced, into the same Temper with those from whom they are derived; and I dare say, if Gallantry prevailed here as much as in *Peru*, we should soon grow as much out of Love with Prize-fighting, and with whatever else had any Affinity with Labour or Danger, as they: So natural it is, for the Love of Pleasure to dastardize the very bravest People.

11. A further Instance we have of this Deficiency of Spirit in the *Spaniards*, from their Carelessness with respect to those Countries and Islands yet undiscovered, in the Neighbourhood of their vast Dominions in *America*; notwithstanding the Assurances they have had, that some of these Countries are richer, and of much greater Consequence, than those they have already conquered or settled. The first *Spanish* Governors of *Mexico* and *Peru* were not of this indolent and uninspiring Temper; but bestowed great Care and Pains in endeavouring to obtain the most perfect Knowledge possible of the Places bordering upon those under their respective Governments; but now that generous Thirst of Fame is absolutely extinguished, and the *Spanish* Governors, instead of aiming at new Discoveries, content themselves with plundering their Fellow-subjects, that are settled in the old. The Regions which lie North of the Kingdom of *Mexico*, are known to abound with Silver, precious Stones, and other rich Commodities; yet the *Spaniards* not only decline their Conquests on that Side, but discourage, as

much as they can, the Reports spread of the Wealth and Value of those Countries. Upon the same Principles, they give no sort of Encouragement to attempt penetrating into the Heart of *South America*, whence the best Part of the Riches of *Peru* is known to come; the Mountains, which are at the Back of the Country, being extremely rich in Gold; and the Regions on the other Side towards the North Seas, known to be inhabited by Nations that have abundance of that valuable Metal; though, for fear of being oppressed by the *Europeans*, they conceal it as much as possible. If this proceeded from a Maxim of true Policy, viz. that of being content when they have enough, and applying themselves to govern well what they already possess, it would be extremely commendable, and would certainly contribute to the Safety, Peace, and Continuance of their Empire in those Parts. But while it appears plainly, from the Conduct of their Viceroy and other Officers, that they have nothing in View but accumulating Wealth, at the Expence of those they should protect, it is natural for the People to wish, that they would apply themselves to Discoveries, which would afford the Governors means of making their Fortunes, without distressing such as are already Subjects to the Crown of *Spain*.

But, of all the Discoveries that have ever been talked of amongst the *Spaniards*, that which has made the most Noise, is the Island or Islands of *Solomon*. These are supposed to be the same with those discovered by the famous *Ferdinand de Quiros*: He reported them to be excessively rich, as well as extremely populous; and desired, by repeated Memorials, that he might be authorized, by the Crown of *Spain*, to proceed in, and finish that Discovery; but, as all his Instances were neglected, in the Space of a few Years it became a Question, whether there really were any such Islands or not; and the Treating this Matter as a Romance, was, for some time, a political Maxim with the Viceroy of *Peru*; and perhaps, by degrees, the very wisest People in *America* would have been brought over to this Opinion; but it so happened, that, towards the latter End of the last Century, such Discoveries were made as to the Reality of these Islands, that Don *Alvaro de Miranda* was sent in the Year 1695, upon discovering them, in which he miscarried; but, in the Search, met with four Islands, between 7 and 10° of South Latitude, wonderfully rich and pleasant; the Inhabitants of which were a better looking People, and far more civilized, than any of the *Indians* upon the Continent. This occasioned a good deal of Discourse at that time; but the Disturbances that followed soon after, took up Peoples Thoughts to such a degree, that all Hopes of finding, or even endeavouring to find, these happy Islands, were intirely laid aside.

Yet, while I was in *Peru*, this Attempt was renewed again, though to very little Purpose, by an odd Accident. Before I enter upon this, I must be obliged to say something of the Person employed in the Discovery: Among the rest of the *French* Traders or Interlopers, that were destroyed by *Martinet's* Squadron, there was one Mr. *Thaylet*, with whom I was well acquainted at *Lima*, who lost all his Effects: But even this hard Usage could not drive him out of *Peru*, he came thither to make a Fortune, and he did not, by any means, care to return home a Beggar. He had formerly commanded several good Ships, and was an expert Artist. He offered his Service to the Government, and this Offer of his was very kindly received. The first Affair of Importance in which he was employed, was an Expedition to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, in order to find there the Bottle, with the Instructions, which Captain *Clipperton* left behind him for Captain *Sbelvocke*, when, in pursuance of his Instructions, he touched at that Island, and cruised in its Neighbourhood for a Month. Of this the Viceroy was informed by one of *Clipperton's* Men, that was taken Prisoner; which Information immediately produced a Resolution to send for those Instructions, in order to prevent the *English* Privateers from joining; and a more proper Man for such an Expedition could not have been found than Mr. *Thaylet*, who, in point of Ingenuity and Practice, was a much more capable Man than most in the *Spanish* Service. This Circumstance of sending for the Bottle is the most authentic Testimony that can possibly be expected to the Truth of *Thaylet's* Journal, and the History already given of *Clipperton's*

Periton's Proceedings. I might add, that it is as direct a Refutation of all that Captain *Shelucke* has advanced upon this Subject; so that it is impossible for any Man, who considers it, to believe what he charges Captain *Clipperton* with to be true; or to dream, that it ever was the Intention of *Clipperton* to desert *Shelucke*. It might also be observed, that the latter does not so much as pretend to have left any Instructions for *Clipperton*, in case he should come to any of the Places where *Shelucke* had touched; the Inference from which is very easy.

While Mr. *Thaylet* was gone upon his Cruise, a Spanish Ship arrived at *Calao*, the Master of which reported, that, being driven out of his Course, he had made the Islands of *Solomon*. This occasioned much Discourse on that Subject, and the comparing all the different Accounts that had been given of these Islands, and their Inhabitants, which appeared to be clear, so probable, and well connected, as scarce to leave any Doubt of the Veracity of such as pretended to have made this Discovery. In the Midst of the Discourses raised by this Accident, another Ship arrived, with the like Account, attended with Circumstances, which rendered it evident, that there could not be any Fraud or Collusion in the Case; but that both had, by pure Accident, been driven upon the same Island. This was very lucky for Mr. *Thaylet*, since, while he was employed in one Expedition, another was thus unexpectedly provided for him. On his Return with the Instructions, and the two Men who deserted there, the Viceroy, willing to encourage him, thought of this short Expedition for him in the same Vessel, being an English Ketch of about sixty Ton, and in which he had served Captain *Martinet* as a Tender; for the Intelligence he had received of *Solomon's* Island made his Excellency curious to pursue the Discovery. He therefore ordered the Ketch to be fitted out for two Months, under *Thaylet's* Command; who accordingly sailed into 10° South, in which Latitude the Island was said to lie. He cruised thereabouts till his Provision was very high expended, and returned, without Success. However, as the same Account came by two different Ships, who touched there, the Spaniards verily believe there is such a Place; for the Men reported, that the Natives, as to their Persons and Behaviour, were much like the *Indians* on the Continent; that they had Gold and Silver Things among them; but that their Language was strange and unintelligible. The Reason why Mr. *Thaylet* could not meet with *Solomon's* Island, might be from the Uncertainty of the Latitude, and his Inability of making further Search, being provided only for two Months; for I have been informed in *London*, that the said Island or Islands lie more Southerly in the *Pacific Ocean*, than where they are laid down in the *Dutch Maps*; and the two Spaniards, who had been there, were only small trading Vessels, carried thither by irregular Currents; and could give no certain Account of the Latitude, because they kept no Reckoning. And thus ended all Thoughts of prosecuting this Discovery at that time.

12. As the Riches of *Peru* consist chiefly in their Silver Mines, I shall endeavour to treat of these, not only from my own Experience, but from the best Lights I have been able to derive from the strictest Inquiry I had it in my Power to make from others. There are two Sorts of Silver Mines, the one where Silver is found scattered about in small Quantities; the other, where it runs in a Vein between two Rocks; the one excessively hard; and the other much softer: And it is these last, which best deserve, and are generally distinguished by, the Name of Silver Mines. This precious Metal, which is, in other Countries, the Standard or Measure of Riches, is, in *Peru*, the Riches of the Country, considered in another Light, I mean that of a natural Commodity; for, throughout the Whole of that vast Country, there are almost every-where Silver Mines to be met with, of more or less Value, according as the Ore produces more or less Silver, and can be wrought at a greater or less Expence. There are some, but not a great many, Mines to the Northward of *Lima*; but, to the South, they are very numerous. On the Back of the *Andes*, there lies a Nation of *Indians*, called *los Plateros*, or the *Plate-men*, from the vast Quantities they possess of Silver; but the Spaniards have very little Communication with them. The best part of the Mine-countries are to the South of *Cusco*, from thence

to *Potosi*, and so to the Frontiers of *Chili*; and where, for the Space of 300 Miles, there is a continued Succession of Mines, some being discovered, and others deserted, every Day.

It is a common thing for the People here, as well as elsewhere, to complain of the present Times, and commend the past, as if heretofore there were infinitely greater Quantities of Silver dug out of the Mines than at present: And, perhaps, with regard to particular Mines, it may be so; but, upon the Whole, doubtless the Quantities of Silver that are annually obtained in the Spanish West Indies abundantly exceeds what was formerly exported from thence. As to the Names of those, which have been most remarkable, or are so at present, in the Country of *Peru*, they are these; viz. the Mines of *Laxa* and *Camora*, *Cuenca*, *Puerto Veio*, *St. Juan del Oro*: These are wrought at present. Those of *Oruro* and *Titiri* are neglected. Those of *Pera* and *Plata* filled up. At *Potosi* there are a great Number of Mines. And those of *Tomina*, *Cboata*, *Atacama*, *Xuani*, the *Calchaques*, *Guaico*, *Iquique*, &c. are all wrought with more or less Profit; and this according to the Skill of their Proprietors, or of such as have the Direction of these Works. It is generally believed, and there seems to be some Reason for it, that Experience has taught the Creolians here a perfect Acquaintance with Minerals, and the Art of treating them, so as to obtain the largest Profit. But, however, when one considers their Ignorance in other Arts, their going on constantly in the same beaten Track in this, together with their vast Waste of Quicksilver, one is almost tempted to believe, that our European Miners might manage their Works to still greater Advantages. This seems the more probable, when one reflects, that this Knowledge of theirs is not at all founded upon Principles, but is, properly speaking, an Art built upon accidental Discoveries, in which there is little of Accuracy, and abundance of Uncertainty; which will be more evident to the Reader, when he has perused and considered the following Account of the Manner, in which the Silver is extracted from the Ore at the Mines.

The most perfect Silver that comes from thence, is in that Form which the Spaniards call *Pinnas*, which is a Lump of Silver extremely porous, because it is the Remainder of a Paste, made of Silver-dust and Mercury; and the latter being exhaled, leaves this Remainder of the Mass spongy, full of Holes, and light. It is this kind of Silver that is put into different Forms by the Merchants, in order to cheat the King of his Duty, though that is but very moderate; and therefore all Silver in this Condition, if found any-where on the Road, or on board any Ship, is looked upon as contraband Goods, and is liable to Seizure. In regard to the Art of Refining, therefore, I am to shew the Progress of the Ore from the Mine to this kind of Mass or Cake: After having broken the Stone taken out of the Vein of Ore, they grind it in their Mills with Grind-stones, or in the *Ingenios Raales*, or Royal Engines, which consist of Hammers or Pounders, like the *French Plaster-mills*. They have generally a Wheel of about twenty-five or thirty Feet Diameter, whose long Axle-tree is set with smooth Triangles, which, as they turn, hook or lay hold of the Iron Hammers, lift them up to a certain Height, from whence they drop at once at every Turn; they generally weigh about 200 Weight, and fall so violently, that they crush and reduce the hardest Stones to Powder by their Weight alone. They afterwards sift that Powder through Iron or Copper Sieves, to take away the finest, and return the rest to the Mill. When the Ore happens to be mixed with some Metals, which obstruct its falling to Powder, as Copper, then they calcine that in an Oven, and pound it over again.

In the little Mines, where they use none but Mills with Grind-stones, they, for the most part, grind the Ore with Water, which makes a liquid Mud, that runs into a Receiver; whereas, when it is ground dry, it must be afterwards steeped, and well moulded together with the Feet for a long time. To this Purpose they make a Court or Floor, where they dispose that Mud in square Parcels about a Foot thick, each of them containing half a *Caxon* or Chest, that is, twenty-five Quintals, or 100 Weight of Ore; and these they call *Cuerpos*, that is, Bodies. On each of them

they throw about 200 Weight of Sea or common Salt, more or less, according to the Nature of the Ore, which they mould, and incorporate with the Earth for two or three Days. Then they add to it a certain Quantity of Quick-silver, squeezing a Purse made of a Skin, into which they put it, to make it fall in Drops, with which they sprinkle the Body or Mafs equally, according to the Nature and Quality of the Ore. They allow to each Mafs ten, fifteen, or twenty Pounds; for, the richer it is, the more Mercury it requires to draw to it the Silver it contains: So that they know not the Quantity, but by long Experience. An *Indian* is employed to mould one of these square Parcels eight times a Day, to the end that the Mercury may incorporate with the Silver. To that Effect they often mix Lime with it, when the Ore happens to be greasy, where Caution is to be used; for they say, it sometimes grows so hot, that they neither find Mercury nor Silver in it; which seems incredible. Sometimes they also strew among it some Lead or Tin-ore, to facilitate the Operation of the Mercury, which is slower in very cold Weather, than when it is temperate; for which Reason, at *Potosi* and *Lipes*, they are often obliged to mould the Ore during a whole Month, or a Month and an half: But, in more temperate Climates, the Amalgama is made in eight or ten Days.

To facilitate the Operation of the Mercury, they in some Places, as at *Puno* and elsewhere, make their *Buiteros* or Floors on Arches, under which they keep Fires, to heat the Powder of the Ore, for twenty-four Hours, on a Pavement of Bricks. When it is thought, that the Mercury has attracted all the Silver, the Elayer takes a little Ore from each Parcel apart, which he washes in a little earthen Plate, or wooden Bowl; and, by the Colour of the Mercury found at the Bottom of the Bowl, knows whether it has had its Effect: For, when it is blackish, the Ore is too much heated; and then they add more Salt, or some other Drug. They say, that then the Mercury *dispara*, that is, shoots or flies away. If the Mercury is white, they put a Drop under the Thumb, and, pressing it hastily, the Silver there is amongst it remains sticking to the Thumb; and the Mercury slips away in little Drops. In Conclusion, when they perceive, that all the Silver is gathered, they carry the Ore to a *Bafon*, into which a little Stream of Water runs, to wash it, much in the same Nature as I shall shew they wash the Gold, excepting that this being only a Mud without Stones, instead of an Hook to stir it, an *Indian* stirs it with his Feet, to dissolve it. From the first *Bafon* it falls into a second, where another *Indian* is, who stirs it again, to dissolve it thoroughly, and loosen the Silver. From the second it passes into a third, where the same is repeated, to the end that what has not sunk to the Bottom of the first and second, may not escape the third.

When all has been washed, and the Water runs clear, they find at the Bottom of the *Bafons*, which are lined with Leather, the Mercury incorporated with the Silver; which they call *Lapella*. It is put into a woollen Bag, hanging up, for some of the Quicksilver to drain through. They bind, beat and press it as much as they can, laying a Weight upon it, with flat Pieces of Wood; and, when they have got out as much as they can, they put the Paste into a Mould of wooden Planks, which, being bound together, generally form the Figure of an octagon Pyramid, cut short, the Bottom whereof is a Copper-plate, full of little Holes. There they stir, in order to loosen it; and, when they design to make many *Pinnas*, as they call them, that is, Lumps of various Weights, they divide them with little Beds or Layers of Earth, which hinder their coming together. To that End the *Pella* or Mafs must be weighed, deducting two-thirds for the Mercury that is in it; and they know, within a small Matter, what net Silver there is. They then take off the Mould, and place the *Pinna* or Mafs, with its Copper Base, on a Trivet, or such-like Instrument, standing over a great earthen Vessel full of Water, and cover it with an earthen Cap or Covering, which they again cover with lighted Coals; which Fire they feed for some Hours, that the Mafs may grow violent hot, and the Mercury that is in it evaporate in Smoke; but that Smoke having no Passage out, it circulates in the Hollow that is between the Mafs and Cap, or Covering, till, coming down to the Water that is underneath, it condenses, and sinks to the

Bottom again, converted into Quicksilver. Thus, little of it is lost; and the same serves several times: But the Quantity must be increased, because it grows weak. However, they formerly consumed at *Potosi* 6 or 7000 Quintals or hundred Weight of Quicksilver every Year, as *Acosta* writes; by which a Judgment may be made of the Silver they got.

When the Mercury is evaporated, there remains nothing, but a spongy Lump of contiguous Grains of Silver, very light, and almost mouldering, which the *Spaniards* call *la Pinna*; and is, as I observed, a contraband Commodity from the Mines, because, by the Laws of the Kingdom, they are obliged to carry it to the King's Receipt, or to the Mint, to pay the fifth to his Majesty there. Those Masses are cast into Ingots, on which the Arms of the Crown are stamped, as also that of the Place where they were cast, their Weight and Quality, with the Fineness of the Silver to answer the Measure of all Things, according to an ancient Philosopher. It is always certain, that the Ingots, which have paid the fifth, have no Fraud in them; but it is not so with the *Pinnas* or Masses not cast. Those who make them, often convey into the Middle of them Iron, Sand, and other Things, to increase the Weight; so that, in Prudence, they ought to be opened, and made red-hot at the Fire, for the more Certainty; for, if falsified, the Fire will either turn it black, or yellow, or melt it more easily. This Trial is also to extract a Moisture they contract in Places where they are laid on purpose to make them the heavier. In short, their Weight may be increased one-third by dipping them in Water when they are red-hot, as also by separating the Mercury, with which the Bottom of the Mafs is always more impregnated than the Top. It also sometimes happens, that the same Mafs is of different Fineness. The Stones taken from the Mines, the Ore, or, to speak in the Language of *Peru*, the *Mineray*, from which the Silver is extracted, is not always of the same Nature, Consistence, or Colour. There are some white and grey, mixed with red or bluish Spots, which is called *Plata Blanca*, or white Silver. The Mines of *Lipes* are most of them of this sort. For the most part there appear some little Grains of Silver, and very often small Branches, extending along the Layers of the Stone. There are some, on the other hand, as black as the Drops of Iron, in which the Silver does not appear, called *negrilla*, that is, blackish. Sometimes it is black with Lead, for which Reason it is called *Plomo ranco*, that is, coarse Lead, in which the Silver appears as if scratched with something that is harsh; and it is generally the richest, and got with least Charge, because, instead of moulding it with Quicksilver, it is melted in Furnaces, where the Lead evaporates by dint of Fire, and leaves the Silver pure and clean.

From that Sort of Mines the *Indians* drew their Silver, because, having no Use of Mercury, as the *Europeans* have, they only wrought those whole Ore would melt; and, having but little Wood, they heated their Furnaces with Ylo, and the Dung of Llamas, or Sheep, and other Beasts, exposing them on the Mountains, that the Wind might keep the Fire fierce. This is all the Secret the Historians of *Peru* speak of, as of something wonderful. There is another Sort of Ore like this, as black, and in which the Silver does not appear at all; on the contrary, if it be wetted, and rubbed against Iron, it turns red; for which Reason it is called *Rubiel*, signifying the Ruddiness of the Dawn of the Day. This is very rich, and affords the finest Silver. There is some that glitters like Tale or Isinglass; this is generally naught, and yields little Silver; the Name of it is *Zorache*, the Peel, which is of a yellowish Red, is very soft, and broken in Bits, but seldom rich; and the Mines of it are wrought on account of the easiness of getting the Ore: There is some green, not much harder than the last, called *Cabrillo*, or copperish; it is very rare: However, though the Silver generally appears in it, and it is almost mouldering, it is the hardest to be managed, that is, to have the Silver extracted from it; sometimes, after being ground, it must be burnt in the Fire, and several other Methods used to separate it; doubtless, because it is mixed with Copper. Lastly, there is another Sort of very rare Ore, which has been found at *Potosi*, only in the Mine of *Cotamiso*, being Threads of pure Silver, intangled

Or wound up together like burnt Lace, so fine, that they called it *Arana*, Spider, from its Resemblance to a Cobweb.

The Veins of Mines, of what Sort soever they be, are generally richer in the Middle, than towards the Edges; and, when two Veins happen to cross one another, the Place where they meet is always very rich. It is also observed, that those which lie North and South, are richer than those which lie any other Way. Those which are near Places where Mills can be erected, and that are more commodiously wrought, are often preferable to the richer, that require more Expence; which is the Reason, that, at *Lipes*, and at *Potosi*, a Chest of Ore must yield ten Marks, of eight Ounces each Mark, of Silver, to pay the prime Charges; and, at those of the Province of *Tarama*, five pay them. When they are rich, and sink downwards, they are subject to be flooded; and then they must have recourse to Pumps and Machines, or else drain them by those they call *Cocabones*, being Passages made in the Side of the Mountain for the Water to run out at; which often ruin the Owners, by the excessive Expence they insensibly draw them into. There are other ways of separating the Silver from the Stones that confine it, and from the other Metals that are mixed with it, by Fire, or strong separating Waters, made use of at some Mines, where other Means fail, and where they make a sort of Ingots, which they call *Bollos*; but the most general and useful Method is to make *Pinnas* or Masses, above-mentioned, which are preferred to other Forms, on account of their easiness in making, and that they save Fire, and other Ingredients; which is a thing of great Consequence in Works of this Nature, where, to save in the Expence, has the same Effect as finding the Mine.

13. It is very natural to suppose, that, in Mines, as well as other Things, there happen great Variations in their Products, and in the Value of the Product. The Mines which very lately yielded most Silver, are those of *Oruro*, a little Town eighty Leagues from *Arica*. In the Year 1712. one so rich was found at *Ollacbea*, near *Cajco*, that it yielded 2500 Marks, of eight Ounces each, out of every Chest, that is almost one fifth Part of the Ore; but it has declined much, and is now reckoned but among the ordinary Sort. Next to these are those at *Lipes*, which have had the same Fate. Lastly, those at *Potosi* yield but little, and cause a vast Expence by reason of their great Depth. But, notwithstanding the Mines here are far diminished in their Product, yet the Quantity of Ore that has been already wrought, and lain many Years upon the Surface, is thought capable to yield a second Crop; and, when I was at *Lima*, they were actually turning it up, and new-milling it, with great Success; which is a Proof, that these Minerals generate in the Earth like all other inanimate Things; and it is likewise certain, from all Accounts of the *Spaniards*, that Gold and Silver, as well as other Metals, are continually growing and forming themselves in the Earth. This Opinion is verified by Experience in the Mountain of *Potosi*, where several Mines have fallen in, and buried the Workmen, with their Tools; after some Years, they have dug the same Place, and discovered many Bones, and Pieces of Wood, with Veins of Silver actually running through them. These Mines belong to him who first discovers them: He immediately presents a Petition to the Magistrate to have such a Piece of Earth for his own; which is no sooner done than granted: They measure eighty *Spanish* Yards in Length, and forty over, which is about 1200 Foot in Length, and 100 in Breadth; and yield it to the Discoverer, who chuses what Space he thinks fit, and does what he pleases with it. Then they measure just the same Quantity for the King, which is sold to the best Bidder, there being many who are willing to purchase a Treasure which may prove inestimable. If any other Person has a mind to work Part of the Mine himself, he bargains with the Proprietor for a particular Vein. All that such an one digs out is his own, paying the King's Duty, which is for Gold a 20th Part, and for Silver a 5th; and some Landlords find such an Account in letting out their Ground, and their Mills, that they live upon the Profit.

At *Copiapo* there are Gold Mines just beyond the Town, and all about the Country likewise, which have brought many Purchasers and Workmen thither, to the great Damage of the *Indians*; for the *Spanish* Magistrates take away not only their Lands, but their Horses, which they sell to the new Proprietors, under Pretence of serving the King, and improving the Settlements: There is also a great deal of Magnet and Lapis Lazuli, which the *Indians* know not the Value of: And, some Leagues in the Country, there is plenty of Salt and Saltpetre, which often lies an Inch thick on the Ground. About an hundred Miles East, upon the *Cordelier* Mountains, there is a Vein of Sulphur two Feet wide, so fine and pure, that it needs no cleaning. This Part of the Country is full of all Sorts of Mines; but, in other respects, is so barren, that the Natives fetch all their Subsistence from *Cequimbo*, and that Way, being a mere Desert for 300 Miles together; and the Earth abounds so much with Salt and Sulphur, that the Mules often perish for want of Grass, and sweet Water. There is but one River in 200 Miles, which the *Indians* call *Anaculua*, or *Hypocrite*, because it runs only from Sun-rise to Sun-set: This is occasioned from the great Quantity of Snow melted from the *Cordeliers* in the Day time, which freezes again at Night, where the Cold is often to great, the People's Features are quite distorted. Hence *Chili* takes its Name, *Chile* signifying Cold in the *Indian* Language; and we are certainly informed by the *Spanish* Historians, that some of their Countrymen, and others, who first traded this Way, died stiff with Cold upon their Mules; for which Reason the Road is now always lower towards the Coast.

The Mine Countries are all so cold and barren, that the Inhabitants get most of their Provision from the Coast; this is caused by the Salts and Sulphurs exhaled from the Earth, which destroy the Seed of all Vegetables. The *Spaniards* who live thereabout, find them to stinking, that they drink often of the *Matter*, to moisten their Mouths. The Mules, that trip it nimbly over the Mountains, are forced to walk gently about the Mines, and stop often, to fetch Breath. If these Vapours are so strong without, what must they be within the Mine itself, where, if a fresh Man goes, he is suddenly benumbed with Pain? And this is the Case of many an one; but this Distemper seldom lasts above a Day, and they are not so affected a second time; but Vapours have often burst out so furiously, that Workmen have been killed on the Spot, so that one way or other Multitudes of *Indians* die in their Calling. An Observation occurs here to my Memory, that, upon the Road to *Piura*, at Night, when we lay down to sleep, our Mules went eagerly to search for a certain Root, not unlike a Parsnip, though much bigger, which affords a great deal of Juice, and, in such a sandy Plain, often serves instead of Water: But, when the Mules are very thirsty, and they cannot easily rake up the Root with their Feet, they will stand over it and bray, till the *Indians* come to their Assistance. One would wonder, that, throughout all this Part of the World, that Portion of the Country should be best inhabited which is most barren and unwholesome, while those Spots, that seem to vie with Paradise itself for Beauty and Fertility, are but thinly peopled. Yet, when one considers, that it is not the Love of Ease, but the Thirst of Wealth, that draws People hither, the Difficulty is very easily solved; and we see at once, how much the Hopes of Living rich, gets the better of the Hopes of Living; as if the sole End, for which a Man was created, was to acquire Wealth, at the Expence of Health and Happiness.

It is generally understood, that Silver is the peculiar Wealth of *Peru*; and the *Spaniards* usually talk, as to Gold Mines, of those that are to be found in *Chili*; but, notwithstanding this, there are one or two Wallowing-places for Gold in the South Part of *Peru*, near the Frontiers of *Chili*. About the Year 1709. there were two surprising large Lumps of Virgin Gold found in one of these Places, one of which weighed thirty-two Pounds complete, and was purchased by the Count de *Moncloa*, then Viceroy of *Peru*, and presented to the King of *Spain*; the other was shaped somewhat like an Ox's Heart; it weighed twenty-two Pounds and an half, and was bought by the Corregidor of *Arica*.

Arica. To find these Lavadores, or Washing-places, they dig in the Corners of a little Brook, where, by certain Tokens, they judge the Grains of Gold to lie. To assist in carrying away the Mud, they let a fresh Stream into it, and keep turning it up, that the Current may send it along. When they are come to the Golden Sand, they turn off the Stream another Way, and dig with Mattocks; and this Earth they carry upon Mules to certain Basons, joined together by small Channels; into these they let a smart Stream of Water, to loosen the Earth, and carry all the gross Part away. The *Indians* standing in the Basons, and throwing out all the Stones, the Gold at Bottom is still mixed with a black Sand, and hardly to be seen, till it be farther cleared and separated, which is easily done. But these Washing-places differ; for, in some, there are Gold Grains as big as Bird-shot; and in one, belonging to the Priests near *Valparaiso*, some were found, from two or three Ounces to a Pound and an half Weight. This Way of getting Gold is much better than from the Mines; here is no need of Iron Crows, Mills, or Quicksilver; so that both the Trouble and Expence are much less. The *Cretolians* are not so curious in washing their Gold, as the People in *Europe*; but great Plenty makes them careless in that and many other Articles.

15. It would be needless to attempt in this Place a Description of the large Kingdom of *Chili*, because it has been already done by many Authors: All that is designed here, is to give such a Representation of it, as may enable the Reader to comprehend the Nature of its Trade, the Manner in which it is connected with the general Commerce of *Peru*, by which the Wealth drawn from it is transmitted to *Europe*. It is in Length, from North to South, about 1200 Miles, the Breadth of it very uncertain; the Air is very temperate and wholesome, unless rendered otherwise by pestilential Exhalations, that are most common after Earthquakes, to which this Country is very subject. The Winter Rains, during the Months of *May, June, July, and August*, are exceedingly heavy; but then, for eight Months together, they have, generally speaking, fine Weather. The Soil is prodigiously fertile, where it admits of Cultivation; such Fruit-trees as are carried thither from *Europe*, come to the greatest Perfection; so that the Fruit is coming forward all the Year; and it is common to see Apple-trees in that Situation, which we so much admire in Orange-trees; that is to say, with Blossoms, Apples just formed, green Apples, and ripe Fruit all at the same time. The Valleys, wherever they have any Moisture, wear a perpetual Verdure; and the Hills are covered with odoriferous Herbs, very useful in Physic. There are Trees of all sorts, and fit for every kind of Use; inasmuch that, independent of its Gold Mines, *Chili* might be well accounted one of the richest and finest Countries in the Universe. And, indeed, there are some Places in it, which are as beautiful as any thing the warmest Imagination can paint: For instance, the Town of *Copimbo*, in Lat. 30° South, a short Mile from the Sea, standing on a green rising Ground, about ten Yards high, which Nature has regularly formed like a Terrace, North and South, in a direct Line, of more than half a Mile, turning at each Side to the Eastward. The first Street makes a delightful Walk, having the Prospect of the Country round it, and the Bay before it; all this is sweetly placed in a Valley ever green, and watered with a River; which, taking its Rise from among the Mountains, flows through the Vales and Meadows, in a winding Stream, to the Sea.

But notwithstanding all these Advantages, this vast Country is very thinly inhabited; inasmuch that, through its whole Extent, there are scarce five Towns that deserve that Appellation, and but one City, which is that of *St. Iago*; throughout all the rest there are only Farms, which they call *Esfancias*, so remote from one another, that the whole Country, as I have been informed from good Hands, cannot raise 20,000 Whites fit to bear Arms, and particularly *St. Iago* 2000; the rest are all *Mestizos*, *Mulattos*, and *Indians*, whose Number may be three times as great, without including the friendly *Indians* beyond the River *Biobio*, who are reckoned to amount to 15,000, whose Fidelity, however, is not much to be depended on. The Trade of this Country is chiefly carried on by Sea, and is,

at present, rather in a declining than flourishing Condition. The Port of *Baldioia* was formerly very famous, on account of the very rich Mines of Gold that were in its Neighbourhood, which are now, in a great measure, disused; so that it is only kept as a Garrison, and serves in this respect to *Peru*, as the Fortresses on the *Burbery Coast* do to *Spain*, viz. to receive Malefactors, who are sent thither to serve against the *Indians*. All the Trade of that Town consists in sending ten or twelve Ships a Year to *Peru*, laden with Hides, tanned Leather, salt Mear, Corn, and other Provisions, which are to be had here in great Plenty.

The Port of *Concepcion* is more considerable, by reason of their Commerce with the *Indians*, which are not subject to the Crown of *Spain*. These *Indians* are of a Copper Colour, have large Limbs, broad Faces, and coarse black Hair. The Nation of the *Puelches* differ somewhat from the rest, because amongst them there are some pretty white, and who have a little Colour in their Cheeks, which is supposed to be owing to their having some *European Blood* in their Veins, ever since the Natives of this Country revolted from the *Spaniards*, and cut off most of their Garrisons. They preferred the Women, and especially the Nuns, with whom they cohabited, and had many Children, who have a sort of natural Affection for their Mothers Country; and, though they are too proud to submit to the *Spaniards*, yet they are not willing to hurt them. These People inhabit that Ridge of the Mountains which the *Spaniards* call *La Cordilera*; and, as the Manner of Trading with them is very singular, it may not be amiss to give an Account of it.

When the *Spanish* Pedlar, or walking Merchant, makes a Tour into this Country, he goes directly to the Cacique, or Chief, and presents himself before him without speaking a Word: The Cacique breaks Silence first; and says to the Merchant, Are you come? Then he answering, I am come. What have you brought me? replies the Cacique, I bring you, rejoins the *Spaniard*, Wine (A necessary Article!) and such a thing. Whereupon the Cacique fails not to say, You are welcome. He appoints him a Lodging near his own Cottage, where his Wives and Children, bidding him welcome, each of them also demand a Present, which he gives, though never so small: At the same time the Cacique, with the Horn-trumpet which he has by him, gives notice to his scattered Subjects of the Arrival of a Merchant, with whom they may trade: They come and see the Commodities, which are Knives and Axes, Combs, Needles, Thread, Looking-glasses, Ribbands, &c. The best of all would be Wine, were it not dangerous to supply them therewith, to make them drunk; for then they are not safe among them, because they are apt to kill one another. When they have agreed upon the Barter, they carry the Things home without paying; so that the Merchant delivers all without knowing to whom, or seeing any of his Debtors: In short, when he designs to go away, the Cacique orders Payment by founding the Horn again; then every Man honestly brings the Cattle he owes; and, because these consist of Mules, Goats, and especially Oxen and Cows, he commands a sufficient Number of Men to conduct them to the *Spanish* Frontiers. By what has been said may be observed, that as much Civility and Honesty is to be found among these People, whom we call Savages, as among the most polite and well-governed Nations.

That great Number of Bullocks and Cows, which are consumed in *Chili*, where abundance are slaughtered every Year, comes from the Plains of *Paraguay*, which are covered with them. The *Puelches* bring them through the Plain of *Tapapapa*, inhabited by the *Piebiguets*, or unconquered *Indians*, being the best Pass to cross the Mountains, because divided into two Hills, of less difficult Access than the others, which are almost impassable for Mules. There is another, eighty Leagues from *La Concepcion*, at the burning Mountain, called *Silla Pelada*, which now and then casts out Fire, and sometimes with so great a Noise, that it is heard in the City; that Way the Journey is very much shortened, and they go in six Weeks to *Buenos Ayres*. By these Communications, they generally make good all the Herds of Bees and Goats, which they slaughter in

Chili by Thousands, for Tallow and Lard, made by trying up the Fat and the Marrow of the Bones, which, throughout all *South America*, serves instead of Butter or Oil, not used by them in their Sauces: The Flesh they either dry in the Sun, or in the Smoke, to preserve it instead of salting, as is used in *France*. These Slaughters also afford the Hides, and especially the Goatskins, which they dress like *Morocco* Leather, by them called *Cordovanes*, and sent to *Peru* to make Shoes, or for other Uses. Besides the Trade of Hides, Tallow, and Salt-meat, the Inhabitants of *La Concepcion* deal in Corn, with which they, every Year, lade eight or ten Ships, of forty or fifty Tons Burden, for the Port of *Galas*; besides the Meal and Biscuit they supply the *French* Ships with, that take in Provisions there to proceed to *Peru*, and to return to *France*. All this would be inconsiderable for so fine a Country, since, if the Land were well improved, it is so extraordinary fertile, and so easy to till, that they only scratch it with the Plough for the most part, made of one single crooked Branch of a Tree, drawn by two Oxen; and, though the Grain is scarce covered, it seldom produces less than an Hundredfold: Nor do they take any more Pains in procuring their Vines to have good Wine; but, as they know not how to glaze the Jars they put it into, they are fain to pitch them, which, together with the Taste of the Goatskins, in which they carry it about, gives it a Bitterness like Treacle, and a Scent, to which it is hard for Strangers to accustom themselves. The Fruit grows after the same manner, without any Industry, on their Part, in Grafting: Apples and Pears grow naturally in the Woods; and, considering the Quantity there is of them, it is hard to comprehend how these Trees, since the Conquest, could multiply, and be diffused into so many Parts, if it is true, there were none before, as they affirm. The Mines of *Quillogoya* and *Quilacura* lie within four Leagues of this Port, and afford vast Quantities of Gold; and the *Esplanca del Re*, or King's Farm, which is also at no great Distance, is by very far the most plentiful *Lavadero*, or Washing-place, in all *Chili*, where there are sometimes found Lumps of pure Gold of a prodigious Size. The Mountains of *La Cordillera* are reported to be a continual Chain of Mines, for many hundred Miles together; which is so much the more probable, because, hitherto, scarce any of these Mountains have been opened, but vast Quantities of Metals have been found in them, particularly Copper, remarkably fine, of which all the Artillery in the *Spanish West Indies*, or at least in the South Seas, are cast.

There is another considerable Port in *Chili*, and, indeed, the most considerable of them all, which is that of *Valparaiso*, which is esteemed one of the best Harbours in the South Seas. It lies upon a River, fifteen Leagues below *St. Iago*, the Capital of *Chili*. To this Port all the Riches of the Gold Mines behind it, and on every Side, are brought, particularly from those of *Tilul*, which are immensely rich, and lie between this Port and the City of *St. Iago*. The Gold here is found in a very hard Stone, some of which sparkles, and betrays the inclosed Treasure to the Eye; but most of it has not the least Sign of Gold, but appears to be an hard harsh kind of Stone, of very different Colours, some white, some red, some black. This Ore, broken to pieces, is ground in a Mill, by the Help of Water, into a gross Powder, with which Quicksilver is afterwards mixed: To this Paste they let in a sharp Stream of Water; which having reduced it to a kind of Mud, the earthy Particles are carried off by the Current, and the Gold and Quick-silver precipitated, by their own Weight, to the Bottom: When this Mud has settled a little into a sort of Paste, they put it into a Linen Bag, strain it very hard, by which Operation the Mercury is driven out, or at least the greatest Part of it; and the Remainder they evaporate by the Help of Fire; so that they have all the Gold together in a little Wedge, like a Pine-apple, and thence it derives its Name of *Pinna*. In order to clear the Gold from the Silver it is first impregnated with, the Lump must be run; and then they know the exact Weight, and the true Fineness; it is not done any otherwise there. The Weightiness of the Gold, and the Facility of its making an Amalgama, or Paste, with the Mercury, makes the Dross immediately part from it: This is an Advantage the Gold-miners have

over those of Silver: they every Day know what they get; whereas the others sometimes do not know it till two Months after, as has been said in another Place. According to the Nature of the Mines, and the Richness of the Veins, every Caxon, or fifty Quintals, that is, Hundred-weight, yields, four, five, or six Ounces: When it yields but two, the Miner does not make good his Charge, which often happens; but he has also sometimes good Amends made him, when he meets with good Veins; for the Gold Mines are, of all Mines, those which produce Metals the most unequally. They follow a Vein, which grows wider, then narrower, and sometimes seems to be lost in a small Space of Ground. This Sport of Nature makes the Miners live in Hopes of finding what they call the Purse, being the Ends of Veins, so rich, that they have sometimes made a Man wealthy at once: And this same Inequality sometimes ruins them; which is the Reason, that it is more rare to see a Gold-miner rich than a Silver-miner, or of any other Metal, though there be less Expence in drawing it from the Mineral, as shall be said hereafter. For this Reason, also, the Miners have particular Privileges; for they cannot be sued to Execution on civil Accounts; and Gold pays only a twentieth Part to the King, which is called *Coro*, from the Name of a private Person, to whom the King made the Grant, because they used before to pay the fifth, as they do of Silver.

On the Defcent of this Mountain, there runs, during the Winter, or rather during the rainy Season, a pretty brisk Stream of Water, which, passing through the Gold Ore, washes away abundance of that rich Metal, as it ripens and breaks from its Bed: And therefore, for about four Months in the Year, this is accounted one of the richest *Lavaderos* in *Chili*; and very well it may, since there are sometimes found Pellets of pure Gold, of the Weight of an Ounce. At *Palma*, which is but four Leagues from *Valparaiso*, there is another rich *Lavadero*; and every-where, throughout the Country, the Fall of a Brook, or Rivulet, is attended more or less with this kind of Golden Showers, the richest of which fall into the Laps of the Jews, who farm or purchase abundance of Mines and *Lavaderos*, which are wrought for their Benefit by their Servants. The Soil about this Port is excessively rich and fruitful; so that forty Ships a Year go from hence to *Lima*, laden with Corn; and, notwithstanding their prodigious Exportation, that Commodity is so cheap here, where Money at the same time is so plenty, that an *English* Bulhel may be bought for less than three Shillings; and it would be much cheaper still, if all the Country could be cultivated; but, as they have dry Weather for eight Months together, this is impossible, except where there are Brooks, or little Rills, running from the Mountains through the Vales.

But before we close this Subject, it may not be amiss to observe, that there is a great Trade carried on through all *Chili*, from the North Seas, by the Way of *Buenos Ayres*, by which they receive some *European* Goods, and a very large Balance of Silver in Return for their Commodities. This is, perhaps, the greatest Inland Commerce in the World; for the Road, from *Buenos Ayres* to *Puichu*, is 1500 Miles; and, though the Distance from *Valparaiso* be not above 160 Leagues more, yet it is crossed with greater Difficulty than all the rest; because they are obliged to pass that Chain of Mountains so often mentioned, called by the *Spaniards* *La Cordillera*, which Passage can be attempted only during the three first Months in the Year, when the Passages are open, and the Merchants come from *Mendoza*, which is an Inland Town, about 300 Leagues from *Buenos Ayres* to the City of *St. Iago*, which lies at the Opening of the Passes from the *Cordilleras*. This Journey through the Mountains takes up six or seven Days, tho' not above sixty Leagues; and the Passengers are obliged to carry with them not only Provisions for themselves, and their Attendants, but Provender likewise for their Mules, the whole Road being a continual Tract of Rocks and Precipices, and the Country round about so excessively barren, and withal so exposed to Snows in the Winter, that there is no living in it. The Journey, however, from *St. Iago* to the Mines, and from thence to *Valparaiso*, is equally safe and pleasant; and the Merchants have nothing to trouble them, but the Fear of staying too long, and losing their Passage

Home through the Mountains; in case of which, they must be obliged to stay at least nine Months longer than they intended. The Reader will observe, that this Journey, from *Buenos Ayres* to *Valparaiso*, is directly athwart the whole Continent of *South America*; which is a clear Proof of the mighty Extent of the *Spanish* Empire, which reaches here from Sea to Sea. On the Whole, though a very great Part of the Country be absolutely desert; and, in some Places where it is inhabited, the People do not acquire great Fortunes; yet, unquestionably, the *Spaniards* settled in *Chili* acquire annually immense Riches; since, as we observed before, the Country is very thinly peopled, and all the Gold that is drawn from the Mines, or *Lavadores*, must be divided amongst them.

Yet it is agreed, that a great Part of the Inhabitants do not seem to abound in Wealth; which, however, may be very well accounted for, if we consider, that such as deal in Cattle, Corn, and the other Product of the Country, acquire but moderate Fortunes; and such as are concerned in Mines are frequently ruined, by launching into too great Expences about them. But, after all, such as are easy in their Circumstances, and, in consequence of that Ease, retire to *St. Iago*, live in such a Manner, as sufficiently demonstrates the Riches of *Chili*, since all their Utensils, even those that are most common, are of pure Gold; and it is believed, that the Wealth of that City alone cannot fall short of 20,000,000. Add to this, that the Gold Mines are continually increasing, and it is only for want of Hands that they are not wrought to infinitely more Advantage, those already discovered, and neglected, being sufficient to employ 40,000 Men. It may be likewise observed, that the Frauds practised for deceiving the King increase daily; and, as they measure the Riches of the *Spanish West Indies* by the Standard of the King's Revenue, this must necessarily make them appear poorer than they really are. We have an Instance of this in the Mines of *Potosi*, which are said to yield less Silver than they did formerly; yet, on a Computation for fifty Years, the King's annual Revenue from those Mines has amounted to 220,000 Pesos of thirteen Rials and a quarter each; which shews, that the annual Produce of these Mines, for which the legal Duty is paid, amounts nearly to 2,000,000 Pieces of Eight *per Annum*; and we may boldly assert, that the King does not receive above half of what is due: And from this Example we may judge of the rest.

16. As the Policy of the *Spaniard* consists chiefly in endeavouring, by all Ways and Means possible, to retain the vast Riches of those extensive Dominions from passing into other Hands, so the Knowledge that other Nations have of the mighty Wealth of these Countries, on the one hand, and of the great Demand for *European* Manufactures among their Inhabitants, on the other, has excited almost every Nation in *Europe* to practise all Methods possible, in order to gain a Share in them; and thus with so good Effect, that it is very doubtful, whether any considerable Part of the Riches in the *West Indies* centres among the Inhabitants of *Old Spain*. This will appear very plainly to the Reader, if he considers, that, in the first Place, the very Trade carried on from *Spain* is of much greater Consequence to Foreigners, than to the *Spaniards* themselves; for, as there are few Commodities, and scarce any Manufactures in that Country, the *Spanish* Merchants at *Cadiz* make up their Cargoes out of what they purchase from other Countries; or rather, the Merchants at *Cadiz* are barely Factors for the *English*, *French* and *Dutch*, whose Goods they send to *America*, and pay them out of the Returns made by the Plate Fleets. We are likewise to consider, that *Spain* itself is a Country very ill provided with some of the Necessaries, and most of the Conveniences, of Life; so that prodigious Sums of Money are annually exported to obtain them.

But, besides such Drawbacks as those we have mentioned, to which the *Spaniards* would willingly submit, there are many others, which they are forced to endure: For Instance, all the Negroes they employ in their Plantations, where every kind of Labour is done by these sort of People, all these Negroes, I say, are purchased from Foreigners, particularly the *English* and *Dutch*, at a very large Expence every Year. Add to this, that, under pretence of humbling them with Negroes, there is a clandestine Trade

continually carried on from one End to the other of their Coasts upon the North Sea.

But, in the South Seas, they were pretty safe from every thing, but the Depredations of Pirates, till the late general War on account of the Succession to the Crown of *Spain*; which created a new kind of contraband Trade, unknown to former Times, I mean, that of the *French* Interlopers, who carried vast Quantities of Goods directly from *Europe* into the South Seas, which, till then, scarce any other Nation had attempted. This was always looked upon with an evil Eye by the Court of *Madrid*, as being directly repugnant to the Interest of *Spain*, and the Maxims of their Government; but, as there were many Circumstances at that time, which rendered this a kind of necessary Evil, the *Spaniards* were forced to submit to it, I mean by *Spaniards*, the Inhabitants of *Old Spain*; for, as to the Creolians, if they had *European* Goods, and at a cheaper Rate, it would not give them much Concern who took their Money for them. The History of these *French* Interlopers is, in itself, so important, as well as curious, and is, at the same time, so very little known in *England*, that there is good Reason to believe, it will prove acceptable, and be well received; the rather because it is composed of such Remarks, as fell immediately within my own Sphere of Observation, and as to the Truth of which I am myself a competent Witness: So that every thing may be taken for certain, that I advance. I may have Leave also to put the Reader in mind, that, having a great Intimacy with most of the Officers I mention, this enabled me to come at many Particulars, which another Man, in my Situation, would have been absolutely unacquainted with. But to come to Matters of Fact:

The Town of *St. Malo* has always been noted for good Privateers: They annoyed the *English* and *Dutch* very much in their Trade during the whole Reign of King *William*, and Part of Queen *Anne*; and, tho' some religious-headed People fancy, that Money got by Privateering won't prosper, yet I may venture to say, the *St. Malomen* are as rich and flourishing, as any People in *France*. It has thrived so well with them, that all their *South Sea* Trade is owing to their Privateering; and, in the late War, they were so generous, that they made several free Gifts to *Louis XIV.* And tho' our *English* Admiralty always kept a stout Squadron cruising in the *Atlantic Ocean*, yet we never took one of their *South Seamen*: And my Reason for it is this; they kept their Ships extremely clean, having Ports to careen at, which we did not think of; for, in the Year 1709, when I belonged to her Majesty's Ship the *Leo*, being one of the Convoys that Year to *Newfoundland*, we saw upon the Coast a fifty-gun Ship, which we chased, and soon discovered she was *French* built; but the crouded Sail, and left us in a very little time. She had just been cleaned at *Placentia*: And we might well wonder to find such a Ship in that Part of the World; but were afterwards informed by *French* Prisoners, that she was a *Frenchman*, and bound to *St. Malo*, with two or three Million of Dollars aboard; and was then so trim, that she trusted to her Heels, and valued nobody. By their going so far to Westward, and Northward withal, they had the Advantage of Westerly Winds, which seldom failed of finding them into Soundings at one Spirt, if not quite home. But, since *Placentia* has been yielded to *Great Britain*, they now make use of *St. Catharina*, the Island Grande on the Coast of *Brazil*, and *Martimico* in the *West Indies*.

This Trade succeeded so well, that they all fell into it, sending every Year to the Number of twenty Sail of Ships. I saw myself eleven Sail together on the Coast of *Chili* in the Year 1721, among which were several of fifty Guns, and one that could mount seventy, called the *Flower-de-Luce*, formerly a Man of War. This being contrary to the *Affiento* Treaty between *Spain* and *Great Britain*, Memorials were frequently presented at *Madrid*; and the King of *Spain*, willing to keep to his Engagements with *England*, resolved to gratify the *British* Court, by destroying the *French* Trade to the *South Sea*. His Catholic Majesty knew there was no Way to do this, but by a Squadron of Men of War; he knew also, that few of his own Subjects were acquainted with the Navigation of Cape Horn, or could bear the extreme Rigour of the Climate; therefore was obliged to make

make use of Foreigners for this Expedition; and three of the four Ships that he sent, were not only manned with, but commanded by, *Frenchmen*. The first was the *Gloves*, of fifty Guns, and 400 Men, formerly an *English* Man of War; the second was the *Ruby*, fifty Guns, 350 Men, another *English* Ship; the third was a Frigate of forty Guns, and 200 Men; the fourth was the *Leon Franco*, a *Spanish* Man of War of sixty Guns, and 450 Men, all *Spaniards*. Monsieur *Martinet*, a *French* Gentleman, was Commodore of this Squadron, and commanded the *Pembroke*; M. *le Jonquiere* had the *Ruby*; the rest I do not remember. The *French* performed their Navigation well enough, and got round the Cape, tho' it was in the Middle of Winter; but the last of the four, manned by the *Spaniards*, after several Attempts, could not weather Cape Horn, but was forced back to the River of Plate, where, at last, the ship was unfortunately cast away. It looks as if, in this Expedition, an Experiment was made to see, if the *Spaniards* were hardy enough to go through this terrible Navigation; but, as they have little or no Trade, and consequently no Vessels, and united to hard Work, it is no Wonder that they shun that Point. The *Biscaners*, indeed, are used to that Navigation; and, if the *Leon Franco* had been manned with them, she had certainly doubled the Cape without much Difficulty; but the *Spaniards*, in general, are not so hardy, tho' Possessors in *America*, are grown so stout and resolute, that it would be hard to find an *English* Company able to perform that Navigation.

The principal Advantage of the Trade of *Chili* this Way is to demand, that his Catholic Majesty is obliged by Treaties to shut out all Nations, as well as the *English*, to whom he makes nothing of it himself; and it is very rare, that a *Spanish* Ship has gone by Cape Horn: From hence comes the extraordinary Price all *European* Goods fetch at *Callao* and *Pisco*. I have been told at *Lima*, that they are often sold at 100 per Cent. Profit; and, I may say, the Goods that are sent from *France* by Cape Horn, are in that Island 50 per Cent. better than those that go in the Ports of *Callao* to *Carthage* or *La Vera Cruz*; because the former are preserved fresh and undamaged in six Months, whereas the other are generally eighteen Months before they can come to *Chili*; so that the *French*, during the importing Trade, made their Markets, furnished themselves with Provision, and got Home again in twelve or fourteen Months time. When *Martinet* arrived at *Chili* in the Year 1717, with the King of *Spain's* Commission to take or destroy all his Countrymen that were trading clandestinely, he soon found Employment for his three Ships, the fourth being lost, as I have observed; and of fourteen Sail of *St. Malo*, there was but one escaped him, she being fast-lock'd in a little Creek, where she lay hid, till he was got to Leeward, after which he weighed, and came away with half her Cargo unfold. Though all this was to execute the Orders of his Catholic Majesty, and doing a sensible Pleasure to the *British* South Sea Company, yet the *Creole Spaniards*, especially the trading Part of them, found themselves almost ruined by it, because it hindered the Circulation of Money, and spoiled Business, so that they could not bear the Sight of the *French* Men of War, though they liked the *French* Merchantmen well enough; On the other hand, the *French*, imagining they had done the *Spaniards* effectual Service, expected, no doubt, civil Treatment in Return, while they staid among them. But, as soon as *Martinet* brought his Prizes into *Callao*, and the *Frenchmen* had received their proper Shares, they, forgetting the old Antipathy of the *Spanish* to the *French* Nation, gave themselves extravagant Airs ashore by dancing and drinking; and this still incensed the *Creolians* more against them, who called them Cavachos and Renegades, for falling foul on their own Countrymen. From one thing or other, their mutual Quarrels grew so high, that the *Frenchmen* were forced to go in Parties to *Lima* and *Callao*, the better to avoid public Outrages and Murders. At last, a young Gentleman, who was Ensign on board the *Ruby*, and Nephew to Captain *Jonquiere*, was shot from a Window, and the Malfactor took Refuge in the great Church at *Callao*. *Martinet*, *Jonquiere*, and the other Captains, joined in a Petition to the Viceroy, that the Murderer might be delivered to Justice: But the Viceroy, being an

Archbishop, would by no means violate the Rights of the Church to humour any body: Upon which they ordered all their Men on board by public Beat of Drum, and brought their three Ships, with their Broadfides, to bear on the Town of *Callao*, threatening to demolish the Houses and Fortifications, unless the Assassin was delivered up or executed. All this Blustering could not prevail with the Viceroy to give them any Satisfaction, though they had several other Men killed beside that Gentleman.

At last, *Jonquiere*, unwilling to use Extremities, and no longer able to bear the Place where his Nephew was murdered, obtained of his Commodore *Martinet*, that he might make the best of his Way home. About this time, many Fathers, and many rich Passengers, were got together at the Town of *Conception*, intending, when this Squadron came by, to take their Passage to *Europe*; for they knew, that all Ships bound to Cape Horn, must touch at *Conception*, or thereabouts, for Provision: Herein *Jonquiere* got Start of his Commodore, having now the Advantage of so many good Passengers in his Ship; for, as the King of *Spain* has no Officers at *Conception* to regulate the Money shipped there, so it is unknown what vast Summ of Passengers and Millionaries put on board the *Ruby*. By this Opportunity, the Padres and others gained two great Advantages; first, they were spared the Trouble of a Voyage to *Panama* or *Acapulco*, and thence traversing the Continent to *Porto Bello*, or *La Vera Cruz*, where they must have had their Coifers visited, to see if the Indulto to his Majesty was fairly accounted for; and then they saved every Shilling of that Indulto, or Duty, because the *Ruby* touched first in *France*, where no Cognizance at all was to be taken of the Affair; so that as they saved the Moiety of the Duty payable in *America*, they likewise got clear of the other payable in *Spain*, because the Ship arrived in *France*, where they put all the Money on shore. There was on board the *Ruby*, besides these Passenger Money, a considerable Sum arising to his Catholic Majesty for the Confiscation of the thirteen Interlopers taken by this Squadron; all which together, I was well informed, amounted to four Million of Dollars aboard that Ship. What a fine Booty then we missed through *Shelbooke's* unfortunate Conduct! For, when this same Ship the *Ruby* was in the Harbour of *St. Catharine's*, *Jonquiere's* Company, as I said before, were so infirm, that he had not more than sixty found Men out of four hundred, so that he really was afraid of us, and would not even send his Boat ashore to the Watering-place, where we kept Guard, and our Coopers and Sailmakers were at Work, till he had first asked our Captain Leave: Nor is this at all strange; for, understanding we had a Comfott, he was ready in Pain all the time he was there, lest the *Succe's* should come in.

After Captain *Martinet* had cleared the Coast of *Peru* and *Chili* of his Countrymen, he sent Express with News, to *Madrid*, his Brother-in-Law Monsieur *de Grange*, who came by Way of *Porto Bello*, *Jamaica*, and *London*. Upon delivering his Message, the King asked him what he should do for him: *De Grange* humbly begged, that his Majesty would please to give him the Command of a Ship to go round Cape Horn again. He accordingly had the *Zelerin* of fifty Guns: He came first to *Callao*, where the Ship was getting ready; but was surprised to find a Reception from the *French* Merchants, and other Gentlemen of his Acquaintance residing there; for, as there were Merchants of several Nations interested in the Ships taken and confiscated as aforesaid, they unanimously looked upon him, and all the *French* aboard that Squadron, as their Brethren, for serving a foreign Power to the Prejudice of their own Countrymen; and, while he expected a valuable Cargo consigned to him, being what he aimed at, he was himself quite disappointed; for no Man would ship his Value of a Dollar with him. Captain *Jonquiere*, who was then at *Callao*, seeing this, made him a considerable Proposal for the Privilege of going his next Officer, and to take aboard what Goods he could procure in his own Name. *De Grange*, being a little embarrassed, accepted the Offer, and obtained at Court a Commission for him as second Captain. Accordingly, they named the *Zelerin* chiefly with *French* and some *English* Men, and got very well

round the Cape, when our two Privateers, *Success* and *Speedwell*, were known to be in the South Sea, this same Ship *Zetina* was one of those Ships commissioned by the Viceroy of Peru to cruise for us. *Fitzgerald* sold his Goods at Lima to great Advantage, where he continued, while *de Grange* served as Captain under the Admiral *Don Pedro Miranda*, who took myself, and the rest of us, Prisoners. The *St. Malo* Merchants, though great Sufferers by so many Confiscations, were not much discouraged; for, in the Year 1730. we found the *Solomon* of *St. Malo*, carrying forty Guns, and 150 Men, at *Hilo*, on the Coast of *Chili*, with several small *Spanish* Barks at her Stern. She sold her Cargo in six Weeks time, got a fresh Supply of Provision, and left the Coast without Interruption; for by this time *Martini's* Squadron was all come away.

The *Solomon's* good Success gave such Encouragement, that they immediately fitted out fourteen Sail together; all which arrived in the South Sea in the Beginning of the Year 1731. three of whose Commanders, having the best Acquaintance among the Creolians, quickly sold their Cargoes, and returned Home: About this time the People of *Lima* judged the *English* Privateers were gone off the Coast, at least, that no more Hostilities would be committed, because of the Truce made between the two Crowns; whereupon the three *Spanish* Men of War, fitted out to cruise on us, were ordered against those fresh Interlopers. I was on board the Advice-boat, called the *Flying-fish*, in Company of the said three Men of War, when they came up with the eleven Sail of *St. Malo* all together, on the Coast of *Chili*; and, instead of firing upon them, the *Spaniards* joined them like Friends. The *French*, expecting to be attacked, kept all together in a Line, and dared the Men of War to begin. This to me seemed new, that three such Ships, purposely fitted for this Cruise, should, on their own Coast, decline doing their Duty; for, had they proved too weak, they had Ports of their own under their Lee. In short, the Men of War contented themselves to watch the others Motion, keeping them always in Sight; and, when any of the *French* Ships steered to the Shore, the *Spaniards* sent their Pinnace, or Long-boat, with the *Spanish* Flag hoisted; the Sight of which effectually deterred the Creoles from treating or trading with the *French*. Thus they made shift to hinder all these Ships disposing of their Goods, except they were met by chance at Sea, and sold some clandestinely. At length, being tired out, the *Frenchmen* got Leave to take in Provision, and went Home with at least half their Goods unsold. Notwithstanding all this, and the severe Edicts against it in *France*, I know they still continue the Trade, tho' privately; nor is it probable they will ever leave off so lucrative a Commerce, except some other Power prevent it.

17. I shall now return to my own Affairs, and the manner of my Return from that Part of the World: A plain Relation of which will be a sufficient Refutation of what Captain *Skelvocke* has been pleased to deliver to the World in his Book upon this Subject. I have acknowledged the kind Reception I met with from the Admiral of the South Seas, and the Reason of his treating us so civilly. In eleven Months time that I continued at *Lima*, I think it is but Justice to mention the several Favours I received, particularly from Don *Juan Baptista Palacios*, a Native of *Fisco*, and Knight of the Order of *St. James*, who came weekly to the Prison while we were there, and gave Money to all of us, according to our several Degrees. Captain *Nicolas Fitzgerald* procured my Enlargement by becoming Security for me, gave me Money, and furnished me with Necessaries thenceforward to the time of my Departure; and gave not only me, but twenty more, a Passage to *Cadiz* in a *Spanish* Advice-boat, called the *Flying-fish*; Mr *Pressack*, our Surgeon's Mate, acted as Surgeon in her, receiving Wages; and so did all our Men, being released from Prison to assist in navigating the Vessel home. For my part, as I was well treated, I would not eat the Bread of Idleness, but kept my Watches, as other Officers: And, pray, where is the Harm of all this? Though *Skelvocke* had the Stupidity to call it Treason; and it must appear a very malicious Charge, as well as an ignorant one, that, after a Man has been driven amongst the Enemy, he must be called a Traitor for being used kindly, and accepting

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his Passage back again; that, because I was not murdered there, I ought to be executed at home! This is *Skelvocke's* great Christianity, and good Conscience! But, to return to what I was saying: On my Arrival at *Cadiz*, Captain *John Evers*, of the *Britannia*, gave me his Table, and my Passage to *London*; where, upon my Arrival, and the Representation of my Hardships, the following Persons of Honour and Distinction were pleased to express their Concern for my Sufferings, by making me a Present each of ten Guineas; viz. *Edward Hughes*, *William Sloper*, and *Alexander Straban*, Esquires; *Samuel Winder*, *Beak Winder*, *Henry Neal*, and *John Barnes*, Merchants; *Humphry Thayer*, and *Thomas Strathfield*, Druggists. This afforded me the Satisfaction of seeing, that such as were the best Judges, had a proper Idea of the Miseries I had sustained, and approved of the Manner in which I behaved, the only Consolation which I could receive in the Circumstances in which that unfortunate Voyage left me. The fair Account I have given of Facts, the Detail of my Proceedings in the *Spanish West Indies*, and the Account of what I observed worthy of Notice during my Stay in those Parts, will, I hope, acquit me in the Opinion of every candid and impartial Reader, from the Aspersions thrown upon me in *Skelvocke's* Book; and acquire me, what every Man would wish to have, the Approbation of him, to whom, of his own free Choice, he submits the Censure of his Actions.

As we have already given the Reader our Remarks on the Voyages of *Clipperton* and *Skelvocke*, we shall not detain him very long in our Remarks upon Mr. *Betagh's* Narrative, which contains, however, some things of such Importance, that they cannot be slipped over without Reflection. In the first Place, let it be observed, that he has fully shewn us the Navigation round Cape *Horn* is no such dangerous, no such wonderful Voyage, as some People would make it. If twenty Ships from *St. Malo* could perform it in one Year, and not a single Vessel either shipwrecked, or put back, what should hinder, not an *English* Ship, but an *English* Fleet, from doing the same, if the Service of the Nation required it? Must it not inspire Strangers with a very indifferent Opinion of the Skill and Courage of *English* Seamen, when they hear, that our stoutest Ships take Shelter, like the *Spaniards*, whom we so much despise, in the River of *Plata*, or in the Ports of *Brasil*, and relinquish, as impracticable, a Voyage which a *French* Privateer can make at Pleasure? Will it not affect the Heart of every *Englishman*, who has not lost all Jealousy for his Country's Honour, when he thinks of this? And can he be blamed, either for thinking, or expressing his Sentiments, by any who have the least Concern for their Country's Glory? Could *Drake* and *Candish*, in an *English* Bark, do more than an *English* Man of War can now? What Days then were those of *Elizabeth*, and how just that ignominious Sarcastism of a *French* Wit; *That the English of the present Age are no more comparable to their Ancestors, than the Italians to the old Romans!* Happy, happy, for us, that we have still a SEAMAN left, who has wiped off this Reproach, and shewn, that the Race of Heroes is not extinct; that we have a *Drake* and *Candish* (I will not add more, for Fear of offending his Modesty) in Admiral *Anson*, that great, that fortunate Commander, who enjoys this singular Felicity, in an Age of Sloth, Luxury, and Corruption, that his Ease is the Result of his Labour, that his TITLE is the Reward of his MERIT, and that his WEALTH does HONOUR to his COUNTRY!

But to return from so pleasing a Digression, to what is more immediately our Subject. We see, from Captain *Betagh's* Account, with how much Ease the *French* carried on a prodigious Trade to the South Seas, at a Time when the Appearance of an *English* Ship there was considered as a Prodigy. Had the *French* any more Right than we, or can the Catholic King give them a better Right, if he would? If the preserving to *Spain* an exclusive Right to the Riches of *America* be, as sometimes it has been, asserted to be the common Interest of all the *European* Powers, but especially of the *English* and *Dutch*, How come the *French* to invade it without exciting that Jealousy, the Fear of which is pretended to be a Motive sufficient to hinder us from making such an Attempt? Are the Riches of the *Indies*, in

French

French Hands, less dangerous to the Peace of Europe than in ours? Would they more affect the Balance of Power, would they create greater Cause for the States of Europe to be uneasy? Surely not. It is plain, that France does not seek Wealth with a View to make her People rich and happy, but from quite a different Motive, to extend the Power of her King, to increase the Number of his Subjects, and to gain an Influence destructive to the Freedom of other Nations. If the Wealth of the *Indies* must, by the Violence of War, or any other Accident whatever, be diverted from falling into the *Spanish* Coffers, why should it not come immediately into the Hands of the *English* and *Dutch*?

Amongst them it would not be expended to the Detriment of others, but for the general Good of their Subjects: It would be spent in improving their native Countries, in converting every Waste, every Common, into a rich and plentiful Field of Husbandry of some sort or other, and in making the Owners of Land at Home, the better for what was acquired at their Expence Abroad. The Maritime Powers have often supported, but never attempted to subject, their Neighbours; it is not agreeable to the Maxims of their Government; nay more, it is absolutely repugnant to those of their Interest. Such States as depend upon Commerce, must always desire to see other Nations as free as themselves; because there can be no Safety nor Profit in dealing with Slaves. Such as send their Goods into Countries under arbitrary Government, run a double Hazard, that of feeling the Weight of such a Government, and of meeting with no Returns, if they should escape the first Danger. It is impossible, that Slaves should be rich; Captain *Betagb's* Remarks are a Proof of it: He shews us, that the hapless *Indians of America* are miserable in the fiercest Climate, starving in the richest Soil, and indigent amongst Mines of Gold and Silver, where they work, nay, work themselves to Death, for the Benefit of others. He shews you, that this is the Result of the Tyranny of the *Spanish* Government; but I will shew you more, the *Indians in America* are what *Europeans* must be, if the Influence of France prevails.

Of all Nations, therefore, the *French* have the least Title, though hitherto they have had the best Luck, in becoming Interlopers in the South Seas. My Arguments have the same Weight, whether it be War or Peace. We are wanting to ourselves, if, while we contend with them in Europe for our Liberties, we suffer them to draw from the *West Indies* the Means of Oppressing. They have, since the present War began, had recourse to the old Method: The *St. Malomen* are again abroad; and it is the great Scheme of the *French* Ministry, to supply the vast Expences of the present War, from the same Source which supplied the last; which renders our Attention to this Account so much the more necessary. But, in a time of War, we have it certainly in our Power to deprive them of this, as of most other Resources. We can send our Frigates thither, as well as the *Saint Malomen*; and we might make it worth the while of our Merchants to send Ships laden with proper Goods under their Convoy. This would have a double Effect; it would annoy the Enemy, and enrich our own People: It would answer the Question that the *Spanish* Trader put to Captain *Shelvoocke*, viz. Whether the *British* Merchants were all asleep, or too rich to mind Trade any longer, that they suffered the *French* Pedlars to run away with the Wealth of *Chili* and *Peru*? It was a wide and well-put Question; for when we are at War with Spain, when all the Effects of Treaties are suspended on her Side, it is certainly not lawful only, but a Piece of Justice due to ourselves, to repair that necessary Loss of Trade, which is the Consequence of a *Spanish* War, by protecting another sort of Trade, a Trade in the South Seas on *English* Bottoms.

In time of Peace we have a Title, by Treaties, that never can expire, or lose their Force, to exclude the *French* from all Commerce in the South Seas: I say, that these Treaties can never expire, or lose Efficacy, because, when his Catholic Majesty shall disclaim those Treaties, he must, at the same time, renounce his Title to the Crown of Spain, at least with regard to us, and the rest of the contracting Powers in the Treaty of *Utrecht*. It is by the Concessions

made in that Treaty, that he is known to, and acknowledged by, us, and the other contracting Powers, for King of Spain; and whenever he breaks through these Concessions, or attempts to rescind them, he loses all Title to his Crown under that Treaty, which is the very Title that he professes to hold by, and without which he would be no more than a Viceroy to his Neighbour and Nephew the King of France. It is for this Reason, and because, as prudent Men, they cannot help foreseeing to how low a State there Country must be reduced, that the *Spanish* Grandees always insist upon the same Point. For tho' Spain should lose the Money equally both ways; that is to say, should have the same Balance of Trade against her by the ordinary Method of sending Goods from *Cadiz*, and by the extraordinary Method of their being carried by the *French*, with the Permission, or at least by the Connivance, of the *Spanish* Court; yet Spain would greatly suffer by such a Commerce: Because, in the first Place, tho' she is not absolute Mistress of the Money, she still enjoys the Influence that results from the Distribution of it, which, to People in the Condition the *Spaniards* now are, is of very great Consequence; to say the Truth, it is of the last Consequence; for Influence is a Species of Power, and almost the only Species of Power the *Spaniards* can manage with Effect; and there is Reason therefore to believe, that whenever this Crown is in Earnest inclined to a Peace, she will not hesitate a Moment at renewing this Exclusion of the *French*, which is as much her Interest, as it is ours, and a Point of such Consequence to other European States, that it never can be given up, while they are resolved to maintain their Liberty and Independency.

I know very well, that it may be objected, that the *French* Trade to the South Seas ruined itself; that is to say, the *French* Interlopers sent such vast Quantities of European Goods into the *Spanish West Indies*, that at last they would not sell for prime Cost; and that this induced the *French* Court to comply with repeated Remonstrances from that of Spain, and to concur in prohibiting this illicit Trade. But this is very fallacious Reasoning; for, let us consider first, what it was induced the *French* to overtrade themselves; and this, on all Hands, is allowed to be the prodigious Gain of the first Traders. These then were all safe; the *French*, as a Nation, had possessed themselves of so many Millions of Silver, in Return for Goods and Manufactures; that is to say, they were possessed of an immense Mass of solid, intrinsic, and permanent Treasure, instead of the Ribbands, Laces, and other Bubles, they had sent abroad. This was their Profit, and we know how much they must be the better for it. Let us next consider their Loss: They exported a vast Quantity of the same kind of Goods, and received for them no more than they were worth. This might, and possibly did, affect the Merchants; but the *French* Nation gained as before, not so much indeed, but still it was Gain. The Goods were converted into Silver; and those who were employed in making up these Goods, remained possessed of what they received for them: Will any Man say, that this was not a mighty Advantage to France? Did it not make the People in general richer? Did it not make Money circulate? Did it not put it in the Power of the *French* King to raise Taxes? And, which is of the greatest Consequence to us, and to them, did it not contribute to the Support and Improvement of the *French* Manufactures, and the linking and destroying those of this Nation, with which the *Spaniards in America* would have otherwise been, by the Way of *Cadiz*, supplied? This plainly shews, what a prodigious Benefit resulted to France by this Trade, and how great a Loss we suffered thereby; for tho' it be certainly true, that the *Spaniards in America* will always prefer *Logg* Goods, when they get them, yet this Preference is out of the Case, when the Market is only stocked with *French*. Besides, when Things came to that Pass, which the *French* complain of, that their Goods produced little or no Profit, we suffered much more than they; for the *Spaniards* had their Hands full of *French* Goods, for which they had paid at some Rate or other, because brought in *French* Bottom to their very Door; while our Goods, by the Way of *Cadiz*, and upon which the *Spaniards* received Freight, lay rotting in our Factors Warehouses, and would fetch no Price

Price at all. It must be confessed, that these Reflections have not much to do with the Voyage round the World; but they have a very near Relation to the great End of all our Reading, all our Study, all our Endeavours, I mean the Service of our Country. I look upon it as the strongest Recommendation of Captain Betagh's Book, that he neglects no Opportunity of reporting what may be useful, amongst the many Things he tells us that are curious and entertaining. There is an Air of Sincerity in what he says, that must affect every Reader; and the Readiness with which he acknowledged the Obligations he received, is sufficient to convince us, that he was far from being of a surly, or an envious Disposition. The Civilities he received from the Spaniards, are very handsomely repaid by the Candour with which he owns, and the Gratitude he expresses for them. His Account of their Conduct at Sea appears perfectly just and natural; he commends the Generosity of their Officers, and censures that want of Skill and Courage, which are the Reproach of their Seamen in the *West Indies*. His Characters of the *French* are equally curious and pleasant; and, I dare say, he has done them all the Justice they deserve, by representing them as the most self-interested People in the World.

I had well-nigh slipped over a very useful and important Hint, given by Betagh in his Account; which, however, deserves particular Notice. It is, as to the great Use the *French* made of *Placentia*, while it was in their Hands, by carrying in thither their Homeward-bound South-Sea-men to clean and careen them; so that afterwards they were in no Pain for the *English* Men of War that might be upon the Coast. This shews the Usefulness of the *French* Settlements in those Parts in a new Light, and fully informs us of the Importance of defending *Newfoundland*, and *Nova Scotia*, at any rate, as the only means of hindering them from practising the same Thing again. One cannot help wondering, on the Perusal of the Naval History of *Great Britain*, to find this Excuse of clean Ships perpetually offered, to save the Reputation of our Cruisers, either in single Ships or Squadrons: And, indeed, Mr. Secretary Burdett tells us plainly, that the Reason why our Men of War seldom did what was expected from them, was owing to their being foul Ships, whereas the Enemies Vessels were always clean. In the Course of that War, there was scarce an Instance of any of these *St. Malo* Ships taken; which is very surprising, since the Fleets, from most of our Colonies, fell off, either in whole, or in part, into the Enemies Hands.

But if these lucky Escapes of theirs depend, as they certainly do, on their Ships being cleaner, and in better Trim, than ours, then it is plain this Advantage may be taken from them, if we can prevent their getting into any Ports, where they may clean or careen. *Placentia* is at present in our Hands, and cannot be lost, but through the want of Attention. We have, most certainly, a Naval Power sufficient to protect all our Colonies; and, at the same time, to spare Ships enough to cruise off the Island of *St. Catharines*, or the *Rio Grande*, on the Coast of *Brasil*, in order to prevent the *French* from careening there, where they met with much less Convenience, than in any Ports of their own. In the Month of *January* last, they lost one of their best outward-bound Ships, at the Mouth of the last-mentioned River; she was called the *Marchioness d'Antin*, sailed from *Cadiz* last *October*, and was lost on *New Year's-day*; her whole Crew, consisting of 400 Men, were drowned, together with twenty-four Jesuits, and fourteen Missionaries, that were on board her, the Value of her Cargo being about a Million of Pieces of Eight. She was one of the first *French* Ships licensed by the King of *Spain* since the present War began. A small Squadron, cruising here at the proper Seasons of the Year, might be sure to meet with the *French* Ships, going out or coming Home; and either way they must prove rich Prizes, since *European* Goods come to a quick Market on the Coast of *Brasil*, and the taking such an Interloper, saves a Voyage to the South Seas.

As I have mentioned the Loss of this *French* Ship in her Voyage from *Cadiz* to the South Seas, it may not be amiss to inform the *English* Reader of the Distinction between the *St. Malomen*, that proceed with Licences, and the Inter-

lopers. There is a regular and constant Correspondence carried on between *St. Malo* and *Cadiz*. The *French* Ships carry thither all sorts of Goods of the Manufacture of that Kingdom, from the rich Brocades of *Lyons* and *Tours*, to the slight Stuffs of *Amiens*. All these are sent to the *West Indies* in the regular Way; and, in about eighteen Months, the *St. Malomen* carry home the Return from *America*, consisting of Gold, Silver, Cochineal, Indigo, Dying-woods, and other rich Commodities, to the Amount of from seven to twelve Millions, or 600,000 *l.* of our Money. In times of War, the *Spanish* Merchants are glad to employ some of these *St. Malomen*, which are always stout large Ships, and well equipped, to go to *Buenos Ayres*, or any other Port, with a Cargo from *Cadiz*; and these are the licensed Ships. But, as this Intercourse gives the Captains of these *St. Malomen* a perfect Knowledge of the *West India* Commerce, they frequently go thither, without Licence, on their own Account; and this is what is properly called Interloping.

There are, however, a third Sort of Ships that go from this Port; viz. such as are fitted out directly from *St. Malo* for the South Seas, by Permission of the *Spanish* Court, which is but rarely granted, as being directly against Treaties. There has been of late, indeed, a Scheme projected in *France* for establishing an *Affiento* Company at *St. Malo*, to whom the Commerce of our South Sea Company, as settled by the *Utrecht* Treaty, is to be transferred; but, perhaps, before the End of the War, we may oblige the Spaniards to think of some other Expedient. All this, however, contributes to shew, how fast the *French* are growing upon us in this Branch of Trade, and how much it improves and increases their Seamen, at the same time that it raises their Reputation for maritime Skill, while there are Hundreds of People, at this single Port, capable of carrying a Ship round *Cape Horn*, which, to the Spaniards, and some other Nations, appears so frightful a Navigation. But the best way, beyond Question, to deal with the *St. Malomen*, is to send some Men of War, or Privateers, into the South Seas, with Tenders, laden with Goods and Provisions, which must necessarily produce great Returns from their Trade, and their Prizes, at the same time that it would facilitate the making Discoveries in these Seas, and exercise our Sailors in a sort of Navigation, which, through Disuse, is almost forgotten; for, by an unaccountable Piece of ill Luck, since our creating a Company for carrying on that Commerce, there has scarce been an *English* Ship, except those mentioned in the two last Sections, seen in the South Seas; so that there are various Reasons for renewing this kind of Navigation, which could not be any where so properly laid open, as at the Close of these Remarks of Captain Betagh, who seems to have had the same thing in View, and to have written them with no other Design, than to induce his Countrymen to struggle for a Share in that Trade; with the Value of which, and the Possibility of improving it, his long Stay in those Countries had made him so perfectly acquainted.

We have now run intirely through the History of the Circumnavigators, so far as they have been hitherto published in our Language; having also made use of such foreign Assistance as was necessary to render them more complete. The regular Order in which they lie, enables the Reader to take in at once the Whole of this kind of History, so as to be able to digest and compare their Discoveries, and proportion the Praises due to every one of those great Commanders. He will, doubtless, make many Observations that have escaped me; but there are some few, relative to this general History, which incline me to conclude this Section, with recommending them to his Notice: In the first Place, I think it very memorable, that this Art of sailing round the Globe, was not, as some other Arts are, the Effect of a lucky Accident, and struck out by Chance, but proceeded from the judicious Observation of that great and wise Man *Columbus*, who, for practical and useful Knowledge, was scarce ever equalled, and never exceeded. *Magellan*, who perfected what the other had begun, and passed through that Strait, which will preserve his Memory as long as the World lasts, did not proceed by Guess, or at Random, but pursued his Discovery with fewer Difficulties than some have met with, who have followed him.

All these Discoveries had something in them noble and surprising; they excited a generous Emulation among all great Minds of that Age all Europe over; inasmuch that we every-where hear of Attempts of that kind, since to that we may refer the Attempts for finding a North-east and a North-west Passage to the Indies, which, in Fact, would have proved but a new Route for a Circum-navigating, being all founded on the same Principle, that there are Passages from one Ocean to the other at both Poles. While this Spirit prevailed, the Practice of Navigation grew to Perfection, and these long Voyages were performed more happily, than they have been since; the Reason of which I take to be this, that, in those Days, Men of great Abilities made such Voyages in Person; whereas they now content themselves with forming Systems in their Closets: And, except the late famous Professor Halley, we have scarce heard of any Man of acknowledged Capacity, who has ventured on a long Voyage, merely to compare the Notions derived from Theory with the Result of Practice.

After the establishing the Trade of the *English* and *Dutch* to the *East Indies*, exclusive Companies came in, which put a Stop to Discoveries, and to the nobler Expeditions in Search of new Lands, as the great *de Witte* long ago observed in his admirable Maxims of the Policy of *Holland*. From this time Disputes about Trade commenced; and, instead of extending their Commerce, by finding out fresh Markets, all the great Maritime Powers have been employed in circumscribing each others Trade, and even in ruining one another. This Evil, indeed, has been accidentally productive of fresh Discoveries, by the Means of Privateers, who, not by Design, but through Force, have become Circum-navigators; which is the Reason, that most of their Discoveries have been lame and imperfect, as being made by Men more intent on Plunder, than on acquiring Fame, or on rendering Service to the Public. By degrees, this Humour of confining Trade to particular Nations, and to particular Companies of Men in each of those Nations, has increased to such a Degree, that Proposals for new Discoveries have fallen into Dispute, and such

as turned their Heads that way treated as Projectors; which, with us, is looked upon as only a fatter Name for Mad-men.

We have a notable Instance of this in the Conduct of the *French Court*, about the Year 1666, when they rejected an Offer made them by two of their own Subjects, for the Discovery of *Hudson's Bay*; by which Accident that rich Trade fell into our Hands, and has been a Bone of Contention between the two Nations ever since. There is, however, Reason to believe, that this kind of Temper is wearing out; and that, in most trading Nations, the true Spirit of enlarging Trade, by the finding new Markets, begins to revive. The late Czar *Peter* was the first that endeavoured to promote the Commerce, not only of his own Subjects, but of Mankind in general, by causing a strict Search to be made into all the hitherto unknown Countries, bordering upon his wide Empire, of which we shall have occasion to treat in another Place. His Example excited a like Disposition in the *Swedes* and *Danes*; and here, in our own Country, some Projects of the same Nature have been better received, than formerly they were.

But the latest and most remarkable Voyage that has been for Discoveries, is that which will be the Subject of the next Section, performed by the Direction, and at the Expence, of the *Dutch West India Company*; which is a very singular Instance of a right Application of a Company's Powers; and it would be a very happy thing, if some great Companies, in another Country, would follow their Example. Most certain it is, that, in all Countries, this was the original Motive to their Institution, as appears by Charters, and other public Acts; and, indeed, many of them prosecuted this Design for some time, and made considerable Progress that way, till the Love of Money, and Over-sight of Power, and the Desire of providing for their own Dependents at the public Expence, got the better of those old-fashioned Principles, and taught Men to vernish, with fair Pretences, the Pursuit of private Advantage, tho' at the Expence of the common Good.

SECTION XX.

*An Account of Commodore Roggewein's Expedition, with three Ships, for the Discovery of Southern Lands, under the Direction of the Dutch West India Company, * from an original Journal.*

1. *An Account of the original Scheme of this Voyage, and the Discoveries proposed thereby.* 2. *The Fleet sails from the Texel, July 16. 1721.* 3. *Account of their Passage to the Island of Teneriffe.* 4. *The same continued till their Arrival on the Coast of Brasil.* 5. *Description of the City of St. Sebastian, of the Country round it, and Things remarkable therein.* 6. *Other Occurrences in the Voyage.* 7. *Discovery of a new Island, called Belgia Australis.* 8. *Passage through the Streights of Le Maire into the South Sea.* 9. *Adventures in those Seas, and Description of the Island of Juan Fernandez.* 10. *Reflections on the Nature and the Importance of the intended Discoveries, with the Reasons which render it probable, that such Discoveries may be made.* 11. *Discovery and Description of a new Island, with an Account of its Inhabitants.* 12. *Arrival at Badwater Island, and Discovery of five other Islands.* 13. *Shipwreck of the African Galley.* 14. *Discovery and Description of nine new Islands.* 15. *Resolution taken to quit this Coast, and the Reasons for and against it.* 16. *Continuation of the Voyage to New Britain and New Guiney.* 17. *Five new Islands discovered and described.* 18. *Description of New Britain, and of several Islands in its Neighbourhood.* 19. *Unlucky Dispute with its Inhabitants, and the Consequences of that Dispute.* 20. *A large Account of that Country, and its Inhabitants.* 21. *Description of the Islands of Moa, and Arimoa, with an Account of their Inhabitants.* 22. *Discovery of an Archipelago, to which they give the Name of the Thousand Islands.* 23. *Description of the Islands Bouru and Batou.* 24. *Arrival at the Island of Java, and Description of the Coast.* 25. *Three Vessels seized at Batavia, and their Companies made Prisoners.* 26. *The present State of Batavia, with a large Account of its Inhabitants.* 27. *The Manner in which the Affairs of the Dutch Company are administered in the East Indies.* 28. *The Distribution of their Government into all its Parts, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military.* 29. *Farther Description of Batavia, and the Island of Java.* 30. *Description of the Island of Ceylan, or Ceylon, its Government and Inhabitants.* 31. *The present State of Amboyna, with an Account of the Clove Trade.* 32. *The Island of Banda, its Government and Inhabitants, described.* 33. *A distinct Account of the four Governments of Macassar, Ternate, Malacca, and of the Cape of Good Hope.* 34. *Description of the four Directories of Cotomandel, Surat, Bengal, and Persia.* 35. *The Commanderies of Malabar, Gallo, Java, and Bantam, described.* 36. *An Account of*

* There never was any Account of this Voyage in our Language.

the Residences of Cheribon, Siam, and Moca. 37. The State of the Company's Commerce in the Island of Borneo, and in the Empire of China. 38. The Author's Arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, with a Description of the Country belonging to the Dutch East India Company. 39. Departure from the Cape of Good Hope, and Occurrences in the Voyage. 40. Description of the Island of St. Helena, and the Ascension. 41. The Author's safe Arrival in the Texel, July 11. 1733. 42. An Account of a Suit commenced between the East and West India Companies, on account of this Voyage, and the Issue of it. 43. Remarks on this Expedition.

1. **T**HERE is, perhaps, no Country in the World, where Commerce is either more honourable, or more profitable, than in *Holland*, or where, at the same time, there is a greater Respect shewn to it by the Government; for, as the Republic chiefly subsists by Trade, every thing that relates to it, is considered as an Affair of a public Nature, which deserves the quickest and strictest Attention. The great Companies in *Holland*, are, as in other Parts of *Europe*, destructive to Trade, considered in some Lights; but very necessary to it, when considered in others. The *West India Company* was originally erected in the Year 1621. and held, by an exclusive Charter, the Commerce on the Coast of *Africa*, from the Tropic of *Cancer*, to the Cape of *Good Hope*; and, in *America*, from the South Point of the *Newfoundland*, by the Straights of *Magellan*, or of *le Maire*, to the supposed Strait of *Anian*, including both the North and South Seas. The Directors were divided into five Chambers, and consisted, in the Whole, of Seventy-two Persons, out of whom eighteen were again chosen for the Administration of the Company's Affairs, to whom a nineteenth was added by the States General. The Affairs of this Company were once in so flourishing a Condition, that they were not only on a Level, but, in some measure, superior to the *East India Company*, which was owing to the happy Success of their Affairs at Sea; for, in the Year 1629. their Admiral, *Peter Haines*, took the *Spanish Plate Fleet*, which was immensely rich, and brought it into *Holland*. They made themselves Masters of the greatest Part of *Brasil*, and were so considerable, that the great Count *Maurice of Nassau* did not think it beneath him to accept of a Commission from this Company, to be Governor General of *Brasil*; which, however, after it had cost them immense Sums to defend, they at last lost.

The Term of their Charter was limited to twenty-four Years, which, in 1647. being expired, was renewed for twenty-five more; during which time, their Affairs grew very perplexed, so that towards the Close of that Term, they were content, that it should be dissolved; and, in the Year 1674. a new Company was erected, with pretty near the same Powers, by Letters Patent from the States General; which Company has subsisted ever since with great Reputation. The Capital of this new Company consists of six Millions of Florins, which make about six hundred thousand Pounds of our Money; and the Limits of their Authority are, the Coasts of *Africa* and *America*; that is to say, all the Establishments of the *Dutch*, in those Countries, are under their Direction; so that whoever proposes any new Scheme, for the Improvement of Commerce in those Parts, must necessarily apply himself to that Company.

It was this that induced Mr. *Roggewein*, a Gentleman of great Parts and Penetration, to frame a Project for the Discovery of that vast Continent, and the many Islands which are supposed to lie in the Southern Part of the Globe, and of which the World has hitherto had but very imperfect Notices from others; which Project, together with the Reasons in Support of it, and a Plan for carrying his designed Discovery into Execution, he presented to the *East India Company* in 1696. by whom it was very well received, and he was assured of having all the Assistance he could desire or expect, as soon as the Affairs of the Company would permit: But the Disturbances that soon after followed, put a Stop to the Company's good Intentions; and, before any thing could be done, Mr. *Roggewein* breathed his last. He was a Gentleman of the Province of *Zealand*, who, from his Youth, had addicted himself to mathematical Studies, and had a true Zeal for the Service of his Country; of which he gave many Proofs, and perhaps none, that, in his own Judgment, was so

great as the Framing this Scheme; at least, we have Reason so to believe, since, upon his Death-bed, he recommended it to his Son, and exacted from him a Promise, that, at a Time convenient, he would endeavour in Person to execute what himself had proposed. The young Gentleman, after his Father's Decease, applied himself to his Studies with the utmost Vigour, and made so happy a Proficiency in them, as to qualify himself for the Post of Counsellor in the Court of Justice at *Batavia*, whither he went, and resided there many Years.

2. After his Return from the *East Indies*, in which he had acquired an handsome Fortune, he bethought himself of performing the Promise he made his Father on his Death-bed; and, in the Year 1721. presented a Memorial to the *West India Company*, setting forth, that, at such a Time, his Father had proposed discovering the Southern Continent and Island; which Proposal they had been pleased to accept, and he was now ready to perform. The Company received this Memorial with the same Readiness they did his Father's; and, as their Affairs were now in better Order, they acquainted Mr. *Roggewein*, that they would immediately give Directions for equipping such a Squadron as might be necessary for executing his Design. It consisted of three Ships; viz. The *Eagle*, of 36 Pieces of Cannon, and 111 Men, commanded by Captain *Job Cofer*, on board of which embarked the Commodore: The *Tienbooren*, of 28 Pieces of Cannon, and 100 Men, commanded by Captain *James Bowman*: The *African Galley*, of 14 Pieces of Cannon, and 60 Men, commanded by Captain *Henry Rosenthal*. This small Squadron sailed from the Port of *Amsterdam* the 16th of July, in the same Year; and arrived happily, in the Space of 36 Hours, in the *Texel*. Before we proceed farther, it is requisite, that I should acquaint the Reader, that we stand indebted for the Journal of this Voyage to the Gentleman who commanded the Land Forces that were on board the Commodore, whose Name I am not at Liberty to mention, or that of another Person, who made the Voyage, and from whom I have received considerable Assistance. The Nature of the Expedition is sufficient to recommend it to the Perusal of the Curious; and the many remarkable Particulars it contains, with regard to the State of the *Dutch Company's Affairs* in the *Indies*, will, I dare say, justify what I think myself obliged to say of it; that it is at once as instructive and as entertaining a Piece in its kind, as I ever perused.

3. As soon as the Ships could be provided with every thing necessary for so long a Voyage, they sailed, which was on the 21st of August 1721. with a fair Wind; which, however, changed the next Day, and obliged them to spend three Days beating through the Chanel. They continued their Course to the South-west, in order to gain the Coast of *Barbary*; but were prevented by a great Storm, which did them much Damage. To this succeeded a stark Calm; during which, the Waves ran Mountain-high, as having not yet lost that Agitation into which they had been put by the late high Wind. This brought upon them new Mischiefs; one of their Vessels lost its Main-top and Mizzen-mast, and, in the Commodore, the Main-mast Yard came down, with such Force, as wounded several People upon Deck, and all this from the Rolling of the Ship; so that our Author concludes, that, in the *Spanish Seas*, there is infinitely more Danger from the sudden Calm, which usually follows a Storm, than from the wildest Tempest; inasmuch that he positively declares, that, in the *Baltic*, and other Northern Seas, in which he had often failed, he never met with any Tempest comparable to this; which he attributes to the Deepness of the Sea, supposing, that the greater the Mass of Water, the longer, when once put in Motion, that Motion lasts. But, as this is a Conjecture

only, I presume to offer the Reader another Reason; which is, the Nearness of the Shores, or opposite Coasts, in the *Mediterranean*; for, as we see in a Basin that has been stook, the Motion of the Water remains after the Basin stands still; so it is plain, that the Violence of the Motion is greater in proportion to the Smallness of the Vessel, because the Strokes from the opposite Side are repeated quicker, and the Water has less room to play.

After two Days the Wind freshened, and they began to recover the Fatigues they had sustained: During that Space of Time, they continued to steer South-west, in hopes of gaining the *Canaries*; and diverted themselves with observing the Manner in which the Flying-fish endeavours to escape its Enemies, the Albicore and Bonitos. The Flying-fish is not much bigger than an Herring, and the Fins it flies with, are, for Strength and Texture, not unlike the Wings of a Bat. The *Dutch* Sailors esteem them very good Food, and, therefore, are never better pleased, than when they meet with Plenty of them. The Bonito is a Fish about two Feet long, of a greyish Colour, and finely streaked from Head to Tail; the Flesh dry, hard, and of a disagreeable Taste. The Albicore resembles the Bonito in every respect, except its Size; for the Albicore is, generally speaking, five or six Feet long, and weighs sometimes 150 lb. They saw likewise some Water-fowl, and particularly Teal, which the Seamen always account a Sign of the Land's being near.

At last, finding themselves in the Latitude of 28° , they expected they should have seen very soon some of the *Canary* Islands; when, of a sudden, the Man at the Mast-head informed them, that he discovered a Sail, which carried *English* Colours. As soon as they drew near enough to discern her Motions, they perceived that she struck her Colours, and bore away from them. In about an Hour's time she appeared again, with four Sail more in her Company, which sometimes carried white, and sometimes black, and, at last, red Colours; which gave Reason to suspect, that they were Pirates. The Commodore immediately made the Signal for a Line of Battle; all Hands were employed in making a clear Ship, in filling Grenades, and preparing every thing that was necessary for the ensuing Engagement, in which they were so lucky as to have the Advantage of the Wind. The Pirates, observing this Disposition, immediately put themselves in a fighting Posture; and began by striking their red, and hoisting a black Flag, with a Death's Head in the Centre, a Powder-horn over it, and two Bones across underneath. They likewise formed a Line; and, in an Hour's time, the Action began. The Pirates fought briskly for some time, supposing them to be Merchantmen; but, after a Dispute of two Hours, and perceiving that the Commodore sought to board the Vessel with which he was engaged, they spread all the Canvas they could, and crowded away as fast as possible. The *Dutch* Commodore cried out, as soon as he saw them bearing away, *Let the Rascals go*: In which he strictly obeyed his Instructions; for all the *Dutch* Ships, belonging to their *East* and *West* India Companies, have strict Orders never to give Chase, but to pursue their Course. It is true, that sometimes their Captains neglect this Order; but it is at their Peril, and they are always made answerable for the Consequences on their Return home.

This unlucky Accident cost the Squadron a great many Men. In the Commodore they had four killed, among whom was a Quarter-master, and nine wounded; and there were seven killed, and twenty-six wounded, in the other two Ships. The Carpenters likewise found themselves fully employed in stopping Leaks, and repairing the Damage they had received. As soon as this was done, which was by the 15th of November, they continued their Voyage, and arrived in Sight of the Island of *Madeira*, which afforded a beautiful Prospect at a Distance. There is good Anchorage on its Coasts, where Wood and Water may be conveniently taken in; but, notwithstanding this, the *Dutch East* and *West* India Ships rarely touch there. In the Neighbourhood of *Madeira*, they saw a desert Island, which is much frequented by the Pirates, who wood and water there, and obtain other Refreshments. They had likewise a Sight of the Pike of *Teneriff*, at the

Distance of about twenty-five Leagues. This is generally esteemed the highest single Mountain in the World, which is the Reason that Geographers place there the first Meridian; a Custom, however, from which many of the Moderns vary, but with which the Globe and Map-makers, in *Holland* constantly comply, believing, that, from this Regularity, they derived great Advantages. On the other hand, the *French* and *English*, of late Years especially, incline to fix the first Meridian in their respective Maps at *Paris*, or at *London*, which creates great Confusion in the Longitude of Places, when this Distinction is not previously taken notice of by the Writers who make use of such Maps. King *Lewis* the XIIIth of *France* endeavoured to prevent this Inconvenience by an Edict, dated April 25, 1634, by which he directed the first Meridian to be placed in the Island of *Fero*, the most Westward of the *Canaries*.

From these Islands they continued steering South-west, for those of the Cape de Verde, of which they had likewise a Sight. This Cape Verde, or *Green Cape*, is a Point in *Africa*, or rather a Mountain, shooting forth into the Sea, which *Ptolemy* calls *Arcturium*. It was discovered by the *Portuguese* in the Year 1474, in the Reign of *Alphonso* the Vth; it is bounded by the two Rivers *Gambia* and *Sanega*, formerly called *Stacbiris* and *Garatia*: To the West Side of it there is an Island full of an infinite Number of Birds, whose Eggs are commonly gathered by the Mariners. This Cape is a dangerous Landing-place, because of a great many Rocks about it sunk under Water, therefore it is better to land three Leagues off it, though in a Place uninhabited, and which affords nothing but Wood and Stones. The Continent is peopled by Negroes, who trade with all Nations, and speak several Languages, especially *French* and *Portuguese*. The most Part of them go naked, having only a Piece of linen Cloth about the Middle, to cover their privy Parts: But the Noblemen and Grandes clothe themselves a little better; for they wear a long Garment of Calico, made like a Woman's Shift, and striped with Blue: They hang little square leather Bags upon their Arms and Legs, but we could not learn of them what they put in these Bags: They wear Necklaces made of Sea-horses Teeth, with glass Beads between; on their Heads they wear a Cap of Calico, striped with Blue. They are a prudent and wise People, employing themselves in cultivating the Ground, which bears good Rice, and other Things, sufficient to maintain them: The richer sort among them keep Cattle, which are very dear in the Country, because there are but a few. Here are a great many good Blacksmiths; for Iron is much valued among them; and you find long iron Bars, forged like Spears, which serve them for fishing, and ploughing the Ground: They make likewise several Sorts of Weapons, as Arrows, Darts, Javelins, &c. They have little or no Knowledge of Almighty God, except some of them, who converse with Christians. In general, what Religion they have, comes nearest to the *Mohammedan*; for they are circumcised. They are very lascivious Men, and may have as many Wives as they please, and Women are seldom satisfied with one Husband; but, above all, they love Strangers very passionately. The *Portuguese* who live there are free, and trade with all Nations, but have no Authority or Power, but over their Slaves and Servants. The Country is altogether under the Subjection of the Governors of each Town or Village, who row in little Boats to the Ships when they arrive, to make them pay the Custom.

They had at this time only a Sight of those People in their Boats; for, having the Advantage of a strong North-east Wind, they continued their Course for six Weeks, without coming to an Anchor, or handling a Sail. In this long Passage they had some Days in which the Heat was almost insupportable; and the Crew began to murmur excessively, on account of their being at short Allowance for Water, of which, they said, they had too little to sustain Life, especially considering the hard Labour they were obliged to undergo. This short Allowance produced soon after a very extraordinary Accident: One of the Swabbers, being exceeding thirsty, got down into the Hold, and pierced a Cask, which very unluckily proved to be Brandy, instead of Water; at which he pulled so heartily, that he

soon intoxicated himself to a degree of Madness. This Liquor made him quarrellous, and in this Condition he ran directly into the Cook-room, where he threw down a Pan of Grease: The Cook, not dreaming that the Fellow was drunk, said in a pretty quick Tone, *Tou Rafcal, I have a great mind to break your Neck. Say you so?* replied the Swabber; and *I will cut your Throat, if you speak another Word*, drawing his Knife as he spoke to him, and rushing upon him without the least Notice. Some of the Crew gathered about immediately, and endeavoured, as soon as it was possible, to get the Knife out of the Fellow's Hands, which at last they did, but not before he had drawn it twice or thrice across the Cook's Face. For this they drubbed the Fellow heartily, which he repented to such a degree, that, as soon as he got loose, he took up a Knife, and gave himself three or four Stabs in the Belly. The utmost Care was taken of him, till his Wounds were cured, in order to make him a public Example to the Ship's Crew, that such Accidents might be prevented for the future. After his Recovery, he was treated in the following manner. In the first Place, he was declared infamous at the Foremast, he was then thrice Keel-haled; then he had 300 Strokes upon the Buttocks; and, last of all, his Right-hand was fastened to the Mast with his own Knife. When he had stood in this Condition some Minutes, he was carried to the Fore-castle, and chained; where, for a certain Number of Days, he was allowed only Bread and Water, and, after all, put in Irons, till he could be set on shore in the first barren uninhabited Island they came to.

There happened nothing very remarkable besides, in this Passage, except that they saw several of the Cape de Verde Islands, in some of which, it is said, it never rains; and yet the Dew falls so copiously, that the Soil produces abundance of Herbs, and excellent Fruits. I cannot, adds the Author, say much as to this, but I think it so much the more probable, because we are acquainted with other Countries, where, it is certain, it never rains. For Instance, about the *Rio de Lagan*, on the Coast of *Africa*, near the Tropic of *Capricorn*, where the *Christians*, who inhabit in that Neighbourhood, never remember to have seen Rain. In like manner, it never, or at least very rarely, rains in *Peru*, from *Cape Blanco* to *Coquimbo*. In *Egypt* also it rains very seldom; which, in my Opinion, is owing to the North-east and South-east Winds blowing constantly in their Turns. These Winds, as I apprehend, do not bring Vapours so humid, as those that attend a West Wind, but rather such as fall in Dew. It is very rare, on this Side the Line, that a South-east Wind brings any Rain; and, on the other Side, the North Wind blowing along the Line is warm, and has exactly the same Effects that a South Wind has with us. It is also observed throughout all *Asia*, that the Monsoons reign constantly the whole Year through; that is to say, the North-west blows six Months, and the other six Months the South-east; and it is also observable, that it is the West Wind that brings Rain. This Rain is often intermixed with Thunder and Lightning; from all which it seems reasonable to infer, that the South-east blowing constantly towards the North Pole, and the North-east blowing as constantly towards the South Pole, is the true and certain Cause why in some Parts of the World it never rains. But to leave these Speculations, which are, however, far from being useless, let us now return to the Thread of our Relation.

4. They continued their Voyage, till they approached the Line: The frequent shifting of the Wind incommoded them exceedingly; their Thirst increasing excessively at the same time, many of the Ship's Crew were down of the Scurvy; and when they met, as they sometimes did, with a Calm, when the Heat of the Sun was greater than ordinary, some of the Crew were quite distracted, others fell into high Fevers, and some had Fits like the Falling Sickness; most of them lost their Appetite through an excessive Thirst. Their fresh Water, as it grew low, not only stunk abominably, but was also full of Worms: Their salt Provisions were, in a manner, quite spoiled, and served only to turn their Stomachs, and increase their Drought. It is generally said, that, of all Torments, Hunger is the greatest; but these People apprehended that Maxim to be ill-founded; and that, instead of Hunger, we ought to

infer Thirst, if we would be thoroughly acquainted with the utmost Misery incident to human Nature. About this time, their Cares were somewhat diverted, by an Accident which very much surprised them: They observed often, towards Evening, that the Sea appeared to be all on Fire, as if covered with flaming Brimstone: They took up several Buckets of Water when it was in this Condition, in order to examine it more closely; they then found it to be full of an infinite Number of little Globules, of the Size, Form, and Colour of Pearls: They observed farther, that they retained their Lustre for some time after they were held in their Hand; but that, when pressed between the Fingers, they discovered themselves to be nothing more than an earthy fat Substance like Mud: The most experienced Mariners on board confessed, that they had never seen any thing like it; and withal owned, they knew not what to make of it. The Author says, that he leaves it to such as are skilled in Physics, to explain and account for this Phenomenon; and, in order to give them some Assistance, he delivers this as his own Opinion, *viz.* that these Globules contain nothing, either of Sulphur or Salt-petre, as at first Sight they seemed to do; but are, in reality, nothing more than the phlegmatic and grosser Part of the Salts contained in the Water, concreted by the excessive Heat of the Sun in a calm Weather, and again broken and dispersed among the Water, by the Motion of the Winds and Waves; to which, perhaps, the Current of the Coast of *Guinea*, in the Height of which they saw the same Thing, might in some measure contribute.

At length they passed the Line, with the Loss only of a single Man, who died of an high Fever. When they arrived in the Latitude of 3° South, they met with the true Monsoon, before which they bore away at a great Rate. In the Latitude of 5° , they had the Sun directly over their Heads; which casting then no Shadow, they were for some Days without making an Observation. In the Latitude of 6° South, they caught a great Number of *Dorados* and *Dolphins*. Our Author says, that, strictly speaking, these are the same Fish; that the *Dolphin* is the Male, and the *Dorado* the Female. There are some of them six Feet in Length, but not at all proportionable in Bulk; they appear in the Water exceedingly beautiful, their Skins shining as if streaked with Gold, but they lose all these fine Colours as soon as they are taken out of that Element. Their Flesh is very sweet and well-tasted, so that the Seamen always feast, so long as Plenty of this Sort of Fish is to be had. They likewise saw abundance of *Sharks*, many of which were ten Feet long; the Flesh of these Creatures is hard, stringy, and of a very disagreeable Taste; notwithstanding which, the Seamen very frequently hang them up for a Day or two in the Air, and then eat them; which Compliment the *Sharks* never fail to return, if, by any Accident, a Seaman comes in their Way, either dead or alive; and seem to attend their Ships for that Purpose.

They now drew near the Coast of *Brazil*, and passed by, though at a pretty good Distance, some of the uninhabited Islands that lie on the Coast, such as *Trinity Island*, and some others. Their Design was to have anchored at the Coast of the Island *Grande*; but, finding they were past it, they continued their Route, till they arrived off *Porto*, in the Latitude of 24° South, where they came to an Anchor. As soon as they arrived in Sight of *Porto*, some of the Ship's Company, of whom our Author was one, got into the Shallop, in order to go ashore, as well for the sake of getting Water, Wood, and other Refreshments, as in order to bury one of their Seamen. Before they could get on shore, they saw a Body of *Portuguese* well armed, moving along the Coast, and who appeared to have no other Design than to keep them from landing; and, as they drew nearer, they beckoned to the *Dutch* to keep off, threatening to fire upon them, if they attempted to land: But, upon shewing them the dead Body, they suffered them to land, and even shewed them a Place where they might inter it.

As the *Dutch* were very desirous of gaining some Intelligence, they asked a good many Questions about the Country; to which they could obtain no other Answer than this, that *Porto* was an Advance-port to *St. Sebastian*,
out

not marked in the Chart; and that they were Inhabitants of *Rio Janeiro*, which lay about eight Miles off. The *Dutch* endeavoured to persuade them to go on board their Vessels; but they refused, fearing that they might be Pirates. This, to say the Truth, was no unreasonable Supposition, since such Vessels frequently appear on the Coast; and, under Pretence of getting fresh Water, land and pillage any of the little Towns that are near the Sea. About six Months before their Arrival there had been one there, the Crew of which were preparing to make a Descent; when, unluckily for them, a *French* Ship of Force arrived, and with one Broadside sunk her to the Bottom. It was believed she had near seven Millions on board her; and, as she sunk in thirteen Fathom Water, they had sent for Divers from *Portugal*, in order, if possible, to recover Part of her Treasure. Another, not long after, had the same Fate upon that Coast: However, with the warmest Intreaties, and the strongest Assurances possible, two of them were prevailed upon to go on board the *Dutch* Ship, where they were very kindly received, had Presents made them of Cloaths, which induced them to promise they would carry the whole Squadron into a safe Port; and they were as good as their Words, which was extremely acceptable to Men in their Condition, almost worn out with Fatigues, and, in a manner, destroyed for want of Liquids.

5. This Harbour of *Porto* affords good Anchorage, from six to eight Fathom Water. In entering it on the South-west, they had the Main-land on the Right, and a large Island on the Left. All the Coast, along which they sailed, appeared to be very high Land, intermingled with Mountains and Valleys overgrown with Shrubs. *Porto* lies in a pleasant Situation, but there were no Inhabitants there at this time. The Fish and Tortoises caught here were of an exquisite Taste, and very nourishing; so that most of the People, who were ill of the Scurvy, which, at the Time of their Arrival there, might be about forty, recovered very fast. After staying there two Days, in which Time they supplied themselves with Wood and Water, they weighed Anchor, and continued the same Course to the South-west; After sailing about six Leagues, and seeing many small Islands at a Distance, they found themselves in the Road of *St. Sebastian*. At the very Instant they entered the Mouth of the River, there arose a Storm, which blew with such Violence, that, for fear of being driven on the Rocks, they were forced to drop their Anchors, and wait the Return of the Tide. The next Day they weighed, entered the Port, and came to an Anchor before the Town; which they saluted thrice, with seven, five, and three Pieces of Cannon, but without receiving the least Answer, either because the *Portuguese* Guns were not in Order, or because the People were not very well pleased with their Arrival, as shrewdly suspecting, notwithstanding they hoisted a *Dutch* Flag, that they were very little better than Pirates. In order to remove these Doubts, the Commodore wrote a Letter to the Governor; informing him who they were, and desiring that he would furnish them with Cattle, Herbs, Fruits, Wood, and Water, for ready Money. He likewise desired, as a Matter of Favour, that his Excellency would be pleased to allow them a few Huts on shore, for the Refreshment of their sick Men. The Governor returned for Answer, that nothing of this Sort was in his Power, as he was subordinate to the Governor of *Rio de Janeiro*; that, however, he would dispatch an Express thither immediately, and hoped they would allow him Time to learn the Sense of his superior Officer. The *Dutch* Commodore was very far from being satisfied with this Answer; and gave the *Portuguese* Governor to understand, that, as he was very willing to deal with him for Money, so, if he could not obtain what he wanted by fair Means, he should be obliged to take it by foul, how much soever against his Inclination; but, having learned that there was a *Franciscan* Monastery in the Town, at the same time that he dispatched this Message, he sent to acquaint the Fathers with his Arrival, accompanied with a Present.

It happened very luckily for them, that, in this Monastery, there was one Father *Thomas*, a Native of *Ulrecht*, who immediately came aboard with several of the Monks. This honest Father was so delighted at the Sight of his

Countrymen, that he declared he should now die in Peace, having, for twenty-two Years, earnestly wished to enjoy this Satisfaction. The Commodore made him exceedingly welcome, and gave them whatever they desired for the Use of their Monastery. The Prior, who was of the Number of those that came on board, desired the Commodore to have Patience a little, till the Return of the Express from *Rio de Janeiro*; and promised that he would use his utmost Interest with the Governor, in order to engage him to comply with the Commodore's Demands; so that they parted on both Sides very well satisfied with each other. In the mean time, the *Portuguese* came down in great Bodies, well armed, to the Coast; and posted themselves particularly in those Places where it was believed the *Dutch* Shallop might attempt to put her Men on shore. On the Approach of the Shallop, the *Portuguese* thought fit to fire upon them, by which one of the *Dutchmen* was dangerously wounded in the Shoulder: Thereupon the Boat's Crew returned the Compliment, by a general Discharge of their small Arms, by which two of the *Portuguese* were laid on the Ground; at the Sight of which, the rest made a precipitate Retreat, and the *Dutch*, landing immediately, filled what Water they had Occasion for, and then returned on board.

On the Report of what had happened, the Commodore made the necessary Dispositions for the Attack of the Place, and stationed his Ships accordingly: The first that was ordered in as near the Town as possible; the *Tankers* were ordered to watch the Coast; and the Commodore anchored as near as could be to the Convent, as if he had intended to set it on Fire, or beat it down to the Ground. All this, however, was designed only to fright the *Portuguese* into a better Behaviour; and it had the designed Effect; for the Deputy-Governor soon after came on board, and entered into a Treaty, by which the *Portuguese* granted all that had been desired; but, at the same time, expressed a great Diffidence of their being paid for what they furnished; because, having lately treated with a *French* Ship in the same manner, the Captain, at his Departure, threatened to beat the Town about their Ears, in case they insisted on being paid according to his Promises when he came in. The Sick, being landed on the Island, were furnished daily by the *Portuguese* with Beef, Mutton, Fowl, Herbs, Fruits, and whatever else they wanted. The Ship's Company also, having Leave to go ashore, from a contracted Acquaintance among the *Portuguese*, from whom they obtained Sugar, Tobacco, Brandy, and whatever else they desired, in Exchange for *European* Goods, notwithstanding the Governor had prohibited any kind of Commerce, on the severest Penalties. Thus, in a very short time, the Scene was effectually changed, and the *Portuguese* so well satisfied as to the Honesty and good Intentions of the *Dutch*, that they brought back, of their own Accord, all the rich Effects that had been carried out of the Town, when their Ships first appeared before it. The *Portuguese*, however, complained bitterly of the Usage they met with from the *French*; who, according to their Accounts, frequently came before the Place with their Ships, took whatever they pleased by Force, and plundered the Houses, in which they were permitted to lodge their Sick; which induced the *Portuguese* to believe, that all the *Europeans* would treat them in the same manner.

The Town of *St. Sebastian* is situated in the Latitude of 24°, and in the Longitude of 60°; it is a Place of moderate Extent, indifferently fortified, being surrounded with Palisades, and furnished only with a few Pieces of Cannon. The Church, however, is a very beautiful Building, the Palace of the Governor very magnificent, and the Houses of the Inhabitants, such as are commonly met with in the *Indies*. The *Franciscan* Monastery stands on the South Side of the Town, and is the Habitation of about thirty Monks, who live there very commodiously, and behave themselves as become Persons of their Profession. The Prior shewed the Commodore, and the rest of the Officers, an Idol, which had been worshipped by the ancient Inhabitants of the Place. This was the Statue of a Creature half Tyger, half Lion, about four Feet high, and one and an half about. They were told, that this Statue was of massy Gold; but the Author suspected, that it was

only gilt: The Feet of this Creature resembled the Paws of a Lion; his Head was adorned with a double Crown, in which stuck up twelve Indian Darts, one of which, on each Side, was broken in the Middle; behind his Head, on each Shoulder, there was a large Wing, like that of a Stork. In the Inside of the Statue was that of a Man; completely armed, after the manner of the Country, having at his Back a Quiver of Arrows, in his Left Hand a Bow, and in his Right a Shaft. The Tail of this monstrous Idol was very long, and turned three or four times round the Body of the armed Man: The Inhabitants of the Country, who worshipped so frightful a God, called this Statue *Nasil Liebma*. The Dutch looked upon it with Astonishment, and saw, with great Pleasure, a numerous Collection of European and American Curiosities that were in the Possession of the Monks. The Port, or rather the River, of *St. Sebastian*, is three or four Leagues in Length, and about one in Breadth. On the North-east lies a very fine Island, of about four Miles round, and on every Side of it lie smaller Islands. The Haven, as well as the Town, is called *St. Sebastian*. The Country of *Brasil* is, as all the World knows, very large, and very rich, inasmuch that the King of Portugal is said to draw as great Riches from thence, as the King of Spain from all the rest of America; and this may very well be, since his Catholic Majesty is content with a very small Part of the Gold and Silver found in his Dominions, whereas the King of Portugal sweeps all. The Province of *Brasil* extends South, East, and North: The Capital of this Country is *Bahia*, or *St. Salvador*, *Siara*, *Olinda*, *Rio de Janeiro*, *St. Vincent*, &c. This Country was discovered about the Year 1500; but then it is to be considered, that, even to this Day, they have not penetrated much above eighty Leagues within Land. The Soil is good, and the Country would, doubtless, produce Corn and Wine sufficient for the Use of its Inhabitants at least, if, from a Principle of Policy, the People were not hindered from cultivating their Grounds, and constantly supplied with these necessary Commodities from the Portuguese. The principal Rivers in this Country are, *Tapuca*, *Jamiro*, *Patipa*, *Dajpedres*, *San Francisco*, *Parajba*, &c. It is the common Opinion of the Portuguese here, that the ancient Inhabitants were *Anthropophagi*, or Man-eaters; and it is even said, that human Flesh was sold in their Markets as common as Beef or Mutton; but of this there is no authentic Proof. Those of the Natives the Dutch saw were large Men, of a dark Complexion, thick-lipped, flat Noses, and very white Teeth. The Portuguese here are very numerous, as well Natives of the Country, as those that flock over hither from Portugal, from time to time, in order to repair their broken Fortunes. Among other Riches, the Author assures us, that, a little before their Arrival, the Portuguese had discovered a Diamond Mine not far from *St. Sebastian's*, of which, at that time, they were not in full Possession, but were meditating an Expedition against the Indians, in order to become the sole Masters of so valuable a Prize; and, with this View, they invited the Dutch to join with them, promising them, in case they succeeded, a Share in the Riches; by which Insinuations nine of their Soldiers were tempted to desert: The Author says, that he does not know whether they were so lucky as to succeed; but, in all Probability, they did; because, since that time, great Quantities of Diamonds have been imported from *Brasil* into Europe. It is said, that they are found on the Tops of Mountains, amongst a red kind of Earth, which holds a great deal of Gold, washed out of it by great Rains, and carried down by the Torrents into the Valleys, where the Negroes are employed in washing it.

Brasil abounds with all Sorts of Birds, Fish, and Beasts, tame and wild. They have Tygers there, that do a great deal of Mischief: There are likewise abundance of Elephants, the Teeth of which are of great Value; neither is there any Country, where Serpents, and other venomous Creatures, are more frequent, or of a larger Size. The Popish Religion prevails as far as the Power of the Portuguese can extend it. There are, however, vast Numbers of the native Inhabitants, who are yet unsubdued, live in their old idolatrous Religion, and are so cruel and vindictive, that, if a Christian unfortunately falls into their Hands,

the best thing he can expect, is to have his Throat cut; for very often they put them to Death by intolerable Tortures. The Air of the Country is extremely wholesome, though, at some certain Times of the Year, it is excessively hot. The Author experienced the Excellency of the Climate by his speedy and perfect Recovery from the Scurvy, and other Distempers; and it had the like Effect on the rest of their sick People. There are vast Numbers of a venomous Kind of Musquitoes about *St. Sebastian's*, which sting People to such a Degree, that they are all covered over with Blisters. An Accident of this Kind happened to their Pilot, who, having drank too freely of the Rum made in that Country, slept afterwards in the open Air, and had his Face, Arms, Head, and Legs, so stung, that his Life was in the utmost Danger; and it was not without abundance of Care, and after a long Space of Time, that he thoroughly recovered. The Dutch Commodore; while they remained here, obliged his People to observe a very strict Discipline; and, upon Complaint being made, that some of his Sailors were too familiar with some of the Indian Women, he caused them to be severely chastised; and would never afterwards permit them to go on shore. But, how well soever the Dutch and Portuguese might agree, the Governor was far enough from being satisfied with his new Guests: He had learned from some of the Deferters, that the Design of their Voyage was to make Discoveries towards the South, which displeased him very much; and therefore he practised every Art he could devise to hinder and distress them: With this View, he furnished them with Provisions only from Day to Day, to prevent their adding to their Sea Stores; he likewise talked of five or six Men of War coming from *Rio de Janeiro*, in order to put the Dutch in Fear of being attacked: To carry this as far as it would go, he actually sent for the only Ship that was then there, to come to *St. Sebastian's*. The Commodore understood the Meaning of all this very well, and took no notice of it, complying exactly with the Terms stipulated by the Treaty with the Deputy-Governor, saving Part of his fresh Provisions daily, and salting them, cleaning and repairing his Ships one by one, taking on board Tobacco, Sugar, and whatever else he wanted, till he thought himself in a Condition to continue his Voyage; and then he fully satisfied the Governor in Fire-arms, Hats, silk Stockings, Linen, Stock-fish, and other European Commodities, for whatever he had received; and made him a very considerable Present besides. The Governor, in Return, sent him some Black Cattle, and a Certificate of his honest Behaviour, to be made use of in Europe: And, all Things being thus settled, to the mutual Satisfaction of all Parties, the Dutch Commodore sailed with his Squadron, keeping still to the South-west; and, finding a desert Isle, about three Leagues from the Coast, he set on shore there the Swabber, who had attempted to murder the Cook, according to the Sentence that had been passed upon him, as has been before related.

6. After leaving the Coast of *Brasil*, the Commodore proposed visiting the Island of *Ankes Magdeland*, so called from its first Discoverer, who, about one hundred Years ago, saw a Light in that Island, which is said to be situated in the Latitude of 30° South; but did not go on shore. As the Situation of this Island must have been very advantageous, and in a good Climate, the Commodore intended to settle a Colony there, for the Service of such Ships as should afterwards be bound to the Southern Indies, that, by this means, they might obtain Wood, Water, and other Refreshments, without being obliged to touch at any of the Countries subject to the Portuguese. He found it, however, absolutely impracticable, because, in spite of all the Pains he could take, he never could discover that, or any other Island, in or near the Latitude of 30°; which obliged him to change his Course, and to steer towards the *New Islands*, so called by the Dutch; but, by a French Privateer, that first discovered them, named *St. Lewis*. The Squadron prosecuted its Voyage very happily, by continuing always within 40 and 50 Leagues of the American Shore, by which they enjoyed the Benefit of the Land and Sea Winds; whereas, if they had kept farther from Land, they would have infallibly fallen in with the West Monsoon.

On the 21st of *December*, when they were in the Latitude of 40° South, they were surprised by an Hurricane, attended with Thunder and Lightning. All they could do was to furl their Sails, and lie at the Mercy of the Wind and Waves: The Sea ran so very high, that they expected every Moment to be swallowed. In this Storm they were separated from the *Tienhoven*, and did not meet with her again till three Months afterwards. The Violence of the Hurricane lasted about four Hours, but was not intirely over in some Days. It was very happy for the Commodore, that, in spite of the prodigious Force of the Wind, his Masts stood firm. These Hurricanes are extremely dangerous, and Ships often founder through their Violence. They are far more frequent in the *West*, than they are in the *East Indies*. They happen usually at one Season of the Year, particularly when the West Monsoon reigns, which is from the 20th of *July* to the 15th of *October*. For this Reason, on Coasts where they are frequent, Vessels often continue in Port, till they imagine they have nothing of this kind to fear. But, as Storms of this sort are not exactly periodical, and as there are some Years in which happen no Hurricanes at all, Ships trusting to such Calculations, or to certain pretended Prognostics, are very often caught. In the *Mediterranean* they have a kind of Hurricane, which returns every Year at the same time, or very near it. In the Neighbourhood of the *Ganges*, they have annually eight Hurricanes, as the most experienced Mariners report. They call these kind of Storms here, as well as in the *Mediterranean*, by the Name of the *Elephant*. Such as sail to *Japan*, are often exposed to such rough Encounters; and, therefore, the Voyage to that Island is justly reputed the most hazardous of any in the *Indies*. It is reported, (but I do not assert it) that Ships have sometimes spent three Years in the adjacent Seas, without being able to hit their intended Port. The ordinary, or at least the surest, Sign of an Hurricane, is very fair Weather, and so dead a Calm, as that not a Wrinkle can be discerned; then a Cloud, about the Size of a Man's Hand, rises in the Air, very dark; and, in a little time, the whole Sky is covered. The Wind then begins to blow from the West, and, in a small Space of Time, whisks round the Compass, swelling the Sea to a dreadful Height; and, as the Wind blows now on the one Side, and then on the other, the Shock of the contrary Waves beats the Vessels so forcibly, that they very rarely escape Shipwreck. Such as perceive the Cloud early, cannot do better than to get out to Sea. It is very remarkable, that, as Ships approach either Pole, those Hurricanes are less frequent, so that, in an higher Latitude than 55° , they are not to be feared. It is true, that the Winds towards the Poles blow with greater Force, and the Air is more sharp and piercing; but then contrary Winds are not so often met with, or, to speak with greater Propriety, the Wind does not move so rapidly round the Compass. The Winds also in that Quarter sink more gradually than under the Tropics, where they suddenly swell to the greatest Height, and then as suddenly cease to blow. The Cause, possibly, of this Difference may be, the Warmth of Air between the Tropics, and the constant South or North Wind under the Pole. It is likewise observed, that this Hurricane rarely happens in the midst of the wide Ocean, but chiefly on the Coasts of such Countries as abound with Minerals, or at the Mouths of great Rivers. Another surprising Phenomenon at Sea is, what they call a Whirlwind, and which, in some Countries, is called a Siphon. These are occasioned by the Sun, and are distinguished from other Winds by a kind of spiral Motion, which carries up into the Air whatever comes within the Circle of their Force. It sometimes happens, that they carry Fish, Grass-hoppers, and other Things, very high in the Air, where they appear like a thick Vapour or Cloud. The English fire at a Whirlwind, in order to stop its Progress; and in this they often succeed; and, the circular Motion ceasing, all that it had taken up, falls of itself, and the Sea becomes presently calm. But it is time to leave this Digression, and to return again to the History of our Voyage.

As soon as the Hurricane was intirely over, the Commodore, and his Consort the *African Galley*, continued a South South-west Course, till, by the Assistance of the

Land Winds, they were in the Height of the Straights of *Magellan*.

7. There they discovered an Island of near 200 Leagues in Circumference, and at the Distance of about fourscore Leagues from the Main-land of *America*; and, as they saw no Smoke, nor any Boat, or other Embarkation, on the Coast, they concluded that it was uninhabited. A French Privateer discovered the West Coast of it, and called it the Island of *St. Lewis*; but the Dutch, observing its many Capes, fancied them to be so many different Islands; and therefore bestowed on them the Name of the *New Islands*. This Squadron first discovered the Island all round, and particularly the East Coast of it; the first visible Points of which they named the Points of *Reynolds*, because they were first discovered by a Captain of that Name, who commanded the *African Galley*; the uttermost Eastern Point they called *New-Year's Cape*, because discovered upon that Day: This Island lying in the Latitude of 52° South, and in the Longitude of 95° , they called it *Belgia Australis*, because, whenever it comes to be inhabited, such as dwell thereon will be strictly and properly Antipodes to the Inhabitants of the *Less Countries*. The Land appeared extremely beautiful, and very fertile: It was chequered with Mountains and Valleys, all of which were clothed with very fine Strait Trees. The Verdure of the Meadows, and the Freshness of the Woods, afforded a most delightful Prospect, inasmuch that all the Ships Companies agreed, that, if they had landed, they should have found excellent Fruits: But the Commodore would not allow them to land, for fear of losing Time; and, from an Apprehension, that any Delay might hinder his getting round *Cape Horn*, he therefore chose to defer a thorough Examination of this new Country, till he should return from the Discovery of the Southern Continents and Islands; but that, alas! however reasonable, proved, as in the Sequel we shall see, a vain Expectation, because he was obliged to return home with his Squadron by the *East Indies*. This fine Island, therefore, is like to continue still, in a great measure, unknown; and the Commodore regretted excessively his not laying hold of that fair Opportunity of spending a few Days there, which, perhaps, might have produced the fixing a Colony on that Island; from whence, without doubt, many other considerable Discoveries might, in a short time, have been conveniently made.

8. Quitting this Island, they returned to the Mouth of the Straights of *Magellan*, in order to wait there for a Wind favourable to their Navigation; and, in a few Days, a very luckily changed; for, if it had continued to blow from the West, they could not possibly have obtained their Passage into the South Seas. Thus they were resolved to attempt by the Straights of *La Maire*, because this last Passage is infinitely more commodious than that of *Magellan*, where the Sea has but a small Depth, and the North and South Currents, by their meeting, occasioned constant rough Seas. Add to this, that the Bottom is rocky, and affords no good Anchorage; and that the Flaws from the Mountains on both Sides endanger all Ships that venture into these perilous Straights: But, having, as is before observed, a fair Wind, they continued their Course to the South, in order to pass the Straights of *La Maire*. In their Way they saw abundance of Whales, and other large Fish of that kind: Amongst the rest, they were followed for a whole Month by that kind of Fish which the Dutch Sailors call the *Sea Devil*. They took the utmost Pains to catch it, but to no Purpose. It has a large Head, a thick short Body, and a very long Tail, like that which Painters bestow on the Dragon. Arriving at length in the Height of 55° , they began to conceive they could not be far distant from the Mouth of the Straights, and immediately after they saw *Stateland*, which makes one Side of them. The Fury of the Waves, and the Clashing of contending Currents, gave such terrible Shocks to their Vessels, as made them reel in such a manner, that they expected every Moment their Yards would have broken, and their Masts come by the Board. In this Situation they would have been glad to come to an Anchor, especially when they found, by sounding, that the Bottom was very good; but the Weather was so rough as not to permit it.

They passed the Streights, which are about ten Leagues in Length, and fix over, where they are the broadest, with a Swiftness not to be expressed, which was owing to the Force of a Current. These Currents without the Streights, joined to a strong West Wind, carried them out a great Way from the Coast of America; and, that they might be sure to get round Cape Horn, they sailed as high as the Latitude of $61^{\circ} 30'$. There, for three Weeks together, they sustained the most dreadful Gulls of a furious West Wind, accompanied with Hail, Snow, and the most piercing Frost. They were very apprehensive, lest the Violence of the Wind might, while they were enveloped with thick Mists, have driven them upon Mountains of Ice, which must have exposed them to certain Shipwreck. Whenever the Weather was a little serene, they had scarce any Night at all; for, being the midst of January, the Summer was at its Height in that Climate, and the Days at their utmost Length. These Mountains of Ice, of which they were so much afraid, were visible from the Height of Cape Horn; and are certain Proofs, that those Southern Countries extend quite to their Pole, as well as those under the North; for, without Question, such vast Hills of Ice cannot either be produced in the Sea, or formed by the common Force of Cold. It must therefore be concluded, that they are occasioned by the Violence of Currents, and of sharp piercing Winds, blowing out of Gulphs, or the Mouths of large Rivers. It is, on the other Side, no less certain, that the Currents discerned in this Ocean proceed all from the Mouths of Rivers, which, rolling down from an high Continent, fall into the Sea with such Impetuosity, that they preserve a great Part of their Force, even after they have entered it. The great Quantity of Birds that are seen here, is an additional Proof, that Land cannot be far off.

It may be demanded, whether this Continent is inhabited or not: For my Part, says the Author, the Affirmative seems the most probable to me. It may, possibly, be asked, how it can be imagined, that Men should live in such a Climate as that of 70° Degrees, where the Winter is so very long, the Summer so short, and where, for a great Part of the Year, they must be involved in perpetual Night? To this I answer, that such as dwell here, come hither only in the fine Season, in order to fish, and retire on the Approach of Winter, as many of the Subjects of the Russian Empire, and the Inhabitants of Davis's Streights, who, after they have thoroughly provided themselves with Fish on the Coasts of a frozen Climate, retire farther within Land, and eat, during the Winter, in their Cabins, the Fish they have taken in the Summer. I say farther, says he, that if the People, who are to be met with in Greenland, and Davis's Streights, are to be relied on, they inform us, that the Country is inhabited, even to the Height of 70° in Winter as well as Summer; and what is practicable in one Country, cannot justly be reputed incredible when supposed in another. The contrary Winds having driven these Dutch Ships 500 Leagues from the Continent, the Commodore believed, that he was now beyond Cape Horn, and therefore steered North-east and by North, in order to fall in with the Coast of Chili. After continuing this Course for three Weeks, and seeing no Land, they began to conclude, that they had not doubled Cape Horn, but had stood away Northerly too soon. On the 10th of March, however, being in the Latitude of $32^{\circ} 30'$, they discovered, to their great Joy, the long wished-for Coast of Chili, and soon after anchored on the Coast of the Island Mocha, which is three Leagues from the Continent. They were in hopes of finding on this Island, at least, a Part of the Refreshments they wanted, but more especially fresh Meat and Herbs; but, to their great Surprise, were disappointed, by perceiving it intirely abandoned, and that all its Inhabitants had transported themselves to the Main-land. They saw, however, upon the Island, a Multitude of Horses and Birds; and, in two Cabins near the Shore, they found some Dogs. Upon a further and closer Search, they discovered the Wreck of a Spanish Ship, from whence they concluded the Dogs had got on shore. As to the Horses, they concluded, that they were left there to graze, and that their Owners came at certain times from the Main to take them up, as they

had Occasion for them. They killed abundance of Geese and Ducks; and, after having traversed every Part of the Country, finding the Coast extremely rocky, and no Place where they could anchor with Safety, they resolved to put to Sea again without Delay.

9. But, before they executed this Resolution, the Commodore held a Council with his Officers, in order to consider how they should proceed, and what Course was to be taken next; in which it was determined to continue, for some time, on the Coast of Chili, in hopes of meeting with some Port where they might anchor with Safety, and get some Refreshments. This Resolution, however, they afterwards laid aside, because they perceived the Spaniards every-where upon their Guard, and their Coasts so well provided, that it would have been dangerous for them to have made any Attempt. They likewise observed, that, notwithstanding the Country of Chili appeared extravagantly high at a Distance, yet, as they sailed along-shore, they discovered it was not higher than the English Coast, and that they had been led into this Mistake by the prodigious Height of the Mountains behind it; the Tops of which were hid in the Clouds, and covered with perpetual Snows. After much Deliberation, the Commodore and African Galley, which no Storms could ever separate from him, steered West North-west for the Island of Juan Fernandez, at the Distance, as they apprehended, of about ninety Leagues. As they had a favourable Wind, they made Way at a great Rate, so that on the 4th Day they had Sight of the Island, but could not come to an Anchor in the Road, by reason of its falling calm.

The next Day, when they were just ready to go in, they saw, to their excessive Surprise, a Ship riding there. At first Sight, they conjectured, that she was either a Spanish Ship of Force, or a French Interloper; but, upon more mature Consideration, they concluded, she must be a Pirate. While they were consulting what was best to be done, they saw the Shallop, belonging to the Ship, in the Road, making towards them, with a Spanish Flag; upon which they prepared for an Engagement; but their Amazement was not to be described, when, on its nearer Approach, some of the Sailors cried out, That it was the Shallop of the *Tienhoven*, their Consort, separated from them three Months before in the Storm, and which they concluded had been buried in the Waves. Captain Bowman himself was in the Shallop, who, upon this Occasion, shewed how well he deserved the Trust that had been reposed in him; for, by the Commodore's Orders, in case of a Separation, this was to be the first Place of Rendezvous; and, after cruising for six Weeks, they were to repair to the Height of 28° South Latitude, and to cruise there for the same Space of Time; but, in case they failed in meeting the Commodore in both Places, they were then to open their sealed Instructions, delivered with their Commissions, and to pursue them exactly. As soon as Captain Bowman was on board, he made the Signal agreed on with his own Ship, in order to acquaint them, that these two Ships were their Consorts; so that, entering into the Harbour, they saluted each other reciprocally with five Pieces of Cannon. As soon as they had Leisure to enter into Particulars, the Captain gave them an Account of all that had happened since their Separation. He acquainted them with the Dangers he had run through in passing the Streights of Magellan, what Storms and Tempests he had met with on the Coast of America; and, in the End, freely acknowledged, that he concluded the Commodore, and the African Galley, were both lost in the Hurricane, and never expected to see them more. He likewise told them, that his Ship was in a very bad Condition, and that he arrived in this Road only the Evening before. After hearing this, the Captains dined very cheerfully together on board the *Tienhoven*, where they commemorated their past Misfortunes, and rejoiced at their present Meeting in Safety. As there still continued a dead Calm, it was impossible for them to come to an Anchor in the Place where they intended, and therefore they were obliged to remain that Night in four-score Fathom Water; but the next Day they got up close by the *Tienhoven*, where they anchored in forty Fathoms Water, that Vessel lying within Musquet-shot of the Shore.

As soon as the Ships were brought to an Anchor, they hoisted out their Shallops, in order to send the Sick on shore, as well as to look for Provisions and Refreshments: And as soon as the Men landed, who were appointed to take a View of the Island, and amongst whom the Author was one, they began to consider the properest Method for collecting together what might be necessary towards forming Cabins or Huts for the Use of the Sick: Accordingly they got together a great Quantity of Oat-straw, with which they thatched the Huts, that were soon run up with green Boughs. This may reasonably surprise the Reader, who probably might not expect to hear of Oats in an uninhabited Island: And, indeed, the Author does not pretend to account for their coming there; for he says plainly, that it was a Doubt with him, whether they grew there of themselves, or had been sowed. He speaks likewise of Mustard-seed and Turneps, but complains that the latter were very bitter. In the Course of these Voyages, we have met with several Descriptions of these Islands of *Juan Fernandez*: and therefore we shall dispense here with some of the *Dutch* Author's Remarks; but there are others of too great Importance to be slighted, especially when we consider the Design with which they were made. According, therefore, to this Writer, the larger Island of *Juan Fernandez* is one of the finest and best situated Countries in the World; the Climate equally pleasant and wholesome; the Air so temperate and sweet, as to restore Health to the Sick, and give a constant Flow of Spirits to those that were well; which the Author himself experienced by recovering here from a bad State of Health, and a Complication of Distempers. The Hills are covered with tall Trees of different kinds, fit for all sorts of Uses; and the Valleys are so fruitful, as to produce, with a very little Cultivation, all the Necessaries of Life.

Here are abundance of little Rivers and Brooks, the Banks of which are covered with wholesome Plants; and the Waters that run from the Mountains, though not in the least disagreeable to the Taste, are so charged with mineral Particles, that they never corrupt. On the East Side of the Bay there are three Mountains, the middlemost of which resembles the Table at the Cape of *Good Hope*: Behind these, there are many other Mountains, that rise to a prodigious Height, and are generally covered with a very thick Mist, especially in the Mornings and Evenings: Whence our Author conjectures, that these are mineral Exhalations; and that, in these Mountains, rich Mines might be found, which is an Observation that I have not met with before. He concludes his Description with this Remark; that, in order to give a just Idea of the Island to his Reader in a few Words, he cannot think of a better Expedient, than telling him, that the Country resembles, in all respects, that about the Cape of *Good Hope*, where, every body knows, the *Dutch* have one of the finest Plantations in the World, and the greatest Plenty of all *European* and *Indian* Fruits. He speaks much, as all our *English* Writers do, of the vast Plenty of wild Goats here; but adds, that they were so unable to catch them by hunting, and so much at a Loss how to come at their Bodies when shot, that, during the Time they stayed here, they scarce tasted them. But the Truth seems to be, that an unlucky Accident, which befel one of their Ship's Stewards soon after their Arrival, frightened them from this sort of Sport: for this Man, rambling towards Evening among the Mountains, pitched suddenly from the Top of a Rock, and was found next Morning beat to-pieces.

Our Author mentions not only Sea-hions and Seals, which are called Sea-calves, but Sea-cows also of an enormous Size, some of them weighing, as he assures us, near a thousand Weight; and adds, that this Creature is well known in *Guinea*, where they not only eat the Flesh, as sweet and well-tasted Meat, but believe it also exceedingly wholesome. The same Notion prevails likewise among the Inhabitants of the Isthmus of *Darien*, who esteem this Food a kind of universal Medicine. He mentions the Plenty and Excellency of the Fish on that Coast with Admiration; and informs us, that, during their short Stay there, they caught and cured many thousand of them, which proved extraordinary good, and were extremely serviceable during the rest of their long Voyage. They took

so much Time also, as to examine very closely the *Spanish* Wreck before-mentioned, but to very little Purpose; for all that was any way valuable had been taken out of her as soon as she was cast away. I cannot help interposing an Observation here, the Truth of which will be obvious to every attentive Reader, *viz.* that our Author was mistaken in thinking this a *Spanish* Wreck; since, without Question, it was the Remains of the *Speedwell*, Captain *Shelvocke* lost here exactly a Year before: However, the *Dutchmen* did not altogether lose their Labour, since some of the Sailors, by diving, recovered several Pieces of Silver Plate.

The *Dutch* Commodore, having attentively considered the advantageous Situation, and the many Conveniences this Island afforded, immediately conceived a Design of settling it, as the most proper Place that could be thought of, for affording Shelter and Refreshment to Ships bound, as he was, to Southern Lands: And he was encouraged particularly to persevere in this Design, from the Consideration of the Island's Fertility, which, as our Author observes, allowed them no Reason to doubt, that it would afford sufficient Subsistence for 600 Families at least: However, this, like the Settlement of *Belgia Australis*, was put off to their Return; by which Accident it happened, that neither of these Islands was settled at all. It must be allowed, that both these Projects of the *Dutch* Commodore were every way wise and prudent, and shewed how fit a Man he was to execute what his Father had designed; for, by the Help of these two Colonies, undoubtedly the Southern *Indies* had been, by this time, effectually discovered. The former Settlement would have afforded a proper Place for Ships to careen in, and rest, after so long a Voyage as from *Europe* to the Straights of *Magellan*; and the latter would have furnished them with all imaginable Conveniences for repairing whatever Injuries they might have received by so hazardous a Passage as the round Cape Horn. I therefore venture to pronounce it the best-laid Scheme for promoting Southern Discoveries, that ever yet entered the Head of Man; and I make no manner of Question, that whatever Nation shall revive and prosecute Mr. *Reggwin's* Plan, will become, in a few Years, Master of as rich and profitable a Commerce, as the *Spaniards* have from their own Country to *Mexico* and *Peru*, or the *Portuguese* to *Brazil*.

So. As they were now ready to enter on the Discoveries, the Hopes of which had brought them into those Seas, it was but natural for the Commodore, and his principal Officers, to lay before the Ship's Company a Part of the Reasons, which induced them to believe their Pains and Labour would not be thrown away. Our Author has preserved the Substance of those Discourses, which are, beyond Question, the most valuable Part of his Book, inasmuch as they distinguish between Wanderers or Adventurers, who know not what they seek, and such as have a real Title to the honourable Name of Discoverers, as going in actual Search of what their prudent Foresight has shewed them might be found; and also plentifully reward their Trouble in finding. The main End proposed, in such States as subsist by Commerce, with regard to Discoveries, is the finding such Countries as may take off their Commodities, and be in a Condition to furnish them with what may be more valuable in Return. It is agreeable to Reason, and justified by Experience, that Countries excessively cold are generally barren; and that those which are immoderately hot, are not the most fruitful: It follows therefore, that the middle Climates are, by the Laws of Nature, the most fruitful. In order to distinguish those, we are to remember, that, in the Height of 66° 30', the Days are twenty-four Hours long; and consequently the middle Climate, which Geographers have distinguished in their Tables for the fifth, will be found in the Height of 38°. If this appears agreeable to Reason, it seems to be put out of doubt, when we join the Arguments derived from Experience; for it must be allowed, that such Provinces of *Barbary*, *Perfia*, *Synia*, *Cabalda*, and *Indofan*, as well as the Islands *Candia*, *Cyprus*, and *Japan*, which lie all in this Climate, that is to say, from the thirtieth to the thirty-sixth Degree of Latitude, are the richest, pleasantest, and most fruitful Countries in the World. The same thing is remarkable in the Country

of *Canaan*, where the Province of *Galilee* was esteemed the fairest, and most fruitful, because situated farthest to the North, and consequently nearest to that Latitude we recommend.

In the New World again, the Provinces of *Carolina*, *Florida*, *New Mexico*, and *California*, all lying in the fifth North Climate, are comparable, in point of Beauty and Fertility, to any Part of the known World; and it is certainly a great Fault in their Inhabitants, not to have cultivated those Countries as they deserve. In *South America*, again, the Provinces in this Climate equal in Beauty, and in Riches, any Countries hitherto discovered. The Cape of *Good Hope* is so charming a Place, that there are very few Countries that equal, and none that surpass it. The Air there is exceedingly wholesome; the Soil produces, in abundance, Wine, Corn, and the most excellent Fruits; they have likewise such infinite Quantities of Cattle, tame and wild Fowl, that the People live, as it were, in Paradise. The Country of *Chili* is likewise considered as one of the finest in the World; and the City of *St. Iago*, its Capital, stands in the Latitude of $33^{\circ} 40'$ South. The *Spaniards* would have us believe, that there is nothing equal to it; and it is, at the same time, certain, that the Provinces behind it, and which extend quite to the North Seas, are almost incredibly fruitful.

Such as are acquainted with different Climates will readily agree with me, that the Heat is much greater in the Island *Ceylon*, and on the Coast of *Malabar*, than in the Countries situated under the Torrid Zone, and in the first Climate. On the other Side it is certain, that the Kingdom of *Bengal*, and the Country of *Surat*, is still much warmer than *Malabar*, as being in the third Climate, whereas *Malabar* is in the second. The Warmth of the Air, and the Fertility of the Soil, increase from *Surat* to *Delli*, which is the Capital of the Dominions of the *Great Mogul*, the former lying in 21° , and the latter in 30° Latitude. The Heat is much greater at *Gambon*, which is seated on the Gulph of *Baljora*, than at *Surat*, the former being in the fourth Climate. All that I have advanced is so clear, and so universal, that it is not liable to the least Objection: From these Remarks, founded upon Experience, we may justly infer, because we can invincibly prove, that the fifth Climate is superior to the rest, and the Countries seated therein, the best and the most fertile; if it was not so, the Heat under the Torrid Zone would be absolutely insupportable, the Earth would be burnt up, and incapable of producing any thing for the Nourishment of Men, or the Subsistence of Beasts. On the other hand, the Northern Countries, even in the midst of Summer, would have so little Heat, that they would produce nothing: We see, however, that in our Northern Regions, such, for Instance, as *Sweden*, *Poland*, and *Livonia*, the Force of the Sun produces, in a Fortnight or three Weeks, as great Effects, as in two or three Months in the Countries under the Line itself: The Reason is plainly this, that in the Northern Countries, the Nights being extremely short, the Earth has not time to cool, but remains continually heated, and that, to a Degree, sometimes as vehement as under the first Climate: But this does not last long; for as soon as the Rays of the Sun begin to fall obliquely, the Nights grow long, which is the Reason, that, in these Countries, neither Plants nor Fruits ever arrive at full Maturity.

The Countries in the sixth Climate are less fertile than those in the fifth; and, for the same Reason, the seventh, eighth, and ninth Climates yield to the sixth; and thus the Richness and Fertility of the Soil constantly and regularly diminishes to the twenty-fourth Climate, under which lie the *Laplands*, the Extremity of *Russia* and *Siberia*. To conclude, if a Traveller had a mind to put this to the Test, by making a Voyage through all the different Climates of the Earth, he would certainly find the Position before laid down, viz. that the most fruitful, the most delightful, and, of consequence, the most desirable Countries, lie in the fifth Climate, certain and incontestable. Such a Journey would lead him to *Tyre* in *Syria*, the Country about which all Writers agree to be the most delightful; thence he ought to proceed to *Tunis*, and along the Coast of *Barbary*, celebrated likewise for the Wholomeness of the Air, and the Fertility of the Soil: He must take the Cape

of *Good Hope* also in his Passage, where he would find a Country lovely beyond Description; lastly, he must proceed to *Nankin*, and the Province of *Honan*, in *China*; but if he would save himself this Trouble, let him examine the Accounts of those who have been in these Countries, and he will no longer have any Doubts.

11. The *Dutch* Commodore, when he quitted the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, proposed to visit that Part of the Southern Continent, which was reported to be discovered by Captain *Davis*, in the Year 1680. Our Author gives us but a dark Account of this Matter; and therefore I shall infer, as it is very short, Mr. *Waser's* Story of this Discovery. He was a Man of Sense and Knowledge, and actually on board Captain *Davis's* Ship, when the Discovery was made. "We steered, said he, from the *Gallapagos* Islands, South and by East, half Easterly, until we came to the Latitude of $27^{\circ} 20'$ South; when, about twelve Hours before Day, we fell in with a low small sandy Island, and heard a great roaring Noise, like that of the Sea beating upon the Shore, right a-head of the Ship: Whereupon the Sailors, fearing to fall foul upon the Shore before Day, desired the Captain to put the Ship about, and to stand off till Day appeared; to which the Captain gave his Consent: So we plied off till Day, and then stood in again with the Land, which proved to be a small flat Island, without the Guard of any Rocks: We stood in within a Quarter of a Mile of the Shore, and could see it plainly; for it was a clear Morning, not foggy nor hazy. To the Westward about twelve Leagues, by Judgment, we saw a Range of High-Land, which we took to be the Islands, for there were several Partitions in the Prospect. This Land seemed to reach about fourteen or sixteen Leagues in a Range; and there came great Flocks of Fowls: I, and many more of our Men, would have made this Land, and have gone ashore at it, but the Captain would not permit us. The small Island bears from *Copayapo* almost due East, 500 Leagues; and from the *Gallapagos*, under the Line, 600 Leagues." We see by this, that Mr. *Roggewein's* Scheme was built, not only on a rational Conjecture, but, as far as might be, on the Lights afforded by Experience. He thought he had good Grounds to believe, that there was a Southern Continent; and this Account of *Davis's*, for under his Name it has always gone, and in the Maps we find it marked by the Name of *Davis's* Land, shewed itself Part of it; which therefore he meant first to examine.

In their Passage, the first Land they saw, was that of the lesser Island of *Juan Fernandez*, which lies about ten Miles from the great one, appears lower, and less fertile, at a Distance; but, as our *Dutch* Discoverers had not an Opportunity of landing, we cannot depend much upon their Account of it. As they had now the Benefit of the South-east Monsoon, they quickly arrived in the Latitude of 28 Degrees, and in the Longitude of two hundred and fifty-one, where they expected to have met with *Davis's* Land, of which also they had the greatest and most probable Hopes, when they perceived abundance of Fowls flying, and observed also, that the Wind shifted often, both which are looked upon as certain Signs of Land. Some of the Company flattered themselves that they saw it; but, to the great Grief, and no small Astonishment, of the Commodore, no such Land was to be found. Our Author thinks, that either they passed it, or that there is no such Country. I must own, that I do not wonder they missed it; for whoever considers Mr. *Waser's* Description attentively, will see that they sought it near ten Degrees too far to the West. Our Author observes afterwards very sensibly, that, as these Southern Countries lie East and West, or to the East and to the South-west, this Situation renders it almost impracticable to discover them; for a West North-west Wind carries a Ship by them at some Distance, and a North-west Wind bears a Ship quite away from them; so that, while these Winds reign, the Search must, humanly speaking, be absolutely vain. The Consideration of this will sufficiently explain the Accounts hitherto given us of these Southern Countries; they are seen, as it were, accidentally, and by chance; when looked for, they are not to be found. This, to such as are inadvertent, brings

former Discoveries into Doubt, and even into Contempt; but a little Thought, and a small Acquaintance with the Nature of such Things, will set us right again; and we need only consider the Courte that Captain *Dutch* shew'd, in order to be satisfi'd, that his was a true Discovery, and that, by the same Courte, this Country might be found again. But to proceed with our Voyage:

The *Dutch* Commodore sail'd West twelve Degrees, having first Sight of a vast Number of Birds, which attended them, till they arriv'd on the Coast of a small Island, about sixteen Leagues in Extent; which Island, as they discovered it on *Easter-day*, which fell that Year on the 24 of *April*, they call'd *Pasch* or *Easter Island*. The *African* Gallies, being the smallest, and withal the best Sailer in the Squadron, went first to examine this new Country, and reported, that it seem'd to be very fertile, and withal well inhabited too, since they had seen abundance of Smoke in all Parts of it; which gave great Joy to the Commodore, who immediately resolv'd, that the whole Squadron should go in. The next Day they went in looking for a Port; and, when they were about two Miles from the Shore, an *Indian* came off to them in his Canoe. They made Signs to him to come on board; which he very readily did, and was exceedingly well received. As he was naked, the first Present they made him was a Piece of Cloth to cover him. They gave him likewise Pieces of Coral, Beads, and other Baubles, all which, together with a dried Fish, he hung about his Neck. His Body was painted all over with all kind of Figures; his natural Complexion appear'd to be a dark-brown, and his Ears excessively large and long; so that they hung down upon his Shoulders, occasion'd, no doubt, by the wearing of Ear-rings so large and heavy, as to extend them in this Manner, which is a thing likewise practis'd by the Negroes in the *Megat's* Country, who make their Ears large and long by the same Method. He was tall, well-made, robust, and of a very happy Countenance. He was brisk, active, and appear'd to be merry, by his Gestures and Manner of speaking. They gave him a Glass of Wine to drink, which he threw away in a Manner that surpris'd them. Our Author thinks, he was afraid of being poison'd; but, perhaps, being us'd to Water, the Smell of a strong Liquor might offend him. They next clothed him from Head to Foot, and clapp'd him an Hat on; with which he was not at all pleas'd, but seem'd to be awkward and uneasy. They gave him Victuals, which he eat heartily; but could not be persuad'd to use either Knife or Fork. They then order'd their Music to play; with which he was extremely well pleas'd, and, whenever they took him by the Hand, would leap and dance. As they found it impossible to come to an Anchor that Day, they thought proper to fend off the *Indians*, allowing him, however, to keep what he had got, in order to encourage others; but, what is really surpris'd, the poor Creature had no mind to go. He look'd at them with Regret; he held up both his Hands towards his native Island, and cried out in a very audible and distinct Voice, *Odoroga! odoroga! odoroga!* They had much ado to get him into his Canoe; and he made them clearly comprehend, by his Signs, that he had much rather they would have carried him in their Ship.

They imagin'd he call'd upon his God, because, when they land'd, they saw abundance of Idols erected on the Coast. The next Morning by Day-break, they enter'd a Gulph on the South-east Side of the Island; and many thousands of the Inhabitants, as our Author says, came down to meet them, bringing with them vast Quantities of Fowls and Roots. Many came on board them with these Provisions. As for the rest, they ran to and fro from Place to Place, like wild Beasts. As the Ships drew nearer, they crowd'd down to the Shore, in order to have the better View of them; and at the same time lighted Fire, and offer'd to their Idols, probably to implore their Protection against these Strangers. All that Day the *Dutch* spent in inspecting the Ships. The next Morning very early, they observ'd the People prostrated before their Idols towards the rising Sun, and offering them Burnt-offerings. All the necessary Preparations were made for a Defcent, when the *French* *Indian*, who had been with them before, came on board a second time, and brought with him abundance of the Country-men, who, to make themselves welcome,

took care to load their Canoes with plenty of living Fowl, and of Roots dress'd after their Manner. There was, amongst this Troop of *Indians*, one Man perfectly white, in whose Ears hung round white Pendants, as big as one's fist. He had an Air extremely devout, and seem'd to be one of the Priests. One of the Islanders was, some way or other, (which are our Author's Words,) shot dead in his Canoe by a Musquet. This unlucky Accident threw them into such a Consternation, that the best Part of them flung themselves at once into the Sea, in order to get the sooner assur'd. The rest, who remain'd in their Canoes, row'd with all their Force, in order once more to attain a Place of Safety.

The *Dutch* presently follow'd them, and made the Island wither'd for Defcent with 150 Soldiers and Seamen. Amongst these were the Commodore in Person, and the Author, who command'd the Land Forces. The People crowd'd so hard upon them, that they thought themselves oblig'd to make way by Force, especially as some of them were so bold, as to lay hold of their Arms. The *Dutchmen* fired therefore, which dispers'd them, and frighted them almost out of their Wits; and yet, in a few Moments, they rallied again. They did not, however, advance quite so far to their new Guests as before, but kept at the Distance of about ten Yards, supposing that there they might be safe from the Musquets. It happen'd, says our Author, unfortunately, by this single Discharge a great many were kill'd, and, amongst them, the poor *Indian*, that had been twice on board; which gave them great Concern: Yet these good People, continues he, brought us, in Return for the dead Bodies we had given them, vast plenty of Provisions of all Kinds. Their Consternation, however, was very great, and they howl'd, and made dismal Lamentation. That they might leave, however, no Means untried to pacify these Invaders, they all, Men, Women, and Children, presented themselves before them, with the Branches of Palm, in Token of Peace. Then, they endeavour'd to testify, by the most humble Postures, how desirous they were to mollify and make Friends of these Strangers. They even shew'd them their Women, gave them to understand, that they were totally at their Disposal, and that they might carry as many of them on board their Ships as they pleas'd.

The *Dutch*, softened with such Tokens of Humility, and deep Submission, did them no further Harm; but, on the contrary, made them a Present of a Piece of painted Cloth sixty Yards long. They gave them likewise a good Quantity of Coral-beads, and small Looking-glasses, with which they were extremely well pleas'd. As they now saw, and were fully convinc'd, that the *Dutch* intend'd to treat them like Friends, they brought them at once 500 live Fowls, which, by the way, differ'd nothing from the Barn-door Fowls of *Europe*, accompanied with a great Quantity of red and white Roots, and Potatoes; which these Islanders use instead of Bread. They gave them likewise some hundreds of Sugar-canes, and a great Quantity of Pisces. There are a sort of *Indian* Figs, as big as a Gourd, and covered with a green Rind. The Pulp of these Figs is as sweet as Honey: There grow sometimes 100 of these Fig upon a single Bough. The Leaves of this Tree are six or eight Feet long, and about three Feet broad. It is said, that of these Leaves our First Parents made the Coverings they us'd after their Fall; but this our Author takes to be a mere Conjecture, without any other Foundation than this, that these Leaves are the largest and strongest of any hitherto found, either in the East, or in the West. They saw in these Islands no other Animals, than Birds of all Sorts; but they thought it probable, that, in the Heart of their Country, there might be Cattle, and other Beasts, because when they shew'd the *Indians* some Hogs aboard their Ships, they gave them to understand by Signs, that they had seen such Animals before. They make use of earthen Pots to dress their Meat in, as the *Europeans* do. It appear'd to the *Dutch*, that every Family or Tribe amongst them had its separate Village. The Huts or Cabins, of which these Villages are compos'd, may be from forty to sixty Feet long, and six or eight Feet broad. They are made by a certain Number of Poles stuck upright, and the Spaces between them fill'd up with a kind of Leam, or fine Earth, cover'd at Top with Palm-leaves. As for their

Diet or Subsistence, they draw it intirely from the Earth. Every thing with them is sown, and raised by Cultivation.

All their little Plantations were flaked out, and very neatly divided. At the Time the *Dutch* were there, almost all their Fruits and Plants, Herbs and Roots, were in full Maturity; and our Author assures us it was his Opinion, that, if they had searched the Country thoroughly, they should have found abundance of good Things. In their Houses, however, they had not many Moveables, and tho't they had were of no great Value, except some red and white Coverlets, that served them, when walking, for Cloaths, and, when sleeping, for Quilts. This Stuff was as soft to the Touch as Silk, and, in all Appearance, was absolutely of their own Manufacture. These Islanders were, in general, brisk, slender, active, well-made People, and very swift of Foot. They were, in point of Temper, of a sweet, agreeable, and modest Disposition, but extremely timorous and faint-hearted. Whenever they brought the *Dutch* either Fowls, or any other kind of Provisions, they hastily threw themselves on their Knees; and, as soon as they had delivered them, retired as fast as their Legs could carry them. They were, generally speaking, of a brown a Complexion as *Spaniards*. There were, however, some amongst them almost black, and others again white. There was yet another kind of People, whose Skins were perfectly red, as if they had been burnt by the Sun; their Ears hung down to their Shoulders; and some of them had white Balls hanging at them, which they seemed to consider as a great Ornament.

Their Bodies were painted all over with the Figures of Birds, and other Animals; and some were much better painted, than others. All their Women, in general, had an artificial Bloom upon their Cheeks, but of a Crimson far surpassing any thing known to us in *Europe*; nor could the *Dutch* discover what it was, of which this Colour was composed. On their Heads they wore a little Hat made of Reeds or Straw, and had no other Covering than the Quilts before-mentioned. Their Women were none of the modestest; for, our Author says, they beckoned them into their Houses, and, when they sat by them, would throw off their Mantles. It is very singular, with regard to these Islanders, that they saw nothing that had the Appearance of Arms amongst them; but, whenever they were attacked, they fled for Shelter and Assistance to their Idols, Numbers of which were erected all along the Coast. These Statues were all of Stone, of the Figure of a Man, with great Ears, and his Head covered with a Crown, the Whole very nicely proportioned, and so highly finished in every respect, that the *Dutch* stood amazed. Round these Idols there were Palfadoes of white Stone, at the Distance of twenty or thirty Yards. There were many of the Inhabitants, who seemed to be more frequent and more zealous Worshippers of these Idols, than the rest; which made the *Dutch* believe they were their Priests: And they were the rather inclined to think so, because they had many other Marks of Distinction; such as large white Balls hanging at their Ears, and their Heads clean shaven. These Priests wore a kind of Bonnet of black and white Feathers, which exactly resembled those of a Stork; which induced the *Dutch* to conceive, that, when these Birds leave *Europe*, Part of them, at least, take up their Residence here.

However, says our Author, upon more mature Reflection, I am convinced, that these Conjectures are not well-founded. It is true, continues he, that, if the Storks sought only a warm Climate, they might certainly find it here, since this Island lies in the Height of $28^{\circ} 30'$. But Experience shews us the contrary, this Bird being in *Europe* about the Beginning of the Spring. For my own Part, my Opinion is, that, when the Stork quits *Europe*, he flies to some Place under the South Pole. The principal Motive, if I may be so allowed to speak, which can induce this Bird thus to change her Climate, is her Fear of not finding in *Europe* her proper Food beyond the Autumn; and therefore she goes in Search of a Country, where she may find the Spring, at her Arrival, just begun, and be in no Fear of meeting with Food for half the Year. It may be therefore, that, when the Stork leaves *Europe*, she goes in Search of Food into some Climate under 40° or 50° of South Latitude, rather in Countries totally unknown, or in that Land, which

was discovered by *Hernando Gallego* in the Year 1595; and that she remains there till Autumn, and then returns to *Europe* again. *Epiphane*, *Heidlin*, *Guicciardin*, *Munster*, and other learned Men, have written very ingeniously upon this Subject; but, perhaps, none of their Conjectures were at all better founded than those of our Author. These Speculations appear to many light and trivial Things; but, with respect to natural Knowledge, there is such a Connection between seeming Trifles and Things of real Importance, that it is no easy Matter to say, which are Trifles, and which not. The Loadstone is a sufficient Proof of this. Perhaps, if we thoroughly understood the Nature of Birds of Passage, we might be led thereby to Truths of great Consequence, that now lie hid, and out of Sight. But to return to the People in *Pasch Island*:

The *Dutch* could not distinguish among these Islanders any Appearance of Government or Subordination, much less any Prince or Chief, who had Dominion over the rest. On the contrary, they all spoke and acted seemingly with equal Freedom. The old People among them wore on their Heads feathered Bonnets, which looked like the Down of Ostridges, and had Sticks in their Hands. They observed, indeed, in particular Houses, that the Father of the Family governed it, and was, with the greatest Readiness, obeyed. The Author thinks, that this Island might be settled to great Advantage, inasmuch as the Air is extremely wholesome, the Soil very rich and fruitful, proper for Corn in the low Lands, and, where it rises high, might be improved into Vineyards, which, supposing it possible, would be of infinite Consequence to such as took this Island in their Way, when bound to discover distant Lands in the Southern Part of the Globe. They had doubtless made much greater Discoveries with respect to this Island, and possibly with regard to the Continent, from which, there is Reason to believe, it cannot be far distant, if they had not been obliged to leave it suddenly, and when they least expected it. The thing happened thus:

They had been in the Evening on shore, and the Commodore, on the Report of the Officers, determined to land the next Morning, with a Force sufficient to make a strict Examination of the whole Island; but, before Morning, there arose so strong a West Wind, as drove them from both their Anchors; so that they were obliged to put to Sea, to avoid being shipwrecked; which, however, our Author thinks, would have been no great Misfortune, since, if their Vessels had been lost, they might have passed their Days quietly and happily among the *Indians*, and have converted them to Christianity. After this Misfortune, they cruised some time in the same Latitude; and, having fought in vain to discover *Davis's Land*, they at length resolved to bear away to the *Bad Sea of Schouten*, steering still a West Course, in hopes of discovering some new Country. In this, the Author thinks, the Commodore was to blame; for he is of Opinion, that, instead of steering West, they ought to have steered South, because they soon fell in with a South-east Wind, which blew very strong; so that thenceforward they saw no more Birds, which, he thinks, was a certain Proof, that they were driven farther and farther from the Land they were seeking; whereas, if they had sailed South-west, they could not, in his Opinion, have failed of falling in with the Southern Continent.

12. After leaving the Island of *Pasch*, they were not long before they found themselves in the Height of that Island called *Badwater*, discovered by *Schouten* in the Year 1615. and to which he gave that Name, because all their Springs were brackish. They were in hopes of discovering at this Height some Part also of the Southern Continent; but, by changing their Course, they ran three hundred Leagues out of their Way, and at least one hundred and fifty Leagues farther than *Schouten*. That famous Seaman says, in the Account of his Voyage, that he gave one Day Chace to a small Vessel, that bore away from him directly South; from whence he concluded, and with great Reason, that there must certainly be Land on that Side. Indeed, from all the Lights that Reason and Experience afford, I am more and more confirmed in my Opinion, that there is a Tract of Land on that Side, extending above two thousand Leagues: In order to come upon which Coast, the proper Course from *Europe* is certainly South South-west;

but

but from *America* the best Course would be North-east, or North-east and by North. In this wide Sea the *Dutch* Commodore sailed upwards of 800 Leagues without discovering Land; and, though he frequently varied his Course, steering now this Way, and then that, yet it was all to no Purpose, till, arriving in the Height of $15^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude, they discovered a very low Island, the Coast of which was covered with a very yellow Sand. As they saw in the midst of it a kind of Pond or Lake, the principal Officers of the Squadron were unanimously of Opinion, that it was the same Island *Scheeven* had discovered, and to which he had given the Name of the Island of *Degs*; and, for that Reason, they did not think fit either to go on shore there, or to examine it more particularly. Our Author, however, is clearly of Opinion, that *Scheeven* never saw this Island, which is in the Latitude of $15^{\circ} 45'$ South, and in the Longitude of 280° . As he conceived this to be absolutely a new Discovery, he bestowed on the Island the Name of *Carl'shoff*, i. e. *Charles's Court*: He describes it to be a low flat Island, about three Leagues in Extent, with a Lake in the Middle. After they left this Island, the Wind began to come about to the South-west; which was a Sign, that they were near some Coast, that altered the Current of the Air.

This sudden Change drove their Vessel in the Night amongst some small Islands, where they found themselves not a little embarrassed. The *African* Galley then led the Squadron, as being the Ship that sailed best, and drew the least Water; but, notwithstanding all the Care her Crew could take, she soon found herself in such imminent Danger among the Rocks, that she began to fire Gun after Gun, as Signals of her Distress. The *Tienboven*, which was the farthest from her, plied towards her with the utmost Diligence; and so did the Commodore, who found himself, sooner than he expected, along-side with her, which alarmed his own Ship's Company very much; but, upon heaving the Lead, and finding no Bottom, they grew tolerably easy, and thought of nothing but saving their Friends. In order to this, they immediately sent out their Shallop, to discover the Situation the *African* Galley was in, which, at first Sight, discovered no Hopes of disengaging her, since she stuck fast between two Rocks; so that it was impossible to get her off, or to do any further Service, than to save the People that were in her. In this they succeeded tolerably well, though many of the *African* Galley's Crew were miserably bruised by the Shocks the Vessel received before she settled on the Rocks. There was but one poor Man lost, and he was a Sailor on board the *Tienboven*, who, being too eager in saving his Friends, dropped over-board, and was drowned. The Islanders, roused by the prodigious Noise that this Accident made, kindled a great many Fires upon the Hills, and came down in Crouds to the Coasts. The *Dutch*, not knowing what their Design might be, and considering the Opportunities, which the Darkness of the Night, and their own Confusion, might give to any who thought fit to attack them, fired upon them without Ceremony, in order to have as few Dangers as possible to deal with at one time. In the Morning, as soon as it was Light, they had a clear Prospect of the mighty Danger all their Ships were in the Evening before; for they found themselves environed on all Sides by four large Islands, facing towards the Sea, with a continued Chain of steep Rocks, and so close to each other, that they could hardly discern the Channel by which they entered: They had, therefore, all the Reason in the World to be thankful to the Divine Providence, which had so wonderfully preserved them in the midst of so much Danger. It must be observed, that the Commodore only entered this rocky Bay, at the Mouth of which the *African* Galley was shipwrecked, and where the *Tienboven* remained to assist in saving her Crew.

13. The Danger was not altogether over as soon as discovered, since it cost the *Dutch* Commodore no less than five Days to extricate himself out of this unfortunate Situation; during which time, his Ship's Company were absolutely ignorant of the Fate of the *African* Galley, and of her Crew: At last, the Shallop of the *Tienboven*, having sailed quite round the Islands, came to inform them, that

only one Man was lost; that the Crew got safe on shore; and that, after once firing upon them, the Inhabitants of the Island had retired into the Heart of the Country as expeditiously as they could. As soon as the Commodore was safe, he sent his Shallop, with a Detachment of the Ship's Company, to bring off the People that had been left on shore. They accordingly brought the Crew of the *African* Galley on board the Commodore; when, upon mustering them, it appeared, that a Quarter-master, and four Seamen, were missing. Upon Inquiry, it was found, that their Men made it their Choice to stay in the Island; for, having quarreled amongst themselves, when they first got on shore, they mutinied against their Officers, who had interposed to prevent their killing one another with their Knives; and, Captain *Rosenball* having threatened them with Death whenever he got them on board the Commodore, they fled into the Country, in order to escape Punishment: The Commodore, however, was unwilling they should be lost; and therefore sent our Author, with a Detachment of Soldiers, to bring them away. The Deferters, having Sight of the Shallop, as it approached the Shore, fired from behind a Coppice, so briskly, that they durst not land: Rowing, however, to an open Place, they got on shore; and, marching towards the Wood where the Deferters were, they called to them without firing, assuring them, that they had nothing to fear, that the Commodore had promised them an Indemnity, and that they might safely depend upon his Word. But the Deferters' Guilt made them deaf to all Intreaty, so that our Author's Eloquence was intirely thrown away, and he very wisely chose to leave them where they were, rather than hazard his own, and the Lives of the People under his Command, in attempting to reduce desperate Men, who, by thus rejecting all Hope, sufficiently shewed, that there was nothing they any longer feared.

All these Islands are seated between 15 and 16° of South Latitude, and at the Distance of twelve Leagues West from that of *Carl'shoff*, each of them being four or five Leagues in Compass. That on which the *African* Galley was shipwrecked, they called *Mischievous* Island; the two next to it, the *Brothers*; and the fourth Island, the *Sigh*. All four Islands were covered with a Verdure inexpressibly charming, and abounded with fine tall Trees, and especially Cocos. The Herbs that grew here were so refreshing and medicinal, that the Ship's Crew, many of whom were ill of the Scurvy, were surprisingly recovered by them: They found there likewise a prodigious Plenty of Mussels, Cockles, Mother-of-pearls, and Pearl-oysters, which gave Reason to hope, that a very advantageous Pearl-fishery might be settled there. These Islands are extremely low, so that some Parts of them must be frequently overflowed; but the Inhabitants are well provided against such Accidents, since they have not only good Canoes, but stout Barks, with Cables and Sails. The *Dutch* likewise found upon the Shore Pieces of Ropes, that seemed to be made of Hemp. The Inhabitants of the Island, upon which the *African* Galley was lost, were of an extraordinary Size, inasmuch that the *Dutch* had never seen Men so tall: One of the Seamen asserted, that he measured the Print of one of their Feet in the Sand, and that he found it twenty Inches. All their Bodies were painted of all Sorts of Colours: They had fine long black Hair, or the most part; but some of them had brown, inclined a little to red. They were armed with Pikes or Lances of eighteen or twenty Feet long. They had nothing soft or agreeable in their Countenances, but fairly spoke their Temper in their Looks, which were fierce and cruel. They marched in small Bodies of fifty or an hundred, and made Signs to the *Dutch*, when they saw them, to come to them; but so soon as they saw them advancing, they retired adwairt the Island, on purpose to draw them into some Ambuscade, which might give them an Opportunity of revenging the Loss they sustained by their firing upon them when they were shipwrecked. As the Commodore saw there was no doing any good with them, and found the Coasts of all the Islands excessively rocky and foul, he was resolved to leave them, in order to seek some other Country, where, with less Hazard, he might meet with more

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Refreshments, of which his Company stood in great need ; for they were now so eaten up with the Scurvy, that not a Day passed but some of them died.

14. The very next Morning after they weighed from *Mischievous* Island, they saw, at the Distance of eight Leagues to the West, a new Island, which they called *Aurora*, because, in the Commodore's Vessel, they discerned it as the Day broke. The *Tienhoven* was nearer it, and, indeed, so near it, that, if the Sun had rose half an Hour later, the mist have had the same Fate with the *African* Galley, since they were but a Cannon-shot from the rocky Shore, when the Danger was perceived. The Commodore immediately made the Signal to tack, which was done with great Difficulty, and the Ship, with much ado, elapsed. The Fight into which this put the Mariners, soon after produced a Mutiny ; in which the Seamen insisted, one and all, that the Commodore should immediately return, or that, at least, he should give them Security to pay them their Wages, though they should be so unlucky as to lose their Vessel. To lay the Truth, this Demand of the Seamen was very just and reasonable. They were every Day exposed to the most excessive Fatigues in these stormy and unknown Seas ; and, at the same time, ran the Hazard of losing, in a Moment, all the Reward they were to expect from their Labours, since the Custom of *Holland* is, that the Seamen lose their Wages whenever the Ship is lost. The Commodore listened to their Complaints with an Humanity worthy a Man of Honour, and immediately took an Oath, that whatever happened to the Ships, they should receive their Wages to the last Farthing. He kept it too with the utmost Exactness ; for though the *African* Galley was lost before, and both the other Ships were condemned at *Batavia*, yet every one of their respective Crews had their Wages paid them to the full, as soon as they arrived at *Amsterdam*.

The Island of *Aurora* was about four Leagues in Extent, the Country covered with a charming Verdure, and adorned both with high Trees, and smaller Wood. But, as they found all the Coast rocky and foul, they left this Island too without landing, after having taken only a Prospect of it at a Distance. Towards Evening, the same Day, they had Sight of another Island, which, for that Reason, they called *Vesper*. It was about twelve Leagues in Circuit, the Ground very low, but, withal, covered with fine Grass, and stored with great Plenty of various Sorts of Trees. They continued their Course still, steering West, to the Height of about 15° ; and the next Morning they discovered another Country, which, seeing covered with Smoke, they concluded was inhabited, and therefore made all the Sail they could, in hopes of meeting with Refreshments ; and, as they approached the Country nearer, they saw some of the Inhabitants diverting themselves on the Coast in their Canoes. They perceived likewise, by degrees, that what they had taken for one Country, was, in reality, abundance of Islands crouded close to each other ; among which they had now entered so far, that they found it a very difficult thing to extricate themselves. In this Situation, they sent a Man to the Top-mast Head, to discover a Passage out ; and, as the Weather was perfectly serene, they had the good Luck to get once more into the open Sea, without any Accident ; tho', in passing by several Ranges of steep Rocks, they had Reason to consider this as a very great, as well as fresh Deliverance. There were six of these Islands, exceedingly beautiful and pleasant to the Eye, and which, taken together, could not be less than thirty Leagues in Circumference. They were situated twenty-five Leagues West of *Mischievous* Island : The *Dutch* gave them the Name of the *Labyrinth*, because they had been obliged to tack several times to get clear of them.

As it was very dangerous to anchor on the Coast, and as, besides, none of the Inhabitants came to meet them in their Canoes, or on the Shore, they did not think fit to make any Stay. They still continued a West Course, and, in a few Days, discovered another Island, which appeared at a great Distance very high, and extremely beautiful ; but, on a nearer Approach, they found no Ground for Anchorage, and the Coast appeared so rocky, that they were afraid to venture any closer : They therefore manned each

of their Shallops with twenty-five Men, in order to make a Descent. The Inhabitants no sooner perceived their Design, than they came down in Crouds to the Coast, in order to oppose their Landing. They were armed with very long Pikes, and gave them speedy Demonstrations of their knowing how to use them to the utmost Advantage. When the Shallops were pretty near the Island, they found the Shore so steep, and full of Rocks, that it was impossible to land ; upon which, the best Part of the Sailors threw themselves into the Sea, with their Arms in their Hands, and some Baubles, fit for Presents, tied upon their Heads, while the rest kept a constant Fire from the Boats, in order to clear the Shore, and facilitate their Landing. This Expedient succeeded to their Wish, and the Seamen got on shore without any considerable Resistance from the Inhabitants, who, frightened by the Discharge of their Fire-arms, quitted the Coast, and retired up the Mountains, but came down again as soon as the *Dutch* ceased firing. When those who were landed had advanced in Sight of the Islanders, they shewed them their Looking-glasses, Strings of Coral, &c. The People came up to them without the least Fear, took their Presents, and suffered them to search where they pleased for Herbs and Salading for the Sick : Of these they found such Plenty, that, in a very little time, they filled twelve great Sacks, six for the Commodore, and as many for the *Tienhoven* ; for, when the People once saw what they were about, they not only shewed them the best Sorts, but assisted in gathering them. They saw in this Island prodigious Quantities of Jafmin, which was then in full Flower. They carried their Cargo of Greens immediately on board, which were much more acceptable to the Sick, than if they had brought them so much Gold and Silver.

The next Morning a greater Body of Men were ordered on shore, as well to gather Herbs, as to try to make farther Discoveries. The first thing they did, was to make a Present to the King, or Chief, of a considerable Quantity of all Sorts of Trinkets, which he received indeed, but with such an Air of Indifference and Disdain, as did not seem to promise any great Good with respect to their future Commerce. It is true, that, in Exchange, he sent the *Dutch* a considerable Quantity of Cocoa-nuts, which were very agreeable to them in their present Circumstances. This Chief, or Prince, was distinguished from the rest of the Inhabitants by the Ornaments he wore, consisting of various Things of Pearl, to the Amount of about 600 *Dutch* Florins in Value. Their Women seemed to admire the white Men very much, and almost stifled them with Caresses ; but this was all a false Shew of Love, which these Traitors employed to lull the *Dutch* into Security, that the Plot, laid by their Men, might succeed more effectually ; and, if they had executed it with the same Subtlety with which they contrived it, they had certainly cut off every *Dutchman* that came on shore.

The thing happened thus : When the *Dutch* had filled twenty Sacks with Greens, they advanced farther into the Country, till such time as they came to the Top of certain steep Rocks, which hung over a large and deep Valley, the Islanders going before and behind them, of whom the *Dutch* had not the least Suspicion : But, as soon as they thought they had them at an Advantage, they quitted them on a sudden, and Thousands came pouring out from Caves and Holes in the Rocks ; the Sailors immediately formed themselves, and stood upon their Defence : The Chief, or Prince, then made a Signal to the *Dutch* to keep off ; of which they took no notice, but still continued to advance in a Line : He then gave the Signal of Battle to his own People, and it was followed by a prodigious Shower of Stones : The *Dutch*, in Return, made a general Discharge of their Fire-arms, which did great Execution ; and, amongst the first that fell, was the Chief. The Islanders, however, were so far from flying, that they continued throwing Stones with greater Fury than before, so that most of the *Dutch* were soon wounded, and, in a manner, disabled, which made them retire behind a Rock ; from whence they fired, with such Success, that great Numbers of the Islanders were killed ; yet they obstinately maintained their Ground, and the *Dutch* were forced to retreat, having some killed, and a great many wounded, who, by

reason of their feebler Habit of Body, died not long after, notwithstanding all the Care that could be taken of them. As soon as they had disengaged themselves from the Enemy, they retired, and carried the Sacks of Herbs they had gathered, on board their Ships; where the Report they made of what had befallen them, affected their Ship's Company to such a Degree, that when a Motion was made for landing again, there was no body could be brought to bear the Thoughts of it.

To this Ill, before the happening of this unlucky Accident, they had given the Name of the Island *Recreation*, on account of the Herbs and Sallading they found there. This Island is situated in the Height of 16° South Latitude, and in the Longitude of 285°: It is in Extent about twelve Leagues, the Soil extremely fertile, producing great Quantities of Trees, but more especially Palms, Coconuts, and Iron-wood; the *Dutch* thought they had Reason to believe, that, in the Heart of the Country, there were rich Mines, and other valuable Things; but, as they were not at Liberty to make a very strict Search, our Author says he cannot positively affirm it. The Inhabitants were Men of a middle Size, robust, active, and seemed to be very well exercised in their sort of Discipline; their Hair was long, black, and thinning, owing principally to anointing it with Oil of Coconuts, which is practised by other *Indian* Nations. They were painted all over like the Natives of the Island of *Pasib*. The Men cover the Middle of their Bodies with a kind of Net-work, which is drawn between their Legs, and tucked up behind. As for the Women, they were intirely covered with a kind of Mantle of their own Manufacture, which, to the Sight and Touch, had a near Resemblance to Silk; and they wear about their Necks and Wrists, by way of Ornament, long Strings of Pearl. As the Anchorage was every-where bad, and the rocky Shore of this Island so excessively steep, as not to permit, from the Sea, any View of the inner Part of the Country, the Commodore thought proper to sail, without farther Loss of Time, as knowing, that it was to no Purpose for him to remain longer, since the Men absolutely refused to attempt going on shore any more, because those who had been wounded in the late Skirmish, were dropping off daily.

15. The Commodore, before his Departure, thought fit to hold a Council of War, in which he communicated to his Officers the Contents of his Instructions; which were, that if, in the Latitude and Longitude they were now in, they could make no Discovery of Importance, he should return Home. There were some of the Council who were very much allured at this Order, and could not forbear telling the Commodore, that, being advanced so far, and having met with so great Encouragement, it would betray a great want of Spirit, if they did not proceed. To this he answered, that they had been already out ten Months; that they had still a long Voyage to make to the *East Indies*; that Provisions began to grow very short; and, above all, that their Crew was already so much diminished, and those who survived in so weak a Condition, that, if twenty more should die, or fall sick, there would not be enough left to navigate both Ships; not to mention other Reasons of equal Importance.

The true Secret, however, says my Author, of this sudden Change, was the great Desire, that some of the principal Officers had to get to the *East Indies*; for they were afraid of missing the Monsoon, in which case they must have remained still six Months longer in the *South Seas*. Thus, says he, all our grand Design was at once defeated and overturned, after our having taken such incredible Pains to succeed, and after meeting with so many Omens of Success. Some Officers, however, opposed this Motion to the very last; and, foreseeing the Mischiefs that must attend it, earnestly persuaded the Commodore to attempt rather wintering in the Countries mentioned by *Ferdinand de Quirós*, from which, as they shewed him, they could not be above an hundred and fifty Leagues. But when they found he was inflexible, a new Dispute arose about the Passage home: Those who had the Good of the Voyage only at Heart, insisted peremptorily, that it was wrong to think of going by the *East Indies*, since it was directly contrary to the Design of their Instructions, that, by con-

tinuing the first Course, they must necessarily fall in with some Island or other, where they might land, take in Refreshments, and stay till their sick Men recovered; That, in this case, they ought first of all to erect a Fort for their own Security against the Natives; in the next, to treat those People with all imaginable Gentleness and Candour; that, by this means, they should infallibly engage them to trade and converse with them, which would enable them to learn their Language, and carry Home a clear, distinct, and full Account of the Country in which they had lived. They farther represented, that, if this Proposal was complied with, they should have it always in their Power to return Home, by steering an East Course, and, by taking time, perfect effectually the Discoveries they were sent to make.

These Reasons were heard with Patience and Civility, though they had not the Weight that they deserved; and, on the Whole, a Resolution was taken to continue their Course towards *New Britain* and *New Guiney*, and thence by the Way of the *Moluccas* to the *East Indies*, where they were in hopes of procuring not only a Supply of Provisions, and other Necessaries, but of Seamen also, in case they should be in so weak a Condition, as not to be able to navigate their Ships back to *Europe*. By this Resolution, our Author says, an End was put to all Hopes of visiting the Land of *de Quirós*, which, it was the Opinion of the best Seamen on board, they might certainly and easily have discovered. This Opinion of theirs was grounded upon three Reasons: First, that the Situation of this Country is better laid down, than those of most new-discovered Countries, which are not as yet thoroughly known. Secondly, that the Islands they had hitherto met with, agreed, in every respect, as to their Situation, Inhabitants, and Produce, with the Descriptions in *de Quirós's* Memorials. And lastly, because the Wind plainly blew off some Continent, or very large Island, and would therefore have been extremely favourable to their Design, if they had thought fit to prosecute it. Our Author takes Occasion here to enter into a large Discourse on the Certainty of such a Southern Continent, the Advantages that would probably result from the Discovery of it, and the Means most likely to effect that Discovery, the Substance of which we shall endeavour to give the Reader in as few Words as it is possible.

It is very certain, that the Discovery of *Terra Australis incognita* is considered, by many wise and knowing People, as a kind of Philosophers-stone, perpetual Motion, or, in plain English, as a Chimera, fit only to take up the empty Brains of wild Projectors. Yet this seems to be no sufficient Reason, why such as are competent Judges of the Matter in Dispute, should decide, peremptorily, that there is no such Country; or, if there be, that it is not worth the finding. These sort of hasty Conclusions are extremely fatal to Science in general, and to the Art of Navigation in particular. To say the Truth, all Notions built upon Conjectures only, however beautifully ranged in a System, serve only to puzzle and mislead People. The Discovery of all Parts of the World seems to be, at once, the Business and the Glory of Man. It is the peculiar Privilege of our Species, that we can traverse this Globe by Land and Water, and thereby become intelligent with respect to all the various Scenes of Wildom, which the World's Creator and ours has displayed therein. This is sufficient to shew, that there cannot be any thing more noble, or more worthy of a great Mind, than the surveying, either in Theory or Practice, the Disposition of this terraqueous Globe, the Harmony of its Parts, and their Relation to each other. Whoever employs any Part of his Time in this Way, will discern that there is wanting to the Eye a Southern Continent, in order to give one Side of the Globe a Resemblance to the other. This is the first Argument, that there is such a Southern Continent; the next, that Experience confirms this Notion; the Fowls, the Winds, the Currents, the Ice, beyond *Cape Horn*, all confirm this Opinion, that there is Land towards the Southern Pole. We are to consider again, that those we have numberless Voyages to the *East Indies*, and a great many round the Globe, yet we have few, very few, into that Ocean, in which this Continent is supposed to be; and these Voyages, serve all, in some measure, to confirm

Opinion; because, in every one of these Voyages, some Land or other was discovered, either Continent or Island. Now it is certain, that Islands, great and small, are seldom, if ever, at a very great Distance from a Continent; and therefore, where there are many Islands, it is at least a very probable Sign, that there is some Continent not far from them. Thus much as to the Certainty of the Thing, that there really is such a Country.

With regard to the next Point, Whether it is worth the Discovery? this requires a much more ample Inquiry. It is obvious, in the first Place, that the Discovery of all new Lands has a natural Tendency to the Increase of Commerce; of which we have an Instance in the Whale-fishery on the Coast of *Greenland*, and the Trade carried on in *Hudson's Bay*; but, with respect to the Lands we are now speaking of, we have as much Certainty as the Nature of the Thing will admit, that they are really as rich and plentiful, as any Countries on the Face of the Globe, without Exception. We have already proved, that the fifth Climate is, according to the Laws of Nature, the most fertile, as well as the most wholesome; and it must on all Hands be allowed, that a great Part of the *Terra Australis* lies under that Climate. *Ferdinand de Quiros*, in his Memorials, calls it a fourth Part of the Globe, and with good Reason; for, from the Western Point of *New Guinea*, to the Eastern Extremity of the Country discovered by *Hernando Gallego*, there is a Space of 2000 Leagues, a great Part of which has been, and the rest may be, certainly discovered. But, of all Proofs that can be offered in such a Case, those are certainly the most convincing, that are taken from Facts. Now *de Quiros*, and *Torres*, who actually visited those Islands, which, by their first Discoverer *Alonso Sarmiento*, were called the Islands of *Solomon*, not only report, that the Country is beautiful in Prospect, and exceedingly fertile in its Produce, but that it abounds also with every thing that has hitherto been accounted Riches, such as Gold, Silver, Precious Stones, and Spices.

It is true, that they acknowledged they visited only the Coast; but this rather fortifies than lessens their Testimony; for though the Coasts are often the most pleasant, yet they are seldom the richest Part of a Country. It is owing to Accident, and the Curiosity of such as report these Things, that we have ever heard of these Countries; and it is chiefly the Effect of the Impatience of Discoverers, that we are not better acquainted with them. A Man cannot be expected to describe a Country he has only galloped through; and it is the same Thing with regard to Discoverers, who pretend to give distinct Accounts of Countries, without visiting any Part of them but their Ports: Yet such People may have Leave to say, that they have seen, and later Experience seems to confirm, the Relations of *de Quiros* and *Torres*, with this Difference only, that they remained longer on shore, and were consequently more capable of entering into Particulars.

All who have visited these Southern Countries agree, that there are in them three different sorts of Inhabitants, viz. the Olive-coloured, the Black, and the White. *William Schouten* observes, as a kind of Prodigy; that, amongst a great Number of Blacks, he saw one perfectly white Man. The Spanish Historian *Herrera* tells us, that, on the Eastern Point of *New Guinea*, and especially about *Monte de Deo*, the Inhabitants are all white, though that Country received its Name from its Inhabitants appearing to be Negroes. Our Author confirms all this of his own Knowledge, and carries it still further; for he says, he saw not only yellow, black, and white People, but a fourth Sort likewise, who were red: He adds, that, having inquired of such as had lived some time in *New Guinea*, about the white Men, which *Herrera* mentions, he found the Fact to be true, though these People could give but a very indifferent Account of them. In this, however, they all agreed, that these white People had very little Conversation or Commerce with the Blacks; That they wore a different Dress, resembling that of the oriental Nations, wore long Beards, and had not either Idols or Ornaments in their Temples. They likewise assured him, that the Language of these white People differs greatly from the Language spoken by their Neighbours. In the Memorial of *de Quiros* it is said, that the Inhabitants of the Islands

he visited were prone to Idolatry, which is very agreeable to the Account that has been given of the People in *Pacific* Island.

As to Government, *de Quiros* reports the People he saw to have lived under a Republic, which agrees with the Situation of Things in that Island which has been last mentioned: With respect, again, to Food and Provisions, *de Quiros* affirms, that he found, in those Countries he visited, such Plenty of Cattle, Hogs, Goats, and Fowl, that the People had not only wherewith to live in Plenty themselves, but were able, without diminishing that Plenty, to supply their Neighbours. *Schouten* affirms the same Thing with respect to the Islands he saw, and so do other Travellers; and our Author rightly observes, that the Size, the Strength, and the Activity of the People they saw in the Island of *Pacific*, made it sufficiently evident, that they lived upon nourishing and succulent Food. *De Quiros* informs us, that the *Indians* made a very sweet, solid, and nourishing Bread of three sorts of Roots. It appears from this Voyage, that they met, in almost all the Islands they discovered, with different kinds of Roots, which served instead of Bread, and were very pleasant and wholesome. Some of them, our Author says, were very like Beet-roots; but whether it was of these Roots that the Inhabitants made their Bread, he does not pretend to say: They had likewise Plenty of Potatoes, which were very good in their kind. As to Plants, Herbs, and Flowers, we find in *de Quiros's* Memorial, that the Countries, in which he was, abounded with them, as well as with Sugar-canes, which are indeed plenty in most warm Countries, and of which there was such abundance in the Islands visited by our Author in this Voyage, that the People often brought the *Dutch* more than they wanted, or could tell what to do with, and therefore they returned them; and as to other Fruits of different sorts, some known, some unknown, but all excellent in their kind, the Plenty of them has been already mentioned more than once.

Both our Author, and all former Travellers, agree, that these Southern *Indians* are not only much pleased with, but tolerably skilled in, Music. *Abel Tasman*, whose Discoveries from the original *Dutch* shall hereafter find a Place in this Work, heard an Horn sounded among the *Indians* he conversed with; and *Schouten* says, that, at an Entertainment made by two *Indian* Kings, at which he was present, there was a Person sent for to play upon the Flute. Utensils in their Houses were, according to *de Quiros*, most of them made of Earth; and, as we have seen before, our Author found it so likewise. *De Quiros* absolutely affirms, that they made use of Vessels, tolerably well built, for the Carrying on of Commerce between their Islands, of the Truth of which our Author says he was an Eye-witness; and *Schouten* in his Voyages confirms this, by telling us, that he took a Vessel with a considerable Stock of live Provisions on board, which must therefore have been intended for a Voyage of some Length. Our Author not only maintains the Truth of this from his own Knowledge, but adds farther, that they examined the Sails of some of these Vessels, and found them as good as if they had been made in *Holland*; the Thread of them resembling Hemp, and the Canvas surpassing, in all respects, any thing of that kind made in *Java*, or the *Indies*. We find, in *de Quiros's* Memorial, an Account of a very fine Gulph, in the Latitude of 15°, where Ships might anchor very commodiously: He thought fit to call it *Golfo de Philippe*, where, according to him, Ships might anchor safe from Winds, inasmuch as it ran twenty Leagues up into the Country. *Hernando Gallego* writes, that, in his Passage from *New Guinea* to the Straights of *Magellan*, he was driven, by a West Wind, to a Country lying to the South, which he looked upon as cut off from the Continent: This very probably might be the Gulph mentioned by *de Quiros*. *Abel Tasman* reports, that he found, in the Southern Continent, a large and spacious Gulph, very commodious for Shipping; *William Schouten* and *Herrera* make frequent mention of Havens and Rivers in these Southern Countries; and *Dampier*, as we shall shew elsewhere, actually saw some of these. It, therefore, we consider all the Circumstances that have been mentioned, the Credit of the several Authors who report them, their ap-

parent Connexion, and Impossibility of making Forgeries tally so exactly, we must conclude, that there is very full Evidence in Support of both these Positions; viz. that there is a great Continent, and many Islands, to the South of and that this Continent, and those Islands, are very probably rich and well-peopled, to which if a Trade could be opened, it might, nay, must, be very commoious, and produce as great or greater Advantages, than those which have resulted from the Discoveries of *America*.

It is indeed astonishing, that, considering even the imperfect Accounts that have been had of these Southern Lands within the last and the present Century, no *European* Potentate ever seriously undertook the Conquest of them. It is true, that many Expeditions have been made for discovering, but not one for making a Settlement. There never yet was fitted out any Squadron strong enough, either in Ships or in Men, to attempt penetrating into the Heart of any of these Countries. The *English* and the *Dutch* have contented themselves with running along the Coasts, without ever venturing to make a Descent, either for fear of being overpowered by the Inhabitants, or in Apprehension of wanting Provisions in their Return, in case they amused themselves too long in this Part of the World. Such are the Reasons assigned by our Author for the Miscarriage of the Design in which he was concerned, as well as of all the rest upon that Plan. He concludes his Discourse by laying down certain Maxims, which, he thinks, if steadily pursued, would greatly contribute to, if not absolutely effect, this useful and important Discovery. In the first Place, says he, such a Design is not to be undertaken with one or two Ships, but with a Squadron, and those too of several Kinds; some Ships of Force, some Tenders, all well provided, and victualled for a long Voyage. Secondly, says he, the Ship's Company ought to be composed chiefly of good Seamen; whereas hitherto the Majority of the Crews of such Vessels have consisted of Soldiers, or of mere Land-men of some sort or other. He gives this Reason in Support of the Maxim he lays down: In such a Voyage, it is natural that both Sorts should decrease; but the Consequence is, by no means, equal: For, if there be Seamen enough left, they can always fight; but, let there be ever so many Land-men, they cannot work the Ship in Time of Danger. His third Maxim is, that, some Months after fitting out the first Squadron, there should be another sent after them, which, as he observes, would prevent the bad Effects of the Scurvy, and of corrupt Provisions, since it would give an Opportunity of shifting Crews, and prevent either Squadron remaining too long at Sea without a convenient Supply. In the fourth Place, he says, that, as it is impossible to foresee the Accidents that may happen in a Voyage, a certain Place of Rendezvous should be fixed before the first Squadron sails, and the Captain of each Vessel strictly enjoined to repair thither, and continue there for a certain Time, in order to wait for his Consorts. The last Rule he lays down is this, that whoever is trusted with the chief Command of such an Expedition, should not be limited or restrained by his Commission, but that much should be left to his Discretion; because otherwise he will either be at a Loss when to follow what the Circumstances of the Voyage direct, and when to adhere to his Orders; or else, for his own Security, he will only consider the latter: Whereas the Success of the Design must always depend on his judging and acting rightly with regard to the former. In all Probability, the true Reason, why none of the Princes of *Europe* have hitherto undertaken any thing in this Affair, as if they were in Earnest, is, that they all wait till some one shall begin, who having opened a Way at his own Expence, they may be able to follow him with more Certainty, and less Danger: Yet what Reason is there, in this Case, to hope, that the first Discoverer should be less tenacious of his Rights, than the *French* are of theirs in *Canada*, the *Spaniards* in *Peru*, the *Portuguese* in *Brazil*, the *English* in *Virginia*, and the *Dutch* at the *Moluccas*? The Law of Nations gives an exclusive Right of Trade to the first Discoverer; and an Attempt to violate this would be considered as an open Rupture. The great Point then is to be the first Discoverer, the lawful Lord and Proprietor of this new Trade; which must very

soon render the Power possessed of it, if properly managed, the most considerable Maritime Power in *Europe*.

16. When the *Dutch* Commodore quitted the Island of *Recreation*, he steered a North-west Course, pursuant to the Resolution of the last Council, in order to attain the Height of *New Britain*. The third Day after they sailed, they discovered in the Latitude of 12° South, and in the Longitude of 290° , several Islands, which appeared very beautiful at a Distance; and, as they came nearer, they plainly discerned, that they were well planted with Fruit-trees of all Sorts; that the Country produced Herbs, Corn, and Roots, in great plenty, laid out, towards the Coast, in large and regular Plantations. As soon as the Inhabitants discerned the Ships, they came in their Boats, and brought them Fifth, Cocoa-nuts, *Indian* Figs, and other Refreshments; in Return for which, the *Dutch* gave them, as usual, small Looking-glasses, Strings of Beads, and other Trifles.

It quickly appeared, that these Islands were very fully peopled, since many Thousands of Men and Women, the former, generally speaking, armed with Bows and Arrows, came down to the Shore to look at them. They saw, amongst the rest, a very majestic Personage, whom, from the Dress he wore, and the Honours that were paid him, they easily discovered to be the Prince or Sovereign of this Nation. He presently stepped into his Canoe, accompanied by a fair young Woman, who sat close by his Side. His Canoe was immediately surrounded by a vast Number of other Vessels, that crowded about it, and seemed intended for a Guard. All the Inhabitants of these Islands were white, and differed nothing in their Complexion from *Europeans*, except that they were a little sun-burnt. They seemed to be a very harmless good sort of People, very brisk and lively, treating each other with visible Marks of Civility, and discovering nothing that was wild or savage in their Behaviour. Their Bodies were not painted like those of the other *Indians* they had seen, but very handsomely clothed from the Girdle downwards with a sort of Silk Fringes, very neatly folded. On their Heads they wore Hats of a very neat kind of Stuff, and very large, to keep off the Sun; and, about their Necks, they wore Collars of very beautiful and odorous Flowers. The Country itself appeared exquisitely charming, every one of the Islands being agreeably diversified with Hills and Valleys, as lovely as Imagination can paint. Some of them were ten, some fifteen, and some again twenty Miles in Compass. They thought fit to call them *Bowman's Islands*, after the Captain of the *Tienboven*, who first discovered them. It appeared, that each Family or Tribe had its particular District, and composed of separate Governments, all of them being laid out into fair regular Plantations, after the same manner with those of the Island of *Pajib* before described. Our Author says, that it is a Point of Justice due to these Islanders to acknowledge, that they were, in all respects, the most civilized and best disposed People they met with in the South Seas. Instead of shewing any Terrors or Apprehensions at their Arrival, they expressed the utmost Joy and Satisfaction, treated them with a Kindness and Respect not to be described, and manifested the most sincere and most deep Concern, when they perceived, that, in spite of all their officious Diligence, these New-comers were not like to stay amongst them.

It seems the *Dutch* themselves felt many of them a like Concern, and would have been extremely well pleased to have made a longer Stay in so plentiful a Country, and among so kind a People; the rather because it was mostly certain, that, by the Help of the vast abundance of good Provisions, with which these Islanders willingly furnished them, all their sick People, in a Month's time, would have perfectly recovered. Add to all this, that these Islands had one Convenience superior to those they had before met with; viz. that there was exceeding good Anchorages along their Coasts, where they rode in fifteen or twenty Fathom Water in the greatest Safety. So many advantageous Circumstances ought certainly to have prevailed on the Commodore, and his Officers, to have remained there; but their Heads were so full of an *East India* Voyage, and they were so extremely fearful of missing the *East Monsoon*, that

they could not be brought, by any means, so much as to hear of that Proposal: Yet this unlucky Precaution of theirs, which hindered them from viewing these Islands, was built upon a false Foundation, since, as they afterwards discovered to their Cost, they were two Months too early, instead of two Months too late, for that Trade-wind, in hopes of meeting with which, they had abandoned a Discovery, that would, in all human Probability, have amply rewarded their past Pains and Labour; and, which was full worse, by this indiscreet and hasty Departure, they sacrificed the Health and Strength of their Crew to such a Degree, that they found themselves so weakened, as to be scarce in a Condition to navigate their Ships; which once put them on thinking of a very desperate and dangerous Expedient, *viz.* that of burning one Vessel, in order, with less Difficulty, to manage the other. All such Inconveniences had been avoided, if, embracing this Opportunity, offered them by the Favour of Divine Providence, they had been content to stay in a Place of Safety, Plenty, and Pleasure, till their sick People had recovered, instead of wilfully seeking new Dangers, with which they were so little able to encounter.

17. Weighing from *Bezuman's Islands*, they continued their Course towards the North-west, which gained them, the next Morning, the Sight of two Islands; which they took to be the Island of *Cocos*, and *Traitors Island*, so called by *William Schooten*, by whom they were discovered. Captain *Bezuman* would very willingly have approached them more nearly; but the Commodore would not permit him. The Island of *Cocos*, at the Distance they saw it, seemed very high Land, and about eight Leagues in Compass. The other appeared to be much lower, the Soil red, and without Trees. This last Island, they believed, lay in the Latitude of 11° South; but our Author ingenuously owns, that they failed at too great a Distance to be able to give any good Account of them. They soon after saw two other Islands of very large Extent, one of which they called *Tienboorn*, and the other *Groningen*; which last, many of their Officers were clearly of Opinion, was no Island, but the great South Continent they were sent to discover; with respect to which, however, our Author suspends his Judgment, because the Proofs on neither Side seemed to him convincing. As for the Island of *Tienboorn*, it appeared to be a rich and beautiful Country, moderately high, the Meadows exceedingly green, and within-land adorned with Trees. They coasted along the Shore for a whole Day, without coming to the End of it. They observed, however, that it extended in the Form of a Semicircle towards the Island of *Groningen*; so that, after all, it is very probable, that these two Countries, that were at first taken for Islands, may, in Reality, be Lands contiguous to each other, and both of them Parts of the *Terra Australis incognita*: Yet our Author acknowledges they found, in that Neighbourhood, Islands of 150 Miles in Circumference; which agrees very well with the Account given by *Dampier*, who affirms, that he found a Strait between *New Guinea* and *New Britain*; and, if so, this must be considered as an Island. A great Part of the Company were for anchoring on the Coast, and making a Descent; but that was now become a very disagreeable Motion; and, to be rid of it the more easily at present, the Officers, who were so fond of going to the *East Indies*, suggested, that it must, at this time, be attended with great Danger, since, if the Party landing was cut off, they should not then have Men enough left to carry their Ships home.

They were obliged therefore to continue their Course, how disagreeable soever that Measure might be to the Majority of the Company, who, as they came out to make Discoveries, were unwilling to go home with imperfect Stories. It was not now doubted but that they should very soon see the Coasts of *New Guinea*, or of *New Britain*; but, after sailing for many Days without seeing any Land at all, they began to be satisfied of the Vanity of these Calculations; but, at the same time, could not help murmuring a little at their Effects, which were very dreadful, since the Scurvy began to carry off three, four or five of their best Hands every Day: So that, though they had already recovered three Ships Companies to two, they more than once deliberated, whether it might not be expedient to burn one

of the remaining Vessels; and the only Argument that restrained them from doing it was, that, in case any Accident befel one, there was still a Possibility left of escaping with the other. There cannot be any thing more terrible than the Account our Author gives of the Miseries they endured; but, at the same time, it is too curious, and too important, to be omitted.

At this time, says he, there was nothing to be seen on board but sick People, struggling with inexpressible Pains, and dead Carcasses, that were just released from them, and from which arose so intolerable a Smell, that such as yet remained hard were not able to endure, but frequently swooned with it. Cries and Groans were perpetually ringing in their Ears; and the very Sight of the People moving about was sufficient to excite at once Terror and Compassion; for some of them were such perfect Skeletons, that their Skins seemed to cleave to their Bones, in which sad Circumstances they had this Consolation, that they felt no Pain, but consumed and extinguished like the Snuff of a Candle. Others, again, were swelled and puffed up to a monstrous Size, and were tormented with such violent Pains, as threw them frequently into a furious kind of Madness. Others were worn away by the Dysentery, and bloody Stools, while many suffered the most excruciating Pains from the Rheumatism; and others dragged their dead Limbs after them, the Feeling of which had been taken away by the Palsy. To all these Diseases of the Body, there were likewise added many Distempers of the Mind: An Arabaptist of about twenty-five Years old cried, without ceasing, for twenty-four Hours before he died, *Baptize me! baptize me!* When the Captain was told of it, he answered in a very quick Tone, *If he had a mind to have passed through that Ceremony, he should have thought of it before he embarked*; adding with a Sneeze, *The Fellow knows well enough we have no Parsons here.* When the poor Man was told this, he remained quiet, and died with great Resignation. There were two Papists on board, the one a *French*, the other a *Dutchman*, who gave what little Money they had to their Friends, beseeching them, that, if ever they returned to *Holland*, they would lay it out in procuring a certain Number of Masses to be said for the Repose of their Souls, to the Honour of *St. Anthony of Padua*. But they were not all of so religious a Disposition; on the contrary, many of them would not hear any thing that had the least Savour of Religion, for some time before they expired. Our Author assures us, that he saw some, who neither eat nor drank for four-and-twenty Days before they died; and some, again, were carried off so suddenly, that, in the midst of their Discourse, they stopped short, and were found to be dead. All these different Kinds of Sickneses our Author attributes chiefly to their bad Provisions, their salt Meats being corrupted, their bread full of Maggots, and their Water stinking to an intolerable Degree. In such Circumstances as these, Medicines, at the most, could only defer Death, but could never work a Cure. The only effectual Remedy was fresh Meat, Herbs, and Water. Even such as were reputed in Health were low, weak, and much afflicted with the Scurvy. Our Author tells us, that tho' he was as well as any body, yet he had the Scurvy to such a degree, that his Teeth were all loose, his Gums torn and inflamed, and his Body covered with Spots of different Colours. At last, however, it pleased God to put a Period to their Miseries, by giving them a Sight of the Coast of *New Britain*, the Joy of which filled their Sick with new Spirits, and encouraged such as were able to move, to hope they might yet return to their native Country; whereas, if they had been obliged to continue many Days longer at Sea, they must certainly have perished, as well through Despair, as through the many Miseries they suffered, of which tho' he has given us a long and melancholy Account, he yet assures us, that it is but a faint Description, and falls very far short in expressing the manifold Distresses to which they were exposed.

18. The Country of *New Britain*, as well as the rest of the Islands in its Neighbourhood, is very high Land, many of the Mountains hiding themselves in the Clouds; but, for the Sea-coasts, they are equally fertile and pleasant, the Meadows wearing a perpetual Verdure, and the Hills being covered with various Sorts of Fruit-trees. It lies in the Latitude

tude of between 4° and 7° South; so that, in point of Situation and Appearance, there could not any Country promise more, than this did. The *Dutch*, therefore, after some Consultation, resolved, at all Events, to go on shore, tho' there certainly were some very strong Arguments against it; for they were now weakened to such a degree, that they could scarce, out of both Ships, spare Men enough to man a Boat, and leave a sufficient Number to navigate one Ship, supposing that they should consent to give up all Hopes of carrying home the other; but the Passions of the Ships Companies were so strong for going on shore, and their Necessities so great, that, on the Whole, it appeared absolutely requisite to venture a Descent, let the Consequences of it be what they would.

Accordingly, our Author was ordered into the Shallop, with a certain Number of Men, with Instructions to go on shore at any rate, by fair Means, if possible, and with the Consent of the Inhabitants, for whom they carried a great Quantity of Trifles by way of Present; but, if this had no Effect, then they were to make use of Force, since the Circumstances they were under made it as eligible to die by the Hands of Barbarians, as to perish piece-meal through Want and Diseases. The nearer they drew to the Coast, the more they were pleased with it, since it gave them a View, and that a very near one, of all the Refreshments they could wish for. The Inhabitants also came down in Crowds; but not in a Manner that added at all to their Satisfaction: For they were well armed with Bows, Arrows, and Slings, demonstrating sufficiently by their Gestures, that they were not at all pleased with these New-comers; and that they did not intend, by any means, to let them land peaceably. As the Shallop drew nearer the Shore, the Inhabitants threw themselves into a frantic Despair, made frightful Faces, howled, tore their Hair, and, as it they had borrowed Courage from the quick Sense of their Distress, hurried off in their Canoes, in order to meet that Danger, which they saw was unavoidable.

19. The *Dutch* continued to make the best of their Way towards the Land; which when the *Indians* saw, they discharged a Flight of Arrows, which was followed by the Javelins they had in their Hands. This was succeeded by a prodigious Shower of Stones, discharged from their Slings; and as there needed no more to convince the *Dutch*, that they had nothing to trust to but Force, they fired upon them without ceasing; and this with such Effect, that many of them were killed, and the rest terrified to such a degree, that many of them threw themselves out of their Canoes into the Water, and the rest were at last obliged to follow their Example; for such was their Confusion, that they were no longer able to distinguish the proper Channels, by which they might safely have returned with their Canoes, but ran them on the Rocks and Shoals that lay before their Coasts. This almost took from the *Dutch* all Hopes of following them; and, while they were thus embarrassed, there arose a most violent Storm, of that Kind which the *Dutch* Seamen style a *Traffat*, and which commonly springs in the midst of a Calm, when the Air is perfectly clear and serene; and, by its Violence, frequently brings the Masts by the board, and carries the Sails into the Air, if they are not furl'd in an Instant. This Storm forced the Ships out to Sea, and left the poor People in their Shallop, without Relief, and almost without Hope. They ran suddenly on a Bank of Sand, where they were beaten with such Violence by the Winds and Waves, that there seemed to be no Means of Safety left; but, as Despair usually gives Men Spirits and Strength beyond what they have at other times, they had the good Fortune to drag their Vessel safe to Land, where, by the Favour of Divine Providence, all of them got on shore, fatigued indeed to the last Degree, but without any other Hurt.

The first thing they did was, to endeavour to find out some Place of Retreat, where they might be safe from any sudden Attack of their Enemies; but, before such a Place could be found, the Night drew on, and they were forced to content themselves with getting together, where they were, as many Pieces of Wood, and broken Branches of Trees, as possible, in order to dry and warm themselves. When they had, by this means, made a pretty good Fire, their Spirits began to revive, and they set out to look

about them. The Light of the Fire enabled them to discover several Cabins and Huts in the Neighbourhood of the Place where they had taken up their Abode; nor was it long before they went to examine what these contained; but without finding any of the Inhabitants; and as for Utensils or household Goods, they had none. All that the *Dutch* met with, worth taking away, were a few Nets, curiously wrought. They saw likewise abundance of Cocoa-trees; but, as they had brought no Hatchets, they were not able to come at any Fruit, and had consequently a very comfortable Night, during which they were perpetually disturbed by the frightful Noise, that the Inhabitants made in the Woods, whence they naturally apprehended they were every Moment coming to attack them.

20. This Country appears to be exceeding fertile, especially in all sorts of Fruits. The Mountains, that are very high, promise Mines of all kinds, since there are hardly any Countries in this Climate, the Mountains of which do not produce Metals. As for the Inhabitants, they are a tall well-made People, perfect Mulattoes in point of Complexion, with long black Hair, that curls down to their Waists. They are extremely vigorous and nimble, and so dextrous in the Use of their Arms, that no Doubt can be made of their living in a perpetual State of Warfare. It has been long questioned, even with the most experienced Navigators, whether this Land ought to be accounted a Continent, or an Island; and perhaps the Point is not yet clear, since the Discoveries made by these *Dutchmen* are, in that respect, very inconsiderable. The Islands near the Coast are, in a manner, numberless; so that it was with great Difficulty that they obtained a Passage through them. It may not be amiss here to observe, that this Account agrees exactly with that of *Dampier*; so that I make no Question, that the Place, where our Author landed, was the same to which *Dampier* gave the Name of *Slings Bay*, from the Degeneracy of the Inhabitants in the Management of that Instrument.

But I do not think, that either his ill Success, or their ought to hinder the Prosecution of so important a Discovery, since it is certainly very possible for Ships to reach this Country, without meeting with their Misfortunes. The Coast of *New Britain* is now very well known from their Accounts, and so accurately laid down in our Charts, that there is no sort of Danger of an able Seaman's missing them; and, if a small Squadron failed from hence directly for that Coast, there is all the Probability in the World, that we should very soon be Masters of a Country, little, if at all, inferior to the *Dutch* Spice Islands. As for our *Dutch* Discoverers, they no sooner heard the Signal made by their Ships, which was a little after Midnight, than they hastened on board; and the next Morning they sailed, making their Way as well as they could through that numerous Archipelago before-mentioned. The Misfortunes that had befallen them on shore made such an Impression, that they called this Part of the Country *Stormland*: Yet they immediately resolved to venture on a Descent the next Opportunity that offered, since they had not ten Men in both Vessels, that were in perfect Health; and their Stockfish, upon which they had lived for some time past, was now so full of Worms, and stunk to such a degree, that, instead of eating, they could not come near it. The Officers could not now pacify the Men with Stories of the *East Indies*; for they declared absolutely, that any Death on shore would be more welcome, than living longer at Sea in such a Condition. And in this Situation they were, when they arrived in the Height of 2° South Latitude, where they expected to find the Islands of *Moa* and *Arimoa*, discovered by *Schooten*.

21. They had Reason to commend the Care and Exactness of that able Seaman, since they quickly discovered both those Islands, and immediately resolved to attempt getting some Relief from *Arimoa*, which is the biggest of the two. The Inhabitants no sooner saw them approach, than they came out to meet them in their Canoes; of which they had a prodigious Number. These People were all armed with Bows and Arrows, even their Women and Children. They brought with them Cocoa-nuts, *Indian* Figs, various kinds of Roots, and other Refreshments; and rowed directly on board the Ships, without the least Sign of Fear or Disturbance. The *Dutch* offered them such a kind of Trifles as they had

on board, by way of Present; which they received kindly: But, when they shewed them more of these, and gave them to understand, that they were that sort of Merchandize, which they intended to barter with them for Refreshments, they contented themselves with turning them over, and looking at them, without expressing any Intention to deal. They returned, however, the next Day, with great Quantities of the same kind of Things they had brought before, when the *Dutch* endeavoured to persuade them to bring some Hogs on board; but, as they conversed only by Signs, the *Indians* mistook them so far, as to bring them the next Day two or three Dogs; which proved an inexpressible Disappointment. Our Author was, at this time, again in a very bad State of Health; but the Refreshments procured from the Island of *Arimoa* had so good an Effect, that, in a little time, he found himself much better; and assures us, that, if he could but have had Liberty to have gone on shore for two or three Days, he should have found himself perfectly recovered. The Islanders did all that in their Power lay to persuade them to take this Step, and never came on board without inviting them on shore; but, inasmuch as they were now extremely weakened, and, for some Days before their Arrival, had thrown over-board regularly four or five of their People a Day, it was thought too great an Hazard to run, the rather, says our Author, because, in the midst of all their Civilities, there was something in the Air, the Look, and the Language, of these People, that seemed to favour of Perfidy: But he afterwards feels to assign a better Reason for this Precaution; for he tells us, that the Island of *Arimoa* was extremely populous; which might well render them afraid of venturing ashore.

They observed, however, that as soon as these Islanders went on board their Vessels, they took in their Hands a Stick, with a Piece of some white Stuff fixed to it; which they guessed to be in the nature of a Flag of Truce; and from thence, very probably, conjectured, that they were in continual War with some Nation or other, most likely with their Neighbours the Inhabitants of the Island of *Moa*; in which Conjecture they were soon confirmed, when they observed, that none of their Canoes ever went ashore on that Island, but, on the contrary, passed it with visible Precipitation. These Remarks furnished them with a new Scheme for acquiring speedily a considerable Stock of Provisions: They were satisfied, that the Island of *Moa* was but thinly peopled, tho' as pleasant and fertile as the other; and this engaged them to attempt, by a sudden Descent upon that Island, to carry off at once what might enable them to prosecute their Voyage, without Danger of falling into the Distresses, which they had so lately endured. This Project was very bold in itself, and required a great deal of Prudence in the Conduct of it: It was therefore thought expedient to land in different Places; but at the same time Orders were given, that one Party only should advance into the Country, and that the others should join as soon as possible, in order to be at hand to support them. This Scheme they carried into Execution as happily as they could wish; for though, as soon as they began to fell the Cocoa-trees, the *Indians*, who lay in Ambuscade behind the Bushes, discharged a Shower of Arrows at them, yet they were so fortunate as to escape unhurt; whereas the Discharge of their Small-arms laid abundance of the Natives dead on the Ground; which so frightened the rest, that they took Shelter immediately in their Canoes, and afterwards endeavoured, by Cries and Shouts, to alarm the rest of their Countrymen, and bring them to their Assistance: But it was in vain; for the *Dutch* had posted themselves so judiciously, as to be able to attack them in Flank and Rear, in case they had descended from their Mountains. However, as they remained on shore, the *Dutch* had Time given them to bring away 800 Cocoa-nuts; with which Boory they returned safe on board their Shallops, and soon after rejoined their Ships, very well satisfied with their Expedition.

The Cocoa-tree is a Species of the Palm, which grows in most Places in the *East* and *West Indies*. It is large, straight, and grows narrow insensibly from the Bottom to the Top. The fruit hangs to the Trunk by Bunches, united by a Tendril, not unlike the Twig of a Vine, but stronger. Its Flowers are yellow, like those of the Chestnut. The Threads or Branches hang up towards the Top. As it bears Bunches

of Fruit every Month, there are always some full ripe, others green, and some just beginning to button. The Fruit is triangular, of a greenish Hue, and of different Bigness; viz. from that of an ordinary Ball, to the Size of a Man's Head. It is covered with two Rinds, the outer composed of long, tough Threads, of a Colour between red and yellow; the second Shell is as hard as a Man's Skull. Within these there is a thick, firm, white Substance, which, in Taste, resembles a sweet Almond. The Inhabitants of the Countries, where these Trees grow, eat them with their Viscerals, as we do Bread; and draw, by pressing, a Liquor, which, in Taste and Consistence, resembles Almond-milk. This Milk, being exposed to the Fire, changes into a kind of Oil, which they use, as we do Butter, in their Sauces, and also in their Lamps. They likewise use it medicinally, and often rub their Bodies with it. Besides this white Substance, that is found in the Nut, there is, in the Middle of it, a considerable Quantity of a clear, bright, cool Liquor, which, in Taste, resembles sugared Water. They draw likewise from the Tree itself a Liquor, which the *Indians* call *Sura*. This is what the *Europeans* style Palm-wine. It is of a very agreeable Taste, and sells but little short of *Spanish* white Wine, except in keeping; for, in about two Days time, it turns sour. They then expose it to the Sun, and, by this Method, render it excellent Vinegar. As the *Sura* is very strong and heady, they, generally speaking, temper it with that fresh clear Water, which is drawn from the Nut. In order to extract this Wine, they cut one of the largest Twigs at the Distance of about a Foot from the Tree, and hang to it either a Bottle, or a Calabash. This Wine, when boiled, produces another, which the Natives call *Orragua*, and, by distilling it, they acquire a strong Water or Spirit, which they style *Arac*, and which many People prefer to that of the same Name made in the *East Indies*, and which is so well known, and so much esteemed, in *Europe*.

They found in this Island likewise a vast plenty of Pomegranates of a most excellent Taste, as well as Pisans, or *Indian* Figs, which have been before described. These Refreshments were of prodigious Service to them; and our Author declares, that, without them, the Whole of both Ships Companies must have infallibly perished. They were no sooner on board their Vessels, than they began to make the necessary Preparations for quitting that Place. While they were doing this, the Islanders from *Moa* came off in about 200 Canoes, all laden with Provisions of different Kinds, which they exchanged with them for various Sorts of Merchandize. This the *Dutch* understood as intended purely to prevent a second Descent; and therefore, though they received them kindly, and treated them fairly in the Purchase of their Cargo, yet they suffered only a few of them to enter their Ships; and, when they attempted to rush on board by Crowds, they fired upon them; upon which they all ducked their Heads, and, as soon as they had raised them up again, broke out into a loud Laugh. The Exchange was no sooner over, than they weighed Anchor, and parted with their *Indians* in pretty good Terms. One thing, our Author remarks, as very singular; viz. that, while they remained here, such of their Sick, as had any Strength left, recovered wonderfully; and such as were quite exhausted, died.

22. After leaving the Islands of *Moa* and *Arimoa*, they continued their Voyage through a Sea so very full of Islands, that, finding it difficult, if not impossible, to count them, they contented themselves with imposing on them the general Name of *Thousand Islands*. The Inhabitants of these Countries were Negroes, of a short squat Make, and their Heads covered with thick curled Wool. They were a bold, mischievous, intractable Race of Savages. They went all naked, Men, Women, and Children, having no other Ornament than a kind of Belt, about two Fingers broad, composed of Teeth; and they likewise wore Bracelets of the same. Some of them wore on their Heads light Straw Hats, mingled with the Feathers of the Birds of Paradise. It is said, that these Birds are found nowhere but in these Islands. There are indeed some, that go under the same Name, found on the Coast of *Spain*; but they differ very much from these in their Plumage. Such of these Islands as are situated near the West Point of the Continent of *New Guinea*,

we, are still called the *Ilands of Popoes*, as the Continent itself was called the *Land of Popoes*, before *Schouten* imposed that upon it which it now bears, to which he was principally induced, by it lying in the same Latitude with *Old Guiney*.

Whenever the Inhabitants of those *Ilands* go to *Ternate*, *Banda*, *Ambeyan*, or any of the *Moluccas*, in order to expose to Sale their Merchandizes, such as salt Pork, Amber, Gold-dust, &c. they likewise carry with them some of these Birds of Paradise. They constantly sell them dead, affirming, that they always find them so, and that they are absolutely ignorant whence they come, or where they breed. Thus much is certain, that this Bird is always seen very high in the Air. It is extremely light, inasmuch as it consists chiefly of Feathers, which are excessively beautiful, and render it one of the greatest Curiosities in the World. The Plumage of its Head are as bright as Gold; those of its Neck resemble a Drake's, and those of its Tail and Wings are very like a Peacock's. As to the rest, in its Beak and Form it comes nearest to a Swallow, except that it is somewhat bigger. Such as deal in them would persuade Strangers, that they have no Feet, and that, when they sleep, they hang themselves by their Feathers to the Branch of a Tree; but the Truth of the Matter is, that these Traders cut them off, in order to render their Birds more wonderful. They likewise tell another pretty Tale to heighten the Value of their Birds; which is this, that the Male has a Cavity in his Back, where the Female lodges her Young, till they are able to fly. To give a greater Appearance of Truth to these strange Stories, they cut off the Legs so close to the Body, that, when the Flesh begins to dry, the Skin and the Feathers unite so perfectly, that it is simply impossible to perceive the least Scar. They likewise assert, that these Birds are continually flying; that they live by the Birds and other Insects they catch in the Air. The Feathers of the Male are brighter, and more beautiful, than those of the Female. In the Eastern Languages this Bird is generally called *Mawcodiata*, that is to say, the Bird of God. There are a great many of them sent to *Batavia*, where, generally speaking, they are sold for three Crowns apiece. The *Moors*, the *Arabians*, and the *Persians*, esteem them mightily. They make use of their Feathers to adorn their Saddles and Horse-furniture; and, to heighten their Lustre, they intermingle them with Pearls and Diamonds. They wear them likewise in their Turbans, more especially when they go to War, from a superstitious Notion, that they are a kind of Charm, capable of securing them from Wounds. The Shah and the Great Mogul thought it formerly the highest Mark of their Esteem to present any of their Favourites with one of these Birds.

The Inhabitants of the *Thousand Ilands*, besides their Girdle, have another Ornament, which consists in a Bit of Stick, of the Size of a Tobacco-pipe, and of the Length of one's Finger, which they run through the Gristle of their Noses, which they look upon as a means of making them appear fierce and terrible to their Enemies; in which they resemble some *Europeans*, who, for the same Reason, are equally fond of *Mustaches*. These Islanders, our Author assures us, were the very worst People they met with in the South Seas. As to the neighbouring Continent of *New Guiney*, it appeared to them a very high Country, extremely full of Plants and Trees, so that, in sailing 400 Leagues along the Coast, they did not observe one barren Spot; whence our Author thinks it extremely probable, that this Country abounds with many precious Commodities, such as rich Metals, Spices, &c. the rather, because hitherto none of the Countries, discovered in that Parallel, are deficient in these sorts of Riches. He adds, that Persons worthy of Credit assured him, that some of the free Burgeses in the *Moluccas* go annually to *New Guiney*, and there exchange small Pieces of Iron for Nutmegs. *Schouten*, and other Navigators, have conceived very high Ideas of this Country, and have represented it as one of the richest and finest in the World: But they were not able to penetrate far into it; neither is it to be expected, that this should ever be done with a small Force, since it is extremely populous, the People of a very martial Disposition, and, generally speaking, well-armed.

The Officers of the *Dutch Squadron* were at this time under some Doubts, whether they should continue their

Course as *Dampier* did, or whether they should pass by the *Ilands of Ternate*, *Tidore*, and *Bacan*, as the left dangerous Passage. To gain Time, however, they made Choice of the first, because otherwise they must have coasted round the *Ilands* last-mentioned, in order to come at the *Moluccas*. These three *Ilands* of *Ternate*, *Tidore*, and *Bacan*, are each of them governed by its respective Monarch. The *Dutch East India Company* allow each of these Princes a kind of annual Tribute, on condition that they cut up by the Roots all the Spice-trees that grow in their Dominions. The rest of the Kings of the *Moluccas*, to the Number of one hundred, are all dependent upon these three great Princes. It is said, that, from these *Ilands*, the three *Magi*, or wise Men of the *East*, of whom the Scripture speaks, went to *Jerusalem*, and thence to *Bethlehem*, there to adore the Infant *Jesus*: And they farther assure us, that all the little Princes of the *Moluccas* were antiently famous for their Skill in Astronomy; in which Art, they followed principally the *Greeks* laid down by the *Egyptians*; and it is farther said, that some Monuments, some Remembrance, of this Fact are still preserved in their old Books; the Leaves of which were made of Barks of Trees.

On the Feast of the *Holy Epiphany*, the *Dutch Sailors* carry a Star, by way of Compliment, to these three Kings; who, in Return, make them very valuable Presents, and treat them very splendidly. But as, on the one hand, this is a very superstitious Custom in its Nature, so it is no less scandalous on the other, from the Manner in which it is performed, as resembling much more a Pagan Revel, than a Christian Feast. The King of *Ternate* has embraced the Christian Religion; but the other two Princes are still Pagans. Our Author adds, that some *Malayan* Priests, who had studied at *Meccha*, assured him, they had seen in the Library of that City a Chronicle, in which mention is made of the three Kings of the *Moluccas*, and in which it is expressly said, these three Kings, many Years ago, made a Voyage by the Way of *Arabia* to *Judea*, on account of an extraordinary and miraculous Appearance in the Heavens; and that, some time after, they returned all three safely to their own Dominions. The Author submits this Story to the Reader's Judgment, to which I also recommend the following Memorial relating to the State of the Spice *Ilands*, at the Time they fell into the Hands of the *Dutch*.

As to the *Iland of Banda*, the Country is very hilly, and yet fruitful as well as populous. The Government is a kind of a Commonwealth, in which the Affairs are managed by Mohammedan Clergy, who are mighty itself and severe. There are not, in the whole *Iland*, above 12,000 Souls, and about 4000 fighting Men. The People of this Country live to a great Age. The *Dutch*, when they first came, saw a Man that was 130 Years old, and several above 100 Years of Age. The Men are always walking Abroad, and the Women at Home at work; for, besides the Household-work, they employ themselves in drying of Nutmegs, and shelling them. This admirable Fruit, which is so much valued, grows in no Place in the World, that we know of, but in the *Iland of Banda*, and in a few other small neighbouring *Ilands*, namely, *Orattan*, *Gamanassa*, *Wayer*, *Pulo Wai*, and *Pulo Rien*. This Tree bears three times in the Year, viz. in *April*, *August*, and *December*: *April* Nutmegs are the best; and the Crop in that Month is more plentiful than in the other two. This Tree is much like a Peach-tree, only the Leaves are shorter and rounder; the Fruit is at first covered with a thick Shell, like a Walnut-shell; when it ripens, that Shell, growing ripe, opens itself; and then you see a fine smooth Skin, or Peel, which covers the Nutmeg; and that Skin is the Flower of it, or Mace; next to that thin Skin you find another, which is harder and blackish, and much like Walnut-shells; and, when you open this large Shell, you see the Nutmeg. Mace is at first of a fine scarlet colour; but, when it is ripe, it falls off the Shell, and assumes an Orange colour, as you see it here in *Europe*. They preserve whole Nutmegs with Sugar, which makes the best Sweetmeats in the *Indies*, and are much esteemed. The Inhabitants of *Banda* call Nutmegs *Palla*, and Mace *Basa Palla*: There are two Sorts of Nutmegs; some are long, and are called Males; others round and reddish, which have a

better Taste than the former, and are stiled *Malis*. No Fruit in the World is better to strengthen the Brain, and the Memory, to warm the Stomach, to sweeten the Breath, and provoke Urine. It is a sovereign Remedy against Wind, Looseness, Head-ach, Pain of the Stomach, Heat of the Liver, and Stoppage of the Womb. Oil of Nutmegs is an admirable cordial Medicine. Mace is an effectual Remedy against the Weakness of the Stomach; it helps Digestion, confirms ill Humours, and drives out the Wind: It keeps above nine Years good. A Plaister made with Mace and Nutmegs beaten to Powder, diluted with Rose-water, and applied to the Stomach, strengthens it mightily. As this precious Fruit is peculiar to this Isle of *Banda*, and the adjacent Islands, the Merchants of *Java*, *Malacca*, *Cbina*, and from all the Parts of the *Indies*, come to *Nera*, and other Towns of *Banda*, to buy Nutmegs and Mace. As soon as these Merchants are arrived in the Island, they buy a Wife to keep their House, and dress their Victuals, as long as they remain there, which may be two or three Months; and, when they go away into their own Country again, they give the Liberty to their Wife to go where she pleases. This may appear a very strange, and even incredible Custom; but whoever is acquainted with the *East Indies*, will be satisfied as to the Truth of it, since the same Custom prevails in some other Places.

As to the next valuable and admired Spice to the Nutmegs, viz. Cloves, we know not what immense Sums the People of *Holland* make of this profitable Fruit, which are so much esteemed throughout *Europe*, and for which the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* struggled so long, and to so little Purpose. This valuable and noble Spice grows nowhere else but in the Island of *Ambonina*, and the *Molucca* Islands, which are five in Number, and the Islands of *Macao*, *Cinemo*, *Cabel*, and *Marigeran*. The *Indians* call Cloves *Calagar*, and the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas* call them *Cheke*. The Trees which bear Cloves, are much like our Laurel-trees; only the Leaves of the Cloves are a little narrower, and resemble the Leaves of Almond and Willow-trees. The very Wood and Leaves taste as strong as the Cloves themselves. These Trees bear a great Quantity of Branches and Flowers, and each Flower brings forth a Clove. The Flowers are at first white, then green, at last they grow red, and pretty hard, and are properly the Cloves. While they are green, they have a small sweet, and so comfortable, that it is beyond all the smells in the World. When they are dry, they are of a yellow Colour; but, when gathered, they assume a mosky black. They don't gather them one by one, as they do other Fruit; but they tie a Rope to the Bough, and so strip it off by Force. That hurts the Tree for the next Year, but the Year after it bears a great deal more. Others beat the Trees with long Poles, as we do Walnut-trees; and the Cloves fall down, and commonly the Tree bears more Fruit than Leaves. They grow with little Stalks, hanging on the Tree like Cherries; they fell them with these Stalks, Dirt and Dust together, to the *Indians*: But the Cloves that are transported to *Holland* are clean, and without Stalks. If you leave them on the Tree without gathering them, they grow thick, and are called the Mother of Cloves. The *Javanese* value these more than others; but the *Dutch* chuse rather to buy the least.

They never trouble themselves to plant clove-trees; for the Cloves that fall on the Ground produce enough of them, and the Rain makes them grow so fast, that they bear Fruit when they are eight Years old, and continue bearing for above 100 Years. Some are of Opinion, that clove-trees do not grow well on the Sea-side, or when they are too far from the Sea: But many Seamen, who have been in the Island, assure me, that they grow very well every-where, whether a great Way off the Sea, upon Mountains, in the Valleys, or near the Sea-side. They ripen from the latter End of *August*, to the Beginning of *January*. Nothing groweth about them, no Grains, Green, or Weed; for their Heat draws in all the Nourishment and Moisture of the Ground. Cloves themselves are very hot; if you lay a Sack of Cloves upon a Vessel full of Water, you will find, in a little while, some of the Water waisted, but the Cloves are not the worse for it. Leave a Pitcher full of Water, in a close Room where you clean Cloves,

and the Heat of the Air will consume all the Water in two Days time, though the Cloves are removed. *Cbina* Silk hath the same Virtue; for, if you lay it in a Room one or two Feet above the Ground, and water the Floor all over, provided the Water don't touch the Silk, the next Day the Silk will have sucked in all the Water. The *Indians* use that Trick to make the Silk heavier. They preserve Cloves in Sugar, and they are extraordinary good; they also pickle them; and many *Indian* Women chew Cloves to have a sweet Breath. They distil Clove-water out of them when they are green, which has an excellent Smell; the Water is admirable to strengthen the Sight, by pouring a Drop or two into the Eyes. Powder of Cloves, laid upon the Head, cures the Head-ach; if taken inwardly, it provokes Urine, helps Digestion, is good against a Looseness, and, drank in Milk, will procure Sleep.

As to the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, they are very lazy, and love so much their Ease and Pleasure, that they are seldom at Work; for their Slaves and Servants do all the Work: They live upon the great Quantities of Cloves that grow there; for they have no other Trade, and no Manufacture. They have no household Implements, but earthen Pots and Pans, and some Mats, upon which they sit and lie. Their Slaves build Houses of Timber and Rushes, with nothing else, not so much as a Nail in them: Their Cloaths are decent, and pretty well made, of light Stuffs, and cheap: But the Country is so hot, that they have no need of warm Cloaths to defend them from the Cold. The young Men wear upon their Head Pieces of Calico, made in Tresses, and woven in the Figure of a Crown; and, in the Holidays, they adorn them with Flowers. The Men perfume their Cloaths to please their Wives, of which they have as many as they please, and are so jealous of them, that they invite nobody into their Houses, and they never see them before they are married. The Women are of a middle Size; their Hair is tied up in Tresses about their Heads: They are of a pleasant and merry Humour; and, though they are kept very strict, they are very brisk, and not at all scrupulous; they spin Cotton, and weave Calicoes. The poorest Sort sell dry Fish, Fowls, Bananas, Sugar-canes, and other Commodities; in the Market, you seldom see any other Women abroad. The Inhabitants of the *Moluccas* are the best Soldiers of all the Islands; they scorn to fly before their Enemies, and will fight with great Courage: They think it a great Honour to die in Fight, and to resist their Enemies to the last Extremity. They have no Money; for all their Riches consist of Cloves, and with which they may purchase all Necessaries. Their Language is different from that of the other *Indians*, and they have the same Characters for Writing as the *Arabians*. So much at present for the Produce and Inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, at the Time when they fell under the *Dutch* Dominions. Hereafter we shall have Occasion, or rather be obliged, to resume the Subject, and speak of the same things again, as they now stand.

23. They steered their Course along-shore, and through an innumerable Chain of small Islands, that are extended between the West Point of *New Guinea*, and the Island of *Gilolo*. They made this Passage with the utmost Hazard, and saw, therefore, with a Joy mixed with Astonishment, the Island of *Bouro*, in the Latitude of 2° South, the most West in Country in which the *Dutch East India Company* maintain a Factory. This Island of *Bouro* is, for the most part, pretty high Land, and abounds every-where with Trees and Shrubs of various Kinds. As soon as they arrived upon the Coast, they were spoken with by a small Vessel, on board of which were two white Men, and several Negroes, who examined them very categorically, to whom they belonged, from whence they came, and whither they were going. To which they answered, that they came from the Coast of *New Guinea*, and were bound for *Batavia*; but very wisely concealed their belonging to the *West India Company*, because they knew, that the *East India Company* permitted no Vessels, but their own, to sail upon that Coast, and had even given Orders for attacking any strange Vessels that should appear there: Yet, in spite of these Precautions, the *English* sometimes find their Way through this Channel, to the Company's no small Displeasure, notwithstanding

withstanding they keep Ships cruising here in both the Monsoons, in order to preserve, what of all Things they most affect, their Monopoly of Spices. In former times, when they were not so strict, there is the greatest Reason in the World to believe, that the *English* found Ways and Means to share with them in this Trade by means of this Passage, since it is certain, that they carried large Quantities of Spices into *Europe*, while the *Dutch* never could divine whence they had it.

The Inhabitants of this Island told them, that they had abundance of Clove-trees grew in their Country, but that a Detachment of Soldiers, in the Service of the Company, came every Year, and grubbed them up, as they did in the rest of the *Molucca* Islands, because the Company thought *Ambony* produced sufficient for maintaining their Commerce. This Island of *Bouro* is about forty or fifty Leagues in Circumference; the Country is indifferently fertile, and the *Dutch* were formerly, in a great measure, Masters of it, having a very strong Fort there; of which, however, the Inhabitants, after a long Siege, made themselves Masters, and demolished it, after having put all the Garrison to the Sword. At present, therefore, the Company content themselves with sending an annual Detachment to root out the Clove-trees, for which the Natives receive some kind of Present. The two white Men who were on board the *Dutch* Bark, were the first Christians our Voyagers had seen in the Space of ten Months; that is, from the time they quitted the Coast of *Brazil*, to their Arrival here.

I cannot help observing in this Place, that if any Dependence can be had, either on what our own Discoverers say, or on what our Author asserts, as to the Produce of *New Guinea*, it seems to be an unaccountable Neglect in us not to establish a Colony there, since we should then infallibly share in the Spice Trade, without breaking in upon the *Dutch*; for, if the free Burgesses of *Ambony* can trade for Nutmegs with the Inhabitants of *New Guinea*, why may not we? The settling a Colony there, would give us the same Rights that the *Dutch* have in the *Moluccas*; though, I hope, we should never practise so tyrannical a Custom, as that of forcing People to destroy the Gifts of God, in order to enhance the Price of them, to enrich a particular Company, in a particular Nation; than which, there cannot be a plainer or a more direct Violation of the Laws of Nature; which, whatever some self-interested Writers may pretend, can never be justly superseded by the Politics of Man, on any Pretence whatever. If Force conveys a Right of depriving Mankind of Cloves, the same Force, in an higher Degree, might justify the depriving them of Fire, Air or Water.

They continued their Course through the neighbouring Islands, in order to reach the Coast of *Baton*, in hopes of meeting there with the Refreshments, of which they were now in extreme Necessity. In a short time, they arrived in the Height of 4° South Latitude, and sailed for a whole Day along the Coasts of that Island, without perceiving any Sign of that Streight, for which they sought. At last they found they were eight Leagues past it, which our Author attributes to the Management of the principal Officers, who were in such an Hurry to get to the *East Indies*, that they very little regarded the inexpressible Miseries, to which, by their treacherous Conduct, the poor Men were exposed. To conceal this, however, as much as possible, and to put on an Air of public Spirit, they pretended to attempt bearing up for that Port, when they knew the thing to be absolutely impracticable, considering the Force with which the Monsoon blew. There were now no further Hopes of finding any Streight, where they might get Refreshments short of the Island of *Java*; for, where-ever they attempted to anchor, they very well knew their Ships must have been confiscated, in consequence of Maxims inviolably observed by the *East India* Company. All the Men therefore on board both Ships, but especially the sick and the feeble, cast a languishing Look on that fertile Country they left behind them, prefiging in their Minds the melancholy Effects, which must necessarily attend a Measure so pernicious.

The Situation of this Island of *Baton* is remarkably advantageous. It lies from the fourth to the sixth Degree of South Latitude, and is in Extent nearly equal to that of *Bouro*.

It is extremely fertile in Rice, enjoys an extraordinary plenty of Cattle and Fish, and would produce a great Number both of Clove and Nutmeg-trees, if they were permitted to grow. The King has a very strong Fort, on which the *Dutch* Standard is displayed, tho' there is no *Dutch* Garrison; and indeed there is no Need of one. The *Dutch* Company content themselves with sending thither every Year certain Deputies, to see the Spice-trees destroyed; and, in Consideration of his submitting to this, the Company pays the King a considerable Sum in ready Money. This Nation is, of all others, the most faithful to the *East India* Company, having not only assisted them in expelling the *Portuguese*, but also against the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, whenever they have attempted to take up Arms against them; and, by this means, have rendered that Company intirely Masters of the Trade of this Part of the World; in Consideration of which, the Inhabitants of *Baton* enjoy many Privileges, which are denied to all other *Indian* Nations. As for Instance, whenever they enter any Fort belonging to the Company, in whatever Country it be, they are permitted to keep their Arms; which is not allowed even to the Inhabitants of the Country where the Fort is situated, and who consequently ought to be considered as the Subjects of the Company.

Some time ago, the King of this Island sent his eldest Son as his Ambassador to the Governor-General of the *Dutch East Indies* at *Batavia*. He was received with all possible Marks of Distinction, and the Company piqued itself on paying him all possible Honours; yet it would not have been easy to have distinguished this young Prince to have been an *Indian*, if he had not worn a Turban of three Rows high, richly embroidered with Gold and precious Stones. The rest of his Dress was intirely *European*; and it was observed, that, instead of a Cutliss, he wore a Sword, which no *Indian* had ever done before. His Train was extremely numerous, all of them dressed after the *Indian* Manner. Twelve of these went armed, each with a Cuirass and Buckler, having also a naked Sword in his Hand, which rested on his Shoulder. Our Author observes, that he should not have taken notice of this Ambassador, or of his entering into *Batavia*, if it had not put him in mind of a very remarkable Accident, which happened about that time, and this was a prodigious Mortality amongst Men and Beasts, which carried off 500 of the Attendants of this young Prince, and, in the Court, it destroyed no less than 150,000 Persons in one Year's time. This Mortality was occasioned by a malignant or pestilential Fever, with which the *Europeans*, the Natives of the Country, the *Chinese*, the *Negroes*, and, in short, all the various Nations which inhabit *Batavia*, were attacked. The Author himself had a Touch of it, but escaped. This epidemic Disease prevailed not only through the *Dutch* Plantations, but spread itself also over the Kingdom of *Bengal*, and through all the Dominions of the Great Mogul, where it made incredible Ravages; yet it was felt in the most extreme Degree in the Island of *Java*, where the Inhabitants, who went out of their Houses in perfect Health, fell down dead in the Streets by Heaps. It was observed, that this Malady raged in all the Western Countries; and the Cause of it was supposed to be an excessive Drought: For, as there had no Rain fallen during the Space of two Years, it was conceived, that the Air was overcharged with mineral Vapours. But to return from this Digression to the Thread of our Relation: The *Dutch* Commodore, having left the Coasts of *Baton*, and passed thro' the Chanel of the *Moluccas*, arrived, after his Crew had suffered inexpressible Miseries, which carried off the greater Part of them, on the Coast of the Island of *Java*, towards the Close of the Month of September 1722.

24. He anchored immediately with his two Ships in the Road of *Japara*; and saluted, according to Custom, both the City and the Fort. They quickly hoisted out three Shallops, in order to go ashore at *Japara*; and, on their Arrival, were surprised to find, that, on shore, it was Saturday, tho', at quitting their Ships, they conceived it to be Friday Morning. The first Step the Commodore and his Officers took, was to pay a Visit to the Person who resided there on the Part of the Company, in order to acquaint him with their Reasons of coming thither. This Gentleman happened to be one Ensign *Kuster*, a very civil

well-behaved Man; who instantly assembled a Council, to consider what Measures were to be taken upon this Occasion. They were all extremely moved at the Recital given by the Commodore of the Misfortunes they had met with; and pitied him, his Officers, and Ships Companies, exceedingly.

To say the Truth, there never was seen a Set of Men more worthy of Compassion. There were no more than ten Persons in tolerable Health left, among which our Author was one; and no less than twenty-six were down of Sickness, by which they had lost, in the Course of their Voyage, exclusive of those who were killed in their several Engagements with the *Indians*, no fewer than seventy Men. As soon as they had notified their Arrival, their next Care was to get their sick Men on shore; which was performed with all the Diligence and Tenderneſs imaginable, by flinging them in their Hammocks into their Shallops. There were, however, four amongst these poor People in so very low a Condition, that it was not thought possible to move them, and therefore they were left on board; the very Thoughts of which, after their Companions were removed, killed them. Such as were carried ashore were lodged in an Island, under Tents set up for that Purpose; where they had every Necessary afforded them, that the Country produced; and yet, after all the Care that could be taken, many of them laid their Bones in this Island.

Mr. *Kuſer* did not fail to send an Account of their Arrival to the Commandant of the Coaſts of *Java*, who instantly transmitted it to Mr. *Swaardekreun*, who was at that time Governor-General of the *East Indies*. The Answer he gave was extremely favourable. He promised to aſſiſt them with every thing in his Power; and, if I miſtake not, ſays our Author, he promised to ſupply us with Proviſions and Men; aſking, that we had nothing to do but to get to *Batavia* as ſoon as we could. While they waited for the General's Answer, and the Recovery of their Sick, they paſſed their Time very agreeably; for their Countrymen, having a true Senſe of the Miſeries they had endured, did not fail to uſe every Means to make them forget them; which very ſoon had its Effect: Inſomuch that our Author obſerves, their Seamen, in a very few Days, were as frolic and gay, as if they had made the moſt pleaſant and moſt fortunate Voyage in the World. He adds, that it ſhocked him extremely to ſee thoſe, who, but a few Days before, were weeping, ſighing, praying, and making the warmeſt Proteſtations of their leading new and regular Lives, if God, in his great Mercy, would be pleaſed to ſave them, running headlong into the greateſt Extravagancies. Their whole Time, ſays he, was now ſpent in Swearing, Drinking, and in paſſing whole Days and Nights in debauched Houſes. Thus, however, he attributes, in a great meaſure, to the bad Example of thoſe, among whom they lived, all the lower ſort of People at *Japara* being as profligate and lewd, as it is poſſible to conceive a People; inſomuch that the firſt Queſtion many of them aſked of Strangers arrived from *Europe* is, whether they have not brought ſome new Oaths over; and whether they cannot teach them a more lively and extravagant Method of Swearing.

The Town of *Japara* is ſeated at the Bottom of a Mountain of a moderate Height, is of a middling Size, and inhabited chiefly by *Javanefe*, *Chineſe*, and *Dutch*. When it was in the Hands of the *Portugueſe*, it was much more conſiderable in Extent, than it is at preſent. The *East India* Company, before they got Poſſeſſion of *Jacatra*, fixed here the principal Magazines for their Merchandize, and it was their chief Factory, on which all the Factories on the Iſland of *Java* were dependent; but that Eſtabliſhment was ſunk long ſince, the Factory being transferred to *Samaran*. The Port of *Japara* is equally ſafe and commodious; and there is a Fort, built moſtly of Wood, erected on the Top of the Mountain, at the Foot of which the Town is ſeated, that commands the whole Road. This is called the *Invincible Mountain*, becauſe, when the *Portugueſe* were Maſters of the Place, the *Javanefe* were conſtantly defeated in all the Attempts they made to get it into their Hands.

The King of *Japara*, generally ſpeaking, reſides at a Place called *Katajura*, which lies twenty-nine Leagues up the Country, where the *Dutch* have a ſtrong Fort, and a good Garriſon; which ſerves not only to ſecure their Con-

queſt, but, at the ſame time, for a Guard to the King. This Prince is a *Mohammedan*, and, according to the Practice of moſt Eaſtern Monarchs, is conſtantly ſerved by Women, of whom he takes as many as he pleaſes, either as Wives, or Concubines. Some of his Priests are obliged to go every Year in Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, in order to make Vows there for the Safety and Proſperity of the King and Royal Family. His Subjects are extremely faithful, and, to the laſt degree, devoted to his Service. The principal Perſons in his Court are obliged, as often as they have an Audience, to approach him creeping on their Knees; but, in Time of War, this ſlavish Cuſtom is diſuſed. Such as commit the ſlighteſt Fault are poinarded on the Spot with a little Dagger, called a *Krid*; and as this is almoſt the only Punishment in Uſe amongst them, ſo the ſlighteſt as well as the greateſt Faults are, among theſe People, capital. The Natives of this Country are, for the moſt part, of a very brown Complexion, tolerably well-ſhaped, and have long black Hair; which, however, they often cut. Their Noſes are flat and broad, and their Teeth exceſſively bad, which is owing to their Betel and Fauſel, which they are chewing continually.

The Fauſel is a kind of Nut, not much unlike, yet ſomething ſmaller than the Nutmeg, without Taſte, and yielding, when chewed, a red kind of Juice. It is this very Juice that the *Indians* make uſe of in painting the Chintz, which we admire ſo much in *Europe*. The Tree, that bears this Nut, is very ſtrait, and reſembles, in its Leaves, the Cocoa-tree. The Betel is a Plant, which produces long rank Leaves, which, in their Shape, reſemble thoſe of the Citron; in Taſte, they are of an agreeable Bitter. The Fruit it bears grows in the Shape of a Lizard's Tail, about two Fingers Breadth, long, of an aromatic Flavour, and, in its Smell, extremely grateful. The *Indians* carry with them continually the Leaves of Betel; and, at all Viſits, they are preſented in Ceremony. They are almoſt perpetually chewing them; and, as the Taſte of them is very bitter, they, for the moſt part, qualify them with Araca, Fauſel, or the Powder of calcined Oyſter-shells. Thus prepared, they have a very agreeable Taſte. After they have chewed all the Juice out of them, they ſpit forth the dry, hard Maſs. There are ſome again, who mix their Betel-leaves with Lime, Amber, and Cardamom-feeds; others again with *China* Tobacco. Abundance of *Europeans* are got into the Way of chewing it to ſuch a degree, that they cannot leave it off, tho' it has been very fatal to ſome of them, ſince the *Indians* are ſo very ſkilful in preparing Betel, that it ſhall do a Man's Buſineſs as effectually as a Piſtol or a Dagger. The prevailing Diversion among theſe People is what they call their *Tandakes*, which are, in Faſt, a kind of Comedies. The Women, who act in theſe ſort of Shews, are very richly dreſſed; but the Entertainment conſiſts chiefly in Singing and Dancing, accompanied by their Muſic, which, after all, is not very extraordinary, or very pleaſant, at leaſt to *European* Ears. They have no other Inſtrument than a kind of little Drums, which they beat dextrouſly enough. As for their Dancing, it is generally of the Groteſque kind, in which, without Doubt, they are excellent, throwing their Bodies, with inexpressible Agility, into all ſorts of Poſtures, and expreſſing by them the Paſſions of the Mind ſo comically, that it is ſimply impoſſible to avoid laughing. Theſe *Indians* praſtiſe alſo the Wardance, in which their King, and his Grantees, often take a Share. They likewiſe amuſe themſelves, like the *Engliſh*, with Cock-fighting; and lay ſuch conſiderable Sums, that they are very often beggared.

This Country abounds with all the Neceſſaries of Life: Here are horned Cattle, Hogs, and an amazing Quantity of Fowls. The only Thing that is ſcarce here is Mutton, and that is chiefly occaſioned by the Richneſs of the Paſture, where the Sheep buſt with Fating: As to wild Creatures, they have Buffaloes, Stags, Tygers, and the Rhinoceros, which Animal the *Indians* hunt chiefly for its Horn, of which they make Drinking-veſſels, that are valued at a very high Rate, from a Notion that they will not hold Poiſon, but inſtantly break as ſoon as it is poured into them. The high Price of theſe Veſſels, inſtead of proving their Virtue, ſerves only to ſhow, that the *Javanefe* are ſtrongly given to this infamous Practice of Poiſoning. The Land is every where

where extremely fertile, producing in vast abundance Pepper, Ginger, Cinnamon, Rice, Cardamoms, &c. Of late Years they have planted Coffee there with great Success, inasmuch as they hope, and not without Reason, to render it the principal Commodity of the Country: As to Fruit-trees, such as Coconuts, Figs, &c. they grow every-where; and, as they are green throughout the Year, and constantly planted in Rows along the River-sides, here are the most beautiful Walks in the World. Sugar-canes abound in Java. Their Vines bear Grapes seven times a Year, but they are fit only for Raisins, and not for Wine, because the Climate ripens them too hastily. The Sea, and all the Rivers, furnish them with an infinite Variety of the finest kinds of Fish, so that, take it all together, one may safely affirm of Java, that there is not, under the Canopy of Heaven, an Island more plentiful, or more pleasant.

After refreshing themselves at *Japara* for about a Month, they began to think of continuing their Voyage to *Batavia*, in order to reap there the Fruits of the Governor-General's fine Promises: When all Things were ready, they spent about two Days in taking Leave of their Friends, who gave them all sorts of Provisions, and much more of every kind than was necessary for so short a Voyage. At last they quitted, not without a sensible Regret, a Place where they had been so kindly treated, where all their Wants had been so generously relieved, and where, after so many Hardships, so many Sufferings, they had spent a few Weeks in Peace and Plenty. They steered, in sailing from hence, a West Course for about seventy Leagues, and then, with as fair a Wind as they could wish, entered the Road of *Batavia*; where, as soon as they had saluted the Fort, they anchored close to the Ships that were lading for their Voyage Home, believing that now all their Pains were over, and that themselves would be speedily the Companions of the Ships that were homeward-bound; but they soon found, that the most flattering Hopes are not always the best grounded!

As soon as the Commodore saw his Ships safely anchored, he went with his Captain to his Shallop, intending to have gone to *Batavia*; but before they had rowed well from the Ship's Side, they saw the Shallop of the Commandant of *Batavia* rowing towards them, with the Fiscal on board, and some other Members of the Council. These Gentlemen bid the Commodore go back, which he did without the least Hesitation; and by that time both Shallops were within hearing of the Ship, the Fiscal proclaimed aloud the Governor-General's Sentence of Confiscation. At this time both the *Dutch* Vessels were so blocked up by large Ships of the Harbour, that it was impossible for them to escape; and not long after arrived some Hundreds of Soldiers, who took both the Ships, and their Companies, into their Custody. The Commodore, taught by so many, and those too such unexpected Disasters, began to repent extremely that ever he had proposed returning by the Route of the *East Indies*; but it was a little of the latest, the thing was now over, there was no calling Time back, the Discovery had been neglected, and that Neglect justly punished by the Sentence of the *East India* Company, however unjust in itself. By this Sentence, both Ships were declared good Prize, the Goods on board them confiscated, and to cut Matters short, and prevent any Trouble from Representations or Memorials, every thing was exposed to public Sale, and disposed of to the best Bidder. As for the Crew of both Ships, they were divided, and put on board several Ships that were homeward-bound. But enough on this melancholy Subject! Let us now proceed to something more instructive, and more entertaining; that is to say, the Observations made by our Author on the State of Things in the *East Indies*, during the Time that he staid there.

26. The City of *Batavia*, in the Island of Java, lies in the Latitude of 6° South, and is the Capital of all the vast Dominions belonging to the *Dutch East India* Company. It serves also for the Emporium, where all the Merchandize and Riches which that great and wealthy Company possess are laid up. It fell into the Hands of the *Dutch* in the Year 1618, and was till that Time known by the Name of *Jacatra*: Soon after it came into their Possession, they built, in the Neighbourhood of the old City, a Fort, which they called *Batavia*. By that time it was well finished, the Natives of the Island, animated and assisted by the *English*,

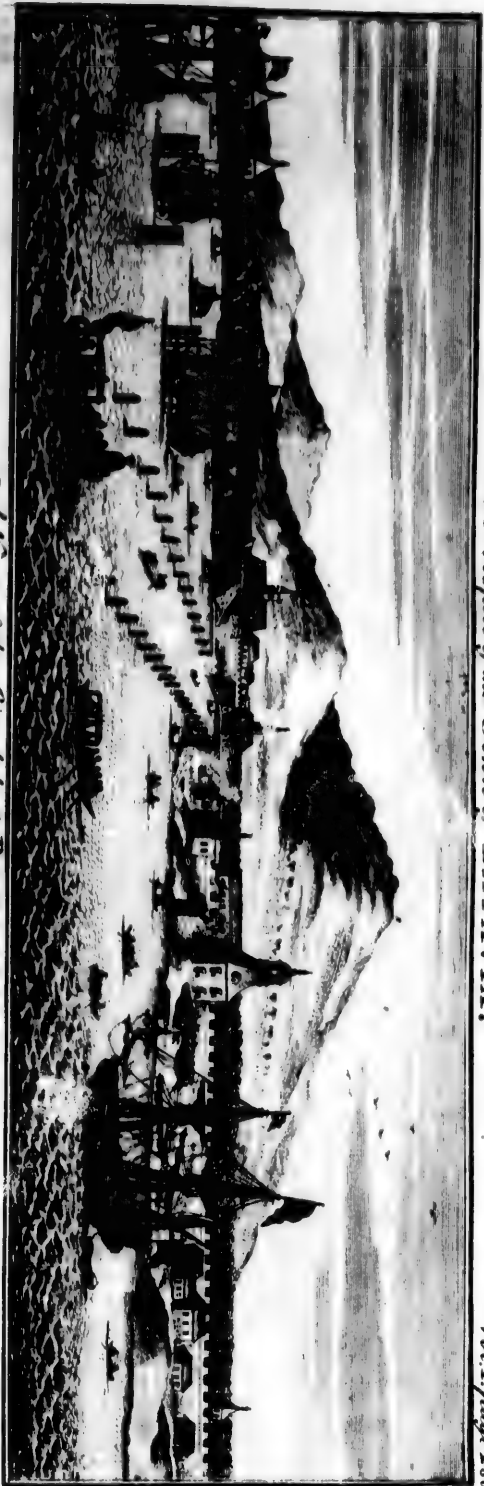
attacked it several times, but always without Success, and to their own great Loss. The last time they kept it blockaded up for some time, till the *Dutch* were succoured by a powerful Squadron from Europe, under the Command of Admiral *Korn*. Then it was that Affairs began to change their Face; the Siege was immediately raised, and the Islanders obliged to retire with the utmost Precipitation. The *Dutch*, thus delivered from their Enemies, had time to look about them; and, having considered the excellent Situation of the Fort, and the many Advantages resulting from it, they immediately resolved to build a Town near it. It was, with this View, that they demolished *Jacatra*; and, upon its Ruins, erected that famous City, which, from the Name of their Fort, they called *Batavia*. This City arrived at Perfection in a very short Space of Time, by the extraordinary Diligence with which it was carried on, notwithstanding the many Obstacles it met with on the Part of the two Kings of *Matarana* and *Bantam*; the former of whom besieged it in 1629, and the latter in 1649.

It is surrounded by a Rampart, of one-and-twenty Feet thick, covered on the Outside with Stone, and furnished with twenty-two Batteries. This Rampart is environed by a Dutch, about forty-five Yards over, especially when the Tides are high in the Spring: The Avenues to the Town are defended by several Forts, each of which is well furnished with excellent Brass Cannon. Among these Forts, there are six, which deserve to be particularly mentioned, viz. *Anshel*, *Anke*, *Jacatra*, *Rysyk*, *Noordwyck*, and *Lybeck*. The Fort of *Anshel* is seated on a River of the same Name, Eastward from the Sea, and at the Distance of about twelve hundred Yards from the City: It is built entirely of square Stone, and is always provided with a strong Garrison. The Fort of *Anke* is on a River of the same Name, to the Westward of the Coast, and distant from the City about 500 Yards; built like the former, of square Stone entirely. The Fort of *Jacatra* lies also on a River of the same Name, is exactly like the other two Forts, and is at the Distance of about 500 Paces from the City. The Road thither is between two Rows of very fine Trees, regularly planted, with very fine Country-houses and Gardens on each Side: The other three Forts are built in the same manner, and of the same Materials, lying all on the Land-side of the Town, and at a very small Distance from it. By this means the two first serve to secure the City on the Side of the Sea, and the other four defend its Entrances on the Land-side; and, at the same time, protect the Houses, Plantations, and Gardens, of the Inhabitants. By these Dispositions it is easy to comprehend, that no Enemy can ever surprize this City; because, on whichever Side they should attack it, they would be sure to meet with a strong Resistance. They take, besides, another Precaution, which is, not suffering any Person to go beyond these Forts without a Passport.

The River, which preserves its ancient Name of *Jacatra*, passes through the midst of the Town, and forms fifteen Canals of running Water, all faced with Free-stone, and adorned with Trees that are evergreen, and which consequently afford a most charming Prospect. Over these Canals there are fifty-six Bridges, besides those which lie without the Town. The Streets are all of them perfectly straight, and, generally speaking, thirty Feet broad; the Houses are built of Stone, after the manner of those in *Holland*, and are most of them very high, because the Place has not of late Years been exposed to Hurricanes. The City is about a League and an half in Circumference; it is surrounded with a vast Number of Houses; so that there are, at least, ten times the Number of Houses without the City than there are within it; and therefore, strictly speaking, they ought to be regarded as its Suburbs. This City has five Gates, including that of the Port, near to which there is a Barrier, which is regularly shut at nine a Clock in the Evening, and at which there is posted, Night and Day, a strong Guard of Soldiers. There were formerly six Gates; the last, being called *Speelman's* Gate, because built by Governor *Speelman*, who died *January* 11. 1634, has been walled up since. There is a very fine Town-house, and four Churches for the Use of the Reformed Religion, that is to say, the *Calvinists*. The first of these was built in the Year 1640, and is called *Knyskirk*, i. e. *Croft Church*: The

A Prospect of the Town of BATAVIA.

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A View of the Citadel of BATAVIA.



The second was built in 1670. In both these they preach in Dutch. The third belongs to the Protestants *Portuguese*: And the fourth to the *Malayans*. Besides these Churches, there are abundance of other Places of Worship for all sorts of Religions.

They have likewise in this City a *Spin-Hys*, or an House of Correction, in which Women, who behave loosely, are confined; an Orphan-house, a Magazine of Sea-stores, many for Spices, Wharfs, Cord-manufactures, and many other public Buildings. The Garrison consists commonly of between 2 and 3000 Men. Besides the great Number of Forts before spoken of, there is the famous Citadel of *Batavia*, which is a very fine, regular Fortification, situated at the Mouth of the River, facing the City, and flanked with four Bastions, two of which command the Sea, and the other two the Town. This Citadel hath two great Gates, the one called the *Company's Gate*, which was built in 1626, with a Bridge of Square Stone, consisting of fourteen Arches, each twenty-six Yards long, and ten feet broad: The other called the *Water-Gate*, built in 1630. All the Keepers of the Magazines have their Lodgings in the Citadel, along both Sides of the Curtain. There are, besides, two Poiterns, one in the East Curtain, the other in the West, which are never opened, but for the Service of the Garrison. It is in this Citadel that the Governor-General of the *Indies* has his Habitation. His Palace is built of Brick, two Stories high, with a most noble Front, after the *Italian* manner. Over-against this Palace is that of the Director-General, who is the next Person to the Governor: The Counsellors, and other principal Officers of the Company, have also their Apartments there, as have likewise the Physician, the Surgeon, and the Apothecary. There is a little Church, which was built in 1644, remarkably neat and light. There are, besides, in the Citadel, Arsenals and Magazines, furnished with Ammunition for many Years; in a Word, this Citadel is the general Factory, where all the Archives are kept, and where all the Affairs of the Company are transacted.

The City of *Batavia* is not only inhabited by Dutch, but also by a vast Number of *Indians* of different Nations: The former, that is to say, the *Dutch*, are all of them either free Burgesses, or in the Service of the Company. There are likewise abundance of *Portuguese*, *French*, and other *Europeans*, established here on account of Trade. These *Portuguese* are, for the most part, Defendants of those who lived here formerly, or at *Goa*; and who, finding their Accounts in living under so mild a Government, did not think fit to remove, when the Sea Coasts of the Island of *Java* were reduced under the Dominion of the *East India* Company. They are, at present, at least a far greater Part of them, of the Established, that is to say, of the Protestant Reformed Religion. As for the *Indian* Inhabitants, they are *Javanese*, or Natives of the Country, *Chinese*, *Malayans*, *Negroes*, *Ambonese*, *Armenians*, Natives of the Isle of *Bali*, *Mardhykers*, *Macassars*, *Timors*, *Rougis*, &c. There cannot be any thing more curious, or any Spectacle more entertaining, than to see, in so large a City, such a Multitude of different Nations living, all of them at their own Dwellings, after their own manner. One sees every Moment new Customs, strange Manners, Variety of Habits, and Faces of different Colours, viz. black, white, brown, olive-coloured: Every one lives as he pleases, every one speaks his own Tongue. Notwithstanding such a Variety of Customs, so opposite to one another, one observes an Union very surprising among these Citizens, which is purely the Effect of Commerce, which is the common Soul that actuates this great Body of People; so that they move uniformly and harmoniously in every respect, and live easily and happily under the gentle and prudent Laws established by the *East India* Company. With regard to Liberty of Conscience, all the Inhabitants of this City enjoy it, let them be of what Sect they will; only they have not the public Exercise of their Worship. It is not permitted here, any more than in the *United Provinces*, that Priests or Monks should walk the Streets in the Habits of their respective Orders; yet all are allowed to live there in Peace, except the Jesuits; and they are excluded, not on

account of their Religion, but for fear of their Intrigues, and their exciting Troubles and Disturbances here, as they have done in most Places where they are already established. As for the *Chinese*, as their Religion is an Abomination, they are not allowed a Pagoda in the City, but they have one at a Place about a League off, where they likewise bury their Dead.

Every *Indian* Nation at *Batavia* has its Chief, or Head, who takes care of its Interests; but he has not the Power of deciding any thing that is at all considerable; and his Function, properly speaking, regards only the Affairs of their Religion, and any slight Controversies that may arise among his Countrymen. In order to give a clear Idea of the Manner in which these People live at *Batavia*, it will be proper to say somewhat of each of these *Indian* Nations, and of their different Manners of employing themselves. The *Javanese* addict themselves chiefly to Agriculture, Fishing, and Ship-building. They wear, generally speaking, no other Habit than a kind of short Petticoat, reaching to their Knees, all the rest of their Bodies naked: They have likewise, across their Shoulders, a sort of Sash, or Scarf, in which hangs a little short Sword: On their Heads they wear a little Bonnet: Their Cabins are remarkably neater than those of other *Indian* Nations, built of split Bamboos, with a large spreading Roof, which hangs over the House, and under which they sit and take the Air.

The *Chinese* Inhabitants are very numerous; it is reckoned, that, in the City and Suburbs, they are at least five thousand. These People seem naturally born for Trade, Enemies to Idleness, and who think nothing hard or laborious, the Performance of which is attended with a Certainty of Gain. They can live upon a very little, are bold, enterprising, have a great deal of Address, and are indefatigably industrious. They have a Penetration and Subtlety very extraordinary, inasmuch that they seem to make good their own Saying, that the *Dutch* have one Eye, and they have two; but, with all this, they are deceitful to the last Degree, take a Pride in imposing upon those who deal with them, and boast of that Cunning, of which they ought to be ashamed. In Husbandry and Navigation they very far surpass all other *Indian* Nations. Most of the Sugar-mills in *Batavia* belong to them, and the Distillery of Arrack is intirely in their Hands. They are the Carriers of *Assa*; and the *East India* Company itself frequently makes use of their Vessels. They keep all the Shops, and most of the Inns, in the City; and are likewise the Farmers of the Duties, Excises, and Customs. The *Chinese* are, generally speaking, well-made Men, of an olive Complexion, their Heads very round, their Eyes small, and their Noses short and flat: They do not cut their Hair, as those who remain in *China* are obliged to do, since the *Tartars* became Masters of their Country. As often as any come from *China*, they immediately suffer their Hair to grow, as a Token of their Freedom, and curl and dress it to great Advantage; their Priests only excepted whose Heads are always close shaved.

These People are always bare-headed, with an Umbrella in their Hands, to keep off the Sun; they likewise suffer their Nails to grow to an immoderate Length, which gives them a prodigious Dexterity in Slight-of-hand, an Art of great Extent, and of considerable Consequence, as it is managed by these People. Their Dress differs pretty much here from what they wear in their own Country: Their Robes are very ample, and their Sleeves, which are of Cotton-cloth, very large; underneath they have a Pair of Breeches, which reach to their Ancles; they wear no Shoes, but a kind of little Slippers, and go without Stockings intirely. Their Women also wear very long Cotton Robes, are very brisk and lively, and withal very impudent, and extravagantly debauched. The *Chinese*, in general, have not the least Notion of any Distinction of Meats; on the contrary, they eat, without Ceremony, the Flesh of any Animal that comes to hand, let it be Dog, Cat, Rat, or what it will.

They are prodigiously fond of Shews, and of Entertainments. The Feast of their new Year, which they celebrate in the Beginning of *March*, lasts commonly for

a whole Month. During this time, they do nothing but divert themselves principally in Dancing, which they do in an odd Way; running round to the Sound of Balons, Flutes, and Trumpets, which makes none of the most agreeable Concerts. They make use of the same Music at their Comedies, and other theatrical Diversions, of which they are very fond. Yet there is no great Matter in this Comedy of theirs, which is, in Fact, a Mixture of Play, Opera, and Pantomime; for they sometimes speak, sometimes sing, and sometimes the whole Business of the Scene is performed by Gesture only. They have none but Women-players, who are bred up to this Trade from their Infancy; but many of them act the Parts of Men, and, for that Purpose, change their Dress, and disguise themselves. Whenever a Comedy is acted, the City receives the Sum of fifty Crowns for a Licence. They erect their Theatres in the Streets, before the House of him who is at the Expence of the Play, which turns intirely on the Exploits of their ancient Heroes, and the austere Lives of their old Saints. The Funerals of the *Chinese* are very remarkable, as well as very rich, and very pompous. Their Tombs are very magnificent, and the funeral Processions very solemn and grand, at which sometimes no less than 500 Persons of both Sexes assist. The Women, upon such Occasions, are all clad in White. At their Funerals they not only make use of musical Instruments to heighten the Show, but also of coloured Umbrellas and Canopies: It is under one of these Canopies their principal Idol is placed, whom they call *Jochye de Batavia*, of which we shall have Occasion to give a large Account.

The *Chinese* here follow the Religion of their Country, and have, at a Place about a League's Distance from the City, a *Pagoda*, where they assemble for the Exercise of their Religion. They are, perhaps, the greatest Idolaters, and the most ridiculous in their Opinions, of all the *Indian* Pagans, since they openly profess, that they worship and adore the Devil. This does not proceed from their not knowing, or not believing in, a God, but rather from mistaken Notions in their Belief about him. They say that God is infinitely merciful and good; that he gives Men all they possess out of his mere Mercy, but that he never does them any Hurt; and that, therefore, there is no need of worshipping or praying to him, but to the Devil, who is the Author of all Mischief, and with whom they are willing to live upon good Terms, and to omit nothing that may intitle them to his good Graces. Such are the fundamental Principles of their Religion at *Batavia*: How they refine or disguise them at home, falls not under our Consideration here. It is the Devil they endeavour to reprobate by the Idol we have before-mentioned; in whose Honour they have frequently great Feasts and Rejoicings. The *Chinese*, like the *Javanese*, are extravagantly addicted to Gaming, and laying of Wagers; and this Humour drives them sometimes, especially at the Cock-matches on the new Year's Feast, into downright Madness: They will then not only lose all their Money, Houses, and Goods, at Play, but will likewise stake their Wives and Children; and, after these are lost, their Beards, their Nails, and the Winds; that is to say, they bind themselves not to shave their Beards, to cut their Nails, or to go on board of any Ship to trade, till they have paid what they have lost. They become by this means the most miserable Creatures in the World; and, when in this Condition, are forced to let themselves out to hire, as the Slaves of some other *Chinese*. Under such Misfortunes, they have but one Resource, which is this; that some of their Relations, either here, or in *China*, will, out of mere Tenderness and Compassion, pay what they have lost; and then they enter into Possession as before. The *Malayans* that live at *Batavia*, employ themselves chiefly in Fishing: Their Vessels are very neat and shewy, and their Sails very ingeniously made of Straw. They are a most wicked and profligate People, and one often hears of their committing Murders, for very trifling Gains. They profess the *Mohammedan* Religion, but are absolutely void of Morals; so that, instead of making a Scruple, they make a Merit, of cheating of Christians. The last Captain or Chief they had, was publicly whipped and branded for his Frauds and Villanies; his Goods were con-

fiscated, and himself banished to the Island of *Ceylon*. Since that time they have been ashamed to chuse another Chief. The Habits they wear, are either Silk or Cotton-stuff. The Men wear a Piece of Cotton-cloth about their Heads, with their black Hair tied up in a Knot behind. The Negroes who live at *Batavia*, are most of them *Mohammedans*. They come most of them from the Coast of *Bengal*, dress in the same manner as the *Malayans*, and live also in the same Quarter. Some of them work at mechanic Trades, others are a kind of Pedlars: The most considerable of them trade in Stone for building, which they bring from the neighbouring Islands.

The *Ambonese* addict themselves chiefly to building of Houses with Bamboos, the Windows of which are made of split Cane, very neatly wrought, in different Figures. They are a very bold boisterous People, and so turbulent, that they are not suffered to live in the City, but have their Quarter near the *Chinese* Burying-ground. They have a Chief, to whom they pay deep Submission; and he has a very magnificent House in their Quarter, and well furnished, after their Manner. Their Arms are, for the most Part, large Sabres, and long Bucklers. The Men wear a Piece of Cotton-cloth round their Heads, letting the two Corners of it hang down behind, and adorn this kind of Turban with abundance of Flowers. The Women wear a sort of Habit close to their Body, wrapping a Cotton Mantle round their Shoulders, which leaves their Arms naked. Their Houses are built of Boards, covered with Leaves, are two or three Stories high, and the Ground-floors, particularly, divided into several Apartments. The *Mardijkers*, or *Tepasses*, are Idolaters, composed of divers Nations of *Indians*, and are of different Trades and Professions; being furnished with Passports from the Company, their Merchants carry on a great Commerce in all the neighbouring Islands. Some of them are Gardeners, others breed Cattle, and some Fowls. The Men generally dress after the *Dutch* Fashion; but the Women go like other *Indians*. They dwell both in the City and Country. Their Houses are much better than those of the rest of the *Indians*, built, generally speaking, either of Stone or Brick, several Stories high, and very neat.

There are also at *Batavia* some of the *Macassars*, so famous for their little poisoned Arrows, which they blow through a Trunk. This Poison is made of the Juice of a certain Tree which grows in the Island of *Macassar*, and in the *Bougi* Islands; they dip the Points of their Arrows in this Juice, and then let them dry; the Wound they give is absolutely mortal. The *Bougis* are the Inhabitants of three or four Islands near that of *Macassar*; and, since the Conquest of this last Island, have settled themselves at *Batavia*. They are very hardy and very bold Fellows, for which Reason the Company use them as Soldiers. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows, Sabres and Bucklers. The *Armenians*, and some other *Asiatics*, that reside in *Batavia*, come thither purely on the Score of Trade, and stay no longer than their Occasions call them. The Natives of the Country who are established in the Neighbourhood of *Batavia*, and for a Tract of about forty Leagues along the Mountains of the Country of *Baniam*, are immediately subject to the Governor-General. The Company send Drossards or Commissaries amongst them, who administer Justice, and take care of the public Revenues. The principal Men amongst them resort at certain times to *Batavia*, in order to give an Account how these Commissaries behave.

27. The City of *Batavia*, and all the Dominions which the Company possesses in the *East Indies*, are governed by two supreme Councils, one titled the Council of *Admiral*, and the other the Council of Justice. They consist of them fixed in this City of *Batavia*, as the Capital, and all the Countries under the Dominion of the Company. To the first of these Councils belong all Matters of Government, and the Direction of public Affairs; and to the latter, the Administration of Justice in all its Branches. The Governor-General always presides in the first-mentioned Council, which is ordinarily composed of eighteen or twenty Persons, who are called Counsellors of the *Indies*. It very rarely happens, that they are all at *Batavia* together, because they are usually provided with some of court

of the seven Governments, which are in the Company's Disposal. This Council assembles regularly twice a Week, and extraordinarily, as often as the Governor-General pleases: They deliberate therein on all Things that concern the Interest of the Company: They likewise superintend the Government of the Isle of *Java*, and whatever depends upon it: If the Affair be of very great Importance, the Approbation and Consent of the Directors of the Company is likewise necessary. It is also from the Council of the *Indies* that Orders issue, and Instructions are sent, to other Governments, which are implicitly obeyed. In this Council, all Letters directed to the Governor-General, or to the Director, are read, debated, and Answers agreed on by a Plurality of Voices.

The Council of Justice is composed of a President, who is usually a Counsellor of the *Indies*; eight Counsellors of Justice, a Fiscal, or Attorney-General, for Affairs of Government, another Fiscal for maritime Business, and a Secretary. The President is, by his Office, Keeper of the Great Seal. All the Counsellors of this College are Doctors of the Civil Law. The first Attorney-General has a Vote as well as the other Counsellors, and has the third of all Fines under an hundred Florins, and a sixth Part of the Fines that are above that Sum. The Duty of his Office consists in taking care, that the Laws are strictly observed, and in preferring Informations against such as presume to break through them. The other Attorney-General, or Fiscal of the Sea, takes the like Care with regard to Frauds committed in Commerce, Acts of Piracy, or whatever has a Tendency to disturb the settled Rules in maritime Affairs. There are, besides these two sovereign Boards, the Council or Tribunal of the City of *Batavia*, composed of nine Aldermen, including the President, who is always a Counsellor of the *Indies*, and a Vice-President: The Bailiff of the City, and the Commissary of the Country adjacent, have likewise Seats in that Assembly, and, with a Secretary, make up the Board.

The Governor-General is the Head of the Empire which the Company has established in the *East Indies*; he is, in Fact, the Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral. He is, by his Office, President of the Council of the *Indies*, in which he has two Votes. He has the Key of all the Magazines, and directs every thing relating to them, without being accountable to any body. He commands by his own proper Authority, and every body is bound to obey him; so that one might safely say, his Authority equalled, and even surpassed, that of several of the Kings of *Europe*, if he was not accountable for his Conduct, and liable to be removed by the Directors of the Company at home. In case, however, of Treason, or any other enormous Crime, the Council of Justice have a Right to seize his Person, and to call him to an Account. The Manner of his Election is as follow: As soon as a Governor-General is dead, or resigns his Charge, the Council of the *Indies* assemble, and chuse another, by a Plurality of Voices. As soon as this is done, they write to the Directors of the Company at home, desiring them to confirm and approve of their Choice: They write likewise, for the same Purpose, to the States General, their High Mightinesses having reserved to themselves this Power of confirming or excluding a Governor-General in their Charter. It is usual, however, for the States, and for the Directors, to approve of the Governor-General that is chosen, and to send him his Letters Patent, conformable to the Desire, in that respect, of the Council of the *Indies*. Yet some Instances there have been, of the Directors rejecting the Governor thus elected, and sending another.

The Company allow their Governor 800 Rixdollars a Month, and 500 more for his Table; and pay, besides, the Salaries of such as compose his Household. But these Appointments make but a very small Part of his Revenue, the legal Emoluments of his Office being so great, that, in the Space of two or three Years, he is able, without oppressing the People, or burdening his Conscience, to raise an immense Fortune. As he is Head, and, in a manner, Sovereign, of the Countries belonging to the Company, it has been found requisite, in Compliance with the Mode of

the Eastern Countries, to allow him a Court, and most of those Honours which are paid to Crown'd Heads. Whenever he stirs out of his Palace, in order to go to his Country-seat, he is preceded by the Master of his Household, at the Head of six Gentlemen on Horseback, with a Trumpet; two Halbardiers on Horseback go immediately before his Coach; on the Right, he has his Master of the Horse, at the Head of six Halbardiers, on Horseback; then follow the other Coaches, which carry his Friends and Retinue; and the Whole is closed by a Troop of Horse, consisting of forty-eight Men, commanded by a Captain, and three Quarter-masters, and preceded by a Trumpet richly clothed.

If this Office be extremely considerable by its Revenues, its Power, and the Honours annexed thereto, it is likewise extremely fatiguing. The Governor-General is employed, from Morning till Night, in giving Audience to such as have Business with him, in reading of Letters, and in giving Orders for the Company's Service; so that he spares but one Half-hour for Dinner; and, even at Table, dispatches such Affairs as are extremely pressing. He also receives all the *Indian* Princes, and their Embassadors, who come to *Batavia*, and of whom there are many that arrive every Year.

After the Governor, the Director-General has the greatest Authority, and is the second Person in the Council of the *Indies*. This Employment demands likewise a great deal of Care and Attention; he who is invested with it, has the Buying and Selling all the Commodities that enter into, or go out of, the Company's Magazines: He it is, who orders what Sorts, and what Quantity of each Sort of Goods shall be sent to *Holland*, or elsewhere; he has the Key of all the Magazines; and every Officer in the Company's Service makes a daily Report to him of the State of every thing under his Charge. In a Word, he has the supreme Direction of whatever relates to the Company's Commerce, as well at *Batavia* as at other Places; and the Members of all the Factories belonging to the Company are accountable to him for their Conduct in their respective Stations.

The third Person in the Government is the Major-General, who, under the Governor, has the Command of all the Forces. The Number of regular Troops in the Service of the *East India* Company throughout the *Indies* may be about 12000, exclusive of the Militia, who are also very well disciplined, constantly arrayed in Time of Danger, and who are about 100,000 Men. In fine, the military Strength of the Company by Land and Sea, Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen, included, may be about 25,000 Men. For the Support of its Commerce, the Company keeps in constant Pay 180 Ships, from thirty to sixty Pieces of Cannon; and, in case of Extremity, are able, at any time, to fit out forty of a larger Size.

Some Months before the Arrival of our Author at *Batavia*, a very extraordinary Affair happened there; that is to say, a Plot was discovered, and exemplary Justice done on the Traitors. This Affair deserves to be the more taken notice of, because it has been since found no more than a Branch of a great and general Conspiracy, for the intire Subversion of the *Dutch* Government, which was with Difficulty prevented, some Years ago, by the general Massacre of all the *Chinese* at *Batavia*. The Fact with which we are at present concerned, happened in the following Manner: There was one *Peter Erberfeld*, who had framed a Design, in Conjunction with a great many *Javanese*, and other *Indian* Chiefs, to surprise the Citadel and Forts of *Batavia*, to massacre the Governor, and all the Counsellors, together with such as were in the Service of the Company, and, finally, all the Christians in the Isle of *Java*, in order for ever to extirpate the Colony, and put an End to the Power of the *East India* Company in these Parts. This detestable Design was discovered on the very Eve of its Execution; *Peter Erberfeld*, and the chief of his Accomplices, made Prisoners, put to the Torture, and, on their own Confession, received Sentence, as appears from the following Record of their Conviction, which is drawn up in the clearest and most significant Terms.

Sentence against Peter Erberfeld, and his Accomplices, pronounced at Batavia, April 8th, 1722.

Forasmuch as *Peter Erberfeld*, Burgher, born at *Batavia*, of a white Father, and black Mother, of the Age of fifty-eight or fifty-nine; *Catadia*, otherwise called *Rading* *Javan de Carisawra*; *Maja Praja de Chias*, Sergeant of *Jacaneses*; *Sana Suta Galia Wangju de Badong*; and the Person called *Anga Tjitra de Bagall*, both *Javanese*; *Lareeb de Sambowen*, a *Malayan*, heretofore a Slave in the Chinese Hospital, and some time since made free; *Jap Kiko*; *Carinawa de Pacalangan*; *Anga Sarana de Balong*; *Canta Sinia de Cberison*; *Singa Ira*; *Marangie de Bengal*; *Sarapata de Indermajo*; *Majai Diaja de Banjermeas*; *Wambia Dita de Pandang Pandjang*; *Wicia Sufa de Banjermeas*; *Canta Wangja Bajpa Mulut de Saraja*; and *Singa Patria* (Chief) of *Sikias*; together with the Wives of the sixteenth, nineteenth, and thirteenth Criminals, all Prisoners at present, and in Life Custody; have confessed and acknowledged before the Court of Justice established at *Batavia*, that they have been engaged in, and, throwing aside all Fear of God, and of Justice, have managed a most execrable Conspiracy against the City, Citadel, and Colony of *Batavia*, tending to defeat and put an End, by the Assistance of certain *Mohammedan* Princes, and many of the Chiefs of the neighbouring People, such as *Javanese*, *Baleyan*, and *Malayans*, and others, to the Possession and Government of the *East India* Company: We are the more astonished at this horrible Contrivance, because this Company has never ceased to govern with all possible Mildness and Tenderess, under the Auspices of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, all the People under their Obedience, *Mohammedans* as well as *Pagans*, without Distinction of Religion, and protected them against all and every one, who sought to trouble or molest them; so that there was the greatest Reason to believe, that the Establishment of the *East India* Company at *Batavia* should last long, and not the least Reason to apprehend any thing from those, who were enjoying the Streets of Peace and Tranquillity under its Wings. Nevertheless the aforesaid Criminals have acknowledged, that, in order to carry their detestable Scheme into Execution with as much Success as they could desire, they had agreed upon the following Methods; that is to say, first, and above all things, to massacre the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*, and consequently all Christians, without sparing to much as one, in hopes that, upon this Blow being struck, all the Nations in the flat Country, in the Island of *Java*, and all Foreigners residing at *Batavia*, or living in the Neighbourhood, such as *Chinese*, *Negroes*, *Macassars*, &c. would immediately have joined the Rebels, or at least have implored their Clemency; and, in case any had opposed them, they were likewise to have been murdered without Mercy.

During the first Attack of the Conspirators, *Peter Erberfeld* was to have commanded, and given Orders in Quality of Chief; and the other, named *Catadia*, as his Lieutenant, or Person next to him in Power; and, in order to acquire the greater Authority and Respect, the former was immediately to have assumed the Title of *Thowang-Gulji*, which is as much as to say, great Lord, or supreme Governor; and the latter the Name of *Rading*, which implies as much as Prince. This dangerous Conspiracy was concerted in the House of *Erberfeld*, situated without the City, at one Corner of the Road which leads to *Jacatra*, where one turns off to go to the *Portuguese* Church; and their Assemblies usually held in a Room on the Ground-floor. The Conspirators likewise met often at a Country-house of his, situated on the *Sunder*, from whence they carried on a Correspondence with several *Mohammedan* Princes, and many Chiefs of the *Indian* Nations, whom they had found Ways and Means to draw over to their Party. The Letters upon this Subject were written by the second, third, fourth, and fifth, of these Criminals; who also read those they received in Answer, because the first-mentioned *Peter Erberfeld* was not able either to write or read the Languages they made use of: And it was likewise the same Criminals that were charged with the Care of delivering those Letters, or causing them to be deli-

vered, to those to whom they were addressed, and of receiving their Answers.

The Accused have likewise acknowledged, that some of them dispersed themselves through different Quarters of the flat Country, in order there to sell or distribute amongst the Inhabitants a kind of *Diemats*, or little Stamps, marked with certain Characters, which were to signify those, who carried them about them, from Murder-shots, or Wounds from Swords or other Weapons; and that the said Stamps were fabricated by the second, third, fourth, and fifth, of the said Prisoners. The Conspirators had agreed, that the first Attack should be made on the House of the Governor-General, and on the Residences of the Council, and other Magistrates, in the Citadel, and in the City, so as to massacre all the principal Persons of the Government; which, had it been effected, would certainly have contributed very much to the Success of their Enterprize. The first, second, and third, of the Criminals were to have had the Command in the Attack of the Citadel; and the fourth, fifth, and sixth, that of the Town. The Attack was to be made on *New-year's-day*, as soon as ever the Gates were open. The Rendezvous of the Conspirators was fixed for the Evening, that should have preceded the Attack, at an House of the principal Conspirator *Erberfeld*, situate, as is before-mentioned, in the Road to *Jacatra*, in order for them to confer together, and to slide away from thence, some into the Citadel, and some into the Town.

To prevent all Misintelligence among themselves, and that the Affair might be conducted with the greatest Order possible, they agreed beforehand on this Regulation; viz. that *Peter Erberfeld*, as soon as the Massacre was over, should assume the Title of *Gulji*, or King, as well in the City, as in the Citadel; and that the second Criminal *Catadia* should have the Title of *Rading*, or Prince, in the low Country without the City, quite to the Mountains. As to the rest, they were to have the Title of *Pangem*, or Princes, and were to be established *Mantrins*, or Chiefs, and Counsellors to the King: They were also to execute, in their several Districts, the Function of *Tammegans*, that is, Generals, in Conjunction with *Singa Patria*, who had been actually established, by the Company's Authority, Chief of *Sikias*: The Conspirators had moreover agreed, that, after the Execution of their Designs, the Chief *Peter Erberfeld* was to take into his Service a College or Board of twelve young Men, each of the Age of twenty, or thereabouts, to be drawn out of the Families of the principal Conspirators; which twelve Persons were to have been sent to the Princes and Chiefs of the *Mohammedans*, in order to have settled the Duties and Customs they were, for the future, to pay at *Batavia*; all which appears clearly from the intercepted Letters, to which the Confession and Deposition of the five principal Criminals are agreeable in every respect.

Conformable to this detestable Plan, the Conspirators had taken sufficient Precaution for securing to themselves the Means necessary to assist and support them after the Massacre was begun, by a Body of 17,000 Men, drawn from several Places in the Neighbourhood of *Batavia*, and, for the most part, named by the Prisoners. According to their Scheme, this Body was to have been divided into several Detachments, all of which were to have been ready to march at a certain Time. The Signal being given, each of these Detachments was to have put itself in Motion, and, by the high Roads, as well as by private Ways, to have advanced, and taken Possession of all the Gates, to hinder so much as a single Person's escaping, that the News of this bloody Action might be the longer before it reached *Holland*. With this View, and for the better Execution of their Project, the Conspirators had already secured, by the Distribution of the *Diemats* before-mentioned, 1000 Men. *Maja Praja* had undertaken to send as many; and 2000 had Orders to descend from the Mountains of the South, and to join those, who were hid in the Neighbourhood, in order to the Perpetration of this horrible Design, on *January 2, 1722*.

The whole Scheme was entirely settled three Days before the intended Massacre, *Peter Erberfeld* having disposed all things, and given his Orders for the

of it in the following Manner; viz. 800 Men were to have posted themselves at *Crolo* on the *Mill River*, beyond the advanced Guard of the *Fort Ryfzyk*; 2000 Men were to have marched into the Country of the Chief *Peter d'Alida*, particularly to *Grogol*, and the Places in its Neighbourhood; and another Body of 1000 Men was to have defiled to *Mangadova*, *Piefang*, *Batu*, and the Places in that Neighbourhood. To these several Bodies it was agreed that all the rest of the Conspirators should have joined themselves from the different Retreats in which they were concealed, in Places adjacent to *Bata-via*, that, by the Junction of so great a Force, they might have executed their Schemes in their full Extent, and maintained themselves in Possession. In case they had succeeded in their Design, they were to have been, as their own Letters sufficiently shew, supported and sustained by another Body of upwards of 10,000 *Balejans*, whom they had engaged to pass the Mountains on the Side of *Cadiri*, by *Maturin* on the South Side, and by *Campongbaru*, in order to have taken Post on the Mountain of *Guru*. In case it should have so happened, that the Inhabitants of *Campongbaru* had refused to submit, the *Balejans* had Orders to put them all to the Sword, and to march immediately towards the City, to have completed the Massacre of all such as should have opposed them, and totally to have exterminated the Christians, that the Company might not only have been deprived of their Dominions for the present, but prevented from ever recovering them, or carrying on the smallest Commerce in these Parts.

Peter Erberfeld had been solicited, for two Years together, to enter into this wicked Design, by the second Criminal *Catadia*, who had spent six Years in framing it; during which time he had been continually travelling up and down the Country, and fixing secret Correspondencies for the bringing about his Purpose; and, if he did not carry things soon into Execution, it was for no other Reason, but because he had a mind to see what Turn the War of *Java* would take, that he might make an Advantage of it. The Prisoner *Maja Praja* was of very great Use to the Rebels, having had an Opportunity of informing himself very exactly as to the Forces of the Company, and their Resolutions, while he lived heretofore as Clerk with *Mr. John Mantien*, who was Major in the Company's Service. The Prisoners *Tomboam*, *Grambrek*, and *Mietas*, had also a perfect Knowledge of all these villainous Designs, and contributed all in their Power towards carrying on this Conspiracy, having often assisted at the Deliberations, that were held at the House of *Peter Erberfeld*, as is before-mentioned.

All the Points of this Conspiracy, however abominable and amazing, are but too well established as Facts, by the Proofs that have been obtained; nay, some of the Chiefs were so audacious, as to divulge their Design, believing, no doubt, that they had taken their Measures so effectually, that it was not possible for them to miss of Success. Of this, it is certain, the Company had felt the sad Experience, if, through the Mercy of the Divine Providence, always watchful over the Elect, this terrible Conspiracy had not been traversed; inasmuch that every Circumstance was discovered, and all the Accomplices secured, without the least Emotion happening amongst their numerous Adherents. The Enormity of this Design becomes so much the deeper, when it is considered, that the Conspirators had fixed on a Friday for the Execution of their Design, which is the *Mohammedans Sabbath*, on which it is not lawful for them to shed human Blood; inasmuch as they ought then to be taken up with the Acts of their Religion: But they thought, no doubt, they should be able to expiate this Sacrilege, by the butchering such a Number of Christians.

That which is most abominable in this execrable Affair falls upon *Peter Erberfeld*, who is, or at least has always given himself out to be, a Christian; and yet has sought himself to such a degree, as to put himself at the Head of a Body of Rebels and Assassins, who were to have cut the Throats of his Superiors, and of his Brethren, at the same time that he was guilty of the blackest Ingratitude, since his Father was heretofore a Member of the Provin-

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cial College, and a Captain of Horse. In spite of all these Circumstances, which ought most certainly to have restrained him within the Bounds of his Duty towards his lawful Sovereign, he has been wanting therein to such a degree, as to form the most barbarous and wicked Design, that was ever heard-of, consisting, as himself has confessed, in a fixed Resolution of butchering, without Distinction, every Christian in the Island of *Java*, in order to make himself Master of the City and Citadel of *Batavia*. He ought, however, to know, that Heaven never suffers such flagrant Offences to remain unpunished, but exposes such as are guilty of them to the severest Chastisements.

We the Judges having heard and examined the Information preferred *ex officio* by *Henry van Steel*, Drossard of the flat Country, against the before-mentioned Criminals, who have confessed the Whole, and submitted themselves voluntarily to this Conclusion; it is therefore concluded, Regard being had to the before-mentioned Crimes, and all the Circumstances relating to them, and we hereby conclude and decree in Justice, in the Name, and on the Part, of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, that we condemn the before-mentioned Prisoners, with the Approbation of the Governor-General *Mr. Swarderkroon*, and of the Counsellors of the *Indies*, to be transported to the Place before the Citadel, where it is usual to execute Criminals, there to be delivered into the Hands of the Hangman, in order to receive their respective Punishments in the Manner following: The two Criminals *Erberfeld* and *Catadia*, otherwise styled *Rading*, shall be extended and bound each of them on a Cross, where they shall each of them have their Right Hands cut off, and their Arms, Legs, and Breasts, pinched with red-hot Pincers, till Pieces of the Flesh are torn away. They shall then have their Bellies ripped up from Bottom to Top, and their Hearts thrown in their Faces; after which, their Heads shall be cut off, and fixed upon a Post; and their Bodies, being torn in Pieces, shall be exposed to the Fowls of the Air without the City, in whatever Place the Government shall please to direct.

The other four Criminals *Maja Praja*, *Sana Suta*, otherwise *Wangsa*, *Suta Tiflira*, and *Layek*, are to be each of them bound upon a Cross, and have their respective Right Hands cut off, their Arms, Thighs, and Breasts, pinched, their Bellies ripped open, and their Hearts thrown in their Faces, and their Limbs exposed upon a Wheel in the usual Places, there to become a Prey to Birds. The other ten Criminals shall be each of them tied upon a Cross on the Scaffold, and, in case there be not Room on the Scaffold itself, on a Place near it, where they shall be broken alive, without receiving the *Coup de Grace*. They shall be afterwards carried to the ordinary Place of Execution, and there exposed on a Wheel, and guarded so long as they shall live there; and, after they expire, be left a Prey to the Birds. The other three, *Tomboam*, *Grambrek*, and *Mietas*, are condemned to be each of them tied to a Stake, and there strangled, till they are dead. Their Bodies shall be then carried, like the rest, to the common Place of Execution, and there exposed on Wheels, for the Nourishment of the Birds. We likewise further condemn the said Criminals to the Costs and Expences of Justice, and to the Confiscation of half their Effects: This being paid, renouncing all further Pretensions. Done and decreed in the Assembly of my Lords the Counsellors of Justice, this Wednesday the 8th of April, all the Judges, except *Mr. Craivanger*, being present. This Sentence was executed as pronounced, on Wednesday, April the 22d, 1722.

In Process of Time, there were abundance of their Accomplices discovered, and, one after another, executed. The House, in which *Peter Erberfeld* lived, was pulled down, and razed to the Ground; and, on that Side of it, which looked to the great Road, a Column of Infamy was erected, on the Chapter of which was placed a Death's-head. There was also a Table placed on the said Column, on which was engraven in five different Languages; viz. in Dutch, Portuguese, Malayan, Javaneze, and Chinese, the following Inscription: In this Place heretofore stood the House of that unworthy Traitor *Peter Erberfeld*, on which Spot no other House shall stand henceforth for evermore. It was

never certainly known how this Treason was discovered : Some say, that it was owing to a Slave ; others, that it was betrayed by a Woman. There are some likewise of Opinion, that one or other of the Conspirators themselves revealed it. But that which has the most Appearance of Truth is, that the Government received its Informations from the King of *Bantam* ; for it is certain, that *Peter Erberfeld* wrote to him, not only every Circumstance of his Conspiracy, but informed him likewise, that, when he had extirpated the Christians, he intended to attack the Emperor of *Java*. The King of *Bantam*, perceiving by this the daring and ambitious Spirit of the Man, began to think, that his own Safety was, in some measure, concerned ; and that there could not be a better or shorter Method taken to prevent his having it in his Power to do Mischief, than to discover his Schemes immediately to the Company. It is also remarkable, that *Mr. Vanden Bosch*, Minister at *Macassar*, who wrote a Poem on this Conspiracy, insinuates, that the Discovery was owing to the Friendship of a great Monarch.

28. The Ecclesiastical Government at *Batavia* consists generally of eleven Persons, all Ministers of the Reformed Religion ; viz. five for the two *Dutch* Churches in the City, and that in the Citadel, besides the Minister that resides in the Island of *Onrust* ; three *Portuguese* Ministers, and two *Malayans*. The five last likewise are *Dutchmen* by Birth, though they preach in the *Portuguese* and *Malayan* Tongues : And as it is necessary, that the State should be very well informed of whatever passes amongst their Clergy when they meet together, the eleventh Person is a Deputy on the Part of the Government, who is to see, that they undertake nothing prejudicial to the Civil Government, or inconsistent with the Laws, which the Company has prescribed. Besides these Ministers, the Consistory is composed of eight Elders, and twenty Deacons. One great Branch of their Business is, to send Ministers into other Governments, where, after a certain Term of Years, they are relieved, and return either to *Batavia*, or to *Holland*, to enjoy in Peace the Fruits of their Labours. Our Author tells us, that there came home with him a certain Preacher, who had made so good Use of his Time, that, on his Return, he bought a noble Fief, and of a Pastor immediately became a Man of Quality.

In other little Places, they have no ordinary Minister ; but one is sent thither regularly every three or four Years, to baptize, marry, and give the Lord's Supper ; which is so much the more necessary, because the Synods have taken a Resolution not to permit any Religion, but the Reformed, to make any Progress in the Dominions of the *East India* Company.

The *Lutherans*, for a long Space of Time, have warmly solicited for a Church at *Batavia*, but have been constantly refused it, though certainly their Demand was equally just and reasonable, especially in a Place where *Mohammedans* and *Pagans* are freely tolerated in the Exercise of their Religions ; nay, and even the *Chinese*, who, as we before observed, worship the Devil himself. This Ecclesiastical Council have also dependent, upon them, the Consolators of the Sick, Schoolmasters and Catechists. Of these last the Company have a great many in their Service on board their Ships, whose Duty it is to say Prayers constantly every Day, and to instruct such as embrace the Christian Religion. These Catechists are, for the most part, Natives of the Country ; and, as they speak several Languages, they are the better enabled to give the necessary Instructions, and to teach the Confession of Faith to so many different Nations ; who, after being converted and baptized, are to receive the Communion. For the better Preservation of Uniformity, there is an annual Visitation made by the Ministers of all the new Converts.

In consequence of these Regulations, the Reformed Religion makes a great Progress, especially among the Negroes, of whom our Author says he has seen 150 at a time who demanded Baptism ; which, however, is not rashly granted, since all who receive it are obliged to be well instructed, and to be able to make their Confession of Faith before it is bestowed ; and in this the *Dutch* are so strict, that they do not dispense, in this Particular, even with Princes and Princesses themselves. It is well enough known, that the *Chinese* are so obstinately addicted to their *Great Confucius*, as not to be over-ready to embrace any other

Religion ; yet there are, from time to time, some of them who abjure their Idolatry, and embrace the Protestant Faith. Our Author, however, seems to doubt a little the Sincerity of these Confessions, from an Apprehension, that the *Chinese* are seldom sincere in any thing ; and, as a Reason for his Suspicion, he tells us, that a *Chinese*, having renounced his Superstition, made use of this remarkable Phrase : At present I am going to embrace the Religion of the Company.

As to the Military Establishment, it is pretty much the same in the *East Indies* as in the *United Provinces*, the Troops in the Company's Service being as regularly paid, and as well disciplined, as those in *Holland*. The first Officer, in Command, in Time of Peace, has, strictly speaking, no higher Rank than that of Major, under whom are Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns : But, when the Troops are in the Field, the Lieutenants and Ensigns are at the Head of Companies, the Captains lead Brigades, and the Major, as a Major General, commands in chief. All the Forces, as hath been before observed, are under the immediate Command of one of the Counsellors of the *Indies* ; the Natives of the Country are under the Command of their own Officers, who are capable of rising to the Rank of a Captain, but not higher. The Burgesses of *Batavia* choose also their own Officers, as high as the Rank of Captains of Horse and Foot : They are under the Command of a Colonel, who is also one of the Counsellors of the *Indies*, and, at the same time, President of the Council of War.

The Maritime Force, in the Service of the *East India* Company, is regulated on the same Foot, and on the same Maxims, as their Military Establishment ; that is to say, there are no Officers wanting necessary to the Preservation of good Discipline ; nor are there any honoured with high Titles, merely to secure large Appointments to them, without any Benefit to the State. The whole Fleet is under the Direction of one Officer, who has the modest Title of Commander, or Commodore ; he has under him a Vice-Commander ; and, besides these, there are no Flag-officers, but every Captain has the Command of his Ship. When their Vessels are in the Harbour of *Batavia*, the Captains are obliged to repair every Morning to the Commander, or Commodore, in order to make Report to him of the State of their Vessels, and to receive his Orders : Yet, even this Commander of the Fleet does nothing of Consequence without the Consent and Approbation of the Governor-General, to whom, in fact, all the Officers of the Company, Civil, Military, and Marine, are accountable ; so that it plainly appears, the *Dutch* are forced to retain the Stadtholdership, or Government of a single Person, in the *Indies*, though they have thought fit to rid themselves of it at Home ; and, indeed, without such an Establishment, it is not easy to conceive, how their Affairs in the *Indies* could be so well carried on as they are.

29. The Country about *Batavia* is inexpressibly beautiful, inasmuch that one may safely aver, Nature and Art seem to strive which shall have the greatest Share in adorning it. The Air is sweet and mild, the Land fertile, and finely diversified with Hills and Valleys ; and all these are improved by regular Plantations, beautiful Canals, and whatever else may contribute to render a Country pleasant and agreeable. But to step a little out into the Island : *Java* may be about 300 Leagues in Circumference, divided into abundance of Kingdoms and Principalities, all of them dependent on the Emperor, who resides at *Kattajura*. We must, however, except out of the Number of these tributary Princes the Kings of *Bantam* and *Japara*, who do not acknowledge his Authority. The Country produces, not only all Things necessary for the Subsistence of Man, but also large Proportions of those valuable Effects which form the Commerce of the Country. It is divided by many Rivers, Woods, and Mountains, in all of which Nature has very bountifully bestowed her Treasures. It is certain, that in some Parts of the Island there are Gold Mines : The Regency at *Batacia*, in hopes of profiting by them, wrought for some Years the Mountains of *Parang* ; but so fell-out, that the Marcassites were not fully ripened, so that, after all, the Company were at the Expence of a Million to no Purpose. Such as had the Direction of this Enterprize were very much censured, and the Works have been

been long since discontinued. There are People, however, who are thoroughly persuaded, that the Natives of the Country find, in many Places, considerable Quantities of Gold, which Places, however, they carefully conceal from the Europeans. During the last War in Java, which lasted from the Year 1716 to 1721, the Inhabitants of some Parts of the Country were so often, and so miserably, plundered, that they were reduced to absolute Beggary; yet it was observed with Astonishment, that, in the Space of one Year's Peace, these very People grew excessively rich, and had not only great Quantities of Gold in Duff, but also in Ingots.

The Mountains in this Island are many of them so high, as to be seen at the Distance of thirty or forty Leagues. That which is called the *Blue Mountain*, is by far the highest of them all, and seen the farthest off at Sea. They have frequent and very terrible Earthquakes in this Country. There happened one when our Author was there, which frightened him to such a degree, that he did not recover it in a Week. It began about eight of the Clock in the Morning, and shook the City, and Places adjacent, to such a degree, that the Fall of the Houses was expected every Moment. The Waters in the Road were excessively agitated, inasmuch that their Motion resembled that of a boiling Pot. In some Places the Earth opened, which afforded a strange and terrible Spectacle. The Inhabitants are of Opinion, that these Earthquakes are caused by the Mountain *Parang*, which is full of Sulphur, Salt-petre, and Bitumen, which, taking Fire by their intestine Commotions, cause a prodigious Struggle in the Bowels of the Earth, and of consequence an Earthquake; and they assure us, that it is very common, after such an Accident, to see a large Cloud of Smoke hanging over the Top of the Mountain. About thirty Years ago, General *Ribeck*, who then commanded in the Island, went, with a considerable Number of Attendants, to the Top of that Mountain. On his Arrival there he perceived a large Cavity in the Mountain, into which he caused a Man to be let down, that he might examine the Inside. The Man, when he returned, reported, that the Mountain was hollow within; that he had heard a most frightful Noise of Torrents of Water on every Side; and that here-and-there he had seen Flames burst out, so that he was absolutely afraid of going far, from an Apprehension of being either stifled by the Vapours, or of falling through some of the Chasms.

It is certain, that the Waters in the Neighbourhood of this Mountain are very far from being wholesome, and that even those that come to *Batavia* are impregnated with Sulphur. Those who drink much of them contract various Disorders, but chiefly a Dysentery: Yet this Water, being boiled, is freed thereby from all those sulphureous Particles, and does no sort of Hurt, though drank ever so copiously. The Fruits and Plants in this Island are in their Kinds excellent, and almost out of Number. That, however, which is, or ought to be, esteemed most, is the Cocoa, which, as a Fruit, has been already described, and therefore shall be considered here purely as a Tree. The Bark of it is reduced into Threads, of which they make very good Cordage, and particularly Cables. The Timber is equally fit for building Ships and Houses, which are covered with Leaves of the same Tree. It is said, that when the Father of a Family in this Country has a Child born, he orders a Cocoa-tree to be planted, that it may know its own Age; for this Tree has a Circle rises annually on its Bark, as on the Horns of a Cow, so that its Age is known by Inspection; and if any body ask the Father how old his Children are, he sends them to his Cocoa-trees.

There are abundance of Woods and Forests scattered over the Island, in which are all kinds of wild Beasts, such as Buffaloes, Tygers, Rhinoceroses, and wild Horses; and they likewise abound with an infinite Variety of Serpents, some of them of a prodigious Size. Crocodiles are prodigiously large in Java, and are found chiefly in the Mouths of Rivers; for, being amphibious Animals, they delight most in Marshes and Savannas. This Creature, like the Tortoise, lays its Eggs in the hot Sands, without taking any farther Care of them, and the Sun hatches them at the proper Season, when they run instantly into the Water. Some small time before our Author came to *Batavia*, a Crocodile was taken in a River's Mouth to the Eastward of

the City, which was upwards of thirty-three Feet in Length, and proportionably big. There is, in short, no kind of Animal wanting here: Fowls they have of all sorts, and exquisitely good, especially Peacocks, Partridge, Pheasants, Wood-pigeons; and, for Curiosity, they have the *Indian Bat*, which differs little in its Form from ours, but its Wings, when extended, measure a full Yard, and the Body of it is of the Size of a Rat.

They have Fish in great Plenty, of different Sorts, and very good; so that, for the Value of Three-pence, there may be enough bought to dine six or seven Men. They have likewise a Multitude of Tortoises, the Flesh of which is very little inferior to Veal, and there are many who think it better. As the flat Country abounds in this manner with all sorts of Provisions, there are daily great Quantities brought to *Batavia*; and, to prevent any Danger of Scarcity, the Vessels belonging to the Company are continually employed in bringing, from the most distant Parts of the Island, Provisions, Spices, and other Necessaries, such as Indigo, Rice, Pepper, Cardamoms, Coffee, &c. There are also laid up, in the Magazines at *Batavia*, all the various kinds of rich and valuable Commodities, not of Java only, but all the *Indies*, ready to be transported thence, either to other Ports of the Company's Dominions, or in the Ships that return annually to *Holland*. These may be, in some measure, compared to the Flota and Flotilla of the *Spaniards*; and therefore of these we shall give a very clear and distinct Account.

These Ships sail from *Batavia* for *Holland* five times a Year: The first go in the Month of *July*, and this Squadron consists of four or five Sail, which touch in their Passage at the Island of *Ceylon*: The second, making a Fleet of sixteen or twenty Sail, leave *Batavia* in the Month of *October*; they formerly did not sail till the Month of *December*, but that Regulation is changed, and they sail now constantly in the Month of *October*: The third Squadron, of six or seven Vessels, sails in *September*; the 4th, of four or five, in *January*; and the last Vessel, in the Month of *March*, but not till the *Chinese* Fleet is arrived, which brings the Tea; and of this the best Part of the Cargo of the homeward-bound Vessel is made up; and, therefore, this is commonly called the Tea Ship; the common People likewise call it the Book Ship, because it brings the current Account of the Company for the Year, by which they see the State of their Trade in the *Indies*. It is to be observed, that all these Vessels, laden with the Riches of so many Countries, sail from the same Port of *Batavia*. The Ships from *Mocho*, which bring home the Coffee, are the only Vessels in the *India* Company's Service allowed to proceed directly home, without going to *Batavia* at all. Such is the State of *Batavia*, and the Island of Java; such the domestic Economy of that great Company in its principal Plantation. We will now look abroad, examine the Extent of its Dominions, the valuable Commodities they produce, and the Means by which the Company governs so wide an Empire, and manages so extensive a Commerce.

30. The first and the best Government, after *Batavia*, is that of the Island of *Ceylon*. The Governor, who resides there, is usually one of the Council of the *Indies*; and his Council, appointed to assist him, is framed in the same manner with that of *Batavia*; the single Difference is, that the latter are not quite so great Men as the former. Tho' the Governor of *Ceylon* is dependent on the Council of the *Indies* at *Batavia*, he is, however, at Liberty to write directly to the Directors of the Company in *Holland*, without asking the Permission of the Governor-General, and without being obliged to give him any Account of their Conduct in that respect. This singular Prerogative has had very bad Effects, because it has frequently tempted the Governors of *Ceylon* to endeavour to withdraw themselves from the Obedience of the Company, in order to become absolute Sovereigns of the Island. There have been many Examples of this kind, but it will be sufficient to dwell here on the two last, which have made so much Noise in *Europe*.

These *Indian* Commotions were owing to the Tyranny of two Governors, who immediately succeeded each other, the one named *Fuist*, and the other *Perstays*. The whole Transaction fell out thus: As soon as Mr. *Rumpf* left his Government of *Ceylon*, Mr. *Fuist*, his Successor, began to act

act the Barbarian towards all those who were not so lucky as to be in his good Graces: He persecuted the *Europeans* as well as the *Indians*, and was alike terrible to all. As he had, from the Beginning, this Project in his Head, of rendering himself an independent Sovereign, he pursued it steadily, and by the Methods that were fittest for accomplishing his Purpose. In the first Place, he thought it necessary to rid himself of the richest Persons in the Island, and of such as were of the greatest Reputation for Wisdom, Experience, and Penetration. In order to save Appearances, and play the Villain with an Air of Justice, he thought it requisite to forge a Plot; and caused Informations to be preferred against such as he intended to ruin, for being in a Conspiracy to betray and deliver up the principal Fortresses in the Island to some foreign Power: Which Scheme of his served him doubly; for, in the first Place, it seemed to manifest a great Zeal for the Company's Service; and, in the next, it gave him an Opportunity to convict those he hated of High Treason, which deprived them at once of Life and Fortune.

To manage this more effectually, he thought it requisite to change his Council, and to bring into it such as he could depend upon. The Confiscation of the Estates and Effects of a Number of innocent Persons, whom he condemned and murdered under colour of his Attention to the public Welfare, put it in his Power to oblige many, and to raise a vast Number of Creatures. To make this short History the more intelligible, it will be proper to give the Reader the Character of the Man. Mr. *Vuiss* was born in the *Indies*, of *Dutch* Parents; he had naturally a strong Capacity, which he had improved by an assiduous Application to his Studies. His dark Brow, and cloudy Air, sufficiently shewed the Cruelty of his Disposition, and that Flintiness of Heart, which distinguished him from other Men. He loved and protected the *Indians*, either from a natural Inclination, as they were his Countrymen, or because he thought them less capable of penetrating, and less willing to traverse, his Designs. In order to gain them intirely to his Devotion, he preferred them as often as any Vacancies fell in his Government would permit; and this in direct Opposition to the repeated Instructions of the Company, directing him to bestow the principal Posts in the Island on *Dutchmen*, or other *Europeans*.

This did not proceed from an absolute Diffidence, in the Company, of the *Indians* in general, which they neither had, nor ought to have, since Experience has taught them, that there are, amongst the *Indians*, Persons of as much Probity, and approved Fidelity, as among the *Dutch* themselves: And our Author assures us, of his own Knowledge, that some, with whom he had occasion to contract Acquaintance, distinguished themselves towards him by indubitable Marks of sincere Friendship, and the greatest Uprightness in their Conduct. He adds farther, that the last time he was in the *Indies*, the General who commanded all the Forces, in the Service of the Company, was an *Indian* born: His Name was *Dirk de Cloon*, a Man of very great Capacity, an excellent Officer, and of acknowledged Virtue and Merit; of which his rising to that high Post, though not a *Dutchman* born, ought to be considered as the most convincing Proof. But to return to Mr. *Vuiss*, and his Transactions, which brought upon him such a Reward as every Traitor ought to meet with.

He carried on his Designs, for a long time, with the greatest Dexterity and Cunning, acquiring by Gifts, and other Artifices, a prodigious Number of Dependents, who were ready to support him even in the blackest of his Designs. This, however, he could not do without giving Umbrage to some of the Company's faithful Servants, who sent over to *Holland* such clear and perfect Informations of his Behaviour, as gave sufficient Light to his real Intentions, in spite of all the hypocritical Arts he made use of to conceal them. At last, therefore, the Company sent Mr. *Versluis* directly to *Ceylon* to succeed him, with Orders to send *Vuiss* Prisoner to *Batavia*, where he was called to an Account for his Conduct. As soon as he came thither, abundance of Informations were preferred against him, for a Variety of Crimes, of a private as well as public Nature; into all which the Council of Justice caused the strictest Inquiry to be made, and took care to be furnished with

every kind of Proof. In fine, after abundance of Examinations and Interlocutories, he freely confessed, that he had caused nineteen innocent Persons to be most cruelly put to Death; adding farther, that as he had, to keep up a Shew of Justice, put them all to the Torture, so, by the Severity of this Proceeding, he had extorted from every one of them a Confession of Crimes, none of which had ever so much as entered into their Heads. Such flagrant Offences certainly deserved the severest Punishment the Laws could inflict! The Sentence passed upon him was to this Effect: That he should be broken alive upon the Wheel, his Body immediately quartered, and, those Quarters being burnt on a Pile of Wood, the Ashes to be put in a Cask, and thrown into the Sea, as unworthy of any other Interment: Which Sentence, without the least Mitigation, was put in Execution within a few Days after it was pronounced. Such was the deserved End of the Traitor and Tyrant *Vuiss*; but, sure, the Reader will be astonished to hear, that the next Instance to be produced of a like, and, perhaps, of a worse Conduct, is that of his Successor *Versluis*, who was sent expressly to amend what the other had done amiss, and to make the People forget, by a mild and gentle Administration, the Excesses committed by his Predecessor.

This Man had by no means the Cruelty of *Vuiss*; and therefore he shed no Blood, strictly speaking; but he acted as despotically and tyrannically as the other, though with much more Subtlety, and under a fairer Appearance. The great Point he aimed at, was not the absolute Possession of the Country, but the Possession of all that was valuable in it. As soon as ever he was settled in his Post, he raised the Price of Rice, which is the Bread of that Country, to such an extravagant Height, that, in a very short time, the People were not able to purchase it, so that they were by degrees reduced to Beggary and Starving. Their humble Representations of the great and general Misery which reigned among all Ranks of People throughout the whole Island, made no manner of Impression upon him; but all things went on from bad to worse, till an Account of his Conduct was sent over to *Holland*. The States General were no sooner informed of the Distress the Inhabitants of *Ceylon* were in, than they immediately appointed a new Governor, one Mr. *Dornbourg*, and gave him particular Instructions to repair past Errors, and to treat the Subjects of the *East India* Company with all the Tenderness and Indulgence possible, that they might be convinced, their Grievances proceeded from the Wickedness of particular Men, and not from any Disposition in their Sovereigns to Oppression.

On the Arrival of Mr. *Dornbourg*, Things took a very new and unexpected Turn; for *Versluis*, after begging a whole Nation, took it into his Head, that they would defend him against his Masters, and therefore absolutely refused to surrender the Government; and had even the Insolence to fire upon the Company's Ships, as they rode at Anchor in the Road of *Colombo*. But all this signified nothing; Mr. *Dornbourg* landed; his Authority was immediately acknowledged by all in the Company's Service, and by the People. He instantly caused *Versluis* to be arrested, and sent Prisoner to *Batavia*, where a long criminal Prosecution was carried on against him, but with indifferent Success; for he had taken care to cover himself so effectually, that it was found almost impossible to obtain other than circumstantial Proofs: At last, he thought proper to lay down a very large Sum of Money, which was to attend the Event of the Suit; and he was set at Liberty, that he might be the better able to defend himself. Our Author says, he has no Account of the Event of this Affair; but, at the Time he wrote his Book, there were new Disturbances and Complaints in *Ceylon*, of which Country he has given us the following Description.

Of all the *Asiatic* Islands, *Ceylon* is, perhaps, the finest, and most fruitful: It lies to the South-east of the Peninsula of *India*, beyond the *Ganges*, and separated from the Coasts of *Coromandel* by the Straights of *Chilao*, or of *Manar*. Its Situation is between 6° and 10° of North Latitude, and 121° and 123° of Longitude, so that it contains about fifty-five Leagues in Length from North to South, and thirty from East to West. It is a Speech

delicious, that many have believed it the Seat of the terrestrial Paradise; and it is certain, that the Inhabitants generally believe this, which they pretend to prove, by shewing, at this Day, the Tomb of *Adam*, and the Print of his Foot, on the Mountain called the *Pike of Adam*, which is one of the highest Mountains in all the *Indies*. On another Mountain there is a salt Lake, which the Inhabitants affirm was caused by the Tears shed by *Eve* in her hundred Years weeping for the Death of *Abel*. With regard to the Tomb, the People of *Ceylon* are sure, that there is nothing more certain, than that the Father of Mankind lies interred in it: This they think is put out of Dispute by the Epitaph, which, however, nobody can read. Abundance of curious Travellers have seen and copied the Letters, but to no manner of Purpose; for the Learned, in all Nations, have declared themselves at a Loss for the Sense of it, and the oriental Critics as much as the rest: Whence our Author infers, that we ought to suppose it written in the primitive Language of Mankind, spoken all the World over, before the Confusion of Tongues at *Babel*. Some learned Men are of Opinion, that this primitive Language consisted in the five Vowels, *a, e, i, o, u*, in which is contained the Name of the living God, *viz. IEOVA*, and of which five Vowels it is impossible to compose any other Word, in any Language whatever. It is said, that the late Mr. *Muller*, who was Provost of *Stettin*, and justly famous for his great Learning, was very well versed in this sort of Science, and that it was his Opinion, the Mysteries of all Languages might be discovered by the Help of these Letters. It is also certain, that Mr. *Muller* offered to discover this Key to all Languages to the States General of the United Provinces, for a certain Sum of Money. Undoubtedly, if we had this Key, it would be of great Advantage in respect to our Commerce with the Eastern Nations; but this Affair of the Purchase being drawn out to a tedious Length, that great Man died before any thing could be done in it, and so this important Secret was buried with him.

I have attentively considered the Epitaph in Question, says our Author; and it seems to me, that it ought to be deciphered, in the same manner that is used in reading *Roman* Inscriptions. If I had, continues he, the Science, and the Key, of Mr. *Muller*, I flatter myself, that I should be able to discover the Sense of it. It does not, however, appear, that this Epitaph has any Relation whatever to our first Parent; and, if it was made for any other Person who was interred there, the Opinion of those, who hold that Paradise was seated in this Island, falls of itself to the Ground; for we know, that the Angel of God drove *Adam* and *Eve* out of Paradise after their Fall. *Adam*, therefore, could not possibly die, or be buried, there, unless we should say, that Paradise was no more than a District, or little Country, in this Island. Some Historians, such as *Munster*, and others, assure us, that *Adam* and *Eve*, after their Fall, went to dwell in the Neighbourhood of *Damascus*: They shew, to this Day, at the Distance of two Leagues from that City, the Place where *Cain* slew his Brother *Abel*. *Damascus*, say they, signifies a Place of Blood; which Name was given to this Country to perpetuate the Memory of this first Murder, agreeable to what God said to *Cain*, *The Voice of thy Brother's Blood crieth unto me from the Ground, which hath opened her Mouth to receive thy Brother's Blood from thy Hand*. Most Travellers to oriental Countries have remarked, in their Itineraries, that *Adam* was buried in the Mountain of *Golgotha*; and that, on the Passion of our Lord, the Rocks being rent, there was found in the Cliffs of them the Skull of our first Parent. *Epiphanius* seems to have been of that Sentiment, when he says, that *Adam*, being driven out of Paradise, went to live in the Neighbourhood of *Gerraham*; and that dying there, he was buried in the Mountain *Golgotha*, where his Skull was afterwards found; and that, for this Reason, the Mountain was in succeeding Times called *Calvary*: But this Opinion, says our Author, appears to me to be ill-founded; for the Earth being overturned, and broken to Pieces, in most Parts, by the Deluge, we must necessarily suppose, that the Tomb of *Adam*, wherever it was placed, could not retain its first Situation. It seems to me, therefore, continues he, that the Epitaph

found in the Island of *Ceylon* regards *Noah*, or some of his Family, who established their Dominion in this Island, and who, for that Reason, by a Figure natural enough in any oriental Language, might be styled the Father of Mankind.

This Island was discovered in the Year 1509, by *Joaquim Lopes de Sigavero*. The principal Places therein are *Jafnapatam*, *Trinkenemall*, *Materolo*, *Punta de Gato*, *Columbo*, *Nijembo*, *Scitavaca*, and *Candy*. The *East India* Company are possessed of the whole Coasts of the Island, and ten or twelve Leagues within Land, and of most of the Towns before-mentioned. The *Portuguese*, who were formerly established here, had built abundance of Forts for their own Security, so that it was a very difficult Matter to dislodge them; but, when once the *Dutch* had contracted a secret Alliance with the King of *Candy*, who was Sovereign of the Island, they suddenly found themselves attacked on all Sides, by Land, and by Sea, and were by degrees driven totally out of all their Possessions: As the *Dutch* have ever since taken a great deal of Pains to keep up a good Correspondence with that Monarch, they have obtained from him almost whatever they demanded. The Company send every Year an Embassador to him with various Presents; in Return for which, his Majesty sends the Company a Cabinet of Jewels, of so great Value, that the Vessel which carries it home, is looked upon to be worth half the Fleet. The Governor-General takes care himself to have it so packed up among the rest of the Merchandize, that not only none of the Ship's Company, but even the Captain of the Vessel that carries it, knows not whether it be on board his Ship or no; which shews not only the immense Wealth the Company draws from her Dominions in the *Indies*, but the wise and prudent Measures she employs to secure the Riches she obtains.

The two principal Places in this Island are, *Punta de Gato*, and *Columbo*. This last Place is the Residence of the Governor, and his Council; and the other is properly no more than the Port of that City. The Air of *Ceylon*, though very hot, is, notwithstanding, esteemed to be very wholesome. The Country abounds with most excellent Fruits of all Kinds. They have likewise great Plenty of Rivers, and Sea-fish of various Sorts; Fowls, wild and tame; as also Animals, particularly Elephants, much larger than in any other Country of the *Indies*, Tygers, Bears, Civet-cats, Apes, &c. But that for which the Island is most famous, is its Cinnamon, which is esteemed by far the best in all *Asia*. The *East India* Company have at present the Monopoly of that, as well as all other Spices, and furnish therewith all other Parts of the World.

Cinnamon is, properly speaking, the inner Bark of a Tree, which resembles an Orange; the Flowers of which differ but little from those of the Laurel-tree in their Size and Figure. There are three Sorts of Cinnamon; the finest, which is taken from young Trees; a coarser Sort, taken from the old ones; and wild Cinnamon, which grows not only here, but in *Malabar*, *China*, and, of late Years, in *Brasil*. The Company likewise drives a great Trade in the Oil which is drawn from this Spice, and which is of very great Value. The Company gains also very considerably by the precious Stones that are found in this Island, which are Rubies, Sapphires white and blue, Topazes, &c.

There is likewise established on the Coast of the Island *Manar*, and of *Tockecorin*, a fine Pearl-fishery, which brings in a prodigious Profit. This is let twice a Year to Farm to certain Negro Merchants. The Oysters in which the Pearls are found, lie at the Bottom of the Sea. This Fishery is carried on only in fair Weather, and when the Sea is extremely calm. The Diver has a Cord which passes under his Arms, and is fastened to the Boat; he has a large Stone fixed to his Feet, that he may descend the quicker, and a Sack or Bag about his Waist, into which he puts his Oysters as fast as he finds them. As soon as he is at the Bottom of the Sea, he takes up as many as lie within his Reach, and puts them into his Bag as fast as possible. In order to ascend, he pulls strongly a different Cord from that which is tied about his Body, upon which Signal, those left in the Boat draw him up as fast as they can, while he endeavours to rid himself of the Stone at his

his Feet, that he may rise the faster. When these Boats are full of Oysters, the Negro Merchants carry them all over the Coast, and sell them at so much an Hundred. This kind of Trade is very hazardous for those who purchase the Oysters, since sometimes they find Pearls of great Price, and sometimes none at all, or those that are but of little Value.

The Company draws also a considerable Profit from the Manufactures of Muslin, Chintz, and other Cloths: Yet the greatest Part of the Muslins sent into Europe come from the Coast of Malabar. The Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon are called *Cingolefians*. They are, generally speaking, very tall, of a very dark Complexion, their Ears excessively large; which is owing to the Ornaments they wear in them, that are very large, and very heavy. They are Men of great Courage, live very hard, and therefore make good Soldiers. They are, generally speaking, of the *Mohammedan* Religion; but there are also amongst them Idolaters, who worship Cows and Calves. They do not pay great Respect to the Dutch; but treat them rather with Contempt, and scornfully stile them their *Cock-keepers*. But the Dutch do not trouble themselves much about this, but, like good Politicians, take all the Care in the World to keep up a perfect Correspondence with the King of Candy, that he may never be tempted to quarrel with, and refuse them his Assistance; which would effectually destroy the most valuable Part of their Commerce. This, however, his Majesty might do, if he thought fit, without being under any great Apprehensions from their Power, since his Dominions are separated from theirs by a large rapid River, and by Forests so thick, that it is simply impossible to penetrate them. The Inhabitants of this Island are particularly remarkable for their great Skill in taming Elephants, which they use as Beasts of Burden in time of Peace, and, in time of War, make them very serviceable against their Enemies.

31. The second Government the Company has to bestow, is that of *Ambony*, one of the *Moluccas*. This Island was formerly the Seat of the Governor-General, before the building of *Batavia*, and was transferred to that City, on account of its advantageous Situation, in the midst of all the Company's Settlements; whereas *Ambony* lay too far to the East. Besides, the Island of *Java* was infinitely more fertile than *Ambony* in all Things necessary for Life; so that there was no Necessity of searching for Provisions in other Places; which is a thing they were obliged to do, while the Governor-General remained fixed at *Ambony*. This Island, however, is one of the biggest of the *Moluccas*. It is situated in the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, between the third and fourth Degree of South Latitude, and 145° of Longitude from the *Canary Islands*, and distant 120 Leagues to the Eastward of *Batavia*. This Island was conquered by the Portuguese in 1519; and they built a Fort there, not only to bridle the Inhabitants, but with a View to keep such a Force, as might subject all the adjacent Islands. This Fort, however, was taken from them by the Dutch in 1605; but they did not render themselves entirely Masters of *Ambony*, and the adjacent Countries, till the Year 1627.

This Conquest put the Clove-trade wholly into their Hands, not only without a Partner, but without a Competitor also. These Islands are stiled the *Gold Mine* of the Company; and so indeed they have proved, if we consider how vast a Profit they draw from them, and how little Fear there is of their being ever exhausted. To convince the Reader of this, we need only observe, that a Pound Weight of Nutmegs, or of Cloves, costs the Company, in Fact, not much above an Halipeny; and every body knows at what Rate they are sold in Europe. This Island of *Ambony* is the Centre of all this rich Commerce; and, to keep it more effectually in her Hands, the Company takes care to have all the Clove-trees in the adjacent Islands grubbed up, and destroyed; and sometimes, when the Harvest is very large in *Ambony*, Part of the same is burnt likewise. A few Days after the Fruit is fallen from the Tree, they collect the Cloves together, and dry them before the Fire on Hurdles; by which means they lose the beautiful red Colour they derive from Nature, and change into a deep-purple, or rather a black; which is, perhaps, occasioned by their being sprinkled with Water. It is pretended, that this Sprinkling

is necessary to hinder the Worm from getting into the Fruit; but it is thought, a better Reason may be assigned for it, which is, the adding Weight to the Cloves.

It is at least certain, that such are sent for this Commodity in the Company's Ships, practise a Fraud of this Nature, in order to conceal their Thefts; for, having taken out a certain Quantity of Cloves when first received on board, they place two or three Hogheads of Salt-water amongst them, which, in the Space of a few Days, is drawn in, and sucked up, by the Cloves; so that, upon opening of the Hogheads, they are found quite empty, while the Vessels that contain the Cloves, have recovered their former Weight. By this Contrivance, a Captain of a Ship, and a Merchant or Supercargo, agreeing together, find a Way to cheat the Company of this rich Merchandize with great Facility. However, this Practice, tho' easy and expeditious, is still extremely dangerous; for as the Company never wants Spies, so, whenever a Man is detected in a Fraud of this sort, it infallibly costs him his Life: Of which there are abundance of Instances; inasmuch that it has given Occasion to call the Cloves by the Name of *Galgenkraut*, i. e. the Gallows-plant; that is to say, the Spice that brings a Man to an ill End. The least private Trade in Cloves is looked upon as so flagrant a Contraband, that the Company will rather spare a Man who has broken all the Ten Commandments, than one who has cheated them of Five Pounds of Cloves.

Of this I will give the Reader, says our Author, two Instances, that tell within the Compass of my Knowledge. There was a certain Provost, or Executioner, whose Name I have forgot, but his Christian Name was *Joachim*, and he was a Native of *Lubeck*, who, out of Malice, but a Neighbour of his through the Head. There was, at the same time, a German Apothecary, whose Name was *Gunter*, who dealt in aromatic Oils, and had found a Way to cheat the Company of a Parcel of Cloves; they were both condemned at the same time, *Joachim* to be hanged, and poor *Gunter* to be hanged. In pursuance of their Sentences, they came together to the Place of Execution; and after the usual Time allowed for Prayers was over, Mr. *Gunter* was fairly trussed up, and *Joachim*, who was upon his Knees, expecting the Bullet, had his Eyes unbound, and was sent home in one of the Company's Ships. The last time, continues he, that I was in the *Indies*, there were no less than twenty People at a time taken up for Frauds of this kind. I cannot tell, says he, what became of them; but this I am very clear in, that if there was as plain Evidence against them as against the Apothecary, they certainly met with his Fate; nor would they have been spared, if there had been twice the Number.

The King of *Ambony* receives an annual Pension from the Company, and has, besides, a Guard of European Soldiers maintained at their Expence. The Inhabitants of the Island are of a middle Stature, and of a very black Complexion. They are all of them very lazy, and have most of them a strong Propensity to Thieving; some of them, who are very ingenious, have a singular Art of working up the Cloves, while they are green, into abundance of various Toys, such as Ships, Crowns, little Houses, &c. which are usually sent home to Europe as Presents, and are esteemed of great Value. Such of the *Ambony* as are subject to the King, profess the *Mohammedan* Religion; but there are, besides these, a great Number of *Moslems* in the Island, who live in the Mountains, and acknowledge no Master. They consider themselves as free; but the King and the Company look upon them as Savages; and as they are frequently guilty of Robberies and Murders, so wherever there is any of them caught, they are condemned to perpetual Slavery, employed in the hardest kind of Work, and are treated with the utmost Rigour. There subsists on this account, an hatred not to be expressed between them and the rest of the People of the Island, with whom they are in perpetual War, and to whom they very rarely give any Quarter. Their Arms are a Sword, a Buckler, and a kind of Pike or Javelin.

As to the Force which the Company has in *Ambony*, it consists principally in the Garrison they have in their Fort, which is very numerous, composed of their best Troops, kept constantly in excellent Order. The Fort

self is so strong from Art and Nature, that it is, in a manner, impregnable; and so effectually commands the Harbour, that it is simply impossible for a Vessel to go in or out without being sunk by the Cannon of the Fort, if the Governor should give Orders for that Purpose. One would imagine, that so rich a Commerce, as that of Cloves, might be a sufficient Return for the Expence the Company is at about this Island: But such is their Care to improve every thing to the utmost Advantage, that, of late Years, they have caused Coffee to be planted in *Amboyna*, which is like to turn to great Account. Under the Government of Mr. *Barnard*, however, there was a Discovery made of a Commodity more valuable than Coffee or Cloves; for, through his Vigilance, it was found out, that in some of the Mountains there were considerable Quantities of Gold-dust washed down by the Torrents; and this Discovery, it is said, he pursued with such Effect, as at last to find out the Mine: so that the Wealth of these *Indian* Countries is continually growing, when in the Hands of those who know how to make the best Use of every thing; and, without doubt, if the *Dutch* had suspected, that, besides Sugar, Gold and Diamonds might have been found in *Brasil*, they would not have so easily parted with that Country to the *Portuguese*, who yet, perhaps, do not draw near so much Riches from thence, as the *Hollanders* would have done, had it been continued in their Possession.

But as the Thing then stood, and they knew of no other Wealth than what arose from Sugar, Tobacco, and Dying-woods, they preferred the Trade on the Coast of *Gua*, because there they were sure to meet with Gold. In Process of Time, perhaps, the same Thing may happen with regard to *Terra Australis Incognita*: For though, at present, it is scarce thought worth minding or discovering more perfectly, hereafter, when Accident shews it to be richer than People are at present inclined to believe it, we shall see the Discovery of it prosecuted with the utmost Diligence, upon the good old Principle of, Who could have imagined so fine a Country should have been so long neglected? There is one Thing more to be taken notice of, before we leave *Amboyna*; and that is, a red kind of Wood, which is found in this Island, which, beside the Beauty of its Colour, is exceedingly firm and durable; and, which is still more extraordinary, is naturally embellished in its Grain with abundance of beautiful Figures. With this Wood they make Tables, Cabinets, Escriptoires, and other Pieces of Furniture, of which Presents are made to the principal Persons of the Government, and the rest sold all over the *Indies* at a very extravagant Rate; so that this Article is to be added to those we have already mentioned of the Riches of *Amboyna*.

32. The third Government of the *Indies* is that of the Island of *Banda*, situated twenty Leagues from *Amboyna*, and to the South of the *Moluccas*. The Governor is, generally speaking, an eminent Merchant, who resides at *Nera*, which is the Capital of the Country; and he has, under his Jurisdiction, several other small Islands that lie in this Neighbourhood: The Council of this Government is settled on the same Foot with that of *Amboyna*. In some of the Representations sent home to, and published by, the *East India* Company, this Island is set forth as a Place very expensive to the Company; and it is particularly remarked, that it is so thinly inhabited, as to take off very little of their Goods; and, at the same time, so barren, as to require great Supplies of Provisions: But all this is pure Artifice; though *Banda* is a very small Island, in Comparison of *Amboyna*, as not containing above twelve Leagues in Circumference, yet it certainly produces as great Profits to the Company.

This arises from the important Commerce in Nutmegs, which grow there in such prodigious Quantities, as to enable the *Dutch* to supply all the Markets in *Europe*. The Tree which produces this excellent Fruit, very much resembles a Pear-tree, but its Leaves are like that of a Peach, except that they are smaller. The Nutmeg, when ripe, is pretty much of the same Size as a Walnut, and is covered with two Skins or Shells; the first is very tough, and of the Thickness of a Finger, which falls off of itself, as the Fruit ripens. When it is candied, it has a very fine Taste. The second is of a red Colour, and has a very fine Smell: On the Opening of this, the Fruit appears with a little

Flower at the Top, which is very beautiful. They gather the Nuts, and dry them; but, in the first Place, they are thrown into Quick-lime; for otherwise Worms would breed in and destroy them. There are several Islands in the Neighbourhood of *Banda*, in which Nutmegs would grow, if the Company did not take care to have them destroyed every Year, which, at first Sight, may seem somewhat extraordinary; since one would imagine, that their being thoroughly rooted out once, might prevent their growing again: But this Difficulty is easily solved, when it is known, that the Birds carry them annually into all these Islands; whence the *Dutch* stile them, properly enough, the Gardeners of the Spice-trees.

It is not agreed how this is performed by the Birds, tho' all Travellers allow, that it is performed by them. Mr. *Tavernier* tells us, that the Nutmeg being ripe, several Birds come from the Islands towards the South, and devour it whole, but are forced to throw it up again before it be digested: That the Nutmeg then, beleaved with a viscous Matter, falling to the Ground, takes Root, and produces a Tree, which would never thrive, if it was otherwise planted. Mr. *Thevenot* again informs us, that the Tree is produced after this manner: There are, says he, a kind of Birds in the Island, that, having picked off the green Husk, swallow the Nuts, which, having been some time in their Stomach, they void by the ordinary way, and they fail not to take Root in the Place where they fall, and in time grow up to a Tree. This Bird is shaped like a Cuckoo, and the *Dutch* prohibit their Subjects, under Pain of Death, to kill any of them.

There are, among the Inhabitants of this Island, a sort of free Burgesses, who are called *Perkiniers*; and these People have the sole curing of the Nutmegs, which they furnish to the Company in what Quantities they think proper to demand, for which they receive a very moderate Gratification, and yet live much at their Ease. There grows here, as well as at *Amboyna*, a sort of Tree called *Calupute*, from whence they draw a very rich and salutary Oil, which is sold at a very high Price. The Island of *Banda* is so well fortified, that it is thought to be impregnable; yet, to prevent any Accident that might happen, in case an Enemy should get into the Port under *Dutch* Colours, there is always a large Squadron of small Vessels playing round the Coast, which, upon the first Appearance of a strange Ship, immediately surround her, and examine whence she comes, whither bound, and of what Strength.

The Garrison is numerous, but in a much worse Condition than any other in the Company's Service, which arises from the Want of Victuals, the Island being of a barren, sandy Soil, producing very little Food of any sort, which is the Reason that the Soldiers eat Cats, Dogs, and any other Animals that come to hand. The rest of their Provisions is the Tortoise, of which they have a reasonable Plenty for about six Months in the Year; and, after this, they think themselves very happy, if they are now-and-then able to get a little sorry Fish: They make their Bread of the Juice of a Tree, which resembles, when first drawn, the Grounds of Beer; but, when dried, it grows as hard as a Stone; yet, when put into Water, it swells and ferments, and so becomes fit to eat, that is, in a Country where there is nothing else to be got. As for Butter, Rice, dried Fish, and other Eatables, they are all sent thither from *Batavia*, and come much too dear for the Soldiers to have any great Plenty of them. To speak the Truth, as the Inhabitants are none of the happiest, so, to do them but Justice, they may be said to live full as well as they deserve, since there is not, and perhaps there never was, an honest Man upon the Island.

The Natives were such a Race of cruel, perfidious, and intractable People, at least as the *Dutch* say, that the Company was forced to root them out for their own Security, at least in a great measure, and to send a *Dutch* Colony into the Island; but then it is such a Colony, as hath not much mended the Matter, being composed intirely of a scallily good-for-nothing People, that, not being able to live any-where else, were content to come, or otherwise were sentenced to be sent, to starve here. The best of it is, that their Misery is of no long Date; for, in a very short time, they are carried off by the Dry-gripes, or Twist.

Twisting of the Guts, which is the epidemic Distemper of the Country. It is for this Reason, and because young Fellows that are wild, are sometimes sent thither by their Relations, that the *Dutch* at *Batavia*, generally speaking, call *Randa* The Island of Correction. The only People who live tolerably there are the Negroes, who were settled in it before the *Dutch* Conquest, and have lived there quietly ever since.

33. The Island of *Celebes*, or *Macassar*, is considered as the fourth Government in the *East India* Company's Disposal. It lies between *Borneo* and the *Moluccas*, at the Distance of about 160 Leagues from *Batavia*: Its Form is in a manner circular, and its Diameter about 130 Leagues. It is called, and with great Reason, the Key of the Spice Islands. At the Time our Author was there, Mr. *Arweng* was sent thither Governor, for the second time, to his Misfortune; for in a Fortnight after he arrived, he was poisoned in a Dish of Coffee, which Act of Villainy was supposed to be committed by one of his Slaves. The Form of Government here is pretty much the same as in the other Islands. Since the Time the *Dutch* drove the *Portuguese* out of these Islands, they have taken care to fortify themselves effectually on the Sea-coast, and have always a very numerous Garrison in the Fort of *Macassar*, where the Governor resides; which is so much the more necessary, because this Island is very populous, and the People are, beyond Comparison, the bravest and best Soldiers in the *East Indies*. This Nation for a long time gave the *Dutch* inexpressible Trouble, and rendered their Commerce very precarious: Yet, at last, they were totally subdued, and stand at present as much in Fear of the Company as any other Nation: The Expence, however, of maintaining the Troops that are here, and the other Charges of the Government, are so large, that, till very lately, the Company were no great Gainers by their Conquests, though the Slave-trade is there very beneficial.

The Reason that the Company laid out such large Sums, and took so much Pains to possess themselves of this Island, was in order to render it a Bulwark to the *Moluccas*: For before the last War of *Macassar*, which ended in the complete Ruin of the Power of the Prince of that Country, he found Means to procure great Quantities of Mace, Nutmegs, and Cloves, which he sold to the *English*, and other Nations, at a much more reasonable Rate than the *Dutch* Company; and therefore they ought, in good Policy, to have supported him. The Island is very fruitful, especially in Rice, which is a Commodity of great Value in the *Indies*. The Inhabitants are of a middle Stature, of a yellow Complexion, but of good Features, and are extremely brisk and active. They are naturally Thieves, Traitors, and Murderers; and that to such a Degree, that it is not safe for any Christian to venture, after it is dark, without the Wall of the *Dutch* Forts, or to travel at any time far into the Country, for Fear of being robbed and murdered, than which nothing is more common. Yet there live, under the Protection of the *Dutch* Forts, abundance of the Natives, who are free Burgeesses, and carry on a considerable Trade; as do also the *Chinese*, who sail from hence in their own Vessels into all Parts of the Company's Dominions, deriving immense Wealth from their extensive Commerce.

The inland Country is under the Dominion of three different Princes, who, very happily for the *Dutch*, live in a constant bad Intelligence with each other; and, if it were not for this, they might at any time drive the *Dutch* out of the Island. One of these Princes is also styled the Company's King, because he lives in a good Correspondence with them, and promotes their Interest as far as lies in his Power. They make him, from time to time, Presents of Gold Chains, Coronets of Gold set with precious Stones, and other Things of Value, in order to keep him steady to his Alliance, and prevent his coming to a good Understanding with the other two Monarchs, which might be attended with Consequences very fatal to their Power and Commerce. Some little time before our Author's Arrival at *Batavia*, there happened an extraordinary Event, which, it was thought, would give a great Turn to the

Company's Affairs; and this was the Discovery of a rich Gold Mine, which was conceived to be of so great a Consequence, that not only a great Number of Workmen, but a Director, was also sent from *Batavia* to carry on the Work there: But how far this has been attended with Success, our Author was not able to say, and perhaps it is a Secret that never will be known in its full Extent; since it is a Maxim with the *Dutch East India* Company, never to boast of her Power or Riches, but rather to lessen both in the Representations she makes from time to time to the States General: Which is a Caution very necessary to be known and remembered, in order to have a just Notion of those Accounts, which do not state the Affairs of the Company as they really are, but as they would have them understood to be, the better to incite themselves to the Favour and Protection of the State.

The Island of *Ternate* is the fifth Government in the Company's Disposal, and is the most distant of all the Factories they have in the East; for which Reason they consider it as a kind of Frontier. The Governor is a Merchant, and has a Council, as other Governors have, of whom we have spoken before. This Island is one of the *Moluccas*, of a considerable Extent, and, as we observed before, the King of *Ternate* is the best Ally the Company have. His Country would abound with Cloves, if, at the Request of the Company, he did not cause them to be rooted out every Year, for which the Company pay him an annual Pension of 18 or 20,000 Rixdollars. He has a numerous Life-guard, a very strong Fort, in which there is a strong Garrison, maintained by the Company. The Kings of *Sidore* and *Bacian* are his Tributaries. He has concluded a perpetual Alliance with the Company, by which he has obliged himself to assist them against all their Enemies, which he performs very punctually; as, on the other hand, the Company treat him with the utmost Respect, and afford him whatever Assistance he stands in need of at any time. The Island in general is fruitful, abounding in all Sorts of Provisions, and whatever else a requisite to make Life easy and happy: Yet, after all, the Commerce of it is not very considerable. It is true, the Company dispose there of great Quantities of Cloth, and of such Goods as they receive from *Guinea*: But, notwithstanding this, the Tortoise-shell, and other Commodities, they receive in Return, hardly amounts to as much as a necessary to defray the Expences of the Government; but there is a great Appearance, that the Factory in this Island will for the future turn to a better Account, because some Years ago there has been discovered there a Gold Mine, much richer than any in the *Moluccas*.

As to the Inhabitants, they are a middle-sized People, strong, active, and, generally speaking, more faithful than any of their Neighbours, and much better affected to the *Europeans*. In point of Religion, they are most of them *Pagans*, or *Mohammedans*; and of late, indeed, abundance of them are become Christians, which is, perhaps, in some measure, owing to the King's declaring himself of that Religion, which, in the *East Indies*, and, perhaps, in some other Countries, is a Point of great Consequence towards the Conversion of the People. The Inhabitants of *Ternate* make a kind of Palm-wine, which is exceedingly strong; they call it *Seggeewer*; a very small Quantity of it will intoxicate a Man, and, therefore, it is in high Esteem: There are likewise found here a kind of Birds, the most beautiful that can be seen; their Feathers are of all Sorts of Colours, and so finely diversified, that it is not possible to conceive any thing more charming; they are commonly sent to *Batavia*, where they sell at a very great Price, not only on account of their Rarity, and of their great Beauty, but of their Docility likewise; for they are taught to sing finely, and to imitate the human Voice. There are brought likewise from this Island abundance of the Birds of *Paradise*, of which we have spoken largely before; but it may not be amiss to add here somewhat to the different Kinds of these Birds. The first Sort are the common Birds of *Paradise*, of a yellow Colour, and their Bodies very small, commonly about eight Inches long, exclusive of the Tail, which is half a Yard, and sometimes

more. The second Sort are the Red, the third the Blue, and the fourth the Black. These last are by far the most beautiful, and the most esteemed, inasmuch that they fill them commonly Kings of the Birds of *Paradise*. On their Heads they have generally a Crown, or Tuft of Feathers, which they suffer to lie flat, or raise it up at Pleasure, in the same manner with the *Cadocus* of *India*, which is a Bird entirely white, of the Size of an ordinary Pullet, with a yellow Crown upon its Head. I saw once, says our Author, at *Bantam*, one of these black Birds of *Paradise*, which was exquisitely beautiful, and which was a Present to the King.

The sixth Government bestowed by the Company in the *Indies*, is that of the Cape of *Good Hope*. The Governor is always one of the Counsellors of the *Indies*, and has a Council to assist him in the Administration of Affairs, as the rest of the Governors have, who are appointed by the Company. The Cape is situated on the Coast of *Agnes*, and is the most Southern Point of the Continent of *Africa*. In the Year 1498, it was discovered by *Pascuez de Gama*; and, in the Year 1653, it was taken from the *Portuguese* by the *Dutch*. It is justly esteemed one of the most important Places in the Hands of the Company; though it is certain, that the Profits they draw from it, are not comparable to those which arise from some of the Islands in the *East Indies*; and formerly Things were in a worse Situation, the Revenues arising from that Settlement, falling short of its Expence. Yet it would be impossible for them to carry on their Trade to the *East Indies*, if they were not possessed of this Place; because, at the Cape, and only at the Cape, they can meet with fresh Water, and other Refreshments, in their outward and homeward-bound Voyages, which are absolutely requisite, especially for such as are taken up with the Scurvy, who seldom fail to be recovered by the Helps they meet with here. There is such an abundance of all sorts of Provisions at the Cape, that, notwithstanding the vast annual Demand for them, both by outward and homeward-bound Ships, yet there is never any Scarcity arises; but all Ships, that put in there, meet with the Succours they expect, at a moderate Rate.

Neither are the Refreshments met with at the Cape confined to any particular Sort, as in most other Places; for here are Beef, Mutton, Fowl, Fruit, Herbs, Wine, and, in short, whatever is requisite either to recover the Sick on shore, or to recruit the Ships Stores for the Maintenance of the Men at Sea. In order to have a just Notion of the great Importance of this Place, it will be proper to observe, that, in the Space of a Year, at least forty outward-bound Ships touch there from *Holland* alone; and in these there cannot be less than 8 or 9000 People. The homeward-bound Ships from the *Indies* cannot be fewer, in the Space of a Year, than thirty-six; and on board these there are usually 3000 Souls, not to speak of foreign Vessels, that likewise put in here, and have also all kinds of Refreshments furnished them freely, and at reasonable Prices. This must appear very surprising, when one attentively considers what vast Quantities of every sort of Refreshments such numerous Fleets must require. But this is not all, these Ships do not enter the Port, and sail again directly when they have received the Refreshments of which they stood in need, but continue there for some time; inasmuch that there are always Ships in the Road, except in the Months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, when the Road is dangerous, on account of the North-west Wind, which blows with the utmost Violence during these three Months.

The seventh and last Government is that of *Malacca*; which City is the Capital of a small Kingdom of the same Name, the Inhabitants of which are called *Malayans*. The Governor here is a Merchant, and the Establishment pretty much the same with those in the other Governments. The Kingdom of *Malacca* makes the South Part of the Peninsula of *India* beyond the *Ganges*, and is divided from the great Island of *Sumatra* by a Streight, which bears the Name of the *Streights of Malacca*. The *Dutch* conquered this Place from the *Portuguese* in 1641, and have maintained themselves in the Possession of it ever since. The City is large, and drives a great Trade, in consequence of its excellent Situation, which renders it the Store-house and Magazine of all that Part of *India*. It is likewise the Rendez-

vous of all the homeward-bound Ships from *Japan*, who here make a Distribution of their Merchandizes, and send them, in different Affortments, to all the Company's Settlements throughout the *Indies*. There is one great Inconveniency at *Malacca*, and that is, the Scarcity of Provisions; and even what is to be had consists only of different kinds of Fish.

The Princes, who govern the adjacent Countries, are, as well as their Subjects, most notorious Pirates, and disturb the Trade of the whole *Indies*. They are particularly Enemies to the Company, and lose no Opportunity of doing her Subjects all the Mischief in their Power. They have, however, met with several severe Checks from the *Portuguese*, who were formerly established here, as also from the *Dutch*, who have succeeded them, which, by degrees, has so broken their Power, that, at present, they are less able than ever to do Mischief. Our Author tells us, that, some Years before he wrote his Book, he had Orders to cruise in those Seas in a small Ship, mounted with fourteen Pieces of Cannon, in order to protect the Trade from Pirates. He had not been long in his Station, before he met with one of these Corsairs; but, before he could engage her, she was joined by two of her Consorts. This, however, did not hinder him from attacking them. They made an obstinate Resistance; so that the Fight continued for two Days, till, in the End, he sunk two of them, and the third escaped. On board one of these Vessels there were three Commanders, that were Brethren, who were taken up alive, and carried Prisoners to the *Dutch* Settlements, where they were adjudged to lose their Heads; which, being fixed on long Poles, were set up in *Chiribon* in the Island of *Java*, to terrify others from acting as they had done.

The Inhabitants of *Malacca* are of a very dark Complexion; but are brisk, active People, and, withal, great Robbers and Thieves. Some of them are Idolaters; but, generally speaking, they are *Mohammedans*. It may not be amiss to add here the Manner in which the *Dutch* became Masters of this Place: They were informed, that great Disputes subsisted between them and the King of *Jobore*; from which they immediately conceived Hopes of reducing it. With this View, they fitted out for the *Streights of Malacca* from *Batavia* a strong Fleet, with a great Body of Land-forces on board; and at the same time struck up an Alliance with the King of *Jobore*, offensive and defensive, as long as the Sun and Moon gave Light to the World: On which, the King of *Jobore* assisted the *Dutch* with 20,000 Men, and laid Siege to the Fort by Land, while the *Dutch* distressed it by Sea; and yet, for all that the Fleet and Army could do, they could not have taken it by Force, but by reducing them by Famine; which would have taken up a great deal of Time: So what they could not effect by Force, they did by Fraud. They heard, that the *Portuguese* Governor was a sordid, avaricious Fellow, and much hated by the Garrison; so the *Dutch*, by secret Conveyances, tampered with him by Letters, promising him Mountains of Gold, if he would contribute towards their reducing the Fort. At length the Price was set, and 80,000 Pieces of Eight were to be the Reward of his Treachery; and he was to be safely transported to *Batavia* in their Fleet, and be made a free Denizen there: So he sent secret Instructions to the *Dutch* to make an Attack on the East Side of the Fort, and he would act his Part; which was accordingly done. He then called a Council, and told them, he had a mind to circumvent the *Dutch*, by letting them come close to the Fort-walls, and then to fire briskly on them from all Quarters, and destroy them at once. So the *Dutch* made their Approaches without Molestation, and placed their Ladders. The Garrison sent Message after Message, to acquaint the Governor of the Danger they were in for want of Orders to fire, and fall out on the *Dutch*, as was agreed in Council; but he delayed so long, till the *Dutch* got into the Fort, and drove the Guard from the East Gate; which they soon opened, to receive the rest of their Army, who, as soon as they were entered, gave Quarter to none that were in Arms; and, marching towards the Governor's House, where he thought himself secure by the Treaty, they forthwith dispatched him, to save the 80,000 Dollars.

The *Portuguese*, to shew their Zeal to Religion, while they were Masters of *Malacca*, had no less than three Churches and a Chapel within the Fort, and one without. That, which the *Dutch* now use for their Worship, stands conspicuously on the Top of an Hill, and may be seen up or down the Streights at a good Distance; and a Flag-staff is placed on the Steeple, on which a Flag is hoisted on the Sight of any Ship. The Fort is both large and strong, the Sea washing the Walls of one-third Part of it, and a deep, rapid, but narrow, River the West Side of it, and a broad, deep Dutch the rest of it. The Governor's House is both beautiful and convenient, and there are several other good Houses in the Fort, and in the Town without the Fort; but the Road is at too great a Distance to be defended by the Fort, the Shallowness of the Sea obliging them to lie above a League off; which is a very great Inconvenience: For, in 1709, the *French*, coming into the Streights with a Squadron of three or four Sail, and seeing a large Ship in the Road newly arrived from *Japan*, stood in to the Road, and had certainly carried her out, if the Wind had not failed them about Musquet-shot from her. At *Malacca* the Streights are not above four Leagues broad; for tho' the opposite Shore on *Sumatra* is very low, yet it may easily be seen in a clear Day; which is the Reason the Sea is always as smooth as a Mill-pond, except it is ruffled with Squalls of Wind, which seldom come without Lightning, Thunder, and Rain; and tho' they come with great Violence, yet they are soon over, often not exceeding an Hour.

The Country produces nothing for a Foreign Market, except a little Tin and Elephants Teeth; but several excellent Fruits and Roots for the Use of the Inhabitants and Strangers, who call there for Refreshment. The *Malacca* Pine-apple is accounted the best in the World; for, in other Places, if they are eaten to a small Excess, they are apt to give Surfeits; but those of *Malacca* never offend the Stomach. The Marigoldane is a delicious Fruit, almost in the Shape of an Apple; the Skin is thick and red, being dried, it is a good Afrinting; the Kernels (if I may so call them) are like Cloves of Garlick, of a very agreeable Taste, but very cold. The Rambutan is a Fruit about the Bigness of a Walnut, with a tough Skin, beset with Capillaments; within the Skin is a very savoury Pulp. There is an high Mountain to the North-eastward of *Malacca*, that sends forth several Rivers, of which that of *Malacca* is one; and all of them have small Quantities of Gold-dust found in their Channels. The inland Inhabitants, called *Monacaboes*, are a barbarous, savage People, whose greatest Pleasure is in doing Mischief to their Neighbours; which is the greatest Reason why the Peasants about *Malacca* sow no Grain but what is inclosed in Garlens, with thick-set prickly Hedges, or deep Ditches; for when the Grain is ripe in the open Plains, the *Monacaboes* never fail of setting Fire to it, in order to consume it. They are much whiter than their neighbouring *Malayans*, who inhabit the low Grounds; and the King of *Jobore*, whose Subjects they are, or at least ought to be, could never civilize them. We have now passed through all the seven Governments, which are in the Gift of the *Dutch East India Company*, which are a kind of Principalities, since, with the Advice and Assistance of his Council, every Governor is a kind of Sovereign, and acts without Controul, throughout the whole Extent of his Jurisdiction.

34. The Company, as it carries on a great Trade throughout all the *Indies*, has taken care to establish Settlements or Factories in all the Countries, where their Affairs require it; and in each of these Factories or Settlements there is a Chief, with some Title or other, with a Council to superintend, as well the Affairs of Policy, as those of Commerce. The Directories of *Coromandel*, *Surat*, *Bengal*, and *Persia*, are all of them of great Consequence, and the Direction of them attended with great Profit. The Directors have, within the Extent of their respective Jurisdictions, the same Power with the Company's Governors. The sole Distinction between them is, that the Director cannot execute any criminal Sentence in the Country where he resides, but must cause it to be done under the Company's Flag; so that all Criminals are here executed on board a Ship. The Directory of *Coromandel* is the first of the four, and has the Ports and Factories belonging to the *Dutch*, upon that Coast,

within its Jurisdiction; for, in *Coromandel*, the *English* and *Danes* have a Share, and have built several good Fortresses for the Protection of their Trade.

The Company have, notwithstanding, a very considerable Interest in this Part of *India*: Besides *Negapatan*, which lies on the Southernmost Point of *Coromandel*, and the Port of *Guelaria*, in which the Director resides, they have the Factories of *Guenepatnam*, *Sadrepatnam*, *Malispatnam*, *Pelical*, *Daskorum*, *Benispatnam*, *Nagernany*, and *Golconda*. The whole Extent of the Coast, from *Negapatan* to *Malsipatnam*, may be about 100 Leagues. The *Dutch* Director is a principal Merchant: He has a Council about him; and, if he discharges his Office with Reputation, he is commonly, after a few Years, chosen one of the Counsellors of the *Indies*. This is a very wise Provision in the Management of the Company's Affairs, that the Honour and Rank of a Counsellor of the *Indies*, tho' a Post of much less Profit than that of a Director, or a Governor, makes it aspired to by such, as are already in much more profitable Employments; for it is not a very extraordinary thing in the *Indies* for a Governor or Director to heap up, in the Space of a few Years, an Estate equal to the original Capital of the *East India Company*, that is, six Millions of Guilders and an half, which amounts to upwards of half a Million Sterling. Our Author says, it was well known in his Time, that Messieurs *Dybbek*, *Heiman*, *Scooradekroon*, *Patras*, and *van Cleve*, acquired prodigious Fortunes in the Time that they were Directors or Governors. There are also some Places at *Batavia* so very profitable, that, when the principal Merchants are possessed of them, they often decline the Dignity of Counsellor of the *Indies*, because, however great and honourable it may be, the Profits that attend it are but small, in comparison of what may be gained in some of these lucrative Employments. Those in *Batavia*, that bring in most, are the *Sabandar* or Chief of the Custom-house; the Fiscal of the Sea; the Drouard of the low Countries: All which bring in prodigious Wealth.

Heretofore the Country of *Coromandel* being divided into a great Number of Principalities, these little Princes or Chiefs laid such high Duties, and, in other respects, gave such Interruptions to Trade, as made the *Dutch* very uneasy; but, after the War of *Golconda*, which cost the Company a great deal of Money, but ended at last to their Advantage, these Princes grew more tractable than formerly. At present, the Kings of *Bijnagar* and *Harfinga*, who are the most powerful in *Coromandel*, live on pretty good Terms with the *Dutch*, and other Europeans. The great Trade carried on here is in Cottons, Muslins, Chintzes, and such kind of Goods; in Exchange for which the *Dutch* bring them Spices, *Japan* Copper, Steel, Gold-dust, Sandal and Siampan-woods. The Inhabitants of the Country are some of them Pagans, some *Mohammedans*, and not a few Christians. During the East Monsoon, the Weather is exceedingly hot; yet the Country is very fertile in Rice, Fruits, Herbs, and whatever else is necessary for the Support of Man. All the Manufactures of this Country are transported in the Company's Ships to *Batavia*, from whence they are sent home to *Holland*, and thence distributed throughout *Germany*, and the North.

The second and third Directories are fixed, the former at *Ouglia* on the *Ganges*, thirty-six Leagues from the Mouth of that River; the other in the City of *Surat*, both in the Territories of the Great Mogul. Those two Places are the most considerable for Trade in all *Asia*. The *Dutch*, *English*, *French*, and other Europeans, traffick to both, and have erected Forts and Magazines for their Security and Convenience. The best Part of the Trade is carried on by Negro Merchants, who deal in all sorts of rich Goods; such as Opium, Diamonds, rich Stuffs, and all kinds of *China* Cloths. The Empire of the Great Mogul is of a prodigious Extent, and the Countries under his Dominion are esteemed the richest in the World. The Air is tolerably pure, and yet the Head-ach, and a kind of malignant Fever, are common here. The latter generally attacks Strangers, and is a kind of seasoning Sickness, in which, if the Patient escapes the third Day, he, generally speaking, recovers.

Most of the Inhabitants of this Country are tall, black, robust Men, and of a gay, lively Disposition. In point of Religion, they are many of them Idolaters, more of them

Mohammedans, and some of them Christians; but, after all, that of *Mohammed* is the prevailing Religion. As for the Idolaters, they are split into abundance of Sects, some of which believe firmly in the *Metempsychosis*, or Transmigration of Souls; and, for this Reason, they will not take away the Life of any living Creature, not excepting Insects; inasmuch that they dare not kill a Flea or a Fly. They even establish Hospitals for the worn-out Oxen, and old Cows, where they are fed and attended, till they die of Age and Diseases. These People are, in general, very indolent; but, withal, covetous, false, and perfidious to the last degree. They have one Custom amongst them, which is equally singular and barbarous; and that is, laying Ambuscades to entrap and make Slaves of each other; in which whenever they succeed, they sell the poor Captive to a foreign Merchant, and commonly at a very low Rate. They employ themselves, when they reside in Towns, in the Silk, Cotton, and Linen Manufactures; and, in the Country, they cultivate their Plantations with the utmost Diligence and Care: So that they annually transport prodigious Quantities of Grain from hence to *Batavia*.

The *Great Mogul* is one of the richest and most powerful Princes in the World, has always a numerous Army on Foot, and a most magnificent Court; the Directors of *Bengal* and *Surat* know perfectly well how to deal with him, and by making shewy Presents, to extract Diamonds and other precious Stones in Return. *Surat* is a Town of no great Antiquity, scarce one hundred Years old at this Day, but very large, and immensely rich. It is in Companies about five Miles within the Walls, and the Number of Inhabitants are computed at 200,000. The *Moorish* and even the *Indian* Merchants are many of them prodigiously rich. The former addict themselves chiefly to the Diamond Trade, which is very precarious; for sometimes a small Stock produces an immense Fortune, whereas, at others, a Man wastes immense Sums without finding Stones of any great Value; for, at the Diamond-mines, they purchase so many Yards Square, at a certain Price, and pay the Slaves who dig and sift the Earth, and take whatever Stones are found in that Spot; which sometimes are of great Value, and sometimes are but small, and so few of them, as not to quit Costs: Other *Moorish* Merchants deal largely in foreign Trade; and, as the *Mogul* is a very easy Master, so there are some of them that arrive at prodigious Wealth, and carry on such a Commerce as can scarce be credited in *Europe*. About twenty Years ago there died a *Moorish* Merchant at *Surat*, who fitted out annually twenty Sail of Ships, from three to eight hundred Ton; the Cargoes of which ran from ten to twenty thousand Pounds, and he had always Goods in his Magazines equal in Value to what he sent abroad. The Customs of *Surat* amount every Year to upwards of 160,000 Pounds; and, as the Merchants pay there at a Medium three per Cent. the Value of the Goods amount to upwards of 5,000,000 Pounds.

The fourth and last Factory under a Director is that at *Gambroon*, or *Bandar Abassi*, on the Coast of *Persia*. The Director is a principal Merchant, and has always a Council, and a Fiscal to assist him. As this City stands on the Gulph of *Balfora*, and is the only Port which the *Persian* Monarch hath on the *Indian Sea*, it lies at a great Distance from *Batavia*, which is one Reason why this Direction is not so much sought as others: But there is another more potent Reason, which is this; that the Heat is greater there than in any other Place in the World, and the Air excessively unwholesome. To balance these Inconveniences, the Director of *Gambroon* has an Opportunity of making, in a short time, a vast Fortune; so that some who have been in that Direction four or five Years, have acquired such Estates, as rendered it unnecessary for them to concern themselves any further in Commerce. There are several other *European* Nations settled there besides the *Dutch*; but they have by far the best Factory, and have fortified it so effectually, that though the Highlanders in its Neighbourhood, who are a Crew of bold and barbarous Robbers, have often attacked, yet they never could master it. The King of *Persia*, who reigned at the time our Author was there, came sometimes to *Gambroon*, and distinguished the *Dutch* from other Nations by the many Marks of his

Favour, and by granting them many Privileges: Some time before he had sent a Present to the *Dutch* Governor-General at *Batavia*, of a Gold Saddle, very richly wrought, and adorned with precious Stones, desiring, in Exchange, an *European* Habit for himself, and another for his Queen.

This City is but a disagreeable Place to live in, since, in *August*, it is so intolerably hot, that there is no bearing it; and, in the Winter, it is so very cold, that they not only wear *English* Cloth, but line it with Furs. They have here Black-cattle, Sheep, Goats, Fowl, and Fish, very good in their Kind, and tolerably cheap: They have likewise Grapes, Melons, and Mangoes, in the utmost Perfection: They have likewise excellent Wine, esteemed, by the best Judges, superior to that of all other Countries; and, as a Proof of this, it is asserted, that it will bear four times its Quantity of Water, and still preserve a very rich Flavour. The intestine Wars in *Persia* raged to such a Degree, when our Author was in the *Indies*, that it was thought requisite to leave a Ship constantly at *Gambroon*, to carry off the Factory, in case it was in Danger.

Another Inconvenience to the Commerce on that Coast, was the Multitude of Pirates swarming in those Seas, which were chiefly *Europeans*, who, after running away with their Owners Ships, subsisted by robbing all other Nations. Amongst these, our Author informs us, was the *Hare*, a stout Ship sent from *Batavia* to *Persia*; the Crew of which mutinied in the Voyage, and forced their Officers to turn Pirates. These Fellows, after committing abundance of Ravages on this Coast, failed for the *Red Sea*, where they attacked and plundered many of the *Arabian* Pirates; at last, finding themselves short of Provisions, and not daring to put into any Port, they resolved to return; but, finding themselves short of Water also, they resolved to supply themselves in a neighbouring Island: With this View they hoisted out the Shallop, into which most of the Rebels crowded: This gave an Opportunity to the Officers who were left on board, to resume their Authority; so that, making themselves once more Masters of the Ship, they cut the Cable, and brought her safely into the Harbour of *Gambroon*. By this means the Ship and Cargo was preserved to the *India* Company, or rather restored to them. Such of the Mutineers as were brought in, were hanged; and the Officers, who had given this convincing Proof of their Integrity, were nobly rewarded, and intrusted with the Care of the Ship back to *Batavia*, where she arrived safely.

In the Year 1701. the *Balloonches*, who had rebelled against the Schah, attempted, with a Body of 4000 Men, to make themselves Masters of the *English* and *Dutch* Factories at *Gambroon*; but were beat at both Places; but the *Dutch*, having a Warchouche at some Distance from their Factory, in which were Goods to the Value of 20,000 Pounds, it fell all into the Enemies Hands. A short time after this, the famous Rebel *Meriweys*, made himself Master of *Ispahan*, where he plundered both the *English* and *Dutch* Factories; taking from the former Goods to the Value of half a Million Sterling; and, from the latter, Effects to the Value of 200,000 Pounds. Having finished the Account of the Directories, we shall proceed next to the lesser Settlements.

35. As it is requisite to have a Subordination in Commands, the *East India* Company have thought fit to establish, in such Places as were not thought of Consequence enough to require either a Governor or a Director, another principal Officer, with the Title of Commander, or Chief. If the Person, vested with this Authority, be a Merchant, he is accountable for his Conduct to the civil Government; but, if a Captain, then he is under the military Establishment. A Commander, or Chief, hath pretty near the same Authority with a Governor, that is to say, in Conjunction with his Council, except in criminal Cases; for a Commander, or Chief, cannot execute any capital Judgment, till it has been reviewed and confirmed by the Council of *Batavia*. The Commander at the Port of *Cochin*, on the Coast of *Malabar*, was Captain *Julius de Gelnitz*, a Native of *Mecklenburg*, at the time our Author was at the *Indies*, from whom he received great Civilities. *Malabar* was the first Country the *Portuguese* discovered in the

the *East Indies*, and in which they fixed themselves: They were not able to do this without a great Effusion of Blood; nor were they many Years in Possession, before they were driven out by the *Dutch*. These last Conquerors found it a very difficult Matter to support themselves against the Natives, who attacked them with great Spirit, and had at first so much Success, that, if it had not been for the Courage and Conduct of Major *John Bergman*, they had infallibly been driven out of this Country, which, however, with much ado, he preserved.

The Coast of *Malabar* hath in Extent about an hundred and fifty Leagues, and is in Breadth about twenty. The Climate, though very warm, is very wholesome; the Soil also is fertile in Rice, Fruit, and all Sorts of Herbs. This Country is divided into abundance of small Principalities; among which, the following have the Title of Kingdoms; viz. *Canaron*, *Calecut*, *Cranganor*, *Cochin*, *Calicutang*, *Poracoulang*, and *Travankor*. As the Capital of the *Dutch* Possessions in this Country is the City of *Cochin*, we shall particularly describe that little Kingdom. It reaches from *Chitwa*, about twenty-four Leagues to the Southward; and, on the Coast, is divided by the Rivulets that run from the Mountains of *Gatti*, into a Multitude of small Islands; and these Rivers have two great Mouths, or Outlets, one at *Cochin*, and the other at *Cranganor*. The first Europeans that settled in *Cochin* were the *Portuguese*, and they built a fine City on the River-side, about three Leagues from the Sea; but the Sea gaining on the Land yearly, it is not now above one hundred Paces from it. It stands so pleasantly, that the *Portuguese* had a common Saying, That *Cina* was a Country to get Money in, and *Cochin* was a Place to spend it in; for the great Numbers of Canals formed by the Rivers and Islands, made Fishing and Fowling very diverting, and the Mountains are well stored with wild Game. On the Inside of *Baypin* Island, there is an old Fort, built by the *Portuguese*, called *Pallapore*, to inspect all Boats that go between *Cranganor* and *Cochin*; and, five Leagues up the Rivulets, is a *Romish* Church, called *Varapoli*, served by *French* and *Italian* Priests; and, when a Bishop comes into those Parts, it is the Place of his Residence. The Padre, Superior of *Varapoli*, can raise upon Occasion 4000 Men, all Christians of the Church of *Rome*; but there are many more *St. Thomas* Christians, that do not communicate with those of *Rome*. About two Leagues farther up, towards the Mountains, on the Side of a small, but a deep River, is a Place called *Firdalge*, where the Inhabitants of *Cochin* generally assemble to refresh themselves in the hot Months of *April* and *May*. The Banks and Bottom of the River are clean Sand, and the Water so clear, that a small Pebble-stone may be seen at the Bottom in three Fathom Water.

The Water of this Country, from the Sea Coast to *Cranganor* to *St. Andreas*, which is about twelve Leagues, has a very bad Quality of causing in the Drinkers of it swelled Legs; some it affects in one Leg, and some in both, so that their Legs are above a Yard about the Ankle; it causes no Pain, but itching; nor does the thick Leg feel heavier than the small one, to those who have them. But the *Dutch* at *Cochin*, to prevent that Malady, send Boats daily to *Varapoli*, to load with small portable Casks of ten or twelve *English* Gallons, to serve the City. The Company's Servants have their Water free of Charges, but private Persons pay Sixpence per Cask, if it is brought to their Houses; and yet, for all that Precaution, there are both *Dutch* Men and Women troubled with that Malady, and no means has been yet found to heal or prevent it. The old Legends impute the Cause of these swelled Legs to a Curse *St. Thomas* laid upon his Murderers, and their Posterity, as the odious Mark they should be distinguished by. But *St. Thomas* was killed by the *Tilingue* Priests at *Mallapore*, on *Cormandel*, above 400 Miles distant from this Coast; and the Natives there have no Touch of this Malady.

Cochin is washed by the greatest Outlet on this Coast, and, being so near the Sea, makes it strong by Nature, but Art has not been wanting to strengthen it. The City built by the *Portuguese* was about a Mile and an half long, and a Mile broad. The *Dutch* took it from the *Portuguese*

about the Year 1662. when *Heitloff van Ghon* was General of the *Dutch* Forces by Land, and Commodore of a Fleet by Sea. The Intolerance of the *Portuguese* had made several neighbouring Princes become their Enemies, who joined with the *Dutch*, to drive them out of their Neighbourhood; and the King of *Cochin*, particularly, assisted with 20,000 Men. The *Dutch* had not long invested the Town, before *van Ghon* received Advice of a Peace concluded between *Portugal* and *Holland*; but that he kept a Secret to himself. He therefore, having made a Breach in the weakest Part of the Wall, proceeded to a furious Assault, for eight Days and Nights, without Intermission, and relieved his Assaultants every three Hours; but the *Portuguese*, keeping their Men continually fatigued, and on Duty all the while, and finding the City at last in Danger of being taken by Storm, capitulated, and delivered up the Place. In the Town there were 400 *Topasses*, who had done the *Portuguese* good Service, but were not comprehended in the Treaty: As soon as they knew of that Omision, and the Cruelty and Licentiousness of the *Dutch* Soldiery in *India*, they drew up on a Parade within the Port that the *Portuguese* were to go out at, and the *Dutch* to enter in; and swore, that if they had not the same Favour and Indulgence that were granted to the *Portuguese*, they would massacre them all, and set Fire to the Town. The *Dutch* General knew his own Interest too well to deny what they desired; and offered, moreover, to take those, who had a mind to serve, into *Dutch* Pay, which many of them accepted. The very next Day after the *Dutch* had Possession, came a Frigate from *Goa*, with the Articles of Peace made with *Holland*; and the *Portuguese* complained loudly of the General's unfair Dealings; but were answered, that the *Portuguese* had acted the same Farce towards the *Dutch*, at their taking *Fernambuco* in *Brazil* a few Years before. The *English* had then a Factory in *Cochin*, but the *Dutch* ordered them to remove, with their Effects, which they according did, to their Factory at *Pennam*.

As soon as the *Dutch* became Masters of the City, they thought it was too large; and so contracted it to what it is now, being hardly One-tenth of what it was. It is about 600 Paces long, and 200 broad, fortified with seven large Bastions, and Curtains so thick, that two Rows of large Trees are planted on them for Shade in the hot Season. Some Streets built by the *Portuguese* are still standing, with a Church for the *Dutch* Service, and a Cathedral, now turned into a Warehouse. The Commander's House, which is a stately Structure, is the only House built after the *Dutch* Mode, and the River washes some Part of its Walls. Their Flag-staff is placed on the Steeple of the old Cathedral, on a Malt of seventy-five Feet high, and a Staff at the Top of it about sixty Feet; and the Flag may be seen above seven Leagues off. The Garrison generally consists of 300 effective Men, and from *Cape Camerin* upwards. They are allowed in all their Forts and Factories 500 Soldiers, and 100 Seamen, all Europeans, besides some *Topasses*, and the Militia. They have their Store of Rice from *Barfalore*, because the *Malabar* Rice will not keep above three Months out of the Husk, but in the Husk it will keep a Year. The Country produces great Quantities of Pepper, but lighter than that which grows more Northerly. Their Woods afford good Teak for building, and Angelique and Pawpree for making large Chests and Cabinets, which are carried all over the West Coasts of *India*. They have also Iron and Steel in Plenty, and Bricks, for exporting. Their Seas afford them abundance of good Fish of several Kinds, which, with those that are caught in their Rivers, make them very cheap.

Cranganor lies a League up the River from the Sea, and the *Dutch* have a Fort there. This Place is remarkable for having been formerly the Seat of a *Jewish* Government, that Nation having been once so numerous there, that they could reckon above 80,000 Families, but at present are reduced to 4000. They have a Synagogue at *Cochin*, not far from the King's Palace, about two Miles from the City, in which are carefully kept their Records, engraven on Copper-plates in *Hebrew* Characters; and when any of the Characters decay, they are new cut; so that they can shew their History from the Reign of *Nabuchadnezzar* to this present time. Mynheer *van Rens*,
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about the Year 1695, had an Abstract of their History, translated from the *Hebrew* into *Low Dutch*. They declare themselves to be of the Tribe of *Manasseh*, a Part whereof was, by that haughty Conqueror *Nebuchadnezzar*, carried to the most Eastern Province of his large Empire, which, it seems, reached as far as *Cape Comerin*, which Journey 20,000 of them travelled in three Years from their setting out of *Babylon*. When they arrived in the *Malabar* Country, they found the Inhabitants very civil and hospitable to Strangers, giving them Liberty of Conscience in religious Matters, and the free Use of Reason and Industry in Economy. There they increased in Numbers and Riches, till, in Process of Time, either by Policy or Wealth, or both, they came to make themselves Masters of the little Kingdom of *Cranganore*; and there being one Family among them, much esteemed for Wisdom, Power, and Riches, two of the Sons of that Family were chosen, by their Elders and Senators, to govern the Commonwealth, and reign jointly over them. Concord, the strongest Bond of Society, was in a short time broken, and Ambition took Place; for one of the Brothers, inviting his Colleague to a Feast, and picking a Quarrel with his Guest, basely killed him, thinking by that means to reign alone. But the Deceased, leaving a Son of a bold Spirit behind him, revenged his Father's Death, by killing the Fratricide; and so the State fell again into Democracy, which still continues among the *Jews* here. But the Lands have many Ages since returned back into the Hands of the *Malabars*, and Poverty and Oppression have made many apostatize. Between *Cranganore* and *Cochin*, there is an Island called *Baybin*, that occupies the Sea-coast. It is four Leagues long, but no Part of it is two Miles broad. The *Dutch* forbid all Vessels or Boats to enter at *Cranganore*, and at *Cochin*: The Channel is about a Quarter of a Mile broad, but very deep, though the Bar has not above fourteen Feet Water at Spring-tides.

The Inhabitants of this Country are many of them Idolaters, over whom their Bramins, or Priests, have a very great Authority, of which they make a very bad Use. Amongst other odd Customs, they have introduced one that is very whimsical: When any Man marries, he is absolutely forbid to bed with his Wife the first Night; and this Function is to be performed in his stead by one of the Bramins; or, if there be none at hand, by some other Man. This was formerly a very considerable Advantage to such Foreigners as were settled here, the *Malabars* making Choice of them, rather than their own Countrymen; and on such Occasions they made very large Presents, which sometimes amounted to 5 or 600 Florins: But, of late Days, this Source is quite dried up; for the Bramins are become so very religious, that they take care never to be out of the Way when this Part of their Duty is to be performed: To say the Truth, they push this Matter to such a Length, and frequent the Womens Company so much, that there is no body, of their Religion, that can pretend to know with Certainty his own Father. It is for this Reason, that, by a standing Law of the Country, neither Sons nor Daughters ever inherit, but the Nephews and Nieces, that is to say, the Sisters Children of the Person deceased, as certainly of his Blood; which Rule is observed in the Order of Succession established in their Royal Families, and is a glaring Proof of the strange Effects of boundless Superstition.

The next Commandery is that of *Gallo*, on the Island of *Ceylon*, at the Distance of twenty Leagues from *Columbo*, which, as we have before shewn, is the Capital of that Island. *Gallo* was the first Place taken by the *Dutch* from the *Portuguese*, and, at this Day, is a Place of very considerable Trade; the Commander of which, however, depends on the Governor of *Ceylon*, and can do nothing without his Approbation. About the Year 1672, the late King *Leuis XIV.* fitted out a Squadron of eight Sail of Frigates, which were to have made themselves Masters of this Place. One Mr. *John Martin*, who had served the *Dutch East India Company* many Years, and had quitted their Service upon some Disgust, was the Author of this Project; but, finding, when the King's Orders came to be opened at Sea, that another Man was to have the Government of it, in case the Place was taken, he took such Me-

thods as rendered the Expedition fruitless. Mr. *van Goffe*, who then commanded the *Dutch Fleet*, soon arrived upon the Coast; and the *French*, not thinking themselves strong enough to venture an Engagement, retired without so much as attacking the Place. They went then to *Trankamala*, and anchored in that Bay, desirous to force that small Garrison to surrender; but this vigilant *Dutchman* was soon after them with his Fleet, and forced them to fight disadvantageously in *Trankamala Bay*, where the *French* lost half their Fleet, either sunk or burnt; with the rest they fled to *St. Thomas*, on the Coast of *Coromandel*, intending to settle there; but *van Goffe* was soon amongst them there also, and seized their Ships, many of their Guns being dismounted, and carried ashore: But, finding they could do no Good against so powerful and vigilant an Enemy, they treated and capitulated with the *Dutch* to leave *India*, if they might be allowed Shipping to carry them away; which the *Dutch* agreed to, and allowed them their Admiral's Ship, *le Grand Breton*, and two more, to transport themselves whither they pleased: But Mr. *Martin* was carried to *Batavia*, and there confined for his Life-time, with an Allowance of a Rixdollar per Diem.

The third Commandery is that of *Samaran*, in the Island of *Java*; and he who is appointed Commander there, has the Direction of all the Factories in that Island, except such as depend immediately on the Government of *Batavia*. Within his Jurisdiction lies *Kattajura*, which is the Residence of the Emperor of *Java*: And here it may not be amiss to take notice of the Cause of the late War, which has been more than once mentioned by the Name of the War of *Java*. It broke out in the Year 1704, when Mr. *John van Horn* was Governor-General, upon this Occasion. The Emperor dying, there were two Competitors for the Succession, one of which was the Brother, the other the Son, of the Emperor deceased; the *Dutch* sided with the former, but the latter had the Affections of the People, and drew over to his Party a great Number of *Indian* Soldiers, who had served the *Dutch*, and, being well disciplined, behaved gallantly on all Occasions. This War lasted twenty Years, and gave the *East India Company* so much Trouble, that, in all Probability, they will not very readily be drawn into an Affair of this kind again.

At *Bantam*, on the same Island, the Head of the Factory has the Title of a Chief. There is a very strong Fort there, and a numerous Garrison, to keep the People in Awe, who are very mutinous, and far enough from being well affected to the *Dutch*. The King has also a Fort, at the Distance of some hundred Paces from the Company's Fort, in which he has also a stout Garrison for the Security of his Person. The only Commodity of the Country is Pepper, of which they are able to export annually ten thousand Tons. The Bay of *Bantam* is very safe and pleasant, in which are many Islands that still retain the Names given them by the *English*, who had formerly a very fine Factory at this Place, from which they were expelled in 1683. The *East India Company* oblige the King to furnish them with a certain Quantity of Pepper; in all other respects they treat him kindly enough, because, as our Author observes, it is their Interest so to do; he is the Sovereign of a great Country, very well peopled; and his Subjects are a very hardy, enterprising Nation, perfidious, revengeful, and naturally hating all Christians to the last degree.

Our Author tells us, that, in his Time, a Lieutenant and twenty Men were surprised by them, and entirely cut off; which occasioned the sending such a Reinforcement, as rendered the Garrison of the Fort at *Bantam* strong enough to command all the Country in its Neighbourhood; which was the more necessary, because *Bantam*, by the Height of its Situation, commands the Strait between the Islands of *Java* and *Sumatra*. Our Author observes, that the last King of *Bantam* died at the Age of one hundred, and was succeeded by his Son, who was then a young Man. He discovered, while Prince, an Inclination to Piracy; and actually fitted out some Vessels on that Account. Our Author saw him, after he was King, and found him a very agreeable Man in his Person and Conversation, though his Character was extremely bad: He was excessively debauched; and, not being content with keeping upwards of 500 Concubines, committed Incests with his Sisters-in-law, and even

with his own Daughters. The Governor-General at *Batavia* admonished him often upon this Subject, representing to him, that such a Course of Life was utterly unbecoming a Prince, and was what no Law or Religion could tolerate. To this the King answered; that he knew of no Laws that could bind him, who gave Laws to others, and was therefore himself above them. He once demanded of the Governor-General an *European* Woman, promising to make her his Wife; which was refused him; however, a Picture was sent him of an *European* Lady at full Length.

He professed himself of the Religion of his Country, that is to say, a *Mohammedan*, to which Law his Subjects are, generally speaking, great Bigots; and therefore hated him extremely on account of his loose Behaviour. It was not only in point of Women that he acted in so vile a Way, but his Conduct throughout was so mean, so base, and so unbecoming a Prince, that, knowing how much he was despised and abhorred, he kept always in his Fort, trusting his Safety intirely to his Guards and Fortifications: Yet, in the midst of these, he met with the just Reward of his Crimes, that is to say, a sudden Death; but whether violent or not, our Author has not thought fit to explain. He says, that the Country of *Bantam* is very fertile, abounding with Cattle, Rice, and Fruits; and adds farther, that, in the Heart of the Country, there are frequently found precious Stones of great Value, of which, however, the *Dutch* rarely get Possession, the People fearing, that this may tempt them to extend their Conquests, by which they are but too much oppressed already.

The second of the Chiefs resides at *Padang*, on the Coast of *Sumatra*, otherwise called the *Gold Coast*: This Chief has his Council and Fiscal like the rest; and it is usually considered as a very profitable, as well as honourable, Employment. *Sumatra* is a very large fine Island, which is separated from the Continent of *Asia* by the Straights of *Malacca*, and is justly esteemed one of the richest and noblest Countries in all the *Indies*. The *Dutch* have a Factory at *Pullambam*, which lies about eight Leagues from the Sea, on the Banks of a very large River, which empties itself into the Sea by four different Channels. The great Trade carried on there is that of Pepper, which the *East India* Company would monopolize in the same manner they do Cloves, Cinnamon, and Nutmegs; in order to which, they are at a very great Expence for keeping several armed Barks, cruising at the Mouth of this River, to prevent what they are pleased to call Smuggling. It must be allowed, that they have made a Contract with the King, to take off all the Pepper in his Dominions, at the Rate of ten Pieces of Eight for a *Bahar*, or 400 Pound's, which is a very fair Price: They have, however, a saving Clause in their Contract, by which it is provided, that half the Purchase of the Pepper shall be taken in Cloth, at such a Rate, as greatly reduces the Value of their Cargoes; and it is for this Reason, that the *Dutch* are so much afraid of Smuggling: Yet, in spite of all their armed Barks, it is a thing notoriously known, that, for a thousand Florins to his Majesty of *Pullambam*, and as much to the *Dutch* Chief, a Cargo of a thousand *Bahars* of Pepper may be carried off the Island without any great Trouble.

The Country is mountainous, which is not looked upon as a great Inconvenience, since almost all these Hills are known to abound with Gold, Silver, Lead, and other Metals; and the Company is possessed of some Mines of Gold, which are very rich, and great Care taken both to secure and conceal the Profits that are made of them. There are likewise great Quantities of Gold-dust found in all the Rivers and Rivulets of this Country, especially during the Time that the West Monsoon reigns, because then the Torrents roll from the Mountains with great Rapidity. Here is abundance of Copper, of which they make good Guns; several sorts of precious Stones, and a Mountain of burning Brimstone, which continually blows out Flames like Mount *Gibell* in *Sicily*; this last here is also a *Pommatum* being full of them, with Spices and Sinks; but it is not very well known, especially for Strangers, because there are so many Rivers, standing waters, and thick Forests. There is a White, or a yellowish Corn, that grows in *Luar*, but it is a Petty or Rasc, Mill, and Flour, and good and rich and Nutritious.

ment for the Inhabitants. It produces likewise abundance of Honey, Bees-wax, Ginger, Camphire, *Cassia* Pepper, &c. white Sanders, and especially Cotton, of which the Inhabitants make their Garments.

This Island is of very great Extent, according to the best Accounts, upwards of 400 Leagues in Circumference. The greatest and most powerful Monarch in the Island is the King of *Achem*, or, as it is written in the *Indies*, *Acheen*. It was formerly governed always by a Woman; and Queen *Elizabeth*, of England, entertained a close Correspondence with the Queen of *Achem*, who was living in her Time. It is not above forty Years since the Government fell into the Hands of a Man; and several Attempts have been made since to restore the old Constitution, under which the People were much happier than any of their Neighbours. It is, to this Day, a free Port, to which *English*, *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, *Chinese*, and, in short, all the Nations of *Europe* and *Asia*, trade with Safety. The Goods which are brought thither are rich Brocades, Silks of all sorts, Mullins of all sorts, Raw Silk, Fish, Butter, Oil, and Ammunition, for which they are paid chiefly in Gold, the great Commodity of the Country, and remarkably fine.

There is no Country in the *Indies*, where, during the Western Monsoons, the Rains fall with greater Violence, or are attended with more terrible Storms of Thunder, Lightning, and Earthquakes, than in *Sumatra*; but the People, being used to them, are not much alarmed, but bear them patiently, and are seldom heard to complain of the Climate. These People are, generally speaking, *Mohammedans*; and are very expert in making all sorts of Gold Plate with a few Tools, and yet with such inimitable Dexterity, whatever is of their Workmanship, sells at a very great Rate throughout all the *Indies*. The Company sends every Year a great Number of Slaves to work in their Gold-mines. The Kings, in that Part of the Country, are very rarely upon good Terms with the *Dutch*; and our Author tells us, that, when he was in the *Indies*, one of those Princes, who was styled King of the Mountains, because he was Master of most of the Countries where the Mines lay, quarrelled with the Company, and drew all his Subjects out of their Service. The principal Places, where Gold is found by the Natives of the Country, are *Tiru* and *Manincabo*. The Method they take in coming at it is this: They dig, at the Bottom of the Mountains, Ditches, where the Water being stopped when rolling down the Sides of the Mountains in the Winter, they, in the Summer, draw it off; and, by washing the Mud which remains at the Bottom, obtain from thence considerable Quantities of Gold-dust. It is generally believed amongst such as are best acquainted with the Commerce of the *Indies*, that this Island furnishes annually 5000 Pound-weight of this precious Metal; yet very little, if any, of this Gold is ever brought to *Europe*, the *East India* Company employing it in other Places, where Gold is valuable, and where they can purchase other Commodities, which turn in *Europe* to a better Account.

There is a Project with respect to this Island, which has long employed the Thoughts of the Company; and that is, procuring Ships to be built here, for which, it is certain, there are great Conveniences, since the Wood of this Island is so firm and durable, that Ships of it would last forty or fifty Years; whereas those that come from *Europe*, are, generally speaking, worn out in twelve or thirteen. Before *Padang* and *Pullambam* before-mentioned, the *Dutch* have a strong Fort, and great Factory, at *Jambie*, and another at *Stack*; which last Place is excessively unwholesome, occasioned by a very odd Accident: It stands on the great River *Andragbra*, into which, at a certain Season of the Year, there come vast Quantities of Shads of a very large size, one-third of which is owing to their Roes, which are accounted a great Delicacy; and therefore, after taking them out, the rest of the Fish is thrown away; and, being great Heaps, corrupt, and exhale pestilential Vapour, that infects the Air. The Persons therefore that are left at *Stack*, are much of the same Stamp with those that are sent to *Banda*, that is to say, Men of abandoned Characters, and desperate Fortunes.

On the Banks of the River *Bancalis*, they have another very considerable Factory, which produces a large Profit from the Sale of Cloth and Opium, that are constantly paid for in Gold-dust. This was discovered, about forty Years ago, by a Factor in the Company's Service, who, after he had carried it on privately for about ten Years, and acquired by it upwards of a Ton of Gold *per Annum*, which is a *Dutch* Phrase, that implies as much as 10,000 *l.* Sterling, he resolved to secure what he had got, by making a free Discovery of this Branch of Commerce to the Company. There are likewise several *Dutch* Plantations on this Island, which are, all together, comprehended under the general Title of the West Coast. There subsists in *Sumatra* a very powerful and warlike People, who have no other Name, than that of the *Free Nation*, and are equally averse to the Yoke, either of the Monarchs of the Island, or of the *Euro-peans*, having always valiantly defended themselves against both. All the Inhabitants of *Sumatra* are much more inclined to the *English* than the *Dutch*, perhaps because they are not under their Power; but the latter take all the Pains they can to prevent it, and to force the Natives to deal with none but themselves. There is one strange Effect, that very probably flows from the great Commerce of Gold in this Island, which is this, that, for twenty or thirty Years past, the Chiefs at *Padang* have been so unlucky, as to have their Honesty always suspected. This is chiefly owing to their Management of the Mines, that do not turn greatly to the Account of the Company, while all their Officers get immense Estates out of them; a thing the Council at *Batavia* can neither understand, nor digest. For this Reason, they change the Chief very often, but to very little Purpose; and, when our Author was in the *Indies*, they sent from *Batavia* an Order, not only for arresting the Chief of *Padang*, but all his Council also, on a Charge of Mal-administration; but, as he soon afterwards left the Country, he could not give us any Account of the Issue of that Prosecution.

The third Chief resides at *Japan*. He is always a principal Merchant, and is assisted by some Writers in the Company's Service. The Profit, which they formerly made by this Establishment, was very considerable, amounting frequently to 80 or 100 *per Cent.* but is now sunk to such a degree, that they rarely make above eight or ten. This great Diminution is chiefly owing to the Practice of the *Chinese*, who, for some time past, have purchased all sorts of Goods proper for that Market at *Canton*, and have exported them from thence to *Japan*. It is also said, that they have contracted with the *Japanese* to furnish them with all sorts of Merchandize at the same Price as the *Dutch*. Another Cause is a Practice established by the *Japanese* themselves, which is that of fixing the Price of all sorts of Goods. We will give you, say they, so much for this, and so much for that; and, if you do not like what we offer, there are your Goods; take them home again. It is very possible, that this Notion was suggested to them by the *Chinese*, who were treated in the same manner formerly at *Batavia*. The Governor-General *van Zuyt* thought proper to set a Price on all sorts of Silks, and other Goods, the *Chinese* brought to *Batavia*; and, at the same time, fixed the Rate of the Commodities and Manufactures, which the Company were to give in Exchange. This the *Chinese* looked upon as a prodigious Hardship, and a thing altogether incompatible with the Nature of Commerce. They represented this in the strongest Terms to the General; but to no manner of purpose. They then addressed themselves to their Sovereign, and complained of this Innovation so warmly, that, after various Expostulations with the Governor to no Effect, all Commerce between the two Nations was broken off; and Things continued in this Posture till the Death of Mr. *de Zuyt*. But his Successor Mr. *Saunderskroon*, pursuing different Principles, restored all Things to their former State, and put their Commerce on the old Foot again. But return to *Japan*:

There is no Place in the *East Indies*, where the *Dutch* have so little Authority, and where their Establishment is so much contemned, as here in *Japan*. They have, it is true, a little Island allotted them to themselves, where they have Warehouses for their Goods, and a few ordinary Houses, in which such Persons live as are in the Company's Service. But then this Island is, in effect, a Prison, in

which they are shut up for Life, or at least for the Time they stay here, and are not so much as allowed to pass the Bridge, that joins this Island to the City of *Nangasack*. The only Shadow of Liberty that is left them, consists in the Chief's going once a Year, attended by two or three other Persons, to the Court of the Emperor, in Quality of Ambassador, in order to renew the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, which subsists between that potent Monarch and the Company. One great Reason that is assigned for the holding the *Dutch* to such hard Terms is, their having attempted some Familiarities with the *Japanese* Women; but the true Reason is a well-grounded Suspicion, that the *Dutch* have an Inclination to fix themselves there by Force, of which they have, more than once, given some remarkable Tokens, the last of which fell out not many Years ago, and is like to be ever remembered.

It is to be observed, that the *Hollanders* have been more obliged to Foreigners for maintaining their Commerce in *Japan*, than in any other Place. They owe their original Establishment there to the Care of one Mr. *Adams* an *Englishman*, as shall be largely shewn in the next Chapter; and they had well nigh brought about what they have been so long aiming at, the establishing a Fort on their Island, by the Contrivance of a *Frenchman*, who was at the Head of their Factory. This Gentleman's Name was Mr. *Carron*, a Person of great Parts, and who, in several Journeys he had made to the Emperor's Court, had found means to ingratiate himself with that Monarch, by entertaining him with Accounts of the State of *Europe* at that time; which that Prince, and indeed all the *Japanese* Emperors, are curious to know. Having by this means frequent Access to the Imperial Presence, he, presuming on his Credit with the Emperor, begged his Permission to build a House on the little Island where their Factory stood, on his Masters Account. Which Request the Emperor granted. Accordingly the Foundation was laid very large for an House. However, the Building went cheerfully on, till it grew into an handsome Fortification, of a regular Tetragon. The *Japanese*, being intirely ignorant of the Art of Fortification, had not the least Suspicion of Deceit, but suffered them to finish it. When it was finished, Mr. *Carron* advised his Masters at *Batavia* of the Progress he had made; and desired, by the next Shipping, to have some Cannon sent him in Casks filled with Rubbish, such as Oakum or Cotton, the Casks to be well-bound with iron Hoops, and the Heads securely fixed in, with some Casks of the same Make filled with Spices; which Advice was accordingly followed. When the Shipping arrived, the Lading was landed, according to Custom; but, in rolling the Casks, one of them, that had a Brass Gun, had the Misfortune to have one of its Heads fall out; and the Charge was, by that Accident, discovered. This put a Stop to all Commerce, till the Emperor's Pleasure was known. This Affair gave the Emperor a very bad Impression of the *Dutch*, and of all who were employed by them. He would not, however, prohibit Trade; but gave Orders to put any *Dutchman* to Death, who should presume to stir out of the Island; and directed, that Mr. *Carron* should be sent to answer for this Fault to *Jeddo*, where his Imperial Majesty resided. On his Arrival, and being interrogated there, he was able to say nothing in Excuse, when the Emperor reproached him with abusing his Kindness; for which he had his Beard pulled out Hair by Hair; and then, being dressed in a Fool's Coat and Cap, was expelled, in that Condition, throughout all the Streets in the City: After which, he was sent back to his Factory, with Orders to return in the first Ship that was sent to *Batavia*.

Many *English* Writers call the Island, upon which the *Dutch* Factories stand, *Nangasack*; but this seems to be a Corruption of the Name of the City, which is properly called *Nankasacki*, and the Island where the *Dutch* reside *Desima*. This Island is divided from the City by a small Stream of salt Water, of about forty Feet broad; over which lies a Bridge, about fifty Feet broad; at one End of which there is a Draw-bridge, of which the *Japanese* are Masters, and over which the *Dutch* dare not pass without Leave from the Governor of the City; neither dare any of the *Japanese* converse with the *Dutch*, excepting only the Merchants, and the Factors, who have a Li-

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cence for that Purpose. The Island, for the Security of the Factory, is palliaded quite round; and there are four great Streets that go acrois it, with large Magazines or Warehouses on both Sides, and a spacious Market-place over-against the Bridge, where, at certain times, the Town's people have Leave to trade with them. The *Dutch* are not even Masters of their own Ships; for, as soon as any one of them enters the Port, the *Japanese* instantly take Possession of her, take out all the Arms and Ammunition, which they carry ashore, and lay up safely, in order to return, when the Ship is ready to sail; they exact likewise a strict Account of the Number and Quality of all the Men on board of her, and even cause them to be mustered by a Commissary of their own, in order to be satisfied, that the Account they had before taken was true. After taking these Precautions, we need not wonder at a Proverb they have common amongst them; viz. *The Dutch have more Cunning than all the Nations of the West, but the Japanese are still more Cunning than they.*

Japan, with the neighbouring Islands under its Dominion, is said to be near as big as *Great Britain*; it is in Length, from North-east to South-west, near 300 Leagues, and the Mean of its Breadth about 160 Miles; it is well peopled, and produces all Things necessary for human Sustenance in great Plenty; yet the *Dutch*, in their Island, pay a round Price for every thing they have, and purchase even the Wood they burn by Weight. Their Mountains are very rich in Gold, Silver, and Copper, which last is the very best in the known World; their Porcelain, or *Japan* Earthen-ware, is finer than *China* Ware, but much thicker and heavier, and the Colours brighter, and it sells much dearer, either in *India* or *Europe*, than what is made in *China*; but their Tea is not near so good. Their lacked or japanned Ware, is, without any doubt, the best in the World: the best Sort will hold boiling Water without Detriment to it. They abound in Silks, both Wrought and Raw, much stronger than what *China* produces. Their Houses are for the most part built of Wood; but the Emperor's Palaces are built of Marble, and are covered with gilded Copper. Their Gilding is very durable, and can withstand all Winds and Weather many Years. The City of *Jeddo* is their Metropolis, and its Magnitude may be guessed by a Fire that happened in it about the Year 1660, which consumed, in eight Days that it raged, about 120,000 Houses, besides above 500 Temples.

Their Religion is purely *Pagan*, and *Amida* is their favourite God, but his Habitation is a great Way off; for they report, that a Soul is three Years in continual Travel before it can reach Paradise, which is only the Suburbs of Heaven: However, when they once get thither, they are pretty sure of going to Heaven, and they live pretty quietly in Paradise, because not one of their Friends dares come thither to disturb any of them. They have several other Gods, and each of them has his Adorers and Devotees. One is represented as having three Faces, and he is believed to be the Father of the Sun, Moon, and Stars. Every God has his particular Paradise, but none is nearer than three Years Journey: Some of their Zealous cut their own Throats, to get an easy Passage to some of them; and others hang themselves, for the same Purpose. They carry their Idols in Procession on Horsecback, with instrumental and vocal Music, to entertain them. They make many Feasts and Sacrifices to their Idols, but they are only fed with the Smoke; the Votaries eat the Meat. The *Japanese* are strict Observers of moral Rules, and particularly in Commerce, inasmuch that a Merchant of Reputation, in his Payments, puts up 5, 10, or any decimal Number of *Cupangs* which is a broad oblong Piece of Gold of twenty Shillings Value there) into a silk Bag; and, putting his Seal on the Bag, passes current for what the Seal mentions, for several Generations, without so much as looking what is in the Bag; and Gold is so plentiful and cheap, that a *Cupang* of twenty Shillings, in *Japan*, passes current in *Batavia* for thirty-two Shillings; and, when the *Lion* is stamp on it by the Company, it passes for forty Shillings Sterling.

They are likewise exact Observers of Justice, and rigorous in punishing of Crimes. To a Man of Distinction, convicted of a capital Crime, the Emperor sends a Letter,

that on such a Day, and such an Hour, he must be his own Executioner, on Penalty of exquisite Torments, if he survives the appointed Time; so that the common Custom is, that the Delinquent sends for his nearest and best Friends, to a sumptuous Feast, on the Day set him; and, after the Feast is over, he shews them the Emperor's Letter; and, while they are reading it, he takes a Dagger, that he has about him for that Purpose, and with it stabs himself below the Navel, and rips himself up to the Breast-bone. The inferior Sort are forced to submit to Hanging, Beheading, or Throwing over a high Precipice; and, for small Faults, Whipping and Stigmatizing are common Punishments. The Severity seems to shew, that the Statefines and Lawgivers of this Country, who ought to be best acquainted with the Genius of the People, are satisfied, that nothing but penal Laws, strictly executed, can contain them within due Bounds.

It is certain, that the Government of *Japan* would be well enough pleased to encourage a free Trade with all the Nations, if it was not constrained by two Considerations: The first is, the Dread of having their Religion insulted, which, from a misguided Zeal, was very frequent, while there were any Christians among the *Japanese*. The other is, their Aversion to strange Customs, or any Innovation in the Manners of their People, from which they apprehend the worst Consequences. When the *Dutch* were first established here, the then prime Minister of *Japan* gave their Embassador this Account of the Matter: We do not condemn your Customs, or censure your Way of Living; but we are determined to preserve our own: We know very well the Advantages that result from the System of Government established amongst us, and we will not run the Hazard of a Change: We know too, that great Revolutions are brought about by imperceptible Degrees, and, therefore, we are resolved to cure the Itch of Novelty by the Rod of Punishment. Upon this Maxim that Law is founded, by which no *Japanese* dares leave his Country; and, if he does, he must never return. They are so wedded to their own Customs and Opinions, and so jealous of having new or foreign Customs introduced, that they will not send Embassies to other Kings or States, or suffer their Merchants to have Commerce out of their own Dominions; only they send some small Jonks, or Vessels, in Summer-time, to the Land of *Yeddo*, about fifty Leagues from the North-end of *Japan*; and it is reported, they bring much Gold from thence: But, whether that Country is Part of their Dominions, or not, is not easy to say; but it is also reported, that the Natives of the Country are robust and uncivilized; and that they speak the *Japan* Language.

Our Author affirms, that the *Dutch* have actually surrounded the Coast of *Japan*, and are satisfied, that it is an Island; and he farther assures us, that they have but one good Port, all the rest of their Coasts being so guarded by steep Rocks, and Shale-water, that they have no Reason to fear Invasions. He observes likewise, that, in point of Military Discipline, they very far exceed the *Chinese*; and that their People are, by no means, of so base and effeminate a Temper, as most of the Inhabitants of that great Empire. He adds, that the Government is perfectly uniform, and well settled; for tho' several Countries have the Title of Kingdoms, yet all their Monarchs are under the strictest Subjection to the Emperor, and the Laws of the Country prevail every-where, so that there cannot be said to be any Diversity of Interests.

There is likewise a very strict Regard had to private Property, the Father transmitting to the Son, not only his patrimonial Estate, but what he has acquired by his own Industry, which is certainly one of the best Methods for preventing the Desire of Change. The *Japanese* are not only a very subtle and crafty People, but have also a surprising Quickness of Parts. The Emperor, though he resides at *Jeddo*, which is thirty Days Journey from the Port, by the quickest Conveyance in Use in that Country, has, notwithstanding, Intelligence, in the Space of a few Days, of the Number and Force of all Ships that sail. This is performed by Flags and Beacons. As soon as a Ship arrives, they examine, as we before observed, the Strength of the Vessel; of which Report they are

to the Governor, he orders the Beacon to be fired; or, if there be two Ships, two Beacons; and, at the same time, hoists a Flag, the Colour of which intimates the Force of the Ship. This Signal, as soon as discerned, is repeated from every Hill and Eminence, till it reaches the Gates of *Yeddo*; so that the Emperor, and his Council, have time to deliberate on the Measures proper to be taken. The Forms observed in Business are wonderfully exact; and the Emperor's Orders or Edicts signified in Terms equally expressive, and full of Dignity, having very little of that Bombast and swelling Style, which is common in oriental Courts: Yet, in the midst of all these Marks of good Sense, and quick Parts, their Religion is the idlest and most ridiculous than can be imagined; of which the Author gives us one Proof, that is really astonishing. There is a tutelary God to every Family, whose Idol is placed at the Top of the House, and he has Instructions given him to keep off Sickness, Misfortunes, and every evil Accident; and when any of these fall out, they take down their Idol, and whip him, for not having performed his Duty. Such strange Effects has Superstition, where-ever it prevails.

The History of *Japan* will naturally fall into our second Book; but, having to fair an Opportunity at present, it appears reasonable to gratify the curious Reader with a Paper which has fallen into our Hands, containing a much clearer, and more distinct Account of the *Dutch Commerce* in this Empire, than is any-where to be met with in our own, or perhaps in any other Language.

An Inquiry into the Nature of the Dutch Commerce at Japan.

IT is natural for a Person of a curious Disposition, to desire perfect Information as to those Points, that seem doubtful or obscure in most of the Relations that have been published as to distant Countries; and I must confess, that it seems to me the most easy and certain Method of acquiring Satisfaction, to dispose those Doubts and Difficulties into Questions, the Resolution of which may effectually clear them; and to propose those Questions to such as have had Opportunities of informing themselves sufficiently, in respect to the Matters under Consideration. I cannot give a stronger Instance of this, than by mentioning what has occurred to me, upon reading the Accounts that have been hitherto printed of the *Dutch Commerce* in *Japan*, which are, in my Opinion, so indistinct and confused, as well as want of Order in those Relations, as for want of the necessary Circumstances which might enable one to connect their several Parts together, supposing one inclined to take so much Pains, that I presume you will admit the following Queries to be reasonable, as I hope, from your Indulgence, to be delivered from the Inconvenience I am under, as to the Subjects at which they point. A long Introduction would be unnecessary, and the Trouble my Questions will give you, restrains me from adding any thing farther than this Explanation of my Request, that it extends only to the *Dutch Commerce* in *Japan*; and that I do not expect any further Account of that Empire, than is absolutely necessary to settle my Notions of the Commerce.

1. *What is the Extent, and what the true Boundaries, of Japan?* It is not possible to answer this Question very exactly, because we have not any Accounts that can be absolutely depended upon, as to the Countries that lie to the North of *Japan*; but, with respect to the End proposed by your Questions, it may be answered in a manner perfectly satisfactory. The Empire of *Japan* is composed of three large Islands, surrounded by a great Number of smaller Islands of different Sizes, some inhabited, and some desert. The most Southern of these Islands, is that which some Writers call by the Name of *Bungo*, or, according to the *Portuguese*, *Ximo*. This Island extends from South to North, about sixty Leagues, and from East to West about forty. It is on the West Coast of this Island, that the *Dutch Factory* have their Residence, which I shall more particularly describe hereafter. To the East of this Island lies the second of these Islands, which is called *Sikoku*, which, in the Language of the Country, implies a Place that is square; which is a good Description of the Island, inasmuch as it is very near a

Square of sixty Leagues. The great Island of *Japan* is separated from both these, by a narrow and a rocky Channel. This Island, which the Natives call *Nippon*, extends from East to West 160 Leagues, and is in Breadth, from North to South, from 60 to 100.

These three Islands make up what may be properly styled the Empire of *Japan*. They extend from 31° to 42° North Latitude, and from 157° to 175° of Longitude, placing the first Meridian in the Island of *Fero*. On the North of *Japan* lies the Land of *Yesso*, and Part of *Tartary*, *China*, and *Corea*, on the West, *California*, and the rest of *America*, on the East; the *Philippines* on the South-east; and the Sea of *China* on the South. The common Opinion, that it is equal to *Great Britain*, may be pretty near the Truth in one Sense, though not in another; and it is requisite to distinguish these Senses. The whole Empire of *Japan*, to speak strictly, all the three Islands, are pretty near the Size of the *British Islands*, that is to say, with *Ireland* included; and the Island of *Japan*, distinctly considered, is somewhat bigger than *Great Britain*, strictly taken, without any of its adjacent Islands. As to the Countries dependent on *Japan*, they are, besides the adjacent Islands, many of which are very rich and well cultivated, 1. The Islands of *Riuku*, which belong to a Prince who is subject to the Emperor, and so are reputed to belong to *Japan*. 2. *Hiosu*, which is Part of the Peninsula of *Corea*, and belongs likewise to one of the Princes of this Empire. 3. The Island of *Yesso*, making Part of the Dominions of a third tributary Prince. This Island, however, is to be distinguished from the Land of *Yesso*, which lies still farther North; and, whether it be Island or Continent, I cannot take upon me to determine.

2. *What are the Commodities or Manufactures of this Empire, that make its Commerce so valuable?* The Commodities of *Japan* are fewer than one would imagine, considering that it is a fertile a Country, and the People as industrious, as any in the World. The Reason of this is, because they chuse to deal with Strangers for ready Money, that is to say, for Silver, which is at once a Commodity, and the Measure of all Commodities here. They have great Quantities of Gold, but the Exportation of it is forbid, under the severest Penalties. Sulphur also abounds in this Country to a prodigious degree, so that vast Quantities are annually disposed of, without any Danger of exhausting their Stock. But the grand Commodity in point of Value, next to Silver, is Copper, of which they have likewise prodigious Quantities, which, at the same time, is by much the finest in the World; they formerly sold it with a great Mixture of Gold, but they have now found a Way to extract that; yet their Copper remains still in very high and just Repute. They have very fine Pearls, and great Quantities of Mother-of-pearl, which they do not much esteem. Ambergis, and other rich Drugs, are likewise to be met with; there is also very fine Silk of several sorts, which they sell very reasonably; though, at the same time, they purchase *China* Silk, which is not so good as their own; but, in all Probability, this is with a View to some Manufacture, for which it is more proper.

All sorts of Cabinet-work, and Lacker'd-ware, they make in the utmost Perfection, and export vast Quantities of it; as they do likewise of their Porcelain, or Earthen-ware. This was formerly much finer, and much stronger, than it is now made; and therefore the old *Japan Ware* is very valuable, even in the Country. I will give you an Instance of the *Japanese* Sagacity on this Subject. The *Dutch* were very inquisitive into the Cause of it, and were answered, *That they put more of Mens Bones into it formerly than they did at present*; by which they gave them to understand, that it was formerly made with greater Care and Labour than at this Day; which has, however, been so far mistaken, as to create an Opinion among idle People at *Batavia*, that human Bones enter into the Composition of their Earthen-ware. I ought to add, to this List of the Commodities and Manufactures of *Japan*, their Tea, which some esteem much better than that of *China*, which is, however, only true upon the Spot; for, as its Flower is more delicate,

so it is sooner lost when the Herb comes to be transported; and therefore, however some sorts of *Japan Tea* may be valued in the *Indies*, we never can expect to see them in equal Perfection here in *Europe*.

III. *How is the Commerce of Japan carried on among themselves? and what foreign Commerce had they, before this Country was discovered by the Inhabitants of Europe?* It is extremely difficult to say any thing on this Head worthy your Notice, and at the same time to say it with Certainty; but, as I am well aware of the Contradictions you have met with in many Books upon this Subject, I will endeavour to shew you the Source of them in few Words: In all that has been written upon this Head, it is on the one hand asserted, that the *Japanese* have a great Contempt for Trade and *Traders*; and on the other, that no Nation in the World has such wise Regulations in respect to Commerce, as are to be found amongst them. To reconcile this Contradiction, I must observe to you, that the single Maxim on which the Government in *Japan* proceeds, is this, that Commerce is a Proof either of Poverty, or of Covetousness; and that the greatest Happiness a Nation can possess is, to have all within themselves. In regard to the Empire of *Japan*, this is strictly true: They derive from the Bounty of Providence, and from their own Industry, not only all the Necessaries, but also all the Conveniences, all the Elegancies, of Life; and therefore they are absolutely content, I mean, such as have the Administration of the Government are content, with what they possess.

This appears, by their neither sending or receiving Embassadors in the manner that other Nations do; and tho' formerly the Government so far complied with the Desires of such as were of a mercantile Genius, as to permit them to trade in certain Countries, under abundance of Restrictions, yet they have since thought fit to revoke these Licences; and their Subjects now carry on no foreign Trade at all, at least with the Permission of the Government. As to their inland Commerce, it is, and always was, very great; but they have so strong a Notion, that Buying and Selling corrupt the Morals of Men, incline them to Fraud, to Covetousness, and, above all, to Lying, that they have not only the severest Laws for punishing these Vices, but have likewise contrived some very singular Methods for preventing them; particularly these:

In the first Place, to prevent any Deceit in measuring, there is a Steel-yard fixed at the End of every Street, by which all Commodities are measured; and it is the same with regard to Weight and liquid Measures, none, but those authorized by the Government, can be used. They have public Fairs, at certain Seasons in the Year, in all the great Cities, to which Merchants bring their Goods, in such Proportions as they are enjoined by Law; and these are sold, not by the Merchants themselves, but by Officers appointed by the State, to the best Bidder: Yet this is not managed by Auction, from an Apprehension, that this might create Jealousies and Hatred among such as bid against each other; to prevent which, every Man writes in a little Note what he is willing to give, and his Name. The Officer, having collected these Notes, which are all sealed, opens them; and, having declared the highest Bidder, delivers him the Goods, and burns all the Notes. In case of any notorious Fraud, they not only condemn the Parties that are guilty, but their whole Families, and even their Neighbours; which puts every Man so much upon his Guard, that there are very few Instances of Deceit happening throughout this extensive Empire.

It is not the Government only, but every private Man, that coins Money; but he must carry it to the Master of the Mint, who sees that it is fine, and of its proper Weight; which he attests by his Stamp: But, if it wants half a Grain, he cuts it in two, and returns it to the Owner. As for large Sums, they are paid in Purse, containing about 100 Cupang, which are carried likewise to the Officer of the Mint, who tells and weighs the Pieces, and then claps his Seal upon the Purse, with a Character importing the Value contained therein. This once done, the Purse passes from Hand to Hand for twenty Years; for, so long as the Impression remains fair, nobody disputes its Value. As to the foreign Commerce, of old it

was only with their Neighbours the *Chinese*; and I shall have Occasion to explain it to you hereafter. At present, I hope, I have satisfied you as to this Question.

IV. *Why are all Nations prohibited from trading here, except the Dutch and the Chinese?* This does not proceed, as is generally imagined, from any Prejudice against other Nations, or from any Prepossession in favour of the *Chinese* or *Dutch*, but from Reasons that I shall lay before you as succinctly as I can. The *Japanese* do not look upon foreign Commerce at all; but, on the other hand, it is a Maxim of their Policy not to refuse it to any Nation, provided they find their Goods in their own Vessels to *Japan*, and submit to the Regulations, which, for its own Security, the State has established. Their Commerce with the *Chinese* is so old, that it is beyond Memory; and I shall shew you hereafter, that nothing has been able to bring them to prohibit it.

The *Portuguese* came thither about the Middle of the sixteenth Century, and were received with all the Kindness and Civility consistent with the Constitution of the Empire, and the Genius of the Nation. Some time after, the *Spaniards* from *Mexico* found their Way thither, as the *English* likewise did, after they settled in the *East Indies*. It was owing to the Intrigues of the Priests, who put their Converts upon Conspiracies, Seditions, and Rebellions, that Christians in general were forbidden to trade to *Japan*; and as the *Dutch* had not intermeddled in any sort with these Disturbances, they were permitted to carry on their Trade under the ancient Regulations. This Prohibition happened in the Year 1636, and was entirely owing to the Bigotry and ill Management of the Clergy, who brought an Oium on Christianity, that will hardly ever be effaced. Yet, after all, I must own, that, in my Opinion, the Patience and Perseverance of the *Chinese* and *Dutch* are the best Reasons that can be assigned for their maintaining themselves in this Commerce, from which other Nations are excluded, not because they are hated by the *Japanese*, but because they are incapable of submitting to those severe Rules, which are now imposed upon Strangers, many of which took Rise from that unfortunate Extirpation of the Christian Religion in *Japan*. It is no less true, that the *Dutch* themselves, though not excluded from Trade, were nevertheless extremely hurt by that Accident, since they were removed from the Settlement they had first obtained, and where they were much easier than they are at present; which shews you, that it was not their Interest to procure the Banishment of other Nations, since, instead of turning to their Advantage, it has done them inexpreffible Mischief.

V. *In what State are the Chinese in Japan, and what Commerce do they carry on?* As the *Chinese* are by far the most docile and tractable People in the World, they are, without Question, the fittest to deal with the *Japanese*; because, whatever new Regulations are made, whatever fresh Hardships are laid upon them, they submit without repining, and appear content, let their Usage be what will. In ancient times the *Japanese* had a great Trade with *China*, in which a Multitude of People were employed; but, in one of the *Chinese* Sea-ports, where a few *Japanese* were settled, the Natives having practised a little of that Fraud, which is inseparable from the *Chinese*, these Strangers applied themselves to the Magistrates for Redress; but, finding none, they redressed themselves, by sacking the Town. As soon as the Emperor of *China* was informed of this, and that, tho' the Place was very populous, it had been destroyed by a very Handful of *Japanese*, he resolved at once to be rid of these People, and erected where the City had stood a Column of Marble, on which the Edict of Banishment was engraved, threatening at the same time Death to any *Japanese*, who should dare to land in his Dominions; forbidding at the same time all his Subjects to carry on any Trade with these Islanders; which Prohibition remains in Force to this Day: And the *Chinese* always declare at home, that they are bound to some other Market, when they sit out their Junks for *Japan*.

Yet the *Japanese* never prohibited Trade with *China*; but suffered them to come freely into their Country, as they did before; so that the Difficulties the *Chinese* now labour

under are not the Effects of their own, but of the Christians ill Conduct. They are tied down to trade to one single Port, which is that of *Langi Isakie*, in the Latitude of $36^{\circ} 6'$ North, and in the Longitude of 151° . They have, during their Stay, an Island assigned them, as well as the *Dutch*, and are subjected to many other Rules. They sail from *Canton* about the first of May, and, having always a fair Wind, they arrive at the Coast of *Japan* before the End of the Month. They dare not approach the Shore nearer than three Leagues, where they wait the coming of the Custom-house Officers on board, to whom they make the strictest Declaration that can be of their Strength and Cargo: After which, a *Japanese* Pilot takes Charge of the Ship, and carries her into Port, where all the Goods are immediately sent on shore into the public Warehouses. The *Japanese* Officers meet, and fix a Day for the Sale of their Goods, of which they give a public Notice through the Country; but make no mention of the Matter to the *Chinese*, who have indeed little or nothing to do with the Affair. During this Sale, the *Japanese* Merchants bring the Officers Notes of the Goods they want, and the Money they are content to give. The highest Bidder has the Preference; and, before the Goods are delivered, his Note is shewn to the *Chinese*, to whom they belong; who never scruples the Price, be it what it will. Thus the Sale is quickly over; the *Japanese* have the Goods, and the *Chinese* their Money; but not quite so easily as may be expected: For tho' the Officers receive all in Cash, yet they pay them above 60 per Cent. in Goods, and the rest of their own chusing, which are generally Copper, and three or four foris of dried Fish. The rest they have in Money, which they lay out in Porcelain, Pearls, fine Steel, wrought Copper, and a kind of Camphire, which is much esteemed in *China*. Generally speaking, the *Chinese* Merchant leaves his Money in the Officer's Hands; and, having purchased what Goods he wants, draws on him, payable at Sight. There is nothing paid to the Emperor by way of Custom; the only Duty he imposes is a Right of Pre-emption, which extends to a few fine Goods: Yet there is something equivalent to Duty in *Japan*; for, as the Officers furnish the Magazines, they are paid for them at a very high Rate; which is equivalent to an Inpott.

Of late Years, there have been great Alterations made with respect to their Commerce: They are, in the first place, limited to seventy Junks; and there must not be above thirty Men employed in each. The Quantity of Goods likewise is fixed, which they must not exceed, and which is reported to be double what they allow to the *Dutch*. Their Quality also is prescribed, and even the Price fixed. They are obliged to depart as soon as their Sale is over; and none of them are allowed to remain, as the *Dutch* do, in *Japan*. In some respects, indeed, they seem to be better treated; but then they only seem to be so: For instance, they are allowed to buy Provisions, and to deal with whom they please; whereas the *Dutch* have no sort of Correspondence, but with those who are appointed to furnish them with Necessaries. This arises from their Apprehension of the *Dutch* on one Side, and from their absolute Contempt of the *Chinese* on the other; which appears by the Officers Behaviour towards both Nations: Such as transact Affairs with the *Dutch*, behave to them with the utmost Civility; but those that have to do with the *Chinese*, use them like Slaves; and, if ever they offer to complain, answer them with their Canes. All this, however, they endure, because their Profit is large; for, in the first place, the Price fixed on their Goods is much above their Value, and, in the next, they gain extravagantly upon some of the Goods they purchase in the Country, tho' by others they lose.

They leave *Japan* about October 10. in order to return to *Canton* in the first Week of November, that they may be there before the Ships sail for *Europe*, since otherwise the best Part of the Profit of the Voyage is lost, because most of their Cargo lies, in that Case, upon their Hands a full Year. Thus you see what a mighty Advantage the Merchants in the *East Indies* derive from the Trade-winds, which carry them to *Japan* at the proper Season, and bring them back at the proper Season like-

wife. According to the best Computations that can be made at *Batavia*, the *Chinese* gain annually by the Trade of *Japan* eleven Million of Guilders, which make one Million Sterling. This, I hope, you will consider as a full Answer to your Question, tho' it is certain I might have insisted upon many other Particulars; but, as I conceive you aim chiefly at a Comparison between the Commerce of the *Chinese* and of the *Dutch*, I have insisted only on such Circumstances, as were necessary for that Purpose.

VI. *What is the true Name, Extent, Situation, and Produce of the Island, in which the Dutch have their Factory? and in what manner do they live there?* The *Dutch* were formerly settled in the Island of *Firando*; and the Island in which they are now settled, is properly called *Desima*. It is, strictly speaking, an artificial Island, which was raised on purpose to confine the *Portuguese* in the Year 1635. This is generally reported to have been drawn upon them by the Intrigues of the *Dutch*; and, if the Fact be true, they have suffered very justly for their Contrivance. This Island is a kind of Oblong, joined to the City of *Nangasacki*, which is situated in the Latitude of 33° North, by a stone Bridge, with a wooden Draw-bridge at the End. Where the Bridge joins the City, there is a strong *Corps de Guard*, where a considerable Number of Men are posted Night and Day. At the Entrance from the Bridge there is a large stone Pillar, upon which hang, in several Fables, the Emperor's Edicts for the Regulation of the *Dutch* Trade; and three high Posts are set up in the Sea, to mark the Places where the *Dutch* Ships are to anchor, to prevent their coming near the City. The Island is palisaded round, like a Park, and those Palisadoes spiked. It is not, in its greatest Extent, above 240 Paces in Length, and not above eighty broad. There is a Street across it, with Houses, or rather Huts, on both Sides, the lower Story of which serves for a Warehouse, and the upper for the Lodging-rooms of such as reside there.

There is, in this little Spot, a very convenient House for the *Chinese* Director of Trade, who comes thither when the Ships arrive; besides another handsome House for the *Japanese* Magistrate, who always resides there, which has likewise its Garden: For it is to be observed, that, in all their great Cities, the *Japanese* have a particular Magistrate in every Street, who is called the *Ottoma*; and they look upon the Island of *Desima* as nothing more than a Street added to their City of *Nangasacki*; and therefore there is an *Ottoma* here, as well as in other Streets. Another Proof that this belongs absolutely to the Natives, and is not at all conveyed to the *Dutch*, is, that these last are obliged to pay a very high Rent for their little wooden Houses to those who were originally at the Charge of building them, when the *Portuguese* were sent thither. By this Account of the Island, you will easily perceive, that it produces little or nothing, and that there is no Room to plant any thing in, if they were permitted to do it by the *Japanese*, which they are not, but are furnished from Day to Day with all the Necessaries of Life at a very high Price, and by such only as have this Monopoly put into their Hands by the Governor.

The *Dutch*, resident in this Island, seldom exceed the Number of forty-five; and the *Japanese* oblige them to change their Chief every Year, although, after he has been absent two Years, the same Person may be sent again; so that commonly there are three Persons, who have this Post by way of Rotation; viz. one resident in the Island, another on the Road, and a third residing at *Batavia*, till his two Years are expired. On the Whole therefore, tho' the *Dutch* have taken all the Pains they can to make this Place as convenient as possible, yet, in spite of all their Care, it is a very indifferent Abode, and very little resembles any of their other Settlements in the *East Indies*. They are also much restrained in their adding any thing either to their Houses, Magazines, or little Wharfs for landing their Goods, since they cannot build, or make the least Alteration, without first delivering a Petition, with a Plan annexed, to the *Ottoma*, by whom it is transmitted to the Governor; so that it is sometimes a full Year before they can obtain this Permission; and even then there is an Inspector appointed to see, that in nothing

• nothing they exceed their original Plan: Yet, if they really had any kind of Fort on this Island, it would not put them out of the Power of the *Japonefe*, who are a very warlike and powerful People, and who, on the least Appearance of Force, would not fail, first to prohibit all Commerce with the *Dutch*, and next employ the whole Strength of their Empire to drive them out of their Factory.

• VII. *What are the Restrictions the Dutch usually labour under here in the carrying on of their Commerce?* In the first place, they are forbidden to send any Ships hither, that have any Figures whatever at their Sterns; because the *Japonefe* consider these as Insults on their Religion, some of these Figures having accidentally resembled their Idols. They are restrained from sending Goods beyond the Value of 380,000 Tael or *Tayales per Annum*. As soon as their Ships arrive, they fall immediately under the Power of the *Japonefe*, who take all their Cannon, Small-arms, Sails, Cordage, and spare Anchors, into their Possession. The Crews of these Ships are confined to the Island, as well as the People of the Factory, unless they have a Licence granted them to go into the City; and even this is restrained to four at a time. The Prices of their Goods are set by the *Japonefe* Directors of Trade, as are likewise the Prices of the Goods they take in Exchange; and Sales are made when and how they please.

• It is true, they are allowed to send the Chief of their Factory, with two or three Attendants, to *Jeddo*, to pay their Respects to the Emperor; but, in their Journey, they always travel under the Escort of a *Japonefe* Guard, who will not suffer them to make any Excursions into the Country by the Way, or to visit any great Lords or Princes. They are under the same, or greater, Restraints during the short Stay they make at *Jeddo*, where they have little other Business, than to deliver their Presents to the Emperor, and to particular Princes and Grandees of his Court; to renew the Treaty of Commerce, which, being a Thing of Form, is speedily dispatched; and then they are ordered to return, having a Guard about them while they remain there, and another to escort them back. After their Sales are over at their Factory, and the Wind is fair for their Return home, they have their Cannon, Small-arms, Sails, Anchors, and Rigging, restored to them, and are directed to depart without Delay; with which they are obliged to comply. It is to be observed, that most of these Restrictions have been but lately imposed, that is to say, within these last fifty Years, since the great Troubles in *Japan*, wherein 400,000 Christians lost their Lives, and the Empire ran the utmost Hazard of being overturned; which is the true Cause why the *Japonefe* have Strangers, and the Religion of Strangers, in such Abhorrence; for, before that time, the *Dutch* had great Privileges, and were in high Credit; whereas now they are exposed to new Hardships every Day, which they know not how to avoid, and to which they find it very difficult to submit.

• VIII. *What Number of Ships are employed in this Trade? of what Force? when do they sail from Batavia? at what Time do they return? and what are the computed Profits of the Voyage?* The *Dutch* send annually four Ships from *Batavia* to *Japan*, of between thirty and fifty Pieces of Cannon; but they are indifferently armed, for two Reasons: First, because there is little or no Danger in these Seas; and, secondly, that they may give the less Suspicion to the *Japonefe*, who do not care to see Ships of great Force upon their Coast. These Vessels are laden with such European and Indian Goods, as are in Demand at *Japan*, such as *English* and *Dutch* Cloths, Camblets of all sorts, Brocades Gold and Silver, very rich Silks of all Colours, and especially crimson, and white raw Silk, raw Cotton, and spun Cotton, Paperies, Lead, Steel, and Sublimated Sugars of all sorts, Spices of all kinds, *Morocco* Leather, and all sorts of Skins, particularly Buck and Doe, of which they carry a prodigious Quantity, and about half the Quantity of Ox-hides. They sail with this Cargo about June 20. and the first Land they make is usually the Island of *Pollimon*, which is in the Latitude of 2° 50 North. There they take in Water, and other Refreshments; and then continue their Voyage to *Japan*,

• where they generally arrive in the Beginning of *August*, and find every thing ready prepared for them; so that their Goods are quickly got on shore, and brought into their Warehouses, fortified, and fitted for Sale. The Merchants likewise are summoned from the adjacent Countries, and have Catalogues given them of the Goods brought by the last Fleet; so that every thing is over by the latter End of *October*, and the Ships are ready to sail very early in the next Month, when the *Japonefe* fail to press them to be gone. Of all the Restrictions on Trade labours under at present, the *Dutch* are made uneasy by their having their Quantity of Goods limited; and of this therefore they complained bitterly to the *Emperors*, and at last to the *Emperor* himself.

• The *Japonefe* treated them, on this Occasion, with great Address: They told them plainly, that they knew and understood the thing to be an Hardship; and at the same time insinuated, that it did not proceed from any Disaffection of, or Disrespect to, the *Dutch*, but was done purely to justify the same Restraint on the *Chinese*, the Number of whose Junks increased every Year; and as there were frequently *Tartars* amongst them, they could not help suspecting, that they might have some worse Design than getting Money by Trade; but, for fear of bringing that Evil upon themselves, which they were labouring to avoid, they thought it necessary to lay this Restraint on the *Dutch*, as well as the *Chinese*, that the latter might have the less Reason to complain. They pretended, that this Regulation should be very tenderly executed, as to give the *Dutch* very little Trouble; in which respect, it is said, the *Japonefe* have been as good as their Words, as indeed they are in every thing; for, abating their singular Customs, and the Warmth with which they are attached to them, there is, perhaps, no Nation in the World more just, more reasonable, or even more civil to Strangers.

• The *Dutch* took Advantage of this Stroke of Policy at *Japan*, to make a new Order for the Regulation of their own Affairs; and a very wise one it was. They are very sensible, that People do not settle in the *Indies* to make Observations in Natural History, but to acquire Fortunes; that Men submit to the Hardships they endure, for the sake of purchasing future Ease; and that the Navigation in the Seas of *Japan* is so perilous, that it is but reasonable, even the Seamen should find an extraordinary Account in it. Upon these Motives they have thus settled the Commerce of *Japan*: Goods to the Value of three hundred thousand Tael are sent on the Company's Account, and the other eighty thousand is allowed in private Trade, in the following Proportion; viz. Forty thousand Tael on the Account of the Governor-General and Council at *Batavia*; ten thousand on the Account of the new Chief, who goes on board the Fleet; eight thousand on the Account of the Chief who comes Home; and twenty-two thousand for the Captain and Seamen; so that every Captain has eleven hundred Tael on his own Account, and every Seaman twenty. If any of these People have not Money to furnish his Share of the Cargo, it is either advanced on their Wages, or they are allowed to dispose of their Right as they are richer than themselves. Thus every Man is interested in the Branch of Trade in which he is employed, and finds his private Account in the punctual Discharge of his Duty.

• In their Return, they touch again, towards the End of the Month of *December*, at the before-mentioned Island of *Pollimon*, where all the Gold is put on board one Ship, that sails immediately for *Batavia*; but the rest continue their Voyage to *Malacca*, where an Assortment is made out of the Goods they bring home for the several Markets of the *Indies*. It is allowed, that the Commerce of *Japan* is very much sunk, in point of Profit, to what it was; and it is likewise true, that great Losses are frequently sustained therein; but, after all, it is still very considerable; so that, on the best Computation that can be made, it produces annually to the Company better than five Million of Guilders, or half a Million Sterling, exclusive of the great Advantages that result from the Distribution of the Effects brought from

Japan over all the *Indies*, which may perhaps amount to as much more.

I foresee an Objection, that must naturally arise in your Mind, to this Account, grounded on the settled Report of all Writers on the Affairs of *Japan*; viz. that Gold is a contraband Commodity; which is true, and of late Years so is Silver also, and Persons are severely punished, who attempt to transport either out of the Country: Yet, as the *Japanese* are a wise People, and know that every thing has its proper Value, so in Consideration that the *Dutch* trade with them on their own Terms in every respect, they grant them Licences, at the Return of every Fleet, for a certain Quantity of Gold, and perhaps are not very exact in seeing that Licence complied with: There is another Thing which I ought to explain, and that is, the Value of the *Tael* or *Tayal*, which, by the way, is both a Weight and a Coin, the Value of which the *Dutch* estimate at three Guilders and an half; and I take it to be very near the *English* Noble, or the Third-part of a Pound Sterling. I must likewise observe, that the Presents sent to the Emperor, and his Ministers, are not comprehended in the Company's Allowance: And I must add to this, that the *Japanese* Courtiers have a very singular Custom, which is, that they never accept a Present from a Man they don't intend to serve; nor will they receive them at all, if above the usual Value, from an Apprehension that something extraordinary may be expected. They are likewise very candid and open, love to be dealt with freely, and condemn the *Chinese* as a fraudulent deceitful People, whom, therefore, they use with the utmost Indignity; whereas, if an *European* does nothing to forfeit his Honour, he is sure of being treated amongst them with the utmost Friendship and Esteem; but he is not to expect, that they should enter with him into any Secrets of their Government, for that is a Subject on which they are remarkably reserved.

IX. *How comes it to pass, that the Dutch, who assume so despotic a Power throughout the East Indies, submit to such slavish Restrictions as are put on them by the Japanese?* and, particularly, *how comes it that they deny their being Christians?* I must confess this Question a little surprises me; because I very little imagined, that one, who so judiciously distinguished the Errors and Confusions into which Voyage-writers too frequently fall, should himself follow them in a Mistake like this. The *Dutch* do, in *Japan*, what every Man ought to do who resides in a foreign Country; that is to say, they submit to the Laws, and, as far as they are able, avoid giving Offence. In other Countries of the *Indies*, they live as their Circumstances permit; that is, they are Masters in some, Subjects in others, and Strangers and Sojourners in the rest. As to their Conduct in *Japan*, it is far from bringing upon them any Discredit; they never sought, either under Pretence of Trade or Religion, to return Evil for Good, or to disturb those, from whom they received Protection. The *Portuguese* were, in some measure, in Possession of the Trade when they had first Access to *Japan*; and if the *Dutch* procured Leave to share in that Commerce, it was certainly what they had a Right to ask, and the Emperor of *Japan* to give: Yet it was not without much Difficulty, and all imaginable Opposition from the *Portuguese*, that they procured it.

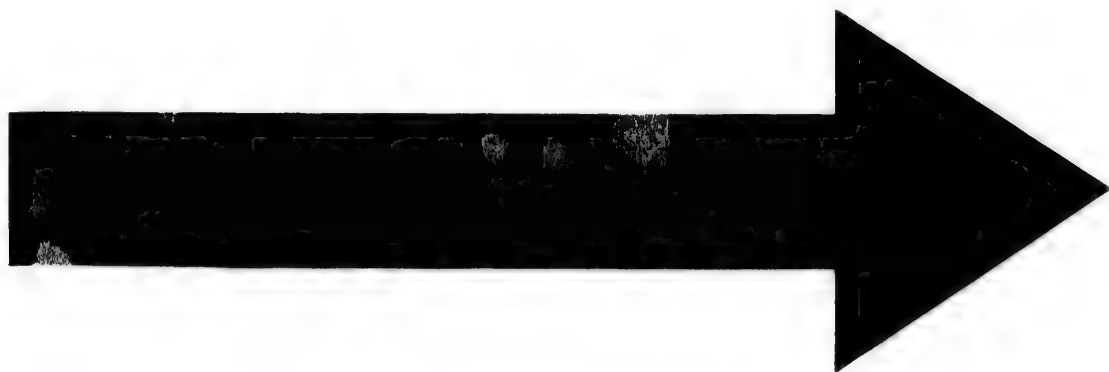
As to the Hardships and Restrictions under which they labour, they are partly old, partly new: As to the old ones, they arose from the Constitution of the Empire, which no Strangers had a Right to alter. That the *Dutch* submitted to these, could give no just Grounds for Reproach; because the *Portuguese*, who were as jealous of their Honour, as any Nation, had submitted to them before, without incurring any Reflection. As to the new Restrictions, they arose from the Seditions and Rebellions of the *Japanese* Papists, with which the *Dutch* had nothing to do; and if they suffer for the Precautions, that the bad Conduct of these Converts rendered necessary, it ought to be esteemed rather their Misfortune, than their Fault, that they have been obliged to submit to Hardships they did not deserve to have imposed upon them: Yet, to shew you, that the *Dutch* have done nothing more in this than other Nations would do, I must observe to you, that all

the Nations, excluded by the Edict against the Christians, have solicited to be restored, and to trade upon the same Terms with the *Dutch*: And it is to their want of Success in this Application, that you ought to attribute the Reflections you have heard, on the Meanness and Pusillanimity of the *Dutch*, in bearing with the *Japanese* Impositions.

As to the common Imputation of their denying themselves to be Christians, I flatter myself, that I shall be able to shew you the Folly of it. The *Japanese* are much too wise a Nation to give any Credit to such an Assertion, if the *Dutch* had been wicked enough to have attempted to impose on them by it. The Truth of the Matter is this: The *Dutch*, at the Time of the Persecution, declared, that their Intention in coming to *Japan* was purely for the sake of Trade; and that they did not pretend to trouble the Peace of the Empire, as the *Portuguese* had done: They farther allege, and certainly with Truth, that their Religion differed in many respects from that of the Papists. Now I cannot see, what there is blameable in such a Conduct; and, on the Whole, you will find, that, instead of denying themselves to be Christians, they only avowed themselves Protestants. As a Proof of this, give me Leave to put you in mind of the Instructions given by *Lewis XIV.* to the *Sieur Francis Caron*, when he intended to have sent him on an Embassy to the Emperor of *Japan*; wherein he directs him to assure that Monarch, that, though his most Christian Majesty was of the same Communion with the *Portuguese*, yet many of his Subjects were not, but of the same Religion with the *Hollanders*; and that, if his Imperial Majesty would admit the *French* to trade in his Dominions, he would take care that Trade should be managed by such of his Subjects as were of that Religion.

This I think so full an Answer, in every respect, to your Question, that, I hope, it will intirely cure you of your Prejudice in that respect, and bring you to acknowledge there is nothing, either of Wickedness or Blasphemy, in their avowing they trade with the *Japanese* as *Hollanders*, without drawing Religion at all into the Question: After all, the *Dutch* certainly found their Account, and, perhaps, always will, in their Commerce to *Japan*, notwithstanding the new Restrictions; though I think it very doubtful, whether any other Nation would or not; and for this plain Reason: The greatest Part of the Cargoes they send to *Japan*, are the Produce of their own Dominions in the *East Indies*; as, on the other hand, the principal Markets to which they carry the Commodities of *Japan*, are likewise within their own Dominions, or at least Places where they have Factories. Thus, I hope, I have fully answered all your Queries, and set the Nature of the *Dutch* Commerce, in this Country, in a true Light. It would have been much easier for me to have written a Volume upon this Subject, than to have confined myself within so narrow a Compass; but I find you are no great Friend to voluminous Writings, neither indeed am I. Your Questions are certainly very plain, and very pertinent, expressing fully, though in few Words, what it is you want to know. If my Answers shall be so happy as to appear satisfactory to you, and supply that Knowledge which you have sought for elsewhere in vain, they will make ample Amends for the Pains they have cost me. At all Events, I am confident you will esteem them, as the Marks of that sincere Friendship which their Author has for you; and will therefore pardon whatever Mistakes your Penetration may discover.

36. The *East India* Company have established three Factories; the Heads of which have the Title of Residents, who correspond directly with the Governor-General of *Batavia*, and are not dependent on any Governor or Director whatever, as other Factors, who have the Title of Residents, are. The first of these independent Residents is fixed at *Cberibon*, on the Coast of *Java*, at the Distance of forty Leagues from *Batavia*, where the Company carries on a very advantageous Commerce in Coffee, Cardamoms, Indico, Cotton, &c. The Land is as fertile in Rice, and other Provisions, as perhaps any Country in the World. It is of considerable Extent, and the People who inhabit it are under the Dominion of four great Lords, who were formerly stiled *Pangerans*, i. e. Princes; but are now stiled Sultans,



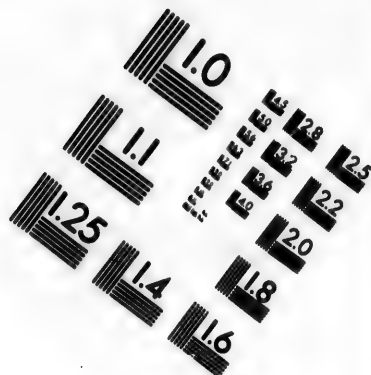
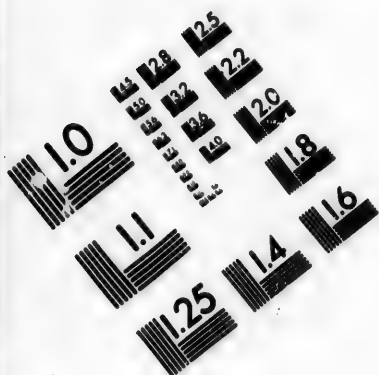
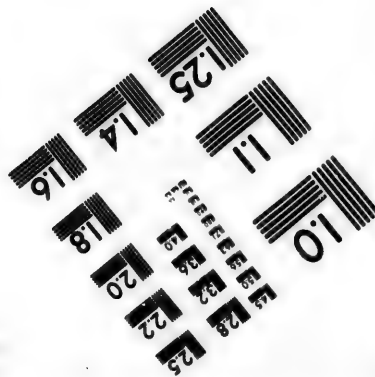
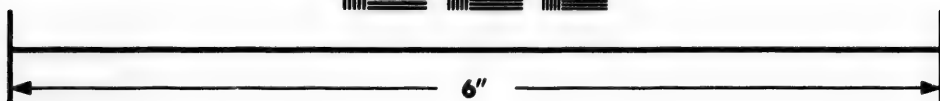
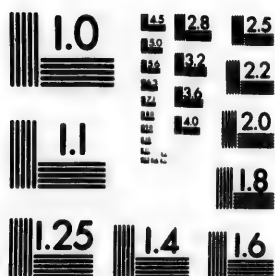


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Sultans, *i. e.* Kings, though their Authority is not much extended in consequence of their new Titles. There is one of them who is particularly called the *Company's Sultan*, because he is always attached to the *Dutch* Interest. To say the Truth, they might be all four very properly called the *Company's Sultans*, since they are under her Protection; and are delivered from all Apprehensions from the King of *Bantam*; who was heretofore continually at War with them, and had undoubtedly reduced them under his Subjection, if the *Company* had not assisted them, and driven the *Bantams* out of their Territories. These Princes have, since that time, as well out of Gratitude for Favours past, as in Expectation of constant Protection for the Time to come, granted the *Company* great Privileges in their Dominions; amongst the rest, that of erecting a Fort at *Cheribon*, where they have a Garrison of sixty Men, as well as a Factory, very well situated, and in perfect good Order.

About half a League from this Fort are the Tombs of the Princes of *Cheribon*, in a vast Temple, erected probably for that Purpose: They are three Stories high, and are built of various Kinds of fine Stones. It is said, that these Tombs contain immense Riches, which, though left unguarded, the Princes are in no Apprehension should be carried away, from a Persuasion, that they are protected in some supernatural Way; and they report many Instances of Persons who have dropped down dead on approaching the Places, where those Riches are hid, with a thievish Intent. There are many People who believe, that the *Javanese* Priests, who are *Mohammedans*, have a Power of causing sudden Death by their Incantments: Our Author intimates some Doubt of this, and yet tells us some very odd Stories, of his own Knowledge; such as, that these Priests are able to enchant Crocodiles and Serpents, making the former go in and out of the Water at their Pleasure; and the latter remain in what Posture they please. If this was really the Effect of any supernatural Power, and not produced by some natural Cause, concealed by the Priests from the People, one would think they might have delivered their Princes from the *Bantams*, without leaving them to seek Assistance from the *Company*: However that be, here are a Multitude of these Priests maintained about this Temple, many of whom have gone in Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, for which Reason they have much Respect paid them. The whole Body of this Priesthood is governed by one sovereign Pontiff, who is more revered than the Sultans themselves. Our Author tells us, that there was formerly a very considerable *English* Factory at *Cheribon*, with a little Town belonging to it; but that the Persons belonging to the Factory intriguing with the Natives Wives, this provoked the People, that, in one Night's time, they massacred them all, and destroyed the Town. It is very probable, if we could come at the Truth of this Story, that they were put upon this cruel Action by some of their Christian Neighbours.

The second Resident has the Direction of the *Company's* Affairs in the Kingdom of *Siam*, and has an Assistant or Book-keeper under him. The *Company* carry on a very considerable Trade here, in Tin, Lead, Elephants Teeth, Gums, Lark, Wool, and other Commodities. The King of *Siam* is a very considerable Prince, and his Territories are near three hundred Leagues in Extent; and, as he is himself much addicted to Commerce, he suffers all Nations to trade freely through his Dominions: Ships, however, of any great Burden, are obliged to come to an Anchor, at the Distance of thirty-six Leagues from his Capital, because the River *Menan*, upon which it stands, is so rapid, that they could not get up without great Difficulty. This River, like the *Nile*, and many others in the *Indies*, overflows its Banks at a certain Season, so that for half the Year the best Part of the Country is under Water; and, for this Reason, the Houses are all built upon Poles.

The Capital of this Country is a very large City, consisting of at least 50,000 Houses; and, as our Author reports, of 30,000 Temples: The People are all *Pagans*, and are famous for a certain Maxim they have, that all Religions are good, provided they tend to the Honour of God. They think, however, their own the best; though, upon

some Occasions, they are ready to own, that the God of the Christians is most powerful, because the Head of their principal Idol has been twice beat to pieces by Thunder. This Statue is, perhaps, the biggest in the World, and the *Dutch* call it in Derision *The great Blackhead of Siu*. He is represented sitting, with his Legs under him, like a Taylor; in which Position he is seventy Feet high, and every Finger of him as big as a Man: At three Leagues Distance from the Capital there is a Temple, prodigiously large, in which there is an Idol, not quite so tall as the former. The Priests tell the People, that this is the Wife of the other; and that once in seven Years she goes to visit him, or he goes to visit her. They likewise persuaded them, that this enormous Statue, as well as the other, was all of solid Gold; but the last Clap of Thunder that fell upon it, detected this Part of the Cheat, and shewed it to be no more than Brick and Lime, very artificially gilded over.

One may justly wonder, that this did not put an End to the Adoration of so wretched a Deity; but, where Superstition prevails, the plainest Proofs very seldom produce any Effects. It is, however, proper to observe here, that our Author's Account seems us perfectly right as to this Matter, which has been strangely embarrassed by the Account given by the Jesuits, who attended the Ambassador sent to the King of *Siam* by *Louis XIV.* They give us a large Description, both of the Temple and the Idol; but, it seems, they swallowed the Story of the *Javanese* Priests; for, after talking of the prodigious Size of the Statue, and asserting, that one Foot weighed one hundred and twenty-five Pounds, they inform us, with great Astonishment, that this monstrous Idol is all of pure Gold; and then enter into a Computation as to the Value of the God of *Siam*, which they very judiciously fixed at twelve Millions and an half of *French* Money. At the same time they acknowledge, that it is not easy to conceive, how this Mass of Gold was got together, since, at the Time they were there, the *Siamese* were not prodigiously rich: But the Thunder-clap has solved all these Doubts, and shewn us, that there is no Reason to give Credit to the wonderful Stories that are told by *Indian* Priests, to magnify the Power of their Gods, or the Wealth of their Worshipers.

As for this Kingdom of *Siam*, it seems to be a perfect Land of Wonders; for our Author tells us, that they shew there a Gallows of a prodigious Height, made of a Wood as hard as Iron, which they affirmed to be the individual Gallows that *Haman* was hanged upon: And this Story, no doubt, is as true as the former; and the Gallows is much the same with that recorded in the Book of *Ester*, as the gigantic Idol was pure Gold. I am, however, inclined to believe, that the *Jews* might formerly erect this Gallows in Memory of that of *Haman*; whence the Mistake might arise. The Country of *Siam* is very rich and fruitful, and there is a considerable Trade carried on by the *Chinese*. Our Author justly observes, that the *Dutch* have great Privileges here, and are considered as the most favoured Nation; and he has likewise assigned the true Cause of this, which, he says, was the bad Behaviour of other Strangers, meaning very probably the *English*, who, he says, lost their Credit with the Natives, by their being too familiar with their Women. The Truth of the Matter is, that, since the great Revolution which happened at *Siam*, a little after the Departure of the *French* Ambassadors, the *Dutch* grew into Credit with the new King, because the *English* were intrusted with the best Places in the Government, civil and military, by his Predecessor, whom he had murdered. It was not, therefore, consistent with his Policy, to have any great Correspondence with the Nation that he knew was not well affected to his Title: The Favour he shewed the *Dutch*, became a Rule to his Successors, and they have been very much careful ever since. They have a Factory about a Mile below the City of *Siam*, on the Side of the River, which enables them to collect great Quantities of Deer-skins, which are annually sent to *Japan*; and this Commerce, together with that of Tin, of which there is great Abundance, and very fine, in this Kingdom, makes the *Company* take more Pains to oblige the King of *Siam*, than most of their Neighbours. The *Siamese* themselves are much addicted to Trade.

Trade, and the *Chinese* who reside there more; so that they annually send Ships to *Japan*; which, the Difficulty of the Navigation considered, is not a little extraordinary. They boast of having had the Use of the Compass above 1000 Years before it was discovered in *Europe*; but the Jesuits have observed, and it is true, that the Compass with them, as with the *Chinese*, is very imperfect; which, I presume, is owing to the Regularity of the Trade-winds, which renders an accurate Division of the Compass less necessary among them, than with us.

The third Residency is fixed at *Mocha*, where the Resident is always a Merchant, who has under him two Factors or Book-keepers, as Assistants; but, as they have all the Titles of Residents, there have been, of late Years, such Disputes amongst them, as prejudiced the *Dutch* Trade exceedingly; and therefore our Author tells us, that they were, in his Time, all three sent for to *Batavia*, in order to give an Account of their Conduct, and that the Point of Precedency might be better settled for the future. This Country is under the Government of an *Arab* Prince, who has the Title of *Imaum*, or King, who resides at a Place 200 Miles East from *Mocha*. The Sea-port of his Dominions was formerly *Aden*; but, that being very inconvenient, he removed it fifteen Leagues farther to *Mocha*; which was then but a Fishing-town. It is situated close to the Sea, in a large, dry, sandy Plain, that affords neither Fruits, nor Water, except what is brackish, and so unwholesome, that such as are forced to drink it have long Worms bred by it in their Legs and Feet; which are equally troublesome and dangerous. They are supplied, however, with very good and wholesome Water from *Mesa*, which lying at the Distance of twenty Miles, and the Water coming by Land-carriage, makes it as dear to the Inhabitants, as Small-beer in *England*. The Town of *Mocha*, notwithstanding this great Inconvenience, is large, indifferently fortified, and makes a fine Appearance from the Sea. The Buildings are lofty, and make a much better Shew without, than within. Their Markets are well furnished with Provisions, such as Beef, Mutton of Sheep and Goats, Lamb and Kid, Camel and Antelopes Flesh, common Fowls, *Guiney* Hens, Partridges, and Pigeons. The Sea affords Variety of Fish, but not well-tasted; which proceeds from the extreme Saltness of the Sea-water, and the Nature of their Aliment. The Town is well furnished all the Year round with good Fruits, such as Grapes, Peaches, Apricots, and Quinces, of which they make Marmelade, both for their present Use, and Exportation, tho', near the Town, there is not a Tree or Shrub to be seen, but a few Date-trees; and they seldom have more than two or three Showers of Rain in a Year, and often no Rain for two or three Years. But, amongst the Mountains about twenty Miles off, seldom a Morning passes without a moderate Shower; which makes the Valleys very prolific in Fruit and Corn, such as the Soil will bear; but they have no Rice, tho' plenty of Barley and Wheat.

Since the *Imaum* made *Mocha* the chief Port of his Dominions, and withal a free Port, it is become a Place of great Trade; for, besides the *Dutch* Factory, there is one also belonging to the *English East India* Company; as also a Trade from *India* carried on by *English* free Merchants, *Portuguese*, *Banyans*, and *Moors*, and by Vessels from *Bassorah*, *Perisa*, and *Muskat* in *Arabia Petraea*. The Country of itself produces very few valuable Commodities, besides Coffee, and some Drugs; such as Myrrh, Olibanum or Frankincense from *Cosha*, and Aloes Socotrina from *Socatra*, liquid Storax, white and yellow Arlenic, some Gum Arabic, and Mummy, with some Balm of *Gilead*, that comes down the *Red-sea*. The Coffee-trade brings in a continual Supply of Silver and Gold from *Europe*, *Spanish* Money, *German* Crowns, and other *European* Coins of Silver; also *Zequins*, *German* and *Hungarian* Ducats of *European* Gold; and from *Turkey* *Ebramies* and *Mograbies*: For it is a Point settled here, that, notwithstanding other Goods and Merchandize may be bought and sold on Credit for a certain Time, Coffee is always bought for ready Money. The *Europe* Shipping lade yearly at *Mocha* about 20,000 Tons, rather more than less; and the other Nations about 20,000 Tons more. The whole Province of *Bellefakir* is planted with Coffee-trees, which are never suffered to grow above four or five Yards high; and the Bean or

Berry grows on the Branches and Twigs, first green, then red; at last a dark-brown Colour. The Berries cling to the Branches, like so many Insects; and, when they are ripe, they shake off.

The *Dutch* have here, as in most other Places in the *Indies*, a great Advantage over other Nations, by their being possessed of the Monopoly of Spices, which are consumed here in great Quantities, and consequently enable them to come at Coffee at much easier Rates than their Neighbours: Yet this Trade of theirs at *Mocha* is continually sinking, on account of the vast Quantities of Coffee cultivated in their own Colonies, especially at *Batavia*, *Amboyna*, and the Cape of *Good Hope*: Yet the *Dutch* themselves acknowledge, that there is no Comparison between the Flavour of the Coffee raised in their own Plantations, and that which is brought from *Mocha*. Our Author observes, that *Arabia the Happy* is divided into abundance of small Principalities, under the Jurisdiction of independent Princes, styled *Emirs*, by which he means independent of each other; for they all pay a kind of Homage, tho' little or no Obedience, to the Grand Signor. He likewise takes notice of a vulgar Error as to the Colour of the *Red-sea*, which, he assures us, is not at all red; but derives that Appellation from some Parts of its Bottom being of that Colour. In the next Chapter, however, we shall shew, that this is a Mistake likewise; and that the Reason of this Name is the bad Version of its *Hebrew* Denomination, first given into by the *Greeks*, and through them propagated amongst other Nations. These Residents are the last Officers in the Direction of the Affairs of the *East India* Company; and this Account of the Distinction of their Factories is so much the more valuable, as it affords us a clear Notion of every Branch of their Commerce through the *Indies* at this Day, except in the Island of *Borneo*, and in the great Empire of *China*, where they have no Factories; but content themselves with trading to both Places, as other Nations do: And of the Nature of this Commerce our Author has likewise given us an Account, which is far from being the least curious or instructive Part of his Work.

37. The Island of *Borneo* is, in point of Extent, the largest in the *East Indies*, and perhaps in the World. Some Writers say, that it is 600 Leagues in Extent; but the *Dutch* tell us, that it is not quite so big. It is divided into abundance of little Principalities, of which the most powerful is the King of *Banjaar-Masseen*; and, after him, the Princes of *Borneo* and *Sambas*. The Air of *Borneo* is reckoned very unwholesome; which is occasioned by the Country's being low in some Places, and marshy. The Island is but thinly peopled, though it abounds in very rich Commodities. When the *Dutch* first settled in the *East Indies*, they were very solicitous about establishing their Factories in *Borneo*; and accordingly they fixed them at the City of that Name, at *Sambas*, and at *Succadano*; but they soon found, that there was no such thing as dealing with the Inhabitants, who are certainly the basest, cruellest, and most perfidious People in the World. The *Dutch* therefore quitted the Island, and, though invited thither several times since, have absolutely refused to return.

An *English* Factory, that was, in some measure, settled at *Banjaar-Masseen*, under the Direction of one Mr. *Cunningham*, was obliged to withdraw, and at the same time glad to escape; which has frightened the *English* away also. The Story is very remarkable, and worth the Hearing: It seems, the Place fixed on for the Factory was very strangely chosen, since it lay in the Mouth of a River, where some of their Buildings had Beams tied together in the Water for their Foundation; and the very best of them were built upon Posts, or rather upon Piles. These Habitations of theirs, sorry as they were, had not yet attained their utmost Perfection, when the Quarrel happened between them and the *Banjaareens*. The Chief, Mr. *Cunningham*, was a very honest, worthy Gentleman, bred originally to Physic or Surgery, who fell accidentally into Trade, and was now advanced to a Post, in which he knew not well how to act. He left therefore the Management of all Things to such as were under him; and these happened unluckily to be still less capable than himself. In short, they began to restrain the Natives in their Trade, before they had a Gun mounted, stopping their Boats, and searching them; and, amongst the

rest,

rest, one which was going to the King's Court with a young Lady on board. This incensed the King of *Banjaar* to such a degree, that he ordered 5 or 6000 of his Subjects to attack and destroy the Settlement; of which Mr. *Cunningham* having Notice, he abandoned it the Day before the Night in which the Attack was to be made, retiring with his People on board of four Ships that were accidentally in the River. The *Banjaarans* did not fail attacking these Ships, but were so warmly received, that near 1500 of them were killed in the Action: Notwithstanding which, they burnt the two smallest, and killed several People who were on board them. Mr. *Cunningham*, however, and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Factory, made their Escape on board the other two Ships; but left the best Part of their Effects behind them.

The King afterwards invited the *English* to trade in his Port, but declared he would never suffer them to have another Factory; and there is not now any *European* Settlement in the whole Island. The Commerce of *Borneo* consists in as rich Goods, as any in the *Indies*. At *Samboas*, and *Succadana*, they deal in Diamonds, of which there is a Mine in the Heart of the Country. These Stones are generally from four to twenty-four Carats; and there are some found of thirty and forty Carats; but the whole Trade does not amount to above 600 Carats in a Year. They always sell these Stones for Gold, though that likewise is the Commodity of the Island; and there is a very considerable Trade for Gold-dust carried on at *Pabang*, *Jaya*, *Calantan*, *Sribas*, *Catra*, and *Melanouba*. *Bezoar*, of the finest sort, is another Article in their Trade, not at all inferior in its Value to the former. *Japan* Wood, fine Wax, Incense, Mastich, and several other rich Gums, are also met with here; but, after all, the staple Commodity of the Island is Pepper, of which there is as much, and as good, as in any Part of the *Indies*. Our Author mentions another very valuable Drug met with in this Island, which is a Stone he calls the *Porkstone*, valued at so high a Rate, as to be worth no less than three hundred Crowns apiece. The *Indian* Physicians, it seems, are of Opinion, that, by exhibiting to their Patients the Water in which this Stone has been steeped, they can infallibly discover whether they will live or die. It is a Pity he has not given us a further Description of this Curiosity, or told us what his Sentiments are of its Virtues, since Credulity is so common in the East, that there is no taking Facts of this kind upon Trust.

Before the *Portuguese* discovered a Passage to the *Indies* by the Cape of *Good Hope*, the *Chinese* were in Possession of all the Trade of this Island; and, since the *Europeans* have declined settling there, it is, in a great measure, fallen into their Hands again. The Places where they are settled, besides *Banjaar-Massien*, are *Mampua*, *Teya*, *Lando*, and *Sambas*, where they carry on a great Commerce, and furnish the Inhabitants in Return with Silks, Chintz, Calicoes, and, in short, all the Manufactures of *China* and *Japan*. It has been suggested, and with great Shew of Reason, that a more valuable Trade might be established in this Island of *Borneo*, than in any Part of the *East Indies*; because there arrive here annually large Fleets of *China* Junks, laden with all the Commodities of that Empire, which might be purchased as cheap, or cheaper, than in *China* itself, for Reasons, with which the Reader shall soon be made acquainted. There come likewise annually, from the Island of *Celebes*, small Vessels, which, in spite of the Vigilance of the *Dutch*, bring considerable Quantities of Cloves, Nutmegs, and other Spices; which is the Reason, that the *Dutch* are not able to sell any great Quantities of these Goods in their Traffick with the Inhabitants: Yet they frequently send Ships hither to load with Pepper, and endeavour to keep up a good Correspondence with the Kings of *Borneo* and *Sambas*; for, as to the King of *Banjaar*, he has declined having any thing to do with them.

It is not a little strange, considering the mighty Sway the *Dutch East India Company* have in that Part of the World, that they should have no Factory or Establishment in *China*. They have, indeed, formerly sent Embassadors thither, under Pretence of demanding Leave to trade freely; but that was with a Design only to gain a greater Insight into that Commerce; and, in consequence

of the Discoveries made thereby, they have been led to decline it. While they were possessed of the famous Island of *Formosa*, they carried on a direct Trade to that Empire with great Profit; but, since they were expelled from thence in the Year 1661, they have not been able to make this Trade turn with any great Profit: Yet, since the setting up of the Imperial or *Opfend* Company, they have tried to send Ships thither from *Holland* directly; but even this, as our Author informs us, has been to no great Account, their Profit having been seldom larger than twenty-five per Cent. which, considering the Hazard of the Voyage, and other Inconveniencies, was not looked upon as any considerable Return. There have been several Reasons assigned for this, some of which it may be proper to mention. It is, in the first place, very much doubted, whether in any Place, where both Nations are on a Level, the *Dutch* are able to deal with the *Chinese*, who are certainly the cunningest Traders in the World. It is, in the next place, suggested, that the *Chinese* are less inclined to deal with them than other *Europeans*; and, when they do, always hold them to harder Terms. It has been likewise remarked, that the Port-charges, and the Presents they make, strike very deep into their Gains: But these seem to be very superficial Conjectures, and not to reach the Truth in any degree.

But that the *Dutch* do not affect any Settlement in this Empire, may be very well accounted for, from the two following Causes, which are certainly very weighty. The first is, that, being at so great a Distance from *Batavia*, and in a Country where it is easy to consign their Effects to *Portuguese*, *English*, and other foreign Merchants, the Officers mind their own Concerns more than the Company's; of which a convincing Proof has been had, by the *Portuguese* vending their Pepper at a greater Advantage than the *Dutch*, though they bought it at an high Price at *Batavia*. But the second Cause is still more important: There is a prodigious Trade carried on by the *Chinese* to *Batavia*, which, though it is a Voyage of 700 Leagues, the *Chinese* make in their Junks in the Space of six Weeks, sailing from *Canton* in the Beginning of *December*, and arriving in the Middle of *January*. The Company, in the first place, have a Duty of four per Cent. on all the Goods they bring, which are Gold, Silks of all sorts, Tea, Anniseed, Mulk, Rhubarb, Copper, Quicksilver, Vermilion, *China*-ware, &c. for which they receive in Exchange Lead, Tin, Pepper, Incense, Camphire, Cloves, Nutmegs, Amber, and abundance of other Things, on all which the *Dutch* set their own Prices, and consequently buy much cheaper than other Nations can purchase the same Goods in *China*: They have also found by Experience, that a direct Trade between *Holland* and *China* lessens very much this more profitable Commerce at *Batavia*. Neither is it there only that they have an Opportunity of dealing with the *Chinese*, but in many other Parts of the *Indies*, where, when the *Chinese* Merchants have completed their Sales to the Natives, they are very glad to part with the Remainder of their Commodities at a very easy Rate to the *Dutch*. Thus it clearly appears, that the *East India Company* are able to send Home vast Quantities of *China* Goods, without carrying on a direct Trade with that Country, either from *Holland* or *Batavia*.

I cannot say how far Things may be altered since our Author wrote; but this is certainly a very fair, and a very sensible, Account of Matters, as they then stood. Here he finishes his Remarks on the Oeconomy of the *Dutch East India Company*, which is certainly, in all respects, the clearest and best that is hitherto extant, in order to resume the Thread of his Narration, and to prosecute his Voyage Home from *Batavia*, as he was obliged to make it on board one of the Company's Return-ships, pursuant to the Order of the Governor-General and his Council, when Commodore *Roggeveen*'s Vessels were seized and condemned.

38. There happened nothing remarkable in our Author's Voyage from *Batavia* to the Cape of *Good Hope*, worthy of Observation, except their meeting with a violent Storm in the Height of *Angola*, on the Coast of *Africa*; by which they were very near being driven upon the Rocks which infect that Coast; and had a Sight of the Remains of the *Schoonenberg*, a Ship belonging to the *East India Company*, which

which had been wrecked there a little before. They had no sooner Sight of the Cape, than they discovered in the Road abundance of *English* and *French*, as well as *Dutch*, Ships, some of which were outward, some homeward-bound. Ships enter this Bay on the South-east, and pass out of it to the North-west. A little before you reach its Entrance, appears a small Island, which is called the Island of *Sela*, where the Company have always a Guard posted, composed of a Sergeant, and a small Number of Men: They are employed here in drawing of Whale-oil, and raking Oyster-shells, to make Lime. Into this Island Makelactors are generally banished from the Cape, and, indeed, from most Parts of the *Indies*; where, besides the Punishment of being thus separated from their Friends, they are put to the hardest Labour, according to the *Dutch* Maxim, That the worst kind of Work is best done by the Idle. As soon as the Sergeant saw what Number of Ships the Fleet consisted of, he hoisted a Flag, and fired as many Pieces of Cannon as there were Ships, to give Notice to the Commander of the Cape.

The Bay is very fine and large, having an oval Form, and entering two or three Leagues within-land, so that it may be in the Whole about nine Leagues in Circuit, and is certainly capable of holding one hundred large Ships very commodiously; yet it must be allowed, that the Anchorage is not every-where alike good; and, near the Shore, there is some Danger. The Middle of this Bay is commanded by a very strong Fort, which is a regular Pentagon, each of its Bastions mounted with twenty Pieces of heavy Cannon. The Fort, and the Town, are both situated on the Edge of a Plain, about three Leagues in Extent, lying at the Bottom of three very high Mountains; the first of these is called the *Lion Mountain*, because it has a great Resemblance to a Lion couching upon his Belly, the next is the *Table Mountain*, which is much higher, and very like a Table, so that in a clear Day it may be seen twenty Leagues off; the third is called the *Devil's Mountain*, and is not so remarkable as either of the former. The Houses of which this Town is composed are very neat and agreeable, but not above two Stories high, because of the furious South-east Winds that sometimes blow here.

The *East India* Company, about 1650. bought from the *Hottentots* a certain District of their Country, which they took care should be immediately planted, and well inhabited, for the Conveniency of their Ships outward and homeward-bound. The People who dwell at the Cape, and on the Coast, are for the most part Christians, and are called *Africans*; those who inhabit the Country farther within-land are called Peasants. They are all of them either *Europeans*, or descended from *Europeans*. There are some of them who are settled three hundred Leagues from the Coast; notwithstanding which, they are all obliged, once a Year, to appear at a Place called *Stellenbosch*, where the Drossard, or Magistrate of the Country, resides. The Design of this is, that they may pass in Review; for the Peasants, as well as the Townsmen, are formed into Companies, commanded by proper Officers. After the Review is over, they return to their respective Dwellings, and generally carry home with them such Tools as they have occasion for in their Country-work. These People cultivate their Ground, and sow Rye, Barley, Beans, &c. They likewise plant Vines, which produce very fine Grapes, of which they make excellent Wine. There are some of these Peasants that are in very happy Circumstances, having, besides large and well cultivated Plantations, great Quantities of Sheep and Cattle. Amongst other Colonies, there is one at the Distance of eight Leagues from the Town, which is intirely composed of *French* Refugees, who have there a large Tract of Country, very well cultivated; the Place where they live is called *Dracopsstein*, and they are allowed Churches and Ministers of their own Country. Part of the Inhabitants of the Town are in the Service of the Company, and the rest are free Burgesses. They have their proper Magistrates, who decide Causes of small Consequence, and regulate any little Disputes that happen amongst them; but, as to Matters of any Importance, they are carried before the Governor, and his Council, who determine them finally, and without Appeal. It is pretty

much the same thing in the flat Country, where the Drossard terminates all Things of small Consequence; but, whenever there happens any thing of Importance, it is always carried before the Governor, and his Council, by whom it is finally determined; and all their Sentences, in civil and criminal Affairs, are executed without Delay. As for the military Establishment, it is exactly on the same Foot here as at *Batavia*; that is to say, the Officer, who commands in Chief, has the Rank and Pay of a Major; but he does the Duty, in all respects, of a Major-General. The Officers under him are Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns, who take care to keep their Companies always complete, and perfectly well disciplined, so that, in case of an Attack, they can draw together at least five thousand Men, well armed, and as good as any regular Troops, every Peasant knowing whither to repair, in order to range himself under his proper Standard.

It is not easy to describe the Adroitness with which these Peasants handle their Fire-arms. It is, indeed, an Exercise in which, from their very Infancy, they are constantly employed; and it is almost incredible, with what Boldness they attack the fiercest Beasts. There are many of them who will not shoot a Lion sleeping, because that, say they, shews neither Skill nor Courage: When therefore they find a Lion asleep, they first throw Stones, and wake him, never offering to fire, till he is upon his Feet. There happened, as our Author tells us, a very singular Accident, upon such an Occasion, a little before his Arrival; which fell out thus: Two Peasants went to hunt together; one of them saw a Lion, which he fired at, but missed him; the Lion immediately flew upon the Man, who, that he might be more at Liberty to defend himself, threw his Gun away; the other Peasant, hearing the Report, made all the Haste he could to the Place, where he found his Countryman and the Lion close engaged: The poor Fellow, in the Zeal of his Heart, caught up the Gun, and, with half a dozen sound Blows on the Lion's Head, laid him dead upon the Spot; the other Peasant, turning his Head, and seeing his Gun broke to-pieces, began to complain very loudly; asked his Companion, why he did not stay till he was called; and talked of making him pay for his Gun, insisting upon it, that he could have killed the Lion without any Help. This, says our Author, is an Instance of the Intrepidity of these People with regard to wild Beasts; and, no doubt, a notable Instance it is, if our Author was but sure of his Fact. It was formerly, continues he, looked upon as a Wonder, if a Man killed a Lion; but now the thing is so common, that they make no more of killing a Lion, than we do of shooting a Hare.

The Country round about the Town is full of Vineyards and Gardens; the Company have two, which are, perhaps, the finest in the World; the one lies at the Distance of two hundred Paces from the Fort, between the Town and *Table Mountain*. It is about 1400 Paces in Length, and 235 in Breadth; a fine Rivulet from the Mountain runs through the midst of it. It is divided into Quarters, and they cultivate there, with the utmost Success, the Fruits and Flowers of all the four Parts of the World. The other Garden is at the Distance of two Leagues, in that which is called the *New Country*, and is likewise kept in the best Order that can be by the Slaves of the Company, of which there are seldom less than five hundred. The Country hereabouts is mountainous and stony, but the Vallies are very agreeable, and exceedingly fertile. The Climate is the best in the World; for Cold and Heat are never felt here in any intolerable Degree, and the People live to great Ages without Diseases, which are never known, but when produced by Intemperance of some kind or other: The very Mountains, besides contributing to the Wholesomeness of the Place, are supposed to be full of Gold, and other valuable Metals: Some Assays have been made, but as yet no Mines have been discovered in such a Situation as would permit the Working of them to Advantage.

The late Mr. *van Steel*, who was Governor of the Cape, travelled the Country, and examined it with great Care and Attention. He caused Gardens to be laid out, and Pleasure-houses to be built, in several Places; but the Peasants, who were employed in building, and cultivating these Gar-

dens,

dens, sent over a Complaint to the Company, alleging, that it was prejudicial to their private Affairs, and put it out of their Power to maintain their Families. Upon this, the Governor was recalled immediately. His Discoveries, however, were of very great Consequence; inasmuch as they made known, not only the inner Parts of the Country, but the Nations that inhabit them. These, so far as they are yet discovered, consist of seven different People, all comprehended under the general Name of *Hottentots*. The first of these, and the least considerable, are without a Chief, live in the Neighbourhood of the Cape, and are most of them in the Service of the Company, dwell with Townsmen, or are employed by the Peasants and Farmers, who busy them in cultivating their Lands. The second inhabit the Mountains, or, to speak with greater Propriety, live in the Caverns of the Mountains. They are Thieves and Robbers by Profession, and draw their Subsistence intirely from plundering the peaceable *Hottentots*, with whom they are in continual War. There is one thing, however, that is very singular with respect to this thievish Nation; which is, that they never rob or molest a Christian. The third Nation is called the *Little Macqua*; the fourth the *Great Macqua*; the fifth the *Little Kricqua*; the sixth the *Great Kricqua*. These Words *Macqua* and *Kricqua* signify King or Chief. They are constantly engaged in War with each other; but, when any Nation is in Danger of being totally ruined, two or three Nations immediately join them; for the Balance of Power is a Maxim as well understood and supported by the *Hottentots*, as by the Nations of *Europe*.

Part of these *Hottentots* have submitted themselves to the *Hollanders*, and are therefore stiled the Company's *Hottentots*. The *Dutch* send annually about fifty or sixty Persons to trade with these *Hottentots*, who purchase their Cattle, and give them in Exchange Arrack, Tobacco, Hemp, and such Seeds as they have Occasion for, by which means a good Understanding is preserved. These *Hottentots* of the Company are very often attacked by the other Nations; and, when they find they have so far the worst of it, that they are no longer able to defend themselves by their own proper Force, the King puts himself at the Head of a small Body of Troops, and marches down to the Cape, to demand Assistance. As soon as he arrives there, he goes to the Governor, with the principal People of his Nation, with the commanding Staff in his Hand, which was given him by the Company, and has their Arms upon it; and, holding it out towards the Governor, desires he would grant him Succours. If the Governor does not think fit to grant him his Request, but contents himself with giving him good Words, he, without more ado, throws his Staff at the Governor's Feet, and tells him in bad *Dutch*, *Voor my, niet meer Compagnies* *Hottentot*, that is to say, *For me, I will be no more the Company's* *Hottentot*. The Governor, however, generally sends an Efort of Troops home with him; for it is the Interest of the Company to be upon good Terms with this sort of a Prince, because he is always ready to do for them whatever they desire of him.

These People are certainly very stupid, and very brutal: They rub their Bodies all over with old Grease, which has a very bad Smell; so that you may nose them at a considerable Distance. Their Children are born perfectly white; but, by their being constantly rubbed with Grease, and exposed to the Sun, they grow, by degrees, brown, and almost black. When a Woman is brought-to-bed of Twins, one of them is immediately condemned to Death, and is tied to a Tree, where it continues, till it expires. Some of them have a Custom of taking out one of the Testicles of their Male Children, as soon as they are able to bear it, in hopes that, by this Method, they may prevent, when they come to be married, their begetting Twins; and this is a Custom of which they cannot be broken, notwithstanding Experience shews them, that it is to no manner of purpose. They seem, for the most part, to have but little Religion: Yet they frequently look up with Admiration to the heavenly Bodies, saying, *He that governs them is certainly a Being of infinite Power and Wisdom*. In many respects they are more like Beasts than Men. They are very disagreeable in their Persons, and are, in short, take all things together, (these are our Author's Words) one of the meanest

Nations on the Face of the Earth. Their Complexion is dark, occasioned, as has been before observed, by their rubbing themselves with Grease, and being exposed continually to the Sun, when they are young. They are short, and thick-set; their Noses flat, like those of a *Dutch Dog*; their Lips very thick, and big; their Teeth exceedingly white, but very long, and ill-set, some of them sticking out of their Mouths, like Boars Tusks. Their Hair is black, and curled, like Wool. They are very nimble, and they run with such Speed as is almost incredible. They are generally covered with a Sheep-skin, having each a Quiver of Arrows on his Back, and his Bow in his Hand. As soon as they come within Sight of an Enemy, they set up a most dreadful Cry, leaping and dancing at the same time in the most frightful Postures. The seventh Nation is that of the *Caffres*. These are properly the *Antibropopagi*, who have made so much Noise in the World. The *Hottentots* are exceedingly afraid of them, and take all the Care they can to keep out of their Way, for fear of being roasted or boiled, if they should be taken Prisoners. This abominable Nation would never enter into any sort of Commerce with the Christians; but, on the contrary, take all the Pains they can to intrap them, in order to murder, and, as is generally believed, to eat them. It is indeed reported, of late Years they are grown somewhat more tractable, and entertain some sort of Trade with such as will venture to have any Dealings with them. They are a very potent, and a very warlike Nation, being all of them strong, well-made Men; and tho' their Hair is curled and black, like that of other Negroes, yet they have better Faces, and a much more manly Appearance.

At the Distance of about eighteen Leagues from the Cape, there is another Port, called the *Bay of Saldenty*, which is, in all respects, an infinitely better Harbour than that of the Cape, except one, and that is in point of Water; but this single Exception is sufficient to render it unfrequented. As to the Animals of this Country, they are many of them as remarkable as in any Places in the World. The Lion is very common here, and, in hard Winters, will venture very near their Habitations. It is thought, this Creature is reputed the King of Beasts, because he never eats a Man alive, but beats his Breath out with his Paws before he tears him. He roars, and shakes his Mane terribly, before he attacks a Man; and, if he does not give these Signals of his Rage, there is no Danger in passing him. Tygers and Leopards are also very common, and do a prodigious deal of Mischief. It is pretty probable, that these Creatures would be much more numerous, if it was not for a Race of wild Dogs, that are also bred in this Country, and hunt in Packs; which renders them so bold, that they frequently weary, and then worry, a Lion: Tygers, Leopards, and Wolves, they often destroy; and, which is very wonderful, they will suffer a Man to take their Prey when they have killed it. Panthers are never afraid at the Sight of them; but rather rejoice, because they are sure, that no wild Beasts are in that Neighbourhood. Elephants are common here, and of as large a Size, as in any Part of the World, being frequently from twelve to fifteen Feet high, or better, their Teeth weighing from 60 to 120 Pounds. The Rhinoceros also is often met with. He is somewhat less than the Elephant, but stronger. His Skin is prodigiously thick, and so hard, that scarce any Weapon will pierce it. He has a Snout like an Hog, upon which grows a solid Horn, from twelve to twenty Inches in Length; which is very much valued, because it is esteemed an excellent Medicine in Convulsions. But there are two Animals peculiar to this Country, and which therefore deserve Notice: The one is a wild Ass, which resembles the tame one in nothing, but its long Ears. He is of the Size of an ordinary Horse, and is the most beautiful Creature in the World. His Hair is very soft, and, from the Ridge of his Back down to his Belly, falls in Streaks, that form so many Circles. He is a brisk, lively Beast, and runs more swiftly than any Horse. It is very difficult to take him alive; and, when taken, it is impossible to break him: Notwithstanding which, they sell at a prodigious Rate, and one of them is thought a Present fit for a sovereign Prince, on account of their Rariety, and exquisite Beauty. The other Creature, found in no other Country than this, is by the *Dutch* called the *Stinkungsem*, or

Stinking-hodger. He is of the Size of an ordinary Dog, and, in his Make, resembles the Ferret. When pursued, either by Man or Beast, he retreats but slowly; and, when the Enemy draws near, discharges from his Belly a Wind so intolerably stinking, that Dogs tear the Ground, and hide their Noses in it, to avoid the Smell. When killed, they stink so abominably, that there is no approaching them; but they must be left to consume where they fell.

Our Author says, it would be impossible for any Man to describe all the Creatures that are seen in the vast Forests of *Africa*; because the very Inhabitants acknowledge, that they see every Year new Animals that are utterly unknown to them, for which they assign this Reason; that, in the midst of Summer, when the wild Beasts are almost raging mad with Thirst, they resort in Multitudes to the Rivers of Salt, of the *Elephant*, and of *St. John*, where the Males of one Species, mixing with the Females of another, produce these strange Beasts that look like a new Species. The *Hottentots*, subject to the Company, frequently carry the Skins of these Monsters to the Governor of the Cape: Our Author assures us, that he saw the Skin of one killed not long before: It was of the Size of a Calf of six Months old; there seemed to have been four Eyes in the Head, which resembled that of a Lion; but the Hair was perfectly smooth and sleek, and of a dark-grey Colour: It had Tusks like a Boar, and its fore Legs resembled those of that Creature, but the hinder Part of it was like a Tyger.

As for the different sorts of Birds in this Country, they are in a manner infinite; and though it is not often observed, that they mingle Species, yet there have been remarked some Bastards amongst them. The largest and the strongest Birds are to be found in *Africa*; amongst the rest the Ostrich, which is looked upon as the biggest of all; they are commonly seven Feet high. The Beak of the Ostrich is short, and pointed, and his Neck extremely long: The Feathers of the Male are white and black only; but those of the Female mingled grey, white, and black: Those of the former are most esteemed, because their large Feathers are better spread, and their Down much softer. This Bird is prodigiously swift of Foot, so that they hunt them with Spaniels: They make use of their Wings, not to fly, but to assist them in running, especially when they have the Wind with them. The common Opinion, that they can digest Iron, is absolutely false, and without Foundation; they swallow Pieces of Iron indeed, but it is only to bruise the Meat in their Stomachs, as other Birds swallow Stones. There is another Particularity often mentioned with regard to this Bird, that is not found true, with respect to those in the Neighbourhood of the Cape; viz. that they leave their Eggs uncovered upon the Sand, and take no Care of their Young; whereas, on the contrary, they hide their Eggs in the Sand, and are so tender of their Young, that, though they are naturally timorous, yet, if one of them is missing, they become so furious, that it is not safe to go near them. There are abundance of Eagles of all sorts about the Cape, which are very bold, and frequently do a great deal of Mischief: They are not excessively large, and yet are incredibly strong, inasmuch that they very frequently kill and devour their Cattle as they return Home from Work; and when they have not an Opportunity of attacking an Ox singly, they come in great Flocks, of 60 or 100 at once, and single out a Beast, as it feeds, among the Herd; and, falling upon it all together, kill and devour it. There are likewise many other Birds of Prey, which are not worth mentioning, because they are common in other Countries; but the following Story is extremely remarkable, inasmuch as it relates to a kind of Bird, unknown even in that Country, where the strangest Things are scarce thought Prodiges.

There was seen, says our Author, some Years ago, upon *Table Mount*, a Bird, the Body of which was as big, or bigger, than that of a Horse, covered with grey and black Plumage; his Beak was long and crooked, like that of an Eagle, and his Talons like those of the same Bird, but of a most dreadful Size; he sat upon that Mountain, and hovered over it for a long time together; and the common People were, in a manner, persuaded that it was a Griffin. It frequently carried off Sheep and Calves; and, at last, began to destroy Cows; upon which, Orders were

given to destroy it: It was accordingly shot; and, the Skin being stuffed, was sent Home as a Curiosity to the *East India Company*. There has been nothing like this Bird seen since, and the oldest People at the Cape do not remember to have heard or seen of any thing like it before. There is so strong a Prejudice against whatever appears marvellous in the Relation of Travellers, and they are so often suspected, either of feigning what they never saw, or of exaggerating what they have really seen, that it is dangerous for a Man to report Things much out of the Road of common Observation: Yet, when Facts are so well attested as this is, a Traveller is certainly justified in relating them. Our Author does not say, that he saw the Skin of this monstrous Bird, but he had the Relation from Persons of Credit at the Cape; and the Circumstance of the Skin being sent Home to *Holland*, is so strong a Confirmation of the Truth of what was reported, that, I must confess, I think the Fact far from being incredible.

Africa has been always famous for its Serpents; and of these there are such Numbers in the Neighbourhood of the Cape, that many of them are without Name: They are most of them extremely venomous; and the Inhabitants would suffer by them much more than they do, if they had not a specific Remedy for their Bites, that is not known in *Europe*. This is the Serpent-stone, which is allowed to be factitious, and is brought hither from the *East Indies*, where the Brachmans, or, as some call them, the Bramins, have the Secret of compounding them, which they conceal so industriously, that hitherto no *European* has been able to discover them: It is of the Bigness of a Bean; in the Middle it is white, but the Outside is of a fine Sky-blue. The Method of using it is this: When a Person is bit by any kind of Serpent, this Stone is applied to the Wound, not by a Bandage, or by placing any Plaster over it, but barely holding it till it fastens of itself, which it will soon do, and then sticks fast: The Part immediately begins to swell, and becomes inflamed; and the Stone itself also swells, till it is so full of the Venom, that it drops off: It is then put into warm Milk, where it soon purges itself, and resumes its natural Colour: It is then applied again to the Wound, where it sticks till it is full a second time, and so on, till all the Venom is exhausted, on which a Cure immediately ensues. There is something extremely wonderful in this; and yet the Truth of the Fact is known to all the Inhabitants of the Cape, and confirmed by the Testimony of Writers of unquestionable Credit. There are some who pretend to have discovered the Ingredients of which this Stone is composed; but the Account they give is very far from being satisfactory; because they make the Basis of the Remedy to consist of a Stone taken out of a Serpent's Head, which, hitherto, the ablest Anatomists have not been able to find. The true Stone is very commonly met with in the *East Indies*, where the *Dutch* call them *Slang Steenen*, and the *English* Snake-stones.

All the Mountains of this vast Country are full of Minerals, and of Crystal; they contain likewise Things of much greater Value, if they could be come at; but the Natives are so much afraid of being made Slaves in the Mines, that they take all imaginable Pains to conceal them. There is, particularly, a Mountain which lies at the Distance of 500 Leagues from the Cape, that is very famous for the Metals supposed to be contained in it; this is called the *Copper Mountain*, from the great Quantity of Copper found in it, which is said to be mingled with Gold. Some *Europeans* took it into their Heads to follow some of the Natives of the Country, who were suspected of going to that Mountain in order to gather Gold. The Scheme had an Air of Probability in it; and, if it could have been as easily executed, as it was well contrived, it might have produced a very valuable Discovery; but, as it fell out, they paid very dear for their Curiosity, since the *Hottentots* no sooner discovered their Design, than they fell upon them, and massacred them all, which put an End to their Inquiries ever since. The Company are so tender with respect to their Subjects, and so unwilling to risk a Revolt in this Part of their Dominions, that they have even neglected a Gold Mine much nearer the Cape, the Marcellus of which gave great Hopes of its holding a great deal of Metal. It is not, however, impossible that there may be another

another Reason for acting in this manner, which is their Apprehension, that if a Gold-mine should be wrought at the Cape, it might tempt other Nations, the *English* and *French* particularly, to undertake something to their Prejudice; whereas, in the Circumstances under which Things are now settled there, the *Dutch* Colony at the Cape is so far from being a Grievance, that it is really an Advantage to other Nations, as well as their own. In other respects, they encourage all Sorts of Discoveries: A few Years ago there was found out, in a Mountain very near the Town, a Cavern, where the *Hottentots* find that Venom in which they dip their poisoned Arrows. There have been likewise found, at the Distance of about twenty Leagues from the Cape, some hot Baths, the Waters of which, being impregnated with Particles of Steel, have been known to cure many Diseases. There is great Reason to believe, that considerable Improvements may still be made here for the Advantage of the Inhabitants, and of the Company, who, as they are not great Gainers by this Establishment, otherwise than as it affords Refreshments to their outward and homeward-bound Ships, would be glad of any Means that might increase the Value of their Settlement, consistent with their Maxim of Government, and with that Indulgence which it is requisite to shew the *Hottentots*, who are, perhaps, of all Nations of the World, the most tenacious of their Liberty, and the most desperate in their Repentment of any Attempt made to its Prejudice. It is now time to leave this delicious Country, where the Climate is allowed this peculiar Advantage, that it not only agrees with the Fruits and Herbs of different Countries, but even gives them greater Perfection than ever they attain where they naturally grow.

39. Towards the End of the Month of *March* 1723. their Ship being revictualled, and ready to sail, a brisk South-east Wind carried them out of the Bay. Their Fleet consisted of about three-and-twenty Sail, the best Part of which belonged to the Company; the rest were *India* Ships, that were also homeward-bound. They steered their Course for the Island of *St. Helena*, where they arrived in three Weeks: When they thought they were pretty near the Island, the Commodore thought proper to detach two Ships, to discover whether there were any Corsairs upon that Coast; for a little before, they had seen and give Chace to a Pirate, and therefore apprehended there might be more upon that Coast. As they drew near it, the Commodore fired a Gun, as a Signal for the Line of Battle; which is, in all Cases, a very useful Precaution, though it stood them here in little stead, because, as it fell out, there were no Pirates on the Coast.

The Island of *St. Helena* lies in the Latitude of 16° 15' South, about 550 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*, 500 Leagues from the Coast of *Brazil*, and 350 from *Angola*, which is the nearest Land. This Island is about eleven Leagues in Circumference, covered with rocky Hills, which, in a clear Day, may be seen forty Leagues off at Sea. It is really surprising to see so small an Island in the midst of the Ocean, and at so great a Distance from Land, with so deep a Sea round it, that there is scarce any Anchorage to be found. The *Portuguese* first discovered it, and that to their Cost, having one of their large *Indian* Ships wrecked here; of the Remains of which they built a Chapel, which, though long since decayed, still betrays its Name on the finest Valley in the Island. They planted Lemons, Oranges, and Pomegranates, over all the Country, and left there likewise Hogs and Goats, together with Partridges, Pigeons, and Peacocks, for the Convenience of such Ships as should touch there; but they did not think fit to plant it, because they were afraid some other Nation would dispossess them. There was an Hermit who chose to live here by himself, killing the Goats for their Skins, which he sold as Opportunity offered, when the Ships came in; but the *Portuguese* removed him, as they did afterwards some Negro Slaves, who settled in the Mountains. It is at present possessed by the *English*, who have a good Fort here, and are so well established, that it is not likely any other Nation should disturb them. The Valleys are exceedingly beautiful and fertile; the Weather indeed is sometimes very hot, but even then it is very cool upon the Mountains, so that they never can want a Place

of Refreshment. There is not any Country in the World better watered, the Rivulets running from the Tops of the Hills into the Sea, which is never at a great Distance, with Streams as clear as Crystal; nor can there be any thing more pleasant, than to behold the Seamen, fatigued with a long Stay in hot Climates, refreshing themselves here by washing themselves in the Brooks. Here are Mustard-plants, Parsley, Sorrel, Purslain, Winter-cress, and other Herbs, exceedingly good for the Scurvy; Neither is the Island destitute of Trees, though none fit for Timber, but for Fuel only. All Sorts of Refreshments are to be had here in Plenty, and on reasonable Terms; and, though there were formerly Disputes between the *English* and *Dutch*, about the Possession of the Island, yet the former now treat the latter very kindly whenever their Ships put in here, and furnish them with whatever they want.

They sailed from hence for the Island of *Ascension*, which lies in 8 Degrees South Latitude, about 200 Leagues North-west from *St. Helena*: It is about the same Bigness with the other Island, but the Shore is excessively rocky, and the Country absolutely barren; here are neither Grass nor Trees, but the Surface of the Land looks as if rent asunder; from whence some have conceived, not without great Shew of Reason, that here has been formerly a Volcano, or fiery Mountain. There is indeed a pretty high Hill in the Middle of the Island, on one Side of which Water has been found. At certain Seasons of the Year, the Country is almost covered with Sea-fowl; but what chiefly engages Ships to put into the only Harbour in the Isle, is the great Plenty of excellent Tortoise, which, when they come ashore in the Night to lay their Eggs, the Sailors turn upon their Backs, till they have Leisure to carry them on board. It is wonderful, that these Creatures will live above a Month without any other Subsistence than what they derive from their sprinkling a little salt Water on them three or four times a Day. The Reason of keeping them so long is, that the Seamen are never weary with eating them, persuading themselves, that they make a perillous Change in the Juices, and free them intirely from the Scurvy, and other Diseases of the Blood, which as they are justified by Experience, it seems but reasonable to give Credit to their Report. As this Island of *Ascension* is most certainly a very indifferent Habitation, it is a thing very common to leave Malefactors here, when they do not care to put them to Death, as happened not long ago to a *Dutch* Book-keeper, who was convicted of Sodomy; but, whether this be not a worse Punishment than Death, considering the Miseries that must be endured in one of the hottest Climates in the World, on a Place that does not afford the least Shelter, the Reader will determine. However, as it has less the Appearance of Severity, and there is a Possibility, that the Criminal may be taken off by some other Ship, this Practice, especially for such flagrant Crimes, does not deserve to be condemned.

After leaving this Island, they began to approach the Line, which they passed without feeling an excessive Heat, because, as the Sun was turning then towards the North, they had the Benefit of pretty brisk Winds, which moderated the Weather exceedingly. They now likewise began to see at Night the North Star, which they had not done for a Year and an half; and it is not to be expressed, how much the Seamen were rejoiced by this Incident.

They soon found themselves in the Latitude of 18° North, in that Part of the Sea, which is, generally speaking, covered with Grass, so that at a Distance, it really looks like a Meadow. This Grass has a yellowish Gail, and is hollow within, and, when hard pressed with the Finger, yields a clammy viscous Juice. There are some Years in which none of this Grass appears; and others again, in which it abounds, and is found in prodigious Quantities. Some imagine that it comes from the very Bottom of the Sea; because Divers report, that, in some Places, the Bottom of the Sea is covered with Grass and Flowers: Others again believe, that this Grass is drawn from the Coasts of *Africa*; but our Author says, that he disapproves both these Notions; and, for these Reasons: First, if it came from the Bottom of the Sea, why should it not have the same Appearance elsewhere? For, if the Report

of Divers be of any Weight, there are such green Banks in various Places; and, therefore, one would imagine, that, where-ever such Grass was found, it would float, as it does here. On the other hand, if it came from the Coast of Africa, it would be seen in different Parts of the Sea, and especially near that Coast; which, however, is contrary to Experience, whereas the Weeds in this Sea have been remarked by almost all who have published their Voyages through them*. But, that he might not seem to destroy without building up, he delivers it as his Opinion, that this Grass comes from America, and particularly from the Gulph of Babama, where it is known to grow in abundance; and where, when it comes to Maturity, it breaks, and so is carried away by the Current.

This Notion of our Author's is liable to some Objections; however, it is much more probable than either of the other. To say the Truth, there is nothing more difficult to account for, than the Motion and Course of Currents, which, in some Places, run six Months one Way, and six another; in some again they run constantly one Way, and never shift at all; and there are Instances where they run one Way for a Day or two after Full-moon, and then they run strongly the other Way till near the Full-moon again. It is commonly observed by Seamen, that in Places where the Trade-winds blow, the Currents are generally influenced by them, and move the same Way with those Winds, but not with equal Force in all Places, neither are they so discernible in the wide Ocean, but chiefly about Islands, where the Effects of them are more or less felt, according as they lie in or out of the Way of the Trade-winds. It would be no small Advantage to Navigation, if sensible Men would take notice of, and inquire into, the Reason of these sort of Appearances; because it is certain, that, besides the Satisfaction necessarily resulting from the Discovery of Truth, there are unexpected Advantages that arise from such Inquiries: To be convinced of this, we need only look into old Books of Voyages, where we find many more Wonders than in those of a later Date; not because the Course of Nature is at all changed, but because Nature was not then so well understood. A thousand Things were Prodigious a Century ago, which are not at all strange now; and the Storms about the Cape of Good Hope, which make so terrible a Figure in the Histories of the Portuguese Discoveries, are known to have been the Effects only of endeavouring to double that Cape at a wrong Season of the Year.

It is certain, that both in the *East Indies*, and in the *West*, the Natives are able to foretel Hurricanes and Tornadoes, not by any great Skill they have, but by barely observing, that they are usually preceded by such and such Signs; which Signs when they see, it is natural for them to expect a Storm. There is very often so little Connection between the Sign, and the Thing signified, that Men who value themselves on their own Wildom, are apt to slight such Warnings, as impertinent and insignificant. But it would be better to inquire diligently into Facts, and neither receive nor reject them hastily. When once it is settled, that Things happen in this manner, or in that, it is time enough to inquire why they happen so: As in the present Case, the Matter of Fact is clearly laid down, that in the Latitude of 18° North, the Sea between Africa and America is frequently covered with Weeds, there is good Reason therefore to inquire, whence these Weeds come. I cannot forbear putting the Reader in mind, upon this Occasion, of a Circumstance that seems strongly to confirm the Conjecture of our Author: The famous Christopher Columbus, in the first Voyage he made for the Discovery of the new World, met with this Grass and Weeds floating upon the Sea, without which he could never have persuaded the Seamen to have continued the Voyage; and it is very remarkable, that, by pursuing their Course through these Weeds, they arrived in the very Place he mentions, that is to say, in the Gulph of Babama. But it is now time to prosecute the Voyage, and to follow our Author home.

40. As they sailed farther Northward, they were overtaken by hard Gales of Wind, which are usual at that Season of the Year, especially in those Seas, by which they were driven into the Latitude of 37°, and within Sight of two Islands, which proved to be those of Flores and Corvo. Their fresh Provisions being now pretty well spent, this Accident, though it delayed Time a little, could not be considered as a Misfortune. Their Stay there, however, was very short, being only three Days in the larger Island, which was sufficient for their procuring the Refreshments they wanted, as well as to take a View of the Country.

Corvo and Flores are two of the Islands which the Spaniards call *Azores*, that is, *The Islands of Hawks*, because, at the Time they discovered them, they found a great many Hawks in them. The Dutch call them the *Vlaamische Eilanden*, i. e. *Flemish Islands*, because the first Inhabitants of the Island Fayal, which is one of the nine Islands, were Flemings. The Race of its first Inhabitants is perpetuated to this Day in that Island, and you may know them by their Air and Shape, which resemble those of the Flemings. They dwell upon a little River, running down a Mountain, which the Portuguese called *Ribera dos Flamenas*, the River of the Flemings. The Names of the *Azores* Islands are, *Terçera*, *St. Michael*, *Santa Maria*, *St. George's*, *Gratiosa*, *Pico*, *Fayal*, *Corvo*, and *Flores*. *Terçera* is the chief of them; it is fifteen or sixteen Leagues in Circumference, being high, and so steep, in many Places, that it is almost impregnable; and, besides that, they have built Forts in the Places where it is accessible. There is no Harbour or Road wherein the Ships can enjoy Shelter, but before the capital City, called *Angra*, which hath a Port of the Figure of an Half-moon, and therefore called the *Half-moons of Angra*: Upon the two Ends of the Half-moon are two Mountains, called *Brasils*, which shoot forth into the Sea, and appear afar off, like two small Islands. These two Mountains are so high, that, being at the Top of them, you may see at any time ten or twelve Leagues; and, when the Weather is fine and clear, above fifteen Leagues off.

Angra hath a fine Cathedral Church, and is the Residence of a Bishop, a Governor, and the Council, which governs all the Islands. Three Leagues distant lies another Town, called *de Praya*, or the *Town of the Shore*, because it is situated near a great Shore, which the Ships can never approach, so that the Town is without any manner of Trade, and very desert, tho' pretty well built and walled about. The Inhabitants live upon the Fruits that grow upon the Island; for it is very fruitful and pleasant, full of fine Corn-fields. The Wine is but small, and will not keep long; therefore the richest Inhabitants provide themselves with *Madeira* and *Canary* Wines. The Island is so plentiful in Flesh, Fish, and all other Sorts of Victuals, that even in the Time of Scarcity there is enough for the Inhabitants. But they want Oil, Salt, Lime, and Potters-wares, which are imported from other Places. They have abundance of Peaches, Apples, Pears, Oranges, and Lemons; all Sorts of Herbs, Plants, and, amongst others, the Herb called *Batatas*, which grows like the Stock of a Vine, but the Leaves are not like them. Some of those Roots weigh a Pound, more or less: They have so great Quantities of them, that the Rich slight them, though they are of a good sweet Taste, and very nourishing. You find also another Root in this Country, as big as a Man's two Fists, covered with Filaments of Gold-colour, and as smooth as Silk: They make Beds thereof; but curious and skilful Workmen would certainly be able to make fine Stuffs of it.

One sees but very few wild Fowl or Birds, except Canaries, Quails, tame Hens, and Turkey-cocks, which are very numerous: You meet with several Places very hilly, and so full of very thick Woods, that you can hardly travel through them: But that which makes travelling very difficult, is, that you find very often Rocks a League or half a League long, which are so ragged, and so sharp, that you can hardly walk upon them without cutting your

* It may not be amiss to observe, in Support of our Author's Assertion, that, in the old Portuguese Maps and Voyages, this Part of the Ocean is called *Mar de Sargasso*, i. e. *The Sea of Crisps*; for *Sargasso* signifies *Crisps*, or rather *Water-crisps*, which the Woods, with which it is spread, nearly resemble.

Shoes off your Feet: At the same time, it is very remarkable, that those Rocks are so full of Vines, that in the Summer-time you cannot see them; because they are covered all over with Vine-leaves. The Vines spread their Roots through the Crags or Chinks of the Rocks, which are so small, that it is a Wonder how they find any Nourishment there; and yet, if you plant a Vine in the other good Ground of this Country, it will not grow. The Corn, and other Fruits, of that Island, will not keep above a Year; nay, if you keep the Corn above four Months, without burying it under-ground, it will rot, and be spoiled: To prevent this, each Inhabitant has a Pit out of the Town, which is round at the Top, and large enough to let a Man in: The Head is covered with a Stone, and locked up. Some of these Pits are so large, that they might contain two or three Laals of Corn, a Laal containing 108 Bushels of Amsterdam Measure, and each Bushel weighs forty Pounds, or more. They put their Corn in those Pits in July, and cover the Stone with Earth, to preserve it the better, and at Christmas they take it out; though some keep it longer, but it is then as good, and as fine, as when put in the Pits.

The Oxen in that Island are the largest and the finest that can be, equal to any in Europe; their Horns are monstrous wide; every one hath his Name, like our Dogs; and they are so familiar, that when the Master calls one of them by his Name, though he is amongst a thousand others, he will presently come to him. One would think, that the Ground of that Island was hollow; for, when you walk upon the Rock, it sounds: And indeed the thing is probable enough; for the Island is much subject to Earthquakes. You find in many Places of the Island of *St. Michael* Holes, or Cracks, out of which there comes a great Smoke, and the Ground all about is burnt: But this is no uncommon thing in most of those Islands; for all of them have Mountains of Sulphur. Here are Fountains so hot, that you may boil an Egg in the Water. Three Leagues off *Angra* is a Fountain which changes Wood into Stone; and there was formerly a Tree to be seen, the Roots of which, being in that Water, were stony, and as hard as Flint. This Island produces excellent Timber, especially Cedar, which is so common, that they make Carts and Waggon of it, and even burn it. The Island of *Pico*, twelve Leagues distant from *Tercera*, produces a Sort of Wood called *Teixo*, which is as hard as Iron, and looks red and shining when it is worked. It hath also this good Quality, that it is better and finer when it is old; which makes it so precious, that nobody dares cut it, but for the King's Use, and by virtue of a special Order from the King's Officers.

The chief Trade in the Island of *Tercera* consists in Wood, of which they have a great Plenty: The Fleets of Portugal and Spain, which sail to the East Indies, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea, and other Countries, standing in for that Island to take in Refreshments, bring a good Trade, not only to the Inhabitants of *Tercera*, but likewise to those of the neighbouring Islands, who sell to the Portuguese and Spaniards their Manufactures at good Prices. Seven or eight Leagues South-east of *Tercera* lies the Island of *St. Michael*, about twenty Leagues in Length; it hath several Towns and Villages. The capital City is named *Ponta del Gudea*, which drives a more considerable Trade in Garden-wood than *Tercera*, because there is a greater Quantity of it here than in any of the other Islands; for it produces above two hundred thousand Quintals every Year: Here are also arable Lands, which produce such abundance of Corn, that they transport it to the other Islands; but it affords no Harbours, nor Rivers, nor Shelter, for Ships. The Island of *Santa Maria* is but twelve Leagues South of *St. Michael*, and is ten or twelve Leagues in Circumference. They trade only in Earthen-ware, which they transport to the other Islands; but they have Plenty of all manner of Provisions. Seven or eight Leagues North North-west of *Tercera*, is the little Island of *Gratijsa*, not above five or six Leagues in Circumference, and very plentiful and fruitful.

The Island of *St. George* is about eight or nine Leagues North-west from *Tercera*; it is twelve Leagues in Length, and two or three in Breadth. This is a wild mountainous

Country, and bears a little Wool: The Inhabitants subsist by tilling the Ground, and keeping Cattle; and they have abundance of Cedar, which they export to *Tercera*. Seven German Leagues South South-west of *St. George's*, you find the Island of *Fayal*, which is seventeen or eighteen Leagues in Circumference, and is the best of the *Azores*, next to *Tercera*, and *St. Michael*; it affords abundance of Fish, Cattle, and other Commodities, which they export to *Tercera*, and the other Islands; they have likewise plenty of Wood. The chief Town is called *Villa Doria*. Most of the Inhabitants of this Island are Natives of the Low Countries, but they speak now the Portuguese Tongue. They love the *Flemings* naturally, and use all Strangers very kindly. Three Leagues to the South-east of *Fayal*, and four Leagues to the South-west of *St. George's*, and twelve Leagues to the South-west and by West of *Tercera*, lies the Island of *Pico*, so called from a Mountain in it named *Pike*, some being of Opinion that it is higher than the Pike of *Tenriff*, in the Canaries. The Inhabitants cultivate the Soil, and keep Cattle, to subsist on. This Island hath Plenty of all Sorts of Provisions, and yields the best Wine in all the *Azores*: It is about fifteen Leagues in Circumference. From *Tercera*, to the Island of *Flores*, which lies to the West, they reckon seventy Leagues; and about a League to the North of *Flores*, you find the small Island of *Corvo*, not above two or three Leagues in Circumference. These two Islands are accounted now amongst the *Azores*, and are under the same Governor. *Flores* is about seven Leagues in Circumference; it produces Wood, and a vast Plenty of all Provisions. The Winds are so strong, and the Air so piercing, especially in *Tercera*, that they spoil and consume, in a short time, the Stones of the Houses, and the very Iron. They have a fort of Stone, which they find within the Sea-mark, and which is harder, and resists the Sharpness of the Air better, than the other Sorts; and for that Reason they build the Fronts of their Houses with it.

41. On their entering the Spanish Seas, the Weather proved so bad, that the Advice-Ship lost her Rudder. This Accident obliged them to go through the Channel, in order to purchase a new one on the English Coast. The French, Danish, and other Ships, generally take that Route; but the Ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company are obliged to sail round the Coast of Ireland, from an Apprehension, that in case they met with stormy Weather in the Channel, they would be obliged to put into some English Port, which might be attended with many Inconveniencies. Such Ships, however, as have sustained any Damage at Sea, are permitted to pass through the Channel, provided they are not in a Condition to keep the Sea long enough to go round the Irish Coast, as was the case of the Advice-Ship before-mentioned: After three Weeks Sail, during which time they were involved in continual Mists and Fogs, they had Sight at last of the Orkney Islands, where some Dutch Ships were still employed in the Herring Fishery. In the Latitude of 60°, they met with some Ships that were waiting for them, which conveyed them to the Coast of Holland, where every Ship entered its destined Port in Safety; and those on board which the Prisoners were, came into the Texel the 11th of July 1723, and five Days after arrived at Amsterdam, the very same Day two Years that they sailed on this Voyage.

42. Upon the Return of the Squadron, the Situation of Affairs was much altered; for the West India Company immediately commenced a Suit, in Behalf of themselves, and of the Persons employed on board the Squadron under their Protection, in order to obtain Satisfaction for the Injustice done them by the East India Company. They set forth in the Memorial they presented to their High Mightinesses the States General, that these Ships had been fitted out in pursuance of the Powers granted to the Company by the States; that they were not so much fitted out with a View to the Profit of the Voyage, as from the Regard had to the Advantages that might result to the Public from their Discoveries; that, though it was true, these Ships had not perfected, as indeed it could not be expected, the Design on which they were employed, yet they had made great Progress therein, and such as gave Hopes of arriving in time at all that was propoised by this Expedi-

dution; that, in doing this, they had spent a great deal of Time, consumed the best Part, if not all, of their Provisions, and had endured incredible Hardships; which had induced them, or rather obliged them, to think of returning Home by the Way of the *East Indies*; that they had no Design, and, in fact, were in no Condition, to carry on any sort of Trade in those Parts; but sought merely to meet with some Refreshments, and to obtain such Assistance amongst their Countrymen, as, in Quality of Subjects of the States of *Holland*, they had a Right to demand; that, immediately on their Arrival at *Batavia*, without any Hearing, their Ships and Cargoes were condemned and sold, and the few Men that had survived the Hardships they had endured, not in the Company's Service only, but that of the Public, had been sent Home as Criminals, Prisoners, in the *East India Company's* Ships, notwithstanding that the Governor-General, and his Council, were well apprised of the Nature and Circumstances of the Case: That such a manner of Proceeding is extremely dangerous, not only to the *West India Company*, but to the State, and to the Public, since it plainly discourages Industry, new Discoveries, and the Extension of Commerce. Therefore it is absolutely requisite, their High Mightinesses should interpose in the present Case, as well for the settling this important Point, with regard to Futurity, as for the sake of redressing the *West India Company*, the Officers, and Seamen, that have been thus injured, and giving that Satisfaction to Seafaring People in general, which was so apparently necessary to free them from the Apprehensions of being punished by a Company Abroad, for performing what was looked upon to be their Duty at Home.

The States General immediately directed the *East India Company* to put in an Answer to this Memorial, that they might in the first place see, whether they would avow the Fact; and next, whether any Reasons could be alleged to justify it: The *East India Company* did not at all hesitate in declaring her Approbation of what has been done by the Governor-General, and his Council, in the *Indies*. In their Memorial, which contained an Answer to what had been alleged against them, they pleaded, that the *East India Company*, in *Holland*, was originally erected for securing the Commerce in that Part of the World to the Subjects of the States General, trading under the Limitations of their Charters; that this End had been most effectually answered through the prudent Management of the Company, to the Envy of all *Europe*; that it had been impossible to do this, or to maintain the Power of the Company in that Part of the World, but by the strict Execution of the exclusive Clauses in their Charter: That the Ships of the *West India Company* were no more privileged than any other Ships in this respect; and that, if the *East India Company* had invaded the Bounds granted to the Company that now complains, they would have taken the very same Course that the *East India Company* has lately done for the Maintenance of their Rights, with equal Reason: That the Discoveries their Ships were intended to make, were within the Bounds assigned the *West India Company*; and their Officers directed, by their Instructions, to proceed no farther than a certain Latitude, and to return through the Straights of *Magellan*; with which Instructions if they had complied, this Event could not have fallen out, and consequently there could have been no Occasion given for this Complaint: That the Officers of the *East India Company*, in the *Indies*, could not act in any other manner, than as the Instructions, grounded on the Company's Charter, direct, and consequently could not, in the present Case, have done otherwise than they have, without being wanting in their Duty to the Company: That, to have prevented any thing in this nature, if the *West India Company* had foreseen the Necessity of their Ships returning by the *East Indies*, they ought to have applied to the Company for their Licence, and for Instructions, in their Behalf, to the Governor-General and Council in the *Indies*; that, for want of taking these Precautions, the Ships of the *West India Company*, when in the *East Indies*, could not be known or considered in any manner different from other Ships; but, upon committing any Offence, were liable to the same Punishment that would have been inflicted upon

private Traders: That the very setting forth of this to be an extraordinary Case exculpates the Officers of the *East India Company*, who have no Power of taking notice of any extraordinary Cases, but must act in all according to the ordinary Rules prescribed by their Instructions; that if they should either have Power allowed, or should assume to themselves a Power, of acting otherwise, it would be attended with very dangerous Consequences, rather more than less prejudicial to the public Welfare, than what has happened in the present Case; that, in reality, there is nothing very prejudicial, much less iniquitous, in the Fact now under Consideration, since the Seizure is of no great Value to the *West India Company*, and, with respect to the Public, will be so far from preventing Discoveries, that it must prove a Means of promoting them, by obliging such Officers, as may be hereafter sent upon Designs of this Nature, to pursue their Instructions close, without framing Expedients to themselves, from a Presumption, that to a Case which they think extraordinary, the settled Laws of their Country must give way: That, upon the Whole, they submit it to their High Mightinesses, whether the Charter of the *East India Company*, being an Act of State, ought not, as such, to be considered as a Law to their Subjects; and whether, if it be not so considered, the Charter can be of any Use to the Company at all; whether, if the Rules of the Charter be considered as a Law by the Officers of the Company in the *Indies*, they have, in this Case, done any more than was their Duty; and whether, if either they, or the Company, should be punished for doing their Duty, it would not be, in Effect, doing the very Thing that is here complained of as an Hardship. It must be allowed, that this Defence of the *East India Company* was very plausible, and carried in it a great Shew of Reason.

But, according to the Custom of *Holland*, these Memorials, after having been considered, were remitted into the Hands of the proper Officer, who was appointed to draw up, not only the Judgment given in this Case, but the Reasons upon which that Judgment was given, which were in Substance these: The *East India Company* was erected at a time when the Maritime Power of the State was in its Infancy, and that of their Enemies the *Spaniards* very great in those Parts; and that, consequently, what might be very right, and very requisite, in such a Situation, ceases so to be, when the Circumstances of Things are absolutely altered, as at this Day: That it is not a Thing to be taken for granted, that the great Power, and extensive Dominion, of the Company in the *Indies* is equivalent to the Power and Dominion of the States themselves, with respect to the general Good of their Subjects; because this is a Fact which has been doubted by many, and absolutely contradicted by some of the greatest Statesmen in *Holland*: That, as to the Right of the *West India Company*, to do the same Thing in the same Case, it proves nothing; because it is a Maxim, from which the States will never depart, that neither of these Companies have acquired, by their Charters, a Privilege of doing Wrong. That the Instructions of the *West India Company* to their Officers, to proceed to a certain Latitude, and return to the Straights of *Magellan*, is a clear Proof, that they had not the least Intent of breaking in upon the Privileges of the *East India Company*, or of sending Ships into their Limits; and if the Officers did not obey these Instructions, it cannot be imputed as a Fault to the Company, who gave them, or as a Crime to the Officers, who would have obeyed them, if they could, but were compelled, by that Necessity which supercedes all Laws, to return as they did: That the Governor-General and Council of the *Indies* might very easily distinguish between Ships coming to trade, and Ships that sought a Passage Home; especially, since it was apparent, by the Conclusion they were in at their Arrival in the *East Indies*, that they really were in no Circumstances of Trading; that their Necessities were such as they set them out to be; and that they were willing to submit to whatever Regulation the Officers of the *East India Company* thought fit to prescribe, for preventing any Inconvenience from their remaining in those Seas. The Officers of the *East India Company* are still Subjects of the States of *Holland*, and are not at all bound to execute the Instructions of the Company to the Prejudice

of the Public; and therefore they must have a Power of distinguishing in such Cases, to prevent their being good Servants to the Company, at the Expence of being bad Subjects to the Republic. That it was simply impossible the *West India* Company should demand a Licence for what they endeavoured to prevent; and that their Instructions, in this respect, are incontrovertible Proofs of their Desire to avoid any Disputes with that Company. Besides, the discovering of new Countries is a Point of evident Advantage to the whole Community, and ought by no means to depend on the Will or Pleasure of any Company whatever, since the Benefit of the Whole ought always to take Place of the Privileges granted to any Part of a People. The Officers of the *East India* Company were the proper Judges of this, and ought to have made the Distinction as Subjects of the State of *Holland*; for they otherwise might expect the same thing with respect to Ships of War; and, under colour of supporting the Privileges of the Company, erect a new and independent Sovereignty in the *Indies*. This intirely destroys the Notion of great Inconveniences that must arise from the Officers of the Company assuming to themselves such a Power; because, if they have not such a Power, they are not at Liberty to distinguish between the Obedience they owe the Company, and their Duty to the Public. That this Method of treating these Ships will contribute to the promoting Discoveries, or to any other good End whatsoever, is a Thing not to be presumed upon the Company's Assertion, since the contrary is much more probable. This forces one to observe, that there is no Point, in which the private Interest of this or any other Company more plainly interferes with that of the Public, than in this of discovering Lands hitherto unknown; for, as this would infallibly contribute to the Extension of Commerce in general, so it is no less plain, that it would hurt the Interest of the Company in particular; especially, if it be true, that the Countries, made known by this Voyage, abound with Spices, and other rich Commodities of the *Indies*. It is this Reflection that ought to incline us to suspect, that the coming into those Seas was not the only Crime that drew on the Persons on board the Ship so heavy a Punishment, but rather that it was aggravated by the Reports received of their Discoveries; and, if so, it very much imports the State to prevent Things of this nature, since, as the *East India* Company cannot prevent other Nations from attempting such Discoveries, the plain Consequence of this Conduct of theirs must be, placing the rest of the Subjects of this State in a worse Condition, than if they were the Subjects of any other Power, which is a Thing that ought by no means to be permitted. As to the Value of the Ships, and their Cargoes, it cannot alter the Case at all; for, whether it be great or little, Satisfaction ought to be made for what has been unjustly taken away; and, as to the sending home the Men on board these Ships as Prisoners, it has evidently the worst Tendency that can be; because, while they were in the Service of the Public, they were especially under its Protection; so that, to pass by such an Act with Impunity, will be to sacrifice the Honour of the Government, and the Safety of the Nation, to the Prerogatives of a Company misunderstood. Besides, should this Sentence of the Governor-General and Council of the *Indies* be supported here, as the Memorial from the Company desires, it would undoubtedly occasion frequent Mutinies, since a Ship's Company could not promise themselves Protection from their Obedience to their Officers lawful Commands, but must stand exposed to the arbitrary Censures of another Authority, with the Customs of which they cannot be acquainted. On the Whole, therefore, we ought to conclude, that, in this Case, the Governor-General and Council of the *Indies* have exceeded the Bounds of their legal Authority, and done what cannot be justified by the Company's Charter, which consequently cannot be weakened in any respect, by the setting this Sentence aside, and redressing the Parties injured; which ought, therefore, to be done immediately, and in an exemplary manner; that the *East India* Company, and their Officers, may, for the future, learn to make such Distinctions as are requisite for the Security of Commerce in general, and for the Safety of the Subjects of this State in particular.

Accordingly their High Mightinesses the States General ordered and decreed, that the *East India* Company should furnish the *West India* Company with two new Ships, completely rigged in every respect, better than those which they had condemned and confiscated; that the former should likewise pay to the latter the full Value of their Cargoes, so soon as that Value could be fixed and ascertained; that, with respect to the Crew of both Ships, the *East India* Company should pay them their Wages, to the Time of their Return to *Holland*; that, moreover, the said Company should pay all Costs of Suit, besides a certain Sum to the public Use, for having thus abused their Authority. Such was the End of this important Controversy, and such the wise and equitable Decision of the States General, on this Dispute between the two Companies; which has been the more largely insisted upon, because, though it fell out in *Holland*, yet the Point in Debate concerned equally some other Countries; to say the Truth, every Country, where there is any exclusive Company established: And cannot but be persuaded, that every impartial Reader, who considers the Reasons on both Sides, as they have been before clearly stated, will be of Opinion, that their High Mightinesses distinguished very justly between the particular Advantages resulting to a Company established by their Authority, and the common Benefit of all their Subjects, for the maintaining and promoting of which their own Authority is established. There is one Thing more I must observe upon this Sentence, and it is this; that the State have given both Companies a Rule, by which they ought to regulate their Conduct for the future; and have thereby, in all Probability, prevented such Excesses, as by this Sentence they punished: And yet, perhaps, this Accident hindered the Prosecution of the Discoveries which this Voyage had so happily begun.

43. The Remarks that I shall make upon this Voyage shall be confined to a few Heads, and those of such a Nature, as may contribute at once to the Reader's Amusement and Information, as well as to the clearing up some Points, that may seem a little obscure in the foregoing Voyage. In the first place, it is worth observing, that the *West India* Company in *Holland* hath been long in a declining Condition; which, instead of despiriting the Directors, has engaged them to turn their Thoughts on every Method that could be imagined for the Recovery of their Affairs. There is so wide a Difference between our Companies, and those in *Holland*, that it may not be amiss to give a concise Account of the flourishing State of this Company, the rather, because it will shew what great Things a Board of Merchants, for such the Directors generally were, can manage. It appears by the Books of the Company, that, in the Space of thirteen Years, that is to say, from 1633 to 1646, they fitted out to Sea eight hundred Ships, either for War or Trade; and that the Expence of Building, Equipping, and Seamen's Wages, of these, cost them forty-five Millions of Florins; and that, in the same Space of Time, they had taken from their Enemy five hundred and forty-five Vessels, valued, in the Whole, at sixty Millions; besides which, their Spoils amounted to thirty Millions at least: But the greatest of their Exploits was, that of seizing the Spanish Flota at the *Havanna*, by their Admiral *Peter Heyn*, by which they gained seven Millions of Pieces of Eight in Money, and in Ships, Bras Cannon, and other military Stores, above ten Millions: Such were the flourishing Times of the Company. The Causes of their Decay seemed to be principally these: First, their Emulation of the *East India* Company, which induced them to make the Conquest of *Brazil* from the Crown of *Portugal*: This they achieved at a vast Expence; and then appointed Count *Maurice of Nassau* Governor-General, who managed their Affairs with great Skill and Prudence. But then, secondly, the Desire they had of managing all Things themselves, and their repining at the Expence of that Prince's Government, was another Cause of their Misfortunes; for the Merchants, who had conducted their Affairs with great Wisdom and Capacity, while they confined themselves to Commerce, and a Maritime War, shewed themselves but indifferent Statesmen; and, in a very short time, lost all that Prince *Maurice* had acquired, bringing, withal, such a Debt

a Debt upon the Company, as, in the End, compelled them to consent to a Dissolution.

The new *West India* Company, warned by the Example of their Predecessors, have kept more within Bounds, and have certainly managed their Affairs with great Oeconomy and Prudence. In the Year 1714, they formed a Project of a very extraordinary Nature, which, if it had taken place, might very probably have transferred the whole Commerce of *Europe* to the *Dutch*. This consisted in the Uniting of the two Companies, I mean, those trading to the *East* and *West Indies*. In order to this, they offered to transfer all that they possessed in *Africa* and *America* to the *East India* Company, in Consideration of about 120,000 *l.* Sterling; which Sum the Proprietors of the present *West India* Company were to have accepted in *East India* Stock; and nine Directors were to have been added to the present College or Board of *East India* Directors, for the Management of this additional Trade. At the same time they offered a Calculation, by which it appeared, that the Funds of the *West India* Company, which, according to this Project, were to be transferred to the *East India* Company, would more than defray all the Expence, that this Conjunction would create. The Benefits that would have arisen from this Incorporation of the two Companies into one were many and great, and, which, perhaps, is of no less Consequence, equally visible and certain; for, as Things now stand, the *West India* Company purchased the *Couris* and *Beasts*, which are a sort of Shells that pass for Money thro' all the Slave Coast of *Africa*, from the *East India* Company, who, on the other hand, purchased from the *West India* Company a great Part of the Gold they bring from the Coast of *Guinea*. This kind of Traffick, by this Scheme, would be intirely in the *East India* Company, who would immediately ingross the Slave Trade into their own Hands. By the erecting Fortresses, and raising Settlements in several Parts of *Africa*, which would be easy for them, tho' the Circumstances of the *West India* Company would never permit them to attempt such things, such a prodigious Wealth would accrue, on the one hand, by saving the Expences of bringing home from the *East Indies* Commodities fit for the *African* Trade, and from *Africa* Goods proper for the *East Indies*, which, according to this Plan, might be transported directly in both Cases, without ever coming to *Europe* at all; and, on the other hand, by enlarging the Commerce both Ways, the Power and the Influence of the Company would be so increased, that it would be simply impossible for other Nations to contend with them in either Trade. These Settlements in *Africa* would also be attended with another extraordinary Advantage, that of discovering several rich Mines of Gold; of which whatever Informations the *West India* Company may have had, they never could attempt to work them, because, knowing their own Weakness, they were apprehensive, that such an Attempt, instead of proving advantageous to them, might have induced other Nations to have attacked them, and thereby have exposed their Country to the Loss of what might be certainly gained, if undertaken by so powerful a Body as the *East India* Company. The Commerce of the Grain Coast of *Guinea*, tho' of no considerable Value to the *West India* Company, would prove of incredible Advantage, when in the Hands of the other Company; because the Grain transported from *Africa* is, a great Part of it, consumed in the *East Indies*, and is so necessary a Commodity there, that the *East India* Company would have it in their Power to raise and fall the Price of Pepper, as they thought fit; which would enable them to bring about what they have so long endeavoured, the getting into their Hands the Monopoly of that, as well as other Spices; which, perhaps, will never be attained by any other Means. The proper Commerce of the *West Indies* also would become infinitely more considerable under their Management, than it would be any other way; and this especially by erecting Magazines for *East India* Commodities in the Island of *Curaçao*, from whence they might be easily sent into the *Spanish West Indies*, and would produce a mighty Profit, though sold at a much lower Rate than the same kind of Goods, which are annually brought into that Country by the *Manilla* Ship.

How it came to pass, that this Proposal was rejected, does not concern my present Purpose; and therefore I shall only

observe, that, after this Proposition was rejected, the Directors of the *West India* Company very wisely turned their Thoughts another Way. It is very probable, that the Encouragement they gave to Mr. *Roggewein's* Proposition might be, in some measure, owing to the ill Treatment, which this Project had received: For what was more natural, after failing in their Scheme of uniting their Company to that of the *East Indies*, than to aim at coming in for a Share of these Commodities, so necessary for their Commerce, by some other Way? And what Way so proper as that proposed by this Voyage, which would, in effect, have put the most valuable Part of the *East India* Trade into their Hands? And this too accounts for the extraordinary Heat and Violence of the *East India* Company against those, who were concerned in this Discovery.

The Reader will easily recollect an Instance of the same sort of Spirit, which they had shewn long before, in the Case of *James le Maire*, and what Pains they took to discredit his Discoveries. Here we see the true Secret of that Dispute, which was so warmly managed by both Companies, and so wisely decided by the States General. When the *East India* Company persecuted and destroyed *le Maire*, the Government did not interpose, because, at that time, the Maintenance of the Power of the *East India* Company was of the highest Consequence to the States; but such as were concerned in that Expedition appealed to the Public against the Injustice they had received, and were heard with all the Favour they could expect: But, by degrees, as the Government of *Holland* became more settled, and especially since such have had a Share in the Administration of public Affairs as were well acquainted with Trade, the Concerns of the *East India* Company are considered in a new Light.

That consummate Statesman and Patriot, *John de Witte*, was the first who explained the Matter clearly; and his Words are so applicable to this Subject, that I cannot forbear citing them, as most worthy of the Reader's Attention: "When the *East India* Company, says he, had attained to a certain Extent of Power and Grandeur, their Interests came not only to clash with, but grew absolutely opposite to, those of their Country: For whereas the Advantage of the *Dutch* Nation consists in the Increase of their Manufactures, Commerce, and Freight of Ships, the Interest of the Country inclines them to promote the Sale of foreign Manufactures, and that with the least Traffick and Navigation that is in their Power. Hence it is a settled Point, that, if the *East India* Company can gain more by importing *Japan* Cloths, *Indian* Quilts, Carpets, Chintzes, than raw Silk; or if the Company, by creating a Scarcity of Nutmegs, Mace, Cloves, Cinamon, and other Spices, can raise the Price of them, so as to gain as much by 100 Tons, as they would otherwise get by 1000; we are not to expect, that they should import those raw Silks, or be at the Expence of transporting 1000 Tons of Spice, tho' the former would assist our Manufactures at home, and the latter increase our Navigation."

This is so plain, and agrees so evidently with the Interest of all Nations, as well as of *Holland*, that it is impossible for any unprejudiced Person not to discern, that all exclusive Companies destroy, instead of promoting, the Commerce of the Countries where they are established. The same great Writer observes, that the more any Company extends its foreign Conquests, the more of their Stock must, of Necessity, be spent for the Preservation and Defence of such Conquests; and consequently the greater their Dominions, the less the Company is able to mind the true Interest of that Trade, for the promoting which they were erected. The Reader, from the large and accurate Account, which we have lately given him of the State of the *Dutch* Company's Affairs in the *East Indies*, will the more readily enter into and see, the Justice and Force of this judicious Observation.

This leads me to remark, that, in all Countries where such Companies are already established, the only Method that can be taken to prevent the Consequences that must attend them, is to play one Company against another; that is to say, the State ought always to encourage and protect that Company, which is most inclined to promote national

Commerce, and the Exportation of the Goods and Manufactures of the Country in which it is settled. We have seen what Advantage the *Dutch* draw from having a Company-King amongst the *Indian* Princes of every Island; and therefore we cannot be at a Loss for the Benefits, that must result from the having the Nation's Company amongst those exclusive Companies, erected in every Nation. Upon this Principle it was that the States General, in the present Case, so much favoured the *West India* Company; for a little Attention will shew, that, in this Instance, they were the Nation's Company; that is to say, by endeavouring to discover new Countries, which must have been attended with an Increase of Commerce, and of Shipping, they pursued their Country's Interest, as well as their own. And, as this is a Point that deserves to be illustrated, give me Leave to suppose, that, in consequence of this Voyage, a Settlement had been made in *Easter Island*: In order to support this, another Squadron must have been sent, together with a fresh Supply of People for the Colony; and, in Process of Time, as their Trade and Discoveries increased, annual Squadrons would have gone, and returned; which must have been highly advantageous to *Holland*. Besides, it is a great Matter to revive a Spirit of Trade and Discovery; for let any one consider how soon all the Continent and Islands of *America* were as well known as they are at present, after they were first found by *Columbus*, and he will be at no Loss to discern the Probability of establishing a large Trade in those Southern Countries, which are so imperfectly known at present.

Add to this, that there cannot be a more true or certain Maxim than this; that tho' particular Persons, and especially Companies, gain most by old and settled Trades, yet a new Commerce contributes most to the enriching of a People, because it increases the Number of Workmen in all Manufactures at home, occasions the building new Ships, heightens the Number of Seamen, and, in one Word, enlarges and strengthens that Spirit of Industry, which is so necessary to the Well-being of a trading Nation. Another Reason that might possibly engage the States to favour the *West India* Company in this Design, was the Tendency it had to promote that kind of Navigation, which, for this last Century, has fallen almost into Disuse; I mean, the Navigation round Cape *Horn* into the South Seas, upon the Discovery of which our Ancestors piqued themselves with so much Justice. The more one reflects on this, the more one is amazed at the Indolence of the present Age, especially considering the ill Consequences that plainly result from it already. The Storms about the Cape of *Good Hope* were not more terrible to our Ancestors, in the very Dawn of Navigation, than the Doubling Cape *Horn* is to some People at this Hour, after so many Voyages have been made round it, and that too by their own Countrymen, as well as others. Captain *Cowley* passed it twice, *Dampier* thrice, *Clipperton* as often; and yet now, after twenty Years Disuse, it is become a greater Bugbear than ever. It was therefore high time for the *Dutch*, who saw the *French* yearly bringing large Sums out of the South Seas, to try, whether their Subjects could not be as fortunate, without engaging in a contraband Trade with the *Spaniards*.

It is a great Pity, that we can't have Commodore *Roggeveen's* Proposals to the *West India* Company, in which, no doubt, there are abundance of curious Particulars; but, as this is not to be hoped for, we must content ourselves with endeavouring to supply this Deficiency, by attending closely to his Voyage.

We see, that, before he thought of Refreshment, he stretched as far as the Coast of *Brasil*, and did not loiter away his Time at the Cape de *Verde*, or any other Islands: And this was certainly the right Way; for a Voyage to the Coast of *Brasil* is undoubtedly no very hard or difficult Navigation, as the former Voyages, especially those of *Dampier* and *Funnel*, plainly shew. But the *Dutch* Commodore took no small Pains to discover some Island upon that Coast, where a Settlement might be made, that his Countrymen might, for the future, have a Place of their own, without troubling the *Portuguese* at all. When this was found impracticable, his next Care was, to reconnoitre the Island of *St. Lewis*, which had never been thoroughly discovered before; and therefore he thought he had a Right to impose

on it a new Name; which he did: And, if he had settled on it also, as he proposed, it had certainly answered the End of his Voyage effectually; for the Climate and Soil appear to have been such, as leave no Room to doubt, that, if the *Dutch* had fixed there, and been well supported, they might make it as commodious a Place as the Cape of *Good Hope*, which had been slighted, as not worth inhabiting, by other Nations, tho' it is now acknowledged for one of the finest Countries in the World. He formed the same Project with respect to *Juan Fernandez*, which is certainly one of the wholsomest and pleasanter Islands in *America*, and from whence, if it was once settled, the discovering of the Southern Continent and Islands must with Ease follow. To say the Truth, I think the first Error that he committed was the postponing these Settlements, but more especially the last, because the Benefits that must have resulted from it are apparent.

We have so many Accounts of the Beauty and Fertility of that Island, that, I think, it may be laid down as an undeniable Truth, that a Proposal for settling it would not meet with many Difficulties, either here, or in *Holland*. In both Places People are to be met with, who, either for the sake of getting Bread, or from the Hopes of acquiring a Fortune, would readily consent to visit the most unwholesome Countries, and to remain in the worst Climates. There would not therefore certainly be wanting enough to offer themselves, upon proper Encouragement, to go and reside there, and the Expense of fortifying the Island, and providing them in every respect with what they wanted, would require no great Sum: Yet, whatever Nation shall take this Step, and be at the Expense, will have it absolutely in their Power to prosecute this Scheme of Discovery; after which, perhaps, it may be time enough to think of settling the Island of *St. Lewis* on the other Side of the Cape. The raising a Fort, and putting in Order the Plantation of the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, might employ the first Year, whenever this important Design is properly pursued; and, if two or three small Vessels were left with the Inhabitants of that Island, they might, by the Arrival of a new Squadron the next Year, be able to report somewhat as to the Probability of a Discovery from thence; because there are undoubtedly several Islands, which lie at no great Distance from thence; and all of them in so good a Climate, that no Hardship need be feared in endeavouring to discover them. In consequence of their Report, and of the Assistance received from the new Colony, where the Sick might be put on shore, and their Places supplied by fresh Men, a great Part of the South Continent might be discovered in one Summer: For, when the Seamen were once secure of a good Retreat, as the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, well settled, would be, they would not be uneasy, or afraid of wanting Provisions, if they cruised a few Weeks, more or less, in the South Seas. Besides, there would be no Occasion for reducing them to short Allowance; and, while they lived in present Plenty, and without Apprehension of future Wants, they would certainly be in sufficient Spirits to undertake any thing their Officers could reasonably expect from them.

The Voyages of *Schouten* and *Dampier*, as well as that which occasioned these Remarks, plainly shew, that it is the Dread of so long a Run as to the *East Indies*, which intimidates the Sailors in these Seas, and occasions such frequent Mutinies, such perpetual Dissensions, as must necessarily impede, and even defeat, the best-laid Project for Discoveries. Add to all this, that, in two or three Years time, there is the highest Probability, that the Produce of the Trade that might be established in these Southern Islands, would not only defray the Expense of the Undertaking, but make considerable Returns; and then all Difficulties would be over. There would be enough struggling to share in the Advantages of a Commerce so long neglected; but the Settlement of *Juan Fernandez* would prevent this, and secure, for at least thirty or forty Years, the greatest Part of the Profit to the original Proprietors.

This, or something like it, was undoubtedly Mr. *Roggeveen's* Plan; and it must certainly add some Degree of Credit to his Scheme, that it was twice approved by the *West India* Company in *Holland*, the Directors of which are always Men of Business, and of distinguished Abilities, and who undoubtedly would not have been at so great an Ex-

peace as this Voyage cost them, if they had not been perfectly well satisfied, that the Design was rational in all respects, and practicable in its nature; nor could they be at all displeased with the Report of this Voyage, which, tho' not very successful upon the Whole, yet was so in Part, and has given such new Lights, as render it sufficiently evident, that there wants nothing but Perseverance to perfect all that was proposed. How it fell out, that this Design was abandoned, notwithstanding these Probabilities in its Favour, I cannot pretend to say; but whoever reflects on the Advantages that are now derived from our Plantations, on the Difficulties that attended planting them, on the many Mischiefs in planting them, and the plausible Discourses made against planting them at all; I say, whoever reflects naturally upon this, will readily confess, that no conclusive Argument can be drawn from the *Dutch West India* Company's neglecting this Design. It may, perhaps, be the Result of a Timidity in the Directors, who are afraid to launch out Money on a Project that has once miscarried; for it is not in all Countries that Directors despise the Opinion of their Constituents, or of the World, and follow their own, and their own Interest too sometimes, at other Peoples Expence. But I rather think the *East India* Company have found Ways and Means to engage them to desist from what to them appeared so dangerous to their Commerce. I mention this purely as a Conjecture, of which I neither have, or pretend to have, the smallest Proof. But when we consider, that, in fact, this is a Project for bringing the Commodities of the *Indies* into *Europe* by a new Route, we need not wonder, that every *East India* Company is alarmed at it; because, for the very same Reasons that the *Venetians* were beat out of the *East India* Trade, by the Discovery of a Passage round the Cape of *Good Hope*, the present Companies must lose their Trade, if a better and more commodious Passage can be found. It was the Sense of this, that stirred up all the Endeavours that have been made to discover a Passage by the North-east, and by the North-west; and therefore, if it should once appear, that the Passage already found by the South-west will coas well, and that as great Returns may be made in fifteen, or at least in eighteen Months, as in three Years by the other, it must certainly fall into Disuse.

I know it may be objected, that the Hardships that have been lately sustained in passing *Cape Horn*, are sufficient to answer all I have said; but I think, on the contrary, that I have much more Reason to assert, that what I have said ought to destroy the Notion of these Hardships. I am very far from denying the Matter of Fact; but if People go at a wrong Season of the Year, embarrassed with Things that are not necessary, and destitute of those that are, they may well enough fall into such Distresses, and yet other People take the same Route without feeling them. Let any Man read *Fretzier's* Voyage, and I think he will be satisfied, that it is very possible to get into the South Seas without being destroyed by the Scurvy; for I don't remember, that he makes any great Complaints about the Matter. But, to put the Thing out of Dispute, let us but recollect, that *Jacques le Maire* passed through the South Seas into the *East Indies*, without so much as losing a Man; and we must be convinced, that the same is practicable now. I believe there are few Voyages, in which the Sailors met with more Hardships, than in that of which we are speaking: But from whence did they proceed? Why, our Author has very fairly and honestly told us, from the private Views of the principal Officers, who were in a Hurry to get to the *East Indies*; for otherwise they might have met with Refreshment enough: So that it was not the Prosecution of the Discovery that brought upon them such Hardships, but it was their own ill Conduct that defeated the Discovery, and brought Discredit on the Voyage. But if Mr. *Roggewein's* Plan was to be executed in its full Extent, that is to say, if the Ship employed for making this Discovery sailed at the proper Season of the Year, which appears to be about the Beginning of *November*, refreshed at the Cape of *Verde* Islands, proceeded from them to the Island of *St. Catherine's*, and so double *Cape Horn* early in the Year, they might reach *Juan Fernandez* in very tolerable Condition; much more, if proper Settlements were made with

a View to this Discovery; in which Case, I make no doubt but, in twenty Years, all the Difficulties of this Navigation would be as much forgot, as those of the Cape of *Good Hope* are already.

I must confess, that I have taken a great deal of Pains upon this Subject, from an earnest Desire, that this Scheme or discovering these Southern *Indies*, might appear in its true Light to the *British* Nation, and in order to shew how possible it is for us to reap the Benefit, not of the Discoveries only, but of the Errors and Oversights of other People. We are daily complaining, though I hope without Reason, of the Decay of Trade: We are daily repining at the Restrictions on our Trade, for which, without doubt, there is more Reason; since it is visible, that the Commerce between our own Island, and that of *Barbadoes*, employs five times the Number of Ships that are in the Service of all our exclusive Companies put together: But Complaints are effeminate Things; we ought to behave like Men, and endeavour to find Remedies, if we really think ourselves aggrieved. If, as many People say, most Trades are overstocked; or if, as most People say, the most beneficial Branches of Trade are cramped by the before-mentioned Restrictions; it is undoubtedly our Business to find out new Trades, if it be possible; or, at least, it is worth our while to make some Attempt, where, as in the present Case, there is a probable Prospect of Success. For this Purpose, there never was a Season more convenient than the present; the War has destroyed some Branches of our Trade, and suspends many others: Yet the War affords us fairer Opportunities for undertaking any Expeditions like this, than we could have in a Time of profound Peace.

We have now no Reason to be complainant to the *Spaniards*, or to be afraid of the Retenement of our Neighbours, in case we should take Possession of *Juan Fernandez*, and settle it: In short, we have nothing to fear, but all Things to hope, all Things to expect, if we are not wanting to ourselves, and more inclined to complain of what we have not, than industrious to acquire what we might have with very little Trouble. There may, indeed, be objected to all this, that the Discoveries hitherto made consist but of small Islands, or of Continents not thoroughly examined: Yet this Objection proves nothing, if it be certain, that such of these Islands as have been examined are well inhabited; and that the Continents not examined are so situated, as to justify the Observations made by our Author in this Voyage; because, in this Case, the Objection amounts to no more than this, that it is in vain to attempt to discover Countries, where there is no Certainty of gaining great Advantages: And what is this but saying, in other Words, that we ought not to attempt Discoveries at all?

If the World had been always of that Mind, both the *East* and the *West Indies* had still remained undiscovered. What Prejudice would have resulted from thence to *Europe*, may appear from the Consideration of the different Circumstances of Things since the Discovery of those Countries, which have undoubtedly occasioned not only a mighty Increase of Shipping amongst the Nations possessed of Plantations in those Parts, but also of domestic Industry; and whatever increases the Manufactures of a Country, increases the Wealth of its Inhabitants; or, take it in another Light, and it plainly increases their Happiness, by enabling them to purchase, by their Labour, the Necessaries and the Conveniences of Life, which otherwise (that is, without Trade) their Labour would not procure. To be more effectually convinced of this, we may compare the present State of those Countries, that actually carry on a large Commerce in those Parts of the World, and the Countries which have no such Commerce. For Instance, What is the Reason, that *Great Britain* and *Holland* make so much a greater Figure in *Europe*, and that their Subjects are so much richer, than those of *Sweden* or *Denmark*? Does it not plainly result from the great Commerce of the former, compared with that of the latter? Is not this the Opinion of the ablest Judges? And is it not confessed by the *Swedes* and *Danes* themselves, who are now making great Efforts, in order to obtain a Share in the Commerce of the *East Indies*, and have actually made some Progress in their Design? Let us consider, therefore,

that, if other Nations proceed, and we stand still, they will certainly overtake us; and, before they do this, our Trade must necessarily decay, and fall off.

To prevent this, the safest, plainest, and most speedy Method is, to endeavour to make new Discoveries, that is, in effect, to endeavour finding out new Markets. If there be so large a Tract of Country, as our Author supposes, and so many Islands undiscovered, in the South, they must be worth the discovering, for these Reasons: If any of these Countries are absolutely uninhabited, we are at least sure that they lie in such a Climate as gives us Hopes of their producing the richest Commodities, or a Certainty of our being able to produce them, by raising new Colonies and Plantations. We shall very soon be satisfied of this, if we reflect on the Advantages derived from the settling the small Island of *Barbados*: And, if the Profits arising from Sugar are so large, what might be expected, or, rather, what might we not expect, from a Country of the same Extent, which would produce Cloves, Nutmegs, or Cinnamon? It is true, that formerly the Power of the *Dutch* might have been apprehended, who have shewn a very stubborn Resolution of keeping these rich Commodities intirely to themselves: But at present there can be no such Fear, because our maritime Power is sufficient to protect any just Pretension; and, on the other hand, we ought not to suspect, that our Governors would have such a Compliance for any foreign Interest, as to sacrifice to it our own. On the other hand, if these Southern Countries are inhabited by Savages, there is a great Probability of our obtaining the most valuable Commodities, either in Exchange for the Necessaries of Life, or for those Trifles, which we know, by Experience, such Savages naturally admire.

But it may be, and indeed is, far more probable, that there are civilized Nations in many, or at least in some, of these Countries; and with them, no doubt, we may carry on a very advantageous Trade: For the Commodities of one Part of the World are always considered as Rarities in another Part; and, as Rarities, they will naturally fetch an high Price: So that if we can but once esta-

blish a Trade, and a Trade at so great a Distance, it must turn much to our Benefit.

Upon the Whole, therefore, the only Point that remains to be settled, is, the producing such further Evidence as may beget a clear and full Persuasion, that there really is a vast Tract of Country, though hitherto but imperfectly discovered, in the South. In order to do this, and to confirm what the Author of this Voyage has asserted upon that Head, I cannot think of a better Method, than adding two Voyages, by way of Appendix to this; the rather, because they will contribute, both to explain what he has laid down only in short and general Terms, and also complete what we have to deliver with regard to the immediate Subject of this Book; viz. *the Progress that has been made in the Circumnavigation of the Globe*: Besides, both these Voyages are not only curious in themselves, but have this farther to recommend them; that the former never was published in our Language before, and the latter so imperfectly, that this new and full Translation which we give our Readers, becomes so much the more valuable. It is a Thing that has been often, and indeed justly, complained of, that in the largest Collections of Voyages, in our Language, there has been little more than perpetual Repetitions, while abundance of important Pieces, published in other Countries, have been neglected, either through want of Care, or want of Information. But we may safely assert, that nothing of this sort can hitherto be imputed to us, since we have faithfully executed the Plan we laid down, and have given our Readers not short imperfect Abridgments, or loose and unconnected Relations, but a regular Series of all the Voyages that have hitherto been made round the World, with the Addition of such scarce and curious Accounts, as was requisite to render the Discoveries mentioned in them as perfect as it was possible: And the same Spirit, the same Diligence, shall, with the Blessing of God, appear as fully in the remaining Part of the Work. It is indeed a kind of Respect which is due to the World, a thing every way incumbent upon us, considering the kind Treatment we have received, and the Encouragement afforded us, by the Public.

SECTION XXI.

The Voyage and Shipwreck of Captain FRANCIS PELSART, in the Batavia, on the Coast of New Holland, and his succeeding Adventures.

[From the Collections of M. Thevenot.]

1. *A short Account of the Design of this Voyage.* 2. *Captain Pelsart, in the Batavia, shipwreck'd on the Coast of New Holland.* 3. *Obliged to leave his People on three desert Islands, in order to go in Search of Water.* 4. *Account of the Coast, and its Inhabitants.* 5. *He is obliged to proceed to Batavia, in order to obtain Succours.* 6. *The Difficulties and Dangers he met with in his Passage.* 7. *The Supercargo, in his Absence, forms a Conspiracy, and murders a great Part of the Crew.* 8. *The Supercargo is defeated, and made Prisoner.* 9. *Captain Pelsart returns from Batavia, and defeats the Mutineers.* 10. *Is obliged, for his own Safety, to execute them all; and returns afterwards, with his Ship's Company, to Batavia.* 11. *Remarks upon the Voyage.*

IT has appeared very strange to some very able Judges of Voyages, that the *Dutch* should make so great Account of the Southern Countries, as to cause the Map of them to be laid down in the Pavement of the Stadt-houfe at *Amsterdam*, and yet publish no Descriptions of them. This Mytery was a good deal heightened by one of the Ships, that first touched on *Carpenter's Land*, bringing home a considerable Quantity of Gold, Spices, and other rich Goods: In order to clear up which, it was said, that these were not the Product of the Country, but were fished out of the Wreck of a large Ship that had been lost upon the Coast: But this Story did not satisfy the Inquisitive, because not attended with the Circumstances necessary to establish its Credit; and, therefore, they suggested, that, instead of taking away the Obscurity, by relating the Truth, this Tale was invented, in order to hide it more effectually. This Suspicion gained Ground the more, when it was known that the *Dutch East*

India Company from *Batavia* had made some Attempts to conquer a Part of the Southern Continent, and had been repulsed with Loss; of which, however, we have no distinct or perfect Relation, and all that hitherto has been collected in reference to this Subject, may be reduced to two Voyages; the first of which is to be the Subject of this, and the other of the succeeding Section. All that we know concerning the following Piece, is, that it was collected from the *Dutch Journal* of the Voyage. And, having said thus much by way of Introduction, we now proceed to the Translation of this short History.

2. The Directors of the *East India Company*, animated by the Return of five Ships, under General *Carpenter*, richly laden, caused, the very same Year, 1628. eleven Vessels to be equipped for the same Voyage: Amongst which, there was one Ship called the *Batavia*, commanded by Capt. *Francis Pelsart*. They sailed out of the *Tenst* on the 28th of *October* 1628; and, as it would be tedious and trouble-

come to the Reader to set down a long Account of Things perfectly well known, I shall say nothing of the Occurrences that happened in their Passage to the Cape of Good Hope; but content myself with observing, that, on the 4th of June in the following Year 1629, this Vessel, the *Bataravia*, being separated from the Fleet in a Storm, was driven on the *Abralles* or Shoals, which lie in the Latitude of 28° South, and which have been since called by the *Dutch* the *Abralles* of *Frederic Houtman*. Captain *Pelsart*, who was sick in Bed when this Accident happened, perceiving that his Ship had struck, ran immediately upon Deck. It was Night indeed; but the Weather was fair, and the Moon shone very bright; the Sails were up; the Course they steered was North-east by North; and the Sea appeared, as far as they could behold it, covered with a white Froth. The Captain called up the Master, and charged him with the Loss of the Ship; who excused himself by saying, he had taken all the Care he could; and that, having discerned this Froth at a Distance, he asked the Steersman, What he thought of it; who told him, 'That the Sea appeared white, by its reflecting the Rays of the Moon.' The Captain then asked him, What was to be done; and in what Part of the World he thought they were. The Master replied, That God only knew that; and that the Ship was fast on a Bank hitherto undiscovered. Upon this, they began to throw the Lead, and found, that they had about forty-eight Feet Water before, and much less behind, the Vessel. The Crew immediately agreed to throw their Cannon overboard, in hopes, that, when the Ship was lightened, she might be brought to float again. They let fall an Anchor, however; and, while they were thus employed, a most dreadful Storm arose of Wind and Rain; which soon convinced them of the Danger they were in; for, being surrounded with Rocks and Shoals, the Ship was perpetually striking.

They then resolved to cut away the Main-mast; which they did: And this augmented the Shock; neither could they get clear of it, tho' they cut it close by the Board, because it was much entangled with the Rigging. They could see no Land, except an Island, which was about the Distance of three Leagues, and two smaller Islands, or rather Rocks, which lay nearer. They immediately sent the Master to examine them, who returned about nine in the Morning, and reported, that the Sea, at High-water, did not cover them; but that the Coast was so rocky, and full of Shoals, that it would be very difficult to land upon them. They resolved, however, to run the Risk, and to send most of their Company on shore, to pacify the Women, Children, sick People, and such as were out of their Wits with Fear, whose Cries and Noise served only to disturb them. About ten o'Clock, they embarked these in their Shallop and Skiff; and, perceiving their Vessel began to break, they doubled their Diligence. They likewise endeavoured to get their Bread up; but they did not take the same Care of the Water, nor reflecting in their Fright, that they might be much distressed for want of it on shore; and what hindered them most of all was, the brutal Behaviour of some of the Crew, that made themselves drunk with the Wine, of which no Care was taken. In short, such was their Confusion, that they made but three Trips that Day, carrying over to the Island 180 Persons, twenty Barrels of Bread, and some small Casks of Water. The Master returned on board towards Evening, and told the Captain, that it was to no purpose to send more Provisions on shore, since the People only wasted those they had already. Upon this, the Captain went in the Shallop to put things in better Order; and was then informed, that there was no Water to be found upon the Island. He endeavoured to return to the Ship, in order to bring off a Supply, together with the most valuable Part of their Cargo; but a Storm suddenly arising, he was forced to return.

3. The next Day was spent in removing their Water, and most valuable Goods, on shore; and afterwards, the Captain in the Skiff, and the Master in the Shallop, endeavoured to return to the Vessel; but found the Sea run so high, that it was impossible to get on board. In this Extremity, the Carpenter threw himself out of the Ship, and swam to them, in order to inform them to what Hardships those left in the Vessel were reduced; and they sent him back, with Orders for them to make Rafts, by tying the

Planks together, and endeavour, on these, to reach the Shallop and Skiff; but, before this could be done, the Weather became so rough, that the Captain was obliged to return, leaving, with the utmost Grief, his Lieutenant, and several Men, on the very Point of perishing on board the Vessel. Those who were got on the little Island were not in much better Condition; for, upon taking an Account of their Water, they found they had not above forty Gallons for forty People; and on the larger Island, where there were 120, their Stock was still less. Those who were on the little Island began to murmur, and to complain of their Officers, because they did not go in Search of Water in the Islands that were within Sight of them; and they represented the Necessity of this to Captain *Pelsart*; who agreed to their Request; but insisted, before he went, to communicate his Design to the rest of his People. They consented to this; but not till the Captain had declared, that, without the Consent of the Company on the large Island, he would, rather than leave them, go and perish on board the Ship. When they were got pretty near the shore, he, who commanded the Boat, told the Captain, that, if he had any thing to say, he must cry out to the People; for that they would not suffer him to go out of the Boat. The Captain immediately attempted to throw himself overboard, in order to swim to the Island. Those who were in the Boat prevented him; and all that he could obtain of them was, to throw on shore his Table-book, in which he wrote a Line or two to inform them, *that he was gone in the Skiff to look for Water in the adjacent Islands*.

He accordingly coasted them all with the greatest Care, and found, in most of them, considerable Quantities of Water in the Holes of the Rocks; but so mixed with the Sea-water, that it was unfit for Use; and therefore they were obliged to go farther. The first thing they did was, to make a Deck to their Boat, because they found it was impracticable to navigate those Seas in an open Vessel. Some of the Crew joined them by that time the Work was finished; and the Captain having obtained a Paper, signed by all his Men, importing, that it was their Desire, that he should go in Search of Water, he immediately put to Sea, having first taken an Observation, by which he found they were in the Latitude of 28° 13' South. They had not been long at Sea, before they had Sight of the Continent, which appeared to them to lie about sixteen Miles North by West from the Place where they had suffered Shipwreck. They found about twenty-five or thirty Fathom Water; and, as Night drew on, they kept out to Sea; and, after Midnight, stood in for the Land, that they might be near the Coast in the Morning. On the 9th (of June) they found themselves, as they reckoned, about three Miles from the Shore; on which they plied all that Day, failing sometimes North, sometimes West, the Country appearing low, naked, and the Coast excessively rocky; so that they thought it resembled the Country near *Dover*. At last they saw a little Creek, into which they were willing to put, because it appeared to have a sandy Bottom; but, when they attempted to enter it, the Sea ran so high, that they were forced to desist.

On the 10th, they remained on the same Coast, plying to-and-again, as they had done the Day before; but the Weather growing worse and worse, they were obliged to abandon their Shallop, and even to throw a Part of their Bread overboard, because it hindered them from clearing themselves of the Water, which their Vessel began to make very fast. That Night it rained most terribly, which, tho' it gave them much Trouble, afforded them Hopes, that it would prove a great Relief to the People they had left behind them on the Islands. The Wind began to sink on the 11th; and, as it blew from the West South-west, they continued their Course to the North, the Sea running still so high, that it was impossible to approach the Shore. On the 12th, they had an Observation, by which they found themselves in the Latitude of 27°. They sailed with a South-east Wind all that Day along the Coast, which they found so steep, that there was no getting on shore; inasmuch as there was no Creek, or low Land, without the Rocks, as is commonly observed on Sea-coasts; which gave them the more Pain, because within-land the Country appeared extremely fruitful and pleasant. They found them-

selves,

fellies, on the 13th, in the Latitude of $25^{\circ} 40'$; by which they discovered, that the Current ran to the North. They were; at this time, over-against an Opening; the Coast lying to the North-east, they continued a North Course, but found the Coast one continued Rock of a red Colour, all of an Height, against which the Waves broke with such Force, that it was impossible for them to land.

4. The Wind blew very fresh in the Morning on the 14th; but, towards Noon, it fell calm; they were then in the Height of 24° , with a small Gale at East; but the Tide still carried them farther North than they desired, because their Design was to make a Descent as soon as possible; and with this View they sailed slowly along the Coast, till, perceiving a great deal of Smoke at a Distance, they rowed towards it as fast as they were able, in hopes of finding Men, and Water of course: However, when they came near the Shore, they found it so steep, so full of Rocks, and the Sea beating over them with such Fury, that it was impossible to land: Six of the Men, however, trusting to their Skill in Swimming, threw themselves into the Sea, and resolved to get on shore at any Rate; which, with great Difficulty and Danger, they at last effected, the Boat remaining at Anchor in 25 Fathom Water. The Men on shore spent the whole Day in looking for Water; and, while they were thus employed, they saw four Men, who came up very near; but one of the *Dutch* Sailors advancing towards them, they immediately ran away as fast as they were able, so that they were distinctly seen by those in the Boat. These People were black Savages, quite naked, not having so much as any Covering about their Middle. The Sailors, finding no Hopes of Water on all the Coast, swam on board again, much hurt and wounded by their being beat by the Waves upon the Rocks; and, as soon as they were on board, they weighed Anchor, and continued their Course along the Shore, in hopes of finding some better Landing-place.

On the 15th, in the Morning, they discovered a Cape, from the Point of which there ran a Ridge of Rocks a Mile into the Sea, and behind it another Ridge of Rocks: They ventured between them, as the Sea was pretty calm; but, finding there was no Passage, they soon returned. About Noon, they saw another Opening; and the Sea being still smooth, they entered it, though the Passage was very dangerous, inasmuch as they had but two Feet Water, and the Bottom full of Stones; the Coast appearing a flat Sand for about a Mile. As soon as they got on shore, they fell to digging in the Sand; but the Water that came into their Wells was so brackish, that they could not drink it, though they were on the very Point of choaking for Thirst: At last, in the Hollows of the Rocks, they met with considerable Quantities of Rain-water, which was a great Relief to them, since they had been for some Days at no better Allowance than a Pint apiece; they soon furnished themselves in the Night with about eighty Gallons, perceiving, in the Place where they landed, that the Savages had been there lately, by a large Heap of Ashes, and the Remains of some Cray-fish.

5. On the 6th, in the Morning, they returned on shore, in hopes of getting more Water, but were disappointed; and, having now Time to observe the Country, it gave them no great Hopes of better Success, even if they had travelled farther within Land, which appeared a thirsty barren Plain, covered with Ant-hills, so high, that they looked, afar off, like the Huts of Negroes; and, at the same time, they were so plagued with Flies, and those in such Multitudes, that they were scarce able to defend themselves. They saw at a Distance eight Savages, with each a Staff in his Hand, who advanced towards them within Musket-shot; but as soon as they perceived the *Dutch* Sailors moving towards them, they fled as fast as they were able. It was, by this time, about Noon; and, perceiving no Appearance either of getting Water, or entering into any Correspondence with the Natives, they resolved to go on board, and continue their Course towards the North, in hopes, as they were already in the Latitude of $22^{\circ} 17'$, they might be able to find the River of *Jacob Remmesens*: But the Wind veering about to the North-east, they were not able to continue longer upon that Coast; and therefore, reflecting that they were now above one hundred Miles from the Place where they were shipwrecked, and

had scarce as much Water as would serve them in their Passage back, they came to a settled Resolution of making the best of their Way to *Batavia*, in order to acquaint the Governor-General with their Misfortunes, and to obtain such Assistance, as was necessary to get their People off the Coast.

6. On the 17th, they continued their Course to the North-east, with a good Wind, and fair Weather; the 18th and 19th it blew hard, and they had much Rain; on the 20th, they found themselves in $19^{\circ} 22'$; on the 22d, they had another Observation, and found themselves in the Height of $16^{\circ} 10'$; which surprised them very much, and was a plain Proof, that the Current carried them Northwards at a great Rate; on the 27th, it rained very hard, so that they were not able to take an Observation; but towards Noon they saw, to their great Satisfaction, the Coasts of *Java*, in the Latitude of 8° , at the Distance of about 4 or 5 Miles. They altered their Course to West North-west; and, towards Evening, entered the Gulph of an Island, very full of Trees, where they anchored in eight Fathom Water, and there passed the Night; on the 28th, in the Morning, they weighed, and rowed with all their Force, in order to make the Land, that they might search for Water, being now again at the Point of perishing for Thirst. Very happily for them, they were no sooner on shore, than they discovered a fine Rivulet, at a small Distance; where, having comfortably quenched their Thirst, and filled all their Casks with Water, they, about Noon, continued their Course for *Batavia*.

On the 29th, about Midnight, in the second Watch, they discovered an Island, which they left on their Star-board; about Noon, they found themselves in the Height of $6^{\circ} 48'$; about three in the Afternoon, they passed between two Islands, the Westernmost of which appeared full of Cocoa-trees. In the Evening, they were about a Mile from the South Point of *Java*; and, in the second Watch, exactly between *Java* and the Isle of *Princes*. The 30th, in the Morning, they found themselves on the Coast of the last-mentioned Island, not being able to make above two Miles that Day. On July 1. the Weather was calm; and, about Noon, they were three Leagues from *Dennars-prinswegh*, i. e. *Thwart-the-way Island*; but, towards the Evening, they had a pretty brisk Wind at North-west, which enabled them to gain that Coast. On the 2d, in the Morning, they were right-against the Island of *Tepers-batter*; and were obliged to lay at Anchor till eleven o'Clock, waiting for the Sea breeze, which, however, blew so faintly, that they were not able to make above two Miles that Day; about Sun-set, they perceived a Vessel between them and *Thwart-the-way Island*; upon which they resolved to anchor as near the Shore as they could that Night, and there wait the Arrival of the Ship. In the Morning, they went on board her, in hopes of procuring Arms for their Defence, in case the Inhabitants of *Java* were at War with the *Dutch*. They found two other Ships in Company, on board one of which was Mr. *Ramburg*, Counsellor of the *Indies*; Captain *Pelfart* went immediately on board his Ship, where he acquainted him with the Nature of his Misfortune, and went with him afterwards to *Batavia*.

7. We will now leave the Captain soliciting Succours from the Governor-General, in order to return to the Crew, who were left upon the Islands, among whom there happened such Transactions, as, in their Condition, the Reader would little expect, and perhaps will hardly credit. In order to their being thoroughly understood, it is necessary to observe, that they had for Supercargo one *Jerom Cornelis*, who had been formerly an Apothecary at *Harlem*: This Man, when they were on the Coast of *Africa*, had plotted with the Pilot, and some others, to run away with the Vessel, and either to carry her into *Dunkirk*, or to turn Pirates in her on their own Account. This Supercargo had remained ten Days on board the Wreck, not being able, in all that time, to get on shore. Two whole Days he spent on the Main-mast, floating to and fro, till at last, by the Help of one of the Yards, he got to Land. When it was once on shore, the Command, in the Absence of Captain *Pelfart*, devolved of course upon him; which immediately revived in his Mind his old Design, inasmuch that he resolved to lay hold of this Opportunity, to make him-

self Master of all that could be saved out of the Wreck; conceiving, that it would be easy to surprise the Captain on his Return; and determining to go on the Account, that it to say, to turn Pirate in the Captain's Vessel. In order to carry this Design into Execution, he thought it necessary for them to rid themselves of such of the Crew, as were not like to come into their Scheme; but before he proceeded to dip his Hands in Blood, he obliged all the Conspirators to sign an Instrument, by which they engaged to stand by each other.

The whole Ship's Company were on shore in three Islands, the greatest Part of them in that where *Cornelis* was; which Island they thought fit to call the Burying-place of *Batavia*. One Mr. *Weybbays* was sent with another Body into an adjacent Island, to look for Water; which, after twenty Days Search, he found, and made the appointed Signal, by lighting three Fires; which, however, were not seen, nor taken notice of, by those under the Command of *Cornelis*, because they were busy in butchering their Companions, of whom they had murdered between thirty and forty; but some few, however, got off upon a Raft of Planks tied together, and went to the Island where Mr. *Weybbays* was, in order to acquaint him with the dreadful Accident that had happened. Mr. *Weybbays* having with him forty-five Men, they all resolved to stand upon their Guard, and to defend themselves to the last Man, in case these Villains should attack them. This, indeed, was their Design; for they were apprehensive both of this Body, and of those who were on the third Island, giving Notice to the Captain, on his Return, and thereby preventing their Intention of running away with his Vessel. But, as this third Company was by much the weakest, they began with them first, and cut them all off, except five Women, and seven Children; not in the least doubting, that they should be able to do as much by *Weybbays*, and his Company; in the mean time, having broke open the Merchants Chests, which had been saved out of the Wreck, they converted them to their own Use, without Ceremony.

8. The Traitor, *Jerom Cornelis*, was so much elevated with the Success that had hitherto attended his Villainy, that he immediately began to fancy all Difficulties were over; and gave a Loose to his vicious Inclinations, in every respect. He ordered Clothes to be made of rich Stuffs, that had been saved, for himself and his Troop; and, having chosen out of them a Company of Guards, he ordered them to have Scarlet Coats, with a double Lace of Gold or Silver. There were two Ministers Daughters among the Women, one of which he took for his own Mistress, gave the second to a Favourite of his, and ordered that the other three Women should be common to the whole Troop. He afterwards drew up a Set of Regulations, which were to be the Laws of his new Principality, taking to himself the Stile and Title of Captain-General, and obliging his Party to sign an Act, or Instrument, by which they acknowledged him as such. These Points once settled, he resolved to carried on the War. He first of all embarked on board two Shallops twenty-two Men, well armed, with Orders to destroy Mr. *Weybbays*, and his Company; and, on their miscarrying, he undertook a like Expedition, with thirty-seven Men; in which, however, he had no better Success; for Mr. *Weybbays*, with his People, though armed only with Staves, with Nails drove into their Heads, advanced even into the Water to meet them, and, after a brisk Engagement, compelled these Murderers to retire.

Cornelis then thought fit to enter into a Negotiation, which was managed by the Chaplain, who remained with Mr. *Weybbays*; and, after several Comings and Goings, from one Party to the other, a Treaty was concluded upon the following Terms; *viz.* That Mr. *Weybbays*, and his Company, should for the future remain undisturbed, provided they delivered up a little Boat, in which one of the Sailors had made his Escape from the Island in which *Cornelis* was with his Gang, in order to take Shelter on that where *Weybbays* was with his Company. It was also agreed, that the latter should have a Part of the Stuffs and Silks given them for Clothes, of which they stood in great Want. But, while this Affair was in Agitation, *Cornelis* took the Opportunity of the Correspondence between them

being restored, to write Letters to some French Soldiers that were in *Weybbays*'s Company, promising them six thousand Livres apiece; if they would comply with his Demands; not doubting but, by this Artifice, he should be able to accomplish his End.

His Letters, however, had no Effect; on the contrary, the Soldiers, to whom they were directed, carried them immediately to Mr. *Weybbays*. *Cornelis*, not knowing that this Piece of Treachery was discovered, went over the next Morning, with three or four of his People, to carry to Mr. *Weybbays* the Clothes that had been promised him: As soon as they landed, *Weybbays* attacked them, killed two or three, and made *Cornelis* himself Prisoner. One *Wouterlofs*, who was the only Man that made his Escape, went immediately back to the Conspirators, put himself at their Head, and came the next Day to attack *Weybbays*, but met with the same Fate as before; that is to say, he, and the Villains that were with him, were soundly beat.

9. Things were in this Situation, when Captain *Pelsart* arrived in the *Sardam* Frigate: He sailed up to the Wreck; and saw, with great Joy, a Cloud of Smoke ascending from one of the Islands; by which he knew, that all his People were not dead. He came immediately to an Anchor, and having ordered some Wine and Provisions to be put into the Skiff, resolved to go in Person with these Refreshments to one of these Islands. He had hardly quitted the Ship, before he was boarded by a Boat from the Island to which he was going; there were four Men in the Boat, of whom *Weybbays* was one, who immediately ran to the Captain, told him what had happened, and begged him to return to his Ship immediately, for that the Conspirators intended to surprise her; that they had already murdered 125 Persons, and that they had attacked him, and his Company, that very Morning, with two Shallops.

While they were talking, the two Shallops appeared; upon which the Captain rowed to his Ship as fast as he could, and was hardly got on board before they arrived at the Ship-side. The Captain was surprised to see Men in red Coats, laced with Gold and Silver, with Arms in their Hands. He demanded what they meant by coming on board armed. They told him he should know, when they were on board the Ship. The Captain replied, that they should come on board, but that they must first throw their Arms into the Sea; which if they did not do immediately, he would sink them as they lay. As they saw, that Disputes were to no Purpose, and that they were intirely in the Captain's Power, they were obliged to obey. They accordingly threw their Arms overboard, and were then taken into the Vessel, where they were instantly put in Irons: One of them, whose Name was *John Bremen*, and who was first examined, owned, that he had murdered, with his own Hands, or had assisted in murdering, no less than twenty-seven Persons. The same Evening *Weybbays* brought his Prisoner *Cornelis* on board, where he was put in Irons, and strictly guarded.

10. On the 18th of September, Captain *Pelsart*, with the Master, went to take the rest of the Conspirators in *Cornelis*'s Island. They went in two Boats. The Villains, as soon as they saw them land, lost all their Courage, and fled from them. They surrendered without a Blow, and were put in Irons with the rest. The Captain's first Care was to recover the Jewels which *Cornelis* had dispersed among his Accomplices: They were, however, all of them soon found, except a Gold Chain, and a Diamond Ring; the latter was also found at last, but the former could not be recovered. They went next to examine the Wreck, which they found flaved into an hundred Pieces; the Keel lay upon a Bank of Sand on one Side; the fore Part of the Vessel stuck fast on a Rock; and the rest of her lay here and there, as the Pieces had been driven by the Waves, so that Captain *Pelsart* had very little Hopes of saving any of the Merchandise. One of the People belonging to *Weybbays*'s Company told him, that one fair Day, which was the only one they had in a Month, as he was fishing near the Wreck, he had struck the Pole in his Hand against one of the Chests of Silver; which revived the Captain a little, as it gave him Reason to expect, that something might still be saved. They spent all the 19th in examining

examining the rest of the Prisoners, and in confronting them with those who escaped from the Massacre.

On the 20th, they sent several Kinds of Refreshments to *Weybbs's* Company, and carried a good Quantity of Water from the Isle: There was something very singular in finding this Water; the People who were on shore there, had subsisted near three Weeks on Rain-water, and what lodged in the Cliffs of the Rocks, without thinking, that the Water of two Wells, which were on the Island, could be of any Use, because they saw them constantly rise and fall with the Tide; from whence they fancied, they had a Communication with the Sea, and consequently, that the Water must be brackish: But, upon Trial, they found it to be very good; and so did the Ship's Company, who filled their Casks with it.

On the 21st, the Tide was so low, and an East South-east Wind blew so hard, that, during the whole Day, the Boat could not get out. On the 22d, they attempted to fish upon the Wreck; but the Weather was so bad, that even those, who could swim very well, durst not approach it. On the 25th, the Master, and the Pilot, the Weather being fair, went off again to the Wreck; and those who were left on shore, observing that they wanted Hands to get any thing out of her, sent off some to assist them. The Captain went also himself, to encourage the Men; who soon weighed one Chest of Silver, and some time after another. As soon as these were safe ashore, they returned to their Work; but the Weather grew so bad, that they were quickly obliged to desist, tho' some of their Divers from *Gazares* assured them, that they had found six more, which might easily be weighed. On the 26th in the Afternoon, the Weather being fair, and the Tide low, the Master returned to the Place where the Chests lay, and weighed three of them, leaving an Anchor, with a Gun tied to it, and a Buoy, to mark the Place where the fourth lay; which, notwithstanding their utmost Efforts, they were not able to recover.

On the 27th, the South Wind blew very cold. On the 28th, the same Wind blew stronger than the Day before; and, as there was no Possibility of fishing on the Wreck for the present, Captain *Pelsari* called a Council, to consider what they should do with their Prisoners; that is to say, whether it would be best to try them there upon the Spot, or to carry them to *Batavia*, in order to their being tried by the Company's Officers. After mature Deliberation, reflecting on the Number of the Prisoners, and the Temptation that might arise from the vast Quantity of Silver on board the Frigate, they came at last to a Resolution to try and execute them there; which was accordingly done: And they embarked immediately afterwards for *Batavia*.

11. As this Voyage is, of itself, very short, I shall not detain the Reader with many Remarks; but shall confine myself to a very few Observations, in order to shew the Consequences of the Discovery made by Captain *Pelsari*. The Country, upon which he suffered Shipwreck, was *New Holland*, the Coast of which had not, till then, been at all examined; and it was doubtful how far it extended. There had, indeed, been some Reports spread with relation to the Inhabitants of this Country, which Captain *Pelsari's* Relation shews to have been false; for it had been reported, that, when the *Dutch East India* Company sent some Ships to make Discoveries, their Landing was opposed by a Race of gigantic People, with whom the *Dutch* could by no means contend. But our Author says nothing of the extraordinary Size of the Savages, that were seen by Captain *Pelsari's* People; from whence it is reasonable to conclude, that this Story was circulated with no other View, than to prevent other Nations from venturing into these Seas. It is also remarkable, that this is the very Coast surveyed by Captain *Dampier*, whose Account agrees exactly with that contained in this Voyage. Now, though it be true, that, from all these Accounts, there is nothing said, which is much to the Advantage, either of the Country, or the Inhabitants, yet we are to consider, that it is impossible to represent either in a worse Light, than that in which the Cape of *Good Hope* was placed, before the *Dutch* took Possession of it, and plainly demonstrated, that Industry could make a Paradise of what was a perfect Purgatory, while in the Hands of *Hottentots*. If therefore the Climate of this

Country be good, and the Soil fruitful, both of which are affirmed in this Relation, there could not be a proper Place for a Colony, than some Part of *New Holland*, or of the adjacent Country of *Corpentaria*. I shall give my Reasons for asserting this, when I come to make my Remarks on the succeeding Voyage. At present, I shall confine myself to the Reasons, that have induced the *Dutch East India* Company to leave all these Countries unsettled, after having first shewn so strong an Inclination to discover them, which will oblige me to lay before the Reader some Secrets in Commerce, that have hitherto escaped common Observation, and which, whenever they are as thoroughly considered as they deserve, will undoubtedly lead us to as great Discoveries as those of *Columbus* or *Magellan*.

In order to make myself perfectly understood, I must observe, that it was the finding out of the *Moluccas*, or Spice Islands, by the *Portuguese*, that raised that Spirit of Discovery, which produced *Columbus's* Voyage, which ended in finding in *America*, tho', in fact, *Columbus* intended rather to have reached this Country of *New Holland*. The Assertion is bold, and, at first Sight, may appear improbable; but a little Attention will make it so plain, that the Reader must be convinced of the Truth of what I say. The Proposition made by *Columbus* to the State of *Genoa*, the Kings of *Portugal*, *Spain*, *England*, and *France*, was this, that he could discover a new Route to the *East Indies*; that is to say, without going round the Cape of *Good Hope*. He grounded this Proposition on the spherical Figure of the Earth, from whence he thought it self-evident, that any given Point might be sailed to through the great Ocean, either by steering East or West. In his Attempt to go to the *East Indies* by a West Course, he met with the Islands and Continent of *America*; and, finding Gold and other Commodities, which, till then, had never been brought from the *Indies*, he really thought, that this was the West Coast of that Country, to which the *Portuguese* sailed by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and hence came the Name of the *West Indies*. *Magellan*, who followed his Steps, and was the only Discoverer who reasoned systematically, and knew what he was doing, proposed to the Emperor *Charles V.* to complete what *Columbus* had begun, and to find a Passage to the *Moluccas* by the West; which, to his immortal Honour, he accomplished.

When the *Dutch* made their first Voyages to the *East Indies*, which was not many Years before Captain *Pelsari's* Shipwreck on the Coast of *New Holland*; for their first Fleet arrived in the *East Indies* in 1596, and *Pelsari* lost his Ship in 1629; I say, when the *Dutch* first undertook the *East India* Trade, they had the Spice Islands in View; and, as they are a Nation justly famous for the steady Pursuit of whatever they take in hand, it is notorious, that they never lost Sight of their Design, till they had accomplished it, and made themselves intirely Masters of these Islands, of which they still continue in Possession. When this was done, and they had effectually driven out the *English*, who were likewise settled in them, they fixed the Seat of their Government in the Island of *Ambeyna*, which lay very convenient for the Discovery of the Southern Countries; which therefore they prosecuted with great Diligence, from the Year 1619, to the Time of Captain *Pelsari's* Shipwreck: that is, for the Space of twenty Years.

But, after they removed the Seat of their Government from *Ambeyna* to *Batavia*, they turned their Views another Way, and never made any Voyage expressly for Discoveries on that Side, except the single one of Captain *Tejmar*; of which we are to speak in the next Section. It was from this Period of Time that they began to take new Measures; and, having made their excellent Settlement at the Cape of *Good Hope*, resolved to govern their Trade to the *East Indies* by these two capital Maxims: I. To extend their Trade over all the *Indies*; and to fix themselves so effectually in the richest Countries, as to keep all, or, at least, the best and most profitable Part of their Commerce to themselves. II. To make the *Moluccas*, and the Islands dependent on them, their Frontier; and to omit nothing that should appear necessary to prevent Strangers, or even *Dutch* Ships, not belonging to the Company, from ever navigating those Seas, and consequently from ever being acquainted with the Countries, that lie in them. How well they have pro-

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HOLLANDIA

T R O P I C

NOVA

—Divorced 1644.

Land of Peter, Vixls. Discovered 16. Jan^r. 1627.
NB. This is the Country rated according to Coll: Ruy
in the best Climate, in the World.

L. S. Chernov

A COMPLETE MAP
OF THE
SOUTHERN CONTINENT
as far as is depicted

SOUTHERN CONTINENTAL
Surveyed by Capt Abel Tasman & depicted by
of the East India Company in Holland
IN THE
Stadt House at Amsterdam

1. 1994





T R O P I C

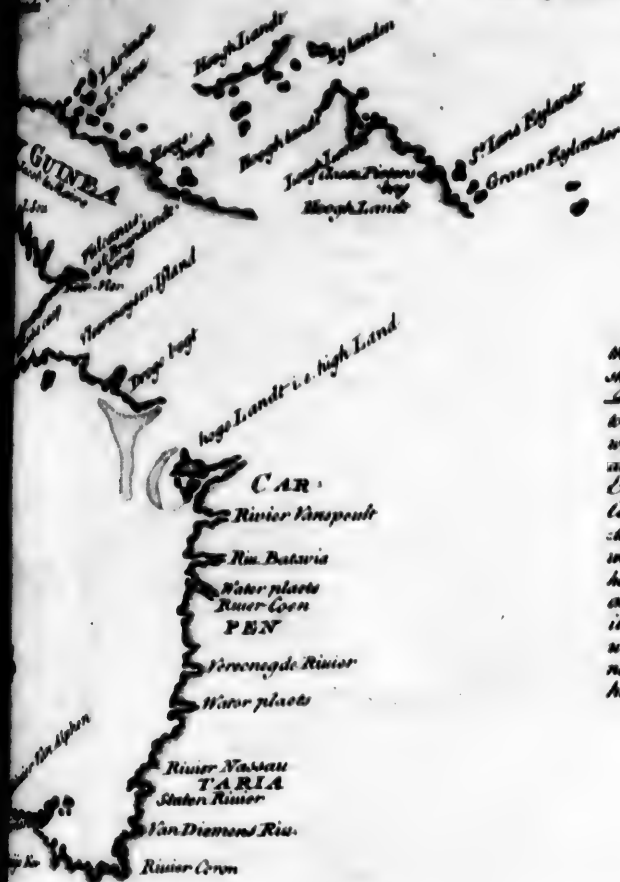
NOVA

—Discovered 1644.

Land of Peter Nyils Discovered 16. Jan^r 1627.
B. This is the Country wated according to Coll: Purry
in the best Climate, in the World.

I. S. Pymov

Landt
Dir. K. Hartog's Rec
cap.
d. Gendragt
Houtman's. Northolt
Here Capt. Selfart was wrecked
L. de Bodels landt
Swallow Island
* Turtle duif



This Map is very exactly Copied from the Original and therefore the Dutch Names have been preserved that if hereafter any Discoveries should ever be Attempted all the places mentioned may be readily found in the Dutch Charts which must be procured for such a Voyage. The Reader is desired to observe that nothing is marked here but what has been actually discovered which is the reason of the white space between New Holland and New Zealand and again between New Zealand and New Guinea which make the South and East sides of Terra Australis; It is also requisite to observe that the Country discovered by Ferdinand de Quiros lies according to his description on the East Side of this Continent directly Opposite to Carpentaria which if Attentively considered will aid no small weight to the Credit of what he has written about that Country and which has been very rashly as well as very unjustly treated by some Critical Writers as a Fiction; whereas it appears from this Map of Actual Discoveries that there is a Country where Ferdinand de Quiros says he found one. And if so why may not that Country be such a one as he describes? In Tasman's Voyage we have shewn why he did not make this Matter more plain.

TERRA AUSTRALIS

Discovered A. D. 1644.

O. F.

CAPRICORN

It is impossible to conceive a Country that promises fairer from its Situation, than this of Terra Australis, no longer incognita, as this Map demonstrates, but the Southern Continent Discovered. It lies Precisely in the richest Climate of the World. If the Islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, abound in Precious Stones and other valuable Commodities; and the Moluccas in Spices; New Guinea and the Regions behind it must by a parity of Reason be as plentifully endowed by Nature. If the Island of Madagascar is so Noble and plentiful a Country as all Authors speak it; and Gold, Silver, and other Commodities are common in the Southern part of Africa from Melinda down to the Cape of Good Hope, and so up again to C. Gonzalez; here are if I may say it, the same Latitudes in Carpentaria, New Holland, and New Zealand; If Peru overflows with Silver, if all the Mountains of Chili are filled with Gold, and this precious Metal & Stones much more precious are the product of Brazil; this Continent will be found to be the richest in the World.

HOLLANDIA

TROPIC

NOVA

Discovered 1644.

Land of Peter, Nuyts Discovered 16 Jan^r 1627.
NB. This is the Country seated according to Coll: Perry
in the best Climate in the World.

J.S. P. Francis

A COMPLETE MAP
OF THE
SOUTHERN CONTINENT.

Surveyed by Cap^t Abel Tasman & depicted by
ORDER
of the East India Company in Holland
IN THE
Stadt Houfe at Amsterdam

J. P. Bowen Sculp.

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persecuted the first Maxim, has been very largely shewn in the foregoing Section, wherein we have an ample Description of the mighty Empire in the Hands; at this Day, of their *East India Company*. As for the second Maxim, the Reader, in the Perusal of *Fennel's*, *Dampier's*, and other Voyages, but especially the first, must be satisfied, that it is what they have constantly at Heart, and which, at all Events, they are determined to pursue, at least, with regard to Strangers; and, as to their own Countrymen, the Usage they gave to Commodore *Roggeveen*, and his People, is a Proof, that cannot be contested.

These Things being considered, it is very plain, that the Dutch, or rather the *Dutch East India Company*, are fully persuaded, that they have already as much, or more, Territory in the *East Indies*, than they can well manage; and therefore they neither do, nor ever will, think of settling *New Guinea*, *Carpentaria*, *New Holland*, or any of the adjacent Islands, till either their Trade declines in the *East Indies*, or they are obliged to exert themselves on this Side, to prevent other Nations from reaping the Benefits, that might accrue to them by their planting those Countries. But this is not all; for, as the *Dutch* have no Thoughts of settling these Countries themselves, they have taken all imaginable Pains to prevent any Relations from being published,

which might invite or encourage any other Nation to make Attempts this Way; and I am thoroughly persuaded, that this very Account of Captain *Pelsart's* Shipwreck would never have come into the World, if it had not been thought it would contribute to this End; or, in other Words, would I serve to frighten other Nations from approaching so inhospitable a Coast, every-where beset with Rocks, absolutely void of Water, and inhabited by a Race of Savages more barbarous, and, at the same time, more miserable, than any other Creatures in the World.

This Reflection accounts for our publishing a Voyage, that has neither Beginning, nor End; a Voyage, which seems to give so little Light, and which serves only to present to our View a Scene of Blood and Confusion. But this Voyage, short and imperfect as it seems to be, shews us how large a Country *New Holland* is, and how conveniently situated, with respect to the Trade of the *East Indies*. But whatever there may be dark or obscure in this Section, will be fully cleared up in the next, and this Subject set in so full a Point of View, that it will be impossible to throw any Clouds over it for the future, or to persuade the World, that the Thoughts of discovering a Southern *Indies* are visionary, or the Means necessary to be taken for the perfecting that Discovery impracticable.

SECTION XXII.

The Voyage of Captain ABEL JANSEN TASMAN, for the Discovery of Southern Countries, by Direction of the Dutch East India Company.

[Taken from his original Journal.]

1. *The Occasion and Design of this Voyage.* 2. *Captain Tasman sails from Batavia, August 14. 1642.* 3. *Remarks on the Variation of the Needle.* 4. *He discovers a new Country, to which he gives the Name of Van Diemen's Land.* 5. *Sails from thence for New Zealand.* 6. *Visits the Island of the Three Kings; and goes in Search of other Islands discovered by Schouten.* 7. *Remarkable Occurrences in the Voyage.* 8. *Observations on, and Explanation of, the Variation of the Compass.* 9. *Discovers a new Island, which he calls Pylhaart Island.* 10. *And two Islands, to which he gives the Name of Amsterdam and Rotterdam.* 11. *And an Archipelago of twenty small Islands.* 12. *Occurrences in the Voyage.* 13. *He arrives at the Archipelago of Anthonj Java.* 14. *His Arrival on the Coast of New Guinea.* 15. *Continues his Voyage along that Coast.* 16. *Arrives in the Neighbourhood of Burning Island, and surveys the whole Coast of New Guinea.* 17. *Comes to the Islands of Jama and Moa.* 18. *Prosecutes his Voyage to Ceram.* 19. *Arrives safely at Batavia, June 15. 1643.* 20. *Consequences of Captain Tasman's Discoveries.* 21. *Remarks upon the Voyage.*

THE great Discoveries that were made by the Dutch in these Southern Countries, were subsequent to the famous Voyage of *Jacques le Maire*, who, in 1616, passed the Straights called by his Name. In 1618, that Part of *Terra Australis* was discovered, which the Dutch call *Concordia*. The next Year, the Land of *Idels* was found, and received its Name from its Discoverer. In 1620, *Batavia* was built on the Ruins of the old City of *Jacatra*; but the Seat of Government was not immediately removed from *Amboyna*. In 1622, that Part of *New Holland*, which is called *Lewin's Land*, was first found; and in 1627, *Peter Nyts* discovered, between *New Holland* and *New Guinea*, a Country, which bears his Name. There were also some other Voyages made, of which, however, we have no sort of Account, except that the Dutch were continually beaten in all their Attempts to land upon this Coast. On their Settlement, however, at *Batavia*, the then General and Council of the *Indies* thought it requisite to have a more perfect Survey made of the new-found Countries, that the Memory of them at least might be preserved, in case no further Attempts were made to settle them; and it was very probably a Foresight of few Ships going that Route any more, which induced such as had then the Direction of the Company's Affairs to wish, that some such Survey and Description might be made by an able Seaman, who was well acquainted with those Coasts, and who might be able to add to the Discoveries already made, as well as furnish a more accurate Description, even of them, than had been hitherto given.

NUMB. XXIII.

This was faithfully performed by Captain *Tasman*; and, from the Lights afforded by his Journal, a very exact and curious Map was made of all these new Countries. But his Voyage was never published intire; and it is very probable, that the *East India Company* never intended it should be published at all. However, *Dirk Rembrandt*, moved by the Excellency and Accuracy of the Work, published in *Low Dutch* an Extract of Captain *Tasman's* Journal, which has been, ever since, considered as a very great Curiosity; and, as such, has been translated into many Languages, particularly into our own, by the Care of the learned Professor of *Gresham College* Dr. *Hook*, an Abridgment of which Translation found a Place in Dr. *Harris's* Collection of Voyages. But we have made no Use of either of these Pieces, the following being a new Translation, made with all the Care and Diligence that is possible.

2. On August 14. 1642, I sailed from *Batavia* with two Vessels; the one called the *Heemskirk*, and the other the *Zee-Haan*. On September 5. I anchored at *Maurice Island*, in the Latitude of 20° South, and in the Longitude of 83° 48'. I found this Island fifty German Miles more to the East than I expected; that is to say, 3° 33' of Longitude. This Island was so called from Prince *Maurice*, being before known by the Name of *Cerne*. It is about fifteen Leagues in Circumference, and has a very fine Harbour, at the Entrance of which there is 100 Fathom Water. The Country is mountainous; but the Mountains are covered with green Trees. The Tops of these Mountains are so high, that they are lost in the Clouds, and are frequently covered

covered by thick Exhalations or Smoke, that ascends from them. The Air of this Island is extremely wholesome. It is well furnished with Fleth and Fowl; and the Sea on its Coasts abounds with all sorts of Fish. The finest Ebony in the World grows here. It is a tall, strait Tree, of a moderate Thickness, covered with a green Bark, very thick, under which the Wood is as black as Pitch, and as close as Ivory. There are other Trees on the Island, which are of a bright Red, and a third Sort as yellow as Wax. The Ships belonging to the *East India Company* commonly touch at this Island for Refreshments, in their Passage to *Batavia*.

I left this Island on the Eighth of *October*, and continued my Course to the South, to the Latitude of 40° or 41° , having a strong North-west Wind; and, finding the Needle vary 23° , 24° , and 25° to the 22d of *October*, I failed from that Time to the 29th to the East, inclining a little to the South, till I arrived in the Latitude of $45^{\circ} 47'$ South, and in the Longitude of $89^{\circ} 44'$; and then observed the Variation of the Needle to be 26 Degrees 45 Minutes towards the West.

As our Author was extremely careful in this Particular, and observed the Variation of the Needle with the utmost Diligence, it may not be amiss to take this Opportunity of explaining this Point, so that the Importance of his Remarks may sufficiently appear. The Needle points exactly North only in a few Places, and perhaps not constantly in them; but in most it declines a little to the East, or to the West, whence arises Eastern and Western Declination: When this was first observed, it was attributed to certain Excavations or Hollows in the Earth, to Veins of Lead, Stone, and other such-like Causes. But when it was found, by repeated Experiments, that this Variation varied, it appeared plainly, that none of those Causes could take place; since, if they had, the Variation in the same Place must always have been the same, whereas the Fact is otherwise.

Here at *London*, for Instance, in the Year 1580, the Variation was observed to be $11^{\circ} 17'$ to the East; in the Year 1666, the Variation was here 34° to the West; and in the Year 1734, the Variation was somewhat more than 1° West. In order to find the Variation of the Needle with the least Error possible, the Seamen take this Method: They observe the Point the Sun is in, by the Compass, a *y* time after its Rising, and then take the Altitude of the Sun; and, in the Afternoon, they observe when the Sun comes to the same Altitude, and observe the Point the Sun is then in by the Compass; for the Middle, between these two, is the true North or South Point of the Compass; and the Difference between that and the North or South upon the Card, which is pointed out by the Needle, is the Variation of the Compass, and shews how much the North and South, given by the Compass, deviates from the true North and South Points of the Horizon. It appears clearly from what has been said, that, in order to arrive at the certain Knowledge of the Variation, and of the Variation of that Variation of the Compass, it is absolutely requisite to have, from time to time, distinct Accounts of the Variation, as it is observed in different Places: Whence the Importance of Captain *Tasman's* Remarks, in this respect, sufficiently appears. It is true, that the learned and ingenious *Dr. Halley* has given a very probable Account of this Matter; but as the Probability of that Account arises only from its Agreement with Observations, it follows, those are as necessary, and as important, as ever, in order to strengthen and confirm it.

3. On the 6th of *November*, I was in $49^{\circ} 4'$ South Latitude, and in the Longitude of $114^{\circ} 56'$; the Variation was at this Time 26° Westward; and, as the Weather was foggy, with hard Gales, and a rolling Sea, from the South-west, and from the South, I concluded from thence, that it was not at all probable there should be any Land between those two Points. On *November 15*, I was in the Latitude of $44^{\circ} 33'$ South, and in the Longitude $140^{\circ} 32'$. The Variation was then $18^{\circ} 30'$ West, which Variation decreased every Day, in such a manner, that, on the 21st of the same Month, being in the Longitude of 158° , I observed the Variation to be no more than 4° . On the 22d of that Month, the Needle was in continual Agitation,

without resting in any of the eight Points; which led me to conjecture, that we were near some Mine of Loadstone.

This may, at first Sight, seem to contradict what has been before laid down, as to the Variation, and the Causes of it: But, when strictly considered, they will be found to agree very well; for when it is asserted, that Veins of Loadstone have nothing to do with the Variation of the Compass, it is to be understood of the constant Variation of a few Degrees to the East, or to the West: But in Cases of this Nature, where the Variation is absolutely irregular, and the Needle plays quite round the Compass, our Author's Conjecture may very well find Place: Yet it must be owned, that it is a Point far enough from being clear, that Mines of Loadstone affect the Compass at a Distance; which, however, might be very easily determined, since there are large Mines of Loadstone in the Island of *Elbo*, on the Coast of *Tuscan*.

4. On the 24th of the same Month, being in the Latitude of $42^{\circ} 25'$ South, and in the Longitude of $163^{\circ} 50'$, I discovered Land, which lay East South-east, at the Distance of ten Miles, which I called *Van Diemen's Land*. The Compass pointed right towards this Land. The Weather being bad, I steered South and by East along the Coast, to the Height of 44° South, where the Land runs away East, and afterwards North east and by North. In the Latitude of $43^{\circ} 10'$ South, and in the Longitude of $167^{\circ} 55'$, I anchored on the 1st of *December*, in a Bay, which I called the Bay of *Frederic Henry*. I heard, or at least fancied I heard, the Sound of People upon the Shore; but I saw nobody. All I met with, worth observing, was two Trees, which were two Fathoms, or two Fathoms and an half, in Girth, and 60 or 65 Feet high from the Root to the Branches: They had cut with a Flint a kind of Steps in the Bark, in order to climb up to the Birds-nests: These Steps were the Distance of five Feet from each other; so that we must conclude, that either these People are of a prodigious Size, or that they have some way of climbing Trees that we are not used to: In one of the Trees the Steps were so fresh, that we judged they could not have been cut above four Days.

The Noise we heard resembled the Noise of some sort of Trumpet; it seemed to be at no great Distance, but we saw no living Creature notwithstanding. I perceived also, in the Sand, the Marks of wild Beasts Feet, resembling those of a Tyger, or some such Creature; I gathered also some Gum from the Trees, and likewise some Lack. The Tide ebbs and flows there about three Feet. The Trees in this Country do not grow very close, nor are they incumbered with Bushes or Underwood. I observed Smoke in several Places; however, we did nothing more than let up a Post, on which every one cut his Name, or his Mark, and upon which I hoisted a Flag. I observed that, in this Place, the Variation was changed to three Degrees Eastward. On *December 5*, being then, by Observation, in the Latitude of $41^{\circ} 34'$, and in the Longitude 169° , I quitted *Van Diemen's Land*, and resolved to steer East to the Longitude of 195° , in hopes of discovering the Islands of *Solomon*.

5. On *September 9*, I was in the Latitude of $42^{\circ} 37'$ South, and in the Longitude of $176^{\circ} 29'$; the Variation being there 5° to the East. On the 12th of the same Month, finding a great rolling Sea coming in on the South-west, I judged there was no Land to be hoped for on that Point. On the 13th, being in the Latitude of 41° to South, and in the Longitude of $188^{\circ} 28'$, I found the Variation $7^{\circ} 30'$ Eastward. In this Situation I discovered an high mountainous Country, which is at present marked in the Charts, under the Name of *New Zealand*. I coasted along the Shore of this Country to the North North-east, till the 18th; and being then in the Latitude of $40^{\circ} 50'$ South, and in the Longitude of $191^{\circ} 41'$, I anchored in a fine Bay, where I observed the Variation to be 9° towards the East.

We found here abundance of the Inhabitants: They had very hoarse Voices, and were very large-made People. They durst not approach the Ship nearer than a Stone's Throw; and we often observed them playing on a kind of Trumpet, to which we answered with the Instruments that were on board our Vessel. These People were of a Colour
between

between brown and yellow, their Hair long, and almost as thick as that of the *Japonefe*, combed up, and fixed on the Top of their Heads, with a Quill, or some such thing, that was thickest in the Middle, in the very same manner the *Japonefe* fastened their Hair, behind their Heads. These People cover the Middle of their Bodies, some with a kind of Mat, others with a sort of Woollen Cloth; but, as for their upper and lower Parts, they leave them altogether naked.

On the 19th of December, these Savages began to grow a little bolder, and more familiar, inasmuch that at last they ventured on board the *Hermiskirk*, in order to trade with those in the Vessel: As soon as I perceived it, being apprehensive that they might attempt to surprise that Ship, I sent my Shallop, with seven Men, to put the People in the *Hermiskirk* upon their Guard, and to direct them not to place any Confidence in those People. My seven Men, being without Arms, were attacked by these Savages, who killed three of the seven, and forced the other four to swim for their Lives; which occasioned my giving that Place the Name of the Bay of *Murderers*. Our Ship's Company would, undoubtedly, have taken a severe Revenge, if the rough Weather had not hindered them. From this Bay we bore away East, having the Land in a manner all round us. This Country appeared to us rich, fertile, and very well situated; but as the Weather was very foul, and we had at this time a very strong West Wind, we found it very difficult to get clear of the Land.

6. On the 24th of December, as the Wind would not permit us to continue our Way to the North, as we knew not whether we should be able to find a Passage on that Side, and as the Flood came in from the South-east, we concluded that it would be the best to return into the Bay, and seek some other Way out; but, on the 26th, the Wind becoming more favourable, we continued our Route to the North, turning a little to the West. On the 4th of January 1643, being then in the Latitude of $34^{\circ} 35'$ South, and in the Longitude of $191^{\circ} 9'$, we failed quite to the Cape, which lies North-west, where we found the Sea rolling in from the North-east; whence we concluded, that we had at last found a Passage, which gave us no small Joy. There was in this Strait an Island, which we called the Island of the *Three Kings*; the Cape of which we doubled, with a Design to have refreshed ourselves; but, as we approached it, we perceived on the Mountain thirty or five-and-thirty Persons, who, as far as we could discern at such a Distance, were Men of very large Size, and had each of them a large Club in his Hand; they called out to us in a rough strong Voice, but we could not understand any thing of what they said. We observed, that these People walked at a very great Rate, and that they took prodigious large Strides. We made the Tour of the Island; in doing which, we saw but very few Inhabitants; nor did any of the Country seem to be cultivated: We found indeed a fresh-water River; and then we resolved to sail East, as far as 220° of Longitude, and from thence North, as far as the Latitude of 17° South; and thence to the West, till we arrived at the Isles of *Cocos* and *Horne*, which were discovered by *William Schouten*, where we intended to refresh ourselves, in case we found no Opportunity of doing it before; for, though we had actually landed on *Van Diemen's Land*, we met with nothing there; and, as for *New Zealand*, we never set Foot on it.

In order to render this Passage perfectly intelligible, it is necessary to observe, that the Island of *Cocos* lies in the Latitude of $15^{\circ} 10'$ South; and, according to *Schouten's* Account, is well inhabited, and well cultivated, abounding with all Sorts of Refreshments; but, at the same time, he describes the People as treacherous and base to the last Degree. As for the Islands of *Horne*, they lie nearly in the Latitude of 15° ; are extremely fruitful, and inhabited by People of a kind and gentle Disposition, who readily bestowed on the *Hollanders* whatever Refreshments they could ask. It was no wonder therefore, that, finding themselves thus distressed, Captain *Tasman* thought of repairing to these Islands, where he was sure of obtaining Refreshments, either by fair Means, or otherwise; which

Design, however, he did not think fit to put in Execution.

7. On the 8th of January, being in the Latitude of $30^{\circ} 25'$ South, and in the Longitude of $192^{\circ} 20'$, we observed the Variation of the Needle to be nine Degrees towards the East; and, as we had an high rolling Sea from the South-west, I conjectured there could not be any Land hoped for on that Side. On the 12th, we found ourselves in $30^{\circ} 5'$ South Latitude, and in $195^{\circ} 27'$ of Longitude, where we found the Variation $9^{\circ} 30'$ to the East, a rolling Sea from the South-east, and from the South-west. It is very plain, from these Observations, that the Position laid down by *Dr. Halley*, that the Motion of the Needle is not governed by the Poles of the World, but by other Poles, which move round them, is highly probable; for otherwise it is not easy to understand, how the Needle came to have, as our Author affirms it had, a Variation of near 27° to the West, in the Latitude of $45^{\circ} 47'$, and then gradually decreasing till it had no Variation at all; after which it turned East, in the Latitude of $42^{\circ} 37'$, and so continued increasing its Variation Eastwardly to this time.

8. On the 16th we were in the Latitude of $26^{\circ} 29'$ South, and in the Longitude of $199^{\circ} 32'$, the Variation of the Needle being 8° . Here we are to observe, that the Eastern Variation decreases; which is likewise very agreeable to *Dr. Halley's Hypothesis*; which, in few Words, is this: That a certain large solid Body contained within, and every way separated from, the Earth, (as having its own proper Motion) and being included like a Kernel in its Shell, revolves circularly from East to West, as the exterior Earth revolves the contrary Way in the diurnal Motion: Whence it is easy to explain the Position of the four magnetical Poles which he attributes to the Earth, by allowing two to the Nucleus, and two to the exterior Earth. And, as the two former perpetually alter the Situation by their circular Motion, their Virtue, compared with the exterior Poles, must be different at different times; and, consequently, the Variation of the Needle will perpetually change. The Doctor attributes to the Nucleus an *European* North Pole, and an *American* South one, on account of the Variation of Variations observed near these Places, as being much greater than those found near the two other Poles. And he conjectures, that these Poles will finish their Revolution in about seven hundred Years; and, after that time, the same Situation of the Poles obtain again, as at present; and, consequently, the Variations will be the same again over all the Globe; so that it requires several Ages before this Theory can be thoroughly adjusted. He assigns this probable Cause of the circular Revolution of the Nucleus; That the diurnal Motion, being impressed from without, was not so exactly communicated to the internal Parts, as to give them the same precise Velocity of Rotation as the external: Whence the Nucleus, being left behind by the exterior Earth, seems to move slowly in a contrary Direction, as from East to West, with regard to the external Earth, considered as at Rest in respect of the other. But to return to our Voyage.

9. On the 19th of January, being in the Latitude of $22^{\circ} 35'$ South, and in the Longitude of $204^{\circ} 15'$, we had $7^{\circ} 30'$ East Variation. In this Situation we discovered an Island, about two or three Miles in Circumference, which was, as far as we could discern, very high, steep, and barren. We were very desirous of coming nearer it, but were hindered by South-east and South South-east Winds; we called it the Isle of *Pylsaart*, because of the great Number of that Sort of Birds we saw flying about it; and the next Day we saw two other Islands.

10. On the 21st, being in the Latitude of $21^{\circ} 20'$ South, and in the Longitude of $205^{\circ} 29'$, we found our Variation 7° to the North-east. We drew near to the Coast of the most Northern Island, which, though not very high, yet was the larger of the two; we called one of these Islands *Amsterdam*, and the other *Rotterdam*. Upon that of *Rotterdam*, we found great Plenty of Hogs, Fowls, and all Sorts of Fruits, and other Refreshments. These Islanders did not seem to have the Use of Arms, inasmuch as we saw nothing like them in any of their Hands: While we were upon the Island, the Usage they gave us was fair and friendly,

friendly, except that they would steal a little. The Current is not very considerable in this Place, where it ebbs North-east, and flows South-west. A South-west Moon causes a Spring-tide, which rises seven or eight Feet at least. The Wind blows there continually South-east, or South South-east, which occasioned the *Heemskirk's* being carried out of the Road, but, however, without any Damage. We did not fill any Water here, because it was extremely hard to get it to the Ship.

On the 25th, we were in the Latitude of $20^{\circ} 15'$ South, and in the Longitude of $206^{\circ} 19'$. The Variation here was $6^{\circ} 20'$ to the East; and, after having had Sight of several other Islands, we made that of *Rotterdam*: The Islanders here resemble those on the Island of *Amsterdam*. The People were very good-natured, parted readily with what they had, did not seem to be acquainted with the Use of Arms, but were given to Thieving, like the Natives of *Amsterdam* Island. Here we took in Water, and other Refreshments, with all the Convenience imaginable. We made the whole Circuit of the Island, which we found well stocked with Cocoa-trees, very regularly planted; we likewise saw abundance of Gardens, extremely well laid out, plentifully stocked with all kind of Fruit-trees, all planted in straight Lines, and the Whole kept in such excellent Order, that nothing could have a better Effect upon the Eye. After quitting the Island of *Rotterdam*, we had Sight of several other Islands; which, however, did not engage us to alter the Resolution we had taken of sailing North, to the Height of 17° South Latitude, and from thence to shape a West Course, without going near either *Traitors* Island, or those of *Horne*, we having then a very brisk Wind from the South-east, or East South-east.

I cannot help remarking upon this Part of Captain *Tajman's* Journal; That it is not easy to conceive, unless he was bound up by his Instructions, why he did not remain some time either at *Rotterdam* or at *Amsterdam* Island, but especially at the former; since, perhaps, there is not a Place in the World so happily seated, for making new Discoveries with Ease and Safety. He owns, that he traversed the whole Island; that he found it a perfect Paradise; and that the People gave him not the least Cause of being diffident in point of Security; so that, if his Men had thrown up ever to slight a Fortification, a Part of them might have remained there in Safety, while the rest had attempted the Discovery of the Islands of *Solomon* on the one hand, or the Continent of *De Quiros* on the other; from neither of which they were at any great Distance: And, from his neglecting this Opportunity, I take it for granted, that he was circumscribed, both as to his Course, and to the Time he was to employ in these Discoveries, by his Instructions; for otherwise, so able a Seaman, and so curious a Man, as his Journal shews him to have been, would not certainly have neglected so fair an Opportunity.

11. On February 6, being in $17^{\circ} 19'$ of South Latitude, and in the Longitude of $201^{\circ} 35'$, we found ourselves embarrassed by nineteen or twenty small Islands, every one of which was surrounded with Sands, Sholes, and Rocks. These are marked in the Charts by the Name of *Prince William's Islands*, or *Heemskirk's Shallows*. On the 8th, we were in the Latitude of $15^{\circ} 29'$, and in the Longitude of $199^{\circ} 31'$. We had abundance of Rain, a strong Wind from the North-east, or the North North-east, with dark, cold Weather. Fearing therefore that we were run farther to the West, than we thought ourselves by our Reckoning, and dreading that we should fall to the South of *New Guinea*, or be thrown upon some unknown Coast in such blowing, misty Weather, we resolved to stand away to the North, or to the North North-west, till we should arrive in the Latitude of $4^{\circ} 7'$, or 6° South; and then to bear away West for the Coast of *New Guinea*, as the least dangerous Way that we could take.

It is very plain from hence, that Captain *Tajman* had now laid aside all Thoughts of discovering farther; and, I think, it is not difficult to guess at the Reason: When he was in this Latitude, he was morally certain, that he could, without further Difficulty, sail round by the Coast of *New Guinea*, and so back again to the *East Indies*. It is therefore extremely probable, that he was directed, by his Instructions, to coast round that great Southern Continent already discov-

ered, in order to arrive at a Certainty, whether it was joined to any other Part of the World, or whether, notwithstanding its vast Extent, viz. from the Equator to 43° of South Latitude, and from the Longitude of 123° to near 190° , it was, notwithstanding, an Island: This, I say, was, in all Appearance, the true Design of his Voyage; and the Reason of it seems to be this, that, an exact Chart being drawn from his Discoveries, the *East India Company* might have perfect Intelligence of the Extent and Situation of this new-found Country, before they executed the Plan they were then contriving, for preventing its being visited, or farther discovered, by their own, or any other Nation: And this too accounts for the Care taken in laying down the Map of this Country on the Pavement of the new Stadthouze at *Amsterdam*; for, as this Country was henceforward to remain as a kind of Deposit, or Land of Reserve, in the Hands of the *East India Company*, they took this Method of intimating as much to their Countrymen; so that, while Strangers are gazing at this Map as a Curiosity, every intelligent *Dutchman* may say to himself, Behold the *Wisdom of the East India Company*! By their present Empire, they support the Authority of this Republic abroad; and, by their extensive Commerce, enrich its Subjects at home; and, at the same time, shew us here, what a Reserve they have made for the Benefit of Posterity, whenever, thro' the Vicissitudes to which all Sublunary Things are liable, their present Sources of Power and Grandeur shall fail.

I cannot help supporting my Opinion, in this respect, by putting the Reader in mind of a very curious Piece of ancient History, which furnishes us with the like Instance in the Conduct of another Republic. *Diodorus Siculus*, in the fifth Book of his *Historical Library*, informs us, that, in the *African Ocean*, some Days Sail West from *Libya*, there had been discovered an Island, the Soil of which was exceedingly fertile, and the Country no less pleasant, all the Land being finely diversified by Mountains and Plains, the former thick clothed with Trees, the latter abounding with Fruits and Flowers, the Whole watered by innumerable Rivulets, and affording to pleasant an Habitation, that a finer, or more delightful Country Fancy itself could not feign: Yet he assures us, the *Carthaginians*, those great Masters of maritime Power and Commerce, tho' they had discovered this admirable Island, would never suffer it to be planted; but reserved it as a Sanctuary, to which they might fly, whenever the Ruin of their own Republic left them no other Resource. This tallies exactly with the Policy of the *Dutch East India Company*, who, if they should, at any time, be driven from their Possessions in *Java*, *Ceylon*, and other Places in that Neighbourhood, would, without doubt, retire back into the *Meluccas*, and avail themselves effectually of this noble Discovery, which lies open to them, and has been hitherto close shut up to all the World beside. But to proceed:

12. On February 14, we were in the Latitude of $16^{\circ} 30'$ South, and in the Longitude of $193^{\circ} 35'$. We had hitherto had much Rain, and bad Weather; but this Day, the Wind sinking, we hailed our Comfort the *Zee-Haan*; and found, to our great Satisfaction, that our Reckonings agreed. On the 20th, in the Latitude of $13^{\circ} 45'$, and in the Longitude of $193^{\circ} 35'$, we had dark, cloudy Weather, much Rain, thick Fogs, and a rolling Sea; on all Sides the Wind variable. On the 26th, in the Latitude of $9^{\circ} 38'$ South, and in the Longitude of $193^{\circ} 43'$, we had a North-west Wind, having every Day, for the Space of twenty-one Days, rained more or less. On March 2, in the Latitude of $9^{\circ} 11'$ South, and in the Longitude of $192^{\circ} 46'$, the Variation was 10° to the East, the Wind and Weather still varying. On March 8, in the Latitude of $7^{\circ} 46'$ South, and in the Longitude of $190^{\circ} 47'$, the Wind was still variable.

13. On the 14th, in the Latitude of $10^{\circ} 12'$ South, and in the Longitude of $186^{\circ} 14'$, we found the Variation $8^{\circ} 45'$ to the East. We passed some Days, without being able to take any Observation, because the Weather was, all the time, dark and rainy. On March 20, in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 15'$ South, and in the Longitude of $181^{\circ} 16'$, the Weather being then fair, we found the Variation 9° Eastward. On the 22d, in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 2'$ South, and in the Longitude of $178^{\circ} 32'$, we had fine fair Weather, a direct Benefit of the *East Trade-wind*. This Day, we had Sight

of Land, which lay four Miles West. This Land proved to be a Cluster of twenty Islands, which, in the Maps, are called *Amboing Java*. They lie ninety Miles, or thereabouts, from the Coast of *New Guinea*. It may not be amiss to observe here, that what Captain *Tasman* calls the Coast of *New Guinea*, is, in reality, the Coast of *New Britain*, which Captain *Dampier* first discovered to be a large Island, separated from the Coast of *New Guinea*.

14. On the 25th, in the Latitude of $4^{\circ} 35'$ South, and in the Longitude of $175^{\circ} 10'$, we found the Variation $9^{\circ} 20'$ East. We were then in the Height of the Islands of *Mark*, which were discovered by *William Schouten* and *James le Maire*. They are fourteen or fifteen in Number, inhabited by Savages, with black Hair, dressed and trimmed in the same manner as those we saw before at the *Bay of Murderers* in *New Zealand*. On the 29th, we passed the *Green Islands*; and, on the 30th, that of *St. John*; which were likewise discovered by *Schouten* and *le Maire*. This Island they found to be of a considerable Extent; and judged it to lie at the Distance of 1840 Leagues from the Coast of *Peru*. It appeared to them well inhabited, and well cultivated, abounding with Flesh, Fowl, Fish, Fruit, and other Refreshments. The Inhabitants made use of Canoes of all Sizes, were armed with Slings, Darts, and wooden Swords, wore Necklaces and Bracelets of Pearl, and Rings in their Noses. They were, however, very intractable, notwithstanding all the Pains that could be taken to engage them in a fair Correspondence; so that Captain *Schouten* was at last obliged to fire upon them, to prevent them from making themselves Masters of his Vessel, which they attacked with a great deal of Vigour: And very probably this was the Reason, that Captain *Tasman* did not attempt to land, or make any farther Discovery. On April 1. we were in the Latitude of $4^{\circ} 30'$ South, and in the Longitude of $171^{\circ} 2'$, the Variation being $8^{\circ} 45'$ to the East, having now Sight of the Coast of *New Guinea*; and, endeavouring to double the Cape, which the *Spaniards* call *Cabo Santa Maria*, we continued to sail along the Coast, which lies North-west. We afterwards passed the Islands of *Antony Casu*, *Gardener's Island*, and *Fishers Island*, advancing towards the Promontory called *Sruis Hook*, where the Coast runs South, and South-east. We resolved to pursue the same Route, and to continue steering South, till we should either discover Land, or a Passage on that Side.

It is necessary to observe, that, all this time, they continued on the Coast, not of *New Guinea*, but of *New Britain*; for that Cape, which the *Spaniards* called *Santa Maria*, is the very same that Captain *Dampier* called Cape *St. George*; and *Casu's*, *Gardener's*, and *Fishers* Islands all lie upon the same Coast. They had been discovered by *Schouten* and *le Maire*, who found them to be well inhabited, but by a very base and treacherous People; who, after making Signs of Peace, attempted to surprise their Ships: And these Islanders managed their Slings with such Force and Dexterity, as to drive the *Dutch* Sailors from their Decks: Which Account of *le Maire's* agrees perfectly well with what Captain *Dampier* tells us of the same People. As for the Continent of *New Guinea*, it lies quite behind the Island of *New Britain*; and was therefore laid down, in all the Charts before *Dampier's* Discovery, at least 4° more to the East than it should have been.

15. On April 12. in the Latitude of $3^{\circ} 45'$ South, and in the Longitude of 167° , we found the Variation 10° towards the East. That Night, Part of the Crew were awakened out of their Sleep by an Earthquake. They immediately ran upon Deck, supposing that the Ship had struck. On heaving the Lead, however, there was no Bottom to be found. We had afterwards several Shocks; but none of them so violent as the first. We had then doubled the *Sruis Hook*, and were, at that time, in the *Bay of Good Hope*. On the 14th, in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 27'$ South, and in the Longitude of $166^{\circ} 57'$, we observed the Variation to be $9^{\circ} 15'$ to the East. The Land lay then North-east, East North-east, and again South South-west; so that we imagined there had been a Passage between those two Points: But we were soon convinced of our Mistake, and that it was all one Coast; so that we were obliged to double the West Cape, and to continue creeping along-shore, and were much hindered in our Passage by Calms. This Description agrees

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very well with that of *Schouten* and *le Maire*; so that probably they had now Sight again of the Coast of *New Guinea*.

It is very probable, from the Accident that happened to Captain *Tasman*, and which also happened to others upon that Coast, and from the burning Mountains that will be hereafter mentioned, that this Country is very subject to Earthquakes: And, if so, without doubt, it abounds with Metals and Minerals; of which we have also another Proof from a Point in which all these Writers agree; viz. that the People they saw had Rings in their Noses and Ears, tho' none of them tell us of what Metal those Rings were made, which *le Maire* might easily have done, since he carried off a Man from one of the Islands, whose Name was *Mafes*, from whom he learned, that almost every Nation on this Coast speaks a different Language.

16. On the 20th, in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 4'$ South, and in the Longitude of $164^{\circ} 27'$, we found the Variation $8^{\circ} 30'$ East. We that Night drew near the *Brandande Island*, i. e. burning Island, which *William Schouten* mentions; and we perceived a great Flame issuing, as he says, from the Top of an high Mountain. When we were between that Island and the Continent, we saw a vast Number of Fires along the Shore, and half-way up the Mountain; from whence we concluded, that the Country must be very populous. We were often detained on this Coast by Calms, and frequently observed small Trees, Bamboes, and Shrubs, which the Rivers on that Coast carried into the Sea; from which we inferred, that this Part of the Country was extremely well watered, and that the Land must be very good. The next Morning, we passed the burning Mountain, and continued a West North-west Course along that Coast.

It is remarkable, that *Schouten* had made the same Observation with respect to the Drift-wood forced by the Rivers into the Sea. He likewise observed, that there was so copious a Discharge of fresh Water, that it altered the Colour and the Taste of the Sea. He likewise says, that the burning Island is extremely well peopled, and also well cultivated. He afterwards anchored on the Coast of the Continent, and endeavoured to trade with the Natives; who made him pay very dear for Hogs and Cocoa-nuts, and likewise shewed him some Ginger. It appears from Captain *Tasman's* Account, that he was now in Hast to return to *Batavia*, and did not give himself so much Trouble as at the Beginning about Discoveries; and, to say the Truth, there was no great Occasion, if, as I observed, his Commission was no more, than to sail round the new-discovered Coasts, in order to lay them down with greater Certainty in the *Dutch* Charts.

17. On the 27th, being in the Latitude of $2^{\circ} 10'$ South, and in the Longitude of $146^{\circ} 57'$, we fancied that we had a Sight of the Island of *Moa*; but it proved to be that of *Jama*, which lies a little to the East of *Moa*. We found here great plenty of Cocoa-nuts, and other Refreshments. The Inhabitants were absolutely black, and could easily repeat the Words that they heard others speak; which shews their own to be a very copious Language. It is, however, exceedingly difficult to pronounce, because they make frequent Use of the Letter (R); and sometimes to such a degree, that it occurs twice or thrice in the same Word. The next Day, we anchored on the Coast of the Island of *Moa*, where we likewise found abundance of Refreshments, and where we were obliged, by bad Weather, to stay till May 6. We purchased there, by way of Exchange, 6000 Cocoa-nuts, and 100 Bags of Pylanghs, or *Indian* Figs. When we first began to trade with these People, one of our Seamen was wounded by an Arrow, that one of the Natives let fly, either thro' Malice or Inadvertency. We were, at that very Juncture, endeavouring to bring our Ships close to the Shore; which so terrified these Islanders, that they brought, of their own Accord, on board us the Man, who had shot the Arrow, and left him at our Mercy. We found them, after this Accident, much more tractable than before in every respect. Our Sailors, therefore, pulled off the iron Hoops from some of the old Water-casks, stuck them into wooden Handles, and, fling them to an Edge, sold these awkward Knives to the Inhabitants for their Fruits.

In all Probability, they had not forgot what happened to our People on July 16. 1616. in the Days of *William*

Schooten: These People, it seems, treated him very ill; upon which *James le Maire* brought his Ship close to the Shore, and fired a Broadside through the Woods. The Bullets, flying through the Trees, struck the Negroes with such a Panic, that they fled in an instant up into the Country; and durst not shew their Heads again, till they had made full Satisfaction for what was paid, and thereby secured their Safety for the Time to come; and he traded with them afterwards very peaceably, and with mutual Satisfaction.

This Account of our Author's seems to have been taken upon Memory, and is not very exact. *Schooten's* Seamen, or rather the Petty Officer who commanded his Long-boat, insulted the Natives grossly, before they offered any Injury to his People; and then, notwithstanding they fired upon them with Small-arms, the Islanders obliged them to retreat; so that they were forced to bring the great Guns to bear upon the Island before they could reduce them. These People do not deserve to be treated as Savages, because *Schooten* acknowledges, that they had been engaged in Commerce with the *Spaniards*; as appeared by their having iron Pots, glass Beads, and Pendants, with other *European* Commodities, before he came thither. He also tells us, that they were a very civilized People, their Country well cultivated, and very fruitful; that they had a great many Boats, and other Small-craft, which they navigated with great Dexterity. He adds also, that they gave him a very distinct Account of the neighbouring Islands, and that they solicited him to fire upon the *Arimeans*, with whom it seems they are always at War; which, however, he refused to do, unless provoked to it by some Injury offered by those People. It is therefore very apparent, that the Inhabitants of *Moa* are a People with whom any *Europeans*, settled in their Neighbourhood, might without any Difficulty settle a Commerce, and receive considerable Assistance from them in making Discoveries. But, perhaps, some Nations are fitter for this kind of Expeditions than others, as being less apt to make use of their Artillery and Small-arms upon every little Dispute; for as the Inhabitants of *Moa* are well enough acquainted with the Superiority which the *Europeans* have over them, it cannot be supposed, that they will ever hazard their total Destruction by committing any gross Act of Cruelty upon Strangers, who visit their Coast; and it is certainly very unfair, to treat People as Savages and Barbarians, merely for defending themselves when insulted or attacked without Cause. The Intance Captain *Tasman* gives us of their delivering up the Man who wounded his Sailor, is a plain Proof of this; and, as to the Diffidence and Suspicion which some later Voyagers have complained of, with respect to the Inhabitants of this Island, they must certainly be the Effects of the bad Behaviour of such *Europeans* as this Nation have hitherto dealt with; and would be effectually removed, if ever they had a settled Experience of a contrary Conduct. The surest Method of teaching People to behave honestly towards us, is to behave friendly and honestly towards them; and then there is no great Reason to fear, that such as give evident Proofs of Capacity and Civility in the common Affairs of Life, should be guilty of Treachery that must turn to their own Disadvantage.

18. On the 12th of May, being then in the Latitude of 54° South, and in the Longitude of 153° 17', we found the Variation 6° 30' to the East. We continued coasting the North-side of the Island of *William Schooten*, which is about eighteen or nineteen Miles long, very populous, and the People very brisk and active. It was with great Caution that *Schooten* gave his Name to this Island; for, having observed that there were abundance of small Islands laid down in the Charts on the Coast of *New Guiney*, he was suspicious, that this might be of the Number. But, since that Time, it seems a Point generally agreed, that this Island had not before any particular Name; and therefore, in all subsequent Voyages, we find it constantly mentioned by the Name of *Schooten's Island*.

He describes it as a very fertile and well-peopled Island: The Inhabitants of which were so far from discovering any thing of a Savage Nature, that they gave apparent Testimonies of their having had an extensive Commerce before he touched there, since they not only shewed him various Commodities from the *Spaniards*, but also several Samples

of *China Ware*: He observes, that they were very unlike the Nations he had seen before, being rather of an Olive-colour, than black; some having short, others long Hair, dressed after different Fashions: They were also a taller, stronger, and stouter People, than their Neighbours. Their little Circumstances, which may seem tedious or trifling to such as read only for Amusement, are, however, of very great Importance to such as have Discoveries in View; because they argue, that these People have a general Correspondence: The Difference of their Complexion must arise from a mixed Descent; and the different Manner of wearing their Hair is undoubtedly owing to their following the Fashion of different Nations, as their Fancies lead them. He farther observes, that their Vessels were larger, and better contrived, than their Neighbours; that they readily parted with their Bows and Arrows in Exchange for Goods, and that they were particularly fond of Glass and Iron-ware, which, perhaps, they not only used themselves, but employed likewise in their Commerce. The most Western Point of the Island he called the Cape of *Good Hope*, because, by doubling that Cape, he expected to reach the Island of *Banda*: And, that we may not wonder, that he was in Doubts and Difficulties as to the Situation of these Places, we ought to reflect, that *Schooten* was the first who sailed round the World by this Course, and the last too, except *Commodore Roggewein*; other Navigators chusing rather to run as high as *California*, and from thence to the *Ladrone* Islands, merely because it is the ordinary Route.

In the Neighbourhood of this Island *Schooten* also met with an Earthquake, which alarmed the Ship's Company excessively, from an Apprehension, that they had struck upon a Rock. There are some other Islands in the Neighbourhood of this, well peopled, and well planned, abounding with excellent Fruits, especially of the Melon Kind. These Islands lie, as it were, on the Confines of the Southern Continent, and the *East Indies*; so that their Inhabitants enjoy all the Advantages resulting from their own happy Climate, and from their Traffick with their Neighbours, especially with those of *Ternate* and *Ambony*; who come thither yearly to purchase their Commodities, and who are likewise visited, at certain Seasons, by the People of these Islands in their Turn.

19. On the 18th of May, in the Latitude of 26° South, and in the Longitude of 147° 55', we observed the Variation to be 5° 30' East. We were now arrived at the Western Extremity of *New Guiney*, which is a detached Point, or Promontory (though it is not marked to even in the latest Maps). Here we met with Calms, variable and contrary Winds, with much Rain: From thence we steered for *Ceram*, leaving the Cape on the North, and arrived safely on that Island: By this time Captain *Tasman* had fairly surrounded the Continent he was instructed to discover; and had therefore nothing now farther in View than to return to *Batavia*, in order to report the Discoveries he had made.

On the 27th of May, we passed through the Straights of *Boura*, or *Bouton*, and continued our Passage to *Batavia*, where we arrived on the 15th of June, in the Latitude of 6° 12' South, and in the Longitude of 127° 18'. This Voyage was made in the Space of ten Months. Such was the End of this Expedition, which has been always considered as the clearest, and most exact, that was ever made, for the Discovery of the *Terra Australis Incognita*; from whence that Chart or Map was laid down in the Pavement of the Stadt-houfe at *Amsterdam*, as is before mentioned. We have now nothing to do, but to shut up this Voyage, and our History of Circumnavigators, with a few Remarks; previous to which, it will be requisite to state clearly and succinctly the Discoveries, either made or confirmed by Captain *Tasman's* Voyage, that the Importance of it may fully appear, as well as the Probability of our Conjectures, with regard to the Motives that induced the *Dutch East India Company* to be at so much Pains about these Discoveries.

20. In the first place, then, it is most evident, from Captain *Tasman's* Voyage, that *New Guiney*, *Carpentaria*, *New Holland*, *Antony van Diemen's Land*, and the Countries discovered by *de Surra*, make all one Continent, from

from which *New Zealand* seems to be separated by a Strait; and, perhaps, is Part of another Continent, answering to *Africa*, as this, of which we are now speaking, plainly does to *America*. This Continent reaches from the Equinoctial to 44° of South Latitude, and extends from 122° to 188° of Longitude, making indeed a very large Country, but nothing like what *de Quirós* imagined, which shews how dangerous a thing it is to trust too much to Conjecture in such Points as these. It is, secondly, observable, that as *New Guinea*, *Carpentaria*, and *New Holland*, had been already pretty well examined, Captain *Tasman* directed to the South of these, so that his first Discovery was *Van Diemen's Land*, the most Southern Part of the Continent on this Side the Globe; and then, passing round by *New Zealand*, he plainly discovered the opposite Side of that Country towards *America*, though he visited the Islands only; and never till in again with the Continent, till he arrived on the Coast of *New Britain*, which he mistook for that of *New Guinea*; as he very well might, that Country having never been suspected to be an Island, till *Dampier* discovered it to be such in the Beginning of the present Century. Thirdly, by this Survey, these Countries are for ever marked out, so long as the Map, or Memory of this Voyage, shall remain. The *Dutch East India Company* have it always in their Power to direct Settlements, or new Discoveries, either in *New Guinea*, from the *Moluccas*, or in *New Holland*, from *Batavia* directly. The Prudence shewn in the Conduct of this Affair, deserves the highest Praise. To have attempted heretofore, or even now, the establishing Colonies in those Countries, would be impolitic, because it would be grasping more than the *East India Company*, or than even the Republic of *Holland*, could manage: For, in the first place, to reduce a Continent, between three and four thousand Miles broad, is a prodigious Undertaking; and to settle it by degrees, would be to open, to all the World, the Importance of that Country, which, for any thing we can tell, may be much superior to any Country yet known. The only Choice therefore that the *Dutch* had left, was to reserve this mighty Discovery till the Season arrived, in which they should be either obliged by Necessity, or invited by Occasion, to make use of it. But though this Country be reserved, it is no longer either unknown or neglected by the *Dutch*, which is a Point of very great Consequence. To the other Nations of *Europe*, the Southern Continent is a Chimera, a Thing in the Clouds, or at least a Country about which there are a thousand Doubts and Suspicions; so that to talk of discovering or settling it, must be regarded as an idle and empty Project: But, with respect to them, it is a thing perfectly well known; its Extent, its Boundaries, its Situation, the Genius of its several Nations, and the Commodities of which they are possessed, are absolutely within their Cognizance; so that they are at Liberty to take such Measures as appear to them best, for securing the eventual Possession of this Country, whenever they think fit. This Account explains at once all the Mysteries which the best Writers upon this Subject have found in the *Dutch* Proceedings. It shews why they have been at so much Pains to obtain a clear and distinct Survey of these distant Countries; why they have hitherto forbore settling, and why they take so much Pains to prevent other Nations from coming at a distinct Knowledge of them: And I may add to this another Particular; which is, that it accounts for their permitting the Natives of *Amboyna*, who are their Subjects, to carry on a Trade to *New Guinea*, and the adjacent Countries; since, by this very Method, it is apparent, that they gain daily fresh Intelligence, as to the Product and Commodities of those Countries. Having thus explained the Consequence of Captain *Tasman's* Voyage, and thereby fully justified my giving it a Place in this Part of my Work, I am now at Liberty to pursue the Reflections with which I promised to close this Section, and the History of Circumnavigators; and, in doing which, I shall endeavour to make the Reader sensible of the Advantages that arise from publishing these Voyages in their proper Order, so as to shew what is, and what is yet, to be discovered of the Globe on which we live.

21. In speaking of the Consequences of Captain *Tasman's* Voyage, it has been very amply shewn, that this

Part of *Terra Australis*, or Southern Country, has been fully and certainly discovered. To prevent, however, the Reader's making any Mistake, I will take this Opportunity of laying before him some Remarks on the whole Southern Hemisphere, which will enable him immediately to comprehend all that I have afterwards to say on this Subject.

If we suppose the South Pole to be the Centre of a Chart of which the Equinoctial is the Circumference, we shall then discern four Quarters; of the Contents of which, if we could give a full Account, this Part of the World would be perfectly discovered. To begin then with the first of these, that is, from the first Meridian, placed in the Island of *Fero*: Within this Division, that is to say, from the first to the ninetieth Degree of Longitude, there lies the great Continent of *Africa*; the most Southern Point of which is the Cape of *Good Hope*, lying in the Latitude of $34^{\circ} 15'$ South: Between that and the Pole, several small, but very inconsiderable Islands, have been discovered, affording us only this Degree of Certainty, that, to the Latitude of 50° , there is no Land to be found of any Consequence. There was indeed a Voyage made by Mr. *Bevet*, in the Year 1738, on purpose to discover, whether there were any Lands to the South in that Quarter or not. This Gentleman sailed from *Port P'Orion* July the 18th, 1738; and, on the 1st of January 1739, discovered a Country, the Coasts of which were covered with Ice, in the Latitude of 54° South, and in the Longitude of $28^{\circ} 30'$; the Variation of the Compass being there 6 Degrees 45 Minutes to the West.

In the next Quarter, that is to say, from 90° Longitude to 180° , lie the Countries of which we have been speaking; or that large Southern Island, extending from the Equinoctial to the Latitude of $43^{\circ} 10'$, and the Longitude of $167^{\circ} 55'$, which is the Extremity of *Van Diemen's Land*.

In the third Quarter, that is, from the Longitude of 150° to 170° , there is very little discovered with any Certainty. Captain *Tasman*, indeed, visited the Coast of *New Zealand*, in the Latitude of $42^{\circ} 10'$ South, and in the Longitude of $188^{\circ} 28'$: But besides this, and the Islands of *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*, we know very little; and therefore, if there be any Doubts about the Reality of the *Terra Australis*, it must be with respect to that Part of it which lies within this Quarter, through which *Sebovien* and *le Maire* sailed, but without discovering any thing more than a few small Islands.

The fourth and last Quarter is from 170° of Longitude to the first Meridian; within which lies the Continent of *South America*, and the Island of *Terra del Fuego*; the most Southern Promontory of which is supposed to be *Cape Horne*; which, according to the best Observations, is in the Latitude of 56° , beyond which there has been nothing with any Degree of Certainty discovered on this Side.

On the Whole, therefore, it appears, there are three Continents already tolerably discovered, which point towards the South Pole; and therefore 'tis very probable there is a fourth, which if there be, it must lie between the Country of *New Zealand*, discovered by Captain *Tasman*, and that Country which was seen by Captain *Sbarpe* and Mr. *Wafer* in the South Seas; to which Land therefore, and no other, the Title of *Terra Australis Incognita* properly belongs. Leaving this, therefore, to the Industry of future Ages to discover, we will now return to that great Southern Island, which Captain *Tasman* actually surrounded, and the Bounds of which are tolerably well known.

In order to give the Reader a proper Idea of the Importance of this Country, it will be requisite to say something of the Climates in which it is situated: As it lies from the Equinoctial to near the Latitude of 44° , the longest Day in the most Northern Parts must be twelve Hours, and in the Southern about fifteen Hours, or somewhat more; so that it extends from the first to the seventh Climate, which shews its Situation to be the happiest in the World; the Country called *Van Diemen's Land* resembling in all respects the South of *France*. As there are in all Countries some Parts more pleasant than others, so there seems good Reason to believe, that within two or three Degrees of the Tropic

Tropic of *Capricorn*, which passes through the Midst of *New Holland*, is the most unwelcome and disagreeable Part of this Country; the Reason of which is very plain: For in those Parts it must be excessively hot, much more so than under the Line itself, since the Days and Nights are there always equal; whereas, within three or four Degrees of the Tropic of *Capricorn*, that is to say, in the Latitude of 27° South, the Days are thirteen Hours and a half long; and the Sun is twice in their Zenith, first in the Beginning of *December*, or rather in the latter End of *November*; and again when it returns back, which occasions a burning Heat for about two Months, or something more; whereas, either farther to the South, or nearer to the Line, the Climate must be equally wholesome and pleasant.

As to the Product and Commodities of this Country in general, there is the greatest Reason in the World to believe, that they are extremely rich and valuable, because the richest and finest Countries in the known World lie all of them within the same Latitude. But to return from Conjectures to Facts: The Country discovered by *de Quiros*, makes a Part of this great Island, and is the opposite Coast to that of *Carpentaria*. This Country, of which we have given a large Account in the tenth Section, the Discoverer called *la Australia del Espíritu Santo*, in the Latitude of 15° 40' South; and, as he reports, it abounds with Gold, Silver, Pearl, Nutmegs, Mace, Ginger, and Sugar-canes, of an extraordinary Size. I do not wonder, that formerly the Fact might be doubted, but at present I think there is sufficient Reason to induce us to believe it: For Captain *Dampier* describes the Country about Cape *St. George* and Port *Montague*, which are within 9° of the Country described by *de Quiros*; I say, Captain *Dampier* describes what he saw in the following Words: 'The Country hereabouts is mountainous and woody, full of rich Valleys, and pleasant fresh-water Brooks; the Mould in the Vallies is deep and yellowish, that on the Sides of the Hills of a very brown Colour, and not very deep, but rocky underneath; yet excellent planting Land; the Trees in general are neither very strait, thick, nor tall; yet appear pleasant enough: Some of them bear Flowers, some Berries, and others big Fruits, but all unknown to any of us; Cocoa-nut-trees thrive very well here, as well on the Bays by the Sea-side, as more remote among the Plantations. The Nuts are of an indifferent Size, the Milk and Kernel very thick and pleasant. Here are Ginger, Yams, and other very good Roots for the Pot, that our Men saw and tasted; what other Fruits or Roots the Country affords, I know not. Here are Hogs and Dogs; other Land Animals we saw none; the Fowls we saw and knew were Pigeons, Parrots, Cocoadores, and Crows, like those in *England*; a sort of Birds about the Bigness of a Black-bird, and smaller Birds many. The Sea and Rivers have Plenty of Fish; we saw abundance, though we caught but few; and these were Cavallies, Yellow-tails, and Whip-wreys.'

This Account is grounded only on a very slight View, whereas *de Quiros* resided for some time in the Place he has mentioned. In another Place Captain *Dampier* observes, that he saw Nutmegs amongst them, which seemed to be fresh-gathered; all which agrees perfectly with the Account given by *de Quiros*. Add to this, that *Seboten* had likewise observed, that they had Ginger upon this Coast, and some other Spices; so that, on the Whole, there seems not the least Reason to doubt, that if any Part of this Country was settled, it must be attended with a very rich Commerce: For it cannot be supposed, that all these Writers should be either mistaken, or that they should concur in a Design to impose upon their Readers; which is the less to be suspected, if we consider how well their Reports agree with the Situation of the Country; and that the Trees on the Land, and the Fish on the Coast, corresponding exactly with the Trees of those Countries, and the Fish on the Coasts, where these Commodities are known to abound within-land, seem to intimate a perfect Conformity throughout.

The next Thing to be considered is, the Possibility of planting in this Part of the World; which, at first Sight, I must confess, seems to be attended with considerable Difficulties with respect to every other Nation except the *Dutch*,

who, either from *Batavia*, the *Moluccas*, or even from the Cape of *Good Hope*, might with Ease settle themselves where-ever they thought fit. As, however, they have neglected this for above a Century, there seems to be no Reason, why their Conduct in this respect should become the Rule of other Nations; or why any other Nation should be apprehensive of drawing on herself the Displeasure of the *Dutch*, by endeavouring to turn to their Benefit, Countries the *Dutch* have so long suffered to lie, with respect to *Europe*, waste and desert.

The first Point, with respect to a Discovery, would be, to send a small Squadron on the Coast of *Van Diemen's Land*, and from thence round, in the same Course taken by Captain *Tajman*, by the Coast of *New Guinea*; which might enable the Nations that attempted it, to come to an absolute Certainty with regard to its Commodities and Commerce. Such a Voyage as this might be performed with very great Ease, and at a small Expence, by our *East India Company*, and this in the Space of eight or nine Months time; and, considering what mighty Advantages might accrue to the Nation, there seems to be nothing harsh or improbable, in supposing that, some time or other, when the Legislature is more than usually intent on Affairs of Commerce, they may be directed to make such an Expedition at the Expence of the Public. By this means all the back Coast of *New Holland*, and *New Guinea*, might be thoroughly examined; and we might know as well, and as certainly, as the *Dutch*, how far a Colony settled there might answer our Expectations. One Thing is certain, that to Persons used to the Navigation of the *Indies*, such an Expedition could not be thought either dangerous or difficult; because it is already sufficiently known, that there are every-where Islands upon the Coast, where Ships, upon such a Discovery, might be sure to meet with Refreshments; as is plain from Commodore *Roggeveen's* Voyage, made little more than twenty Years ago.

The only Difficulty that I can see, would be the getting a fair and honest Account of this Expedition, when made, for private Interest is so apt to interfere, and get the better of the public Service, that it is very hard to be sure of any thing of this sort. That I may not be suspected of any Intent to calumniate, I shall put the Reader in mind of two Instances: The first is, as to the new Trade from *Russia*, for establishing of which an Act of Parliament was with great Difficulty obtained, though visibly for the Advantage of the Nation: The other Instance is, the Voyage of Captain *Middleton*, for the Discovery of a North-west Passage into the South Seas; which is ended by a very warm Dispute, whether that Passage be found or not, the Person supposed to have found it maintaining the Negative.

Whenever, therefore, such an Expedition is undertaken, it ought to be under the Direction, not only of a Person of Parts and Experience, but of unspotted Character, who, on his Return, should be obliged to deliver his Journal upon Oath; and the principal Officers under him should likewise be directed to keep their Journals distinctly, and without their being inspected by the principal Officer; all which Journals ought to be published by Authority as soon as received, that every Man might be at Liberty to examine them, and deliver his Thoughts as to the Discoveries made, or the Impediments suggested to have hindered or prevented such Discoveries; by which means the Public would be free to obtain a full and distinct Account of the Matter. And it would thence immediately appear, whether it would be expedient to prosecute the Design or not.

But if it should be thought too burdensome for a Company in so flourishing a Condition, and consequently engaged in so extensive a Commerce as the *East India Company* is, to undertake such an Expedition, merely to serve the Public, promote the Exportation of our Manufactures, and increase the Number of industrious Persons, who are maintained by foreign Trade. If this, I say, should be thought too grievous for a Company, that has purchased her Privileges from the Public, by a large Loan at low Interest, there can certainly be no Objection to the putting this Project into the Hands of the *Royal African Company*, who are not quite in so flourishing a Condition. They have equal Opportunities for undertaking it, since the Voyage might be with much Ease performed from their Settlements

Settlements in ten Months; and if the Trade was found to answer, it might encourage the settling a Colony at *Magellan*, to and from which Ships might, with the greatest Convenience, carry on the Trade to *New Guiney*. I cannot say how far such a Trade might be consistent with their present Charter; but if it should be found advantageous to the Public, and beneficial to the Company, I think there can be no Reason assigned, why it should not be secured to them, and that too in the most effectual manner.

A very small Progress in it would restore the Reputation of the Company, and in time, perhaps, free the Nation from the annual Expence she is now at, for the Support of the Forts and Garisons belonging to that Company on the Coasts of *Africa*; which would alone prove of great and immediate Service, both to the Public, and to the Company: To say the Truth, something of this Sort is absolutely necessary to vindicate the Expence the Nation is at; for if the Trade, for the Carrying on of which a Company is established, proves, by a Change of Circumstances, incapable of supporting that Company, and thereby brings a Load upon the Public, this ought to be a Motive, it ought, indeed, to be the strongest Motive, for that Company to endeavour the Extension of its Commerce, or the striking out, if possible, some new Branch of Trade, which may restore it to its former Splendor; and in this it has an apparent Right, so there is not the least Reason to doubt, that it would meet with all the Countenance and Assistance from the Government, that it could reasonably expect or desire.

If such a Design should ever be attempted, perhaps the Island of *New Britain* might be the properest Place for them to settle. As to the Situation, Extent, and present Condition of that Island, all that can be said of it must be taken from the Account given by its Discoverer Captain *Dampier*; which, in few Words, amounts to this: 'The Island which I call *Nova Britannia*, has about 4° of Latitude, the Body of it lying in 4°, the Northernmost Part in 2° 30', and the Southernmost in 6° 30'. It has about 5° 18' Longitude from East to West; it is generally high mountainous Land, mixed with large Valleys, which, as well as the Mountains, appeared very fertile; and in most Places that we saw, the Trees are very large, tall, and thick. It is also very well inhabited, with strong well-limbed Negroes, whom we found very daring and bold at several Places: As to the Product of it, it is very probable, this Island may afford as many rich Commodities as any in the World; and the Natives may be easily brought to Commerce, though I could not pretend to it in my Circumstances.' If any Objections should be raised from *Dampier's* Misfortune in that Voyage, it is easy to shew, that it ought to have no manner of Weight whatever, since, though he was an excellent Pilot, he is allowed to have been but a bad Commander: Besides, the *Roebeck*, in which he sailed, was a worn-out Frigate, that would hardly swim; and it is no great Wonder, that in so crazy a Vessel the People were a little impatient at being Abroad on Discoveries: Yet, after all, he performed what he was sent for; and, by the Discovery of this Island of *New Britain*, secured us an indisputable Right to a Country, that is, or might be made, very valuable.

It is so situated, that a great Trade might be carried on from thence through the whole *Terra Australis* on one Side, and the most valuable Islands of the *East Indies* on the other. In short, all, or at least most, of the Advantages proposed by the *Dutch West India Company's* joining with their *East India Company*, of which a large Account has already been given, might be procured for this Nation, by the establishing a Colony in this Island of *New Britain*, and securing the Trade of that Colony to the *African Company* by Law; the very passing of which Law would give the Company more than sufficient Credit, to fit out a Squadron at once, capable of securing the Possession of that Island, and of giving the Public such Satisfaction as to its Importance, as might be requisite to obtain further Power and Assistance from the State, if that should be found necessary. It would be very easy to point out some Advantages peculiarly convenient for that Company; but it will be time enough to think of these, whenever the *African Company*

shall discover an Inclination to prosecute this Design. At present I have done what I proposed, and have shewn, that such a Collection of Voyages as this, ought not to be considered as a Work of mere Amusement, but as a Work calculated for the Benefit of Mankind in general, and of this Nation in particular, which it is the Duty of every Man to promote in his Station; and whatever Fate these Reflections may meet with, I shall have always the Satisfaction of remembering, that I have not neglected it in mine, but have taken the utmost Pains to turn a Course of laborious Reading to the Advantage of my Country.

But, supposing that neither of these Companies should think it expedient, or, in other Words, should not think it consistent with their Interest, to attempt this Discovery, there is yet a third Company, within the Spirit of whose Charter, I humbly conceive, the Prosecution of such a Scheme immediately lies. The Reader will easily discern, that I mean the Company for carrying on a Trade to the South Seas, who, notwithstanding the Extensiveness of their Charter, confirmed and supported by Authority of Parliament, have not, so far as my Information reaches, ever attempted to send so much as a single Ship for the sake of Discoveries into the South Seas, which, however, was the great Point proposed when this Company was first established. In order to prove this, I need only lay before the Reader the Limits assigned that Company by their Charter, the Substance of which is contained in the following Words.

'The Corporation, and their Successors, shall, for ever, be vested in the sole Trade into and from all the Kingdoms and Lands on the East Side of *America*, from the River *Oronoco*, to the Southernmost Part of *Terra del Fuego*, and on the West Side thereof from the said Southernmost Part of *Terra del Fuego*, thro' the South Sea, to the Northernmost Part of *America*, and into and thro' all the Countries, Islands, and Places within the said Limits, which are reputed to belong to *Spain*, or which shall hereafter be found out and discovered within the Limits aforesaid, not exceeding 300 Leagues from the Continent of *America*, between the Southernmost Part of the *Terra del Fuego* and the Northernmost Part of *America*, on the said West Side thereof, except the Kingdom of *Brasil*, and such other Places on the East Side of *America*, as are now in the Possession of the King of *Portugal*, and the Country of *Surinam*, in the Possession of the States General. The said Company, and none else, are to trade within the said Limits; and, if any other Persons shall trade to the South Seas, they shall forfeit the Ship and Goods, and double Value, one-fourth Part to the Crown, and another fourth Part to the Prosecutor, and the other two-fourths to the Use of the Company. And the Company shall be the sole Owners of the Islands, Forts, &c. which they shall discover within the said Limits, to be held of the Crown, under an annual Rent of an Ounce of Gold, and of all Ships taken as Prizes by the Ships of the said Company: And the Company may seize, by Force of Arms, all other *British* Ships trading in those Seas.'

It is, I think, impossible for any Man to imagine, that either these Limits should be secured to the Company for no Purpose in the World; or that these Prohibitions and Penalties should take place, notwithstanding the Company's never attempting to make any Use of these Powers: From whence I infer, that it was the Intent of the Legislature, that new Discoveries should be made, new Plantations settled, and a new Trade carried on, by this new Corporation, agreeable to the Rules prescribed, and for the general Benefit of this Nation; which, I apprehend, was chiefly considered in the providing, that this new Commerce should be put under the Management of a particular Company. But I am very well aware of an Objection that may be made to what I have advanced; viz. that, from my own shewing, this Southern Continent lies absolutely without their Limits; and that there is also a Provision in the Charter of that Company, that seems particularly calculated to exclude it, since it recites, That

'The Agents of the Company shall not sail beyond the Southernmost Parts of *Terra del Fuego*, except through the Straights of *Magellan*, or round *Terra del Fuego*; nor go from thence to any Part of the *East Indies*, nor return

to Great Britain, or any Port or Place, unless through the said Straights, or by *Terra del Fuego*: Nor shall they trade in *East India* Goods, or in any Places within the Limits granted to the united Company of Merchants of England trading to *East India* (such *India* Goods excepted, as shall be actually exported from Great Britain, and also such Gold, Silver, wrought Plate, and other Goods and Commodities, which are the Produce, Growth or Manufactures of the *West Indies*, or Continent of *America*): Neither shall they send Ships, or use them, or any Vessel, within the South Seas, from *Terra del Fuego* to the Northernmost Parts of *America*, above 300 Leagues to the Westward of, and distant from, the Land of *Chili*, *Peru*, *Mexico*, *California*, or any other the Lands or Shores of Southern or Northern *America*, between *Terra del Fuego* and the Northernmost Part of *America*, on Pain of the Forfeiture of the Ships and Goods; one-third to the Crown, and the other two-thirds to the *East India* Company.

But the Reader will observe, that I mentioned the *East India* and *African* Companies before; and that I now mention the *South Sea* Company, on a Supposition, that the two former may refuse it. In that Case, I presume, the Legislature will make the same Distinction that the States of *Holland* did, and not suffer the private Advantage of any particular Company to stand in Competition with the Good of a whole People. It was upon this Principle that I laid it down as a thing certain, that the *African* Company would be allowed to settle the Island of *Madagascar*, tho' it lies within the Limits of the *East India* Company's Charter, in case it should be found necessary for the better carrying on of this Trade. It is upon the same Principle I lay this Southern Continent lies within the Intention of the *South Sea* Company's Charter, because, I presume, the Intent of that Charter was to grant them all the Commerce in those Seas, not occupied before by *British* Subjects; for, if it were otherwise, what a Condition should we be in as a Maritime Power? If a Grant does not oblige a Company to carry on a Trade within the Limits granted to that Company, and is, at the same time, of Force to preclude all the Subjects of this Nation from the Right they before had to carry on a Trade within those Limits, such a Law is plainly destructive to the Nation's Interest, and to Commerce in general. I therefore suppose, that, if the *South Sea* Company should think proper to revive their Trade in the Manner I propose, this Privilege would be explained by Parliament to mean no more, than excluding the *South Sea* Company from settling or trading in or to any Place at present settled in, or traded to, by the *East India* Company: For, as this Interpretation would secure the just Rights of both Companies, and, at the same time, reconcile the Laws for establishing them to the general Interest of Trade and the Nation, there is the greatest Reason to believe this to be the Intention of the Legislature. I have been obliged to insist fully upon this Matter, because it is a Point hitherto untouched, and a Point of such high Importance, that, unless it be understood according to my Sense of the Matter, there is an End of all Hopes of extending our Trade on this Side, which is perhaps the only Side, on which there is the least Probability that it ever can be extended: For, as to the North-west Passage into the South Seas, that seems to be blocked up by the Rights of another Company; so that, according to the Letter of our Laws, each Company is to have its Rights, and the Nation in general no Right at all.

If therefore the settling of this Part of *Terra Australis* should devolve on the *South Sea* Company, by way of Equivalent for the Loss of their *Assiento* Contract, there is no sort of Question but it might be as well performed by them, as by any other, and the Trade carried on, without interfering with that, which is at present carried on, either by the *East India* or *African* Companies. It would indeed, in this Case, be absolutely necessary to settle *Juan Fernandez*, the Settlement of which Place, under the Direction of that Company, if they could, as very probably they might, fall into some Share of the Slave-trade from *New Guinea*, must prove wonderfully advantageous, considering the Opportunity they would have of vending those Slaves to the *Spaniards* in *Chili* and *Peru*. The settling of this Island ought

to be performed at once, and with a competent Force, since, without doubt, the *Spaniards* would leave no Means unattempted to dispossess them: Yet, if a good Fortification was once raised, the Passes properly retrenched, and a Garrison left there of between 3 and 500 Men, it would be simply impossible for the *Spaniards* to force them out of it before the Arrival of another Squadron from hence. Neither do I see any Reason, why, in the Space of a very few Years, the Plantation of this Island should not prove of as great Consequence to the *South Sea* Company, as that of *Curacao* to the *Dutch West India* Company, who raise no less than 60,000 Florins per Annum for licensing Ships to trade there.

From *Juan Fernandez* to *Van Diemen's Land* is not above two Months Sail; and a Voyage for Discovery might be very conveniently made between the Time that a Squadron returned from *Juan Fernandez*, and another Squadron's Arrival there from hence. It is true, that, if once a considerable Settlement was made in the most Southern Part of *Terra Australis*, the Company might then fall into a large Commerce in the most valuable *East India* Goods, very probably Gokl, and Spices of all sorts: Yet I cannot think, that even these would fall within the exclusive Privilege of their Charter; for that was certainly intended to hinder their trading in such Goods as are brought hither by our *East India* Company; and I must confess I see no Difference, with respect to the Interest of that Company, between our having Cloves, Cinnamon, and Mace, by the *South Sea* Company's Ships from *Juan Fernandez*, and our receiving them from *Holland*, after the *Dutch East India* Company's Ships have brought them thither by the Way of the Cape of Good Hope. Sure I am they would come to us sooner by some Months by the Way of Cape Horn. If this Reasoning does not satisfy People, but they still remain perplexed, that the *South Sea* Company ought not to intermeddle with the *East India* Trade at all, I desire to know, why the *West India* Merchants are allowed to import Coffee from *Jamaica*, when it is well known, that the *East India* Company can supply the whole Demand of this Kingdom from *Mocha*? If it be answered, that the *Jamaica* Coffee comes cheaper, and is the Growth of our own Plantations, I reply, that these Spices will not only be cheaper, but better, and be purchased by our own Manufactures; and these, I think, are the strongest Reasons that can be given.

If it be demanded, what Certainty I have, that Spices can be had from thence, I answer, all the Certainty that, in a thing of this Nature, can be reasonably expected: *Ferdinand de Quirós* met with all sorts of Spices in the Country he discovered; *William Schouten*, and *Jaques le Maire*, saw Ginger and Nutmegs; so did *Dampier*; and the Author of *Commodore Roggeveen's* Voyage asserts, that the free Burgesses of *Amboyna* purchase Nutmegs from the Natives of *New Guinea* for Bits of Iron. All therefore I contend for is, that these Bits of Iron may be sent them from *Old England*.

The Reason I recommend settling on the South Coast of *Terra Australis*, if this Design should be prosecuted, from *Juan Fernandez*, rather than the Island of *New Britain*, which I mentioned before, is, because that Coast is nearer, and is situated in a better and pleasanter Climate. Besides all which Advantages, as it was never hitherto visited by the *Dutch*, they cannot, with any Colour of Justice, take Umbrage at our attempting such a Settlement. To close then this Subject, the Importance of which alone inclined me to spend so much of mine and the Reader's Time about it:

It is most evident, that, if such a Settlement was made at *Juan Fernandez*, proper Magazines erected, and a constant Correspondence established between that Island and the *Terra Australis*, these three Consequences must absolutely follow from thence: I. That a new Trade would be opened, which must carry off a great Quantity of our Goods and Manufactures, that cannot, at present, be brought to any Market, or, at least, not to so good a Market, as it there was a greater Demand for them. II. It would render this Navigation, which is, at present, so strange, and consequently so terrible to us, easy and familiar; which might be attended with Advantages that cannot be foreseen, especially since there is, as I before observed, in all Probability,

another Southern Continent, which is still to be discovered. III. It would greatly increase our Shipping and our Seamen, which are the true and natural Strength of this Country, extend our naval Power, and raise the Reputation of this Nation; the most distant Prospect of which is sufficient to warm the Soul of any Man, who has the least Regard for his Country, with Courage sufficient to despise the Imputations that may be thrown upon him as a visionary Projector, for talking too much Pains about an Affair, that can tend so little to his private Advantage. We will now add a few Words, with respect to the Advantages arising from having thus digested the History of Circum-navigators, from the earliest Account of Time to the present; and then shut up the Whole with another Section, containing the last Circum-navigation by Rear-Admiral Anson, whose Voyage has at least shewn, that, under a proper Officer, English Seamen are able to achieve as much as they ever did; and that is as much as was ever done by any Nation in the World.

It is a Point that has always admitted some Debate, whether Science stands more indebted to Speculation or Practice; or, in other Words, whether the greater Discoveries have been made by Men of deep Study, or Persons of great Experience in the most useful Parts of Knowledge. But this, I think, is a Proposition that admits of no Dispute at all, that the noblest Discoveries have been the Result of a just Mixture of Theory with Practice. It was from hence, that the very Notion of sailing round the Earth took Rise; and the ingenious Genoise first laid down his System of the World, according to his Conception; and then added the Proofs derived from Experience. It is much to be deplored, that we have not that Plan of Discovery, which the great Christopher Columbus sent over thither by his Brother Bartolomeo to King Henry VII. for, if we had, we should certainly find abundance of very curious Observations, which might still be useful to Mariners: For it appears clearly, from many little Circumstances, that he was a Person of universal Genius, and, until bad Usage obliged him to take many Precautions, very communicative.

It was from this Plan, as it had been communicated to the Portuguese Court, that the famous Magellan came to have so just Notions of the Possibility of sailing by the West to the East Indies; and there was a great deal of Theory in the Proposal made by that great Man to the Emperor Charles V. Sir Francis Drake was a Person of the same Genius, and of a like general Knowledge: And it is very remarkable, that these three great Seamen met also with the same Fate; by which I mean, that they were constantly pursued by Envy while they lived, which hindered so much Notice being taken of their Discourses and Discoveries as they deserved. But, when the Experience of succeeding Times had verified many of their Sayings, which had been considered as vain and empty Boastings in their Life-times, then Posterity began to pay a superstitious Regard to whatever could be collected concerning them, and to admire all they delivered as oracular. Our other Discoverer, Candish, was likewise a Man of great Parts, and great Penetration, as well as great Spirit; he had, undoubtedly, a mighty Genius for Discoveries; but the prevailing Notion of those Times, that the only Way to serve the Nation, was plundering the Spaniards, seems to have got the better of his Desire to find out unknown Countries; and made him chuse to be known to Posterity, rather as a gallant Privateer, than as an able Seaman, though, in Truth, he was both.

After these follow Schouten and Le Maire, who were sent out to make Discoveries; and executed their Commission with equal Capacity and Success. If Le Maire had lived to return to Holland, and to have digested into proper Order his own Accounts, we should, without Question, have received a much fuller and clearer, as well as a much more correct and satisfactory Detail of them, than we have at present: Though the Voyage, as it is now published, is, in all respects, the best, and the most curious, of all the Circum-navigators. This was, very probably, owing to the ill Usage he met with from the Dutch East India Company; which put Captain Schouten, and the Relations of Le Maire, upon giving the World the best Information they could of what had been in that Voyage per-

formed. Yet the Fate of Le Maire had a much greater Effect in discouraging, than the Fame of his Discoveries had in exciting, a Spirit of Emulation; so that we may safely say, the Severity of the East India Company in Holland extinguished that generous Desire of exploring unknown Lands, which might otherwise have raised the Reputation, and extended the Commerce, of the Republic, much beyond what they have hitherto reached. This is so true, that, for upwards of one hundred Years, we hear of no Dutch Voyage in Pursuit of Le Maire's Discoveries; and we see, when Commodore Roggewein, in our own Time, revived that noble Design, it was again cramped by the same Power that stifled it before; and, though the States did Justice to the West India Company, and to the Parties injured, yet the Hardships they suffered, and the plain Proof they gave of the Difficulties that must be met with in the Prosecution of such a Design, seem to have done the Business of the East India Company, and damped the Spirit of Discovery, for, perhaps, another Century, in Holland.

It is very observable, that all the mighty Discoveries that have been made arose from these great Men, who joined Reasoning with Practice, and were Men of Genius and Learning, as well as Seamen. To Columbus we owe the finding America; to Magellan the passing by the Straights, which bear his Name, by a new Route to the East Indies; to Le Maire a more commodious Passage round Cape Horn, and without running up to California; Sir Francis Drake too hinted the Advantages that might arise by examining the North-west Side of America; and Candish had some Notions of discovering a Passage between China and Japan. As to the History we have of Roggewein's Voyage, it affords such Lights, as nothing but our own Negligence can render useless. But in the other Voyages, whatever Discoveries we meet with are purely accidental, except it be Dampier's Voyage to the Coasts of New Holland and New Guinea, which was expressly made for Discoveries; and in which, if an abler Man had been employed in Conjunction with Dampier, we cannot doubt, that the Interior and Exterior of those Countries would have been much better known than they are at present; because such a Person would rather have chosen to have refreshed in the Island of New Britain, or some other Country, not visited before, than at that of Timor, already settled both by the Portuguese and the Dutch.

In all Attempts, therefore, of this sort, those Men are fittest to be employed, who, with competent Abilities as Seamen, have likewise general Capacities, are at least tolerably acquainted with other Sciences, and have settled Judgments, and solid Understandings. These are the Men, from whom we are to expect the finishing that great Work, which former Circum-navigators have begun; I mean the discovering every Part and Parcel of the Globe, and the carrying to its utmost Perfection the admirable and useful Science of Navigation.

It is, however, a Piece of Justice due to the Memory of these great Men, to acknowledge, that we are equally encouraged by their Examples, and guided by their Discoveries. We owe to them the being freed, not only from the Errors, but from the Doubts and Difficulties, with which former Ages were oppressed: To them we stand indebted for the Discovery of the best Part of the World, which was intirely unknown to the Antients, particularly some Part of the Eastern, most of the Southern, and all the Western Hemisphere: From them we have learned, that the Earth is surrounded by the Ocean, and that all the Countries under the Torrid Zone are inhabited; and that, quite contrary to the Notions that were formerly entertained, they are very far from being the most sultry Climate in the World, those within a few Degrees of the Tropics, though habitable, being much more hot, for Reasons which have been elsewhere explained. By their Voyages, and especially by the Observations of Columbus, we have been taught the general Motion of the Sea, the Reason of it, and the Cause and Difference of Currents in particular Places; to which we may add the Doctrine of Tides, which were very imperfectly known, even by the greatest Men in former Times, whose Accounts have been found equally repugnant to Reason and Experience.

By their Observations, we have acquired a great Knowledge as to the Nature and Variation of Winds, particularly the Monsoons, or Trade-winds, and other periodical Winds, of which the Antients had not the least Conception: And, by these Helps, we not only have it in our Power to proceed much farther in our Discoveries, but we are likewise delivered from a Multitude of groundless Apprehensions, that frightened them from prosecuting Discoveries. We gave no Credit now to the Fables, that not only amused Antiquity, but even obtained Credit within a few Generations. The Authority of *Pliny* will not persuade us, that there are any Nations without Heads, whose Eyes and Mouths are in their Breasts, or that the *Arimaspi* have only one Eye fixed in their Forehead, and that they are perpetually at War with the Griffins, who guard hidden Treasures; or that there are Nations that have long hairy Tails, and grin like Monkeys. No Traveller can make us believe, that, under the Torrid Zone, there are a Nation, every Man of which has one large flat Foot, with which, lying upon his Back, he covers himself from the Sun. In this respect we have the same Advantage over the Antients that Men have over Children; and we cannot reflect without Amazement, on Mens having so much Knowledge and Learning in other respects, with such childish Understandings in these.

By the Labours of these great Men, in the two last Centuries, we are taught to know what we seek, and how it is to be sought. We know, for Example, what Parts of the North are yet undiscovered, and also what Parts of the South. We can form a very certain Judgment of the Climate of Countries undiscovered, and can foresee the Advantages that will result from Discoveries before they are made; all which are prodigious Advantages, and ought certainly to animate us in our Searches. I might add to this, the great Benefits we receive from our more perfect Acquaintance with the Properties of the Loadstone, and from the surprising Accuracy of astronomical Observations; to which I may add the physical Discoveries made of late Years, in relation to the Figure of the Earth; all of which are the Result of the Lights which these great Men have given us.

It is true, that some of the zealous Defenders of the Antients, and some of the great Admirers of the Eastern Nations, dispute these Facts; and would have us believe, that almost every thing was known to the old Philosophers and not only known, but practised, by the *Chinese*, long before the Time of the great Men to whom we ascribe them. But the Difference between their Assertions and ours is, that we fully prove the Facts we allege, whereas they produce no Evidence at all: For Instance, *Albertus Magnus* says, that *Aristotle* wrote an express Treatise on the Direction of the Loadstone; but nobody ever saw that Treatise, nor was it ever heard of by any of the rest of his Commentators. We have, in our Hands, some of the best Performances of Antiquity in regard to Geography; and any Man who has Eyes, and is at all acquainted with that Science, can very easily discern, how far they fall short of Maps that were made even an hundred Years ago. The celebrated *Vesputius*, and the rest of the Admirers of the *Chinese*, who, by the way,

derived all their Knowledge from Hearsay, may testify, in as strong Terms as they think fit, their Contempt for the Western Sages, and their high Opinion of those in the East; but till they prove to us, that their favourite *Chinese* made any Voyages comparable to the *Europeans*, before the Discovery of a Passage to *China* by the Cape of *Good Hope*, they will excuse us from believing them. Besides, if the Antients had all this Knowledge, how came it not to display itself in their Performances? How came they to make such Difficulties of what are now esteemed Trifles? And how came they never to make any Voyages by Choice at least, that were out of Sight of Land? Again, with respect to the *Chinese*, if they excel us so much in Knowledge, How come the Millionaires to be so much admired for their superior Skill in the Sciences? But to cut the Matter short, we are not disputing now about speculative Points of Science, but as to the practical Application of it; in which, I think, there is no doubt, that the modern Inhabitants of the Western Parts of the World excel, and excel chiefly from the Labours and Discoveries of these great and ingenious Men, who applied their Abilities to the Improvement of useful Arts, for the particular Benefit of their Countrymen, and to the common Good of Mankind, which Character is not derived from any Prejudice of ours, either against the Antients, or the oriental Nations; but is founded in Facts of public Notoriety, and on general Experience, which are a kind of Evidence not to be controverted or contradicted.

We are still, however, in several respects, short of Perfection; and there are many Things left to exercise the Sagacity, Penetration, and Application of this, and of succeeding Ages: For Instance, the Passages to the North-east and North-west are yet unknown; there is a great Part of the Southern Continent undiscovered; we are, in a manner, ignorant of what lies between *America* and *Japan*, and all beyond that Country lies buried in Obscurity, perhaps in greater Obscurity than it was an Age ago; so that there is still Room for performing great Things, which, in their Consequences, perhaps, might prove greater than can well be imagined. I say nothing of the Discoveries that yet remain, with regard to inland Countries, because these fall properly under another Head, I mean that of Travels. But it will be time enough to think of penetrating into the Heart of Countries, when we have discovered the Seacoasts of the whole Globe, towards which the Voyages, recorded in this Chapter, have so far advanced already. But the only Means to arrive at these great Ends, and to transmit to Posterity a Fame approaching, at least in some measure, to that of our Ancestors, is to revive and restore that glorious Spirit, which led them to such great Exploits; and the most natural Method of doing this, is to collect and preserve the Memory of their Exploits, that they may serve at once to excite our Imitation, encourage our Endeavours, and point out to us how they may be best employed, and with the greatest Probability of Success; which, as it has been the principal and particular Design of this Chapter, so it shall be, God willing, prosecuted with like Diligence and Attention, to the very last Chapter of this Work.

SECTION XXIII.

An Account of the Expedition of GEORGE ANSON, Esq; in the Centurion, as Commodore of a Squadron of British Ships, round the World.

1. *The Occasion of this Voyage, and the general Expectation raised thereby in the Nation.* 2. *The Strength of the Squadron, and the Preparations made for the Voyage.* 3. *Departure from St. Helen's, Sept. 14. 1740.* 4. *Arrival at Madeira, Transactions there, and Occurrences in the Voyage, till their Arrival at the Island of St. Catharine's.* 5. *Account of that Island, and of what happened worthy of Notice in their Passage to St. Julian's.* 6. *Occurrences in their Voyage to the Streights of le Maire.* 7. *The Hardships they sustained in doubling Cape Horne, and their losing Sight of the best Part of the Squadron.* 8. *A great Storm, in which they lost Sight of the Wager.* 9. *Proceed with great Difficulty to the Island of Juan Fernandez.* 10. *Arrive at, and refresh themselves in, that Island.* 11. *Are joined there, after a long Scene of Hardships, by the Gloucester.* 12. *Account of the principal Transactions during their Stay at, and cruising off that Island.* 13. *A Digression, containing the History of the Shipwreck of his Majesty's Ship the Wager, and the Consequences that attended it.* 14. *An Account of such Prizes as were taken in the South Seas, after their Departure from Juan Fernandez.* 15. *The Town of Payta surprised and plundered.* 16. *Joined by the Gloucester from Juan Fernandez.* 17. *Occurrences in their Voyage from Payta to Acapulco.* 18. *Account of what passed during the Time they cruised off that Port.* 19. *Their Departure from Acapulco, in order to proceed to the East Indies.* 20. *Are forced to destroy the Gloucester, and take her Crew on board the Centurion.* 21. *Prosecute their Voyage to the Ladrone Islands.* 22. *The Ship forced from her Anchors, and the Commodore left on Shore.* 23. *Arrive safely in the Road, to the great Joy of those left on the Island.* 24. *Refresh themselves there, and prepare to continue their Voyage.* 25. *Leave the Ladrone Islands, and steer for the Coast of China.* 26. *Arrival at Macao, and Reception there.* 27. *Transactions that happened during their Stay in that Port.* 28. *Proceed on a Cruise in Search of a Manila Ship.* 29. *Engage and take her.* 30. *Return with the Prize to Macao.* 31. *Sail from thence for the River of Canton.* 32. *The Commodore visits the Chinese Viceroy, in order to obtain Leave to repair and revictual the Ship.* 33. *An Account of what passed during their Stay in China.* 34. *Prosecute their Voyage from Canton to the Coast of Java.* 35. *Proceed from thence to the Cape of Good Hope.* 36. *Take in Refreshments there, in order to their Return home.* 37. *Occurrences in their Passage from thence.* 38. *Arrive safely at St. Helen's, June 15. 1744.* 39. *Remarks upon the Voyage.* 40. *The Conclusion of the first Chapter.* 41. *A complete Table of Circumnavigators.*

IT is a Thing that has been generally taken for granted, ever since Spain has been possessed of her American Dominions, and made use of the Riches she derived from thence, to disturb the Peace, and invade the Liberties, of her Neighbours, that the best way to reduce her Strength, and to prevent the bad Effects of her evil Intentions, would be to attack her in the South Seas. This was pursued with great Diligence, and in some measure with Success, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: And in that of her Successor, when a new Quarrel broke out with that Crown in the Year 1624, the first Thing thought of by our Patriots, who were equally willing to humble the King's Enemy, and save the Nation's Money, was an Expedition to the South Seas, at the Expence of, and for the Benefit of the People; which Scheme was intitled, *The West India Association.*

It may be thought I look a great Way back, when I offer to the View of the Reader, the Reasons which were suggested in Parliament for the Support of that Scheme; but whoever considers, that it is not only the most effectual, but the safest Method to instruct the present Age from the Sentiments of the last, will readily enter into the Reasons, why I produce upon this Occasion the Speech of an eminent Patriot, in which the Nature and Scope of that Association, as well as the Motives upon which it was grounded, are very fully and pathetically set forth; and this in such Terms, as, if the Reader was not told, that this was a Speech to Sir Dudley Digges, then in the Chair of a Committee of the whole House, by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, he might mistake it for a Speech made a few Years since; so agreeable it is, in its Language and Sentiments, even to our present Occasions.

SIR,

I Do profess, that as my Affection, my Reason, and my Judgment, go strongly with the Scope and Drift of this Proposition, so shall good Part of my poor Fortune, when it comes to Execution. For, to my Understanding, there was never propounded in Parliament, a Design more proper for this Kingdom, nor more pregnant

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with Advantages to it, whether we consider the Nature of our Situation, or the Quality of our Enemies Forces. As we are an Island, it concerns our very Being to have Store of Ships to defend us, and also our Well-being by their Trade to enrich us. This Association for the *West Indies*, when it shall be regulated and established by Act of Parliament, and thereby secured from the Violence and Injury of any intruding Hand, will certainly give many Men Encouragement and Confidence, voluntarily to bring in large and liberal Contributions towards so noble, so profitable an Enterprize: So that, in short, we shall see many new Ships built, many brave Men employed, and enabled for the Service of their Country; none of this Money shall be carried out of the Kingdom, but laid out for Shipping, which is the Defence of it, and bestowed upon our own Men, who must be fed and maintained, though they stay at home. For this we shall reap the Fruit of whatsoever Benefit Plantation, Traffick, or Purchase, can procure us, besides Honour and Security.

Now let us a little consider the Enemy we are to encounter, the King of Spain. They are not his great Territories which make him so powerful, and so troublesome to all *Christendom*; for it is very well known, that Spain itself is but weak in Men, and barren of natural Commodities; as for his other Territories, they lie divided and asunder, which is a Weakness in itself. Besides, they are held by Force, and maintained at an extraordinary Charge; inasmuch as, although he be a great King, yet he is like that Giant who was said to have an hundred Hands, but he had fifty Bellies to feed; so that, ratably, he had no more Hands than another Man: No, Sir, they are his Mines in the *West Indies*, which minister Fuel to feed his vast ambitious Desire of universal Monarchy. It is the Money he hath from thence which makes him able to levy and pay Soldiers in all Places, and to keep an Army continually on Foot ready to invade and endanger his Neighbours; so that we have no other Way, but to endeavour to cut him off at the Root, and seek to impeach or to supplant him in the *West Indies*;

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by Part of which Course, that famous Queen, of glorious Memory, had heretofore almost brought him to his Knees: And this our Undertaking, (if it pleases God to bless it) must needs affect it sooner and quicker, the whole Body of the Kingdom being united, and concurring in a perpetual Supply to this Action, so that he will have no free Time given him to rest.

Moreover, this will be a Means, not only to save, but to fill his Majesty's Coffers, enabling the People to give him liberally and often. The King's Ships will have little to do but to guard the Coasts; for the Sea War will chiefly be made at the Charge of the Subject. Thus I doubt not, but that, in a short time, both King and People shall be safe at home, and feared abroad. To conclude, I shall be very glad to hear any Man make Objections against this Design, so that he do it with an Intention to refine and perfect the Work; but, if any shall speak against it, with a Mind to hinder and destroy it, I must intreat him to pardon me, if I do scarce think him to be a good *Englishman*.

That Project had the same Fate with most other bold and honest Projects in that Reign, which was, that, after being talked of a little, it sunk into Oblivion. Our next Disference with Spain was under Cromwell's Protectorate, who encouraged Father Gage to publish his Account of the *Spanish West Indies*; which was the Foundation of his Attempt upon *Hispaniola*, and the Conquest of *Jamaica*; but I do not know of any Design formed by him to attack the *Spaniards* in the South Seas: After the Restoration, we were upon very good Terms with Spain; as it was certainly our Interest to be: Yet King Charles the Second did not neglect this Navigation absolutely, but sent Sir John Narborough, one of the best Seamen this Nation ever bred, in the *Sweepstakes*, in the latter End of the Year 1669, by the Way of the Straights of *Magellan*, into the South Seas: To lay the Truth, our Privateers, under the Command of the Captains *Sharpe*, *Davis*, *Swan*, &c. were continually in these Seas, during all that Reign, and the next; so that our Seamen were no Strangers, in those Days, to any of the Passages into the South Seas; and, as the Reader may have already observed from the Voyage of Captain *Cowley*, it was no unusual Thing for the Traders of *London* to fit out Ships for those Parts; whether with a View to Traffick or Privateering, is, at this Distance of Time, a Point not easy to determine. But, whatever Purpose they were sent upon, thither they went, and no Complaints were ever heard of, with respect to extraordinary Hardships in the Voyage; which is sufficient to shew, how much depends upon keeping all Branches of Navigation open, in order to be constantly in a Condition to secure and extend our Trade, and to preserve our Reputation as a maritime Power.

After the Revolution, several Proposals were made in relation to the establishing a Commerce in the South Sea, which were received with Approbation; and it is certain, that King William gave Instructions to Admiral *Bombes*, when he went last to the *West Indies*, to inquire how far any of these Projects were feasible. After the breaking out of the last general War, all the World expected, that the first thing the maritime Powers would have done, would have been sending a Squadron to these Seas, either for the Service of the Prince, whom they owned for King of Spain, or for their own Advantage. The People of this Nation, in particular, were so desirous of seeing the War carried on this Way, and on this Side, that, to give them Hopes, and, at the same time, to shew that the Legislature approved their Sentiments in this respect, a Bill was brought into, and passed by, the House of Lords, for the better carrying on the War, by Sea and Land, in the *West Indies*; which, however, was lost by a kind of ministerial Craft, in the House of Commons; and soon after all Designs of that Nature were laid aside, for Reasons, with which, as yet, the Public has never been made acquainted: The only Expedition, during the whole War, was that of the *Duke and Duchess*, under the Command of Captain *Rogers*, at the Expence of some private Merchants of *Bristol*. On the Change of the Ministry, a prodigious Clamour was raised upon this Head, and, all of a sudden, a Resolution was taken to secure all the Advantages that could be wished for

to this Nation from the Trade of the South Seas; which ended, however, only in erecting a Company with this Title. The Nation very soon became sensible, that this would by no means do; and therefore, as soon as our Disputes with the King of Spain came to an Height, in the late King's Reign, a Design was immediately set on Foot for sending Privateers once more into that Part of the World; which ended in the Expedition of Captain *Sabers*, and Captain *Clipperton*, of which we have given a large Account.

By this short Deduction of Facts, I think it is demonstrably proved, that, in the Judgment of this Nation, the most probable Way of humbling Spain, in case of a War, was to send a Squadron into the South Seas: And I will venture to say, that there is one Reason why this is now become more expedient than ever; which is, that we are now no longer at Liberty to send Ships thither in a Time of Peace, as we were before the South Sea Company was erected. It is not, therefore, at all strange, that as soon as the present War broke out with Spain, the general Voice of the People dictated such an Expedition; or that, when they saw it resolved on, and a Squadron actually equipped for that Service, they testified very loudly their Approbation of the Scheme: And, I believe, my Readers will easily give Credit to the Assertion, when I affirm, that, during the Time this Squadron lay at *Portsmouth*, there was a most general Expectation of its performing Things of the highest Consequence for the Service of Great Britain, and reducing the Enemy to Reason.

2. It was in the midst of Summer, in the Year 1740, that this Squadron was formed at *Portsmouth*, at the same time that a great Embarkation was carrying on for the *West Indies*; by which the Siege of *Carthagoena* was afterwards undertaken, which turned the Eyes of the whole World upon that Sea-port: At *London*, everybody spoke of the intended Expedition to the South Seas, as a Design that must necessarily be attended with Consequences highly advantageous, if properly conducted; of which there was not the least Doubt made, when Captain *Anson* was named to the Command; because he had shewn himself, upon all Occasions, an Officer equally vigilant in his Duty, and moderate in the Exercise of Power; more ready to correct by his own Example, than by any other sort of Reproof; and who, in the Course of his Service, had acquired the Respect of the Officers, and the Love of the Sailors; Qualities that rarely meet in one Person, and Qualities, which, without the least Contradiction, were ascribed to him.

It was intended, that a considerable Body of Land-forces should serve on board this Squadron; and accordingly 500 Invalids and Marines were embarked, under their proper Officers, to be commanded in Chief by Lieutenant Colonel *Crashroade*, now Governor of *Landguard Fort*. There were several Accidents which concurred to hinder the Departure of this Squadron for some time; but at last, every thing being in perfect Order, and their Equipage in every respect complete, the Commodore gave his Orders for the Officers and Seamen to repair on board, and that every thing should be ready for sailing by the Middle of September; and accordingly upon the 16th of that Month he fired a Gun as a Signal to unmoor. The Squadron then consisted of the following Ships of War, and other Vessels; viz.

Ships.	Commanders.	Gun.	Men.
<i>Centurion</i>	Commodore G. Anson, Esq;	60	515
<i>Gloucester</i>	Norris	50	370
<i>Severn</i>	Legge	50	370
<i>Pearl</i>	Mitchell	40	290
<i>Wager</i>	Kidd	18	140
<i>Trial Sloop</i>	Murray	16	90

Tenders.

Ann Pink;
Industry, which was to go only to a certain Latitude.

3. On September 18. 1740, the Commodore fired a Gun as a Signal to weigh; and, by ten in the Evening, the whole Squadron was under Sail. It was observed at that time, that they sailed at a different Season of the Year

from home, who had gone that Voyage before. Captain Rogers, in the *Duke*, failed from *Brigol* in the Month of June 1708; Captain *Clipperton* in the Month of February 1710; Yet, perhaps, there was not so much in this Circumstance as some People imagine; since Sir *John Narborough*, who was an experienced Seaman, failed for the Straights of *Magellan* on the 26th of September 1669; and other Instances might be given of great Officers, who chose this Season of the Year.

They continued their Course, without meeting with any Accident of Importance, till, on *October* 28. they came to an Anchor in the Road of *Funchal*, off the Island of *Madeira*, where they found two Privateer Sloops, who saluted the Commodore with nine Guns; and were answered by seven. As this was a proper Place for taking in Water, Wine, and other Refreshments, the Squadron made some Stay, tho' it was late in the Year. On the 30th, they celebrated the Anniversary of his Majesty's Coronation; and, in the Beginning of the succeeding Month, got every thing on board as fast as possible, that they might be able to fail without Delay.

4. While they continued in *Funchal* Road, Captain *Norris*, of the *Gloucester*, who was in a very ill State of Health, obtained Leave to return home; which occasioned some Alteration in the Command: For Captain *Kidd*, of the *Wager*, was made Captain of the *Pearl*, Captain *Mitchell* was removed from the *Pearl* into the *Gloucester*, Captain *Murray* succeeded Captain *Kidd* in the *Wager*, and Lieutenant *Cheap* was made Captain of the *Trial* Sloop. They had notice here of ten Sail, supposed to be Spanish Ships, which were cruising on-and-off to the Westward; but one of the Privateers, which was dispatched by the Commodore to look for them, returned without seeing them.

On *November* 5. they left the Island of *Madeira*, and proceeded on their Voyage, the *Gloucester* having the *Industry* Pink in Tow. On the 17th, they lay-to, to unlade the *Industry* Tender; which took up two or three Days, and then she was discharged. They had, all this time, very pleasant Weather; and, on the 28th, passed the Line with a fair Wind. On the 30th, being in the Latitude of $4^{\circ} 25'$ South, they observed with great Astonishment, that the Sea glittered, and appeared like Fire, in the Night; which, however, is a Phenomenon not very unusual in those Seas. In the Beginning of the Month of *December*, the Crew began to be sickly; which they attributed chiefly to the heavy Rains they met with after they passed the Equinoctial. On the 13th of that Month about Noon, they crossed the Tropic of *Capricorn*; and, on the 19th, had Sight of the Island of *St. Catharine's*.

On the 20th about Noon, they came to an Anchor; and the next Day, sailing nearer to the Fort, came to an Anchor again, and saluted the Governor with eleven Guns. This Island, which lies upon the Coast of *Brazil*, in the Latitude of $27^{\circ} 30'$ South, is very convenient for the Refreshment of such Ships as are bound to the South Seas; for it abounds with Oranges, Lemons, and other Fruits of that kind, Cabbage and Banana-trees, with excellent Potatoes, fresh Water every-where in plenty, and vast Quantities of Herbs, which seldom fail to relieve the Sick. The Governor owns the Authority of the King of *Portugal*; but, in other respects, the Island produces no great Advantage to that Crown. As soon as the Squadron had anchored, the Commodore ordered a Tent to be set up for the Use of the Sick, who were furnished with fresh Provisions, and whatever else was requisite for People in their Condition; and in the mean time the Rigging was overhauled, the *Trial* Sloop had her Masts taken out, repaired, and fitted up again; and all the Ships took in Wood, Water, and Provisions, with all the Expedition possible.

5. On *January* 19. 1741, about nine in the Morning, they sailed from *St. Catharine's*, the Governor of the Fort saluting them with eleven Guns; and the Commodore returned the like Number. Notwithstanding the Care taken of the *Trial* Sloop at the Island of *St. Catharine's*, she was still in a very crazy Condition; and on the 24th, the Head of her Main-mast being carried away, and her Fore-mast sprung, the *Gloucester* was forced to take her in Tow. On *February* 8. the Men were put to short Allowance, having two Quarts of Water a Day. On the 11th, they had Sight

of Land, which appeared low, flat, and sandy. On the 12th, they found themselves off *Cape Blanco*, which appears, at a Distance, like a long Table, the adjacent Country flat and low. For several Days afterwards, they saw abundance of Penguins, a Bird we have before described, and other Water-fowl. On the 17th in the Afternoon, a Sail appearing, the Commodore made a Signal for the *Gloucester* to chase; which she accordingly did, and, coming up with her about eleven, found her to be the *Pearl*, which had been separated from the Squadron by an hard Gale on the 22d of the last Month. She had been chased on the 7th by five large Spanish Men of War, and escaped from them in the Night. Having thus rejoined the Squadron, they sailed along-shore in Search of the River of *St. Julian*. The next Day, they anchored on the Coast in thirty-three Fathom Water, and sent in a Boat nearer the Shore to look for the Harbour. They had observed, for several Days, that the Sea was discoloured in many Places, and looked like Blood; a thing often observed before, and usually attributed to a kind of Shrimps or Cray-fish. The Land appeared rocky and barren, with several white Cliffs. They saw likewise a Mountain about eight Miles distant, lying South-west by West, shaped like a Sugar-loaf, and is called *Woods-bill*; which is looked upon as the Mark of the Harbour of *St. Julian*. The next Day, they entered the Harbour so famous for having received the Squadron commanded by *Magellan*, when he first discovered a Passage this Way into the South Sea, and for the Stay made here by Sir *Francis Drake*, in his Voyage round the World, as well as for the Mutinies of both their Crews in this Harbour.

6. Port *St. Julian*, on the Coast of *Patagonia*, lies in the Latitude of $49^{\circ} 11'$ South, and in the Longitude of 80° West from *London*. There is a Bar before the Harbour, where, at Low-water, there are not above ten Feet Water. The Harbour's Mouth is in the Middle of the Bay, which cannot be discovered without, because of one Point shutting in the other. Just without the Bar, lies a small flat Island, about a League from Land, which *Drake* called the *Island of true Justice*, because he there tried and executed Mr. *Doughty*. Over-against this Island, the Land is high; two Leagues farther to the South, it is low, and runs into a great Plain and Beach lying South South-west and North North-east. At the South End of this Beach are high round Hills; but the Sea-side is a steep white Cliff, moderately high, with a black Streak in it. The Hill over this Cliff rises, as is before observed, in the Form of a Sugar-loaf, having some black Bushes on the Sides, tho' there is neither Tree nor Bush to be seen in the Neighbourhood. In the Middle of the Harbour, there is from seventeen to nineteen Feet Water, the Bottom a fine black Sand. The Flood runs here South South-west, and the Ebb North North-east, at the Rate of two Miles and an half in the Hour. The Commodore hoisted his Long-boat, and sent on shore two Lieutenants, with a Detachment, to examine the Country, and to go to the Salt-ponds, which lie about a League to the North-west; in which Expedition they employed two Days, and then returned with a considerable Quantity of Salt; but without seeing any Inhabitants.

As this was the first Land they had touched at since their Departure from *St. Catharine's*, and Captain *Kidd* of the *Pearl* dying in his Passage, he was succeeded by Captain *Murray* out of the *Wager*; who had for his Successor Captain *Cheap*, who commanded the *Trial* Sloop; and his Lieutenant, Mr. *Sanders*, was appointed Commander of the *Trial*. There was a Report at this time in the Squadron, that Captain *Kidd* should say upon his Death-bed, That this Voyage, in which they had engaged with so much Cheerfulness, and such high Expectations of acquiring immense Fortunes, would, in the End, produce Poverty, Vermin, Famine, Death, and Destruction. I am persuaded, from the Language, as well as the Spirit, of this pretended Prophecy, that it could never fall from the Lips of a Gentleman bred in the Service. An English Officer knows his Duty too well to make the Increase of his Fortune the Cause of his serving his Country cheerfully; and would never breathe the Discontent amongst his Sailors by any such Declaration. I am therefore convinced, that this was afterwards invented by such, as wanted an Excuse to colour their own

own bad Behaviour; but, no doubt, the circulating such Stories had a very ill Effect on the Minds of the Seamen, and, by depressing their Spirits, contributed to produce the Mischiefs, that they seemed to predict. The Squadron remained here about a Week, in which time they overhauled and repaired their Rigging, supplied themselves with Salt, and received their Proportion of Stores out of the *Trial* and *Ann Pink*; but, as they were not able to meet with Water on that Coast, their Allowance was reduced to a Quart a Man, and three Pints for the Sick.

On the 27th, the Squadron failed; and the *Gloucester*, not being able to purchase her Anchors, cut, and put to Sea, leaving her best Bower, and a third of a Cable, behind. On *March 4.* they had Sight of Cape *Virgin Mary*, at the Entrance of the Straights of *Magellan*, bearing South-west by South. On the 6th, they first saw *Terra del Fuego*, an high rocky Shore, full of Precipices, the Tops of which were covered with Snow.

7. On the 7th, at five in the Afternoon, the Signal was made to lie-to; and, at four in the Morning, the Commodore fired ten Guns, as a Signal to make Sail. About seven, they had Sight of the *Three Brothers* on *Terra del Fuego*, at the very Entrance of the Straights of *le Maire*. At ten, they entered the Straights, with a brisk Gale, and a strong Current setting in. Cape *Diego* on *Terra del Fuego* bore North-west by West, distant three Leagues; and the opposite Cape of *St. Antonio* on *States-land* East North-east. Having the Wind and Tide with them, they were, by two in the Afternoon, quite through the Straights; so that a finer Passage was never made. These Straights of *le Maire* lie in the Latitude of $55^{\circ} 45'$ South, in a manner, due North and South. They are between seven and eight Leagues wide; and the Passage through is very little more. The Land on both Sides consists of high craggy Rocks, covered with Snow. The opposite Capes, on the South Side of these Straights, are Cape *Gonzales* on *Terra del Fuego*, and Cape *St. Bartholomew* on *States-land*. The Weather now began to grow extremely cold; and, as they had hard Gales, and a rolling Sea from the South-west, both Ships and Men suffered exceedingly, more especially the *Gloucester* and the *Wager*.

On the 27th, the *Gloucester* made a Signal of Distress, having broken her Main-yard; on which the Commodore ordered two Carpenters and a Smith, from the *Pearl*, to assist in repairing it. On the 31st, her Main-yard broke again; and, on *April 1.* the Commodore ordered the Carpenter of the *Wager* on board her. On the 3d, she shipped a Sea, that washed the Barge off the Boom, stove the Pinnace, and filled her Long-boat full of Water, by which she suffered very much. On the 7th, a like Accident happened to her. On the 8th, the *Wager* lost her Mizzen-mast; and, upon a Roll of a Sea, all her Chain-plates broke to Windward. On the 9th, the *Ann Pink* made a Signal of Distress, having broke her Fore-stay, and damaged her Bow-sprit.

8. On *March 10.* being in the Latitude of 54° South, they had Sight of two Islands, which bore from them North North-west, about the Distance of eight Leagues. They lost Sight this Day of the *Severn* and the *Pearl*; which Ships repassed the Straights of *le Maire*, and took Shelter on the Coast of *Brazil*. On the 12th, they had very hard Gales at West; and, between six and seven in the Morning, a prodigious Sea broke into the *Wager*; which carried Mr. *Bulkeley*, the Gunner of the Ship, who was standing upon Deck, over the Wheel, bulged the Cutter, and filled the Long-boat full of Water. The Boatswain was for heaving the Cutter overboard; but the Gunner insisted upon having the Captain's Directions, who was sick in his Cabin. He ordered her by all means to be saved; which was accordingly done. The Carpenter of the *Wager* was all this time on board the *Gloucester*. On the 13th, the Commodore being then on the Weather-quarter of the *Wager*, bore down under her Lee, in order to speak with Captain *Cheep*; and accordingly the Captain being brought upon Deck, the Commodore asked him, If the Carpenter was returned from the *Gloucester*. The Captain answered, No; and I am surprised Captain *Mitchell* should detain him, when he knows I must want him about my Mizzen-mast. The Commodore told him, He must speak with the *Gloucester*, and order him on board. He then asked the Captain, Why he did

not set the Main-top-sail, and make more Sail. Captain *Cheep* answered, My Rigging is all gone, and broke fore-and-aft; and my People almost all taken ill, and down; but I will get him as soon as possible. The Commodore desired he would, and make what Sail he could after him. On the 14th, the Carpenter returned from the *Gloucester*, it being the only Day in a Fortnight a Boat could live in the Sea. As soon as the Carpenter came on board, he waited on the Captain; who ordered him to look on the Chain-plates and Chains, and to give his Opinion of the Malt's going away. The Carpenter looked as ordered, and told Captain *Cheep*, That the Chain-plates were all broken. The Captain shook his Head, and said, Carpenter, That is not the Reason of the Malt's going away. The Carpenter, as the Malt was gone, not caring to charge it on any one's Mismanagement, or to occasion any Uneasiness about what was now past Prevention, fitted a Cap on the Stump of the Mizzen-mast, got up a lower Studding-sail-boom of forty Feet, and hoisted a Sail to keep the Ship to. This Day, they saw Land in the Latitude of $54^{\circ} 5'$, which, without doubt, was the *Black Cape* on the Coast of *Terra del Fuego*. For some Days after this, the Weather was moderately good; and, having long enough doubled Cape *Horn*, there seemed to be no great Danger of parting Company.

9. On *April 19.* there were some hard Gales; and they lost Sight of the *Gloucester* and *Wager*, the latter of which they never saw again; a very strange Accident, considering they had now better Weather than at any time since their passing the Straights, and were but at a moderate Distance from the Island of *Juan Fernandez*. But we shall hereafter resume this Subject, tho' a very disagreeable one.

They were now extremely afflicted with the Scurvy aboard the *Centurion*. On board the *Gloucester*, the People were in a miserable Condition, there being so many confined to their Beds, that they had scarce enough to do the Business of the Ship, and at the same time so extremely pestered with Rats, that they could hardly sleep, their sick Men having their Toes eaten off; and, as there were ten or twelve died a Day, their Corpses were dreadfully disfigured by these rapacious Enemies. On *May 16.* they had Sight of Land, which bore East North-east, which they took to be the Island of *Socora*. The next Morning, it blowing so hard, and the Wind frequently veering, a Consultation was held, in which it was very prudently resolved to bear away for the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, in order to refresh and refit. About two in the Afternoon their Fore-stay blew from the Stay; and soon after, the Fore-sail split to Pieces. About Noon, they saw several high Mountains, covered with Snow; and the next Day at ten, having then moderate Weather, they saw them very plain; and then they seemed to them to be Islands.

On the 21st, the Ship's Company of the *Gloucester* were reduced to a Pint of Water per Day, except the Sick, who were still allowed a Quart. On the 23d, the high Land bore East South-east, distant about two Leagues, in the Latitude of about 48° South, a strong Current setting here to the Westward. On the 23d, they had little Wind in the Morning; but, towards Night, hard Gales, a very great Sea, and a violent Swell; which did much Damage to their Rigging and Sails. They likewise shipped a great Sea, which distressed them exceedingly, being now in a most deplorable Condition, not a Top-sail-yard in the Ship, nor a Carpenter, whose Health would permit him to work, in order to repair them; so that they were forced to bend a Sprit-sail for a Top-sail, the Ship at the same time very leaky, and not Men enough in Health to work her. On the 30th, they saved a Butt of Rain-water. On *June 1.* they saved a Puncheon, which was of great Service for the Relief of their Sick. The Weather was so moderate during the succeeding Week, that the few Men who were well had not so much Fatigue as before; and on the 8th, about four in the Afternoon, they saw, to their great Joy, the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, their first Place of general Rendezvous, lying West by South, at the Distance of about thirteen Leagues. On the 9th, fresh Gales, and cloudy, with some Showers of Rain, and a great Sea, the Body of the Island being then distant about four Leagues.

10. On the 10th, about two in the Afternoon, they anchored in twenty Fathom Water, under the Land. The

first thing they did was to send their Boats on shore, with Spars and Sails to make Tents, or at least a kind of covered Huts, for the Convenience of the Sick; in the fixing of which the Commodore not only gave his Directions, but assisted in Person, and furnished whatever was thought requisite for People in their Condition by the Surgeon, out of his own Stores; for, as his Temperance had preserved his Health, it now furnished him with the additional Pleasure of supplying the Sick with what another Man would have spent at his own Table. The Ship's Company was, indeed, in a most dreadful Condition: Out of upwards of 500, which were on board the *Centurion* when they left *England*, there were not now 200 left; and the far greatest Part of these in a most miserable Condition, into which they were reduced by the Scurvy; a Disease so much the more terrible, as it produces various, and yet alike frightful, Symptoms in different Constitutions. Some who were seized with it lost the Use of their Limbs, and of their Senses; so that it was difficult to distinguish, except by their low moaning Noise, whether they were alive or dead. It affected others, by disordering their Brains, and this even to a degree of Madness; which made them terrible to others, as well as useless to themselves. A third sort had their Spirits greatly depressed, a general Lassitude, accompanied with a Shortness of Breath; and it was observed, that these were soon carried off. It seems unworthy of an Historian to lay down Facts of this Nature, without inquiring a little into their Cause; for to talk of the Scurvy, as a Disease acting such different Cruelties on the Bodies of Men, may excite the Compassion, and raise the Admiration, of Readers; but will hardly, I think, satisfy their Judgments. The very learned *Ramazzini*, as well as other Physicians, have accurately treated this Disease; and therefore, from them, I shall borrow the Helps necessary to explain it.

The Scurvy, then, may be defined to be an ill Habit of Body, occasioned by the manner of living at Sea, and shewing itself according to the natural Habits of those upon whom it seizes. To enter more particularly into the Matter: The Air, to which Seamen are continually exposed, is always salt and moist, and, in the Climate of which we are now speaking, exceedingly quick and cold. Their Diet, for the most part, is salt Meat, which they are not able to dilute with sufficient Quantities of Liquor, and without they have broken and uncertain Rest; from all which, as also from other intervening Accidents, such as being often wet, and exposed to the cold Night Air, they contract the ill Habit of Body, of which we are now speaking. For this salt and moist Air, entering the Blood, will render it viscid; and the Bitter in the Salt which they eat, will heat and rarify this viscid Blood, and thereby increase its Celerity. By this means very large Globules will be forced into the Capillary Vessels, where they must remain, till either the Quickness of the Circulation removes the Obstruction, or the Efforts made by Nature for that Purpose break the Vessels. Hence it is, that the Diseased are troubled with Spots, and Itchings in the Skin; for extravasated Blood turns first of an high Red, then livid, then black. It putrefies likewise, which occasions the Rottenness of their Gums, stinking Breath, and loose Teeth. Wandering Pains, irregular Pulse, and inexpressible Faintness, are Symptoms that arise from the same Cause; which, as I observed before, operates severally according to the Difference of Constitutions. In the End they are usually carried off by a Dropsy, attended with Ulcers in their Legs, and very frequently with a voracious Appetite; which agrees exactly with what is reported by those who made this Voyage, viz. that, upon opening the Bodies of those who died on board the *Centurion*, they found their Blood dried up, the Vessels full of Water, and their Bones, when the Flesh was scraped off, quite black.

As to the Remedies which are fittest for this Disease, they are easily discovered, but then they are not so easily applied. Good Air, fresh Provisions, great Plenty of Greens, and Abundance of thin Liquors, together with due Exercise, and natural Rest, quickly complete the Cure. But to what Purpose should a Man talk of these at Sea, where none of them are to be had, and where the very Mention of them must be exceedingly disagreeable, for that very Reason? The only thing to be thought of there, is how to prevent

the Scurvy; and, in regard to this, much may be done. In the first Place, Cleanliness is a matter of great Consequence; Sir *John Narbrough* tells us, that he defended his Crew, in a great measure, from this dreadful Disease, and that for many Months, in these Seas, by a very easy Precaution; for he obliged every Man to wash his Mouth, Face, and Hands, before he received his daily Allowance of Bread, and appointed a Man to see it performed. Exercise is another excellent Thing; for, while People are brisk and active, this Distemper cannot lay hold on them. The same judicious Commander tells us, that twelve of his Crew fell lame with Cold, their Legs and Thighs turning as black as an Hat. These made use of Bathing and Stuping, which, instead of relieving, increased the Symptoms; while, at the same time, those who were able to stir, and to do their Business, felt no sort of Inconvenience from the Climate, but enjoyed as good Health, and had better Stomachs than in *England*. Thirdly, Vinegar, and all other Acids, either as Food or Physic, are great Preservatives; to which if we join abstaining as much as possible from salt Meats, and spirituous Liquors, I believe it will not be easy to add any thing very considerable upon this Subject. But to return to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*.

After they had been some time on shore, and had fed on fresh Provisions, Greens, Roots, and whatever else the Island afforded, enjoyed the Benefit of wholesome Air, and daily Exercise, with the sovereign Relief of good Water in great Plenty, they began to recover their former Health and Strength, and to take a great deal of Pleasure in their present Habitation; which I shall not describe, because we have spoken already very fully of it. I shall only observe, that the Account given us by these People, and the Advantages of this Island, sufficiently justify what I have advanced, as to its making a commodious Plantation; and this is one Reason why I do not chuse to say any more of it, lest it might be thought I put my own Sentiments into other Mens Mouths. While they remained here, every thing was conducted with the utmost Regularity and Decorum; and the utmost Pains taken to repair and refit the Ship, as well as to refresh and recover the Men.

On the eleventh, came in the *Trial* Sloop, in a most miserable Condition, the Vessel scarce able to swim, and hardly Hands enough to work her; having buried more than half her Crew since she left *England*. They sent her on board, as soon as she dropp'd Anchor, a convenient Supply of Water and fresh Provisions, which were very acceptable. The Commodore was in great Pain for the rest of his Squadron, whom he daily expected at this Rendezvous, according to their Instructions, but saw nothing of them for the Space of a Fortnight. On the twenty-seventh they had Sight of the *Gloucester*; on which the Commodore ordered the First Lieutenant on board, in the Cutter, with a Supply of Filth and Water; a very seasonable Relief to People who had been for some time at so short an Allowance, as a Pint of Water a Day to each Man; and reduced to so low a Condition, that the Captain found it absolutely necessary to detain the Lieutenant, and his Boat's Crew, in order to assist him in working the Ship.

11. Never certainly was a Ship's Company more distressed than the *Gloucester's* at this Time; for upon sending, on the twenty-eighth, the *Trial's* Boat, with another Lieutenant, and a small Crew, Captain *Mitchell* thought proper to detain them, in order to work his Ship, which was about four Leagues from the North End of the Island, and continued driving in this manner for a whole Week. They then attempted to tow her into the Harbour, but to no manner of Purpose; for on the tenth of *July* she drove, in spite of all that could be done, quite out of Sight: On the sixteenth she was again within Sight of the Island, fired two Guns, and made a Signal of Distress, having then but one Puncheon of Water left; the Commodore sent a Boat on board, with two Hogheads of Wine, nine Puncheons of Water, and other Refreshments. On the nineteenth she was blown off again, and driven to the lesser Island of *Juan Fernandez*, in the Latitude of $35^{\circ} 55'$ South, about 20 Leagues South South-west of the great Island. The *Spaniards*, when they speak of them both, call them the Islands of *Juan Fernandez*; but, to distinguish them, they call the larger *de Tierra*, and the lesser *de Fuera*. The *Gloucester* attempted to send

her Boat ashore, in order to get Water, having Sight of several Rivulets, but to no Purpose; for the Wind blowing strong from the Shore, occasioned such a Surf, as rendered it impossible for them to land: However, their Expedition was not altogether ineffectual, since the Boat returned with a large Supply of Fish.

On the 23d they made the larger Island of *Juan Fernandez* again, and about 11 in the Morning came to an Anchor. The Commodore then sent off his Boat, with a Lieutenant and a Crew sufficient to assist the *Gloucester* in Mooring. They had been now above a Month plying in Sight of the Island, and from the Time they left Port St. Julian's had buried 254 Men, and had now but 98 left, of whom not above seven or eight were able to assist in working the Ship; they were, besides, so distressed for Water, that for a Month before they made the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, they were reduced to a Pint a Day, and had not enough, even at that scanty Allowance, to serve them a Week longer. However, when her Crew once got on shore, and had the Conveniency of Tents, and such Refreshments as the Island afforded, they recovered apace; which was especially owing to the Commodore, who supplied the Sick, as he had done his own People, with Wine, and other Necessaries, from his private Stores. The Beginning of the Month of *August* they spent in repairing and rigging their Ships, and in clearing the Hold of the *Gloucester*; where they found a great many of her lower Tier of Water-casks half filled with Sea-water and Ballast; which was occasioned by the Rats eating Holes in them. On the 5th the Commodore detached the *Trial's* Sloop to the Island de Fuera, to see if any of the rest of the Squadron had put in there, and the returned on the 21st, but without any Intelligence. The rest of this Month, and the Beginning of the next, was spent in getting on board Water, and other Necessaries, that the Ships might, as soon as possible, be in a Condition to put to Sea.

12. On *September 7*, about eight in the Morning, a Sail appeared in the Offing; upon which the Commodore flipt his Cables, and gave her Chace. The next Day, they lost Sight of her; but soon saw another Sail, which they chased and took, and returned with her on the 14th to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*. The Prize was called the *Camilla*, and had on board, amongst other things, 140,000 Pieces of Eight. The *Ann Pink* being condemned as useless, her Ammunition, and eight of her Guns, were put on board the *Spanish Prize*, which was fitted up with all the Care and Diligence imaginable, to supply her Place. On the 18th, the *Trial Sloop*, being intirely refitted, was ordered to Sea, with Directions to cruise in a certain Latitude, till joined by the Commodore. The *Spanish Prisoners*, to the Number of twenty-eight, were put on board the *Gloucester*; and Captain *Mitchell* had Orders given him to refit as soon as possible, and follow the Commodore, who was resolved to lose no Time in pursuing his Instructions. Captain *Mitchell* was likewise directed to take out the Masts of the *Ann Pink*, and set her on Fire; which Precautions being taken, the Commodore sailed, with his Prize, from the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, in order to cruise on the *Spanish Coast*.

On *October 3*, a little after Noon, they had Sight of two Ships, and, on giving Chace, came up with them, when they proved to be the *Trial Sloop*, and a Prize she had taken. The Prize was a fine, new, strong Ship, fit, in every respect, for a Privateer; and, as the *Trial* had sprung her Fore-mast and Main-mast in chasing her, the Commodore condemned the Sloop, and commissioned the Prize. In this Ship were taken, besides other Merchandize, 144 Ounces of Gold, 7272 Ounces of Silver, and two Chests of Church-plate, very finely wrought, besides other Things of Value. On the 4th, the Men being already turned over to the Prize, and all things of Value taken out of the *Trial Sloop*, she was destroyed; but not set on Fire, to avoid alarming the Coast. On the 5th, the Articles of War were read to the Ship's Company; and from thence to the 20th, the Commodore continued cruising, with his two Prizes, on the Coast of *Peru*, where we will leave them for the present, in order to give an Account of the Shipwreck of the *Wager*; which is a Point, however disagreeable, of so great Importance, that, I think, it cannot be omitted.

13. The Account given by the Gunner and Carpenter, which is already in every body's Hands, deserves to be read with the utmost Attention, the rather because I do not find, that any Part of their Narrative is contradicted, notwithstanding it is certain, that some Advices have been received from the Captain, who is since arrived safe in some of the *Spanish Settlements*. I have made all the Use of it I could, as well as of other Informations I have received, in order to give a short, plain, and, as far as I have any Lights, a true Account of the Matter. The *Wager* separated from the Commodore on *April 19*, in the Evening, when the Weather was much better, than it had been for a Month before. Immediately after this Separation, the Mischief that afterwards broke out so violently, began to work, the Steward taking upon him to shorten Provisions, and to behave in such a manner, that the Captain ordered a Case of Pistols to be delivered to every Officer on board the Ship. I must confess, it seems very clear to me, that there were two sinister Designs formed on board the *Wager*; the one, if we may credit the Accounts we have had, of the Captain, to go upon the *Spanish Coast* without the Commodore; and the other, of the Crew to do what they pleased. The first appears from hence, that the Captain denied the Rendezvous was at the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; and pretended, that it had been altered at *St. Julian's* to an Island in the Latitude of 44° South; which was the only Excuse he made for continuing his Course, at the apparent Hazard of the Ship, and of all their Lives.

That the Reader may perceive this the more clearly, I am obliged to give him a Conversation, which happened between Captain *David Cheap* and Mr. *Buckley* the Gunner, a few Evenings before the Ship was lost, which explains the whole Affair, and is thus related by the Gunner: 'The Captain sent for me into his Cabin, and the first Word he said was, Gunner, What Longitude have you made? I told him, 28° 30'. What Distance do you reckon yourself off the Land? I answered, About sixty Leagues; but, if the two Islands we saw were those laid down in your Chart to lie off *Breuer's* Streights, and the same Current continues, with a Western Swell, we cannot be above a third Part of the Distance off the Land. The Captain made Answer, As for the Currents, there is no Account to be given for them: Sometimes they set one Way, and sometimes another. I said, Sir, very true; but, as the Ship has been always under reefed Courses, with the Mizzen-mast gone, the mist wholly drive to Leeward, and nigher the Land than expected. The Captain then told me, I suppose you are not acquainted with my Rendezvous for the Island of *Nuestra Señora di Socora*, in the Latitude of 44°. I replied, Sir, the Ship is in a very bad Condition to come in with the Ice-shore; and, if it is possible to bring the Ship to an Anchor, we shall never purchase it again. The Captain answered, I do not design to come to an Anchor; for there are no Soundings, until you come within seven Leagues of the Land. I purpose to stand off-and-on twenty-four Hours; and, if I do not see the Commodore, or any of the Squadron, in that time, we will go for *Juan Fernandez*. To this I said, Sir, the Ship is a perfect Wreck, our Mizzen-mast gone, with our standing Rigging fore-and-aft, and all our People down; therefore I cannot see what we can do in with the Land. The Captain's Answer was, It does not signify; I am obliged and determined to go for the first Rendezvous. I find it is a thing taken for granted by those, who have given an Account of this Voyage, that the Captain really had Instructions to fail to this Island, which, however, I very much doubt: For it does not appear, that the Commodore ever went thither, or thought of sending thither, to see if any of the Squadron were there, which he certainly would have done, if it had been the Place of Rendezvous.

On *May 14*, at half an Hour past four in the Afternoon, the Ship struck on a funk Rock; and the Crew was to their great Sorrow, nothing but Rocks round them. She struck a second time, which broke the Head of the Tiller; and in a short time after the Struck, being grounded between two small Islands, about five Leagues distant from the Main, and not above a Musquet shot from the Shore. They immediately launched the Barge, and

and Yawl, over the Gunnel, cut the main and Fore-masts by the Board, and the Sheet Anchor from the Gunnel. The Captain lent the Barge ashore, to see if the Place was inhabited; but, the People not returning on board as directed, the Lieutenant was sent in the Yawl, with Orders to bring off the Barge: This he sent off, but stayed ashore himself. As soon as the Barge came on board, the Captain was persuaſed, being very ill, to go ashore; which he did, accompanied by the Land Officers, Mate, and Midshipmen. The Officers remaining on board were the Master, Boatwain, Gunner, and Carpenter: Upon the principal Officers leaving the Ship, several of the Sailors fell to broaching the Wine, breaking open Cabins, and doing every thing that might be expected from Wretches mad and drunk. The Vessel being bulged in the Midships, the rest of them went on shore. The Island they found uninhabited, and nothing in it for Subsistence except Celery, which grew wild, Mussels, Limpets, and other Shellfish, and some wild Fowl. A Spirit of Mutiny soon showed itself amongst these unhappy Men; for, on the 16th, the Boatwain being on board the Wreck, made a signal for a Boat to come on board; but, finding no Appearance of any, he brought a Quarter-deck Gun to bear on the Captain's Hut, which grazed over it, without doing any other Damage. As soon he came ashore, the Captain let this struck him a Blow with his Cane, that knocked him down; and he lay motionless, and, to Appearance, dead, for some time. When he came to himself, and saw a Pistol cocked in the Captain's Hand, he presented his naked Breast to him; but the Captain only told him, He deserved to be shot; and said no more then. This is a Demonstration of the Temper they were in on all Sides. If they had taken due Care, they might certainly have made themselves very easy in the Place where Providence had placed them; for, besides that they were visited by the *Indians*, who behaved very well towards them, they got abundance of things out of the Ship, and of such things as we cannot help wondering how they came there; *viz.* several Chests of Wax-candles of all Sizes, Bales of Cloth, *&c.* and stockings and Shoes, with some Clocks, and other mercantile Wares, with which, lays my Author, the Ship was thronged.

But, instead of taking the best Measures possible for their own Security and Preservation, they were continually contriving each other's Destruction. They had not been on shore above three Weeks, before eleven of them formed a Design of blowing up the Captain, the Surgeon, and a Lieutenant of Marines, in their Tent. On this Design being discovered, they deserted; but the Train they had laid for executing their villainous Purpose was found, and appeared a clear Testimony of the Truth of the Fact. Soon after, a Disturbance happened, in which Mr. *Henry Cozens*, Midshipman, was shot by the Captain on *June 10.* and, on the 24th, he died. At this time, there were forty-five *Samos* dead since the Ship struck, and 100 still remained upon the Island. It happened, that a Midshipman on board the *Bago* had borrowed from Captain *Cheep* Sir *John Narborough's* Voyage to the South Seas; which falling into the Hands of some of the Officers, they immediately formed a Design of lengthening their Long-boat, and endeavouring to slip through the Straights for the Coast of *Brazil*, tho' at a Distance of 600 Leagues. It was certainly a very bold Design, and a very strong Testimony, that *English* Men have Spirit enough to undertake and execute any thing, that is in the Power of Man.

As soon as this Resolution was taken, they drew up the following Paper, which was signed by the Carpenter, and twenty-two Officers and Seamen, as also by Captain *Pemerton*, and two Lieutenants of Marines: 'We, whose Names are under-mentioned, do, upon mature Consideration, as we have met with so happy a Deliverance, think it the best, surest, and most safe Way, for the Preservation of the Body of People on the Spot, to proceed through the Straights of *Magellan* for *England*: Dated at a desolate Island, on the Coast of *Patagonia*, in the Latitude of 47° South, and West Longitude, from the Meridian of *London*, 81° 40', in the South Seas, this second Day of *August*, 1741.' This Paper they carried to the *Yawl*, and laboured all they could to engage him to comply with their Desire; which, however, had little

Effect; for he made abundance of Objections, suggesting to them, that they were not above one hundred Leagues from the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; that they were but at a small Distance from the Island of *Chiloe*, allowing, however, that it was not likely, that they should find the Commodore at the first-mentioned Place; because, as he affirmed, he was positively instructed to attack *Baldovia*, a Port of *Chili*; nor that it was probable they should do any Good at *Chiloe*. In all this, however, he only temporized; for, when they pressed him for a direct Answer, he flatly declared, that he was not resolved to go that Way. This produced new Disorders and Seditions; till at last they resolved to rid themselves of the Captain's Authority altogether: And, to do this, they could not find a better Pretence than to make him Prisoner for the Murder of Mr. *Cozens*; which accordingly they did on the 9th of *October* in the Morning, seizing him in his Bed: Upon which Occasion the Captain behaved with great Spirit and Firmness, declaring absolutely, that it never was his Intention to comply with their Design of going through the Straights of *Magellan*, and that he was prepared for any Fate that might befall him; only he seemed to relent the Conduct of his Officers, who had put themselves at the Head of the Mutineers.

One cannot help being surpris'd at so odd a Transaction, or forbear wondering to see, that the greatest Hardships, the most intolerable Distresses, cannot alter the Frame of the human Mind, or change, for any Length of Time, the Disposition of the Man. Captain *Cheep* had governed despotically on board, without ever consulting his Officers, or taking Pains to gain the Affection, as well as to secure the Obedience, of his People. He affected the same Manner of acting, when shipwrecked on a desert Island; and, instead of encouraging the People to live peaceably and harmoniously together, and to concur in every thing necessary for the common Good, he shut himself up in his Tent; issued his Orders from thence, with great Looseness of Mind; and, while he was careless of the common Safety, shewed an excessive Jealousy of his own Authority. It was this kind of Management that put the other Officers upon contriving how to return home, without waiting for their Captain's Directions: So natural it is for People, in all Cases, to believe they are released from the Duty of Obedience, when their Governors forget to protect them.

The Scheme of passing through the Straights of *Magellan* took Rise from the Accident I have before-mentioned; and, I must confess, I think it a Misfortune, that they happened to meet with that Book; for, if their Minds had not been prepossessed with a Notion, that this was the only Way by which they could return, they might, undoubtedly, have found a nearer Passage; for, in the Latitude of 50° South, there is a Gulph, on the Coast of *Patagonia*, which runs very far within-land, from whence they might have rowed up the *Rio de la Campana*, which falls from a great Lake in the Heart of the Country; out of which there runs another River, that falls into the North Sea, not far from Port *St. Julian*; which Passage may be about fourcore Leagues, or at most one hundred, and would have saved them all their tedious Voyage through the Straights of *Magellan*, and from thence along the Coast of *Patagonia*, to that very Port of *St. Julian*. But the former Passage being once proposed, and the Captain endeavouring rather to shew them, that this was impracticable, than to point out any other shorter or better Passage, the Dispute served only to divide and distract them, and to create such Difficulties in carrying on the important Affair of lengthening their Long-boat, upon which, at all Events, their Safety depended, that the Carpenter, who had the Direction of it, ran mad with repeated Disappointments; and it was with very great Difficulty that the Design was at last accomplished, and their new Vessel finished in such a manner, as to be able to put to Sea.

I am very sorry, that I am obliged to make these Reflections, which seem to bear hard upon an unfortunate Gentleman, for whom I have the greatest Tenderness and Compassion: But the Reader will find them fully justified hereafter, when he takes a View of the Commodore's Conduct in the same Circumstances: When he sees him, like

like Captain *Cheap*, and with a smaller Number of Men, on an uninhabited Island, in a much worse Situation, he will there see, that the Commodore lost nothing of his Authority, but was regarded as the Father of those on Shore, whose Officer he had been at Sea. We may then behold him giving his Orders in that desert Island with the same Firmness of Mind as on board his Ship, and those Orders obeyed with equal Readiness, because encouraged by his own Example. There, indeed, Mr. *Amson* was an absolute Monarch, and governed by no other Rule than that of his Will, because his People were sensible from long Experience, that he had nothing in View but their Good; and therefore they knew no Interest, but that of obeying his Directions. He found himself under no Necessity of talking of his Commission, and the Laws of the Navy, because he derived his Authority from an higher Source, the Affection of his Ship's Company. In a Word, his Virtues secured him, not only from Sedition, but from the very Suspicion of it; and those who shared with him in that Danger, instead of reflecting on the Accident with Horror, still remember with Delight that Picture of primitive Government, in which superior Abilities gave a kind of divine Right to Empire. But to return to that Scene of Confusion which we left so lately.

After seizing their Captain, and finishing the Vessel, in which they were to embark, the Crew of the *Wager* thought of nothing but getting on board their Sea-stores, and leaving the dismal Place of their Confinement; but, before they did this, they thought fit to draw up a kind of Instrument of Deposition; which, because I believe it is the first of its kind, and as singular in its Form as in its Matter, I shall give it the Reader in their own Words: 'Whereas Captain *David Cheap*, our Commander, in his Majesty's Ship the *Wager*, never consulted any of his Officers for the Safety and Preservation of the said Ship, and his Majesty's Subjects thereto belonging; but several times, since the unhappy Loss of the said Ship, he has been solicited, in the most dutiful Manner, promising him, at the same time, to support his Command, desiring no more than to go off Heart and Hand from this Place to the Southward; which he gave his Word and Honour to do; and, being almost ready for sailing, did apply to him some few Days past to draw up some proper Articles, in order to prevent Mutiny, and other material Things, which we thought necessary to be agreed to before we went off; but he, in the most scornful Manner, hath rejected every thing proposed for the public Good: And as he is now a Prisoner, and the Command given to the Lieutenant, upon his Approbation of the following Articles: First, as we have no Convenience for dressing Provisions on board the Vessel for a third Part of the Number to be carried off the Spot, therefore have this Day served out, to every Man and Boy, twelve Days Provision for them to dress before we go off: And also it is agreed, that whoever is guilty of defrauding another of any Part of his Allowance, on sufficient Proof thereof, the Person found guilty, without any Respect of Person, shall be put on shore at the first convenient Place, and left there: Secondly, in regard to the Boat's going off with us, we think proper to allow one Week's Provision for each Man appointed to go in them, in order to prevent Separation from each other, which would be of the worst Consequence of any thing that can happen to us: To prevent which, we do agree, that, when under Way, they shall not separate, but always keep within Musket-shot, and, on no Pretence or Excuse whatsoever, go beyond that Reach: The Officer, or any other Person, who shall attempt Separation, or exceed the above-mentioned Bounds, shall, on Proof, be put on shore, and left behind: Thirdly, it is agreed, in order to suppress Mutiny, and prevent Broils and Quarrels on board the Vessel, that no Man shall threaten the Life of another, or offer Violence in any Shape; the Offender, without any respect of Station or Quality, being found guilty, shall be put on shore, and left behind: Fourthly, we do agree, whatever Fowl, Fish, or Necessaries of Life, we shall happen to meet with in our Passage, the same shall be divided among the Whole; and if Captain *David Cheap* shall be put on board a Pri-

soner, it shall not be in the Lieutenant's Power to release him.' These Articles were signed by the Lieutenant, Master, Boatswain, Gunner, Carpenter, Purser, three Midshipmen, and about forty other People.

When this Resolution, or rather this Revolution, was intimated to Captain *Cheap*, by Mr. *Bulkeley* the Gunner, he delivered himself to this Purpose, in the Hearing of most of the Ship's Company: I am to be carried Prisoner to England; Gentlemen, I shall never live to see England, but die by Inches in the Voyage; and it is surprising to me, to think what you can expect by going to the Southward, where there are ten thousand Difficulties to be encountered with: I am sorry so many brave Fellows should be led to go where they are not acquainted, when, by going to the Northward, there is the Island of *Chilee*, not above ninety Leagues, where we need not fear taking Prizes, and may have a Chance to see the Commodore. To this the Gunner made Answer; Sir, you have said, that we shall be called to an Account for this in England: I must tell you, for my Part, had I been guilty of any Crime, and was sure of being hanged for it in England, I would make it my Choice to go thither, sooner than to the Northward: Have not you given your Word and Honour to go to the Southward? It is true, there is a Chance in going Northward, of delivering us from this unhappy Situation of Life to a worse, *viz.* a Spanish Prison. The Captain then said no more, but, Gentlemen, I wish you well, and safe to England. In this unlucky Situation, Captain *Cheap* determined to try, whether it was not possible to obtain an Alteration in the Resolution of the People, at least with regard to himself, especially as it went no farther than desiring he might not be obliged to make a Voyage against his own Judgment; but he left on that Island, to take what Course for his own Safety he should think fit.

This Demand of his does not seem to have been relished by the Commander of the Land Forces, who thought, that, as they had confined Captain *Cheap* for Murder, they were bound to justify that Act by bringing him home to be tried for it; but the rest of the Crew thought otherwise, for Reasons that will soon appear: They consented therefore to the Captain's Request; and, at the same time, declared, that if there were any who had a Mind to stay with the Captain, they were at full Liberty to pursue their own Sentiments in that respect; and went farther, by offering the Barge and the Yawl for the Service of such as accepted of this Proposal, that they might not be destitute of the Means of getting off the Island, if the Captain should make any Proposal for that Purpose. I do not pretend to decide so intricate a Question, as who was in the Right, or who in the Wrong, in the Management of this Affair, I have already intimated, that, possibly, there might be Faults on both Sides: But this, I think, I may have Leave to say, without Fear of Contradiction, that, as Things then stood, there was a great deal of Humanity and Good-nature in this Part of the Seamen's Conduct, who left their Commander the same Liberty they took themselves, and did not pretend, after depriving him of his Command over them, to take from him also the Command over himself. It rarely happens, that a Man, long vested with Power, and who has any Virtues, gains no personal Friends; and Captain *Cheap*, how unlucky soever he might be in his Conduct as a Commander, had, as a Gentleman, too many good Qualities to be totally deserted, tho' there were but two who at first embraced this Proposition of staying with the Captain, *viz.* Lieutenant *Hamilton* of the Marines, and Mr. *Elliot* the Surgeon of the Ship, who chose rather to share any Hardship with their Officer, than be guilty of so mean an Action as deserting him in his Distress. As I cannot pretend to censure the Conduct of the Ship's Company, for doing, what, perhaps, Nature obliged them to do, so I cannot forbear commending the Honour and Fidelity of these Gentlemen in remaining with their Friend. There is a wide Difference between abetting the Abuses of Power, and preserving Respect to the Officer who is thought to abuse it; and though no Ties of personal Friendship ought to induce any Gentleman to be an Instrument in the former, yet they may very well justify the latter.

On the 12th of *October* the Ship's Company launched their new Vessel, which they called the *Speedwell*, and began to get on board their Provisions. The Captain on his side now turned his Thoughts to providing for his own Security; and therefore desired, that the Question might be asked of the Deputies, whether they would follow his Fortunes, and endeavour to proceed to the Northward? which was accordingly done, and eight of them readily embraced the Proposal; upon which the Ship's Company agreed to make a proportionable Division of military Stores and Provisions, for the Use of the Captain, and those who sailed with him: And, at the same time, to keep up that Appearance of Regularity that had hitherto been preserved in their Proceedings, they drew up another Paper, containing the Motives to their Conduct, in the following Words: 'These are to certify the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, That we whose Names are under-mentioned, do beg Leave to acquaint your Lordships, That Captain *David Cheap*, our late Commander in his Majesty's Ship *Wager*, having publicly declared, that we will never go off this Spot, at his own Request desires to be left behind; but Captain *Pemberton*, of his Majesty's Land-Forces, having confined him a Prisoner for the Death of *Mr. Henry Cozens*, Midshipman, with Lieutenant *Hamilton* for breaking his Confinement, did insist on delivering them, upon the Beach, to the Charge of Lieutenant *Beans*: But he, with his Officers and People, consulting the ill Consequences that might attend carrying two Prisoners off in to small a Vessel, and for so long and tedious a Passage as we are likely to have; and as they might have Opportunities of acting such Things in secret, as may prove destructive to the whole Body; and also, in regard to the chief Article of Life, as the greatest Part of the People must be obliged at every Place we stop, to go on shore in Search of Provisions; and there being now no less than eighty-one Souls in this small Vessel, which we hope to be delivered in: We therefore, to prevent any Difficulties to be added to the unforeseen we have to encounter with, think proper to agree, in order to prevent Murder, to comply with Captain *Cheap's* Request. The Surgeon also begs Leave to be left with him. Dated on board the *Speedwell* Schooner, in *Cheap Bay*, this 14th Day of *October*, 1741.'

This Paper was signed by the Lieutenant, Master, Boatman, Gunner, Carpenter, Surgeon's Mate, and two Master's Mates, as well as by Captain *Pemberton*, and the Surgeon of the Land-Forces. It was signed the very Day that the People embarked; and as we are now come to that Point, it will be necessary to give a distinct Account of their Embarkation. The Number of Persons engaged in this bold Design of passing through the Straights of *Magellan* in Boats was eighty-one, of whom fifty-nine took their Passage in the *Speedwell*, twelve in the Cutter, and ten in the Barge; but however it was not long before some of them changed: For those who were in the Barge altered their Sentiments in a Day or two, and returned to Captain *Cheap*; so that now the Expedition was reduced to two small Vessels, with seventy-one Men on board. In the very Entrance of the Straights of *Magellan* they found themselves obliged to abandon the Cutter: This was on the third of *November*, and gave those who were in the *Speedwell* inexpressible Concern; however, on the sixth they met with her again, and took her in Tow, but that very Night she broke loose, with one *James Steward* in her, and was never seen more.

This Accident, and some Disputes that arose among themselves, occasioned such Feuds and Animosities among our Adventurers, that a Party took it into their Heads to be set ashore; to which the rest, finding themselves exceedingly crowded, readily agreed; but at the same time insisted upon having a Certificate from them, that this was not an Act of Compulsion, but the Result of their own Desire. And this Certificate, as I have hitherto given all their Papers, I think it also necessary to transcribe. 'These are to certify the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, &c. That we whose Names are under-mentioned, since the Misfortune of losing the Cutter,

'have considered the Inconveniencies and Difficulties to be attended, where so great a Number of People are to be carried off: Therefore we have requested, and desired of the Officers and Company remaining of the same Vessel, to put us on shore, with such Necessaries of Life, as can be conveniently spared out of the Vessel. We of our own Free-will and Choice do indemnify all Persons from ever being called to an Account, for putting us ashore, or leaving us behind, contrary to our Inclinations. Witness our Hands, on board the *Speedwell* Schooner, in the Lat. 50° 40' South, this 8th Day of *November*, 1741.' This was signed by *Matthew Langley* Gunner's Mate, and ten more, who were landed on the Coast of *Patagonia*. The Scheme they went upon was the finding the Cutter; or, if they did not succeed in that, making a Canoe themselves, in order to return to Captain *Cheap*.

It is impossible to describe the Miseries they endured in their Passage thro' the *Straights*, where, from time to time, they went ashore, to shoot and fish, but with very little Success: They likewise saw the *Indians*, who inhabit the Country, frequently, but could obtain very little Assistance from them; and yet, in the midst of all this Misery and Distress, they made a Market of each others Necessities; so that, by the 15th, Flour was sold amongst them at twelve Shillings a Pound in the Morning, and before Night at a Guinea; and in the mean time many perished, for want of having Money or Effects, to purchase what was necessary to sustain them. By the End of the Month there were six or eight dead of mere Hunger; and one Thing *Mr. Bulkeley* informs us of, that is very singular, viz. that all these People grew light-headed a little before their Death; and, losing all Sense of their Misery, laughed and jested till the very Moment they expired. On the 6th of *September* they went ashore on the South Side of the *Straight*, and purchased from the *Indians* two Dogs, three Geese, and a Piece of a Seal. These *Indians*, as they describe them, are People of a middle Stature, and well shaped. Their Complexion of a tawny Olive-colour; their Hair exceeding black, but not very long: They have round Faces, and small Noses, their Eyes little and black; their Teeth are smooth and even, close set, and of an incomparable Whiteness; they are very active in Body, and run with a surprising Agility; they wear on their Heads white feathered Caps, their Bodies are covered with the Skins of Seals, and *Guianacoos* or *Indian* Sheep: As for the Women, they fled at the Sight of them, so that they were able to give no Description of them.

On the 7th they entered *Fresh water Bay*, where they filled one Cask with Water. On the 8th they arrived at *Elizabeth's Island*, where they met neither with Wood nor Water, as they expected. On the 11th they ran the Boat on Shore; and after they got her off, were so fortunate as to meet with fresh Water, with which they filled all their Casks at once. The same Day they saw *Cape Virgin Mary*, which is at the opposite Extremity of the *Straights*, through which they had now passed in about a Month; the Length of them, according to their Computation, being 116 Leagues. On the 12th, having doubled the Cape, and steering along shore, they saw three Men on Horseback, riding towards them; when they were over-against them, the People stopp'd, and made Signals, waving their Hats, as if they desired to speak with them; upon which they edged close to the Shore: Here they saw seventeen more; five of them only were on Horseback, and rode in a Line before, and the rest were on Foot, and had a considerable Drive of Cattle: They anchored within a Mile of the Shore, and the People still continued riding along the Beach, waving white Handkerchiefs to them, and making other Signs, by which they invited them on shore, to which they were well enough inclined, and did all they could both that Night and the next Morning to compels it; but to no manner of Purpose, the Wind blowing so strong, that they were obliged to quit the Bay.

On the 16th they arrived at *Penguin Island*, and proceeded from thence to *Port Desire*, where they met with Seals and Fowl in abundance. The Carpenter being on shore here, found a Parcel of Bricks, some of which had Letters cut in them: Upon one, these Words were very legible, "Captain *Straiton*, 16 Cannon, 1687:" Which they conceived

conceived to be the Token of a Wreck; and I conjecture, that so many Pieces of Cannon were buried thereabouts, and that these Bricks were placed as a Mark to find them by. They discovered *Packer's Well*, as described by Sir *John Narbrough*, and furnished themselves with Water. Here there arose new Disputes among the People; for those who were able to assist in working the Vessel, would needs put the Marines to half their short Allowance, that is to say, when they received a Pound of Flour, they insisted, that twenty of their Number should receive but half a Pound. On the 26th of December they failed out of Port Desire Harbour, steering East North-east. On the 28th they divided all their Flour, which amounted to three Pounds and an half a Man. On the 10th of January they made a kind of Review of their Company, which was now reduced to forty-three, and of these only fifteen were able to stand; and that very Evening, just as they lay the Shore, they lost one of their Number, *Sergeant Ringal*. All their Provisions consisted in a small Quantity of Stinking Seale, and eighty Gallons of Water.

The next Day they put into a Bay in the Latitude of $38^{\circ} 40'$ South, which they thought fit to call *Seal-water Bay*, the Weather being tolerably fair. As they had now nothing on board the Vessel to eat, and but one Cask of Water, so that there was a Necessity of getting on shore, though the Surf ran so high that it was impossible to get the Vessel near it, it was at last agreed, that such of the People as could swim, should attempt it, for their own Sakes, as well as the common Benefit; and accordingly fourteen of them leaped into the Water, and all, except a Marine, got safe on shore. They threw over to them four Quarter-casks, with two Fire-locks tied on each Side, with a small Quantity of Ammunition. When the People landed, they discovered a large flat Beach, without so much as a Bush growing on it. There were, however, thousands of Horses and Dogs running in Drove, and abundance of Seale and Parrots on the Rocks. They soon shot a good Number of the former; and, finding one of their Quarter-casks leaky, they broke it to Pieces, in order to make a Fire, by which they dressed their Supper. As for the poor People in the Boat, they were near enough to see the Quarters of Seale which their Companions had provided for them; but the Sea ran so very high, that it was impossible for them to reach it. At last, they proposed getting one of their People to swim on shore, having no more than two in the Boat who were able to swim; but the one would not run the Hazard, and the other was so weak, that, rather than suffer him to attempt it, they tore an old Seale-skin off the Hatches, where it had been nailed for some time, and, having burned away the Hair, chewed the half-broiled Leather, in order to assuage, in some measure, the Violence of their Hunger. The next Morning, the People on shore shot a Horse, and a wild Dog; the former was branded on his Left Buttock, which shewed plainly, that they were turned loose here by the Inhabitants to feed, and were taken up again, as occasion required. At nine in the Morning they veered in the Boat near Shore, and made a Stage to hale up the Seal. The People on shore sent them, with much Difficulty, three Casks of Water; upon which they tent on shore an empty Quarter-cask, and two Breakers: Soon after seven of the People came on board with the Seale and Horse; and the Wind blew so hard soon after, that they were obliged to put to Sea, and leave eight of their People on shore.

On the 14th, the Sea was so high, that it broke the Rudder-head; by which they were so endangered, that it was found absolutely requisite to get out to Sea, without staying any longer for the People on shore, though they were still in Sight. To justify their Conduct in this respect, as well as to ascertain the Motives which induced them to act in this manner, they drew up the following Paper: 'There are to certify the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, &c. That we, whose Names are under-mentioned, having nothing left on board the Vessel but one Quarter-cask of Water, were obliged to put in to the first Place we could for Subsistence, which was in *Fresh-water Bay*, where we came came to an Anchor as near as we could, without endangering the Vessel, hav-

ing no Boat on board, and a large Surf on the Shore: Therefore Mr. King the Boatwain, Mr. Cummins the Carpenter, and Lieutenant *Ewers*, with eleven of the People, jumped overboard, in order to swim ashore, with three Casks for Water; in which Attempt *James Greenham* was drowned in the Surf off the Shore. The Sea-breeze, coming on, prevented the People getting on board the same Night; therefore, on *Wednesday Morning*, it being then calm, they brought to the Beach the Casks, filled with Water, with Seale, and other Provisions, in great Quantities; which we haled on board. The Boatwain, Carpenter, Lieutenant *Ewers*, and three of the People swam off; but the Sea-breeze coming in, and the Surf rising, the rest were discouraged from coming off. We haled a good Birth off the Shore, where we lay the Remainder of the Day, and all the Night. The Greatness of the Sea broke off our Rudder-head, and we expected every Minute the Vessel would founder at her Anchor. *Thursday Morning*, we saw no Probability of the People coming aboard; and the Wind coming out of the Sea, and not one Stick of Fire-wood in the Vessel to dress our Victuals, and it being every Man's Opinion that we must put to Sea, or perish, we got up a kuttled Cask, and put into it all manner of Needclothes, with four Small-arms leashed to the Cask, and a Letter, to acquaint them of our Danger; which Cask we saw them receive, as also the Letter that was in it. They then fell on their Knees, and made Signals, willing us well; at which we got under Sail, and left our Brethren, whose Names are under-mentioned. Dated in *Fresh-water Bay*, on board the *Speedwell* Schooner, on the Coast of *South America*, in the Latitude of $37^{\circ} 25'$ South, Longitude from the Meridian of *London* 65° West, this 14th Day of January 1741-2.' This was signed by the Lieutenant, and the rest of the Officers on board; and the Prisoners here were eight private Sailors.

They were left in that Part of the Southern Continent, which, in the *Spanish Maps*, is styled the Country of the *Pampas*. It is of very large Extent, reaching from the Bay of *St. Matthias* to the Frontiers of the Province of *Chiriqui*, 120 Leagues directly North and South, and is reckoned one hundred, or something more, from East to West. The *Spaniards* are not indeed possessed of it; but the Natives do not hinder them, either from driving their Cattle thither, or from passing through it with their Caravans. It cannot therefore be supposed, that these poor Seamen ran any greater Hazards, or met with any more Difficulties, than the People did at Sea, but had rather an easier Time of it; one thing only excepted, which is, their being left in an Enemy's Country; since the *Portuguese*, on which they were set on shore, was not above twenty Leagues from the Town of *Buenos Ayres*.

The *Speedwell* continued steering along-shore, till they had pailed the Mouth of the River of *Plate*, and put in with the Coast on the other Side, where, in the Evening of the 19th, they anchored in a fine sandy Bay, probably near the Mouth of that River, and soon after saw two Men coming towards them on Horseback. This was a joyful Sight to them, since it gave them some Assurance of meeting with Refreshment, and they had not, at this time, a single Drop of Water on board. On the 21st the Gunner and Carpenter went on shore, and, as the former spoke *Portuguese*, he entered into Discourse with the People, who came down on Horseback on purpose to talk with them. These Folks told them fairly that they were *Spaniards* and Fishermen; adding, that the Town they belonged to lay two Days Journey from thence, and that the Name of it was *Monte Vidio*; which, according to the best *Spanish Maps* I have seen, lies about forty Leagues up the River *Plate*, in the Latitude of 34° South. These People invited our unhappy *Englishmen* to their Caravan, which was about a Mile off, where they entertained them with Jerk-beef, that is, Beef dried in the Air, roasted and boiled, with very good white Bread. The first thing they thought of was to purchase some Provisions; but the People had none to supply them with, except six-and-twenty Loaves of white Bread, of the same Two-penny Loaves in *England*, for which they demanded four Guineas; and Hunger obliged the *English* to com-

but he who seemed to be the Chief of the *Spaniards* declared to them, at the same time, that they risked their Lives for this Money; and that they should be inevitably hanged, if it was known, that they had supplied them. Mr. *Cummins* afterwards parted with his Firelock, and some Ammunition, in hopes of a Supply of wild Fowl; but, finding Reason to suspect, that the *Spaniards* intended some foul Dealing, they got hastily on board, and continued their Voyage to *Rio Grande*.

On the 23d, died Mr. *Thomas Clerk*, who had been Master of the *Wager*; as did his Son on the Day following: And, on the 26th, died *Thomas Maclean*, Cook on board the same Ship, at the Age of eighty-two, probably of Want; for they had now nothing but a little Water to sustain them. On the 28th, they entered *Rio Grande*; and a *Portuguese* Boat coming off, they surrendered to them. The Governor of this Place treated them in a manner, which deserves to be perpetually remembered: He went on board the *Speedwell*, and examined every Part of her, inquired into every little Circumstance of their Voyage, embraced them with the utmost Affection, assured them of all the Relief in his Power, sent the Sick to the Hospital, took the Lieutenant of the *Wager*, and the Land-officers, to his own House, and ordered the Commandant to see, that the rest wanted nothing. This was acting like a Gentleman, an Officer, and a Christian; and is such a Testimony of the Faith and Honour of the *Portuguese*, as the *English* Nation ought never to forget. Having conducted them hither, we shall only observe, that, of twenty-one who made this perilous Voyage, there were living, on the 28th of January 1742, only thirty Persons; and some of them died afterwards. As for Mr. *Bulkeley* the Gunner, and Mr. *Cummins* the Carpenter, of the *Wager*, from whom we have this Account, which seems to be written with great Candour and Plainness, they procured a Passage to *Portugal*, and from thence to *England*, arriving at *Spithead*, January 1. 1743. It is now Time to return to the Commodore, whom we left cruising in the South Seas, in order to insert this History of the Shipwreck of the *Wager* in its proper Place.

14. On October 20. 1741. the Commodore, with his two Prizes, were off the Islands of *Lobos*, in plain *English*, *São* Islands; for the *Spaniards* call the *Seles Lobos*, from their Notion, that this Creature resembles a Wolf. There are two of those Islands, called, in order to distinguish them, *Lobos de Sotavento*, or the *Leeward Island of Seles*, and *Lobos de Barlovento*, or the *Windward Island of Seles*. The former of these is, in the *Spanish* Maps, laid down in the Latitude of 6° 25' South; and the latter in 6° 33'. On the 23d, the *Agua de Sotavento*, or *Leeward Needle-point*, which is an high white Land, bore from them, North-east by East, seven Leagues. The next Day, about two in the Afternoon, they saw a Sail; to which they immediately gave Chace, and came up with her about six in the Evening, and took her. She was bound to some Port to the Southward, with Plank and Iron; and so little Notion had the *Spaniards* of any *English* Ships being in those Seas, that the Captain had his Wife, and two Daughters, on board.

The Commodore ordered them into his own Ship, and, during the Time they continued his Prisoners, entertained them constantly at his Table, taking care to have the Women treated with such Respect, as well as Decency, as made a great Impression, not only on them, but on the Captain, who gave the Commodore a very distinct Account of the Situation of things in that Part of the World, and particularly of the little Town of *Payta*, on which the Commodore had a Design; a Place often taken by our Privateers, and last of all by Captain *Shelbooke*, in the Month of May 1720; but, according to the Captain's Account, was now pretty well recovered, and the People in tolerable Circumstances: Therefore it was resolved to prosecute this Design. At the time this Resolution was taken, they were about sixty Leagues West South-west of the Place; and, notwithstanding they made all the Dispatch in their Power, it was November 9. when they arrived within ten Leagues of that Port, when the Saddle of *Payta* bore North North-east, in the Latitude of 5° South.

15. On the 10th, a little after Noon, Preparation was made for attacking the Place, from which they were not distant above five Leagues and an half. Mr. *Brett*, second

Lieutenant of the *Centurion*, was intrusted with the Command of sixty-seven Men, embarked in three Boats; one of eighteen Oars, the other two of eight Oars each, having the *Spanish* Captain with him as a Guide. They kept under-shore during the first Part of the Evening, and, about ten at Night, entered the Port, and landed safely, without being perceived either by the Ships or Fort. They marched directly towards that little Fortress, which they might have taken by Surprise, and without Loss, if they had proceeded with any Regularity: But that was what their Officer could not prevail upon them to do; for they no sooner saw a few People moving about, than they began to fire upon them; which if they had not done, they might have marched up to the Walls without Disturbance. Their Fire having alarmed the Place, and the Garison in the Fort, the latter made several Discharges of their Small-arms; by which they had one Man killed, and six or seven wounded. This did not at all discourage the Sailors, who immediately pushed forward, and very soon forced the Gates of the Fort; upon which the *Spaniards* fled, and abandoned the Place, which, in itself, was not very defensible, the Works being in a very indifferent Condition, and the Cannon they had there, which were not above three or four Pieces, honey-combed to such a degree, that they were not fit for Use.

The People of the Town, who were most of them in their Beds, no sooner heard this Noise of firing, than they got up, and made all the Haste they could to the Mountains, half-dressed and half-naked. The Governor was amongst the first who provided for Safety by Flight; and his House, which was the best, and the best furnished, in the Place, was one of the first that was plundered, the Sailors being allowed to act as they thought fit, for some Hours. There were some rich Clothes and Household-stuff found in the Place; but no plenty of Provisions: Hogs, in no great Quantity, and abundance of Poultry, were all they met with, and not more Water than was necessary to wash them down, which was preserved in Jars by the People in the Town for their own Use, as having no fresh Water in the Place. The Report of this Place being grown excessively rich again did not appear to be extremely well founded, since the Silver found here did not amount to above 130,000 Pieces of Eight, exclusive of two Chests of Plate and Jewels. Several Messages were sent to the Governor, requiring him to ransom the Town, which otherwise would be burnt: But he would listen to no such Proposal; and therefore, having kept Possession of it for three Days, and risked it effectually, it was judged proper to set every thing on fire, except the Churches, and burn it down to the Ground; which was easily done, since the Houses were equally dry and slight; so that, when once lighted, the Town presently blazed from one End of it to the other. The Place is far from being considerable either by its Trade, its Strength, or its Situation. All that can be said of it is, that it affords a convenient, and, for this Part of the World, a safe Port, where Ships may anchor before the Town in about ten Fathom Water. This is very commodious for such Vessels as are bound either to or from *Panama*, especially as they keep here constantly Magazines pretty well filled with Provisions, which, however, are brought thither from other Places; for the Country about *Payta* affords but little. There were, at the time the Town was taken, five Sail of Ships in the Harbour, and one at Anchor in the Road. The former they destroyed; and the Lieutenant of the *Trial's* Prize was put into the latter, which, however, they did not keep above a Fort-night.

On the 13th, all things of Value being on board, and the Town in Flames, they quitted *Payta*, having first given the *Spanish* Captain a Certificate, that whatever Assistance they received from him was by Compulsion, and having made him a considerable Present for the Pains he had taken.

16. On the 18th, at three in the Afternoon, they saw the *Gloucester*, which joined them about nine, the Ships saluting each other with mutual Huzzas. The *Gloucester* sailed from the Islands of *Juan Fernandez* on October 1. and, on the 21st, being off the Islands of *Lobos*, they discovered a small Vessel; to which their two Lieutenants, and seven Men, in the Barge, gave Chace, and soon came up with, and made Prize of her. She had in her eight Men and a Boy, and appeared to be laden with Cotton; but, upon a

strict Search, they found, under the Bags which were filled with that Commodity, several Jars stuffed with Rags, amongst which was a Parcel of Gold, which fell very little short of 120,000 Pieces of Eight, a very considerable Purchase, considering the Vessel was no better than a Bark of the Burden of about four Tons. On the 26th they took another Prize, which was larger, laden chiefly with *Pifcaya* Wine; but she likewise had some Plate on board: On the 10th of November they chased a third Ship, but lost Sight of it the next Day. They likewise affirmed, that, in passing by *Paya*, they saw a great Smoke; but there being some Doubt, whether this might not be a Fiction contrived to give them a Title to Part of the Plunder, the Commodore thought fit to order the Officers Journals to be brought on board, and sealed up, directing them to keep their Journals for the future in other Books.

On the 19th in the Evening they passed Cape Blanco, in the Latitude of $4^{\circ} 22'$ South. On the 20th they burned one of their Prizes, and on the 21st another. On the 22d in the Morning they saw the Island *La Plata*, which lies in the Latitude of $1^{\circ} 5'$ South. This Island is at the Distance of four Leagues from Cape St. Laurence, on the Main; and, when seen at a Distance, looks like two Islands. It is about two Leagues in Compass, very rocky, sprinkled here-and-there with Trees, and affording no other Refreshments, save Water and Wild-fowl. On the 22d, it was resolved to discharge the *Spanish* Prisoners, being then about seven Leagues from Land. They were, therefore, to the Number of twenty, put on board a *Spanish* Launch, with an Hoghead of Water, and twelve Species of Beef and Pork. The same Day they passed the Line the second time. On the 27th, the second Lieutenant of the *Gloucester*, and the rest of the Crew which were on board the Prize, returned, after having taken every thing out of her that was of any Value, and afterwards, setting her on fire, left her burning.

17. On the 3d of December they passed by the Island of *Quibo*, so often visited by the Privateers, when in these Seas. On the twelfth in the Afternoon they saw a Sail, and gave Chase; but, upon coming up with her, found her the *Gloucester*; at this time they lived pretty much upon Turtle and Bonitos. On the 6th of January they saw the Island of *Cocos*, so called by the *Spaniards* from its abounding with Cocoa-trees, bearing North by West about seven or eight Leagues. On the 29th they found themselves off the *Vulcano of Calima*; it appears with two sharp Peaks, that are constantly smoking: The Country about it is wonderfully pleasant; and, on the Mountain itself, there are large Herds of Cattle grazing, and fine Plantations of Cocoa. On the 30th they had Sight of the high Land of *Acapulco*, which is very singular, having an high round Hill next the Sea, and four Mountains, rising gradually behind it, higher and higher; and on the highest, there is sometimes Smoke seen.

On the 12th of February they saw a prodigious Number of Water-snakes, with black Backs, and yellow Bellies; and the same Day observed a great Fire on shore, bearing North-east by East, in the Latitude of $17^{\circ} 37'$ North. The Commodore ordered his Boat out several times to make Discoveries, but without meeting with any thing remarkable till the 20th, when the returned with three *Spanish* Prisoners, that she had surprized in the Night, as they were fishing off the Harbour of *Acapulco*. After examining these Prisoners, it was resolved to cruise for some time in that Neighbourhood, in hopes of meeting with something of Consequence. They were now on the Spot where *Drake*, *Cadiz*, and, of late Years, *Rogers*, had signalized themselves by taking the famous annual Ship which passes between this Port and the *Manilas*; full-fraught with Expectation, and exceedingly desirous of shewing, that, in point of Industry or Courage, they fell nothing short of those fortunate Commanders. While they cruised here, their Boats supplied them plentifully with Turtle, of which, and of the best Kinds too, there is always abundance in these Seas. It appears to have been a very wholesome, as well as pleasant Food; for we do not now meet with any Complaints of Sickness, or Scurvy: And hence I am led to believe, that Captain *Rogers* was

under some particular Prejudice against this kind of Diet, since he tells us, that, while his Sailors fed on it here, they were faint and weak, though their Spirits were good.

18. There is no Port in the *Spanish West Indies* more famous than this of *Acapulco*; and, to say the Truth, considered as a Port, there are very few better: for it is inclosed, in a manner, all round by high Mountains, which defend them from Winds; and the Water being everywhere alike deep, the Vessels, when they are once in, are fastened to the Trees on shore. At the very Mouth of the Harbour there lies an Island, about a Mile and an half in Length; and beyond it another smaller Island, called by the Inhabitants *El Grifo*, which is seldom taken notice of by our Writers of Voyages: The Position of the great Island leaves two Channels, by which Ships enter the Port; one, which is the smallest, at North-west; and another, which is much larger, at South-east; but both Channels are deep, and free from Sholes, so that with a proper Wind Ships enter the Harbour with the utmost Safety. They enter with a Sea-wind, and go out with a Land-wind; but as these regularly succeed each other every Day and Night, this creates no Inconvenience.

The Town of *Acapulco* stands in a deep Bay on the North-west Side, opposite to the Mouth of the Port; and at the End of the Town is a Platform, well supplied with Cannon; and, on the East Side, between two Hills, stands the Cattle or Fort, which is a Square, regularly fortified with forty-two Pieces of Brass Cannon, carrying Balls of 35 Pounds Weight. The Governor of this Fortress is at the same time *Justicia Mayor*, or first civil Magistrate in the Place, so that his Employment is thought to produce him 20,000 Pieces of Eight a Year; and the *Contador*, who is in the Nature of a Director of the Customs, has as good a Place. After all this, the Town of *Acapulco* is a very poor one, consisting of between two and three hundred low thatched Houses, inhabited mostly by Mulattos and Negroes; for the *Spanish* Merchants seldom, or indeed never, reside there but at the Fair; because from the Beginning of November; to the End of May, this Place is very unwholesome. This is generally attributed to its Situation; for, being intirely surrounded by high Mountains on the East, the Air is pent in; and, lying as it does, in 17° South Latitude, it is extremely hot and close, so that what contributes to the Safety of the Port, renders the Town unhealthy.

Wood and Water are plenty here; but, in other respects, the Country is barren, so that it is very dear living at *Acapulco*; or at least it would be thought so, if it was not for the immense Sums that are dealt for during the short time the Fair lasts, which seldom exceeds a Fortnight or three Weeks. This Place is likewise very subject to Earthquakes, which is the Reason that the Houses are so low, and so slightly built, being composed of Mud, Wood, and Straw. There are, however, two Monasteries, which make a tolerable Figure; and an Hospital, which is very rich. The Fair is held from the latter-End of the Month of January, when the *Manila* Ship arrives, to the Middle of February. We have already given a large Account of the Nature of that Commerce and Navigation, and therefore we shall confine ourselves at present to what immediately concerns the Place.

It is not easy to conceive how strange an Alteration the Fair makes at *Acapulco*; for, as soon as it begins, the Place, from an inconsiderable Fishing-town, becomes as considerable a Mart as any in the World; which will be easily conceived, when we consider, that all the rich Commodities of the *East Indies* are landed there from on board the *Manila* Ship; the Duties of which seldom amount to less than an hundred thousand Pieces of Eight; and that, to purchase these, there are not only brought all the valuable Commodities of *New Spain*, but an immense Sum, in ready Money, by the *Lima* Ship, which rarely falls short of two Millions. There are, at this time, all Sorts of Diversions, and every thing wears the Face of Magnificence, or rather of Profusion. The meanest Porter gets at least a Piece of Eight *per Day*; many of them three or four: Every House is filled with rich Goods, and those who own them, pay extravagantly for Warchouze-room: Even the most melancholy Subjects turnish Occasion here for Pomp,

and for Expence; and as rich Merchants frequently dye during the Time of the Fair, or in their Passage from *Peru*, or from *Manilla*, their Funerals are solemnized with great Magnificence, and large Alms are then given to the Hospital, and to the Monasteries, the Curate of the Place being seldom contented with less than 500 Pieces of Eight for his extraordinary Trouble; by which Instance we may guess at the rest.

Besides all this, there is a prodigious Trade carried on a little after the Fair is over, at *Porto del Marquesi*, a very fine Harbour, lying about two Miles East from *Acapulco*, where there is very good Anchoring, and Wood and Water in Abundance. The *Peru* Ships generally resort hither, to dispose of their contraband Commodities to the Merchants of *New Spain*; and tho' this is prohibited under very severe Penalties, and both the Governor of *Acapulco* and the Contador are instructed to use their utmost Diligence to suppress it; yet such Magic there is in a Purse of Double Dubloons, properly applied, that the Officers sent to inspect this Port, are never able to see any Ships in it. When the Fair is intirely over, *Acapulco* sinks into its primitive State of a Fishing-town; the Governor himself, the Contador, and the rest of the King's Officers, retiring to Places of more Health, and greater Conveniency; which is the less regarded by the Government; because there is little or nothing left in the Town, to tempt Foreigners to attack it at any other Season.

All the *Indian* Commodities that are not sold to the Merchants of *Peru* at the Fair, are carried over Land either by Horses or Mules, but chiefly by the latter, to *Mexico*; and from thence, if they are intended for *Europe*, are transported in the same Manner, that is, by Land, from thence to *La Vera Cruz*, where they wait the Arrival of the Gallions. In this manner the *Spaniards* unite, and, as it were, engross the Trade of both *Indies*; and hence, whenever any *English* Ships are in these Seas, they are apt to spend so much Time in the Neighbourhood of a Place so famous for its Riches, from a Presumption that if they have but Patience, they must sooner or later meet with something that will reward their Labour. This at present was the Case of the *Centurion* and the *Gloucester*, who continued plying on the Coast, and endeavouring to obtain the best Intelligence they were able, but to very little Purpose; because the Fair was now over, and little or nothing to be done in those Parts.

On the 20th, they had Sight of an high Point of Land, called by the *Spaniards*, *Coequetan*: On the first of March the Ship's Company were put to the Allowance of two Quarts of Water a Man per Diem. During the rest of that Month they cruised still upon the same Coast, exercising the Men duly, sending their Boats from time to time on the Coast, to make Discoveries, and at the same time making Preparations for their long Stretch to the *East-Indies*. On the 6th of April the Commodore sent his Boat to search the Coast, for some Harbour where they might anchor in Safety; and on the 7th the Boat returned, and on the 8th conducted the Commodore, the *Gloucester*, and the *Trial*, into a convenient Bay, where they moored in eleven Fathom Water. On the 9th the *Gloucester's* Second Lieutenant, with fifteen Men, and the Second Lieutenant of the *Centurion*, with four Men, were sent to make Discoveries.

On the 10th the Lieutenant of the *Centurion* returned, and reported, that they had marched seven Leagues thro' the Woods, without meeting with any thing worth Notice, except a Man asleep on the Ground, with an Horse and Gun by him; who, awaking at their Approach, leaped upon his Horse, and fled as fast as he was able, leaving his Gun behind him, which they brought on board with them. The Lieutenant, being apprehensive, that the People under his Command might be surpris'd, if they attempted to penetrate further into the Country, thought proper to return; but to render his Expedition as useful as possible, he wrote a kind of Advertisement in *Spanish*, promising the Inhabitants ample Satisfaction for any Provisions they should bring, or send to their Ships; and having nailed several of these Papers to the Trees, he returned back to the Coast. This was certainly a very well judged, and a very prudent Contrivance; but, however, it produced no Effect; and therefore the Commodore very wisely judged, that no more Time was to be lost in preparing for their Departure; and

therefore gave Orders for burning the *Trial's* Prize, and the other two Prizes, that he might be able to reinforce the two Ships with the Men that were on board them; which was the more necessary, since the Crew of both Ships, after this was done, fell short of the full Complement of a Fourth Rate, so much were they reduced by Sickness and Fatigue; and on the 29th, having taken in Water, and other Refreshments, they unmoored, and prepared to sail.

19. On the 30th they sailed for *Acapulco*, in order to cruise near that Port for their Boat, which was still absent, and had been so above a Month; and the *Gloucester* was ordered to keep in close to Land, and make false Fires; but these Precautions proved vain, though continued for three Days together. The Commodore therefore thought proper, on the third of May, to send a Flag of Truce to the Governor of *Acapulco*, with a Proposal of releasing three for one, in case the Boat and Crew were fallen into his Hands: But the Governor returned Answer, that he had not seen either Boat or Men. The next Day the Commodore sent ashore nine Prisoners to *Porto Marquesi*, that in case his Men fell into the *Spaniards* Hands, they might be the better treated, for the sake of those who were thus dismissed. On the 5th, about two in the Afternoon, the *Gloucester*, being nearest the Land, saw a Boat coming off, which they judged at first to be a Boat from the Governor of *Acapulco*; but as it drew nearer, they discovered it to be the Boat belonging to the *Centurion*. When the poor People that were in it, came to the Side of their own Ship, they were scarce known by any of the Crew, being mere Skeletons, and so weak that they could not get up the Ship-side, so that they were forced to hoist them in. During the Time they were separated from the Ship, they were driven to the last Extremity for want of Water, being glad to drink Turtle's Blood to quench their Thirst; which they had done for twelve Days. They never expected to see the Ship again, and had given themselves over for lost, knowing they must either be starved to Death in their Boat, or become Prisoners and Slaves under cruel Masters, which to them was as dreadful as Death; but this Day proving fine and clear, they happily saw the Ship, and put off. At eight the next Morning they sent ashore a *Spanish* Launch with forty Prisoners, and at the same time the *Gloucester* sent another with eighteen; each having a sufficient Quantity of Provisions and Water to serve them till their Arrival at *Acapulco*, which was now distant about thirty Leagues. On the 7th they sprung their Fore-mast: The Remainder of the Month there happened nothing extraordinary, the Weather being moderate, and the Wind fair: On the 15th the *Gloucester* fired a Gun, as a Signal of Distress, having sprung her Main-mast; upon which the *Centurion* sent her Boat and a Carpenter on board; the next Day they sent two Carpenters more, who on the 23d cut the Main-mast within twenty-six Foot of the Deck. On the 26th the *Gloucester* reared her Main-top-mast for a Main-mast, and on the 27th the *Trial's* Fore-top-mast for a Main-top-mast.

On the 29th they fixed the *Trial's* Main-top-mast for a Jury-mast, and rigged it. July the 12th they were distant from *Acapulco* 146.4 Leagues: On the 29th, about ten in the Morning, the *Gloucester* fired a Gun, as a Signal of Distress, having her Fore-top-mast rolled to the Board, and the Cap split in two being rotten: The Fore-top-mast sprung in three Places by the Fall, and broke the Fore-yard in the Slings, which was likewise decayed. The Foretop-gallant-mast sprung, and the Fore-fail, Fore-top-fail, and the Top-gallant-fail, split all to Pieces; half the Top broke, and also the Cross-trees: Whereupon they sent to their Assistance a Lieutenant, with some Carpenters and Men, who flung both the Yard-arms of the Fore-yard, and the Remainder of the Fore-top-mast, that was not fit for Use, overboard, and assisted in fixing and rigging another Fore-yard. The next Day the *Centurion* was forced to take the *Gloucester* in Tow, and continued Towing her, till on the tenth of August she slipped the Cable by which they towed her, together with her Fore-top-mast and Jib. The next Day in the Evening her Top-mast and Jury-mast were carried away.

On the 12th, her Mast came again by the Board, and her Mizzen was split, and blown from the Yard: Part of it took the Compass Chelt, in which were two Azimuth Compasses,

Compasses, and carried it overboard; at the same time they were obliged to employ all Hands in pumping the Ship: The 13th the Weather proved very bad, and about eight in the Evening the *Gloucester* bore down upon the Commodore, firing two Guns, and hoisting a Signal of Distress: They desired the Commodore would lend his Boat on board, with a sufficient Number of Hands to assist them in pumping, there being now seventeen Feet Water in the Hold; but the Commodore could not comply with their Request, because it was as much as his Crew could do, to keep their own Ship free. The next Day he sent his Cutter, with a Carpenter, to assist the *Gloucester*; and, in the Evening, sent his Boat, to fetch away her Sick.

20. On Sunday August 15. about eight in the Morning, Captain Mitchell sent his Lieutenant on board, with the following Paper, addressed to the Commodore, and signed by himself, and all the Officers on board of his Ship: 'We the Captain and Officers of his Majesty's Ship the *Gloucester*, having held a Consultation on August 15. 1742, concerning the Condition of the said Ship, we think it impossible to save her from sinking, and his Majesty's Subjects belonging thereto from perishing, for the following Reasons: She having sprung a Leak, and gaining on us, tho' we have been constantly pumping her; her Stern-post likewise being very loose, and working at every Reel of the Ship; she having also two Beams broken a-midship; all which the Carpenters report to be irreparable here; and she having no Masts left, except the Fore-mast, Mizzen, and Mizzen-top-mast, or any spare Masts left fit to put up; her Knees and Clamps are all worked quite loose, so that her Quarter-deck is ready to drop down; and she having but seventy Men, eighteen Boys, and two Prisoners, left, including Officers, out of which Number only sixteen Men and eleven Boys are able to keep the Deck, and they are very infirm; all the rest, being fifty-six, and seven Boys, (including Carpenters) are incapable of Duty, being greatly afflicted, and very lame, with the Scurvy; For these twenty-four Hours, Officers, Men, and Boys, without Distinction, have worked at the Pumps incessantly; and are so fatigued, that they can stand no longer; and they having still seven Feet Water in the Hold, the salt Water being yet over the Calks, so that they cannot get at the fresh Water to drink: We therefore beg you would consider our melancholy Situation, and appoint us such speedy Relief, as our present unhappy Circumstances require.'

The Commodore took all imaginable Care to be perfectly informed of the Facts mentioned in this Representation by his own Carpenters; and, on the 16th, employed all the Boats in saving what Stores could be got out of the *Gloucester*; which took up the best Part of the Day. About six in the Afternoon, Captain Mitchell, having received the Commodore's Order for that Purpose, sent all his People on board the *Centurion*, remaining himself in the *Gloucester*, with a Boat's Crew only, preparing every thing necessary for destroying her; and, at eight, pursuant to the Commodore's Direction, he set her on fire, and, about six the next Mornings, she blew up. They were then in the Latitude of $14^{\circ} 15'$ North, *Acapulco* being now distant 2168 Leagues.

21. On the 17th, they discovered in the *Centurion* a Leak in the Fore-hold, on each Side of the Stern. They were, at this time, in very great Distress, their Rigging much worn, their Ship leaky, their Water so exhausted, as to be reduced to half a Pint a Day, and their Crew so sickly, that they had thrown overboard ten Men in two Days; but, in this Distress, the Commodore supported their Spirits, by continually encouraging them by his Practice, as well as Discourses, taking a full Share of their Hardships, and giving, at this time, a Pipe of Madeira Wine out of his own Stores, that their Water might go the further. The Weather continued tolerable fair for the next ten Days; but the Crew were as sickly as ever.

On the 21st, died Mr. Edmund Wellbank, Surgeon of the *Gloucester*; and ten Men more in four Days. On the 23d, they lost five Men more; and, about eight in the Evening of the same Day, saw, to their great Joy, two Islands; one bearing West half South, the other South-west $\frac{1}{2}$ West, distant about ten Leagues. On the 24th,

nine of their People, and an *Indian*, died; and the nearest of the Islands bore then West by North, distant about a League. The Commodore dispatched a Lieutenant in the Cutter, to discover the Shore. He returned in the Evening, and brought sixty Cocoa-nuts; but could not find any Anchoring-place, or fresh Water. There died on the 25th six Men. The next Day in the Afternoon, they saw three Islands; one bearing North-east by North, another due East, the last East by South, at the Distance of about five Leagues. On the 27th at Noon, they saw another Island South-east, distant about nine Leagues. In these two Days, they lost thirteen of their Crew.

22. On the 28th, they made the Island of *Tinian*, which is one of the *Ladrones*, or, as the *Spaniards* call them, *Marian* Islands, which lies in the Latitude of $14^{\circ} 58'$ North, and $229^{\circ} 25'$ Longitude West from *London*. At three in the Afternoon, the Commodore sent his third Lieutenant on shore in the Cutter. This Island is uninhabited, and for that Reason the Commodore made Choice of it to anchor at, and refresh his People; but it happened, at the Time of their Arrival, the Governor of *Guam* had sent a Bark thither with twenty-four Men, to kill Cattle, and to bring off Fruits, for the Use of his Garrison. These People, seeing a Ship, immediately sent an *Indian* Proce, or, as the *Spaniards* write it, *Parao*, a kind of Vessel we have often mentioned before, on a Supposition, that it must needs be the *Acapulco* Ship. This was about six the next Morning; and, as soon as they discovered their Mistake, they used their utmost Endeavour to return to the Island: But, it being calm, the Commodore sent the Pinnace to tow her on board; which she did, and afterwards made herself Master of the Bark; which proved an acceptable Prize, being laden with Cattle, Hogs, Fowls, Cocoa-nuts, Oranges, and Limes.

The first thing that was done, after the Ship was anchored in twenty-two Fathom Water, was to send ashore Tents, or rather Materials for making them, for the Use of the Sick, who were next carried on shore, wrapped up in their Hammocks, to the Number of 224, of whom eight died within a few Hours after they were landed. On the 31st, they moored the Ship with a Cable each Way, in *Times* Road; which afforded them Leisure to look about them, and to provide all Things necessary for their Refreshment. It will be necessary here to give some Account of these *Ladrones* Islands; the rather, because, though we find them often mentioned in the foregoing Voyages, as indeed they must be in all Voyages round the World, which have been seldom performed without visiting them, yet are they so situated, on the Edge, as it were, of *Asia*, that hitherto neither general nor particular Geographers have given us any accurate or distinct Account of them; which, to say the Truth, is no easy Matter to do, since it requires a great Application to Maps and Charts, and to the Relations published by all who have sailed through these Seas for two Centuries past.

These Islands were first discovered by the famous *Ferdinand Magellan*, as we have already related in its proper Place; and he, from the thievish Behaviour of the Inhabitants, bestowed on them the Name of *Isas de las Ladrones*, i. e. *The Islands of Thieves*. He likewise called them *Isas de las Velas*, or, *The Islands of Sails*, alluding to their Proce, which were a kind of Vessels he had never seen among other *Indians*, and their manner of sailing had surprised him. When the *Spaniards* came afterwards to settle the Island of *Guam*, for the Convenience of their Navigation between *America* and the *Philippines*, they gave a new Name to those Islands, viz. *Isas de Maria Abus*, in Honour of *Mary-Anne of Austria*, then Queen of *Spain*; from whence our modern Writers have derived the corrupt Name of the *Marian Islands*. These Islands make a Part of those that are stiled the *Archipelago of St. Lazarus*, because they were discovered on the Feast of *St. Lazarus*. They are, strictly speaking, situated between the $10^{\circ} 00'$ of North Latitude, and the Tropic of *Cancer*; and, according to the best Maps, are laid down thus; 1. *Bam*, in the Latitude of $10^{\circ} 00'$ North: 2. *Batto*, $10^{\circ} 40'$: 3. *St. Iago*, $11^{\circ} 15'$; between this Island, and that of *Guam*, lie the Shoals of *St. Rose*, which Captain *Dampier* passed, when he sailed with Captain *Swan* in the Latitude of 11°

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Things remarkable in the Mary-Anne Islands.

Vol. I. Pl. II.



The RIMA Tree.



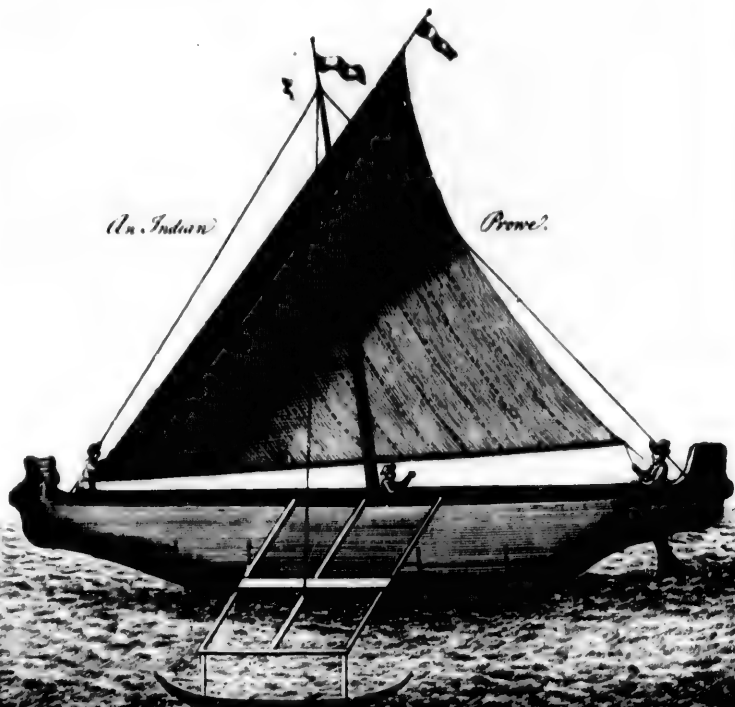
The DUCDU Tree.



The Indian Fish-hook.



A Fish called by English Salmon a Yellow Tail.



An Indian

Boat.

10: 4. *Guam*, *Guano*, or *Iguana*, 13° 30'; this is the largest of these Islands, and the Seat of the Spanish Governor: 5. *Sorpassa*, or *Rotta*, 14° 5'; which is also settled by the *Spaniards*: 6. *Aguigan*, 14° 40': 7. *Tinian*, 14° 55'. This I take to be the last of the *Mary-Anne Islands*; for, if I apprehend the Thing right, the general Name of all these Islands is the *Ladrones*, and they are distinguished into the Southern, or *Mary-Anne Islands*, of which we have spoken; and the Northern Islands, or *Islands of Ganey*, of which we are now to speak: 1. *Zelipon*, or *Sipon*, 15° 20': 2. *Anathan*, 16° 10': 3. *Sarigan*, 16° 30': 4. *Guagan*, 17°: 5. *Amelagan*, 17° 30': 6. *Pagun*, 18° 40': 7. *Agigan*, 19°: 8. *Sanglon*, 20°: 9. *Mang*, 21°: 10. *Urac*, 21°: 11. *Tareiben*, 22°. From this to *Japan* there is a continued Chain of Islands, lying almost all of them in the same Longitude, viz. of 160°; supposing the first Mention to be placed in the Island of *Fera*.

The Soil of all these Islands is pretty much alike; viz. a red dry Mould, very fruitful, especially if it be carefully cultivated; in which Case, perhaps, there would not be finer Countries on the Globe: As to the Climate, it is very healthy, as well as very pleasant, in the dry Season, which lasts from *October* to *June*; but in the wet Season the Air is thick and hazy, which inclines the People to Fevers; yet the Rains there are not heavy, or of long Continuance; and as the East Winds generally reign here, they cool the Air prodigiously, and render the Country very pleasant. The *Cocoas* in the *Ladrones Islands* are esteemed the best in the known World, and they grow in all the Islands in the utmost Plenty: Oranges they have in like Abundance, exceedingly wholesome, and of a very high Flavour: Limes are also the natural Product of these Islands. They are, properly speaking, a sort of Crab-Lemon, and grow upon a kind of thorny Shrub, of which, in some of our Plantations, they make very convenient Hedges. The Fruit is like a Lemon, but smaller, has a thinner Rind; and the Juice is rather of a sharper Taste. The eating freely of this Fruit is one of the quickest, and at the same time one of the pleasantest, Remedies for the Scurvy. There are two Trees common in all these Islands, and said to be peculiar to them, and to some of the *Philippines*; these are the *Rima* and the *Dacda*.

The *Rima*, or *Bread Fruit*, grows upon a Tree somewhat larger than our Apple-tree is, which bears a broad dark-coloured Leaf, with five Indentures on each Side: The Fruit hangs on the Boughs like Apples, and is of the Size of a Penny loaf, with a thick tough Rind, which, when full ripe, turns yellow. The Natives gather it before it is quite ripe, and bake it till the Crust is pretty black; then they rap it, and there remains a pretty Loaf, with a tender yellow Crust, and the Crumb of it soft and sweet as a new-bak'd Roll, without any Seeds or Stones. This Fruit the Inhabitants enjoy for about seven Months, during which they never eat any other Kind of Bread; but they are obliged to bake it every Day; for when it grows a little stale, it becomes harsh and husky, somewhat like the Potatobread made in the *West of England*. There is, however, a Remedy for this, which is cutting the Loaf into Slices when it is new, and drying it in the Sun, by which it is changed into the pleasantest Rusk that can be eaten. The *Dacda* resembles the *Rima* very much, both in its Size and Leaves; only these latter are longer, and not so much indented: The Fruit is pretty near the Size of the *Bread Fruit*, but shaped like a Melon; it contains in its Pulp thirteen or fifteen Kernels, or Seeds, of the Size of a small Chestnut, which, when roasted, are full as pleasant.

The Natives of these Islands are Copper-coloured like other *Indians*; have long black Hair, small Eyes, high Noes, Lips pretty thick, and Teeth indifferently white: They are a large, well-limb'd, active, and robust People. To all Appearance, they are civil, courteous, and submissive; but are said to be of a cunning, treacherous, and cruel Disposition: They are extremely dextrous in the Management of their Vessels, which they stile *Paraos*, and the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*, *Prows* or *Proas*, and are esteemed the best sailing Vessels in the World. We have described them before; but as I am told the following is a very exact and accurate Account of these singular Vessels, I believe it will not be disagreeable to the Reader; and the

rather, because from these Vessels the Islands were called by *Magellan*, *De las Velas*, i. e. of Sails, which are not used by the *West-Indians* in their Canoes.

The *Parao* or *Proe* is built sharp at both Ends, the Bottom of one Piece, like a little Canoe very neatly scooped, and left of a good Substance. This Bottom serves for a Keel; it is from twenty-five to thirty Feet long, the under Part round, yet inclining to a Wedge, and smooth, and the upper Part almost flat, having an Hollow about a Foot broad: From hence both Sides of the Boat are turned up round, very neatly; one Side of the Vessel is quite flat, the other as other Vessels are, with a pretty full Belly. In the Middle it is about four or five Feet broad, aloft, or more, according to the Length of the Boat; the Mast stands exactly in the Middle, with a large Yard like a Mizen-yard; one End of it reaches to the End or Head of the Boat, where it is placed in a Notch, made there to keep it fast; the other End hangs over the Stern. To this Yard the Sail is fastened. At the Foot of the Sail there is another small Yard, to keep the Sail out square, and to roll it up when it blows hard; serving instead of a Reef, to take up the Sail to what degree they please, according to the Strength of the Wind. On the Belly-side of the Boat, parallel thereto, and at seven Feet Distance, lies a Log shaped like another small Boat, of a light Wood, almost as long as the great Boat, but not above a Foot and an half wide at the upper Part, and very sharp at each End. There are two Bamboos, of about eight or ten Feet long, and as big as a Man's Leg, placed over the great Boat's Side, one near each End of it, add reaching about six or seven Feet from the Side of the Boat, by the Help of which the little Boat is made firm to the other: These are generally called by the *Dutch*, and by the *English* from them, *Out-layers*: The Use of them is to keep the great Boat upright; because the Wind here is, in a manner, constantly East, and, if it were at West, it would be the same Thing; for the Range of these Islands where their Business lies to and from, being mostly North and South, they turn the flat Side of the Boat against the Wind upon which they sail; and the Belly consequently, with its little Boat, is upon the Lee; and the Vessel having an Head at each End, so as to sail with either of them foremost, they need not tack about, as all other Vessels do, but each End of the Boat serves for Head or Stern, as they please. When they ply to Windward, and have a mind to go about, he that steers, bears away a little from the Wind, by which the Stern comes to the Wind, and now becomes the Head, only by shifting the End of the Yard. This Vessel they steer with a broad Paddle instead of a Rudder, with great Dexterity.

Some Travellers have reported incredible Things, as to the Sailing of these *Proes*: Captain *Edward Cook* speaks of twenty or thirty Leagues an Hour; but if what another Writer reports may be depended upon, viz. that one of these Vessels being dispatched Express from *Guam*, to *Manilla*, which is 400 good Leagues, performed the Voyage in four Days, it will be sufficient to raise our Admiration, and justify the Character given to these Vessels, for swift Sailing upon a Wind. In many other Places of the *East-Indies* they make use of *Proes* with Bellies or Boats on both Sides; but the *Proe* we have described, is peculiar to the *Ladrones*. Before the *Spaniards* made any Settlement on these Islands, the People lived, in their Way, very happily; every Man having his *Proe*, which tho' furnished with Mast, Sail, Yard, Tackle, Halliards, and Helm; he steered with one Hand, and with the other hoisted, lowered, or trimmed his Sail, having one of the Tackles fastened to each Foot, so as to veer out, and hale to, as Occasion required.

Fishing was, in a manner, their sole Occupation; and in that too they are equally skilful and dextrous: Their Hooks are made of a large Bone, with a small one fixed in it; and with these they take Dolphins, and other Fish, upon the Banks or Shoals. One Fish there is peculiar to this Coast, which the Sailors call a *Yellow-tail*, about twelve Inches long, and three in breadth, having a small long Head, with a large Mouth and Eye, and a Fin on his Back, which extends quite to his Tail. His Body is of a dark Yellow, his Belly of a fine Silver, his Sides streaked from Head to Tail with two Stripes of Blue, and three of Yellow; his Fins and Tail of a bright Yellow.

So much for these Islands. Let us now return to the Ship's Company of the *Centurion*, on shore at *Tinian*. The sick People, having fresh Meat in plenty, Abundance of Greens, and as many Oranges as they pleased, recovered surprisingly. In the mean time, the Carpenter was employed in stopping the Leak, which, notwithstanding all his Care, was very indifferently done. That no Time might be lost, Provisions and Water were every Day carried on board, and the Ship washed and scrubbed; and every thing being in good Order by the 19th of September, they began to lath the Guns, and to prepare for their Departure, which was retarded by an extraordinary Accident, that happened on the 22d.

They had all that Day had Gales, and a great deal of Rain: About seven in the Evening they parted with the small Bower, and brought up and rid by their best Bower; when a great Sea, running at their Stern, flaved the Long-boat against the Rails of the Gallery, so that she was over-set, with a Man in her, who with much Difficulty was saved, but the Boat was lost. At eleven they parted with their best Bower, and were forced to let go their Sheet-anchor, veering almost two Cables Length. Upon this they heaved the Lead, and, finding they were out of Soundings, fired four Guns, and made a Signal of Distress, but to no Purpose; for those on shore could afford them no Assistance; so that they were soon driven out to Sea. There were at this Time 60 Hands on board, and the Commodore and 110 Men left upon the Island. It is not easy to conceive how much this must have alarmed those who were thus left, with little Hopes of getting off, in a small uninhabited Island, seated, as it were, in the Extremity of the World, where they were, in a manner, surrounded by Enemies, and had nothing to trust to, but their own Efforts to escape.

This is the Scene which we mentioned, as a Parallel to the Shipwreck of the *Wager*; and, in one respect, the Distress of the *Centurion's* People was the greater of the two; for they had not the Benefit of a Wreck, from whence Sea Stores and Materials might be fetched at Will; all was gone with the Ship, and in her their ablest Hands. Such was the Matter of Fact; let us now see what were the Consequences, and how the Commodore and his People behaved in so uncomfortable a Condition.

23. As soon as the Ship was out of Sight, and every body seemed to be under Apprehensions from the Foulness of the Weather, that the Crew would not be able to bring her back into the Road, an universal Astonishment appeared in every Countenance. The Commodore however encouraged them to pursue their Labours, notwithstanding the Ship's being driven off the Island, assuring them, that if the Ship did not return, they would not be wholly useless; which gave the People great Spirits, foreseeing that the Commodore had already formed some Project for getting off the Island. In a Day or two after, the Commodore explained himself more fully, telling the People, it would be very practicable to saw the Bark, which they had taken when they first came to the Island, and lengthen it, to such a Degree, as might render it a fit Vessel to carry them to some of the *Philippines*, and from thence to *China*. When, by this Discourse, he had banished Despair, he entered into a regular Deduction of whatever would be requisite for such a Voyage; and, having assigned a certain Number of Men to every kind of Work, he not only took upon himself the Trouble of surveying them, but wrought, with his own Hands, amongst those he overlooked; so that his Example was at least equal to the Addition of a considerable Number of Hands; for, seeing the Commodore always busy, there was no Man had a Desire to be idle. This Industry of theirs had all the good Effects that could be wished for, since, at the same time it kept them to their necessary Business, it diverted their Thoughts, and preserved their Spirits, in a regular Motion; and this too was greatly forwarded by the personal Behaviour of the Commodore, who was always serene, always easy, gave his Orders cheerfully, pursued his Plans steadily, so as to be equally in a Condition of supplying the Ship with what was wanting to complete her Stores, in case she returned, or to finish, in a few Days, the Lengthening of the Barge, whenever they set about it, having a

considerable Quantity of Wood cut down and sawed for that Purpose.

But it is now time to follow the Ship, and to give some Account of the Hardships and Difficulties the People underwent who were on board her. On the 23d the Wind continued to blow very hard, so that one of their fore Shrouds broke, as did one of the Straps of their Bobstay, which they spliced as well as they could, and the next Day got up a Pair of Preventer-shrouds for the Foremast. On the 25th they had fresh Gales, and a rolling Sea. In swaying up the Main-yard, one of the Men being upon it to secure the Slack-jeer, some of the Tackle broke; upon which, down it came, and, in the Fall, the poor Man's Arm was caught in a Block, and broke all to-pieces; by which Accident, and the Fever that followed it, he died in a few Days. The same Day they swayed up the Fore-yard. All this time the Sheet-anchor was out, the People on board not having Strength to get her up; and, at the same time, the Ship made a great deal of Water; but, on the 26th, the Weather being moderate, they heaved the Sheet-anchor, and secured it. On the 27th they got up the Rigging, and bent another Top-sail. On the 28th the Ship was so full of Water, that they were obliged to pump every two Hours. It was the 9th of October, in the Afternoon, before they could discern the Island of *Tinian* from the Mast-head, which then bore South South-east, distant six Leagues. On the 10th in the Morning, they had a clear View of three of the *Ladrone* Islands, viz. *Zaipaa*, which bore North-east, distant six Leagues; *Aguiguan*, South-east, distant four Leagues; and *Tinian*, South South-east, distant three Leagues. On the 11th in the Afternoon, they let go their Sheet-anchor, which was the only one they had left, in twenty-seven Fathom Water; and the next Morning sent their Boat ashore, with their empty Casks, for Water, exceedingly rejoiced at the Thoughts of seeing once again their Companions, and their Commander.

24. On the 12th in the Morning, Lieutenant *Gordon*, of the *Marines*, being by Accident on an Hill, saw the Ship in the Road, and carried the first News of it to the Commodore, who received it with the utmost Satisfaction, and immediately gave his Orders for sending Water on board, and for dispatching, with the utmost Diligence, whatever was necessary for their speedy Departure from the Island. They enjoyed, while they staid here, all the Conveniences they could well wish for. Cattle they had in abundance, which cost them no more than shooting them, and bringing them down to their Tents. They had Hogs also in as great Plenty, and most excellent in their kind, as feeding upon solid and nourishing Fruits. Fowl also they had as much as they could wish; besides Fowls, but not in so great Plenty. One Inconvenience they were exposed to, almost as soon as they were settled on the Island; and that was the Plague of Flies, which was really greater than could well be imagined. The Reader will remember, that *Schooten* and *Le Maire* met with the same Inconvenience in an Island in the South Seas, which they from thence called *Fly Island*: And Captain *Dampier* represents the Coast of *New Guinea*, which is the nearest Continent to this Island, as pestered with Flies, to such a Degree, that the Inhabitants are almost blinded by them. But, as I do not find any Complaint of this Nature in the Voyages of such as have touched at the Island of *Guanam*, I am inclined to believe, that only such of the Islands as are uninhabited are exposed to this Inconvenience. Perhaps the Opening the Country, by cutting down the Woods, and the Smoke of many Fires, might contribute to the Destruction of these Vermin. Their Habitations were none of the best; but yet, through the Care of the Commodore, their Huts were as well disposed, and as effectually secured, from the Weather, as it was possible; so that, in the Space of less than two Months, the Crew that landed there in so weak and so distressed a Condition, recovered their Health and Spirits, and moved very briskly about their Business.

They observed, during their Stay, that the Tide fell strong, between this Island and *Aguiguan*, at South South-east, and North North-west, and runs longer and stronger to the Southward, than to the Northward, making a great Sea when it sets against the Wind, and rises about eight Feet

Feet perpendicular along-shore; at the Quarter of the Moon it rises higher by two Feet than at the Full and Change; contrary to the common Phenomenon of the Tides, it rises more or less also, according to the Strength of the Winds blowing into the Bay, by two or three Feet. The Flowing at Full and Change is about eight Hours. These Variations, with respect to Tides, do not at all affect, much less destroy, the modern Doctrine on that Head; because the same Variations, or others analogous to them, are observed where-ever there is a Cluster of Islands, and even upon our own Coast, particularly at the *Orkneys*, the *Western Islands*, and those of *Scilly*. On the eighteenth they had the Misfortune to lose a Raft of Casks, consisting of twelve Butts, and three Puncheons; notwithstanding which, they completed the Watering of their Ship the next Day, when a Man from every Mess was sent into the Woods to get Oranges, and whatever else they wanted of Fruits, and other Refreshments. On the 21st they sent two old *Indians* on shore: Two other *Indians* having swam away from them the Day before, set the Bark on Fire, and removed every thing from their little Settlement on board the Ship.

25. On the 22d of *October*, about five in the Afternoon, they weighed from the Island of *Tinian*, and made sail for *Macao*. The Weather continued fair during the rest of the Month, but *November* entered with Storms; so that on the 2d they had very foul Weather, being then off the South-east Point of the Island *Formosa*, which lies in the Latitude of $21^{\circ} 20'$ North. The next Day they saw Fires on that Island, bearing North-east, distant about fifteen Leagues. On the 4th they had an hard Gale, which broke the Main-top-sail Stay. The next Day they had Sight of the Coast of *China*. On the 6th in the Morning, they had Sight of *Pedra Blanca*, bearing West, half South, ten Miles; it is so called from the white Rocks lying off it: These appear, when off at Sea, just against the Cape; but, being, when nearer Shore, either Eastward or Westward of the Cape, they appear, at first View, like Ships under Sail; but, coming still nearer, they are like two high Towers, being slender, high, and steep, on all Sides, and are about half a Mile from the Cape. The Cape is in Latitude $21^{\circ} 56'$, and is about the Height of *Beachy-head* in *England*. It is a full Point, with steep Rocks towards the Sea; then it gradually falls away on each Side, with a gentle Descent, appearing very pleasant, and covered with fair lofty Trees. On the 8th they came to an Anchor in eighteen Fathom Water, and took two *Chinese* Pilots on board, to carry them to *Macao*, for which they were to receive thirty Dollars. On the 11th, about nine in the Morning, they ran a-ground near that Island, and it was the 13th in the Afternoon before they got the Ship off, and anchored her safely in five Fathom Water. They moored the next Day, in the best manner they were able, letting go their Sheet-anchor to the South, and their best Bower to the Northward; this was composed of two *Spanish* Anchors: lashed and hooped together with two Guns, having lost their own Anchor, when blown out of *Tinian* Road; and thus being done, they saluted the Governor of *Macao* with eleven Guns, and he returned the like Number.

26. The Commodore, considering the Condition of his Ship, and the Difficulty he was under of procuring what he wanted in that Port, found it absolutely necessary to go to *Canton* in Person, in order to obtain Leave for heaving down the Ship, and such Assistance as could be afforded him by the *English* Factory. He went ashore accordingly on the 16th, and was saluted at his Landing by the Fort with eleven Guns, which the *Centurion* returned; and from thence the Commodore continued his Route to *Canton*, where at first he met with a very indifferent Reception, because the vulgar *Chinese*, having never seen an *European* Man of War in their Seas, took it for granted, that he was a Pirate; and therefore treated him, and the People who were with him, as they passed the Streets, with ap- proprious Language, calling them Thieves, Robbers, and Pirates, in bad *Portuguese*, as well as in their own Language: This, however, the Commodore did not regard, but procured the Business he came about with the utmost Vigour. The Day after the Commodore's Departure, a *Chinaman*, or *Chinese* Guard-boat, anchored close by the

Centurion, to observe her Motions. On the 1st of *December* arrived a Boatswain, with a Long-boat and Anchor from the Commodore, of which they were in great Want, their own having been staved, as has been already mentioned, in the Road of *Tinian*. They sent, by the Commodore's Orders, a Mate, and six Men, to attend him at *Canton*, and a Supply of 1000 Dollars, for purchasing Sea-stores.

By this Time the Commodore had made an Agreement with the *English* Factory for fresh Provisions, which were regularly supplied during the Time the *Centurion* lay in the Harbour of *Macao*; and the People on board were constantly employed in repairing and refitting the Ship, as fast as their present Circumstances would allow. On the 5th of *December* the following Account was taken of the Treasure brought on board from the *Gloucester*, when, at the Request of her own Officers, she was destroyed; viz. N^o 1. A Box of Gold: 2. A Box with 4000 Dollars: 3. A Box with 3000 Dollars: 4. A Box of 3000 Dollars, a Box of Jewels, and a Bag of bits: 5. A Box with 1255 Dollars, and 49 Pounds of loose Plate: 6. Seventeen Pounds of loose Plate, *Avoirdupois* Weight. On the 8th they received in a Boat belonging to the *Defence*, an *English* Ship then in those Parts, a Cable, and other Necessaries, from *Canton*; and the same Day two Ships, one a *Dutch*, and the other a *Sveedish East-Indiaman*, pass'd by them, Homeward-bound. They received, on the 9th, Orders from the Commodore to get ready for Sailing, and on the 11th they began to get their Water on board, and to fit their Ship: On the 12th they found their Main-mast sprung in two Places, two Feet above the Partition on the Lower Deck: On the 13th three *Dutchmen* came on board, and entered themselves; and on the 15th the Commodore returned from *Canton*, bringing with him a considerable Quantity of Stores, necessary to put the Ship in a sailing Posture.

Immediately after his Return, the necessary Orders were given for dispatching the Repairs; in Obedience to which, the Carpenters were employed in finishing their Masts, the Sail-makers in repairing their Sails, the Butchers in salting Pork, and the rest of the Ship's Company in watering and getting ready for Sea. A Spectacle that surprised the *Chinese*, and increased the natural Jealousy they have of all Foreigners.

27. In order to be thoroughly satisfied, and agreeable to the *Chinese* Custom, of knowing to the utmost Certainty the Burden and Force of all Foreign Ships, the principal Mandarin at *Macao* determined to pay the Commodore a Visit, which he did on the 18th, and, having received all the Satisfaction he could desire, was very elegantly entertained, and at his Departure saluted with eleven Guns. The next Day Captain *Mitchell*, who had commanded the *Gloucester*, went on shore in the Barge, in order to take his Passage home, with the Consent of the Commodore. The Order for heaving down was not yet expedited, and all that could be done was to get on board dry Provisions and Stores, of which they received more or less every Day. On the 23d the *Princess Mary*, a Ship in the *East-India* Company's Service, sailed for *England*, and saluted the Commodore with eleven Guns, who returned five. On the 25th two *Danish* Ships passed by, who likewise saluted the Commodore with eleven Guns, and had nine returned. On the last Day of the Year their Long-boat returned from *Canton*, with an Anchor, Hand-pump, and other Necessaries. The Commodore began the Year with distributing Part of the Plunder-money taken at *Poyla*, that the Officers and Seamen might have something of their own, to furnish themselves with Conveniences.

On the 7th of *January* came the Order for heaving down their Ship, and they immediately began to unmoor, weighed the Sheet-anchor, and warped over to the Northward for that Purpose. The Commodore contracted for 100 *Chinese* Workmen to assist, and two Junks to hold the Stores, and other Goods, that were taken out of the *Centurion*; he caused likewise a Tent to be erected on an adjacent Island, and placed a Guard there, for the Security of the Effects that were put on shore; he likewise hired thirty *Chinese* Carpenters; and, having lost no Time, by the End of the Month of *March*, the Ship was perfectly repaired;

and, by the 6th of *April*, completely rigged; and the same Day they began to unmoor. On the 7th in the Afternoon the Commodore went ashore, to take his Leave of the Governor of *Macao*; who, upon his coming off, saluted him with thirteen Guns. The next Day a Mandarin, and seven *Chinese*, in a Junk, anchored close by the *Centurion*, who pretended to give the Commodore Advice to make Haste, because the *Tuffoon* Season was advancing; but the Commodore very well understood the Meaning of the Message, and that they were only desirous of being rid of him, for fear of his interrupting their *Manila* Trade. This appeared more clearly on the 13th, when the Mandarin sent a Message, insinuating upon his immediate Departure; to which the Commodore answered, that he would sail when he thought proper, and not before.

On the 17th a *Swedish* Homeward-bound *East-Indiaman* anchored near them, which saluted the Commodore with 16 Guns, who returned 15; and soon after went on board the *Swede*, where he was entertained with all imaginable Respect, and saluted again at his Departure with 16 Guns. The Commodore, finding the South West *Monsoon* setting in, and that it would be dangerous for him to sail for *Europe* before the Month of *October*, determined to take this Opportunity of sending home Captain *Saunders*, in the *Swedish* Ship, with an Account of his Proceedings, for the Satisfaction of the Government; and, in the mean time, resolved to cruise for the *Acapulco* Ship, which he had certain Intelligence was very soon expected at *Manila*.

The City of *Macao*, which in the *Chinese* Language signifies a Port, stands on the Point of an Island, called *Heichen*, in the Province of *Canton*. The Form of this Point of Land is very singular; it resembles a Man's Arm bent, the Shoulder-part being joined to the Island, and the rest surrounded by the Sea: The Haven is very safe and commodious, and the City was formerly very rich and splendid. It belongs, as it always did, to the *Portuguese*, who settled here by Permission from the Emperor of *China*: They have a Governor of their own, and live under their own Laws; but are, notwithstanding, subjected to the *Chinese*, to a Degree of Slavery. The Customs of the Port belong to the Emperor, who has an *Heppe*, or Commissioner of Revenue, here, as in other Ports of his Dominions, and a Mandarin, who directs Civil Affairs; neither is it possible for the *Portuguese* to shake off the Yoke, because they are every way surrounded by the *Chinese*, and have not a Day's Provision but what they draw from the Country. While the *Portuguese* were in Possession of the Trade to *Japan*, this Place was in a very flourishing Condition, and one of the most considerable Cities in their Possession; but since their Expulsion from that Island, their Trade has declined here, tho' it seems now to be in a better Condition than it was some Years ago; and there are a considerable Number of *Portuguese* Ships that come hither annually from their Settlements in the *West-Indies*.

But the *Chinese* drive a much more considerable Trade from hence, especially to *Manila*, where they vend a vast Quantity of rich Goods, at a very high Price, to the *Spaniards*, who pay for them all in ready Money; that is to say, in Pieces of Eight, or in Silver Bars, which they bring from the *West-Indies*. This, however, seems to be a great Slip in their Politics; which may be the more easily apprehended, if we compare it with the prudent Management of the *Dutch*, who carry on likewise a great Trade with the *Chinese* at *Batavia*; where, notwithstanding, they never suffer them to deal for ready Money, but for Spices, and other *Indian* Commodities, and for the Manufactures of *Europe*; so that the same Commerce which exhausts the *Spaniards*, enriches the *Dutch*, who make the *Chinese* their Carriers at an easy Expence; whereas the *Spaniards* export immense Quantities of *Chinese* Goods in their *Manila* Ships to *Acapulco*, and bring from thence the Silver of *Mexico* in Return, the best Part of which comes, sooner or later, into the Hands of the *Chinese*; so that here, as well as in *Europe*, the *Spaniards*, thro' their own ill Management, are only Factors for other People, and have no more than a transitory Possession of that prodigious Wealth they draw from their *Indies*. It is no Wonder therefore, that the *Chinese*, who are, without question, as cunning and as self-interested a People as any in the World, were very much disturbed at Commodore *Anson's*

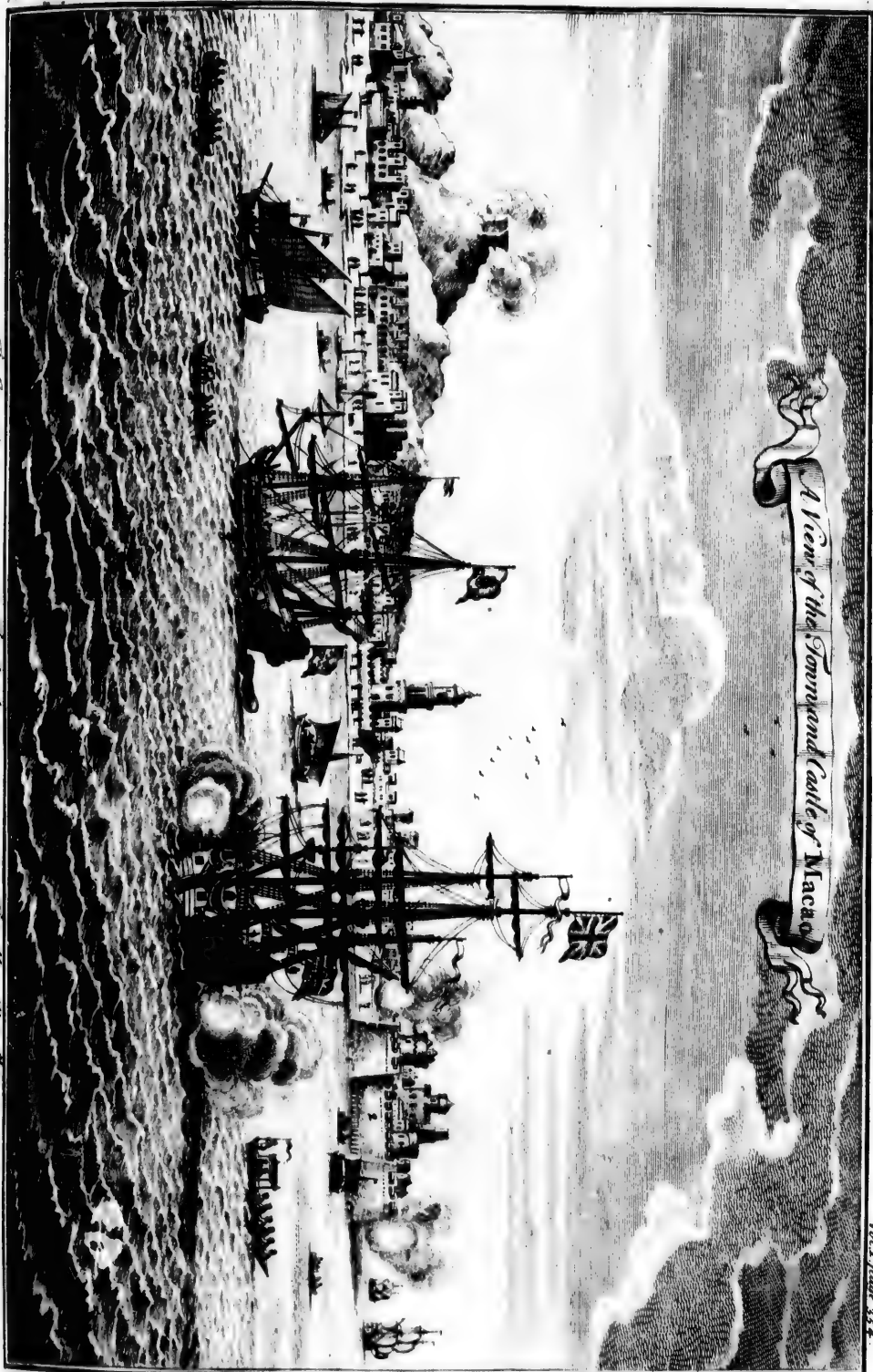
lying so long in this Port, especially after the Arrival of a Ship from *Manila*, which happened a little before his Departure, and informed the *Chinese* thoroughly of the Apprehensions they were under from the *Centurion's* being in their Neighbourhood.

There is one Thing which has been before laid down in point of Fact, that seems to require some Explanation; and that is the Caution given by the *Chinese* Mandarin to the Commodore, in relation to the Stormy Season. We have already spoken in other Places somewhat of this Subject; but here it will be necessary to discuss the Matter more at large, in order to settle this Point: With respect to the Weather in *China*, *Monsoon* is an *Indian* Word, which, strictly speaking, signifies no more than a strong Wind; and is applied to the stated Trade-winds no otherwise than as they are remarkably strong, as well as steady; which Observation will hereafter appear to be of much greater Use, than at first Sight may be imagined. The *Monsoons* are distinguished into the East *Monsoon*, and the West *Monsoon*: The former sets in, to the North of the Line in the Month of *September*, and blows till *April*, bringing usually fine, fair, and constant Weather; whereas the West *Monsoon*, which blows from *April* to *September*, is usually accompanied with heavy Rains, and dreadful Storms; which shows the Reason that induced the Commodore to remain in this Part of the World, till the East *Monsoon* was well set in. It is not to be supposed, that the Change of these Winds is a Thing very regular or exact, or that the Succession of them is immediate; but it is to be understood, that the Months of *April* and *September* are the shifting Months, and that there is some Variation of Winds, before the *Monsoon* becomes fix'd and steady. Thus much, however, is certain, that the Alteration of these Winds is as constant as the Change of the Year; and that all the Navigation of the *Indies* depends upon them.

All who are concerned in Trade wait for these Changes, and complete their Cargoes, and fit out their Ships, agreeable to these Seasons, taking such Measures to dispatch their Business, in the Places to which the Ships are consigned, as to take the Benefit of the next or contrary *Monsoon*, which brings them back again; neither is it easy to conceive, how the Trade of *India* could be carried on, but for these regular and constant Winds. A Coasting Trade, indeed, might be practicable, from Places near each other, by the Help of Sea and Land-breezes; but Voyages of considerable Extent could by no means be carried on by the Help of such Land and Sea Winds; or, if they were, they might take up three or four Years, instead of six Weeks. At the Change of these Trade Winds there are frequently great Storms, which are also called in the *Indies*, *Monsoons*; taking that Word in its natural and strict Sense, for an high or strong Wind; and therefore this Distinction is very necessary to be observed, in order to prevent our confounding one *Monsoon* with another.

But the Winds mentioned by the Mandarin, were *Tyfoons*, or, as some write them, *Typhons*; because the *Greek* Word *Typhoon* signifies a violent high Wind. It would be at least a tedious and perplex'd, and, perhaps, after all, a dry and useless Inquiry, should we endeavour to shew, that the *Chinese* Term of *Tuffoon* is derived from, or is no better than a Corruption of, the *Greek* Word *Typhoon*; and as it is more agreeable to our Purpose, we will endeavour to explain the Thing, without troubling ourselves about the Name. *Tyfoons*, then, are a particular Kind of violent Storms, which happen usually in the shifting Months, but especially *April*, on the Coast of *China*. They commonly happen near the Full or Change of the Moon, and are usually preceded by very fair Weather, small Winds, and a clear Sky: These Winds veer from the true Trade-wind, and usually shift almost round the Compass. Before the Storm comes on, there appears a dark thick Cloud on that Point from which the Storm will blow; as I suppose it be from the N. E. which Cloud hangs always near the Horizon, the upper Edge of it being of a dark Flame colour, which grows brighter and brighter, and then fades to a whitish glaring Cloud. This is a very awful and terrible Spectacle, inasmuch as it lasts sometimes for twelve Hours before the Storm comes on: When that Cloud begins to move, the Wind presently follows it, and blows with more

A View of the Town and Castle of Macao



dible Violence at N. E. for about twelve Hours, accompanied with most horrid Claps of Thunder, large flying Sheets of Lightning, and a prodigious Rain. This furious Wind does not die by Degrees, but sinks almost all at once; then follows a dead Calm for about an Hour, till the Wind rises from the opposite Point at the S. W. and then it blows, thunders, lightens, and rains, with as much Violence, and for about the same Time, as it did before.

Varnius, who is justly esteemed for his excellent Writings on this Subject, has given us a large Description of this Kind of Storm, which, because it is more general, the Reader may perhaps be well pleased to see. 'A Typhon,' says he, is a strong swift Wind, blows from all Points, wandering about all Quarters, and generally comes from above. This is frequent in the Oriental Seas, especially in the Seas of Siam, China, and Japan, and between Malacca and Japan. It breaks out violently, almost from the Western Point, and turning round the Horizon with a rapid Force, performs the Revolution in twenty Hours; till, growing stronger and stronger, raising those Seas, with its strong Whirling about, to a great Height, every tenth Wave rising above the rest, which dashing against one another with great Force, the Seamen lose all Hopes of their Lives; for which, and other Storms, sailing from India to Japan is very dangerous; so that if one Ship in three gets safe there, it is look'd upon to be a prosperous Voyage. The Typhon rages most in Summer, and more than can be conceived by those who have not seen it; so that it is no Wonder the Ribs of the strongest and largest Ships should be loosened; you would think the Heavens and the Earth were turned to their antient Chaos. It rages not only at Sea, but also on Land; and overturns Houses, and pulls up Trees by the Roots, and carries great Ships a Quarter of a Mile from the Sea. The Cause of it, no doubt, is, that the Wind rushing to a certain Point is obstructed, and returns on itself, and is thus turned round; as we see in Water, that turns round about in a Vortex, when it meets with an Obstacle; or it may come from furious Winds meeting one another, which renders the Sea plain, and dashes against the Ships between them.'

28. On the 19th of April 1743, they sailed from Macao; and, on the 3d of May, saw the Southernmost Part of the Island *Formosa*, lying East by South, at the Distance of ten Leagues, which afforded them a very pleasant Prospect. This Island, in the best Maps we have of China, is laid down from the Latitude of 22° to $25^{\circ} 10'$ North, and in Longitude, from $3^{\circ} 20'$ to $5^{\circ} 30'$ East from Peking. Its nearest Distance from the Continent is about thirty Leagues; it is about seventy Leagues in Length, and twenty in Breadth. The Spaniards, who first discovered it, called it, from the fair Prospect it affords at Sea, *Formosa*; but the Chinese call it *Tai-ouan*, which our Seamen, spelling according to the Pronunciation, write *Tey-wan*. It is, in all respects, a very fine Island, situated in a very wholesome Climate, finely diversified by Hills and Valleys, Plains and Woods, well watered, and affording not only the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, but also very rich and valuable Commodities; such as Gold in great Plenty, Raw Silk, Sugar, Copper, finer than in China, but coarser than that of Japan, with Abundance of Drugs.

The Natives differ much from their Neighbours the Chinese, and the Inhabitants of the Philippines, in their Complexions, Stature; and Make, for they are, generally speaking, a low squat People, with large Heads, low Foreheads, hollow Eyes, their Cheek-bones remarkably high, large Mouths, short flat Chins, with little or no Beard; their Necks small and long; their Arms and Legs long, small, and ill-shaped; their Feet very long and broad, and, generally speaking, they are Baker-kneed. The English and Dutch had Factories there till about the Year 1678, when the Province of Fokien having submitted to the Tartars, who were then about subduing that Island, they directed the Europeans to remove their Settlements to the Continent; upon which the English withdrew their Factory to Amoy; but the Dutch, having a good Fortrefs, and a numerous Garison, sustained a long Siege, and sold their Settlement very dear, the Tartars losing several Thousands of Men, before they became

Masters of it; and, since that time, the Government of it is annexed to the Province of Fokien, and no Strangers are suffered to trade thither.

On the 6th in the Morning, they were in Sight of the *Bahoe* Islands, which are five in Number, lying in the Latitude of $20^{\circ} 25'$. Three of these Islands are pretty large; that which lies most to the West is the biggest of the three, being about seven or eight Leagues long, and about two wide, lying almost North and South, the Land high, flat, and even on the Top, with steep Cliffs against the Sea. The other two Islands are about four or five Leagues to the Eastward of this, being between three and four Leagues long, and a League and an half wide, stretching North and South; and are very mountainous, with many steep Precipices. The two small Islands are flat and even; only one of them hath a steep rocky Hill: The Inhabitants live in small Villages, built on the Sides and Tops of these rocky Hills, and consist of several Rows of Houses, one over another, on these steep Precipices: They go to the first Row up a wooden Ladder, and so with a Ladder up to that above it, there being no other Way to ascend. The Plain on the first Precipice is so wide, as to have Room for a Row of Houses that stand all along on the Edge or Brink of it, and a very narrow Street running along before their Doors: Between the Row of Houses, and the Brow of the next Precipice, the Plain is, in a manner, level to the Top of the Houses below; and the rest are pretty near the same Order and Proportion. The common Ladder to each Row or Street comes up at a narrow Passage, left purposely about the Middle of it; and the Street being bounded with a Precipice also at each End, it is but drawing up the Ladder, if they are attacked, and then there is no coming at them from below; and, that they may not be assaulted from above, they take care to build on a Hill, the Backside of which hangs over the Sea, or on some high, steep, perpendicular Precipice, altogether inaccessible.

The Men are generally employed in Fishing, and take their Sons with them, but their Daughters live at home with their Mothers; and, when they are grown up, they send them to their Plantations to dig Yams and Potatoes, of which they bring home on their Heads, every Day, enough to serve the whole Family; for they have no Rice or Maize. Their Plantations are in the Valleys, at a good Distance from their Houses, where every Man has a certain Spot of Land, which is properly his own; this he manages for his own Use, and provides enough, that he may not be beholden to his Neighbours. Both Men and Women wear very large Ear-rings, made of yellow Metal, which they call *Bullawan*, i. e. Gold, and very probably it is so. They are very ingenious in building Boats, having some that will carry forty or fifty Men; these they row with twelve or fourteen Oars of a Side. In regard to their Manners, they are a neat, sober, civil, indutrious, quiet, honest People, just to each other, and equally courteous and generous to Strangers.

They are very moderate in their way of living, contenting themselves usually with Fish and Roots. As for their Drink, it is commonly Water; yet they have a better sort of Liquor amongst them, made of the Juice of Sugar-canes, which they boil, and put some Blackberries among it; when it is well boiled, they put it into a great Jar, and let it stand three or four Days to ferment; then it settles, and becomes clear, and is presently fit to drink. It is an excellent Liquor, very much like English Beer, both in Colour and Taste; it is very strong and wholesome. They have no sort of Coin, but barter small Pieces of yellow Metal, wrapped up in Plantain-leaves, for what they want. They are great Admirers of Iron, and will sell a good fat Goat for an iron Hoop; and a large Hog, of seventy or eighty Pounds Weight, for two, three, or four Pounds of Iron. They will also give several Jars of their favourite Liquor for old Nails, Spikes, or Bullets.

This Account is intirely taken from Mr. Dampier, who, for any thing we know, is the only Author that has given any Description of them: He was there with Captain Swan in the Year 1687, or rather in Captain Swan's Ship, for his Crew had then left him behind, and it was his Sailors that bestowed upon them the Name of the *Bahoe* Islands, which

which they have since retained, even in the best Maps; and it is really wonderful, that, considering so much Notice has been taken of his Description, no Attempt has been hitherto made, either to settle in them, or trade with their Inhabitants. They had, towards the Middle of the Month of May, very stormy Weather, with much Rain. On the 21st they fell Cape *Spirin Santo*, on the Island of *Samar*, which is one of the *Philippines*, and lies to the South-east of *Manilla*. They exercised their Small-arms on board constantly, when the Weather would permit; and kept cruising in the Way of the *Acapulco* Ship to the 18th of June, without meeting with any remarkable Accident.

29. On the 21st in the Morning they saw the Land, bearing South-west, at the Distance of about seven Leagues; and about seven o'Clock they first discerned a Ship, bearing South-east, which proved to be the *Galleon* they had so long expected. As soon as the *Commodore* was informed of it, he came upon Deck, and the first Glimpse through his Perspective, shewing like two Ships, he said, very coolly, to the Sailors who were near him, My Lads, we will fight them both. As the drew nearer, they saw their Mistake; and that, in reality, there was but one Ship. The *Commodore* then gave Orders for making all Things clear, that they might be in a better Condition to chase and fight. The *Spanish* Commander, however, did not give them much Trouble in this respect, but bore down upon them before the Wind; and, when she was come within a Mile of the *Centurion*, brought-to, in order to engage. In a little time after she fired a Gun, which was answered from the *Centurion*, by firing a Gun to the Leeward. At about half an Hour after ten the Enemy hoisted *Spanish* Colours, and a red Flag, with the Arms of *Spain* at her Main-top-mast-head; and then they began to fire random Shots, before they came to a close Engagement. At half an Hour after twelve o'Clock the *Centurion* hoisted her Colours, and fired a Shot at the Chace, which she returned. They then came close a long-side of each other, Yard-arm and Yard-arm, when the Attack began with all the Fury imaginable.

The *Commodore* remained, during the whole Action, upon the Quarter-deck, with his Sword drawn, and gave his Directions with the greatest Calmness imaginable. The Honourable Mr. *van Keppel*, Son to the Earl of *Albemarle*, gave his Orders between Decks; which were executed punctually, and without the least Confusion. As they had not a very large Stock of Ammunition, Instructions were given not to waste it by firing any Guns without Probability of doing Execution; and therefore they fired but four Guns at a time, which generally went through and through the Enemy's Ship; and, as the *Spaniards* had near six hundred Men on board, there was hardly a Shot that missed them. They made use, during the Engagement, of an excellent Feint; which was, making the usual Signal to board, by lashing their Sprit-sail-yard fore-and-aft, which made the *Spaniard* imagine the *Commodore* had his full Complement of Men; and, what confirmed them in this Opinion, was his shewing his whole Force, consisting of 227 Men, on one Side, which he had an Opportunity of doing by their engaging Yard-arm and Yard-arm; whereas, if they had fought Broadside and Broadside, he would have wanted Men to have managed his Guns. This surpris'd and intimidat'd the Enemy, who, being informed of the Condition they were in at *Tinian*, thought themselves sure of taking them; which was what induc'd them to bear down as they did before the Engagement. The Commander of the *Spanish* Ship, *Don Hieronimo Montero*, a *Portuguese*, behaved very bravely; and, for the first Hour, fired very briskly; but afterwards the Ship lay like a Log in the Sea, and fired only now-and-then. The Action lasted an Hour and twenty Minutes. A *Spanish* Officer, who was ordered to strike the Colours, and who stood very near them, refus'd to do it for some time; but at last they were struck.

Upon this the *Commodore* ordered his Cutter to be hoisted, the rest of the Boats being rendered unerviceable in the Engagement, and sent on board Lieutenant *Summare* to take Possession of her; but, there being little Wind, she fell on board the *Centurion*, but, in a little time, they got clear. When the Cutter returned, she brought

the Governor of *Guam*, the Pilot of the *Spanish* Ship, and some of the principal Officers and Passengers: As for the Commander, he had received two Wounds, and it was not thought safe to remove him; but Orders were given for taking all imaginable Care of him on board his own Ship.

In this Action the *Centurion* had only two Men killed; viz. *Thomas Richmond*, who had his Head shot off, and *George Walton*: Lieutenant *Brett*, and fifteen Men, wounded. They had fifteen Shot through the Hull of the Ship; their Fore-mast, Main-mast, and Bow-sprit, wounded, and their Rigging very much shattered. In taking the Prize, they expended fifty hundred Weight of Round-shot, four Rounds of Grape, and four of Double-headed, and twenty-four Barrels of Powder. The *Spanish* Galleon was called *Nuestra Señora del Cabo Dongo*: She could mount sixty Guns, but had only forty-two actually mounted, seventeen of which were Brads, and twenty-eight Patereeros; each of which, that is of the Patereeros, was loaded with seventy Musquet-balls, or what was equivalent to them, rusty Nails, Flint-stones, and Slugs; they likewise fired abundance of Chain-shot, some Double-headed, with barbed Points, which with us are esteem'd unlawful. She had fifty-eight Men killed, and eighty-three wounded. To prevent their being intimidated by so great a Loss, the Commander ordered twenty Men to be employed, during the whole Action, in throwing the Dead over-board, and in washing the Deck, that the Blood might not be perceived. She had 150 Shot through her Hull, many of which were between Wind and Water, which made her very leaky; her Masts were in a very bad Condition, and her Rigging tore all to-pieces, so that they were oblig'd to send Blocks and Cails of Ropes on board, to repair it as soon as she was taken. The Cutter and the Long-boat of the Prize were for some time employ'd in bringing on board the Prisoners, to the Number of three hundred; and Lieutenant *Summare*, with fifty Men, were left in Possession of the Prize, together with two Surgeons, to assist the Wounded. They found, on the first Search, on board the Ship, one hundred and twelve Bags and six Chefts of Dollars, and one Bag of Plate.

On the 22d five of the Prisoners died, on board the *Centurion*, of their Wounds; the two next Days were employ'd in bringing on board great Part of their Riches. On the 25th one hundred of the Prisoners were put into the Hold of the *Spanish* Ship. The same Day *Don Hieronimo Montero* came on board the *Centurion*; and, when he saw how inconsiderable their Force was, he could not help expressing the greatest Fury and Passion at being taken by such an Handful of Men, and those too in such Condition; for many, though they had Spirit enough to fight, were almost eat up with the Scurvy, and a great Part of the Crew were, in a manner, perfect Boys. On the 26th more Money was brought on board; so that it was now comput'd they had had a Million two hundred thousand Pieces of Eight from on board the Prize, and a great deal more was brought on board the next Day.

On the 29th Mr. *Philip Summare* was appointed Captain of the Prize, his Commission bearing Date from the Day she was taken; and, as soon as he received it, the new Captain saluted the *Commodore* with eleven Guns, which was answer'd by three; but the Prize was in so bad a Condition, that they were oblig'd to take her in Tow. The same Day they remov'd fifteen Bags of Dollars, some Plate, and three small Casks of Virgin-silver, on board the *Centurion*, so that they had now every thing of Value out of the Prize, amounting, in the Whole, to 1,213,843 Pieces of Eight, and 35,682 Ounces of Plate and Virgin-silver. On the first of July they had Sight of the *Bajeta* Islands, and the next Day found themselves off the Island of *Manila*, for which their Prize was bound.

The proper Name of this Island is *Luconia*, but it is frequently call'd *Manila*, from its Metropolis of that Name. It is the largest of the *Philippines*, and one of the very best Countries subject to the Crown of *Spain*. It affords all Sorts of Corn, Fruits, and Roots, in prodigious Plenty, and Flesh and Fish, in as great Abundance as can be wish'd; besides all these Advantages, which make it a delightful Country to live in, it may be justly con-

sidered

sidered as the best situated Place for Trade in the *East Indies*, or perhaps in the Universe. The Commodities of this Island are Iron, Steel, Gold, but not very fine; Wax, Rice, Sago, Saffron, &c. to which we may add a vast Quantity of Deer-skin, and Buffalo-hides, which, by the Help of the *Chinese*, they send yearly to *Japan*. The City of *Manila*, which is wonderfully well seated in the Latitude of $14^{\circ} 15'$ North, is the Seat of an Archbishop, and of the Viceroy; and they both live here in the utmost Splendor. The City itself is large and populous; the Streets wide and handsome; the public Buildings very magnificent; the Suburb of the *Chinese* is very large, and full of People, who are very industrious, and carry on a prodigious Trade, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* harass them with heavy Impositions. The Port is one of the best in the World, being at once extremely safe, and very capacious, at the same time that it is so well situated as to command equally the Trade both of the *East* and *West Indies*.

There is another Advantage, which the *Spaniards* possess and improve here beyond any thing they do in other Parts of their Dominions; and that is, abundance of fine Timber, fit for Ship-building, and which is employed in the Construction of those vast Gallies which carry on the Trade between this Port and *Acapulco*. It is likewise certain, that the *Spaniards* build other Vessels here for their *East India* Trade; and, though it must be granted, that they do not make the utmost Use that might be made of these Advantages, yet it cannot be denied, that they make more Use of them here, than in any other Parts of their Dominions. They admit *Mohammedans* and *Chinese* to trade here, though they are no-where more precise in the Exclusion of *Europeans*. The *Mohammedans* are allowed the Exercise of their Religion; but the *Chinese* are forced to counterfeit Christianity, which they will do very dexterously, to promote their Commerce. This is the bright Side of the Prospect; but, perhaps, it may not be amiss to view it a little in the Shade. The Island of *Luconia* is very large; some say, not less than four hundred Leagues in Circumference, and, at the same time, is extremely populous. The *Spaniards* are possessed only of the Coast, and have not more determined Enemies in the World than the Inhabitants of the inland Parts, who, as they are equally active and warlike, give them a great deal of Trouble, fortifying all the Entrances into their Country with a sort of Retrenchments made of Bamboos, or split Canes, which defend them from the Attacks of the *Spaniards*, and yet leave them secret Passages, by which they sally out, and make dreadful Excursions.

There have been likewise many civil Commotions even in the *Spanish* Settlements, owing chiefly to the Oppressions of their Viceroy, or Captain-General, and to the Intrigues of the Clergy. In the Year 1719 the latter stirred up the People against the Viceroy, who had behaved very ill in his Government, and actually killed him in his Palace. It is therefore easy to judge, why the *Spaniards* are so apprehensive of *Europeans* carrying on any Commerce here, since they are equally in Danger from the Natives on the one hand, and from the Discontents of their own People on the other. Yet, in spite of all their Care, the *Portuguese* share in the rich Commerce of this Island, and the *Spaniards* were frequently forced to employ them in military and maritime Affairs, for which they are much fitter than their own People. But those they most dread are the *Dutch*: And, it is for this Reason; that, though Nutmegs and Cloves actually grow here, as well as Pepper and other Spices, yet neither the *Spaniards*, nor the Inhabitants, take any Care to cultivate them, merely from the Apprehension of its tempting their Neighbours to extend their Conquests on this Side. It is very true, that the *Dutch* can scarce draw together a Force sufficient to execute such a Design, but they know so well how to excite the *Indian* Nations against each other, and, by their Assistance, have brought about elsewhere such surprising Revolutions, that it would be certainly a dangerous thing to provoke them, by interfering, in any Degree, with that darling Article of their *Indian* Commerce, the Monopoly of these Spices. But to proceed with our Voyage.

NUMB. 25.

On the 9th of *July* in the Afternoon, being then within Sight of the Coast of *China*, they discovered a Sail, to which they gave Chace, sending for all their People from on board the *Centurion's* Prize, excepting the Captain and nine Men, who had likewise Orders to quit her in case of an Engagement. The next Morning they saw her again, when she appeared to be a large Ship under *French* Colours. They continued the Chace all that Day, and the next Morning, but, finding they did not gain much upon her, and, considering they had not Water for above three Days, and so great a Number of Prisoners to guard, they resolved to prosecute their Voyage to *Macao*. On the 11th in the Afternoon, a Boat came on board them with two *Chinese* Pilots, one of which was taken on board the *Centurion*, and the other sent on board the Prize. The next Day several Boats came off from *Macao*, in order to tow them into the Road, where they anchored in six Fathom Water, the City bearing South-west, at the Distance of about two Leagues: When the Boats that had towed them in returned, they sent ashore by their seventy of their *Spanish* Prisoners, whom they set at Liberty.

31. As the Commodore had before experienced many Inconveniencies from lying a considerable time in the Road of *Macao*, he was resolved not to remain there, but to proceed through the Cluster of Islands, that lie in that Gulph, to the River of *Canton*, or, as the *Chinese* call it, *Quang-tong*; which accordingly he did, and anchored, on the 14th of *July*, off an Island, which is called the Island of *Tygers*, at the Mouth of the Harbour. On the 15th, the Commodore sent a Lieutenant, with nineteen Men, in his Barge, up to the City, with a Letter addressed to the Viceroy, acquainting him with the Reasons which oblig'd him to enter his Port, intimating his Design to pay him a Visit, and desiring a Supply of Provisions and Stores. On the 16th, two *French* Ships entered the Road; upon which, the Commodore put his own Ship, and his Prize, in a proper Posture to receive them, in case they had acted as Enemies; but, upon his sending his Pinnace on board, they assured the Officer who commanded her, that there was no War declared between the two Crowns when they left *France*, which was about the Middle of *December*. On the 17th, they moored in the Mouth of *Quang-tong* River, at the same time that the *Harrington* *East Indian* came to an Anchor there, and saluted them with twenty-one Guns; which Compliment they returned with nineteen. The next Morning the Lieutenant returned in the Barge, and brought with him a Supply of fresh Provisions, but no Licence for proceeding up the River, as was expected; and from him the Commodore received Notice, that a Mandarin, of considerable Rank, would be very quickly sent from the Vice-King, to acquaint him with the Resolutions he had taken in reference to his Letter.

Upon this, every thing was put in order for the Reception of this *Chinese* Officer, who arrived on the 20th, attended by twelve *Cbiampan*s. He desired that the Commodore would spare the Ceremony of saluting him, because his Guns being large, the Noise would disturb him extremely. He assured him, that the Vice-King would take very kindly a Visit from him and the Captain of the other Ship; presented him with a Licence for a daily Supply of fresh Provisions; but intimated, at the same time, that the usual Duties, according to the Size and Measurement of his Ship, would be expected, as they made no Distinction in *China* between Merchantmen and Kings Ships. The Commodore replied, that the King of *Great Britain's* Ships of War were never treated on a Level with trading Vessels in any Port; and that he was absolutely restrained, by his Instructions, from paying any Acknowledgment for Leave to anchor in any Harbour whatever. The Mandarin behaved very civilly and politely, seemed to be extremely well satisfied with the Reception he met with, and promised, at his Departure, to hasten the Licence for proceeding up the River; for want of which, they had not hitherto been able to pass the Bar. On the 22d, they sent more of their Prisoners on shore.

On the 24th, two *Dutch* Ships anchored near them from *Batavia*; and the next Day arrived a third, which saluted them with fifteen Guns; to which they returned thirteen. On

On the 27th the Licence arrived, and the next Day they failed over the Bar, and anchored in five Fathom Water. The next Morning they sent the General of the *Spanish* Ship, the rest of the Officers, and all the Prisoners, except the Second Mate, some Carpenters, and ten or twelve more Men, who might be useful in refitting their own Ship, on board two *Chinese* Junks, to *Macao*. On the 29th, they weighed, and stood up the River, and came to an Anchor over-against the Custom-House; and now, having no further Occasion for the *Chinese* Pilots, the Commodore discharged them. The whole Month of *August* was employed in purchasing Stores and Provisions from several Ships in the River, as was also that of *September* in making such necessary Repairs as their Circumstances would permit. The 11th of *October*, being the Anniversary of his Majesty's Coronation, they dressed their Ship, displayed their Colours, and fired twenty-one Guns.

On the 12th, the Commodore being informed, that a Ship belonging to the *East India* Company, called the *Hastingsfield*, was arrived on the Coast of *China*, in a very distressed Condition, occasioned by her meeting with a Tifoon about thirty Leagues to the Westward of *Macao*, in which the lost her Main-mast, Fore-mast, Bow-sprit, and had her Quarter and Gunnel broke, he immediately sent the Long boat belonging to the *Harrington*, another *East-India* Ship, with an Officer and thirty Men well armed, with twenty Swords, as many Bayonets, and Cartridge-boxes, together with an Anchor, and a seven Inch and half Halber, for the Use of that Ship. He was the more anxious about this Affair, from an Apprehension, that the *Spanish* Prisoners he had lately discharged, and sent to *Macao*, might, on seeing her in this Distress, attempt something to her Prejudice: So careful was the Commodore, on every Occasion, to shew his Concern for whatever related to his Country, and so willing was he to contribute, so far as lay in his Power, to protect the Commerce of his Majesty's Subjects; which gained him the universal Esteem and Affection, not only of all in the *East-India* Company's Service, but of such *Europeans* also as were at this Time at *Canton*; of which they gave the most signal Testimonies, whenever any Opportunity offered, and particularly on the following Occasion; in which the Commodore acted with all the Prudence, Dexterity, and Presence of Mind, that so nice and delicate a Conjunction required: And, no doubt, his Behaviour will be esteemed a fit Precedent in succeeding Times, in case any of his Majesty's Ships of War should hereafter have Occasion to visit this, or any other Port in *China*.

32. The Ship being now almost in a Condition fit for Sailing, and nothing wanting but a sufficient Stock of Provisions and Naval Stores, for which, notwithstanding the most pressing Instances had been made, no Licence could be obtained, tho' all the Favour asked, was to purchase them for ready Money; the Commodore resolved to make a Visit in Person to the Vice-King. But as it was impossible to foresee what Accidents might attend his putting himself absolutely in the Power of the *Chinese*, who had hitherto shewn no great Regard to his Representations, he very wisely provided for the worst, by granting a Commission to Mr. Brett, whom he appointed Captain of the *Centurion*, with strict Injunctions, that, in case he should be detained on shore by the *Chinese*, he should immediately destroy the Prize, out of which all the Treasure had been taken, and proceed with the *Centurion* without the Mouth of the River, and out of the Reach of the two Forts, that, at all Events, the Ship might be safe.

These Precautions taken, the Commodore acquainted the Captains and Supercargoes of the *English*, *Swedish*, and *Danish* Ships, that were in the Harbour, of his Design; and that he would be glad of their Company, to attend him to his Audience of the Vice-King. Accordingly, on the 13th at Nine in the Morning, they came on board his Ship; and, about Four in the Afternoon, the Commodore, with Captain *Summerville*, and Lieutenant *van Keppel*, with the Captains and Supercargoes, put off in the Barge, which was rowed by eighteen Seamen, all chosen Men, and in new Cloaths. They were immediately joined by the Boats of all the *India* Ships in the River, the Crew of the *Centurion* giving the Commodore three Cheers as he went off,

and saluting him with 19 Guns. When he landed, his Officers, and those who accompanied him, marched in a solemn and regular Procession towards the Viceroy's Palace, the Commodore himself being carried in a Chair: His Attendants also were properly marshalled, and the whole Ceremony conducted with as much Decency, and even with all the Magnificence, that their Circumstances would allow. As the *Chinese* are extravagantly fond of Pomp and Shew, and as the Officers were all of them very richly dressed, and all their Attendants in new Cloaths, the Ceremony had a very proper Effect, and all the Spectators regarded it with Silence and Respect.

On their Arrival at the Vice-King's Palace, they found 10,000 Men under Arms before it, the Windows, Galleries, and Battlements, all thronged with People belonging to his Court. The Commodore, and those who accompanied him, were immediately conducted into the great Hall of the Palace; and soon after were admitted to the Presence of the Vice-King, who appeared on this Occasion with all the Pomp imaginable, being attended by the Mandarins of his Council. He received the Commodore with the utmost Civility and Politeness, and gave him a grand Entertainment, consisting, after the *Chinese* Manner, of a Multitude of small Dishes, filled with different Sorts of minced Meat; after which, and a proper Interval between, there followed a rich Dessert of dried Fruits and Sweetmeats; and, after that, Tea. The Vice-King likewise readily granted all that the Commodore desired, and made him some Presents, as a Testimony of his Respect. The Commodore had also provided suitable Presents for the Vice-King, who told him, with all the Civility imaginable, that it was contrary to the Custom of his Country, and incompatible with the Office he held, for him to receive them; and therefore hoped he would excuse his Refusal.

Such was the Issue of this Audience, with which the Commodore had all the Reason in the World to be satisfied, having succeeded therein to the utmost Extent of his Wishes, and much beyond the Expectation of all the *Europeans*; who gave it as their unanimous Opinion, before the Commodore's Departure, that the Port Duties would be insisted on, there having been hitherto no Instance of their being ever dispensed with. The Success of this whole Affair was entirely owing to the personal Conduct of the Commodore, who had thoroughly studied the Genius and Disposition of the People he had to deal with; and by his Wisdom, Moderation, and Discretion, overcame all the Difficulties, which the most experienced People in that Country thought insurmountable; and by his Firmness, and Presence of Mind, asserted the Honour of his Master, and of this Nation, among the most cunning and subtle People in the World. He returned with the same State and Ceremony from this Audience, with which he went to it; and the News of his happy Success, when brought to his Ship, was received with all possible Marks of the most sincere Joy.

The first Thing that was done after his Return, was to take an Account of, and to pack up in the properest Manner, the Treasure taken out of the Prize; and the Carpenters were ordered to prepare proper Receptacles for its Security: A certain Number of *Chinese* Carpenters were likewise taken into Pay, in order to forward the Repairs. In the Beginning of *November*, they began to take in Provisions and Sea-stores, and sent a great Quantity of Iron, and other Goods, on board the *Harrington*. On the 7th, the Men returned that had been sent to assist the *Hastingsfield*; and, having reported, that they had brought her into the Channel, the Launch was sent with a proper Crew of Men, in order to assist in bringing her up. The next Day, the *Hastingsfield* passed by them, and saluted the *Centurion* with 21 Guns, and received 19 in Return. On the 10th, they completed their Watering, and the rest of the Month was spent in receiving all sorts of Provisions and Sea-stores from *Canton*. On the 28th, a most dreadful Fire broke out in the Suburbs of that City, by which 350 Houses were consumed; as were likewise the Factories belonging to the *Swedes* and *Danes*. By the Close of the Month, the best Part of their Stores were on board; and they began to think of disposing of all Things for their Departure.

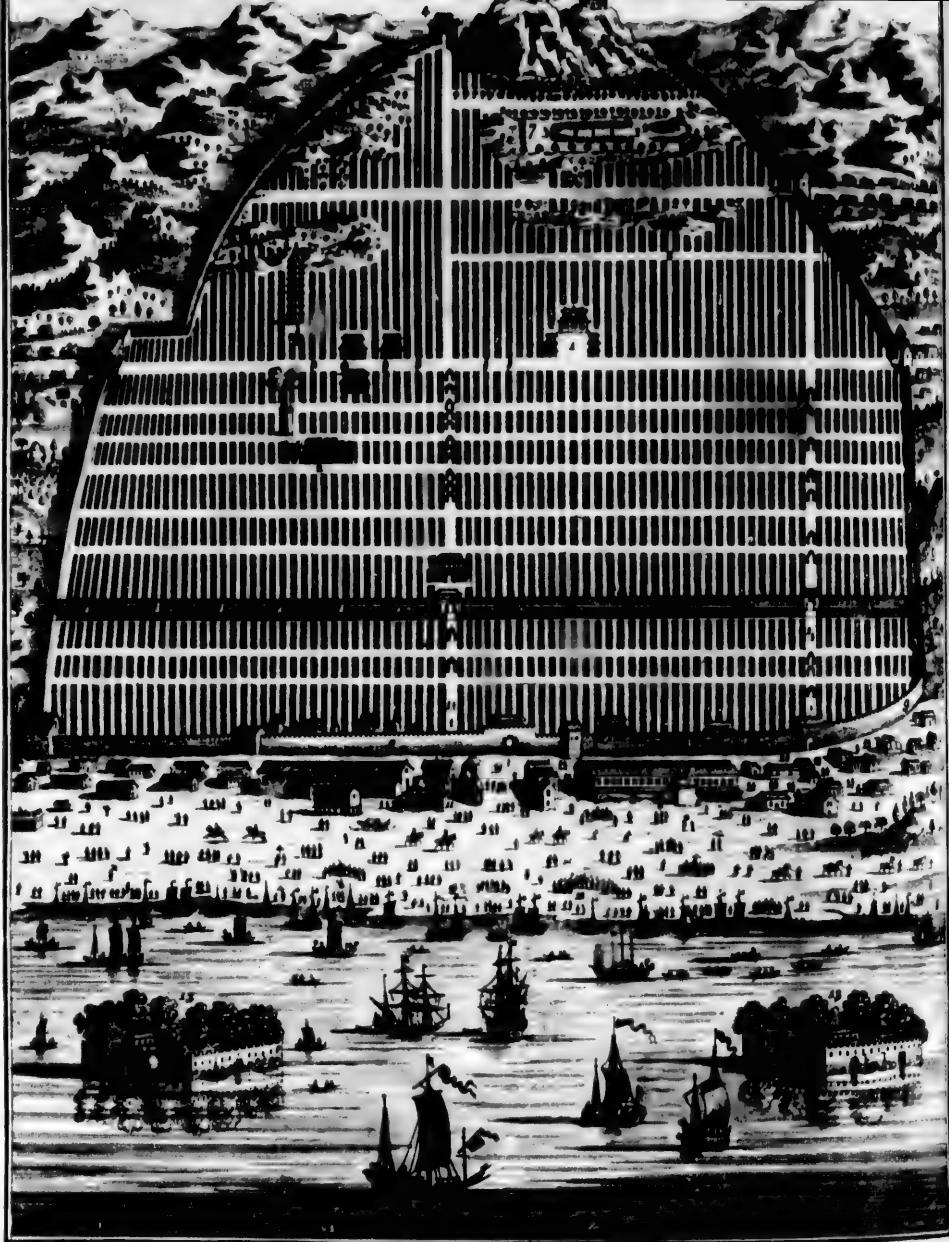
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1 The Old Kings Palace. 2 The Young Kings Palace. 3 A Kings Tower. 4 The Land Gate. 5 The Fort.
 6 The Banqueting House. 7 The Place of Exercise for the Tartars. 8 The Quarters for the Tartars.
 9 The City Wall. 10 The Armoury. 11 The Vice Roy's Palace. 12 The Watergates. 13 Floating Castles

33. After relating so many Transactions in the Port of Canton, it may be expected, that we should enter here into a particular Description of it, that the Reader may the better apprehend what we have delivered with relation to this Voyage : But, that we may preserve as great Propriety as possible, and that Regard which is due to the general Method of this Work, we shall confine ourselves at present to the Province of *Quang-tong*, and the Capital thereof ; and not run out into a Description of *China* in general, or of the *Chinese* Nation, because we shall be obliged to treat these Subjects largely in another Place. The Province of *Quang-tong* lies in the South Part of the Empire of *China*, and is one of the most beautiful and fruitful Countries of that noble Empire. It is bounded on the North-East by the Province of *Fokien* ; on the North by that of *Kiang si* ; on the West by that of *Quang si*, and the Kingdom of *Tong-king* ; and on every other Side by the Sea. Before we speak of the Division of this Country, it is absolutely necessary to observe, that the *Chinese* divide each of their Provinces into certain Districts, in each of which there is a City of the first Order, which, in their Language, is called *Fou*. This Division seems to resemble that of our Ridings in *Yorkshire* : These are again sub-divided into Districts, which have each of them a City of the second Order, which they call *Tcheou* ; and these again, which seem to resemble our Hundreds, into lesser Parts, the Head of which is a Town of the third Order, called by them *Hien* ; which Divisions answer to our Tythings. In every Province therefore there is a Metropolis, a certain Number of Towns of the first Order, equal to the Districts ; and so of the second and third.

The Province of *Quang-tong* is divided into Ten *Fou* : The first of which is that which the *Europeans* call *Canton*, and which the *Chinese* write *Quang-tcheou-fou* ; which is at once the Metropolis of the Province, and the Head of a District ; in which there is one City of the second Order, and sixteen Towns of the third : The whole Province comprehending ten Cities of the first Order, and eighty-four Towns of the second and third. The Country is finely diversified into Mountains and Valleys ; the latter so fruitful, that they produce two Crops of Corn every Year. There is no Province in *China* that abounds in richer Commodities than this, in which are found Precious Stones of all Sorts, fine Pearls, Gold, Quicksilver, Copper, Iron, Steel, Tin, Saltpetre, Sugar, Silks, Ebony, and other rich Woods. There is likewise a prodigious Quantity of all Sorts of fine Fruit, and the Sea on its Coast abounds with a Variety of fine Fish, and with Tortoiseshells of a prodigious Size, of the Shells of which the *Chinese* make all Sorts of Toys. The supreme Governor of this Province, or, as the *Chinese* call him, *Tjong-tou*, has also the Province of *Quang si* under his Jurisdiction, and therefore his ordinary Residence is at *Tcheu-king*, which is the City of this Province nearest to *Quang si* ; and he resides there, that he may attend with the greater Facility to the Affairs of both Provinces.

The City of *Canton*, which is one of the richest and best peopled in the whole Empire, stands on the noble River *Tcheu*, which rises in the Province of *Quang si*, and falls into the Ocean a little below this City, where it is wide enough to admit Ships of large Burden, notwithstanding the many Canals that are cut from it into the adjacent Provinces. The Mouth of it, which the *Chinese* call *Hou-men*, or the *Gulph of Tygers*, is commanded by two Forts, that are, however, of no great Strength ; but serve well enough to defend the City, and the Country adjoining, from the Ravages of the *Chinese* Pirates, for which they are chiefly intended.

When the *Tartars* invaded and conquered *China*, this City made a noble Defence : The Siege lasted for nine Months, and the *Tartars* lost 100,000 Men ; and it might have held out much longer ; for there was a numerous Garrison, and no Want of Provisions, the Port remaining open. But the *Chinese* Governor was strongly tainted with the Vices of his Country, Cowardice and Cunning ; and, apprehending that his Family, if the City should be taken, would be exposed to the Fury of those barbarous Enemies, he made a private Treaty with the *Tartars*, and most generously opened two Gates in the Night, by which the

Tartars entered Horse and Foot, and burnt and destroyed every thing without Mercy.

The Walls are pretty high towards the River ; but on the East Side, as the Ground is hilly, the Walls are lower : The whole Extent of them is about ten or twelve Miles, but then there are large Spaces, on the East and South Sides especially, in which there are only Gardens and Summer-houses. There is a large Building of Timber on the highest of the little Hills to the East, that stands close to the Wall, and bears the Name of the *King's Banqueting-house* : It is four Story high, supported with great Fire-Masts, very finely painted with Vermilion and Japan, and gilded, as are all the Walls and Ceilings within it : From it may be had a very fair Prospect of the City and Suburbs. The Suburbs are so large, that some of them look like Cities ; half the Number of Houses built in the Garden-plots would fill them up, and all other vacant Places in the Town. There are many stately Buildings in the City of *Canton*, and above a dozen triumphal Arches in several Places of the City, and a great Number of Temples well stock'd with Images. The *Italian* Church makes an handsome Figure, but the *French* Chapel is but mean on the Outside. At present this great City is so divided, that it forms, as it were, three different Towns, each of which is surrounded with Walls, with Gates, at proper Distances, and all together they make a Sort of a long Square. The Houses of private People are but very indifferent ; but the Palaces of their Mandarins are large and beautiful, with spacious Courts. Their Streets are very long, strait, and neatly kept. All the Houses that front towards them, have Shops, before which there stands a Pedestal, on the Top of which there is a Board painted or gilt, with the Tradesman's Name, or Sign, with the Names of two or three of the principal Commodities in which he deals ; and at the Bottom are generally these two Words, *Pou-bou* ; which is as much as to say, that this Tradesman never cheats ; or, to translate it literally, the Inscription may be thus read, *Pou-bou*, i. e. *No Fraud*. This double Row of Sign-posts, if we may be allowed so familiar an Expression, has a very good Effect on the Eye, and may be justly reckoned not only the chief Beauty of this Place, but of all the great Cities in *China*.

The Streets of *Canton* are, in the Day-time, continually crowded. Persons in easy Circumstances are carried about in Chairs ; but the ordinary Sort of People, and especially the Porters, for, by the way, there is no other Carriage in Use here but Mens Shoulders, are very poorly dressed, their Legs and Feet quite naked, and their Heads uncovered, if it be fair Weather ; but, if it be very hot, they have monstrous large Straw Hats, to defend them from the Heat of the Sun. In the Night, however, this, like all the other great Cities of *China*, is as still and quiet as any of our Country Villages ; which is owing to the Strictness of their Government, every Street having a Barrier at the End of it, which is locked every Evening, soon after the City-gates are shut, so that every body must take care to be at home in good Time. The River is covered on both Sides with an infinite Number of Vessels of all Sizes, most of which belong to Fishermen, and are their sole Habitations. Every Bark lodges a Family, so that this may be considered as a Kind of floating Town. The poor People who live in these Vessels, go out early every Morning to fish, or to work in the Rice-fields, which, as we before observed, produce two Crops every Year. As to the Number of People in *Canton*, all Writers agree, that it is very great. The *French* Missionaries say, that it is as large and as populous as *Paris*, and then tell us that it contains a Million of Souls ; which Accounts, to such as are Judges of these Matters, do not seem to agree. A *British* Subject has made another, and more reasonable Computation, founded on the Consumption of Rice in that City ; in respect to which he argues thus : There are 10,000 Peculs of Rice daily used in *Canton*, and it is known by Experience, that a Pecul of Rice will last a Person, one with another, three Months ; so that if this Computation be just, the Number of People in the City may be about 900,000 ; and this is certainly a prodigious Number, considering how many great Cities there are in *China*.

The same Person who made this Computation, informs us, that the Province of *Canton* pays yearly to the Emperor 1,200,000 Peculs of Rice, and 20,000 Peculs of Salt; out of which is served to the Military, who are reckoned 80,000, continually kept in the Emperor's Pay, 32,000 Peculs of Rice, and 8000 Peculs of Salt; the rest is sold in Markets, at the common Price of five Maices a Pecul; which may amount to 446,000 Tayals; which is appropriated towards the Payment of the Military Expence, which may amount to 1,000,000 of Tayals yearly. The Customs on Merchandize, and Poll-money, amount to prodigious great Sums, all which are gathered according to the Book of Rates, and sent to the Treasury of the Province, for the Use of the Emperor; which makes the Emperor's Treasury always full.

Canton is the Port of *China*, in which not only the best Part of the *European* Trade is carried on, but that also from which the *Chinese* themselves carry on most of their Foreign Trade, which is very considerable. In the Month of *March* they send annually a Fleet to *Cochin China*, laden with very rich Goods, mostly of their own Manufactures; from whence they bring in Return different Assortments of Goods, most of which they export again to *Japan* or *Batavia*; their Vessels return towards the latter End of *July*. Their Commerce to *Camboys* is carried on by an annual Fleet, which sails in the Month of *January*. The Returns they bring from thence are Sapan-wood, Elephants Teeth, Lack, dressed Hides of all Kinds, together with the Skins of Birds, and their Feathers on them; as also Abundance of Drugs. From *Canton* to *Tonquin* is a Voyage of ten Days, or a Fortnight; they sail in *January*, and return in *July*: They bring from thence Raw Silk, which is very good; Mudies, which is a Sort of Stuff made of the Bark of Trees; Wrought Silks, Calicoes, and Cinnamon, but it is not very strong.

The Ships destined for *Siam* sail about the Middle of *November*; they usually spend a Month in their Passage, but they do not return to *Canton* till towards the End of *July*. The Commodities they bring from thence are most of them exported again, either in gross, or manufactured. Their Commerce with *Batavia* is very extensive; the Ships engaged in it usually sail in the Beginning of the Month of *December*, and arrive there in *January*; they leave *Batavia* again in the Beginning of *June*, and reach *Canton* in the Month of *July*: The Distance between these Ports is usually reckoned 700 Leagues. As they pay the *Dutch East-India Company* Four per Cent. for all they bring in, and make their Returns almost intirely in Goods, they pay no Duties outwards. The Goods they export are usually, fine Gold, Tutenague, Gold Wire, China, Earthen-ware of all Sorts, Quicksilver, Tea of all Sorts, Wrought Silks of different Kinds, Copper, Aniseed, Vermilion, Musk, Rhubarb, Borax, Glais of different Sorts, vast Quantities of Raw Silks. They bring from thence, in Return, Lead, Tin, Pepper, Camphire, Perfumes, Coral, Mats of different Sorts, Myrrh, Nutmegs, Cloves, Amber, Sugar-candy, and a vast Quantity of Drugs.

We have already given an Account of the great Commerce they carry on in *Japan*, and have more than once mentioned their Trade to *Manila*. This City lies at the Distance of two hundred Leagues from *Canton*, and the *Chinese* Junks go thither in *March*, and return in *July*. They export almost all the Commodities and Manufactures of *China* thither; and bring back Pearls, Sapan-wood, Hides, and Silver. The *Chinese* send annually a great many Ships to *Achin*, or, as they pronounce it in the *Indies*, *Atcheen*: Each of these Ships is manned by five or six *Europeans*; the rest of the Ship's Crew are *Moors*, or, as they call them in the *Indies*, *Lascars*. The Super-cargoes, or Merchants only, are *Chinese*. The Season of their Sailing is towards the End of *October*, that they may arrive in the Beginning of *December* at *Achin*, and have time enough to proceed from thence to the *Maldives*. This is a very rich Commerce, and care is taken to assort their Goods in such a manner, as that they may suit the Markets of *Surat*, *Achin*, and the *Maldives*. It is to be observed, that, throughout all the Trade they carry on in the *Indies*, the *Chinese* mingle *European* Commodities with their own;

and, where-ever they traffick, they are sure to be considerable Gainers.

As to their Trade with the *Europeans*, we shall hereafter be obliged to speak of it very copiously, and explain the different Circumstances that have attended it in this Empire. At present, we shall conclude our Account of the Trade of *Canton*, by observing, that, besides all this foreign Trade, they carry on a prodigious Commerce with the Inhabitants of the different Parts of their own Empire, and this in several Ways; for the Inhabitants of this City are exceedingly industrious, very ingenious, and, without have the Advantage of working after *European* Models; so that there is a prodigious Quantity of all Sorts of Goods manufactured in the City and Suburbs, and exposed to Sale in their Shops, where they are bought by those who come from other Provinces, to vend their own Commodities to the *Europeans*.

The Merchants of *Canton* also, as they have the Convenience of excellent Water-carriage, not only to *Peking*, which is the Capital of the Empire, but likewise into most of the Provinces, freight abundance of small Vessels, and some of a considerable Size, with their Goods, and dispose of them every-where to great Advantage. Add to all this, that they carry on a large Commerce by Sea with the Island of *Hainam*, which is situated about ninety Leagues to the South-west of the River *Canton*; which, because it is less known, deserves a more particular Explanation. The Word *Hai-nan* signifies in *Chinese* the South of the Sea, which shews the Situation of the Country. This Island is about seventy Leagues from East to West, and about forty-five from North to South; the North Part of the Island is a Plain, for about fifteen Leagues from the Shore; then the Mountains begin, which extend themselves into the Southern and Eastern Parts. The *Chinese* are possessed only of the Coast of this Island; the interior Part of the Country being still in the Hands of the Natives, who, from the Height of these Mountains, and the Thickness of their Forests, have hitherto escaped the Yoke both of the *Chinese* and *Tartars*. That Part of the Country which is possessed by the *Chinese*, is pleasant and fruitful, but, at certain Seasons of the Year, is not very wholesome; and, therefore, though it is almost the only Place to which Ships can sail at any time of the Year, yet they usually send their Vessels thither in the Month of *November*, laden with the Goods and Manufactures of *Canton*; for which they receive in Exchange fine Gold, of which there is Plenty in the Island, *Agua* Wood, and other rich Commodities, which they vend throughout all Parts of the Empire, and even export to *Japan*, with large Profit.

On the Whole, therefore, their various Branches of Commerce being considered, there is nothing incredible in what our Travellers relate, of there being seldom less than 5000 Sail of trading Junks, besides smaller Vessels, lying continually in this Port. The ancient *Chinese* Emperors were extremely jealous of Foreigners, and put them under almost as many Restrictions as the Monarch of *Japan*; and, before the *Tartars* had completed their Conquest of *China*, they were likewise in much the same Disposition. But the late, and the present Emperor, have acted in quite another manner, and have opened their Ports of *Canton* and *Amy* to all Nations; but still continue to impose high Duties, and to put the Merchants under various Restrictions, conformable to the Genius of the *Chinese* Nation, and the Maxims of their Policy. We cannot form a better Idea of the Nature of their Government, than from the Description given of it, by an Author perfectly acquainted therewith, in a single Line: *The Empire of China* says he, *is a City of 1200 Leagues in Extent*. By which he meant, that the Whole of this vast Country is as exactly regulated, and the Inhabitants as effectually restrained within the Bounds of their Duty, as if the Whole was but one City, and under the Eye of the same Magistrates.

But, notwithstanding the vast Extent of the City of *Canton*, and the prodigious Number of its Inhabitants, we are not to imagine, that it is the only considerable Place in the Province; or that the other Cities, and great Towns,

are inconsiderable in respect to it; for the contrary is strictly true. As a Proof of this, I must observe, that, within four Leagues of this City, there lies the Town of *Poeban*, to which, during the Troubles at *Canton*, occasioned by the Revolution in *China*, abundance of Tradesmen and Manufacturers retired; since which, it is become so considerable a Place, that it is no less than three Leagues in Circumference; and, in point of Riches, Trade, and even in the Number of its Inhabitants, it is very little, if at all, inferior to *Canton* itself. The other Cities of the Province are also large, well peopled, and have a great Trade; and all the adjacent Country is thick-set with fine Villages; and not the Fields only, but the Mountains, and every Spot of Ground, are laid out and cultivated to the best Advantage. In a Word, the View that is afforded to a judicious Spectator, in passing over the River of *Canton*, is sufficient to afford him a competent Idea of the Wealth of *China*, and the Wisdom of its Government; for, wherever he casts his Eyes, new Scenes of Industry present themselves to his View; every thing is improved to the best Advantage, and he finds himself absolutely at a Loss to decide, whether the Fertility bestowed by Nature, or the Accessions made thereto by the Labour of the Inhabitants, ought most to be admired. But it is now time to return to the History of this Voyage, from which we have made a long, but, we hope, not an unpleasant Digression. When we come in the second Book, to treat expressly, and at large, of this noble Empire, we shall endeavour to gratify, in their utmost Extent, the Expectations raised in our Readers by this short Account of *Canton*; in which, perhaps, we may have the Assistance of the Observations made by the most intelligent Persons concerned in this Expedition, who had, to be sure, great Opportunities of making themselves perfectly acquainted with the State of the Country, and the Manners of the People. In the mean time let us proceed.

On the 4th of *December*, the Commodore returned from *Canton*; and, on his Arrival on board his Ship, was saluted by all the *European* Vessels in the Harbour, except the *Fremb*. The next Day he gave a grand Entertainment to the Gentlemen who had attended him when he had his Audience of the Vice-King; and, having taken a Survey of the Ship, the Sea-stores, and Provisions, and given his Orders for completing whatever was wanting, he declared his Resolution to return home immediately; and accordingly all the necessary Dispositions were made for sailing: And, on the 7th, they weighed, with their Prize, and began to fall down the River of *Canton*, in which they had lain from the Middle of the Month of *July*.

34. On the 10th, they warped over the Bar, and sent their Boats a-head to tow: The same Afternoon, a *Swedish* homeward-bound Ship, lying there at Anchor, saluted the Commodore with sixteen Guns, who returned fifteen. The next Day they passed *Lin-tin* Bar; and, on the 12th, sent the Pinnace, and the third Lieutenant in her, to *Malacca*. The next Day they anchored in the Road of that Place in five Fathom Water, where they cleared the Prize of the Powder, dry Provisions, and Water, that was on board her, and then sold her to the *Portuguese*. On the 16th in the Afternoon they sailed from *Malacca*; the next Day they had brisk Gales, with Rain. They now found the Ship leaky, and that to such a Degree, that the Water gained seven Inches in two Hours, which it was judged was owing to their Gun-ports not being calked. The next Morning they split their Fore-sail, and were forced to bend another. On the 18th in the Afternoon, the Water gained considerably, and the Weather continued very indifferent for several Days together. On the 22d, they fell to foundings, as being then entered the Sea between *Malacca* and the Island of *Borneo*, and found from sixty-four to fifty-three Fathom Water. The two next Days they continued foundings, and had from thirty-five to twenty-five Fathom Water.

On the 26th, they had Sight of some of the Islands on the *Malacca* Coast, and continued steering through them with great Danger, as having a narrow Chanel, with Shoals on both Sides; for the Island of *Langen*, which lies to the South of the Straights of *Sincapour*, immediately under the Equinoctial. On the 29th in the Morning, the Souther-

most of the *Seven Brothers*, which are so many small Islands lying off the Coast of *Sumatra*, bore East South-east, at the Distance of six Leagues: At two that Afternoon, they passed the Straights between *Sumatra* and *Banca*. The latter is a small Island, about fifty Leagues in Length, and twenty in Breadth; the most Southern Point of which lies in the Latitude of 3° South, and is undoubtedly the most conveniently situated of any Island in those Seas; which has made the *Dutch* often regret their not fixing the Centre of their *Indian* Trade in some Place on that Island rather than at *Batavia*; because they might easily have planted the whole Island, and have kept it intirely in their own Hands; whereas it is impossible for them to think of doing this in the Island of *Java*.

On the 29th they entered, and the next Day they passed through the Straights, between the Islands of *Sumatra* and *Borneo*; and had the Island of *Lucapara*, which lies without the Straights, bearing directly South. On the last of *December*, that Island bore North-east, at about four Leagues distant; and, on the 2d of *January*, they anchored on the Coast of *Java*, off the High-land of *Bantam*, at the Distance of about forty Miles from *Batavia*. There were two *Dutch* Ships in the Road, on board of which the Commodore sent his Pinnace; and those who were on board her reported, on their Return, that eight *Dutch* Ships, homeward-bound, were expected from *Batavia*, in order to pass the Straights of *Sunda*. On the 3d, about six in the Morning, they weighed, in order to pass through the Straights; and, at four in the Afternoon, saw *Prince's Island*, which was to be the Rendezvous of the *Dutch* Fleet, lying South-west by South: The next Day at Noon the Island bore West, and they sent their Boat on shore, in order to find the Watering-place.

35. On the 4th, they anchored in forty-five Fathom Water on the Coast of *Prince's Island*; and, the same Evening, five *Dutch* Ships came to an Anchor there, which were homeward-bound. While they were getting their Wood and Water on board, they felt the Shock of an Earthquake, which lasted about a Minute. The same Day there arrived two more *Dutch* Ships from *Batavia*, which were Part of those that were expected; and, on the 7th, there arrived three more. On the 8th, they completed their Watering, and received some Cordage from a *Dutch* Ship. On the 9th in the Morning, they unmoored, and made Sail, with five *Dutch*, for *Europe*. On the 15th, they had Sight of the South-end of *Christmas Island*.

On the 18th, they had very bad Weather; by which, about eight in the Morning, their Main-sail was split, and blown from the Yard; and from thence, to the 22d, they had hard Gales, dark Weather, and much Rain; but very moderate Weather for the next Week. On the 2d of *February*, their Fore-trussel-trees broke. On the 25th, they had very hard Gales, and much Rain: About six in the Evening their Main-sail and Mizzen were split. On the 28th, the Main and Fore-top-sail split, which they handed; and, having mended, set them up again. On the 8th, they tacked, and stood to the North. On the 5th of *March*, they saw the Continent of *Africa*, bearing from North-east to North North-west. On the 11th, having little Wind, and fair Weather, about six in the Evening, they saw the Head-land of the Cape of *Good Hope*, bearing North North-east, distant about ten Leagues; and, about Noon the next Day, the Cape was distant about five Leagues.

36. On the 12th in the Afternoon, they anchored in *Table Bay*, at the Distance of somewhat more than a Mile from the Shore. They found riding here the *Salisbury*, Captain *Burroughs*, and the *Warwick*, Captain *Mijner*, belonging to the *East-India* Company, who saluted them with eleven Guns each; they answered them both with nine: Here were likewise five Sail of *Dutch* Ships, whose Commodore saluted them with eleven Guns, and they returned nine. At Three in the Afternoon they warped farther into the Bay, and moored with their best Bower. At Six, one of the *Dutch* Ships failed out: At Ten, they struck the Main and the Fore-yards, it appearing very likely to be a wet Night. About Midnight, their best Bower Cable broke, with the Halser that was bent to the Stream Anchor; so that they rode all Night by the Sheet Cable.

Cable. In the Morning they struck the Top-masts, in order to get the Fore and Main-top-gallant Yards down, and began to untrip the Fore-masts, in order to fit new Trussel-trees: Sent their empty Casks for Water in the *Warwick's* Long-boat; and, at Eleven, received on board, by the *Salisbury's* Boat, fresh Provisions, such as Beef and Mutton, for the Ship's Company. The *Dutch* Commodore fired the Morning and Evening Gun; and on the 18th, in the Evening, they received on board an Anchor, 3860 lb. Weight, and a Cable of nineteen Inches and a half about, and 120 Fathom long; bent the Cable to the Anchor, to make it ready for Use. At Four in the Morning they weighed, and warped in towards the Fort, and then new moored, having the following Bearings; the Castle and Town S. W. and the Body of *Penguin* Island N. W. the Water Fort S. W. distant three Quarters of a Mile.

On the 14th, the Commodore went ashore in the Barge; at his passing by the *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, they saluted him with eleven Guns. The next Day they began to unrig the Fore-mast, and over-haul their Rigging, and began to clear the Hold, that they might get at their Ground-tier. On the 16th in the Morning, they set up a Tent for the Use of the Coopers on shore, and sent their Cask by the Launch to be trimmed by them. In the Afternoon, two *Dutch* Ships anchored there, which had been five Months coming from *Spithead*; and, at Nine, came in and anchored the *Margaret*, Captain *T. Hays*, which had been twelve Weeks coming from *Holland*. They sent the Launch to fetch the best Bower Anchor, which the Cable parted from on Sunday Night last, the Buoy being sunk or lost, that hook'd the Cable. Their Carpenter found four Shot holes within the Lining, under the Fore-chains, above the Water, and took abundance of small Shot out; which they believed was the Occasion of the Ship's being so leaky at Sea. This Day they sent all their sick People on shore.

On the 18th, at three in the Morning, they received from the Shore, by two *Dutch* Boats, eighteen Coils of Ropes, and a Remnant of white Rope for a Tiller-rope, with other Stores. At Noon, they sent a large *Dutch* Boat to weigh their best Bower. They brought the Anchor on board, and the Cable, being near a whole one. On the 19th in the Afternoon, they heeled Ship to the Starboard, and then scrubbed it, and paid it with Tallow and Lime; then heeled the other Way, and scrubbed: But the Stabreeze came in, and caused so great a Swell, that they could not make an End. The next Day, two *Dutch* Ships anchored there, one of which had accompanied them from *Java*; the other was outward-bound, and had spent three Months in coming from *Spithead*. On the 22d, there anchored another *Dutch* Ship outward-bound, which had been five Months in sailing from the *Texel* thither. That Day and the next, they sent their Launch several times for Water; but could get none, the Pipes being stopped: But that Evil was soon remedied, and the Launch came off in the Night, with ten Casks filled; and, in two or three Days, they made a great Progress in their Watering. On the 25th, a *Dutch* Ship anchored there from *Amsterdam*.

On the 26th, another arrived. The next Morning, about six o'Clock, the *Dutch* Commodore struck his Flag, and the other *Dutch* Ship hoisted it at the Mizzen-top-mast, and, about seven, sailed for *Batavia*. On the 27th, the *Winchester* anchored in the Bay, and saluted them with eleven Guns. She had been thirteen Months from *England*, and six Weeks in her Passage from *Pernambuco* on the Coast of *Brasil*, into which Port she had been obliged to put, in order to repair some Damage she had received at Sea. This Day, they received the Commodore's live Stock, and a small Quantity of Wine for his Sea-store. The next Day, they sent on shore 5000 Dollars; and, on the 29th, received on board thirteen Casks of dry Provision. On the 30th, the Commodore and Captain *Bret* came on board, and they began to prepare for their Departure, having spent about three Weeks at the Cape; which gave them an Opportunity of observing the mighty Advantages that the *Dutch* make of that Settlement, which had been slighted by us.

They were very kindly and hospitably treated, and had Leave to purchase whatever Stores or Provisions they had

Occasion for. Such as live in this Country have things very cheap, as well as very good; but Strangers pay a pretty high Price for Liquors and Provisions, which is occasioned by the high Duties imposed by the *East India* Company. This is a thing, of which *Englishmen* are often apt to complain; but, perhaps, without any great Reason, since the *Dutch East India* Company have no other Way to indemnify themselves for the great Expence they are at in the Support of this Settlement, which carries on little or no Trade, except this; and therefore there is no Wonder, that they make use of every Method possible, in order to make it turn to their Advantage. The Town at the Cape is pretty large, consisting now of 400 Houses and upwards; and yet there are but few Publick-houses or Places licensed to sell Liquors by Retail. In these Houses Strangers drink the Cape Wine at about six Stivers a Quart, at least one half of which is paid for Excise, and so in proportion for other things. The Inhabitants purchase both *Indian* and *European* Commodities at a cheap Rate from the Sailors, which they vend again, with great Profit, to the Farmers and Planters, who have no Opportunity of making any such Bargains, the nearest of their Plantations being twenty Miles from the Sea-coast.

Our People can by no means be reconciled to the *Hottentots*, but look upon them as the basest and most brutal People in the World; which is chiefly owing to their ill Smell, occasioned by their greasing themselves continually: Yet this is not a Custom peculiar to the *Hottentots*, but is used by most of the Negroes on the Coast of *Guinea*. It is true, that the latter, generally speaking, make use of Oil, which is less offensive; but, when they cannot get that, they, like the *Hottentots*, content themselves with such Grease and Kitchen-stuff, as they can purchase from the *Europeans* who trade with them. This Custom likewise prevails in the *East Indies*, particularly on the *Malacca* Coast; but more especially in the Islands, as for Instance, at *Samatra*, where the Natives grease themselves as much, and smell to the full as strong, as the *Hottentots*. The *Javanese* likewise practise the same thing; and so do the People of the *Philippines*, and of the Spice Islands; but then they commonly make use of Cocoa-nut Oil, which is far from being disagreeable. In one respect, however, the *Hottentots* excel them all; for they are particularly careful to wash and smut their Faces; which is what the *Indians* never do. This Custom of anointing is not altogether unknown to the *Americans*, tho', generally speaking, they rather affect painting their Bodies, perhaps from the same Cause that the *Hottentots* and *Indians* anoint themselves, in order to defend their naked Bodies from the Inclemency of the Weather.

It is plain therefore, that, even in this respect, the Manners of the *Hottentots* are not much grosser, or more barbarous, than those of other Nations; and a nearer Inspection would have shewn us, that, notwithstanding their Guts and their Grease, these poor People are endowed with Qualities, that would not at all discredit even the politest Nations. For instance, the *Hottentots* are exceedingly sincere; they profess the utmost Readiness to assist such Strangers as come amongst them, and they are never known to falsify their Professions. The *Hottentot* is not Master of much Eloquence, even in his own Language; but has a strict Regard to the Truth of what he delivers in any Language, even that of Nature, I mean, by Signs; which is a Matter of great Consequence among an untaught, and, as we affect to call them, a barbarous People. There was another Quality extremely conspicuous in the *Hottentots*, which ought to have secured them from our Contempt, and that is, their generous Love of Liberty: The *Hottentot* will rather die, than be a Slave; and what could a *Roman*, what could an *Athenian*, do more? I know it may be said, that this proceeds from Laziness: But I cannot allow that; for the *Hottentots* will work for the *Dutch* for Subsistence, tho' not as Slaves. They claim a Right of judging what and how much is necessary for their Maintenance, and, having acquired this, they are content. I do not pretend to say, that they reason right about the Necessaries of Life: Indeed, who does? But I say, that they have true Notions of Liberty, which consists in doing what we think fit ourselves, and not what is imposed upon us by others.

There is yet a third Quality most eminent in the *Hottentots*, for which they have been unjustly, shall I say, or barbarously, reproached by other Nations; the Quality I mean is, the Love of their Country. *Hottentots* have been carried off very young, both by the *English* and the *Dutch*, educated in *Europe*, and accustomed to our Manners; and, upon their being carried back, have immediately renounced all the Advantages they had over their Brethren, and become mere *Hottentots* again. This appears to us in the Light of Brutality; but, let it appear in what Light it will, it shews their Love of their Country, and of their Countrymen: And the same Affection is most evident in every Part of their Conduct; for, when an *Hottentot* has acquired Provisions by his Labour, he will share them with any *Hottentot* who is in Want; and no Alteration of Circumstances, no Change in Situation, can make an *Hottentot* forget that he is an *Hottentot*, and that every *Hottentot* is his Brother: Noble and generous Sentiments, in spite of their Grease and Sheep-skins!

I must observe, that their Virtues are as little controverted as their Habit, and therefore I can never be brought to think, that People who possess them, and are so tenacious of them, that even the Conversation and Example of the *Europeans* cannot despoil them of these Qualities, ought to be represented as almost on the Level with Beasts. Drunkenness, and other Vices, with which they are reproached, they have been taught by the *Europeans*; but who taught them their Virtues? or who has the Courage, who has the good Sense and Justice, to admire them? Some of the *Dutch* Writers have, and have, I am sorry to say, been laughed at for their Pains. I would not be thought a Lover of Paradoxes, or a Person who would pique myself on contradicting the common Notions of Mankind: I should not have taken these Pains, at least in this Place, to vindicate the *Hottentots* purely to amuse or entertain the Reader; but I am led to it from an *Hottentot* Principle, that of Love to my Country.

This absurd, this unreasonable Aversion to the Sheep-skins and Grease, to the untoward Appearance, and uncouth Manners, of the *Hottentots*, lost us the valuable Settlement at the Cape. There were many Attempts made by the *English East India Company* to form a Plantation here; but in vain. Those who were sent reported, that the Country was only fit for *Hottentots*; and that there was no living in it, or with them: Yet we see at this Day, that there is not a finer, more fruitful, or more pleasant Country in the World; and that the *Dutch* are so far from thinking a Correspondence with the *Hottentots* inconvenient, that they have all along treated them with Justice and good Manners. They purchased from them the Country which they have cultivated; and the King of the Company's *Hottentots* is a free and independent Prince. It is therefore of great Importance for us to rid ourselves of these narrow and ridiculous Notions, and to eradicate that foolish Principle of making those Humours, which we are wise enough to condemn at home, the Standard of Right and Wrong abroad.

We often assert, and I believe justly, that the Knowledge, Learning, and Lights, of the present Age are superior to those of the past. Let us use them then; let us transmit the Fruits of them to Posterity; let us exceed, at least let us equal, our Ancestors, by shewing them one Plantation, besides *Georgia*, the Work of one Man's Virtue, settled in our Time: Let us shew, that our Discoveries are not confined to Speculation; but that we are able to execute, as well as to talk or write; let us join the Industry, the Activity, the public Spirit, of the last Age, to the Learning and Lights of this; let us amend our Errors, as well as decry them; and let it be the Study of those, who enjoy Power, or who aspire to it, to convince their Countrymen, that they have nothing in View, but their Good. Without this, all our Application to the Sciences, all our Discoveries, all our Improvements, will do us no Good. We shall be, like the *Athensians* in the Decline of their Republic, celebrated for our Knowledge, and deplored for our Vices: We shall live upon what was transmitted to us by the Care and Courage of our Forefathers, and leave to Posterity the Admiration of our Abilities in Theory, and Weakness in Practice. But, in the Midst of their Reflections, our Po-

sterity must admit, that some Men are free from the Infection; and, while they read in our Annals too many Instances of naval Misadventures, they will be obliged to confess, from the History of this Voyage, that there was one Man, who, in spite of the greatest Difficulties and Discouragements, did not miscarry.

On April 1, they received the rest of the dry Provisions and naval Stores, which the Commodore had purchased; and, having reviewed their Store of Water, found it consisted of 108 Tons of Water; and that they were, in every respect, furnished with what was necessary for their Return to *England*, the Ship being in a much better Condition than when she sailed from the River of *Canton*, the Men in good Health, and the Ship's Company recruited by such able Seamen, as the Officers could meet with at the Cape, and, in a Word, every Precaution made use of, that could possibly contribute towards making the Remainder of the Voyage safe and easy; and, every thing being thus in Order, on April 3, the Commodore gave Directions for sailing the next Morning as early as possible.

37. They began therefore to unmoor about four o'Clock, and at eight they weighed, and turned out of the Bay. The *Salisbury*, *Warwick*, and *Winchester*, saluted them each with eleven Guns; and they returned nine. The *Dutch* Commodore saluted with nine, and had seven returned. As we have often mentioned these Salutes, it may not be amiss to observe, that they are regulated by the Commodore's Instructions, which direct, 'That if Merchant-ships, whether Foreigners, or belonging to his Majesty's Subjects, salute the Admiral of a Fleet, they shall be answered by six Guns less. When they salute any other Flag-ship, they shall be answered by four Guns less; and, if they salute Men of War, they shall be answered by two Guns less. If several Merchant Ships salute in Company, no Return is to be made, till they have all finished, and then by such a Number of Guns as shall be thought proper; but, tho' the Merchant Ships should answer, there shall be no second Return. All Salutes are to be made with the Guns of the Upper-deck.'

By Noon, the Island of *Penguin* bore North-east by East, and the *Sugar-loaf* South-east, distant ten Leagues. On the 5th, they began to serve two Quarts of Water a Day to each of the Ship's Company. On the 10th, they exercised their Guns and Small-arms; and, on the 11th, they did the same. On the 16th, they had Sight of the Island of *St. Helena*, bearing North-east, at the Distance of eight Leagues. On the 30th, about two in the Morning, they saw a Light, which they took to be a Ship steering West by North, and therefore made a clear Ship. On May 3, in the Afternoon, they hoisted out the Cutter, and scrubbed the Ship between Wind and Water.

On the 4th, they exercised their great Guns and Small-arms. On the 5th, they sprung their Main-top-mast and Trussel-trees. On the 6th, they repaired this Damage. On the 18th, the Wind being fair, they hoisted the Cutter, to scrub the Ship. On the 21st, they had a large Swell from the North North-west; saw abundance of Weeds floating on the Sea, of which we have given a satisfactory Account in a former Section. On the 29th, about four in the Afternoon, their Fore-top-sail was carried away; which obliged them to get in their Sprit-sail-yard, and make it serve for a Top-sail-yard; and at the same time set their Fore-top for a Sprit-sail-yard. On the 30th in the Morning, they had a very hard and sudden Squall of Rain and Wind, which carried away their Top-sail-yard, and split the Sail; upon which they clued up all their Sails.

On the 31st, they had a great Swell from the North-west, which sprung the Fore-top-sail-yard; which obliged them to unbend their Sails, get them down, and double-reef the Top sail. On June 5, they hoisted out the Cutter, to scrub the Ship between Wind and Water; and, on the 6th, about five in the Morning, they discovered a Sail steering North by West; upon which they made a clear Ship, and gave Chace. About ten, they came up with her, fired a Gun, and she brought-to. She proved a homeward-bound Merchantman from *Cape Fare* in *North Carolina*, laden with Tar and Rosin. The Commodore had sent his Cutter on board, to inquire whether War was broken out with *France*,

or not; but they were unable to resolve the Question. The three next Days, they had moderate Gales, and thick, foggy Weather.

38. On June 10. the Weather was dark and cloudy; and, on the 11th in the Morning, they discovered a Sail to Windward, fired a Gun, and brought her to. The Commodore then ordered his Cutter to be hoisted out, and sent his Third Lieutenant in her, to learn News: She proved to be a Ship bound from Rotterdam to Philadelphia, with 200 *Palatines* on board, who were going to settle in *Pennsylvania*. They informed the Lieutenant, that there was a French War; and that the *British* Chanel swarmed with Men of War and Privateers, both *English* and *French*. At Nine they bent their Cables, hoisted the Launch over the Side, and lashed her there.

On the 12th, they had moderate and cloudy Weather: About one in the Afternoon, they saw three Sail to the E. N. E. distant about five Leagues; upon which they made a clear Ship, and ordered every Man and Boy to his Station; and then gave Chace. They came up with two of them about Three in the Afternoon; these Vessels came from *Dublin*: They continued to chafe the Third, but they tacked, and stood to the North; and the Commodore, finding that he could not come up with her, gave over the Chase.

At four the next Morning, they foundered, and had fifty-three Fathom Water; at Noon they had Sight of the *Lizard*, bearing North half West, at the Distance of eight Leagues. About one of the Clock, they saw two Sail, distant about three Leagues, and gave Chace, and came up with them about Three, when they proved to be the *Salamander* Privateer, and a *Martinico* Ship, she had taken in Tow. They confirmed the Intelligence they had received of a French War. In the Evening, the *Lizard* bore N. W. and the *Start* N. E. by E.

On the 14th, in the Morning, they saw the Island of *Portland* bearing N. E. by E. and in the Evening they had Sight of the *Isle of Wight*: On the 15th, about half an Hour after eleven o'Clock, they came to, and anchored with their best Bower, in ten Fathom Water, in *London-Bay*: About Four the next Morning they weighed, and made Sail, and at Ten arrived at *St. Helen's*; the Crew being not a little rejoiced at the Sight of their native Country, after they had been absent from it near four Years; in which they had experienced every Kind of Hardship, to which the Life of a Seaman is exposed, and having run thro' a surprising Variety of Dangers to the last: For it is to be remembered, that they arrived at a Juncture when Things were in the greatest Confusion, and when the *French* had the best Part of their Naval Force at Sea, and even cruising upon our Coasts. The Commodore immediately wrote to his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, to acquaint him with his Arrival, and with the most material Occurrences, from the Time of his former Dispatch by Captain *Saxanders*; which Letter, or at least an Extract from it, was published in the *London Gazette*, and occasioned as great and general Joy throughout the Nation, as can well be imagined: And, in order farther to indulge the Pleasure of the People, the Treasure taken in the *Acapulco* Ship was carried in the most public Manner through the Streets, in thirty-two Waggon, to the *Tower*, in the same Manner as the Silver formerly taken by Admiral *Blakeney*, when he burnt the *Spanish* Gallies, had been; I must confess, in my Judgment, with much better Reason.

39. As I opened this Section with a Piece of ancient History, I shall open these Remarks with observing, that, notwithstanding this Expedition was not attended with so great Success in the *South Seas* as was expected, yet the Nation in general is very far from believing, that it ought to deter us from the Thoughts of such Expeditions for the future; since it appears plainly, that, if the Commodore's whole Squadron had got round with him into the *South Seas*, he would have been able to have performed much greater Things than any of our Commanders have hitherto done in those Parts. Neither is it at all clear, that the *Spaniards* are in a better Condition, their Coasts better fortified, their Garrisons more numerous, or the Country in any respect better provided, than when our Privateers had for-

merly so great Success there. The Sacking of *Paya* proves the contrary, since it was actually in a worse Condition, when taken last, than when Captain *Shelbocke* took it, and less capable of making any Resistance.

If this Expedition had never taken place, we might have been told, that it was impracticable; that the *Spaniards* were grown wiser; that all their Ports were well fortified; and that to attempt any thing would be only sacrificing the Lives of such as were employed in the Expedition. But we now know the contrary; that the *Spaniards* are actually as unguarded, and as little apprehensive as ever; and, perhaps, the Fate of this Undertaking may have made them less so; so that if a new Project of the same Kind was to be put in Execution, either at public or private Expence, there seems to be a moral Certainty, that it would succeed.

The Scheme which Commodore *Anson* was sent to execute, was certainly well laid; and if the two Ships that repassed the Streights of *La Maire*, and thereby exposed themselves to greater Dangers, than they could have met with by continuing their Voyage, had either proceeded with the Commodore, or had followed him to the Island of *Juan Fernandez*, he would have had Men enough to have undertaken somewhat of Consequence either in *Chili* or *Piru*, since he would have had 900 or 1000 Men under his Command: Or, if even the *Wager* had joined him, he must have had Men sufficient for the *Centurion* and *Gloucester*; and, consequently, would have been in a better Condition than the *Duke* and *Duchess* were, who gained such immense Wealth in these Seas. But that he was joined by none of his Squadron at the Place of Rendezvous, except the *Gloucester* and the *Trial* Sloop, is a Thing that never happened before; and will, very probably, never happen again.

As to their Hardships in this Passage, we ought not to consider them as Reasons sufficient to deter us from making any Attempt on that Side again; because, in the first Place, they may be easily guarded against, by going at a better Season of the Year, with fewer Incumbrances, and touching at proper Places by the Way: And, in the next Place, we ought to consider, that the *French* have sent Ships thither, by Leave from the Court of *Spain*, since; and, beyond Question, we are as able Navigators as the *French*: Besides, if we suffer ourselves to be discouraged by the Accidents that befel this Squadron, we shall absolutely lose the Knowledge and Practice of this Navigation, and Dispair of ever sending a Ship into the *South Seas* again; for, if we send no Ships in the time of War, there are many Reasons, and, which is more persuasive than any Reason, there is Experience, to induce our Belief, that we shall never send any Ships at all; and, consequently, there is an End of all Hopes, either of Conquests, or of Discoveries, on this Side; that is, on the Side, where either, or where both, might be made, with greatest Advantage to this Nation.

Yet the Reasons that formerly made such Undertakings expedient, still subsist in their full Force: The *Spaniards* derive that Wealth, which makes them, and their Allies, so formidable in *Europe*, from hence. It is as much in our Power, as it ever was, to distress them here; and the Spirit of availing ourselves, by distressing our Enemies in this way, was never stronger than it is now. There is another Argument that ought to prevail with us to prosecute Expeditions of this Kind, derived from the Success the Commodore met with in his last Cruise. If we undertake any Design in another Part of the World, and fail in it, there is an End, and we must absolutely sit down with the Loss; but here, if we fail in one Place, we may succeed in another, and one rich Prize will indemnify the Public, at least for their Expences; so a Million brought home in Silver, will at any time compensate the Nation for the Loss of two or three Ships; because the Expence of rebuilding them, or at least the greatest Part of it, goes entirely amongst ourselves. At all Events, it is better to hazard our Ships, nay, and our Men too, where something is to be got, than where nothing is to be had. Our Men have been destroyed, and our Ships worn out, in Services where not a Shilling ever returned to the Public. But the same cannot be said of this. It has actually brought a very large Sum

Sum of Money into the Kingdom, and has shewn us the Way by which we may bring more.

Another Squadron may meet with the *Acapulco* Ship in the South Seas, or with the *Lima* Ship, in her Passage to *Acapulco*: There wants only Care, Diligence, and an experienced Commander, to make a Part of the Expenses of the War come this Way out of our Enemies Pockets; for, as to the Spirit and Courage of the *English* Seamen, they are as great as ever they were; and there wants nothing but Actions, that may be attended with proper Encouragement, to make this evident to the whole World. The present War was undertaken for the sake of our Trade; and our Fate, in the present War, I mean our Fate at Sea, will determine the Fate of our Trade. We have been extremely fortunate in making Prizes, both from the *French* and *Spaniards*, in the North Seas: There wants nothing to complete our good Fortune, but to be as successful in the South.

Another Expedition might be, probably would be, attended with fewer Difficulties; at least, it is certain, that it might be undertaken at a much less Expence; and then, beside all the Advantages resulting to such private Persons as become Proprietors, there would this inestimable Advantage accrue to the Publick, that we should once more have a Number of able Mariners, well acquainted with the Navigation of the South Seas, which we never can have by any other Means.

Heretofore the whole Trade of *Europe* was in the Hands of the Maritime Powers; but, at present, not only the *French*, but many other Nations, are putting in for a Share, as appears by the great Number of *European* Ships that Rear-Admiral *Anson* met with in the Ports of *Macao* and *Canton*; which is a Circumstance that deserves to be attentively considered. This therefore is a Time, if ever there was a Time, that we ought to exert ourselves, and endeavour to strike out some new Branch of Commerce, into which our Neighbours cannot so readily fall. History affords us no Instance of a Maritime Power that remained long at a Stay. If we do not go forward, we must necessarily go backward; and, as we are rivaled in almost every known Branch of Commerce, except that to our own Plantations, it is not our Interest only, but absolutely necessary to our Safety, to support and extend these; and, if it be possible, open some new Channel, both for the Benefit of this Country, and of our Plantations; which never can be done, if we do not encourage long Voyages, and the perfecting ourselves in every kind of Navigation.

But I would not be understood to lessen at all the Miseries and Misfortunes of such as were employed in this Voyage: The contrary, I think, indeed, will appear from the History I have given of it. All I endeavour, all I aim at, is, to convince the Reader, that the Difficulties and Discouragements met with in this Voyage, are not sufficient to ground a decisive Opinion by the Few, in Opposition to the Sentiments of the Many, that all Attempts on this Side should be abandoned; and I really think, that the putting the Difficulties and Discouragements of the *Centurion's* Company in the strongest Light, will serve my Purpose much better than lessening or extenuating them.

For if, after being ruined by Storms, Diseases, and Hardships, they landed, rather Skeletons than Men, on the Island of *Juan Fernandez*; if, after their long Cruise in the South Seas, their Distresses came to be as great when they took Shelter in the Island of *Timor*; if the being at *Macao* was attended with many Inconveniences; if the Taking the *Spanish* Galleon be a Thing almost incredible, considering the small Number of Men, and the Condition they were in, that attacked her in the *Centurion*; if the Difficulties they afterwards met with in the River of *Canton*, and the Hazard run by the Commodore in visiting the Viceroy, and thereby putting himself into the Hands of such a People as the *Chinese*, who could not but be dissatisfied with his Proceedings, are Circumstances that still aggravate the Matter; if so perilous a Navigation as that from *Canton* through the Streights of *Sunda*, and thence to the Cape of *Good Hope*, with little or no Refreshment, and a Crew that wanted it so much, is still more amazing;

and if the bringing home the Ship from thence, with a Company composed of so many different Nations, in the Midst of a *French* War, and without the least Assistance from home, swell the Whole into a kind of Miracle; What does all this prove? Why, since all this was, under God, intirely owing to the Prudence, Moderation, and wise Conduct, of the commanding Officer, it certainly proves, that, if a right Choice be made of Commanders, there are no Difficulties that may not be overcome; and, therefore, this Voyage ought not to discourage us at all.

For, I presume, that, with the Help of Rear-Admiral *Anson's* Example, there are many Officers who would undertake and execute such an Expedition, to the Honour of their Country, and to the Advantage of those who employed them, supposing them to be employed by private Persons. This is the Use, the right Use, that might be made of this Expedition; an Expedition difficult, dangerous, and, in a manner, impracticable, considered in one Light; but an Expedition equally glorious and successful, when considered in another: An Expedition, that has demonstrated, to the whole World, that a Train of unforeseen and disastrous Accidents may be remedied, and even turned to Advantage, by an honest, skilful, brave, experienced, and well-meaning Officer: An Expedition, which shews, that there are no Hazards, no Difficulties, no Distresses, capable of depressing the Courage of *English* Seamen, under a proper Command: An Expedition, that makes it evident, that Discontent, Sedition, and Mutiny, do not arise from the restless Tempers, intractable Dispositions, and unruly Behaviour, of *English* Sailors, but purely from the want of Prudence, right Management, and, in short, from want of Experience and Capacity in such as are intrusted with the Command of them: An Expedition, in a Word, that puts it beyond all Doubt, that the *British* Nation is, at this Day, capable of undertaking as great Things, and of performing them as successfully, as ever their Ancestors did; and, consequently, an Expedition that must convince us, and not us only, but all *Europe*, that if our maritime Force be not employed in Undertakings of the most important Nature, it is not owing to the Degeneracy of our Seamen, but to be imputed to our want of able or daring Commanders, but to some other Cause, which it is not my Business, which, indeed, surpasses my Abilities, to find out.

But the Nature of my Subject, the Thread of this History of Circumnavigators, the Principles upon which I have all along proceeded, rendered it necessary for me to give an Account of this Expedition, and such an Account as the Reader has received: In which, with the greatest Sincerity, and with the strictest Regard to Truth, I can aver, that I have censured without Prejudice, and commended from no other Motive than the Desire of doing Justice; have delivered all Things, as they appeared to me, and as I think they ought to appear to Posterity, without Favour or Affection, and without the least Influence, either of Hope, or of Fear. This I think necessary to say, both for my own Satisfaction, and for the Information of the impartial Reader; the only Person that I shall ever study to please.

40. We are now at the Close of this Chapter, in which we have completed that History which we proposed as the Subject thereof, and to which we gave the Preference, as it is general, and relates to the whole World; and, for the same Reason, the remaining Chapters of this Book refer to the Heads next in Importance; viz. the Discovery, Settlement, and Commerce, of the *East* and *West* *Indies*. It is true, that all the Circumnavigators did not propose, and that several of them made no Discoveries; but, notwithstanding this, all their Voyages are of great, though not of equal Importance, down to the very last; for, by comparing *Magellan's*, which was the first, with *Mr. Anson's*, we shall find them differ in many respects, especially in the Conclusion, that of *Mr. Anson's* being by far the longest of the two. Some of them again took quite a different Route; As for Instance, *Le Maire* and *Roggeveen*, who never ran at all into the higher Latitudes, but sailed directly through the South Seas to the Coast of *New Guinea*, and thence to the Island of *Java*, which is a much shorter Course than that from *California* to the *Philippines*:

lippines: And from hence it very clearly appears, that the Passage to the *East Indies* by the South Seas is shorter than that by the Cape of Good Hope; of which the Reader will be convinced, by considering the following Particulars: Captain *Woods Rogers*, in the *Duke*, sailed from the Coast of *Ireland*, and doubled Cape *Horn* in four Months, that is, from September to January; and *le Maire* passed from the Islands of *Juan Fernandez* to *New Guinea* and the *Molucas* in three Months; so that this Voyage takes up but seven in the Whole: Whereas the *Dutch*, while the chief of their Colonies was fixed at *Ambona*, thought it a good Passage thither from *Holland*, if performed in ten or eleven Months.

It is by comparing these Routes, as laid down in the general Map of the two Hemispheres, that we learn how far the World is already discovered, and how much of it remains yet to be discovered; what we owe to the Spirit and Industry of those great Men, whose History we have recorded, and what remains yet to exercise the Spirit and Industry of our own and of succeeding Times. We see, by comparing the old World with the new, how many and how great Countries this Scheme of Circum-navigation has actually brought to Light, and that too in a very short Space; that is, in the Compass of two hundred and twenty-two Years, which is the Distance between the Return of *Magellan's* Ship, and our last Circum-navigator *Anson*. All that has been discovered within that Space of Time lay hid, not from the Vulgar only, but from the wisest and most knowing Part of Mankind, for five thousand five hundred Years. This is the fairest and fullest Proof that can be given of the Importance of these Voyages, not to this or that Country, but to the whole human Species.

We may likewise observe, that the Attempts that have been made to discover a North-east and a North-west Passage are, in effect, no other than Attempts to discover a new Route of surrounding the Globe, either of those Passages answering the same End as that by the Way of Cape *Horn*, the very Probability of any such Passages depending on there being such a Passage already discovered towards the South; and, without doubt, if ever any such Passages should be found out, they would open a new Field of Discovery, and new Channels of Trade, exceedingly convenient for the trading Nations in the North of *Europe*.

It is for this Reason, that, as *Sir William Monson* long ago observed, the *Spaniards* have always been extremely jealous of their finding out such Passages, because the Navigation that would be established by them, must be fatal to their Empire in *America*, or to their Possessions in the *East Indies*: For, if there should be a Passage found into the South Seas by the North-west, it would afford a very short and easy Cut to our Squadrons into the very Heart of the most valuable of their Possessions in *North America*, I mean the Kingdom of *New Mexico*, which might be then attacked both by Land and Sea. On the other hand, if a Passage should ever be found to the North-east, it is impossible they should long continue Masters of the *Philippines*. It is true, that very great, and, as they are now thought, insurmountable Difficulties have been measured in attempting Circum-navigations by either of those Passages; but, when it is considered, that the Passage to the South was for so many Ages concealed, discovered at last with so much Difficulty, and so few Voyages made thereby, as this Chapter shews there have been, there seem to be no just Grounds for concluding, that no such Passage ever will be found, especially if it be considered, that it is not now the Interest of the *Spaniards* only, but of some other Nations, to prevent the Discovery of such Passages, as far as it lies in their Power.

But at the same time we ought to reflect, that the *Russians*, *Swedes*, and *Danes*, who formerly carried on little or no Trade, are, at present, exceedingly bent on extending their Commerce, and have each of them an Interest in discovering such Passages, if any such there be: If, I say, we reflect upon this, it is impossible for us to imagine, that there is less Hope at present, than there was formerly, of succeeding in some such Attempt. This, if ever it should be brought about, would afford Room for a new History of Circum-navigators, as useful and as curious, as that delivered in this Chapter. But even this Discovery, instead of diminishing, would add to, the Glory and Reputation of

those great Men, of whom we have been speaking; because they must be still regarded as those who first led the Way, who first shewed such a Passage round the Globe to be possible and practicable, tho' by another Course. This is what, in Justice, Posterity must acknowledge, even if it should so fall out, that, by the Facility or Convenience of those new-found Passages, the Navigation by Cape *Horn* should hereafter fall into Disuse.

It is from these stupendous Voyages, that not only the greatest Discoveries have been made in general Geography, but from which all future Discoveries must be expected; and therefore this ought to be considered as one of the strongest Arguments for enforcing and encouraging Voyages. It was from their being confined to short Trips by Sea, I mean in point of Space, though, from their Want of Skill, the Antients made them long enough in point of Time, that they fell into those gross Errors, which were so unworthy of their Science and Penetration in other respects; so that it may be well affirmed, that if we compare what is now known, with what the greatest Men had before described, we shall find more than a new World has been, in two Centuries, discovered: By which Discovery such capital Truths have been set in so clear a Light, as to make even the common People wiser than the most Learned in former Ages.

For Instance, almost every one has right Notions now of the true Figure and Magnitude of the Earth, whereas there was a time when both were unknown to such a Degree, that the Belief of the *Antipodes* was accounted and punished as an Heresy. Every one then conceived his own Country to be the Middle of the Plain of the Earth, and that the utmost Limits of it, which touched the Vault of Heaven, were the Sea, into which the Sun, Moon, and Stars, descended, when they set; and out of which they ascended again, when they rose; and hence it was, that the utmost Extent of Land seemed to be no more than what an active and vigorous Conqueror might, in a little time, be able to over-run and vanquish. How wild and ridiculous forever this may seem, it was, however, the Principle upon which all great Heroes acted: As for Instance, *Alexander* imagined he had penetrated to the utmost Bounds of the Earth, when he had but touched the Borders of the *Indies*: He fancied, from some Circumstances relating to the River *Indus*, which resembled those of the *Nile*, that he had found the Source of that River in the *Indies*; and actually fitted out a Fleet on the *Indus*, which he fancied might have proceeded to *Egypt*; and when he discovered his Error in this respect, by his Fleet's falling into the *Persian Gulf*, he fell into another and still greater Error; which was, that all must be Sea beyond; and that, consequently, he had reached the very Limits of the World. As wise and knowing a People as the *Romans* were, they fell into the same Error, with respect to the *Northern Ocean*; and fancied that beyond the Extremity of *Scotland* lay that boundless Sea, which terminated the World.

These were the Consequences of being confined to short and limited Navigations; and, though it is simply impossible, that Mankind should ever fall into the same Errors again, yet it is highly probable, that if this known Route of Circum-navigation be not frequently pursued, and all Attempts for finding new Routes should cease, we shall again relapse into Errors of as dark and dangerous a Nature. As it is, we have, from these Discoveries that have been already made, a much nobler, as well as a much wider Field opened for the Exercise of enterprising Spirits; and though there are now no Hopes left for any Conqueror, how daring, how ambitious, how potent soever, to make himself Master of the whole Globe, which, perhaps, is no small Benefit to Mankind; yet we have better, and more elevated Hopes, of discovering and settling a Correspondence with every Part of the Universe; a Scheme more extensive, as well as more rational, at the same time that it is as conducive to the general Good of the human Species, as the other was to their Misery. This is a Point that I once or twice touched before, reserving, however, a more full Explanation of it for the Conclusion of this History. Add to all this, that, from Circum-navigations, we can expect the absolute Solution of those great Difficulties that yet remain in the Science of Navigation, and

fluence, as the Variation of the Needle, the perfect Knowledge of the Longitude, and the exact Description of the true Form of the Earth; for, though we know with Certainty, that it is spherical or globular, yet it is no less certain, that we have not as yet a clear, distinct, and demonstrative Notion of its true Form; though there are strong Reasons to believe, that, what Sir *Isaac Newton* advanced upon this Subject, is the Truth, or, at least, very near the Truth. What has been hitherto advanced with respect to the Variation of the Needle, and the Causes thereof, appears, from Experience, very uncertain and unsatisfactory. If, from Observations already made, any probable System should be hereafter formed, the Truth of them can be established, or their Fallhood fully detected, by such Voyages only. If we do not keep up, and even extend, the Knowledge we have of the Countries about the South Pole, as well as of those about the North, we can never hope or expect to come at Truth, either in regard to this, or to the Longitude; which, notwithstanding what some great Mathematicians have peremptorily determined, may have a nearer Relation to each other, than we can imagine.

I know it may be said, that all those Things, and particularly the Figure of the Globe, upon which, perhaps, they are all founded, are to such a Degree certain, as to serve the Uses of Navigation, so far as the Accurateness of that Art is hitherto practised; but yet, if that Art may be carried to a much higher Degree of Perfection, as in the Opinion of the fittest Judges it certainly may, by the Prosecution of such Inquiries as have been mentioned, why should they not be prosecuted, or why should we either decline or circumscribe that Method by which alone they can be prosecuted to Advantage? It is certain, that, besides the Points already touched, there are many others, which we are content to believe certain, though some Doubts have been moved about them, not without great Appearance of Reason: And, as I am now taking my Leave of Things of this Nature, I will take the Liberty of mentioning one. It is supposed, that, the Longitude and Latitude of Places being once certainly and accurately determined, they can never alter, whatever Variation or Deviation may happen to the celestial Bodies. Yet this has not only been doubted, but the very contrary of it has been asserted, first by the famous *Joseph Scaliger*, in the Year 1610; and afterwards by a learned *Frenchman*, Mr. *Peter Petit*, who wrote an express Treatise upon it, affirming, that, after a certain time, the Latitude and Longitude of Places on the Surface of the Earth have a sensible Change: And, to confirm this, he has compared many Observations, recorded by the Antients, of the Latitude of several Places, particularly *Paris* and *Rome*, with modern Observations of the Latitude of the same Places; from whence it appears, that there are very considerable Differences between them; which Differences he ascribes to the Variation of the Poles of the Earth. It is very certain, that such Differences there are, and smaller Differences between the Observations of modern Travellers; but I pretend not to determine, whether they are thus occasioned. *Scaliger* indeed says, that, after a certain time, the Positions of Dials will alter, and become false, as if they had been removed, and placed in a wrong Latitude. But, if all this should be true, I am very sensible, that the respective Position and Distance of Places towards each other would still remain the same, and the Description of Places on the artificial Globe remain true and unaltered, though new Meridians, and new Parallels, might be drawn over them. I only mention this, to shew, that there are still many Things to be inquired into; and that, though we exceed the Antients, yet we have not carried Navigation, either to its utmost Degree of Perfection, or even to that Degree of Perfection, of which, from former Discoveries, it appears capable of being carried: And from hence I infer the Necessity of pursuing long Voyages, and of persisting, in order to farther Discoveries, in that Course by which so much already has been discovered.

But it may be demanded, Who is it that you oppose? I have written against long Voyages? Who has endeavoured to hinder, or circumscribe them? Or why do you lay so much Pains to establish a Thing, that nobody has controverted? Such Questions as these are common, in the modern Way of Reasoning; and this is called holding a

Man to a Point, to which if he cannot give an Answer, he is immediately condemned as unreasonable and chimerical. Now I very readily own, that I know of none who have opposed what I labour to establish. But if the Reader will weigh what is laid down in the Remarks on the last Section, and will reflect on what I have there said, as to the Impediments that stand in the Way of discovering the Southern Continent, he cannot be at a Loss for the Reasons that induced me to labour this Point with so great Diligence; because he cannot but perceive, that we are circumscribed on every Side by the highest Authority; inasmuch that, except in Time of War, and by Ships of War, there is no making any Discoveries, unless under the Direction of certain Persons, who have an Interest in avoiding, and even in preventing, Discoveries. I might carry my Observations on this Head a great deal farther; but, as I have already carried them far enough to justify my Conduct in this respect, I am content to say no more of it.

But there is one Thing, that, before I conclude this Chapter, it is requisite that I should suggest to the Reader; and it is this; That we can only circumscribe ourselves. Other Nations will, and, indeed, have a Right to take what Liberties they please; so that there is just Reason to fear, that if we go on in this Method, or if we do not very soon alter it, we shall see that Spirit of Discovery, that Genius for Commerce, and that Skill in Navigation, for which we have been, and are yet famous, transferred elsewhere; for though we may limit the Inclinations, and damp the Desires of our own People, yet we have no Power over Foreigners, much less over the Designs of Providence. An Instance will make this evident beyond Contradiction: We have taken all imaginable Pains, to secure to ourselves the Trade of the *East-Indies*, by Laws made in favour of the *East-India Company*: The *Suedes* and *Danes*, however, trade freely within the Limits of that Company, by which they not only supply themselves and their Neighbours with *Indian* Commodities, but likewise some of our nearest Neighbours, and even the Inhabitants of the Northern Part of our Island. But, perhaps, if other Measures had been taken, this Mischief might have been prevented.

In order to monopolize Trade, we must leave it free: This may seem a Paradox, if not a Contradiction; but Reason and Experience shew us, that it is a Truth. Where-ever Trade and Navigation are encouraged, they will prosper; where-ever they meet with Restrictions, they will remove, or die. If we would embrace the Trade of the World, we must encourage Trade more than any other Nation in the World; if we would maintain and increase our Maritime Power, we must extend our Discoveries, in order to make way for that Increase. It is a Maxim insisted upon by some Political Writers, and, I believe, they are not in the Wrong, viz. That a Nation may gain by Trade, though the Persons concerned in that Trade are Losers: But how long can this last? If we so manage Matters, that a great Number of Merchants over-trade themselves, or, to express it with greater Propriety, are disappointed in their Expectations from Trade, the natural Consequence is, that they will, or rather must, decline Trade, which will ruin our Navigation.

But, if new Discoveries could be made, new Channels would be opened, new Expectations raised; and this political Maxim would be verified in its utmost Extent; for tho' such private Persons as might first engage in these new Trades, might possibly be no Gainers by them, yet the Nation would; for, in time, those Trades must be established, and the Number of Shipping requisite to carry them on would be plainly a new Acquisition to our maritime Force. I know of no Method more likely to revive and restore such a Disposition amongst us, than this of recording the Exploits of eminent Seamen, that the present Age, and Posterity, may have before their Eyes Examples of those shining Virtues, which demand not only their Applause, but their Imitation; Virtues which have not only raised the Maritime Powers to that Height of Grandeur, which they enjoy at present, but have been likewise of such eminent Service to the whole Race of Mankind, by extending and promoting the most useful Kinds of Knowledge, and by contributing to polish and civilize the most distant and barbarous Nations, uniting thereby in friendly Correspondence

such as are severed by Situation, and thereby spreading the Beams of Knowledge, where-ever the Sun spreads his. These are things so certain, and so apparent, that it is impossible they should admit of any Dispute; or that any Man should have his Country's Interest so little at Heart, as not to wish, that they were daily and hourly inculcated, in order to wear off that Rust, which, for half an Age past, has been growing upon us.

But tho' many of these Remarks are obvious enough, and notwithstanding our first Collectors of Voyages, such as *Hackluit* and *Purchas*, took care to insert the History of Circum-navigators down to their own Times in their Works, yet our modern Collectors have totally omitted this; or else inserted such Voyages promiscuously, and thereby destroyed that Connection, which is absolutely necessary for their being thoroughly understood. Some foreign Writers, indeed, have given us Lists of Circum-navigators, and intimated the Usefulness of a general History of them; and the Reason, as I conceive, that this Project was by them never carried into Execution, is this, that most of those Voyagers were *Englishmen*, and consequently it was not so easy for them to give the History of their Proceedings, very few of their Journals having been translated. It was from a just Sense of this,

that I thought it necessary to open our Collection, by supplying so great a Defect, and giving a regular History of all the Voyages that have been undertaken, of this kind, in all Countries, and in all Ages, interspersed with such other Voyages, as seemed to be naturally Supplements to these, and necessary to be read with them, to complete the Discoveries that are mentioned in them.

41. In order to render the Whole as perfect as it is possible, and to give the Reader an Opportunity of reviewing at once this Series of Voyages, in the Order of Time in which they were made, I thought it would be proper to conclude this Chapter with the following Table, which exhibits at once, and in the narrowest Compass possible, the principal Contents of this whole Chapter; from whence it appears, that there have been but fifteen Circum-navigations performed. Of these the first was by a *Spanish* Crew, under the Direction of a *Portuguese*; five have been undertaken by the *Dutch*; and the other nine have been performed by *Englishmen*: And of these Captain *William Dampier* and Captain *John Clipperton* went each of them twice round the World; which is, I think, what no other Country has to boast.

A Complete Table of all the Circum-navigators, the Ports from which they sailed, the Dates of their respective Voyages, and their Returns.

I. <i>Ferdinand Magellan,</i>	from <i>Seville in Spain,</i> Aug. 10. 1519.	returned Sept. 8. 1522.
II. <i>Sir Francis Drake,</i>	from <i>Plymouth Sound,</i> Dec. 30. 1577.	returned Sept. 16. 1586.
III. <i>Sir Thomas Candlish,</i>	from <i>Plymouth,</i> July 25. 1586.	returned Sept. 9. 1588.
IV. <i>Oliver van Noort,</i>	from <i>Goeree,</i> Sept. 13. 1598.	returned Aug. 26. 1601.
V. <i>George Spilbergen,</i>	from the <i>Texel,</i> Aug. 8. 1614.	returned July 1. 1617.
VI. <i>William S. Brouncker and Jomele Mair,</i>	from the <i>Texel,</i> June 24. 1615.	returned July 1. 1617.
VII. <i>The Nautilus Fleet,</i>	from the <i>Goeree,</i> April 29. 1623.	returned January 21. 1626.
VIII. <i>Captain Cowley,</i>	from <i>Acbamack in Virginia,</i> Aug. 23. 1683.	returned October 12. 1686.
IX. <i>Captain William Dampier,</i>	from <i>Acbamack,</i> Aug. 28. 1683.	returned September 16. 1691.
X. <i>Captain Dampier and Mr. Fanel,</i>	from the <i>Downs,</i> Aug. 9. 1703.	returned August 1706.
XI. <i>Captains Rogers and Courtney,</i>	from <i>Bristol,</i> June 15. 1708.	returned October 1. 1711.
XII. <i>Captain John Clipperton,</i>	from <i>Plymouth,</i> Feb. 15. 1719.	returned June 1722.
XIII. <i>Captain George Shelvocke,</i>	from <i>Plymouth,</i> Feb. 15. 1719.	returned August 1. 1722.
XIV. <i>Commodore Roggewein,</i>	from the <i>Texel,</i> July 17. 1721.	returned July 11. 1723.
XV. <i>George Anson, Esq,</i>	from <i>St. Helena,</i> Sept. 12. 1740.	returned June 15. 1744.

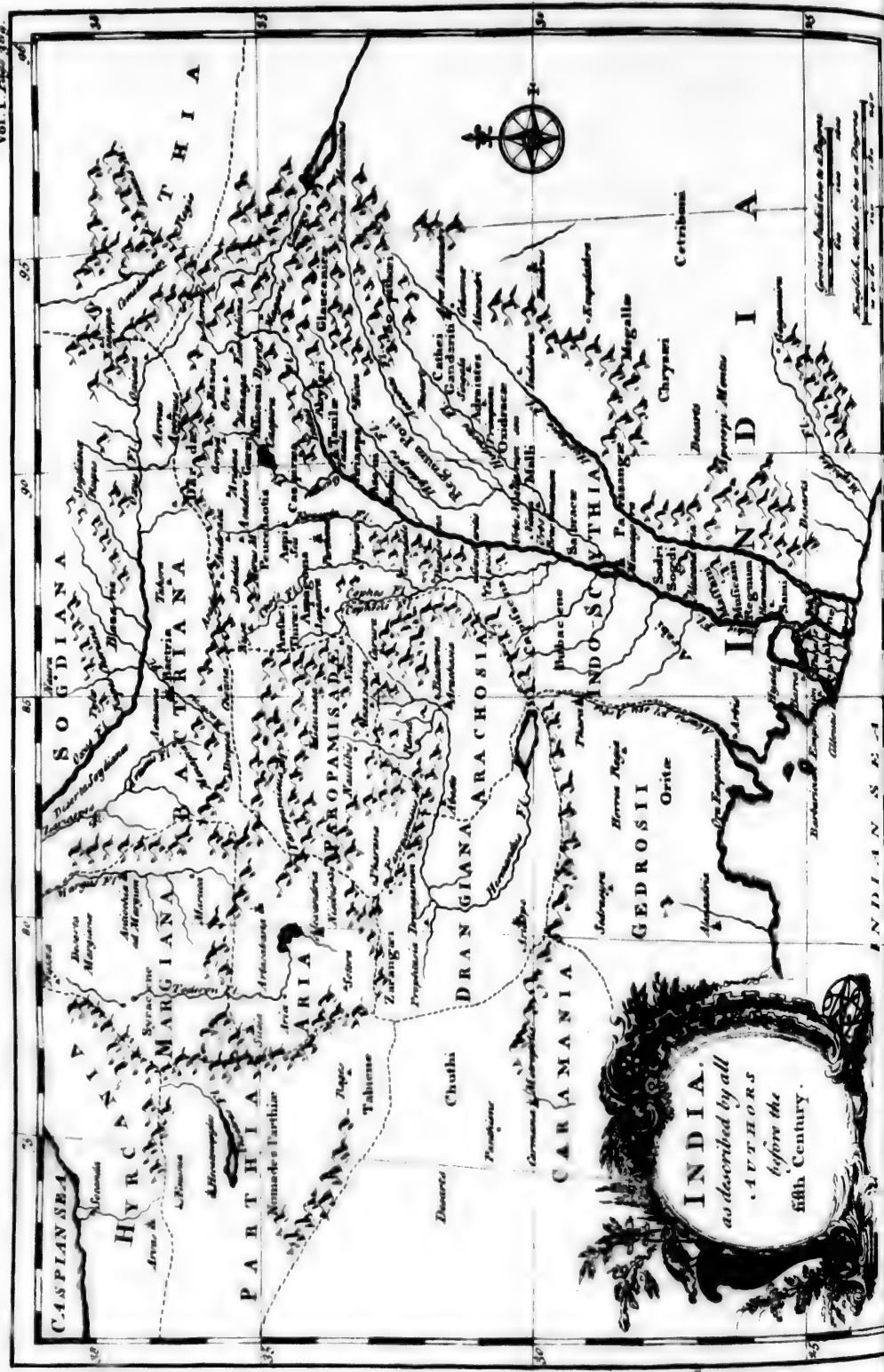
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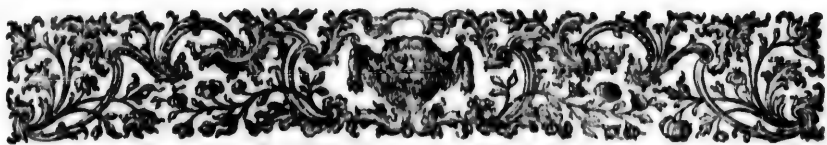
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INDIA.
as described by all
AUTHORS
before the
fifth Century.



CHAPTER II.

Comprehending the DISCOVERY, SETTLEMENT, and COMMERCE of the *EAST-INDIES*.

SECTION I.

An Account of the NATURE and IMPORTANCE of this Design, with a Regular PLAN of this Part of the Work.

1. *The Copiousness as well as Curiosity of the Subject, has occasioned a Multitude of Books upon it.* 2. *Yet there is no complete System hitherto published.* 3. *The Difficulties that occur, with respect to the Credit due to the Antients.* 4. *The like, or greater, Difficulties met with in the Writings of the Moderns.* 5. *The Materials from which this Work is to be collected.* 6. *Preliminary Considerations.* 7. *The Manner in which the antient History of the Indies will be treated, to the Time of the Romans.* 8. *It is proposed to give a Summary of what the best Greek and Latin Authors have left us on this Head.* 9. *A distinct Account will next follow, of the Alterations to which this Commerce has been subject.* 10. *The Rise, Progress, and Declension, of the Portuguese Empire in the Indies will be considered.* 11. *The Expeditions, Settlement, and present State, of the English Factories to be set in a clear Light.* 12. *As also the Power and Oeconomy of the Dutch East-India Company, and the Disputes we have formerly had with the Dutch in these Parts.* 13. *The Origin, Alterations, and present State, of the French East-India Company explained.* 14. *And an Account given of the Ostend, Swedish, and Danish Companies.* 15. *The Whole to be concluded with Observations on the Consequence of the East-India Trade to Europe in general.*

HERE are few Subjects more instructive, or more entertaining, than that of the History of the *Indies*, or which have exercised the Pens of more able Men. To say the Truth, there is something in it capable of entertaining every Genius. Such as are fond of Antiquities, had an Opportunity afforded of exercising their Abilities in the most curious Researches; for though it is evident, from the Situation of this Part of the World, that *India* must have been peopled very early; yet it so falls out, that there is scarce a Country on the Globe, the antient History of which lies buried in so great Obscurity. The Lovers of Natural History found, in all Ages, the largest Field open to their Inquiries in these Regions, where every Animal, every Tree, every Flower, every Root, was a Curiosity. Such, again, as delighted in speculative Studies, in the quiet Pleasures of Philosophy, and in the Examination of the Efforts of the human Understanding, found sufficient Employment in tracing out the Opinions, Manners, and Course of Life, of the *Brachmans*, or *Indian* Philosophers, the oldest Sect in the World, and, in every respect, the most singular, and the most extraordinary; while those, who were charmed with a Variety of striking Events, Invasions, Battles, Revolutions, and the like, met with all they could desire, in exploring the *Indian* History; which abounds with a greater Diversity of such Events than any other. Lastly, the Lovers of Navigation and Commerce were attached to this Subject, from the Consideration of its peculiar Advantages; for never any Traffick made to considerable a Figure as that of the *Indies*; never was any Country so highly renowned for the Riches of its native Commodities, for so many and so valuable Manufactures, or for such a Spirit of Industry and Trade amongst its People; and this in all Ages, from the earliest to the present Times.

We need not wonder, therefore, that such a Multitude of Books have been written on those Topics that we have mentioned, or that so many able Pens should have been employed upon each of them. The Difficulty does not lie in finding Guides for our Journey, but in distinguishing enough to many, which has the properest Talents for conducting us, and how far we ought to follow him. This is an Evil, indeed, common to all curious and useful Subjects; on which there are naturally many more Books produced, than on such as are less pleasing, less instructive, and less agreeable, either to the Writer or the Reader.

2. But there is one Thing very singular with regard to this Subject: We have not so much as a single Treatise, that embraces it in its full Extent, that takes in the intire History of the Antiquities, Revolutions, Customs, Manners, and Trade of the antient *Indians*; their Correspondence with *European* Nations; the Losses and Revivance of that Correspondence in several Periods; the Civil, Natural, and Commercial History of the *Indies*, before and since the Discovery of the Passage thither by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and the Rise, Progress, and present Situation, of the Settlements of *European* Nations in the *Indies*. This, I say, in its full Extent, and with due Regard to the Importance of the Work in general, and the Connexion of its several Parts, is what, in the Midst of so many Books, so many Collections, such a Multitude of general Histories and Abridgments, is no where to be found.

Yet I should think myself very happy, if I could as easily supply the Defect, as I can point out the Causes of it, which seem to me to be principally these: In the first place, almost every Writer, who has meddled with these kind of Subjects, has a particular Genius, which determines him to this or that Part of them. One has a Relish only for antient History, and amuses himself with examining and comparing the Fables and Fragments he collects out of old Authors. Another is struck with Curiosities, and he, perhaps, spends many Years in compiling whatever is to be met with in relation to Natural History. A Third has a Taste only for Travels and Voyages, which leads him to collect these; without ever considering, that, in all such Works, there must be many dark and unintelligible Passages, if the Reader is not furnished with other Lights than such Sort of Books will afford, to enable him to understand them.

Another Cause is, the not fully comprehending the Subject, but believing that a General History of the *Indies* may be written from the Memoirs of this or that particular Nation,

Nation, such as the *Portuguese*, the *English*, or the *Dutch*; of which many Instances might be given: And yet, when these Books are compiled, though they afford excellent Materials for such an History, they are nothing less than General Histories themselves.

A third Cause is, that Love of Amusement which prevails at present in the World, and inclines them to encourage that Sort of writing which is pleasant and entertaining; but at the same time leaves the Reader very little wiser than he was before; which is the Reason that many modern Voyages and Travels are written with such a Spirit of Indolence and Gaiety, and are so inaccurate in point of Dates and Facts, that we are sometimes apt to mistake them for fictitious Adventures and Romances. I could likewise support this Remark by Abundance of Instances, but that I am sensible my own and the Reader's Time may be much better employed; and that the Fact is so well known, that I am in no Danger of being called to an Account for the Assertion.

There are several other Causes that might be added; but, as most of them will occur to an intelligent Reader, I chuse to leave them to his Observation, rather than dwell too long on an Introduction to a Subject so copious in itself, and which will require so much Time, and so much Room, to handle as it ought to be handled; even though all imaginable Pains be used to bring it within Compass, by giving nothing but what is curious and solid, and that in the fewest Words possible.

3. There is nothing more common in some Books relating to the *Indies*, than to meet with violent Invektives against the Ignorance, Credulity, and Folly, of the Antients, as if they had had no Opportunity of knowing any thing with relation to this Country and People, and had therefore delivered to Posterity an Heap of indigested Fables of their own Invention. In some other Books, again, we find this absolutely contradicted; the Accounts of the Antients commended and supported; and those who have treated them with Contempt, represented as weak Men, and incompetent Judges. When Books of both Sorts fall into the Hands of an *English* Reader, he knows not what to think, or whom to believe: He doubts of every thing; and as he meets with strange Stories, and seemingly extravagant Relations, in all the Voyages and Travels to this Part of the World, he is apt to suspect the Whole, and to believe that very little Credulity is due to any of them. In order to clear up this, and to afford him a reasonable Satisfaction, he is usually turned over to the voluminous Collections of *Eden*, *Hacklutt*, and *Purchas*. If he has the Patience to run through these, and Abundance of Patience it requires, his Difficulties are rather increased than relieved; and, for want of knowing the true Characters of the Writers preserved in those Collections, and the not meeting with many antient Writers, whose Names are mentioned in other Accounts, he is more at a Loss than ever.

4. In the Histories of the Discoveries made by the *Portuguese*, they are usually treated in such a manner, that, at first Sight, one would be tempted to imagine, none of the Countries mentioned in them were at all known to the *Europeans*, before the Passage was found by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and yet, upon a closer Inspection, the contrary is very visible. This, again, gives the inquisitive Reader a great deal of Uneasiness: He is sensible, that, before that Passage was found, abundance of *Indian* Commodities were transported into *Europe*, some of them in greater Perfection than they are now. He is anxious to know when that Correspondence began; how, and by whom, it was carried on; what were the Advantages and Disadvantages that attended it; and the Reasons why it was discontinued; none of which are to be found in those Historians, who, full of a Desire to magnify their own Country, carry the Conquests and Discoveries of the *Portuguese* to the utmost Height, and leave the Report of other Nations Successes, in Maritime Affairs and Commerce, to their own Writers.

The *English* and *Dutch* pursue pretty much the same Track; and tho' they sometimes run out violently against the Pride, Luxury, and Tyranny, of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies*, yet they omit many curious Particulars, in relation to the Decline of the *Portuguese* Empire, which may be

with Care collected from some of the Writers of that Nation. Thus we have only partial Representations, and such as, instead of instructing us, as to the true State of Things, shew us only such Pictures as, for the Honour of their respective Countries, these Writers have flattered, to the highest Degree their Abilities would allow them.

5. The Sense that many able Authors of Voyages and Travels have had of these Imperfections and Difficulties, and the Desire they had to remove them, has engaged them in frequent Censures, long Disputes, and tedious Digressions; which render their own Works heavy and tiresome, and, at the same time, very indifferently answer the End for which they were intended. I would not have the Reader imagine, that I am giving him a bad Opinion of other Peoples Books, that I may recommend my own; for, in Truth, there is nothing farther from my Intention than such a Conduct. I am very sensible, that there is an Abundance of excellent Writers on each of the different Parts of the Subject which I am to handle; and I freely profess, that I have no Hopes of succeeding, but from the Use I make of their Labours. But what I would shew him is this, that how excellent soever these may be, take them separate, and with regard to the Designs by them respectively proposed, they cannot, however, even by the most laborious Course of Reading, be brought to answer the End of such a general and connected History, as has been mentioned.

They are, indeed, Materials for such a Building, and Materials without which it would be Madness to attempt raising such a Structure; but still they are Materials only, and must be drawn together, and properly framed, before they can become Parts of such a Building. It is very happy for the Reader, as well as for me, that there are such Plenty of excellent Materials; and it will be very easy for him to decide how well they are ranged, and how far they occupy their proper Places. These Materials are to be collected from Writers of different Ages, in different Languages, and who wrote with very different Purposes: The great Difficulty therefore lies, in making these serve an End which none of them ever proposed, and to unite them in such a manner, as that the Piece may be whole and intire, without any Mark of Patchwork.

In order to this, the Deficiencies of some must be supplied from the Abundance of the others: The true Sense of the Antients must be collected from the best Commentaries of the Moderns; where any thing is dark, it must be explained; and where great Writers have erred, from their Fondness for particular Opinions, their Errors must be set right with Candour and Decency. When, after all the Care that can be taken, no Materials can be found, that must be fairly confessed, and the Reader plainly told, what is known, and what is likely to be buried in perpetual Obscurity. This may, indeed, seem to injure the Beauty, and destroy the Symmetry of our Work; but it is much better, that the Things should be left so, than that, after the Manner of *French* Historians, we should supply Facts with Inventions, and so build up a regular History, deficient in nothing but Truth; which ought to be the Foundation of all History, and without which it is mere Romance.

6. But to descend from Generals to Particulars, and to represent, in few Words, what the Reader is to expect in this Chapter, as we did in the last, and to secure him from any Apprehension of our forgetting, that this is a Library of Voyages; and, therefore, ought to consist principally of these; we will enter into an express Detail of the capital Points that are to be treated in the ensuing Sections. It is the more necessary for us to do this, because, without considering them as the Parts of the same Work, they might appear, at least many of them, to be placed in a wrong Order of Time; whereas, when the Design of this Chapter is fully disclosed, I hope it will appear, that they are digested in the most natural Order, and so, as that they explained and enlightened each other. This is certainly the great Use of Method; without which, it is simply impossible, that there should be any Peripatuity; and yet it is not impossible, that a Writer, by adhering too closely to Method, may fall into that very Error which he endeavours to avoid: And, therefore, as the End is always to be preferred to the Means, I shall in this, as in the former

Chapter, prefer the Reader's Satisfaction to the strict Pursuit of my own Notion; and, where-ever it is necessary, shall, without Scruple, join Things together, that, perhaps, a strict regard to Method might have disposed in different Places. I shall likewise take the Liberty, where I find it requisite, of referring the Reader to what has been delivered in the foregoing Chapter, rather than run the Hazard of tiring him with needless Repetitions; and, as, in the Voyages I have already given him, I have been very copious in my Remarks, so, in these that are to follow, I shall be more concise, in order to bring my Matter within due Bounds. These Preliminaries being settled, I proceed, as I promised, to the Plan of what I propose in this Chapter.

7. In the first place, I shall treat of the State of the *Indies*, from the earliest Ages, to the Foundation of the *Persian* Monarchy; and, though, in doing this, I am sensible that I cannot give the Reader any more than a few capital Facts, in a long Series of Ages, yet, as these Facts are absolutely necessary to the understanding what follows, I persuade myself, that he will regard them as I do, in the light of a necessary Introduction, I shall then proceed to the History of the *Indies*, so far as it can be discovered from the Histories that has been left us of the *Persian* Empire, through which the Riches of the *Indies* were first made known to the *Europeans*.

Having proceeded through these dark Periods, we shall arrive at a clearer Account of Things, deduced from the Expedition of *Alexander* the Great, after the Destruction of the *Median* Empire, into the Countries of which we are speaking. This will lead us into an Explanation of the Politics of that mighty Conqueror, who, to the Possession of many large and fruitful Provinces, intended to have secured to the Empire that he erected, all the Advantages accruing from the rich Commerce of the *Indies*.

We shall likewise examine how far this glorious Design was prosecuted by his Successors; how, through their Quarrels and Disputes, it sunk into Oblivion, until it was revived by the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*, who thoroughly understood the Plan of *Alexander*, and improved it to great Advantage. After the Destruction of their Monarchy, we shall give a succinct Account of the Uses made by the *Romans* of their Conquest of *Egypt*, and of the Light they obtained from the *Greeks*, and other Nations, with regard to the Trade of the *Indies*, and in what manner they improved them.

8. In consequence of this Chain of History, which will afford us an Opportunity of explaining to the Reader the Characters of those Writers on whose Authorities the Antients chiefly depended, we shall be at Liberty to lay down the Substance of what they knew and believed, with respect to the Country, Inhabitants, and Commodities, of the *Indies*. We shall shew, from the best Writers of Antiquity, how far their Acquaintance with the *Indies* reached; in what Particulars they had right Notions, where they erred; and whence their Errors arose. We shall shew what they have delivered with respect to the Religion of the *Indians*; their Policy; the Division of their States; their Customs and Manners; together with the Animals, as described by them; and all the other Productions of that Country. In doing this, the utmost Care shall be taken to cite exactly the Authorities on which the several Facts we report are grounded; and, as Occasion requires, we shall shew how far they are confirmed or contradicted by the Moderns; and, by this Means, we shall bring a Multitude of curious and instructive Passages into a very narrow Compass.

The Reader will then see, in one View, the true State of the Case, with respect to the Antients; and be able, with Certainty, to judge for himself, with respect to the Justice of those Censures, and the Value of those Panegyrics, which are before-mentioned. He will then see how far the Credulity of the Antients really extended, with what Caution their Works ought to be read, and what Credit is due to the surprising Relations that are met with in them. He will likewise see the Nature and Extent of their Commerce; the Manner in which they managed it; the Advantages they drew from it; and how it sunk and rose, according as the Countries, in which it was settled, were

blest with a wife and prudent Government, or cursed with a bad one. This will afford him an Opportunity of comparing, in his own Mind, the State of Commerce in those Days, with the Condition in which he sees it; and will enable him to pronounce boldly, that Justice, Equity, and a due Regard to the natural Rights and Liberties of Mankind, are the sole Means by which Nations are distinguished from each other; and that Power, Wealth, and Happiness, are not attached to Extent of Dominion, or Multitude of People, but, where-ever there is a wise Administration, may be enjoyed.

9. We shall then resume the historical Part of our Discourse, and treat of the Correspondence between the Subjects of the *Constantinopolitan* Empire, and the Inhabitants of the *Indies*; which will appear to be of more Importance than has been hitherto imagined. We shall next descend to a regular Account of the Alterations which happened by the Declension of that Empire, in the Management of that Trade, which threw it into different Channels, and into the Hands of several Nations. This will bring us to those Voyages and Travels that have been hitherto accounted the earliest that were made into the *Indies*. The most valuable of these we shall give the Reader at large, with a fair and clear Account of the Characters of their Authors: And, in order to make their Relations perfectly intelligible, we shall, in a previous Section or two, give a succinct Account of the Revolutions that happened in the *Indies*; without knowing of which, the Accounts given by these Travellers would be exceedingly obscure. But, by pursuing this Method, every thing will fall into its proper Place; and, before the Reader meets with these Relations, he will have acquired the Lights necessary to the perfect Understanding of them; and will likewise discern, how these Voyages and Travels, dark and imperfect as they were, kindled that Spirit of Inquiry, and exhibited that generous Thirst of opening a shorter Passage to these rich Countries, which made Way for the Discoveries of the *Portuguese*. He will likewise see, how far the Accounts given us by these Travellers agree with those of the Antients, and how far they are supported or confuted by later Experience. He will likewise form a Judgment of the Value of such Pieces, and see how far they are still useful, notwithstanding the subsequent Lights we have received; and from thence he will have a just Idea of the Value of such Collections, as contain these, and little else.

10. After passing through these dark and troublesome Stages, we shall reach that famous Period, in which the Passage by the Cape of *Good Hope* was discovered, which transferred the Commerce of the *Indies* from the *Italian* Republics to the *Portuguese*. We shall then relate, as briefly as it is possible, the Progress of the *Portuguese* Conquests; exhibit the Nature and Extent of their Empire in the *Indies*; give the Characters of the principal Persons concerned in establishing it; shew of how great Consequence it was to *Portugal*, and what Effects the annexing, for a time, that Kingdom to the *Spanish* Monarchy, had upon the Affairs of *Europe*. We shall next endeavour to point out the Means by which the Empire of the *Portuguese* began to decay; trace out the Circumstances that concurred to its Destruction; and conclude with a Representation of the present State of their Affairs, and of the Remains of the great Power in the *Indies*, which are still in their Hands.

11. The Voyages made by our Countrymen into this Part of the World will next demand our Care; and here the Reader will observe, that, for the sake of being clear and perspicuous, we were obliged to dispense with Method; for otherwise some of our *English* Travellers ought to have been mentioned, not only with, but even before those, who visited these Parts in the 12th and 13th Centuries. After a very short Account, as indeed no other can be given of these old Voyages, we shall explain the Causes that lead our Countrymen to engage in Expeditions to the *East Indies* during the Reigns of *Henry VII.* *Henry VIII.* *Edward VI.* and the Queens *Mary* and *Elizabeth*; by this means our History will be conducted as low as the Establishment of that Kind of Trade, which we carry on to the *Indies* at present; of the fixing of which we shall give a distinct Account, and insert, in their proper Places, such *English* Voyages, as



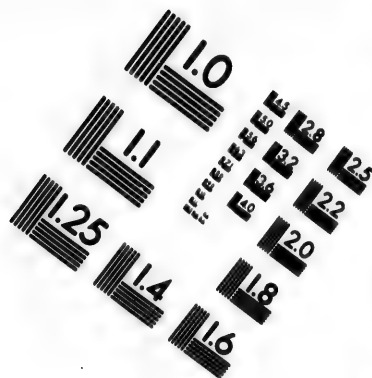
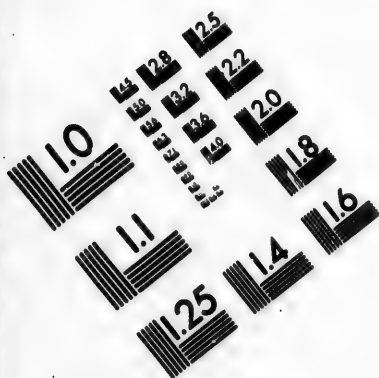
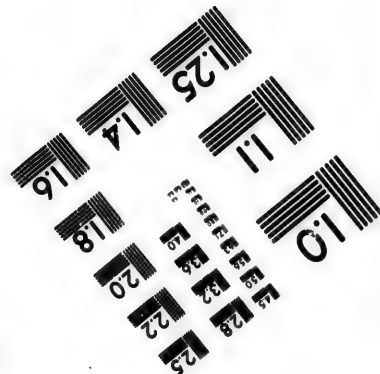
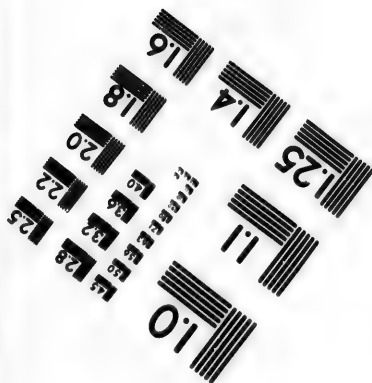
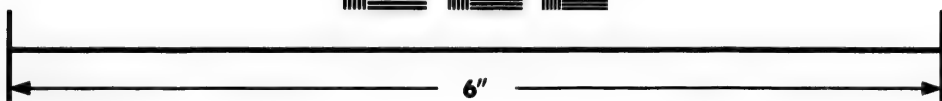
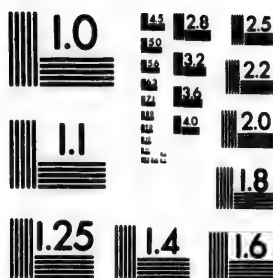


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are likely to give Satisfaction to the Reader. We shall also enter, as far as is necessary, into the Disputes that have happened, in these Parts, between us and the *Dutch*; and particularly the famous Affair of *Ambeyna*, by which we lost the Spice Trade; an Affair, which, though it has been long ago forgiven, ought never to be forgot, any more than the Arts and Contrivances by which we were expelled from *Bantam* in the Island of *Javan*, and other Parts of the *East Indies*. These things being dispatched, we shall examine the present State of the *British* Empire in that Part of the Globe, and give a particular Description of the Situation and Consequence of each of our Factories, concluding with some Remarks on the Nature and Value of the *East India* Trade with regard to this Nation, more especially with respect to the great Exportation of Bullion, which it occasions. By this means we hope to render our Work equally agreeable and useful to the Subjects of these Kingdoms, by letting in a true Light this important Branch of our Commerce, and demonstrating the Necessity we are under, of maintaining and supporting it, in order to bring the general Balance of Trade in our Favour.

12. The first Voyages of the *Dutch* to the *East Indies*, and, in consequence to those Voyages, the Establishment of their *East India* Company, a Specimen of the most important Expeditions made under their Direction, and the Account which they have been pleased to give us of their Proceedings at *Ambeyna*, will fall here into their proper Place. To these we shall add an Account of the Economy of this Company at home, and the Manner in which their vast Stock is managed for the Benefit of the Proprietors; for, as to their Settlements in the *Indies*, there has been already so copious and so accurate a Description given of them in Commodore *Roggeveen's* Voyage, that we shall be under no Necessity of saying any thing more on that Head.

13. The *French East-India* Company comes next to be considered; a Company not formed, like the rest, in consequence of Voyages made at private Expence, and in Compliance with the Genius and Desires of the People; but springing from a political Principle, projected by Ministers, and settled, according to their good Pleasure, by the Power of the Crown; and this, too, after numerous Efforts, and repeated Disappointments. We shall insist the more particularly on the Rise and Progress of this Company, or rather enter into a Detail of the several *East India* Companies formed in *France*, in order to shew how hard it is to force the Spirit, and model the Inclinations, of a People after the Will of the Government, even when the Will of the Government is, in some measure, right, and agreeable to the Interests of the People. We shall particularly describe the Methods, by which the two great Ministers, *Richelieu* and *Colbert*, obliged the *French* Nation to think of settling themselves effectually in the *Indies*; and we shall render it evident, that nothing but the steady Care and constant Attention of their Successors, to the Principles by them laid down, overcame those Obstacles that at first seemed insurmountable, and at last brought this Project to bear, and put the Affairs of the *French East India* Company into a flourishing Condition.

We shall lastly give a full and distinct Account of that Company, in respect of its Economy at home, as well as its Settlements abroad; and the Effects, which, in time, and by the Continuance of its Trade, it may have in regard to the general Commerce of the *Indies*, and the Trade of *Europe*. These, we have Reason to believe, will be so much the more acceptable to our Readers, because they are absolutely new, and have not hitherto been treated, at least, clearly, methodically, and from authentic Memoirs, in our Language.

14. It was the Success of this last, as well as of the *English* and *Dutch* Companies, that raised, about twenty Years ago, so strong a Spirit of Trading to the *Indies*, throughout all *Europe*, and which first displayed itself in the Attempt made to settle a Company for that Purpose at *Oslen*, under the Protection of the late Emperor *Charles VI.*

We shall give a succinct Account of the Origin, Progress, and Declension, of that Company; and shall shew the Consequences that might probably have attended its Establishment, if it had not been opposed so vigorously by the maritime Powers. This will naturally bring us to the Companies that have been since erected, or rather revived, in *Sweden* and *Denmark*, with greater Success, than could well have been expected, and which, prosecuted with the same Diligence and Attention that have hitherto been bestowed upon them, must necessarily be brought to that Perfection, which has been thought incompatible with the Genius of those Nations, the Nature of their Governments, and the Strength of their maritime Force. We shall likewise take notice of the Trade carried on to *China* by the *Russians*, and the Conveniences they have for establishing and extending it, together with some Thoughts on the Consequences of our new Trade through *Muscovy* to *Persia*, and the vast Regions of *Great Tartary*, which may possibly be improved into a Commerce of as great Consequence, or, at least, of as great Profit, as that which we now carry on to the *Indies*.

15. In the Conclusion of the Chapter we shall compare the old and new Trade to the *Indies*; examine the Advantages and Disadvantages of both, and the Consequence of this Commerce to the Eastern Nations, and to the People of *Europe* in general. From which it will appear, that the Prejudices entertained against this Trade, on account of the great Exportation of Silver which it occasions, are but indifferently founded; and that the necessary Attendances upon this Commerce, provided it be properly managed, will much more than balance this Inconvenience, and prove the means of enriching *Europe* in a much higher Degree, than it is supposed to be impoverished by the sending out such Quantities of Bullion.

Such is the Plan of this Part of our Work, which, tho' very extensive, is, however, so regular, that, by the Perusal of this Section, the Reader cannot but be convinced, the Subject could not have been treated in less room to any Purpose. The Importance of it is so great, that it may well justify the Labour and Pains that it will cost in the Execution; and every Part of it will be so curious and entertaining, as well as useful and instructive, will comprehend the Substance of so great a Number of valuable Books, and convey so large a Proportion of practical Knowledge, in comparison of the Bulk of the Chapter, that there is the greatest Reason to believe our Readers will not think their Time at all mispent in its Perusal.

It is but a very few Years ago, that the Disputes about this Commerce to the *East Indies* divided and distracted all *Europe*: And it is very easy to foresee, that, in the Course of a few Years, the same Disputes must necessarily be revived with as great Warmth as ever; especially if there be any Truth in what some People have furnished in *Holland*, as to the Intention of the King of *Prussia* to establish a new *East India* Company at *Emden* in *East Frisia*. If this should ever take Effect, it would create greater Apprehensions, especially in the *Dutch*, and with more Reason, than the Attempt made to fix such a Company at *Oslen*, because, from the Situation of that Port, they would have much greater Reason to fear the Ruin of a great Part of their Trade in *Germany*.

Upon these Motives we have been led to handle this important and interesting Subject in all its Branches, every Section of which will be a complete Treatise in its Kind; and its Relation to, and Connexion with, the rest of the Work will immediately appear, by referring to the Scheme of the Whole, as it is in this Section delivered. We have now nothing more to add, but an Assurance, that the same Diligence shall be used in rendering every Part of the Chapter as perfect as possible, that we hope is discoverable in this large and particular Account of the whole Design, intended as well to manifest the Attention shewn in compiling it, as to give such a Key to the whole Chapter, as may serve the Purposes before-mentioned.

SECTION II.

The History of INDIA in the Earliest Ages.

1. *The Tradition of the Indians concerning Bacchus.* 2. *The Egyptians transferred their Reports to Osiris.* 3. *Semiramis attacked the Indians, and was repulsed.* 4. *The Invasion of India by Sesostris.* 5. *The Indians had their Hercules as well as the Greeks.* 6. *M. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, had no just Grounds to suppose the antient Indians descended from the Egyptians.* 7. *The Argument drawn from the Confession of the Indians to Alexander the Great, examined and confuted.* 8. *A Summary of Matters of Fact, which may be collected from this fabulous History.* 9. *The Usefulness of these Inquiries to the thorough understanding of this Subject.*

AS we have very confused and indistinct Accounts of the first Settlements of almost all Nations, it is no Wonder, that we should have many absurd and unintelligible Fables as to the Settlement of the *Indies*; especially if we consider how remote these Countries lie from those which produced the Historians, from whom all our Accounts are derived. The first *Indian* Monarch, or Conqueror, of whom any mention is made in History, is the God *Bacchus*, or *Dionysius*, who is reported to have led an Army out of *Greece* as far as the *Indies*, which he conquered, and taught the Inhabitants the Use of Wine, and built the City of *Nysa* *. There is, however, good Reason to believe, that *Bacchus*, or *Dionysius*, is only a *Greek* Name for that *Indian* Prince who first civilized the People of that Country; for one of the most valuable Writers of Antiquity, *Diodorus the Sicilian*, explains the History thus, and tells us, that the *Indians* themselves related the Matter in the following Manner.

That *Bacchus* was a Native of their Country, and the first who found out and taught the way of pressing Grapes, and making Wine; that he likewise employed himself in pruning Fig-trees, and other Fruit-trees, of a larger Size; in which he likewise instructed his People, established a little Principality in the Country of *Nysa*, and called his Capital *Nysa*, from the Name of his Nurse. The *Indians* had likewise a Tradition, that he was a great Conqueror, and a Lawgiver, built many stately Cities, instituted divine Worship, and erected every-where Courts of Justice: They say further, that, after ruling over all *India* for the Space of fifty-two Years, he died in an extreme old Age, and left his Dominions to his Children, by whom they were enjoyed for many Generations; till at length, several Revolutions happening, many of the Cities became free, and set up such Forms of Government as seemed most agreeable to the Inhabitants. All this is reasonable enough; as is also the latter Part of the Story, which is, that, after his Death, he was revered as a God †.

2. In the antient History of the *Egyptians* we are told, that *Osiris*, the great Conqueror of that Country, having first added *Ethiopia* to his Dominions, passed over from that Country into *Arabia*, and marched from thence into *India*, where he taught the Inhabitants the Use of Wine, and founded the City of *Nysa*; from whence it is plain, that this *Osiris* is the same with *Dionysius*, or *Bacchus* ‡. There seems to be no great Difficulty in accounting also for this Story, since it is a Point universally agreed among the Learned, that the *Egyptians*, in order to fortify their favourite Opinion, that they were the most antient Nation in the World, and that all Arts and Sciences were derived to other People from them, were accustomed to transfer whatever they learned relating to the Actions of antient Princes in other Countries, to some of their own Monarchs; and thus, it is highly probable, they delivered what the *Indians* reported of their first Lawgiver, as if performed by *Osiris*. The *Greeks*, who most certainly borrowed their Learning from the *Egyptians*, and, in Imitation of them, endeavoured to establish a Notion of their own Antiquity, adulterated these Accounts to the *Grecian Bacchus*; whence arises all that confused and fabulous History, reported by several *Greek* Authors, upon this Subject, and with which we should not have meddled at all, but that it will be found necessary to explain some Passages in *Alex-*

ander's Expedition, which is a thing of the utmost Consequence with respect to the *Indian* History.

3. The *Affyrian*, which was the first of the great Empires erected after the Flood, was governed, after the Death of *Ninus*, by his Widow *Semiramis*, who founded the antient *Babylon*. This great Princess, after the Conquest of *Bactria*, resolved to undertake that of *India*. The Reasons that moved her to this Resolution, were the Reports she had heard of the Fruitfulness of the Country, and the Riches of its Inhabitants; but, as she foresaw, that this Enterprize would be attended with many and great Difficulties, she spent no less than three whole Years in preparing for it. In order to this, she ordered a prodigious Army, drawn out of all the Provinces of her extensive Empire, to assemble in *Bactria*: She likewise directed the Inhabitants of *Phoenicia*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*, to send her a sufficient Number of Shipwrights to build two thousand Ships, or rather large Barks, which were so contrived, as that they might be taken to-pieces, and carried, according to her Project, from *Bactria* to the River *Indus*, where she understood the *Indians* had a considerable Naval Force.

But, as she was apprehensive, that her Troops might be struck with a Panic at the Sight of the Elephants, which the *Indians* used in War, or, rather, apprehending that the *Indians* themselves would place all Confidence of Victory in their armed Elephants, she contrived certain Machines, made of the Skins of Oxen sewed together, and carried by Camels, which resembled Elephants, in order to take from the *Indians* their Notion of Superiority in this respect. All Things necessary being provided, she marched out of *Bactria*, with an Army, that the *Greek* Historians have, by their Relations, rendered less formidable than incredible; for they report, that it consisted of 3,000,000 of Foot, 200,000 Horse, 100,000 Chariots, and 100,000 mounted on Camels.

Stabrobates, who was at that time King of the Countries that border on the River *Indus*, as soon as he had Intelligence of this formidable Invasion, prepared to defend his Country, and his Subjects; and, with this View, assembled a prodigious Army, augmented the Number of his Elephants, and caused four thousand Boats to be built of Cane, which is not subject either to rot, or to be eaten by the Worms, to encounter the *Affyrians* on the River, having his Army and Elephants drawn up on the Shore ready to support them. The Fleet of *Semiramis*, either because her Vessels were stronger, or better manned, proved victorious, a thousand of the *Indian* Boats being sunk, with all who were on board them, and a vast Number of *Indians* taken Prisoners. Upon this, the *Indian* King abandoned the opposite Shore, and left the Enemy a free Passage, in hopes of attacking them with better Success by Land. *Semiramis*, as soon as the *Indians* withdrew, converted her Fleet into a Bridge of Boats, over which she marched her whole Army, with the counterfeit Elephants in the Front.

When the *Indians* were informed by their Spies, that the *Affyrians* had a great Number of Elephants, they were amazed at it, and in great Confusion; but they soon recovered their Spirits, when, by the Desertion of some of the Troops of *Semiramis*, they came to understand the Truth. A Battle soon after followed, in which the *Affyrians* had at first the Advantage, but at last the *Indians*

* *Geogr. lib. xv. 1* *Idos. Sicul. lib. iii. Cicer. de Natura Deorum, lib. iii.*

† *Diod. Sicul. lib. iii. cap. 4.*

‡ *Cicero*

prevailed, and *Seniramis* was totally overthrown, and soon obliged to fly, with a very small Retinue, escaping with great Difficulty back into her own Dominions. Authors have varied in their Accounts of this Transaction, which is largely related by *Diodorus*, who had it probably from *Ctesias*, who drew his Accounts from the Oriental Writers themselves. There is not certainly any great Weight to be laid upon a Fact, the Credit of which can hardly be ascertained, and some Circumstances of which have visibly the Air of Fable ⁴.

The citing, however, this Passage, to prove that the *Indians* were a civilized and powerful Nation, is, perhaps, going no further than the Laws of Reason and Probability will allow: There is, indeed, great Difficulty in attempting to settle the Time when this Transaction happened; but, according to the Chronology of *Capellus*, who seems to have studied the Point very carefully, it must have fallen out about the Year of the World 1970 ⁵.

4. The next Invasion of *India* is reported to have been by *Sesofris*, or *Sesoftris* King of *Egypt*, who was one of the greatest Princes that ever ruled in that Kingdom: He is reported to have made use of a Fleet of 400 Sail, which he drew together in the *Red-Sea*; and is likewise said to have invented long Ships, or Ships of War, probably, when he first laid the Scheme of this Invasion, which he executed with equal Success and Deliberation, leaving behind him, as the *Egyptians* say, Monuments of his Conquests, where-ever he came. He is said to have penetrated through *India* to the Sea which separates *China* from *Japan*: Not that the Antients were acquainted with that Sea, but they report that he went much further than *Alexander* did; past the *Ganges*, subdued all *Asia*, even to the Ocean: And, if so, his Conquests must have extended to the Sea before-mentioned ⁶. He spent nine Years in this Expedition, behaving very kindly towards the Nations he conquered, and exacting from them no other Tokens of Obedience, than sending annually certain Presents into *Egypt*. The same Chronologer we have before mentioned, places the Reign of this King, or rather his Expedition into *India*, in the Year of the World 3023 ⁷. The *Ethiopians* also are said to have invaded *India*; but the Circumstances of that Invasion are so obscure, that we shall not trouble the Reader with an Account of it.

5. As to what some of the Antients report concerning *Hercules*, and his being in the *Indies*, it is more than probable that it is derived from a Tradition of the *Indians* themselves, who had an *Hercules*, as well as *Bacchus*, of their own, concerning whom they affirmed, that he excelled all other Men in Strength and Courage; that he cleared both the Sea and Land of Monsters, and wild Beasts; and that, having many Wives, he left behind him a numerous Offspring, all of them Sons, among whom, when they were grown up, he divided *India* into equal Parts, making each of them King or Sovereign of the Country which he assigned him. They likewise assert, that he founded many Cities, the most famous of which was called *Palibotbra*, in which he built a stately Palace, strongly fortified, and surrounded with deep Trenches, into which he let an adjacent River, and thereby rendered the Place, in a manner, impregnable. After his Death, this *Hercules* of *India* was honoured as a God: His Posterity reigned for many Ages after him, and performed many glorious Actions; but it is remarkable, that the *Indian* Traditions agree, that this *Hercules*, and his Posterity, never engaged in any foreign Expeditions, or sent forth Colonies into distant Countries, but contented themselves with the Possession of their own Dominions, and that plentiful Region of which they were Natives ⁸.

As dark and obscure as the Times which fall under this Period were, it is most evident that all the old Accounts represent the Country very truly, as abounding with all the Necessaries of Life; watered by many Rivers, several of which had the same Property with the *Nile*, viz. Overflowing the adjacent Countries at a certain Season of the Year, and thereby rendering them wonderfully fruitful. These ancient Accounts also, among many Fables, report some Facts truly, with respect to the Commodities

of *India*, which they represent as consisting chiefly in Gold, precious Stones, and Spices; neither are they much in the wrong with regard to Fruits, which they affirm to be larger, and more nourishing, than in other Parts of the World.

What they report of the People also, is, in many respects not credible only, but highly probable; for they observe, that tho' *India* was divided into a Multitude of little Principalities, and those inhabited by different Nations, yet they were all Natives of *India*, and not at all intermixed with Strangers, it being a constant Maxim of their Policy neither to send out nor receive Colonies, but to live quietly under their own Laws, and according to their own Customs, shewing thereby a great Dread and Dislike of Strangers, which, as the Reader will observe, has been, in all Ages, the great Characteristic of the *Indian* Genius. They further allege, as a Reason why *India* was never exposed to Famine, as *Egypt* and other rich Countries were, that there was a Law inviolably observed by all the *Indian* Nations, that, even in time of War, the Persons and Properties of Husbandmen were sacred; so that, in all the warlike Expeditions they made, they never did any Hurt to their Enemies Country, either by burning the Corn, or cutting down the Trees.

6. It must be owned, that it is very difficult to distinguish the ancient Accounts of *India* from those of later Times, because all the original Authors are long ago perished; yet, I think, there is good Ground to believe, that the Ancient *Egyptians* might have received from the *Indians* some Account of what had formerly pass'd in their Country, since it is a Point out of Dispute, that the *Egyptians* were the first People that had any Commerce with *India*, as the learned Bishop *Huet* has very justly observed: But whereas he, and other learned Men, have inclined to an Opinion that the *Indians* were, in a great measure, descended from the *Egyptians*; and that *Osiris* not only conquered that Country, but left several Colonies ⁹ there; I cannot help differing from them intirely, because this is very inconsistent with that Principle of the *Indian* Policy, of neither admitting Strangers to settle amongst them, nor sending out Colonies themselves: And, as we may easily avoid this Contradiction, by supposing that the *Egyptians*, according to their common Custom, translated what they had heard of the *Indian* *Bacchus*, to their *Osiris*, I look upon this as the more rational Sentiment, leaving the Reader, however, to decide as he pleases.

As to the Conformity of Manners between these two Nations, on which that learned Prelate insists so much, it appears, to me, to prove nothing: For, either the Conquest of *Osiris* was general, or particular: The former the *Egyptians* themselves never pretended; and from the Situation of *Nysa*, granting the Story to have any Truth, it is plain, that his Conquest did not extend far. If, then, he penetrated only into the Frontiers of *India*, and there established his Colonies, how can we imagine, that the Manners of the *Egyptians* should extend themselves over all the *Indian* Nations, since it is a thing out of Dispute, that the *Indians*, in general, lived in Obedience to the same Laws, as appears from their Custom of sparing Husbandmen? Indeed, I think it would be no difficult Matter to prove, that tho', in some respects, the Manners of the ancient *Egyptians* and *Indians* might agree, yet, in others, they differed widely; and, even as to the Agreement of their Manners, I can see no Reason why this should not rather be attributed to the Likeness of their Countries, than to these Colonies of *Egyptians*, of the Existence of which it is impossible to afford any satisfactory Proof.

7. I am very sensible, that it may be objected against my Notion, that the *Indians* were a pure and unmixed People: That they themselves confessed the contrary, when *Alexander* the Great invaded their Country: For *Strabo* tells us, that when this Conqueror advanced towards *Nysa*, *Auphis*, at the Head of thirty Deputies, came from that City, on an Embassy to *Alexander*, into whose Presence being admitted, he made the following Speech: 'The Inhabitants of *Nysa* intreat, O King, that in Reverence to *Bacchus*, you would leave the City free, and the In-

⁴ Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. c. 32.

⁵ *Historia Sacra & Exotica*, p. 48.

⁶ *Indiar. Sicul. Strabo. lib. ii.*

⁷ *Capit. ult.*

⁸ *Indiar. Sicul. lib. ii.*

⁹ *Indiar. Sicul. Strabo. lib. ii.*

⁹ *Habitants*

habitants to govern by their own Laws; for, *Dionysius*, after he had conquered the *Indians*, and was about to return to the *Grecian* Sea, built this City for those Soldiers who were unserviceable for War, as a perpetual Monument to Posterity, of his Expedition and Victory, as your Majesty has built *Alexandria* at Mount *Caucasus*, and another in *Egypt*; and many others, some finished, and others in Building, having now performed much more than our *Dionysius* did: And he called the City *Nysa*, from his Nurse, so named, and the Country *Nysia*; and the Mountain, which hangs over the City, he was pleased to call *Meris*, because, according to the Fable, he was cherished in *Jupiter's* Thigh. Since that Time we have dwelt in *Nysa*, as a free City, and have lived at Ease under our own Laws. And that this Place was built by *Bacchus*, this one thing may be a Demonstration; That Ivy grows no where in *India*, but in this City.¹ This may, indeed, as at first Sight it does, look like a conclusive Proof; but, I presume, when closely examined, it will have a quite different Appearance: For, in Answer to this, I observe, that, instead of proving the Conquest of *Ofiris*, this really proves the direct contrary; viz. the Conquest of the *Grecian Bacchus* exploded, as absurd and unsupportable, even by the wisest of the *Greeks* themselves. But whoever considers the Character of the *Indians*, the Turn of this Speech, and the Prayer of *Aleuphis*, at the Close of this Address, must easily discover, that the whole is no more than an artful and well-turned Compliment, calculated to lay hold of the Conqueror's Vanity, and thereby procure a Confirmation of the City's Liberties, as accordingly it did. All, therefore, that this Fact absolutely proves, is no more than this, that in the Time of *Alexander*, the *Indians* were excessively tenacious of their Liberties, passionately fond of their own Country and Customs, and very adroit in contriving the Means to avoid the Change of them. On the Whole, the Story of *Ofiris* is unsupportable, and the pure Effects of *Egyptian* Vanity; that of the *Grecian Bacchus* ridiculously absurd: But, if we admit the Reports of the *Indians*, as to their own *Bacchus*, or *Hercules*, mixed, no doubt, with Fables also, to have given Occasion to the *Egyptian* Story, as that did to the Fiction of the *Greeks*, we shall free ourselves from all Difficulties, and open a Passage to the true History of this Period, short and obscure indeed, but, however, worthy of Notice. Thus it runs.

8. The Country of *India* was very early peopled after the Dispersion of Mankind; and, being in itself exceedingly fruitful and pleasant, it soon began to grow populous, after a certain great Prince had introduced Religion, and Civil Policy, by which the People, who before lived like Savages, were formed into Societies, and taught to improve, and be content with, the happy Country they possessed. The Situation of most of their great Cities upon Rivers, and the Property of most of those Rivers to overflow at certain Seasons of the Year, obliged them to contrive, improve, and addict themselves, in an extraordinary degree, to Boat-building, and the Art of Navigation; which, as it enabled them to carry on a great Commerce amongst themselves, in a Country very extensive, and everywhere very plentiful, so it furnished them also with a very considerable maritime Force, especially for those Times, capable of resisting the whole Force of the *Assyrian* Empire. This steady Resistance proceeded chiefly from their generous Notions of Liberty, concerning which, the best Writers of Antiquity tell us, that as the *Indians* had Laws peculiar to themselves, widely different from those of all other Nations: So this was the Foundation of all their Laws, being the fundamental Maxim of their Policy, laid down by their first Legislators, and from which they never departed; viz. That none among them should be a Servant, but that every one, being free, and equally intitled to the Benefit of the Laws, should, from that Consideration, be the more ready to venture their Lives in Defence of these Laws, and for the Preservation of their common Liberty.

It was the Knowledge the World had of this, that produced so violent a Passion in all the great Conquerors of Antiquity, to pretend to some Conquest over the *Indians*;

as will be fully shewn, when we come to treat of the Motives which induced *Alexander* the Great to undertake his Expedition into that Country. In these early Times, the *Egyptians* were almost the only Nation that had any Commerce with the *Indians*, which they carried on by Sea; and this it was that gave them an Opportunity of imposing, for many Ages, upon the rest of their World, by their Fictions, in relation to the Conquest of *Ofiris*: But when the *Greeks* came to be better acquainted with the *Indians*, they discovered the Falshood of these *Egyptian* Fables, and brought to Light, in some measure, the true History of these People, as derived from their own Traditions. And it is for this Reason, that I esteem the Accounts given us by the *Greek* Historians, as more antient in themselves, tho' later known to the World, than the Stories delivered by such Writers as copied the *Egyptian* Records.

9. The looking back so far into these fabulous Histories, is, indeed, very laborious, and at first Sight appears a little unnecessary; but when we consider how many great Men have employed their Thoughts upon this Subject, we ought, in Justice to their Abilities, to suppose they saw some Reason for taking so much Pains. It is, indeed, no difficult Thing to discern that Reason, which was the Desire of coming at Truth, or, at least, as near it as possible, by putting Things into a proper Method. Such as have neglected these antient Accounts, and have begun their Histories of the *Indies* much lower, have been obliged to insert many Things, necessary to explain the Transactions they record, quite out of the Order of Time; and in such a manner, that they have rather perplexed than enlightened their Relations: For that the antient *Indians* were a very wise and powerful People, whose History therefore deserved to be recovered as much as any other, appears from very different Quarters.

For Instance, when the *Chinese* Antiquities came to be looked into narrowly, it appeared that their Learning, which has made so much Noise in the World, was really derived to them from the *Indians*; their great Philosopher *Confucius* owning, in his Writings, that he had been assisted by the Lights he drew from the Philosophy of the *Brachmans*.² The Truth of this is also manifest, by comparing what the *Greek* Writers have left us, in relation to the Doctrines of those *Indian* Philosophers, with what the *Jesuits* have been pleased to publish from the Works of that great Author of *Chinese* Learning. It was from the *Indians* also, that the *Chinese* derived what they knew of the Art of Navigation; and if they improved that Art to a greater Degree than the *Indians*, and made longer Voyages, this ought to be attributed to the different Genius of the People. Amongst the *Indians*, Liberty was the ruling Passion. They sought the Conveniencies of Life, it is true, by the Assistance of their Maritime Force; but they fought them among themselves, and never affected Conquests or Commerce without the Limits of *India*; which, in this Period of Time, ought to be confined within the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*. The Name of *India* is certainly derived from the first of these Rivers, which, being near *Persia*, was thereby first known to the Western Nations. But the ruling Passion among the *Chinese*, I mean amongst the People in general, seems to have been always the Love of Gain; which naturally led them to foreign Commerce, and foreign Conquests. It is true, that the wisest Men, and greatest Politicians, of that Empire, have been always of a different Sentiment; and have frequently remonstrated to their Emperors, the Folly and Danger of affecting to enlarge their Dominions by offensive Wars. This is plainly the Consequence of their having derived the fundamental Maxims of their Learning from the *Indians*, who went upon that equitable Principle of being free themselves, and leaving others free also.

Hence arose that great Number of Republics mentioned by the *Greek* Writers, as subsisting in *India*, when *Alexander* invaded it; and hence the many Restrictions of Regal Power, in such Places as were still governed by Kings; of which we shall find a Multitude of Instances in the succeeding Section. If the Appearance of *India* at present differs so widely from what it was represented formerly, we shall

¹ De E. polit. Alex. ind. lib. iv.

² Di. d. r. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 88. Strabo. Ctesias.

³ Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, p. 373. discern

disfern the Occasion of this Difference; and, consequently, the Credit due both to antient and modern Accounts: For it will appear in the Course of this Work, that most of the despotic Governments that now subsist in the *Indies*, are the Effects of Foreign Conquests; and that the antient Principles of Liberty, and assigning proper Bounds to Sovereign Power, are still sufficiently visible among the un-

mixed Nations of *India*. These are Motives sufficient to justify Inquiries of this Nature; especially when they are regularly made, confined within due Bounds, and applied chiefly to the Explanation of those Points, which make it worth our while to inquire into the Transactions of past Times, in Countries at such a Distance.

SECTION III.

The History of this Commerce in the Hands of the Idumeans, Israelites, Tyrians, &c. with some Account of its Profits.

1. *The Manner in which the Phœnicians became acquainted with this Commerce through the Idumeans.*
2. *Are intrusted with the Management of it by the Israelites.*
3. *Different Opinions as to the Situation of Ophir.*
4. *Advantageous Consequences of this Commerce to the Jews.*
5. *They are totally deprived of it, under the Reign of Ahaz, by the Assyrians.*
6. *The Tyrians aim at the monopolizing the Commerce of the Indies.*
7. *The extraordinary Means they made use of to open a new Route from those Countries.*
8. *Become thereby exceedingly rich and powerful, as well as very formidable to their Neighbours.*
9. *The City of Old Tyre taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and New Tyre erected on an Island at a small Distance.*
10. *An Account of the Troglodytes, and of the Nature of their Commerce.*
11. *Observations on the Profit of this Trade in those Times, and on the Nature of the Proofs brought to support those Observations.*

THE whole Trade of the antient World seems to have been divided between the *Egyptians* and the *Phœnicians*. The former had engrossed to themselves the Eastern Commerce, and the latter extended their Navigations more to the West. It is certain, that never any Country was better situated for Trade than *Phœnicia*, and the two great Cities *Sidon* and *Tyre*, the famous Ports thereof, which make so great a Figure in antient History. *Sidon* stood on the Sea-shore, having behind it a fine Plain, which reached as far as Mount *Libanus*, or rather *Anti-Libanus*. The antient *Tyre* stood also upon the Continent, was founded by the *Sidonians*, and came afterwards to make a greater Figure than *Sidon* itself.

The Inhabitants of these two Cities prosecuted Trade, and every thing that had any relation to Trade, with the utmost Diligence. The Mountains behind them furnished excellent Timber, this enabled them to perfect the Art of Ship-building. They also made great Discoveries in Astronomy, and were particularly skilful in applying it to Navigation. They must have had early some Intelligence of the *Indies*, if there be any Truth in what is reported of *Hercules of Tyre*, that he penetrated into those Countries; for it is certain, that this Hero, who was called *Malcaribus* in the *Punic* or *Phœnician* Tongue, lived three hundred Years before the famous Expedition of the Golden Fleece: And therefore there is good Reason to doubt, that his *Indian* Expedition is a Fable; but a Fable that might be thus far founded in Truth, that the *Greeks* might endeavour to express thereby the *Phœnicians* being taught that Commerce by *Hercules*, their tutelar Divinity.

We shall however endeavour to give a clearer and more probable Account of the Manner by which they came to this Knowledge. All the rich Commodities they brought from the West by their Shipping, they distributed thro' the East by Caravans; which was and is the Method by which all Inland Commerce is carried on in the East; and this occasioned a Correspondence between them and the *Idumeans*, or *Edomites*, who were then a very powerful Nation, and possessed of very extensive Dominions.

2. These *Idumeans*, who in the Scriptures are called the *Children of Edom*, were possessed of that Side of the *Arabian* Gulph which is opposite to *Egypt*; and from them that Gulph received the Name of the *Red Sea*, by a mistaken Etymology: For the *Greeks*, finding this Gulph called the *Sea of Edom*, and inquiring what *Edom* signified, were told that it meant *Red*, from whence they called this the *Red Sea*; though, properly speaking, the *Red Sea* is that Part of the Ocean which divides *Asia* from *Africa*. Upon

that Gulph the *Idumeans* had two Sea-ports, *Elath* and *Esfingeber*; from whence they carried on a Trade by Sea, to *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*; and through them the *Phœnicians* came first to be acquainted with this Commerce, into which, however, they were more freely admitted by the *Israelites*.

For when King *David* had made himself Master of *Idumea*, and thereby obtained the Ports before-mentioned on the *Arabian* Gulph, he immediately resolved to establish a Maritime Power, and to carry on from thence that beneficial Trade which had been before driven by the *Idumeans*; which he did with great Success, as appears by the vast Quantities of Gold he brought in one Voyage from *Ophir*. His Son *Solomon*, who was a greater Politician, and who had both Leisure and Inclination to cultivate the Arts of Peace, resolved to make the best Use possible of those Havens; and therefore went in Person to *Elath* and *Esfingeber*, where, under his own Eye, those Ports were fortified, and Abundance of Vessels put upon the Stocks. Those who were chiefly employed by him, both in building and navigating his Fleet, were the Subjects of his and his Father's faithful Ally, *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: And by this means the *Tyrians* became acquainted with the Navigation to the *Indies*, in which they were ever afterwards employed.

3. I shall not enter very deeply here, into the famous Question, Where *Ophir* is situated? because, perhaps, that will be always a Question; and I would not take Things for granted, and then reason upon them, when I know that possibly they may be disputed. Yet it may not, perhaps, be amiss to mention some of the Opinions, which have been supported by the learned Men of the last and present Age. In the first place, let it be observed, that though it be said, that the Fleets of *Solomon* were three Years in making a Voyage to *Tarshish*, yet there is no Time fixed for the Voyage to *Ophir*; from whence the Commodities that were brought, are said to be Gold, Almug-trees, and Precious Stones. *Eupolemus*, an old Author, quoted by *Eusebius*, asserts, that *Ophir* was an Island in the *Red Sea*. *Jesephus* says, that the Country of *Ophir* yielded such vast Quantities of that precious Metal, as to be called from thence the *Land of Gold*. By the Help of these Marks, different Authors have found it in different Places.

Some will have it to be the little Island of *Zocotora*, on the Eastern Coast of *Africa*, at a small Distance from the Straights of *Babelmandel*; others imagine that it was the Island of *Ceylan*; others again contend for *Sofala* in *Africa*. The famous *Franciscus Varatius* would have us rest fastidiously that *Ophir* was no other than the Island of *Hippania*, the

^o Strabo. Diodor. Plin.
Pomp. Evagret. lib. iii.

^p Strabo, lib. xv.
^q Antiquit. Jud. lib. viii.

^r 1 King. x. 22. 2 Chron. viii. 18. and ix. 10. 21.

^s Apocryph.

Discovery of which was revived by *Columbus*. The *Spaniards* give the Name of the Islands of *Solomon* to certain Countries in the *South Seas*, very rich in Gold, and which could never since be found; because they imagined the Fleets of *Solomon* came thither.

But there are two Opinions infinitely more probable than any of these: The one is, that *Opbir* was the Southern Part of *Arabia*, concerning which we are told by an ancient Geographer, that two Nations called *Alileans* and *Cassantries*, who inhabited thereabouts, had Gold in so great Plenty, that they would give twice its Weight for Iron, thrice its Weight for Brass, and ten times its Weight for Silver. This Gold they found in Pieces amongst the Sand, some very large, and the smallest of the Size of Olives, which needed no refining. The other Opinion places this rich Country in *Malacca*: This, I must confess, appears the most reasonable to me of them all; for *Malacca* is a Peninsula in the true *Red Sea*; which answers well enough the Description given by *Eupolemus*, and at the same time agrees exactly with what we are told by *Josephus*, having been known to Antiquity by the Name of the *Golden Chersonese*. But there is another Circumstance, that is still more remarkable: At the Distance of twelve Leagues from *Malacca*, there is a very high Mountain, which by the Natives is called *Opbir*, and which is reported to be, or rather to have been, very rich in Gold, though at present they only work some Tin-Mines that are there.

As to this Circumstance of Gold Mines wearing out, it is highly probable, and very agreeable to the Lights we receive from Experience, as to the Nature of that Metal; for the richer the Mines, the sooner they are exhausted, and the longer they are in recruiting; which, very possibly, is the Cause not only of our not finding Gold in such Countries as were famous for it among the Antients, but also of our not finding it any-where in the same Proportion that they did. This Subject I shall endeavour to set in the clearest Light possible, when I come to treat of the Riches found in *Peru*, when it was first discovered, and which were far superior to what it has produced since. But where-ever *Opbir* was, the *Phoenicians* employed by *Solomon* navigated his Ships thither, and acquired thereby a distinct Knowledge of this Course; which brought them, as shall be afterwards shewn, to a perfect Acquaintance with the *Indians*, and, in time, to the Monopoly of the Trade of them. In the mean time, let us proceed in our History of this Commerce, while in the Hands of the *Israelites*; who prosecuted it from this Time forward very constantly, sometimes with more, sometimes with less Advantage, according to the different Administrations they were under.

4. Upon the Division of the Kingdom, the Province of *Judea* remained annexed to the Kingdom of *Judab*, or *Judea*, the Princes of which carried on this Trade with great Success from the Port of *Esfongeber*. What the Reasons were that determined the *Jewish* Monarch to prefer that Port to *Elatb*, History hath not informed us; but we have a very good Account of the Causes which induced them to slight it. *Jehosaphat*, King of *Judab*, thought fit, from political Considerations, to strike up a close Alliance with *Absazab* King of *Israel*, very probably, because allied to the King of *Sidon*; and his Country, lying nearer to *Phœnicia*, he had many Seamen of that Nation in his Service, and so came to admit him into a Share of this Trade, for the carrying on of which they fitted out a joint Fleet at *Esfongeber*.

This Fleet consisted of ten Sail, which were shipwrecked on a Ledge of Rocks, which lay before that Port, and from which Ridge of Rocks it received its Name; for, *Esfongeber* signifies the *Back-bone*; and the Rocks were in that Form covered by the Sea at High-water, and sticking up with various Points in a Line, when it was low. This Accident brought such a Discredit on that Haven, as it never recovered: And therefore, when *Jehosaphat* had fitted out, in the succeeding Year, another Squadron of Ships, it was from *Elatb*; and he would not suffer his

Neighbour, the King of *Israel*, to have any Concern therein at all.

His Successor *Jehoram* lost both Ports by the Rebellion of the *Edomites*; and by this means the *Jewish* Commerce, in the *Red Sea*, suffered an Interruption of some Years: But *Uzziah*, in the Beginning of his Reign, recovered *Elatb*, and fortified it again, well knowing its Importance; and from thence carried on that advantageous Trade, which had been the great Source of the Riches which the *Israelites*, and afterwards the *Jews*, possessed: For tho', as I observed, they did not carry it on always with the same Success as in the Days of *Solomon*, yet, when they carried it on at all, it brought in such constant Supplies of Gold, and other rich Commodities, that, notwithstanding the Misfortunes they met with, and the prodigious Sums extorted from them by several Eastern Conquerors, yet they quickly recruited again; and, as appears from the Sacred Writings, grew very rich in every small Interval of Peace, till they lost this Trade altogether; and then they sunk into the lowest degree of Poverty and Distress, having no way to supply extraordinary Demands; but out of the dead Stock of the Treasures they had saved in better Times.

5. This Misfortune befel them in the Reign of *Ahaz*, against whom two powerful Princes confederated themselves, viz. *Rezin* King of *Damascus*, and *Pekab* King of *Israel*, who, in a short time, conquered almost all the Kingdom of *Judab*; by which means, *Elatb* fell into the Hands of *Rezin*, who immediately established there a Colony of *Syrians*, in hopes of transferring that profitable Commerce to his own Subjects, which seems to have been the great Point he had in View, when he began this War: But *Pekab* King of *Israel*, aiming at the total Destruction of the *Jewish* Monarchy, shut up *Ahaz* in his Capital, and besieged him there. On the Retreat of *Rezin*, the King of *Judab* ventured a Battle, in which he was totally defeated; lost the City of *Jerusalem*; and had an infinite Number of his Subjects, with all the Riches of his Kingdom, carried away by the victorious *Israelites*.

In this Distress, he took all the Gold and Silver, which, out of respect to Religion, the Enemy had left in the Temple, and sent them to *Tilgat-Pileser* King of *Assyria*, the most powerful Monarch in those Parts, to procure his Assistance. This Prince, who was excessively ambitious, seeing so fair an Opportunity offer of enlarging his Dominions, immediately closed with his Proposal; attacked first *Rezin* King of *Damascus*, whom he deprived of his Dominions; and then fell upon *Pekab* King of *Israel*, from whom he took the best Part of his Territories also; which, however, instead of proving an Advantage to *Ahaz*, was in Truth, a greater Misfortune than any he had yet suffered.

For the *Assyrian* Monarch forced him to pay such heavy Impositions, under colour of reimbursing him for the Expenses of a War entered into on his Account, that they equaled, if not exceeded, the Ravages committed by his former Enemies, and reduced the People of *Judea* into the most deplorable Circumstances. These Mischiefs affected not only the People of that Age, but their latest Posterity; for now they had so powerful a Neighbour, who, at the same time, was so tyrannical a Master, that they neither knew how to bear his Yoke, nor had Strength enough to shake it off; and, which was the greatest Mischievous of all, this powerful Prince, under colour of his Right of Conquest, kept *Elatb*, and thereby deprived the *Jews* of their *Indian* Commerce, by which they had recovered from all former Oppressions, and which they never afterwards had the least Share in: So that here end all our Concerns with them.

6. The *Tyrians* were, by this time, become the most potent Maritime Power; and, having all along been employed in these Voyages to *India*, wanted only an Opportunity of possessing themselves of some Port, capable of being made the Emporium of this Commerce, in order to

¹ Kings xxii. 49. ² Chron. xx. 36. 37.

³ Kings xxiii. 49.

⁴ Kings xvi. 6.

gain it wholly to themselves. This, considering their Situation, and the Means by which that Trade had hitherto been carried on, was exceeding difficult; for the *Egyptians*, and their Neighbours the *Ethiopians* and *Troglodytes*, were absolutely possessed of one Side of the *Arabian* Gulph; and the other was now intirely in the Hands of the *Affirians*, and *Arabians*; so that there seemed to be no Possibility of their attempting any thing to Purpose, without a Land Force, which they had not, tho' their Power was so great by Sea.

This the Reader will more easily and fully comprehend, if he considers, that they had the whole Country of *Palestine*, and that of *Idumea*, between them, and the *Arabian* Gulph; and that, on the other hand, they had the whole Continent of *Africa* to sail round, in case they attempted to enter the Red Sea by another Navigation, supposing them to have, at that time, a Notion of the Possibility of such a Passage, which, I must confess, I do not believe they had. But whichever way we take the Case, their Design seems to have been obstructed by insurmountable Difficulties, which, however, did not deter them from attempting, or hinder them from achieving what appeared to them a Point of so great Consequence; which is a clear Proof, that a Spirit of Commerce is capable of undertaking and executing as great Things as a Spirit of Ambition, or the Thirst of Conquest.

7. They considered, that the Isthmus between the *Arabian* Gulph, and the *Mediterranean*, was very narrow; and that if they were in Possession of any Port, on the Side of the Isthmus next them, it would be no difficult Matter to transport by Land the Merchandize of the *Indies* thither. Such a Port they found, as if it had been prepared by Nature to facilitate the Execution of their Project, the Name of which was *Rhinocorura*, or *Rhinocolura*, situated not far from Mount *Casius*, in the Conines of *Egypt* and *Palestine*.

The Occasion of founding this City, and Port, was very extraordinary. Some Ages before *Athanes*, King of *Ethiopia*, having defeated *Amosis* King of *Egypt*, and reduced his Country under his Dominion, caused all the Thieves and Malefactors in *Egypt*, who, by their own Law, should have been put to Death, to be assembled together; and, having cut off their Noses, that they might never escape from the Place to which they were banished, directed a Town to be built for them here, which, from the Loss of their Nose, was called *Rhinocorura*, and there he fixed them. A dreadful Situation it was, in the midst of Deserts; the Country about it excessively barren; the Soil full of Salt; and all the Waters in their Wells brackish and bitter: Yet these People, being once established, and knowing it was a Thing impossible for them to escape, applied themselves, with such Diligence, to cultivate this inhospitable Territory, that, at last, by dint of Labour, they got the better of Nature, and procured for themselves a tolerable Dwelling, which, in Process of Time, was much improved by their Posterity.

Such was the Situation of *Rhinocorura*, when the *Tyrians* cast their Eyes upon it, for the Staple or Mart of *Indian* Commodities. It quickly appeared how wisely they had taken their Measures, and how practicable this Method was, which at first seemed full of Difficulties. To understand this perfectly, it is necessary to consider the Form of the *Arabian* Gulph, which, running up between *Arabia* and *Egypt*, shoots out into two Points, almost at the Top; and thereby forms two lesser Bays, or Gulphs, with a Tract of Country between them. This lesser Gulph, on the *Arabian* Side, or more properly in the Country of *Idumea*, is, by ancient Writers styled *Sinus Elanticus*, or the *Elantic* Gulph, from the Port of *Elath*, or *Elan*, as the *Greeks* called it, that stands upon it. Whereas the Port of *Esfongeber* stood on the Point of Land, that, by running out into the *Arabian* Gulph, produced these smaller Gulphs. This running-in of the Sea streightens the Isthmus so much, that the Land-carriage from *Elan* to *Rhinocorura* could not much exceed forty Miles. At this last-mentioned Port, the *Tyrians* had their Magazines, in which all these rich Goods were laid up: And, as Occasion required, and

they could be brought with Advantage to Market, they transported them from thence to *Tyre*; and they were there either sold to such foreign Merchants as resorted to that great Emporium, or else were again exported into the West, by the *Phœnician* Fleets; that is, the Shipping not of *Tyre* only, but also of *Sidon*, and all their Colonies.

8. It was this extensive Commerce, that raised *Tyre* to such a Height of Glory, and enabled her to maintain herself, for upwards of eight hundred Years, in so great Power and Splendor: Yet we are not to conceive, that *Tyre* was absolutely eclipsed by this Colony of hers; for the contrary appears, both from sacred and profane Writers: These Cities stood but sixteen Miles distant from each other, under different Governments, but united by a strict Alliance. Each of them had its Prince; but these Princes were far from being absolute Sovereigns; they were only Heads of two potent Republics, who were contented to allow them all the Pomp of Princes, provided they governed by Law, and administered the public Affairs in such a manner, as that every Man's Property might be safe. It was from this Mildness of their Government, that their Trade was so extensive; and it was in consequence of this extensive Commerce, that many private Men amongst them, lived in all the Affluence of Princes; and that the State arrived at so great Power, as, besides establishing so many considerable Colonies, to keep on Foot a constant Standing Army, composed of different Nations, for their own Defence.

At last, when the famous King of *Affyria*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, had over-run all the Kingdoms in his Neighbourhood, he found himself unable to reduce this City of *Tyre*, till after thirteen Years Siege; which is the strongest Testimony, that a Spirit of Liberty, joined to the Advantages of Commerce, is capable of supporting a very small State, against the Force, even of the greatest Empire, which seldom last so long as such Republics. It is from the Description we have of this Siege, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, in one of the Prophets, that we derive the Knowledge we have of the Wealth and Grandeur of this City, which are there painted in the most lively Colours; and with such a Multitude of Circumstances, in relation to the different Places with which the Inhabitants of *Tyre* carried on their Commerce; the vast Variety of their Exports and Imports; their wonderful Skill in Ship-building; their mighty Magnificence in their private Houses, and public Edifices; their great Wisdom, in leaving to the other Cities of *Phœnicia* their proper Manufactures, and a convenient Share of Commerce; that it is impossible to conceive a better regulated Policy, or a Government in which Things were more prudently, or more happily conducted: For it was the Envy of their Prosperity, which no Policy could prevent, that drew on them their Destruction.

9. This Siege of *Tyre*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was ended, in the Year of the World 3427, when he became Master of that Place. But such was the Spirit, such the Industry, such the Constancy of the *Tyrians*, that they preferred themselves, and their Republic, in spite of this Misfortune; for, as soon as they perceived, that it was impossible their City should escape being taken, when so great a Force was so long employed against it, they provided, in time, for the worst that could happen; and, by transporting their Effects to an Island, which lay at the Distance of half a Mile from the Mouth of their Harbour, preserved the greatest Part of them in a new City, which they erected there; and which, as *Nebuchadnezzar* had no Maritime Power, lay out of that Conqueror's Reach.

This was that *Tyre*, which makes so great a Figure in the ancient Historians; the Inhabitants of which preserved all the Trade they had carried on, whilst seated on the Continent, as well as the Port of *Rhinocorura*; and consequently, the Trade which they had established to the *Indies*, as we shall hereafter have Occasion to shew more at large. But it was necessary, first of all, to run thro' the History of *Phœnicia*, before the City of *Tyre* was removed to an Island, to avoid that Confusion in Chronology, into which the Reader might easily have fallen, if the different

^a *Diodor. Sicul. lib. i. Strabo, lib. xvi.*

^b *Exatid xxvi. xxvii. Strabo Plin*

Routes and Stages of this Commerce had not been properly distinguished.

10. The *Phœnicians* did not only carry on a direct Trade to the *Indies* by the Way of the *Arabian Gulph*, but also with the *Ethiopians*, and other Nations, seated on the other Side of the Gulph, especially the *Troglodytes*, of whom we meet with many fabulous Accounts in ancient Writers; but what is known of them with any Certainty, may be reduced to what follows: The *Troglodytes* were seated on the *African Side* of the Bay, and towards the Bottom of it: They were divided into two different Sorts of People.

One Sort of them lived like the *Tartars*, in Tents, and subsisted chiefly on their Cattle; the others lived in Caves and Rocks by the Sea-side, where they chiefly supported themselves by fishing. The former Sort were a bold and hardy Race of People, exceedingly jealous of their Freedom; and had a singular Custom amongst them of voluntarily putting an End to their Days, when either Age or Infirmities made Life uneasy to them, or rather made them useless to Society; and, if any of them, through Fear, delayed this too long, his Neighbour might put him in mind of the Law, and of what, amongst them, was esteemed his Duty; and if, after being thus admonished, he did not comply with the Custom of his Country, he was put to Death by the rest: And it was, by pursuing this strange Maxim, that these *Troglodytes* were always a robust active People, and had none aged, sick, or infirm, amongst them.

Such, again, as subsisted by fishing, purchased the Hides of their Countrymen Beasts by way of Barter; and, with these, they traded on the opposite Coast, for such Goods as they afterwards sold to the *Phœnician Merchants* in the *Red Sea*, for such iron Instruments, and other Things, as they had Occasion for.

There is one Thing to be observed in regard to this Period of History; which is, that such Nations as engaged in Commerce in these distant Parts of the World, took abundance of Pains to represent the Inhabitants in a terrible Light; for which, no doubt, they had many Reasons; but principally these: First, that it enhanced the Value of their Commodities; for, where People run such Risques, not only from the Seas and Winds, but also from their Commerce with such Barbarians, it was natural for them to expect large Returns to balance these Inconveniences. Secondly, by spreading these Reports, they deterred other Nations from endeavouring to interfere with them in so hazardous and dangerous a Traffick.

It was the more easy for the *Phœnicians* to impose these Stories on the rest of the World, because the *Greeks* were naturally credulous, and delighted both in inventing and improving Fables; so that whatever they were told by the *Phœnicians*, they not only believed themselves, but took the utmost Pains to make these Stories circulate, by dressing them out to the best Advantage. This very clearly appears from the Works of the *Greek Writers* that are yet extant, in which we find a Multitude of these marvellous Circumstances, told with the utmost Gravity, often accompanied with many Arguments, to enforce the Belief of such extraordinary Relations: Which had, for many Ages, so great an Effect, that the most absurd and improbable Fictions were received implicitly; which, no doubt, contributed greatly to hinder the Desire of making Discoveries, and was the essential Reason, why, till the Time of *Alexander the Great*, even the most learned People in the World were so little acquainted with the true State and Condition of Countries at a Distance.

11. It is very evident, from the Facts laid down in this, as well as in the former Section, that, even in the earliest Ages of the World, Wealth was chiefly acquired by Commerce; and that such Nations as encouraged Trade, were much more considerable, acquired more solid Strength, and maintained their Freedom much longer than those that depended intirely on strong Fortresses, and numerous Armies. It is certain, that we are in no Condition, from

these scattered Circumstances, that seem accidentally to have escaped Oblivion, of computing, with any Exactness, the Profits that accrued from the *Indian Trade* in these early Ages. It is, however, sufficiently clear, that it must have been prodigiously large; for, in one Voyage, *Solomon* is said to have acquired four hundred and fifty Talents of Gold; which, according to the common Computations, made considerably above three Millions of our Money: And that the like Profit accrued from other Voyages, appears very plainly, both from the mighty Gifts bestowed by *David*, *Solomon*, and the *Jewish Princes*, for the Building of the Temple, and from the Observation made by the Historians on the Reign of *Solomon*, that he exceeded all the Princes of his Time in Wealth, as well as in Wisdom, so that he made Silver to be at *Jerusalem* as the Stones of the Street, which is a metaphorical Expression to denote its great Plenty. There is another Circumstance which seems strongly to confirm the Truth of this Observation, which is, the Proportion, which, in those Days, there was between Gold and Silver, in point of Value; viz. sixteen to one: So that Silver must have been much more plentiful then, than it is now, when the Proportion is as thirteen to one. And there seems to be great Reason to believe, that the bringing in such vast Quantities of Gold as these Voyages produced, was a new thing; and, from the Thread of the History, it likewise appears, that this vast Flow of Wealth did not continue long, but sunk considerably after the Death of *Solomon*.

The immense Profits of this Trade are not only mentioned by the *Jewish Writers*, but by the *Greeks* also, and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*, who relates at large the Manner of working Gold-mines on the Borders of *Ethiopia*; and takes notice also, that Gold was found in great Plenty in different Parts of *Arabia*; which Country, during this Period, and long after, was regarded as a Part of *India*. It would be an easy Matter to collect a Multitude of Circumstances from ancient Writers, to prove the vast Riches that these Nations were possessed of in these Times. But, as that would detain the Reader too long, and lead us, besides, into an unnecessary Digression, I shall content myself with a single Instance, that arises immediately from the Subject of this Section; viz. the Colossus of Gold, which *Nebuchadnezzar* set up after the Conquest of *Syria* and *Palestine*; which demonstrates his having acquired prodigious Treasures by plundering these Countries, in which, as the Reader has seen, the Riches, derived from the Commerce, had so many Ages centred.

It is impossible to suspect the Truth of these Relations, without overturning the Credit of History in general; for it is not the Writers of this or that Nation, who have recorded these Facts, but the Writers of all Nations are agreed as to the Truth of them. For, after the Destruction of the *Assyrian Monarchy*, the *Perians* became possessed of them; when the *Perian Empire* was overturned, they fell into the Hands of the *Macedonians*; and when the Kingdom of *Macedon* was conquered by the *Romans*, they became Masters of these Treasures; as in the Course of this Work we shall particularly shew. Now to believe, that all the Historians of these different Countries should concur, at different Times, and with very imperfect Accounts of what each other had related, in endeavouring to impose upon Posterity, is a much more incredible Thing than the Fact it would disprove.

The Source of their Riches we have already shewn; neither is it difficult to account for the Scarcity of Gold and Silver in succeeding Times. For, first, the Supplies from the rich Mines discovered by *Solomon* began, in a great measure, to fail; in the next Place, these Treasures, which, for many Ages, were confined to a few Countries, were, after the Ruin of the *Roman Empire*, dispersed all over *Europe*, and amongst many Nations, that had very little Gold or Silver amongst them before: Besides, the burning of Cities, and great Devallations of Countries, which followed from the *Eruptions of the Goths, Vandals, Huns*, and other barbarous Nations in the West, and of

^a *Diodorus Sicul. lib. iii. c. 2. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 798. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v.*

Where this Image, with its Pedestal, is said to be ninety Feet high: But we read, in *Diodorus Siculus's* second Book, that this Image alone was forty Feet high, and contained a thousand *Babylonish* Talents of Gold, which amount, at the lowest Computation, to three Millions and an half of our Money.

^b *Strabo, Plin. Tit. Liv. Polyb. Valer. Maxim.*

^c *Diodorus Sicul. lib. iii. p. 125.*

^d *David. lib. i.*

the *Saracens*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, in the East, having wasted and destroyed a great Part of the Gold and Silver with which the World before abounded; this induced that great Scarcity of both, which afterwards ensued, and which the Mines of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and *Brasil*, have not as yet been able fully to repair.

I might add to all this a new Series of Facts, in relation to the immense Wealth, and prodigious Revenues, of the Eastern Monarch, even at this Day, and particularly the amazing Plunder of the *Mogul's* Treasury by *Thomas Kouli Kan*, but a very few Years ago; which, as they would demonstrate, that there are still as great Funds of real Wealth in those Countries, would certainly be a rational Argument, that there might be formerly those excel-

five Profits drawn from the Commerce of *Arabia* and *India*, which the Authors cited in this Section report. But it is now time to resume the Thread of our Narration, and to shew, how a great Part of this Trade came to be diverted into a new Chancel by the Rise of the *Persian* Empire, which is to be the Business of the next Section: And, by the Prosecution of this Method, we shall acquire new Lights, and greater Certainty, with regard to the Matters of Fact laid down in this; for, as the *Persians* were nearer Neighbours to the *Indians*, and, in the Progress of their Conquests, became Masters of a Part of their Country, they drew from thence, in Proportion, much greater Advantages than their Predecessors had done.

* See *Frazer's* accurate Account of that Expedition.

SECTION IV.

Of the Indian Commerce under the Persian Empire.

1. The Rise of the Persians, from a small Province, to the Empire of the East.
2. On the Destruction of Babylon, all the Money and Gold Plate recoined by Darius.
3. The Conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes, which ruins their Indian Traffick.
4. Darius Hystaspes sends Scylax, a Greek, down the River Indus, into the Ocean.
5. Undertakes and completes the Conquest of the Indian Provinces adjoining to Persia.
6. Xerxes, the last of the Persian Monarchs that minded Maritime Affairs.
7. This Conduct considered and accounted for.
8. The Indian History of Ctesias, what it was, and what Degree of Credit it deserves.
9. Other Accounts of the Indies within this Period.
10. The singular Voyage of Iambulus from Ethiopia to the Indies.
11. A great Mixture of Truth with these extravagant Reports.

THE great Conquests of *Nebuchadnezzar*, instead of establishing his Empire, proved the Ruin of it; for his Son behaved so ill, and treated his Neighbours so haughtily, that he first raised that Spirit which produced the Ruin of the *Assyrian* Monarchy. This proceeded from the close Conjunction of the *Medes* and *Persians*, Nations that lay immediately behind his Dominions, and were at that time very little known in the World, and for whose antient History we are still much at a Loss. We know, however, that *Persia*, in these early Ages of the World, was but a very small Part of that Country which now passes under that Name. It was, properly speaking, no more than what is now contained in the Province of *Fars*, bounded on the North by the Kingdom of *Media*, of which *Partia* was then a Province; on the East, by *Carmania*; on the South, by the *Persian* Gulph; and, on the West, by *Sassana*; and, even within these narrow Bounds, there were many different Nations, so that the exact Seat of the original *Persians* can hardly be assigned.

But their Monarch *Cyrus*, who destroyed the *Assyrian* Empire, extended not only his own Authority, and the Power of the *Persians*, over all his Neighbours; but likewise the very Name of *Persia*, which has comprehended, ever since, a very large Tract of Country, of which *Proper Persia*, as before described, makes only a small Province: For the *Persia* of the Antients, after the Reign of *Cyrus*, was bounded on the North by the *Caspian* Sea, and Part of *Syria*: On the East, by the *Indian* Nations: On the South, by the *Indian* Ocean, and *Persian* Gulph: On the West, by the Rivers *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, an high Ridge of Mountains, and the River *Araxis*, which falls into the *Caspian* Sea. The antient *Persians* were certainly a very brave and warlike People, for which they were extremely well fitted, by their hardy and laborious Course of Life. There is scarce any Instance in History, of an Empire so quickly raised, as this of the *Persians*, which was originally designed, and absolutely perfected, by one Man.

Cyrus was the Son of *Cambyzes*, according to *Xenophon*, King of *Persia*, but, according to other Writers, a Nobleman only of that Country, by *Mandana*, Daughter of *Affages*, King of the *Medes*, to whom the *Persians* were then Tributaries. He was of a martial Spirit, and had what to great Wisdom, that, being employed by the King of *Media*, his Uncle, as General of his Army, he,

in the Space of twenty Years, intirely conquered *Lybia*, *Asia*, *Upper-Asia*, and all the Dominions of *Nebuchadnezzar*, whose Grandson *Nabonadius*, was killed at the taking of *Babylon*, in the Year of the World 3460, or thereabouts; and thereby established the *Persian* Empire: For he soon after succeeded his Father, and his Uncle, in both their Kingdoms; and thereby attained to the largest Sovereignty that hitherto had been erected in the East.

2. It was absolutely necessary, to state the Beginning of this Empire clearly; for, having so much to say of the Successors of *Cyrus*, who first brought the *Indians* to the Sight and Acquaintance of the *Europeans*, it was requisite, that the Nature and Extent of their original Dominions should be known. *Cyrus* delivered up the *Babylonish* Empire to his Uncle *Darius*, King of the *Medes*, who did not long survive it; but, during the time he did live, *Cyrus* made an Expedition into *Syria* and *Egypt*, both which Countries became tributary to him; by which he gained, at once, a great naval Force: For the *Phoenicians*, finding that he had required nothing from them detrimental to their Interest, or Commerce, but, on the contrary, was willing to regard them as his Allies, willingly accepted this Condition, and assisted him and his Successors with their Fleets, as long as the *Persian* Empire lasted.

Amosis, King of *Egypt*, submitted, on the same Principle of yielding a titular Homage to the *Persian* Monarch, and reserving to himself the Obedience of his Subjects, and the full Possession of the Kingdom; which was, at that Time, accepted by *Cyrus*, who sought to settle the Empire as soon as possible; and therefore required no hard Conditions from any. While *Cyrus* was thus employed abroad, *Darius* the *Mede*, who resided at *Babylon*, called all the immense Treasures of the *Assyrian* Kings to be coined into Money, which, from him, received their Name; and the Pieces of Gold were called *Daries*, and Half-daries, which were not much unlike our *Guineas*, for the *Darie* weighed but two Grains more, but in Value it came nearer the *Jacobus*, because the Gold had scarce any Alloy: And this continued to be the current Money of the East for many Ages.

Some of the greatest Writers of Antiquity assert, that the last Expedition of *Cyrus* was against the *Massagetae*, a *Scythian* Nation, governed by a Woman; and that in this Expedition he was killed: But *Xenophon* asserts, that he died peaceably in his Bed, surrounded by his Friends. And

* *Xenophon Cyropædia*, lib. 1.

* *Suidas* in voc. *Sagaxia*.

* *Herodotus*. *Diodorus Siculus*. *Jysen*.

what seems to confirm this last Opinion is a Fact, in which all Writers agree, that his Body was interred at *Pasagarda* in *Perfia* ^a.

3. On his Demise, his Son *Cambyses* succeeded, from whom *Amasis*, King of *Perfia*, withdrew his Obedience; which produced a War, in which *Cambyses* became victorious, chiefly by following his Father's Maxims: For, upon this Occasion, he made use of the Fleets of the *Phenicians*, who furnished him with as great a Force as he could wish; probably, because they were desirous of getting rid of these Rivals in Trade, which effectually answered their End, since the *Egyptians* never after recovered their Freedom, nor were permitted to meddle with the *Indian* Commerce. This *Egyptian* War gave Occasion also to a Treaty between this *Perfian* Emperor, and the King of that Part of *Arabia* which lies between *Palatine* and *Egypt*, who, in Consideration of a Subsidy paid him by *Cambyses*, furnished his Army with Water, which enabled him to march thro' the Deserts without any Difficulty ^b.

His Success in this Expedition, engaged him in another against the *Ethiopians*, in which, however, he was very unfortunate, losing the best Part of his Army, and being obliged to retire, without doing any thing considerable. He had an only Brother, whose Name was *Smerdis*; and him, from an ill-grounded Jealousy, he caused to be murdered: The Fact was done privately, which gave an Opportunity to one of the Magi, of the same Name, to perfonate that Brother, and excite a Rebellion. *Cambyses* returned into *Perfia*, and, going to attack the Rebels, had the Misfortune, as he was mounting his Horse, to have his Sword fall out of the Scabbard; by which he received a Wound in the Thigh, and died of it in a few Days. *Smerdis* enjoyed the Empire for some time; but the Cheat being discovered, he was cut off by the Princes of *Perfia*, and *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*, who was Governor of *Perfia*, was raised to the Throne, in the Year before *Christ* 521: And, to give an Air of hereditary Right to his Family, he married *Atossa* the Daughter of *Cyrus* ^c.

4. This *Darius* was a Prince of great Capacity, and great Ambition. He had always abundance of Strangers about his Court, especially *Greeks* and *Phenicians*, whom he employed preferably to his own Subjects, in many of his Designs. He was particularly studious in the Enlargement of his Dominions; and, having already extended them as far as the Borders of *Scythia*, he formed a Design of invading and subduing the neighbouring Nations of *India*: But, before he proceeded on so hardly an Undertaking, he was determined to be better acquainted with that Country than other Princes had been; and therefore, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, he ordered a Fleet to be built at *Gasparys*, a City on the River *Indus*, but on the Frontiers of *Scythia*; and employed one *Scylax*, a *Carian* by Birth, of the City of *Caryandia*, to sail down the River into the Southern Ocean; and then to return, by steering Westward; giving him Orders to make the best Discoveries he could, as to the Strength and Riches of the Countries on both Sides of the River, as also of the Sea-coast, that he might be well apprised of the Force necessary to execute this Design, and of the Value of the Conquest, when made ^d.

This, I take to have been the first regular Expedition that was ever made against the *Indians*; and, without doubt, it was very wisely contrived. This great Prince had been before disappointed, in an Expedition he had made against the *Scythians*, from which he narrowly escaped; but, having conquered *Tbrace*, in which were the richest Silver Mines then known in the World, he was very desirous of being Master also of those Countries, in which Gold was found. And this appears to have been the principal Motive to his undertaking the Conquest of the nearest Part of *India*.

5. *Scylax* executed the Commission, with which he was intrusted, with equal Skill and Fidelity: And, having passed down the River *Indus* into the Ocean, he returned by the Streights of *Babelmandel*, and the *Red Sea*, landing on the Coast of *Egypt*, near the Place where the Town of *Suez* now stands, and from whence *Necho* King of *Egypt* had formerly sent a Fleet, manned by *Phenicians*, to sail

round the Coasts of *Africa*. This Voyage *Scylax* performed in thirty Months; and, going from thence to *Susa*, where *Darius* then kept his Court, he made a full Report to him of his Discoveries; and laid before him a Plan for the effecting his designed Conquest. In order to this, it was requisite to have a considerable Naval Force, and that, too, manned by Persons of Experience: And therefore *Darius* made use of the *Tyrrians*, who were best acquainted with that Navigation, and, with their Assistance, brought a numerous Fleet upon the Coast, at the same time that he entered the Country with a great Army by Land.

An Expedition, undertaken with so much Care and Precaution, could hardly miscarry ^e. In short, the *Indians* were subdued, became Tributaries to the *Perfian* Emperor, and promised to furnish him with a considerable Body of Troops, whenever they were required so to do: And, besides this, they paid him yearly 360 Talents of Gold; that is, a Talent for every Day, the *Perfian* Year consisting then of 360 Days only. The *Euboe* Talent, according to which this Tribute was to be paid, was, by the lowest Computation, worth upwards of 3000 *l.* of our Money; and, consequently, this Tribute amounted to 1,095,000 *l. Sterl.* which is one of the Proofs, we promised to give, of the Wealth of this Country; and how great an Accession of Power the bringing in such an annual Supply of Riches must create, at a Time too, when Money had as great an Influence as at this Day, we may easily conceive. There is no doubt, that this Conquest made way also for a much freer Commerce among the Subjects of the *Perfian* Provinces bordering upon *India*, and their Neighbours the *Indians*, than in former Times; which greatly contributed to the Advantage of all the Subjects of that Empire, even those who lay at the greatest Distance from the *Indies*. We need not only consult the *Greek* Historians, to be thoroughly persuaded of this, who every-where complain of the Force of the *Perfian* Gold, the Influence of which had more dreadful Effects; than all the military Power of that mighty Empire ^f.

6. *Xerxes*, the Son and Successor of *Darius*, spent the greatest Part of his Reign, in Content with the *Greeks*; and, raising, on this Occasion, many puissant Armies, he demanded, and obtained from the *Indians*, a Body of Troops, which served in several Expeditions. He was a Prince of great personal Abilities, and seems to have had better Notions of the Consequence of a Naval Force, than any of his Successors: For he intended to have sent *Sataspes*, his Sister's Son, with a Fleet, to have surrounded *Africa*; but, being occupied by other Affairs, he let fall that Expedition, and with it seems to have sunk all Thoughts of making a Figure on this Side: For, notwithstanding that *Perfia* is exceedingly well situated for Trade, and that these Emperors might easily have made it the Centre of all the Commerce of the East, yet, turning their Thoughts intirely towards *Europe*, they neglected what might have been so very advantageous ^g.

Nay, they carried their Indifference, in this respect, to a Degree much beyond Negligence; for they made it a Maxim of their Policy, to hinder, as far as they were able, all Navigation on the *Perfian* and *Indian* Coasts, by choaking some of the principal Rivers. But, on the other hand, they encouraged the Commerce of their Subjects with the *Indians* by Land, persuading themselves, that, by this Management, they should secure to their Subjects the Possession of the immense Wealth they drew from the *Indies*; and, at the same time, prevent any Invasions by Sea. It is highly probable, they were led to take such Measures, by the frequent Rebellions of the *Egyptians*, who, they apprehended, might be too powerful for them by Sea, in case the free Navigation of those Coasts had been allowed them: And this accounts for the little Knowledge the *Greeks*, and all the rest of the World, had of the *Indies*, notwithstanding that a Part of them was actually become a Province of an Empire, with which they were so well acquainted ^h.

7. It is very difficult, notwithstanding these Reasons, to comprehend how the Spirit and Genius of this Empire

^a *Cypriensis*, lib. viii.

^b *Strabo*, lib. xv.

^c *Herodot.* lib. iii.

^d *Ibid.* lib. iv.

^e *Id.* *ibid.*

^f *Xenophon*,

Memorabilia.

^g *Herodot.* lib. ii. iii.

^h *Justin*, lib. i. *Athenaeus*, lib. xiii.

ⁱ *Herodot.* *Ctesias apud Athenaeum*.

should thus sink at once, and within so small a Space of Time: It is, however, to be considered, that, under the Reigns of *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, and *Darius*, the genuine *Persian* Spirit prevailed; whereas, in the succeeding Reigns, Eunuchs and Women had a large Share of the Administration of Empire, from whom weak Councils, dark Intrigues, and a Policy founded wholly on Expedients, was to be expected. It was in Consequence of such Transactions, that the Court and Empire were usually involved either in secret Conspiracies, or open Rebellions; which are Scandals when Self-preservation occupies the Place of extensive Projects, and restrains even Princes, of great Abilities, from distinguishing themselves, as they otherwise would. Add to this, their ill Success in the Conduct of Maritime Affairs in *Europe*, where, after a long and tedious Struggle with the *Greeks*, who owed almost all their Power to this very Struggle for their Liberties, the *Persians* were forced to submit to an infamous Treaty, by which they gave up not only their Dominion, but their Right of navigating in those Seas.

This might, and very probably did, give them such a Disgust to Naval Concerns, that they chose rather to pursue the Maxims of the *Babylonian* Government, which began the Practice of choking up navigable Rivers, to prevent the Danger of Invasions, than to think of establishing such a Maritime Force in the *Indian* Ocean, as might protect the Commerce of their Subjects. But the most fatal Error in their Politics, and that which, in the End, proved the Ruin of their Empire, was their Confidence in their Riches; for, believing that Money would do every thing, and trusting more to their Skill in Bribeing, and their Ability in hiring foreign Mercenaries, than to the Bravery and Discipline of their own Troops, which, notwithstanding they were exceedingly numerous, were never formidable, they excited, by thus displaying their Weakness, a Spirit in their Enemies, to undertake and execute what otherwise they never durst have attempted.

It was from this indolent Disposition, and ill Use of their Wealth, that all the foreign Commerce of their Dominions, was carried on by the *Phoenicians* and the *Greeks*, upon whom they had a constant Dependence, for whatever related to Maritime Affairs, their own Subjects being wholly employed, either in the Working of Mines, or in that Inland Traffick with the *Indians*, of which we have before spoken, and by which they grew so immensely rich, that when *Xerxes* made his great Expedition into *Greece*, *Pythius*, the *Island*, is recorded to have been possessed of two thousand Talents in Silver, and four Millions of *Darics* in Gold, which, taken together, amounted to near six Millions of our Money. We need not wonder, therefore, that the *Greeks*, who were an industrious, warlike, and penetrating Nation, after having gained repeated Victories over the *Persian* Armies, came, at last, to form Designs of attacking and conquering their whole Dominions.

8. They were chiefly infligated to this by the Advantages they had of knowing the interior Condition of that Empire with the greatest Certainty, by the means of many of their Countrymen, who were employed and trusted by the *Persian* Monarchs. Amongst these there was one *Ctesias*, a Physician, who was in great Credit at the Court of *Artaxerxes*, that undertook to write a complete History of the Affairs of the East. This Man had first attended in the way of his Profession upon *Cyrus* the younger, who was Brother to *Artaxerxes*, and who endeavoured to dethrone him, but was slain in Battle; in which Battle *Artaxerxes* himself was wounded; and *Ctesias*, being taken Prisoner, was sent for to attend him, and, being so lucky as to cure him, he was retained as his domestic Physician, and lived with him in that Quality seventeen Years.

In this Station he had the Opportunity of consulting the *Persian* Records, and inquiring into every thing that was requisite towards furnishing him with Materials for his intended History, which he composed in twenty three Books. Of which, the last six contained an Account of the Empire

of the *Affrians* and *Babylonians*, from the Time of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, to the absolute Destruction of that Empire by *Cyrus*; the other seventeen, the Affairs of the *Persian* Monarchy, from the Beginning of the Reign of that great Conqueror, to the third Year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, which was coincident with the Year before Christ 398.

He wrote also an *Indian* History, containing an Account of all that he had been able to learn concerning that Country, and its Inhabitants, from the *Persians*. The *best Greek* Writers do not give a very good Character of this Author, or of his Performances, especially the last-mentioned Work, which they tax with being fabulous and incredible; which is very probable, since he received all his Informations from Hearsay. We have still some Extracts of this Work extant in the Books of *Plinius* and *Athenas*, which seem fully to justify the Censures that have been passed upon it by *Aristotle* and *Plutarch*; but especially by *Strabo*, who calls him a notorious Liar, and treats him as a Person unworthy of Credit: Yet he, and other Writers, frequently borrow from him such Passages as seem most probable.

The Extracts that we still have in our Hands, cannot serve in any degree to our Purpose; and therefore we shall not trouble the Reader with any Quotations upon them. But, perhaps, it may not be amiss to observe, that if, one was inclined to apologize for this Writer, one might suggest some Things in his Favour: For Instance; it is very clear, that these Extracts were made with a View to justify this Censure of his being a fabulous Writer; and therefore we have good Reason to doubt, whether there might not be abundance of valuable Passages in his Writings, which are left out, as not agreeable to that Design. In the next Place, it may be observed, that though he was mistaken in many Things, and represented most Things in too strong a Light, yet it is very easy to discern, through many of his Mistakes, a Ground of Truth; and, perhaps, if we had had his Writings entire, they would not have appeared in any thing near so bad a Light as they do at present. We might also add, that, in some Things, he has been condemned without any just Reason, especially for his differing with *Herodotus*, who was sometimes in the Wrong as well as he. On the Whole, how bad a Writer soever he might be, he was certainly of great Use to his Countrymen, both living and dead; for he rendered them very essential Services in the Court of the *Persian* Emperor his Master; was the constant Advocate of all their Suits; and seldom solicited for them without Effect.

Xenophon, who was as good, or perhaps a better Judge of this Author's Merit, than any other Man, since he was personally acquainted with him, and had a very comprehensive Knowledge of *Persian* Affairs, yet speaks of *Ctesias* with great Respect, and gives him a very fair Character; though he had read his *Persian* History, and saw Reason to differ from it in many Places. There are some other Works of our Author, mentioned by the *Greek* Historians, which are lost, and which we have great Reason to regret. One of these was a sort of general Description of *Asia*; another Treatise of his was upon Rivers, and this we find commended by *Plutarch*. But that which might have afforded us greater Advantages in treating of this Period of Time, was his Treatise of the Revenues of *Asia*, for which, from his Residence in the *Persian* Court, and the known Punctuality of that Nation in making up their Records, we may, with great Probability, suppose, that he might have very good Materials; and that it was indeed a very valuable Book, appears from the Author who cites it.

9. It is very evident, even from the Censures passed upon *Ctesias*, that the *Greeks* had considerable Informations as to the Affairs of *India* from many other Quarters: And, it is not a difficult Matter to conceive, how they might come by them; for, besides their Correspondence with the *Persian* Court, they had continually considerable Bodies of Troops in *Egypt*, as well in the Pay of the *Persians*, as of the *Egyptian* Princes, who rebelled against them; which afforded them, doubtless, many Opportunities

* *Diod. Sicul. lib. 2. c. 1. Xenophon. Tach. c. 1. c. 1.*

f. 420.

g. c. 1. lib. 1.

h. *Herod. Annal. lib. viii. cap. 28. Plutarch. c. 1. c. 1.*

i. *Strabo. Geograph. lib. 15. c. 1. X. p. 424.*

j. *Herodotus. Hist. lib. 1. c. 1. c. 1.*

k. *Geograph. lib. 15.*

l. *Diod. Sicul. lib. 2.*

m. *Hist. Grec. lib. 1. c. 1.*

of inquiring into the Accounts, which, in earlier Times, the *Egyptians* had received of the *Indians*. They had likewise a very strict Intercourse with the *Tyrians*, who still preferred, in virtue of their strict Alliance with the *Perfians*, that Commerce which they had settled with the *Indies*, in the manner we have described in the last Section: And, as in this Period of Time, the *Greek Learning* was at the greatest Height, and as many of their Philosophers and learned Men travelled into the most distant Countries, purely for the sake of Information, we cannot doubt, that so curious and so useful a Subject escaped them.

It is, however, true, that some of them took such a Method in relating their Discoveries, that it is not easy to discern, whether they intended to write Histories or Fables; of which we have Instances in the Fragments that still remain of *Solon*, the great Law-giver of *Athens*, who was also a great Traveller, and spent a long time in *Egypt*; who brought home from thence an Account of a Discovery, made by the *Egyptians*, of an Island, in a far distant Climate, equally rich, fertile, and pleasant, and remarkable for the singular Manners of its Inhabitants. *Plato*, the most celebrated Philosopher of *Greece*, took Occasion from hence, to compose a fine Dialogue upon this Subject; in which he introduces *Solon*, and an *Egyptian Priest*, discoursing upon this Discovery; and therein gives us a long and entertaining Account of this new Island of *Atlantis*; but, in such a manner, that it has been, to this Day, a Question, whether the Whole be not an elegant Fiction. *Xenophon*, who was one of the gravest Historians, and, without Controversy, one of the best Writers among the *Greeks*, has also given such a Turn to one of his best Performances, I mean his *Cyropædia*, that Posterity has been at a Loss to know, whether it was to be understood as a History, or a Romance; and the latter Opinion seems to have prevailed.

Yet, it is highly probable, that there is a great deal of Truth, mixed with Fables, in both these Works; and that their Authors, though they had chiefly in View instructing their Readers in moral Philosophy, might, notwithstanding, insert many Matters of Fact, as they really happened: But how to distinguish these, is a Question not easily answered. There is, however, extant, in a *Greek Historian*, the History of a Voyage, undertaken in a singular Manner, and as surprisingly executed; which is related in a plain and simple Style; and, as it seems to have been the first ever made to the *Indies*, of which we have any distinct Account, I shall give it the Reader as near as possible in the Words of the Author; the rather, because, though it is very curious and entertaining, yet I do not remember to have seen it in any of our Collections of Voyages, at least in its full Extent; and, without taking in all its Circumstances, it is impossible for the Reader to apprehend it clearly, or to pass a right Judgment upon it.

10. There was one *Iambulus*, who, from his Youth, was addicted to Learning; His Father was a Merchant; and, after his Decease, he applied himself, with great Diligence, to the same Profession. This Man, travelling into *Arabia*, in order to purchase Spices, was there taken Prisoner, with all his Company, by a Party of Robbers. At first, he, and one of his Companions, were employed in keeping Sheep; but they were soon after carried off by the *Ethiopians*, inhabiting the Coast, who conveyed them into their own Country, in order to serve a very extraordinary Purpose. For these *Ethiopians* had a Custom, which had then subsisted six hundred Years, and was originally derived from the Direction of an Oracle, to expiate the Sins of their Nation once in an Age, or Generation, which with them comprehended the Space of thirty Years, by exposing two Strangers, in the following manner.

They prepared a little Vessel, well built, and extremely well equipped, with Provisions for six Months, on board of which the Men were put, at a certain Season of the Year, with Instructions to steer directly South, in order to arrive at a certain fortunate Island, inhabited by a kind and hospitable People, with whom they might live happily all the rest of their Days. The Oracle declared, that, if these

Men succeeded in their Voyage, the Country would enjoy Rest and Quiet for many Years; but, if, frightened by the Dangers of the Sea, they should return, it was ominous to *Ethiopia*; and, therefore, they threatened *Iambulus*, and his Companion, with the severest Punishments, in case they did not prosecute their Voyage. When the Season of the Year came, the *Ethiopians* celebrated the Festival of Purification with most splendid Sacrifices; and then, having crowned each of them with Garlands, they put *Iambulus*, and his Companion, on board the Vessel that had been prepared for them, and obliged them to put to Sea.

They were four Months tossed by the Winds and Waves, before they arrived on the Coast of the Island to which they were bound; at length they reached it safely. In its Form it is almost round, being about five thousand Stadia in Compass, containing about five hundred of our Miles, if we allow six hundred Stadia to a Degree. As soon as they came within Sight of Land, the People on the Island crowded on the Shore, to behold them: And, when they landed, Multitudes came from all Quarters, to gaze on, and admire them, wondering how they came thither; but treating them with the utmost Kindness and Civility, and offering them, with the greatest Readiness, whatever their Country afforded.

These People differed not a little from other Nations in their Appearance, as well as in their Manners; for they were all of a pretty equal Size, each of them about four Cubits, or six Foot high. They bent and turned their Bodies with such Agility, that their Bones seemed, to our Travellers, as flexible as the Sinews of other People: Their Bodies were very tender; notwithstanding which, they were so strong, that whatever they grasped, could not be forced out of their Hands. On their Heads, Eyebrows, Eye-lids, and on their Chins, they had Hair; but the rest of their Bodies perfectly smooth. They were handsome, and well-shaped; only the Holes in their Ears were much wider than those of other Men, and had fleshy Protuberances in them. Their Tongues were very singular, being by Nature somewhat divided, and cut in their Infancy to the very Root; so that they seemed double; which enabled them to imitate the Notes, and even the Chatterings, of Birds: And, if our Travellers say true, they could discourse with two People at once.

This Island is situated in a most excellent and moderate Climate, lying very near the Equator; so that the People are neither scorched with Heat, nor pinched with Cold, enjoying, at once, all the Seasons, without any Division, like ours, of Spring and Harvest; so that, as *Homer* sings,

*Here ripe and green, at once, their Fruits appear,
And Figs and Grapes are gather'd through the Year.*

The Days and Nights are there always of equal Length; neither is there any Shadow at Noon-day, because the Sun is directly in the Zenith. They are divided into Tribes, according to their Kindred, and into distinct Societies; yet so, as there are not above four hundred admitted into any one Tribe. They live in Meadows, where they are plentifully supplied with all things necessary for Food, by what the Earth produces; for the Fertility of the Soil, and the Temperature of the Air, are such, that Corn grows there of itself.

Plenty of Calamus, probably Maiz, grows there, whose Fruit is like to white Vetches: When they have gathered it, they steep it in hot Water, till it puffs up to the Bigness of a little Egg; then bruising it, and rubbing it in their Hands, they knead it into Dough; and so bake and eat it, being exceeding sweet and delicious Bread to the Taste. There are there both hot and cold Baths, which are for the curing and preventing of Distempers, being exceeding sweet and pleasant. They are learned in all Sorts of Sciences, especially in Astrology. They use eight-and-twenty particular Letters, for the expressing what they mean, composed of seven Characters; each of which is varied four Ways. They live long, without ever being sick, and commonly to one hundred and fifty Years of Age.

^a De Insul. Atlantida.

^b Didon. Sicul. lib. ii. cap. 4. p. 66.

Such as are lame, or have any other Weakness or Infirmary of Body, according to the severe Law of their Country, are put to Death. They write not cross the Sheet, as we do, but begin at the Top of the Leaf, and so, in a direct Line, down to the Bottom. They have a Law, that they may live to such a certain Number of Years, when, tho' scarce expired, they dispatch themselves by a strange kind of Death; for there is an Herb of such a Nature, that grows among them, upon which, if any one lies down, he silently pulks away, and dies without any Sense of Pain, as if he were in a sweet Sleep. They never marry, but make use of Women promiscuously; and breed up the Children, so begotten, with equal Care and Affection to one, as well as to another: The Children, while they are Infants, are often changed by the Nuries; so that they cannot be known by their Mothers: And therefore, by that means, there being no Ambition among them, they live in great Concord and Amity, without any Seditions or Tumults.

There are Beasts among them very small, but of an admirable Property as to their Flesh, and the excellent Virtue of their Blood. Their Bodies are round, and something like to a Tortoise, divided by two Streaks, which run down the Back: At each End of every Streak, they have an Eye, and a Mouth; so that they have four Eyes to see with, and four Mouths to feed with: But the Meat they eat, is conveyed through one Throat, and thence into the Belly, the common Receptacle of all; and so, in like manner, they have but one Gut, and the rest of the inner Parts: They have many Feet, placed round their Bodies, and make use of them to go on what Side they will. There is this wonderful Virtue in the Blood of this Creature, that it presently, in an Instant, closes all Wounds in every Body that has still Life in it; and if a Hand, or any other Member, that is not vital, be cut off, by the Application of this Blood, while the Wound is yet green, it heals up again.

There are certain great Birds kept by each Tribe, on purpose to try the Tempers of their Children; for they set them, when young, upon those Birds; and if, in flying in the Air, they fit fall, and without Fear, they bring them up; but, on the contrary, if their Hearts fail them through Cowardice, they cast them away, as unworthy of living any longer, and unfit for any Exercise of the Mind. The antientest Man of each of these Tribes commands, as a King, over the rest; but when he has accomplished the Age of one hundred and fifty Years, he is obliged to kill himself, and the antientest, next to him, succeeds in the Principality. The Sea that washes the Coast of this Island is very stormy and tempestuous, but the Water of it is not salt; yet, by reason of this Agitation, the Tides rise high, and are very irregular; the Constellations about the North Pole are not visible here.

It is necessary to inform the Reader, that there seems to be here a Chasm in the Relation; at least, so many Commentators think. But, perhaps, the Reader may be of a different Opinion, and believe, that the Author is only a little abrupt in his manner of Expression. He goes on thus:

These Islands are seven in Number, equal in Bigness, and of the same Distance from one another, and the same Laws and Customs are used in all of them; and, though these Islands afford Plenty of Provision, out of the natural Growth of the Country, to all the Inhabitants, yet they use them not luxuriously, but are frugal, and take only so much as will serve their Turns: They do indeed dress for themselves Flesh-meat, and all Sorts of Victuals, both roasted and boiled; but for Sauces, and other delicate Inventions of that Kind by Cooks, and the various Tastes and Savours contrived for curious Palates, they are altogether ignorant of them.

They worship, in the first place, the whole Frame of Heaven, because it comprehends all Things; and, next to that, the Sun, and then all the celestial Bodies. By various Ways of Fishing and Fowling, they catch Fish and Fowl of all Sorts. There are among them abundance of Fruits, Vines, and Olive-trees, whence they draw great

Quantities of Oil and Wine. There are here very great Serpents, which yet do no Harm to any body, nay, their Flesh is good Meat, and sweet. They make their Garments of a soft fine Cotton, contained in certain Reeds and Canes. This Cotton they dye with the Shell-fishes called Ostrefres, made up in Balls, and mixt and wrought amongst the Wool; and so, with great Pains, make themselves Garments of a purple Colour. The living Creatures here are of such different Natures from all others, that, should we mention them, it would seem incredible, because they are unusual.

Their way of feeding is according to a prescribed Rule; for they do not eat all Sorts of Meats together at one and the same time, nor always the same; but, upon some certain Days, Fish; upon others, Fowl; sometimes the Flesh of Land-cattle; at other times Olives; and, on other Days, very low Diet: They help each other in their Callings by Turns; some employ themselves in Fishing, others in Manufactures, and some in other Things, useful and profitable to the Commonwealth. Some exercise public Offices, except those who are grown old. Upon their Festival-days, and invoking their Gods, they celebrate their Praises in Songs; especially the Sun, to whom they devote themselves, and their Island. Their Deaf they carry to the Sea-shore, at the Fall of the Tide, covering them with a little Sand, that, at the time of full Sea, Heaps of Sand may be raised higher upon them. Those Canes, whence they gather Fruit to eat, are about an Inch in Thickness. They affirm, that, towards the Full of the Moon, they increase; and, towards the New-moon, they proportionably decrease. The Water of their hot Springs is sweet and wholsome, and ever continues warm, never growing cold, unless it be mixed with Wine, or cold Water.

After *Iambulus*, and his Companion, had continued in this Island seven Years, they were compelled to depart, as Persons of a vicious Life, and not to be broken of foreign Customs. Their Ship therefore being again fitted out for them, and well furnished with Provisions, they were constrained to put to Sea; and, after continuing their Voyage for above four Months, they fell, at length, upon the sandy Shallows of *India*, where his Companion was drowned, and himself was afterwards cast ashore near a certain Village, and carried away by the Inhabitants of the Place, to the King, then at a City called *Polyotia*, or *Pelimbotra*, many Days Journey distant from the Sea; where he was kindly received by that Prince, who had a great Love for the *Greeks*, and was studious in the Liberal Sciences. At length, having obtained Provision from the King, he first sailed into *Perfia*, and from thence they arrived in *Greece*. It was *Iambulus* himself, who committed the Substance of this Account to Writing; and thereby communicated to the World many Particulars in relation to *India*, which were absolutely unknown before.

In the celebrated Collection of Voyages by *Battista Ramusio*, this Voyage of *Iambulus* is inserted at large, and I have been very careful in comparing the Translations. As it is the Custom of that Writer to illustrate the Relations he inserts, by Discourses of his own; in which, without Doubt, he has given the highest Proofs of his Capacity, as well as Diligence, so in that, upon this Voyage, he has been peculiarly careful, not trusting to his own Judgment alone, but having resorted to a *Portuguese* Gentleman of his Acquaintance, who had been long in the *Indies*, was perfectly acquainted with the Navigation in those Seas, the Seasons of the Year, and the Customs and Manners of the People, to whom he read over his Translation of this Voyage, in order to have his Opinion as to the Place, and, as to the Adventures that are mentioned in it. On this Examination it appeared clearly to them, that the Desire of pleasingly furnishing the Reader had produced some extraordinary Passages in this Narration; but that, for the Whole, it was highly probable the greater Part of it was true; and so much the more probable, because considering the Lights they had in those Days, it was not possible for any Man to feign it.

As the Design of *Iambulus's* Voyage was to purchase Spices in *Arabia*, it is very likely he failed down the Red Sea to the famous Mart of *Zeila*; and in going to, or returning therefrom, might fall into the Hands of some of the wandering Inhabitants of that Country, who have always subsisted by Plunder: The Circumstance of his being employed with his Companion to keep Sheep, is highly probable; for, according to the best Accounts we have of those Nations, that was the only Service, in which they were like to employ them: While they were thus occupied, the second Misfortune befel them of being stolen off the Coast by *Ethiopian* Privateers; which was also no unusual Thing in those Days, especially among the *Troglodytes*, who enriched themselves by this Practice: After he was taken by these People, he was carried into the maritime Parts of *Ethiopia*; which is a very general Expression, the Sense of which is not easily fixed.

Our *Portuguese* Traveller thought, that *Iambulus* might very probably be carried as far as the Kingdom of *Magadana*, which lies within two Degrees of the Line, and on the other Side of *Cape Guardafuy*; which, I must confess, is possible, without supposing these Pirates, in their little Bark, to have passed the Straights of *Babelmandel*, or to have doubled the Cape; because they might have landed in the Gulph, and have carried him and his Companion by Land. Here then we are to place the Scene of the next Transaction, and the turning these poor Men a-drift into the Ocean, at the Season of the Year when the Trade-wind was like to carry them directly to the *East-Indies*. Our *Portuguese* seems to be of Opinion, that this Island, to which they were driven after a Voyage of four Months, must be the great Island of *Sumatra*, which lies immediately under the Equinoctial, and extends itself five Degrees on each Side the Line; so that, if *Iambulus*, and his Companion, came on shore in the South Part of that Island, the Description he has given of the Climate, the Length of Days, and the not seeing any of the Northern Constellations, would be very exact*. Our *Portuguese* is the rather inclined to embrace this Opinion, because of the Circumstances that attended his Return, in which he spent four Months, before he reached the Continent of *India*. He supposes therefore, with great Probability, that he landed near the Mouth of the *Ganges*, and so came to the City of *Palmboetra*, which was there situated, a Place very famous among the Antients, and which, as we have before informed the Reader, was supposed to be built by the *Indian Hercules*. It must be allowed, that these Reflections are very curious, and very judicious, as well as the Observation of the same Gentleman, that it is not probable *Iambulus*, and his Companion, should be able to navigate their small Bark to any of the Islands of the *Moluccas*.

Yet, after all, some Objections may be raised against this Account, that are not easily answered; for, in the first place, as to their Passage, they must have necessarily passed through that great Chain of Islands, called the *Maldives*; and it is not at all probable, that in their Circumstances they should continue their Voyage any farther than the first Land they met with: But if we pass by this Difficulty, and suppose that they fell through the Southern Passage, in the Latitude of three Degrees, and so had no Sight of any of those Islands, but fell directly on the South Point of *Sumatra*, yet this brings us under a new Difficulty; for the first thing we meet with, in the Voyage of *Iambulus*, is the Figure of the Island, upon which he and his Companion landed: And, as to this, he tells us expressly, that it was round, or at least, very near it, than which nothing can be more irreconcilable to the Figure of the Island of *Sumatra*, which is very long, and very narrow: And, though we should endeavour to help this, by supposing *Iambulus* took this upon Trust from the Natives, yet it is very difficult to conceive this for two Reasons; First, because it is no way probable that a Nation so just and prudent, as he describes the People among whom he lived to be, should impose upon them in this respect, to no Purpose; and next, we can hardly think he should live there seven Years without discovering the Falshood of this Report, the Island being no-whence above seventy Miles broad.

There is another Circumstance no less destructive of this Supposition; which is, the Vicinity of this Island to the Coast of *Malacca*, which does by no means agree with what is related by *Iambulus*. I must own, that if we should suppose *Borneo* to be the Island he has described, it would be attended with as great, or rather, with greater Difficulties; for they must then have passed in their little Bark the Straights of *Sunda*; and there is no assigning any Reason why they should continue their Voyage to *Borneo*, and leave the Islands of *Sumatra* and *Java* behind them: Besides, the Navigation from *Borneo* back again, would have been much more difficult and perplexed than that from *Sumatra*.

Perhaps, after all, the Island of *Java*^b is liable to fewer Objections than either *Sumatra* or *Borneo*, if we can suppose, that they could make so long a Passage in such a Vessel: And indeed this seems to me the greatest Difficulty of all; and therefore I should rather incline to think, that this Island was one of the *Maldives*, though I do not deny, that there might be many Objections raised also against this Opinion. The intelligent Reader will from these Remarks, however, be the more able to settle his own Opinion of this Matter; and I dare say, will not think it reasonable to conclude the whole Voyage a Fiction, because it is not easy, at this Distance of Time, and for the Want, perhaps, of some necessary Circumstances, to decide with Certainty, what Island it was where *Iambulus*, and his Companion, made their Residence for so many Years.

11. We have given the Whole of this Relation, that it might be the better understood. It is generally taken for granted, that the Island here described is that which in antient Authors is called *Taprobana*; of which Island, supposing them the same, we have a very copious Description in the Natural History of *Pliny*^c: In which Description of his there are Abundance of curious things; but, I must confess, it is by no means clear to me, that this Island has any thing to do with that Relation. In the first place, they differ in Size; for, whereas this is said to be five thousand Stadia in Circuit, the Island, described by *Pliny*, is affirmed to be ten thousand Stadia long, on that Side which fronts the Continent of *India*: But, what has greater Weight with me, this Description agrees as little with what we are told by *Strabo*^d, the most accurate of the antient Geographers: And there is one Circumstance which plainly shews, that this Island cannot possibly be esteemed the same with *Taprobana*; and that is, its being so far distant from any other Land, whereas *Taprobana* was within Sight of the Continent of *India*.

The only Reason I can conceive, why this Island should be esteemed the same with that, is, because of the Election of their Kings, which is thus related by *Pliny*^e: Their Monarch is elected by the Voice of the whole Nation, wherein they generally govern themselves by these Qualities, which they esteem absolutely necessary in their Prince; viz. That he be old, of a mild Disposition, and without Children; for, if he afterwards begets any, he is immediately obliged to abdicate; which Precaution is taken to prevent the Crown from becoming hereditary. There is likewise a Council of thirty Persons assigned him by the People; neither can any Man be condemned but by the Majority of this Council: Yet, even after this, he may appeal to the People, who appoint seventy Persons to sit in Judgment upon the Party accused; and if, upon hearing the Cause, he is acquitted, then all the Members of the Council of Thirty are instantly degraded, and are ever after esteemed infamous. If their King is guilty of any Offence, he is punished with Death; they do not, however, stain their Hands with his Blood; but, refusing to speak or look upon him, they deliver him up to be torn to-pieces by Tygers and Elephants: What occurs in *Pliny's* Description of that Island, in respect to its Produce and Inhabitants, is still more extravagant than what is reported in the foregoing Relation, which, however fabulous in some Circumstances, seems in others conformable enough to Truth.

For, as to the Soil, Climate, and Produce, there is nothing that surpasses Belief; and, as to the rest, they were,

* A Circumstance that shews it, must have been to the South of the Line.

^b *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. 28.*

^c *Geograph. lib. xv. p. 693.*

^d *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. 22.*

^e Lying near *Sumatra*, and agreeing better in Figure.

probably, thrown in to comply with the Humour of the Age, and to make this Story agree with other Accounts of the *Indies*: Take it all together, it is an excellent Specimen of the Relations published by Travellers in those Days; and is, perhaps, the only one that is to be met with.

It is much to be regretted, that we have none of the *Phœnician* Accounts, or even so much as Extracts from them, preserved by any Authors; for as they were perfectly well acquainted with these Seas, and carried on a constant and extensive Trade with the *Indians*, it is highly probable, that whatever they wrote upon the Subject, must have been curious and exact, at least in Comparison of what we have received from the *Greeks*, who frequently contradicted each other. Some indeed have conjectured, that there never were any Writings of that Sort published by that Nation, because they looked upon themselves to be concerned, in point of Interest, to conceal what they knew, from an Apprehension, that divulging their Observations might be fatal to their Commerce. This indeed has an Air of Probability: And yet, if we consider how difficult a thing it is to preserve this kind of Knowledge, without committing it to Writing, I think it is much more likely, that they had some Memoirs of this Kind amongst them.

However that may be, certain it is, that the *Persians* never acquired any great Skill in maritime Affairs, but left the Management of them intirely to the *Phœnicians*, who adhered steadily to the *Persian* Emperors till the Death of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*; for then, finding themselves oppressed by the *Persian* Governors, and dreading the Cruelty of *Ocbus*, who succeeded his Father in the Empire, a great Part of them revolted, the *Sidonians* being the chief in that Enterprize: But the *Tyrians* still adhered to the *Persians*, who had been always very kind to them: Yet, in all Probability, the chief thing that determined them upon this Occasion to divide themselves from their Countrymen, was their Concern for their *Indian* Trade, which they could not possibly have carried on but under their Protection, because the Passage of the *Isthmus* was always in their Power.

Ocbus marched with a great Army, in order to lay Siege to *Sidon*^a. The Inhabitants prepared to receive him, and took all the necessary Precautions for making a most vigorous Defence. The Place was well fortified; they had a numerous Garrison, and a Fleet of no less than one hundred Gallies, well manned, in their Port: But, foreseeing that, if they should be very hard pressed, many might endeavour to make their Escapes, by the Assistance of the Ships, which would expose them to certain Ruin, they caused them all to be set on Fire, that every Man's private Interest might engage him to do his Duty to the Public. They had also a Body of *Greek* Mercenaries, under the Command of one *Mentor*, upon whom they chiefly depended. In all human Probability, they might have defended themselves well enough, if their King, whose Name was *Tennes*, had not agreed with *Mentor*, to betray them to the *Persians*; which was executed in such a manner, that the Enemy was within their Walls, before they knew any thing of the Matter. When the *Sidonians* found themselves thus betrayed, every Man retired to his House, and set Fire to it; by which means the whole City was con-

sumed, and in it forty thousand People. *Ocbus* put their King to Death, as he deserved, and sold the Ashes of the Town for a vast Sum of Money, on account of the prodigious Quantities of Gold and Silver that the Inhabitants had amassed^b.

After the Destruction of *Sidon*, the *Persian* Emperor undertook the Reduction of *Egypt*, where *Nectanebus* had made himself King, and had about him a very formidable Army. The great Difficulty was to march the *Persian* Troops into that Kingdom, on account of the sandy Deserts on its Frontiers. The *Tyrians*, however, conducted him, and his Forces, by the Way of their Colony of *Rhinocorura*, tho' not without some Loss, into the Kingdom of *Egypt*, which he speedily reduced, *Nectanebus* retreating in time into *Ethiopia*, carrying with him a vast Quantity of Treasure: *Ocbus* caused all the rest, that could be collected, to be transported to *Babylon*. As he was naturally cruel, he punished the Rebellion of the *Egyptians* with great Severity; and, having been informed, that the *Egyptians* were wont to call him the *Royal Ass*, by way of Contempt, he caused the Ox, which they worshipped as a God, and which they called *Apis*, to be sacrificed to an *Ass*, and afterwards gave his Flesh to be eaten by his Attendants. This provoked *Bagoas*, an Eunuch, and his first Minister, that he soon after poisoned him, caused another Body to be laid in the Royal Tomb, and, having cut his Master's Body to-pieces, fed his Cats with it. This wicked Minister let his Master's youngest Son upon the Throne, whose Name was *Arses*, putting all the rest of his Brethren to Death; and, finding that the young Prince began to suspect him, he soon after destroyed him, and his whole Family^c.

Such was the miserable State of this Empire under the Government of Strangers and Eunuchs, when the last Emperor mounted the Throne. He was of the Royal Blood, though not the immediate Son of any of the former Emperors; and his Name *Codomanus*, while in a private Station; but, upon his being raised to the Empire, he assumed that of *Darius*. He was the handiomest and bravest Man in his Dominions, and endowed with all the Virtues worthy of a Prince, which soon gained him the Love of his People to such a Degree, that the *Trans-Bagoas*, fearing he might be punished for what was past, attempted to poison him; but *Darius*, suspecting his Design, obliged him to drink the Poison he had prepared, which soon dispatched him.

If the great and good Qualities of a Prince could have preserved an Empire to over-run with Corruption, *Darius* might have died in Peace; but his Virtues came too late to save his Country^d. That War was already concerted, which proved his Ruin, before the Diadem was fixed upon his Head; and he was scarce seated on the Throne, before his Empire was invaded by the *Macedonians*, who, not satisfied with its extensive Dominions, penetrated beyond them into the *Indies*, and thereby opened the Way to a more perfect Knowledge of those Countries than hitherto had been attained, as shall be shewn more largely in the succeeding Section.

^a Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. p. 551.—553.

^b Soliman, cap. 25. Synellus ex Africanis, p. 256. Orosius, lib. xxxi. cap. 7.

^c Strabo, lib. xv. cap. 6. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi.

^d Diodor. Sicul. Arrian. Strabo, Plutarch. &c.

SECTION V.

An exact Account of Alexander's Conquest of the Persian Empire, and, more particularly, of his Indian Expedition, and the Consequences he intended to have drawn from thence.

1. The State of the Persian Empire, and that of the Kingdom of Macedon, compared.
2. An Account of the Battles of Granicus, Issus, and Arbela, by which the Persian Empire was overthrown.
3. Alexander, having attained the Power, affixes the Manners of the Persian Monarchs.
4. His Motives to the undertaking an Expedition into India.
5. His besieging the Rock Aornus, and contriving to excel Hercules, who formerly attempted it.
6. His Victory over Porus, and Design of passing the Ganges.
7. His Artifices, in order to deceive and amuse Posterity.
8. His Retreat out of India, and the Circumstances that attended it.
9. His Army suffers exceedingly, in marching through Gedrosia, until his Arrival on the Coast of Caratama.

Caramania, where he celebrates new Games for his Deliverance. 10. A Review of his Indian Expedition and Discoveries. 11. His Conferences with the Brachmans, and high Esteem of their Wisdom. 12. The Character of Calanus the Indian, and the remarkable Manner of his Death. 13. The exalted Reputation of Dindamis, and the Condescension of Alexander towards him. 14. A Copy of that Philosopher's Letter to Alexander, containing an Abridgment of the Moral Philosophy of the Brachmans. 15. The Return of Alexander into Persia, and the Measures taken by him for establishing his Empire. 16. His Entrance into Babylon, in Contempt of the Prefages of his Soothsayers. 17. His Death in that City, and the memorable Circumstances attending it. 18. The Minutes of his great Designs, as set down in his Pocket-Book, examined and explained. 19. The true Character of Alexander, drawn from his public and private Life. 20. His Memory still glorious in the East. 21. An Application of his Discoveries to the Design of this Work.

As the Wealth and Luxury of Persia seemed to fit that Empire for Destruction, at this Juncture, by spreading a total Corruption of Manners throughout all Degrees of its Inhabitants, inasmuch that the whole Continent of Asia was infected with the Vices that naturally flow from Prosperity misapplied; so there was a Power growing in Europe, by almost imperceptible Degrees, which, at the very time Darius Codomanus ascended the Throne, had projected the Destruction of him and his Empire. This was lodged in the Monarch of the little Kingdom of Macedon, remarkable only for the Poverty and Hardiness of its People. It had been tributary to, and dependent upon, the Persian Empire, from the Time that Xerxes invaded Greece. All its Princes had been remarkable for a kind of tricking Policy, which enabled them to keep fair with their Masters the Persians, on the one Side, and their Brethren the Greeks, on the other.

The sudden, and extraordinary Rise of this little, and hitherto contemptible State, was intirely the Work of one able Prince; indeed, take him in all Lights, the ablest Prince mentioned by Antiquity. This was Philip, the Father of Alexander, who not only found his hereditary Dominions small and poor, but also in a weaker and more distressed Condition, than they had been in the Days of his Predecessors: Yet, in the Space of little more than twenty Years, he made himself intirely Master of Greece; so that, much against their Will, the Greeks were obliged to elect him Captain-General against the Persians; and he was actually preparing to undertake the War, when he was assassinated in his own Palace, at Pella in Macedonia, much about the same Time that Arjes was poisoned by Bagoas: So that these Competitors for Empire, Alexander and Darius, arrived at the Sovereignty both at a time.

They were each of them Princes of great Courage and Abilities, but as opposite in their Dispositions, as in their Fortunes. Darius was mild, and too ready to listen to whatever Advice was given him. Alexander, on the other hand, was fierce and positive; was willing to hear what others said, but could seldom be prevailed upon to follow any but his own Notions. Darius was inclined to Moderation, and capable of yielding, with a good Grace, to what the Necessity of the Times required. Alexander acted as if Fortune had been his Slave, and discovered most Confidence in Times of greatest Danger: In a word, Darius had all the Qualities of a good, and Alexander all the Talents requisite to form a great Prince. Such were their Characters, and their Fortunes proved suitable.

2. Immediately after his Accession to the Throne, the Macedonian found himself engaged, first, in a War with his Northern Neighbours, and, soon after, with his Countrymen the Greeks. He finished both with that Rapidity agreeable to his Character; and, in the second Year of Darius determined to pass the Hellespont, and attack the Emperor of Persia in his own Dominions. The Strength with which he attempted this, was very inconsiderable: His whole Force consisted but of thirty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horses; and all the Treasure he possessed, amounted to no more than seventy Talents, which comes to between fourteen and fifteen thousand Pounds of our Money.

The Generals of Darius's Army, in the Beginning of the War, disputed with him the Passage of the River Gra-

nicus, with one hundred and fifty thousand Men; but they were beaten: And by this single Victory he gained all Lesser Asia, and the Treasury of the Persian Monarchs at Sardis. The next Year he prosecuted his Conquests with the utmost Vigour, and marched directly towards Darius, who had been assembling, with the utmost Diligence, the whole Force of his Empire, in order to meet him. A second Battle ensued at Issus, in the Straights of Cilicia, where Darius was defeated, though he had an Army of six hundred thousand Men; and soon after the City of Damascus surrendered, in which were Darius's Treasures of War. The next thing Alexander undertook was the Siege of Tyre, in which he vanquished Nature, as well as Art; for he caused a Causeway to be run out into the Sea, by which he joined the Island the City was built upon, to the Continent. After the taking of Tyre, he marched into Egypt, which he easily subdued, from the natural Fickleness of the People, and their great Aversion to the Persians. While he was in that Country, he gave Directions for building the new City of Alexandria, of which we shall have Occasion to speak hereafter, because it was one of the greatest Designs he ever formed, and the best executed.

The next Spring he returned again into Asia, and marched directly towards Babylon; in the Neighbourhood of which, Darius had drawn together a new Army of above a Million strong. Alexander passed the Tigris, and came up with the Persians near the little Village of Guagamala, where a decisive Engagement ensued, in which, with 50,000 Men, he beat Darius in an open Plain, where the Enemy had all Advantages, and he none. This Battle, which most Historians call the Battle of Arbela, determined the Fate of the Persian Empire; for Darius then fled into Media, and left Babylon, with all his Treasures in it, to the Conqueror. Alexander marched directly into Persia, made himself Master of Susa and Persepolis, the Capitals of the Persian Empire; the latter of which he burnt.

Early in the Spring he pursued Darius, who was soon after seized and murdered by his own People; and thus, in four Years time, the Persian Monarchy was intirely overthrown, and Alexander had nothing now left to employ his Arms, but the Reduction of the Northern Provinces, and the punishing those Traitors who had so barbarously destroyed their Master in his Distress; which he performed very honourably, and therein shewed himself worthy of that Fortune which had hitherto attended his Arms. But, after this, turning his Force against the Scythians, Dabans, and Massagets, he found amongst them a more vigorous Resistance than from all the Persian Empire besides; so that this War employed him a whole Year, and, very probably, he had not made an End of it so soon, if the Fame of his Generosity had not done him as much Service as the Reputation of his Victories: And, indeed, it will be always found, that brave Men yield sooner to virtue, than they can be subdued by Force.

3. In this Account of the Destruction of the Persian Empire, and the great Achievements of Alexander, I have been as concise as it was possible, intending it only as an Introduction to what is the proper Business of this Section, the Expedition of this great Conqueror into the Indies, at which we are now arrived. But, first of all, it will be necessary to say something of the Province of Sog-

^a Diod. Sicul. Strabo. Arrian. Plutarch. Quint. Curtius.

^b Arrian, lib. i. Plutarch. in Alex. Justin. ex Trog.

^c Arrian. lib. iii. Diod. Sicul.

^d Arrian. lib. i. Plutarch. in Alex. Justin. ex Trog.

^e Arrian. lib. i. Plutarch. in Alex. Justin. ex Trog.

^f Arrian. lib. i. Plutarch. in Alex. Justin. ex Trog.

^g Arrian. lib. i. Plutarch. in Alex. Justin. ex Trog.

^h Arrian. lib. i. Plutarch. in Alex. Justin. ex Trog.

ⁱ Arrian. lib. i. Plutarch. in Alex. Justin. ex Trog.

^j Arrian. lib. i. Plutarch. in Alex. Justin. ex Trog.

^k Arrian. lib. i. Plutarch. in Alex. Justin. ex Trog.

diana, where *Alexander* passed the Winter, in which he projected his Conquest of *India*. This Frontier Province of the *Perſian* Empire lay upon the Eastern Side of the *Caspian* Sea, between the River *Oxus* on the South, and the River *Oraxes* on the North. The last of these *Quintus Curtius*, and *Arrian*, called *Tanais*, very erroneously; for the River *Tanais* is much more to the West, and dischargeth itself not into the *Caspian*, but into the *Euxine* Sea, and is the same which we now call the *Don*. This Error is taken notice of by *Pliny*, who has let us into the Cause of it, which was, the Vanity of the *Macedonians*, who, by giving false Names to Rivers and Mountains, thought to make Posterity believe they had extended their Conquests into Places where they never set their Feet.

The chief City of this Province was *Muracanda*, a Place ten Miles in Circuit, the same that is now called *Samarcand*, and is the Capital of the *Usbeck Tartars*. In this City *Alexander* spent Part of his Winter; and there, in one of his drunken Entertainments, he murdered *Clitus*, a brave old Soldier, fitter to conquer Countries, than to flatter Conquerors; for the want of which courtly Vice, he paid with his Life. From hence *Alexander* removed into *Bactria*, and took up his head Quarters at *Nautaca*, where he married a *Perſian* Wife, and spent the best Part of his Time in bringing most of his Officers to follow his Example, and in the Feasts and Entertainments which followed upon these Marriages. This was the first Step to his *Indian* Expedition, which he had already contrived in his own Mind, without communicating it to any.

His Courage was to be sure as great as ever appeared in Man, and yet his Conduct was equal to his Courage; for this always furnished him with Expedients so much the more effectual, as they were altogether unsuspected. By these Marriages he proposed to himself two great Ends: The first was, to blend the *Perſian* and *Macedonian* Interests, in such a manner, that he might be sure to leave all safe behind him: The other to engage his *Macedonians*, in some measure, to forget their Country, and be the more willing to follow him, where-ever he thought fit to lead: But, at the same time, that he formed this Project, he foresaw the Possibility of its failing him, and therefore he set on foot other Schemes, to which, whenever they did fail him, he might have recourse.

These were, the appointing the principal Nobility of *Perſia* Governors of Provinces and Cities, and the ordering thirty thousand young Men, of the best *Perſian* Families, to be disciplined after the *Greek* Manner, that, on certain Occasions, they might serve as Hostages for the Fidelity of their Countrymen; and that, on other certain Occasions, they might be a Check on his *Macedonians*. For, by a failing, incident to great Princes, he began now to dislike the Manners of that Nation to which he owed all his Victories; and, considering himself as a mighty Emperor, disdained those Freedoms which were agreeable to the little King of *Macedon*.

4. But, after all, these wise Precautions were taken, in favour of a very idle Expedition, which took Birth from an Accident I should be ashamed to mention, but that it is so necessary for conducting the Thread of my History, that I cannot omit it. *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander*, was a Woman of Gallantry; of which his Father *Philip*, for some political Reasons, did not think fit to take the severe Notice that it deserved: And therefore, to cover some unlucky Circumstances that attended the Birth of *Alexander*, it was given out, that *Jupiter* had been familiar with his Mother. In the earlier Part of his Life, *Alexander* treated this ridiculous Story, as it became him, with Contempt; but now, his Vanity having got the better of his Understanding, he was desirous it should be believed. He had read, in the old *Greek* Fables, that two of the Sons of *Jupiter*, *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, had each of them made an Expedition into *India*; and he had a mind, not only to be on a Level, in this respect, with his Brethren, but to out-do them: And this was the true Source of this hazardous Undertaking.

To pave the Way to it, he began to affect the Honours

that were paid to the *Perſian* Kings, which was a kind of Acclamation suitable enough to the slavish Manners of their Subjects, but utterly irreconcilable to the manly Freedom of the *Greeks*. This Innovation produced an Action much more cruel than the Murder of *Clitus*: For *Calisthenes*, the Kinman of his Master *Aristotle*, a grave and wise Man, who had accompanied him in all his Expeditions, having taken upon him to expose the Absurdity of this Behaviour, he caused him, under colour of a Conspiracy, which he pretended was formed against him, to be put to Death. By removing him out of his Way, he got rid of all Opposition; and, if the rest of his *Macedonians* did not concur with his Flatterers, they were at least wise enough to hold their Tongues; to which they were the more inclined, when, by levying new Troops, he had swelled his Army to 120,000 Men.

The *Indians*, having, by this Time, got hold of the Story of this third Son of *Jupiter*, had many of them Addressed enough to secure their Safety, by falling in with his Folly: And it was upon this Occasion, that they pretended to believe the Fable of the *Grecian Bacchus*, which we before related, and confused. Such of them as did not, or could not, prostitute their Understandings in so gross a manner, he subdued by Force of Arms. Amongst these was the Nation of the *Afficans*, who had lost their Freedom, if it had not been for the Complaisance of their Queen *Cleopbis*, the handsomest Woman in that Part of *India*, who, by admitting *Alexander* to her Embraces, redeemed her Kingdom; but such was the stubborn Vice of her Subjects, that, notwithstanding they reaped the Benefit of this Treachery on her Honour, yet they ever afterwards remembered it, to her Disgrace; and never called her by any other Appellation, than that of the *Royal Whore*. By this Prince's our Conqueror had a Son, who bore his Father's Name; and of the Posterity of this *Indian Alexander*, *Marco Polo*, whose Travels we shall shortly give our Readers, affirms there were some Princes remaining, at the Time he visited these Countries. Such were the Transactions with which this great Design, of penetrating to the utmost Limits of the World, began.

5. As it was the fabulous History of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* produced this Resolution in *Alexander*, to invade and conquer *India*, so he chose to carry on the War after a new manner, and as if his Army had been dressed rather for the Stage than the Field; for the Shields of his Soldiers were adorned with Silver Plates, the Bridles of their Horses were studded with Gold, and, in short, all their Armour was beautified and enriched with these precious Metals; an Humour the more singular, since it was known, that the *Indians* set a less Value on such Finery than any other Nation.

The only Place that gave him any Difficulty in this Year's War, was the famous Rock of *Aornus*, excellently high, and the River *Indus* running by it. A Report was current in *Alexander's* Army, that *Hercules* had twice attempted this Post, but in vain: The Honour therefore of the third Son of *Jupiter* was very nearly concerned; but he proceeded very prudently for its Preservation. He found, after filling up all the Ditches, and taking every Method that the Practice of the Art of War had taught him, the Place was truly impregnable; and that, if he depended on Force, he was likely to be foiled as well as *Hercules*; and, therefore, he turned this Siege, after it had cost him Abundance of Men, into a Blockade, leaving, however, one Passage by which the Besieged might escape, presuming that, when they were half-starved, they would take this Road, and leave him their Rock, which he had such a Mind to: In which Scheme he succeeded, and triumphed at once over the *Indians* and *Hercules*.

In the mean time, *Hephestion* and *Perdiccas*, who had the Direction of the *Pharicians*, who were employed in building him a portable Fleet for passing the several Rivers of the *Indies*, had finished their Task, and provided him with a sufficient Number of Boats, so framed, as that they might be taken to pieces, and so transported over-land from one River to another: And, now having all Things

^a Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. Arrian, lib. iv. Quintus Curtius, lib. viii.

^b Lucian in vita Aristotelis

^c Arrian, Quint. Curt. Plutarch in A' andro

^d Hist Nat lib vi. cap. 16.

^e Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. Quinquaginta milia

in Readiness, he entered in earnest upon his great Work, which was to be begun by the Passage of the River *Indus*.

6. This Expedition was undertaken in the eleventh Year of his Reign over *Macedon*, in the fifth of his Empire, and three hundred and twenty-seven before *Christ*. He passed the River without the least Resistance, and as soon as he was on the other Side, had Notice that an *Indian* Prince was advancing towards him, with a numerous and well-disciplined Army. This was *Mopbis*, the Son of the King of *Taxila*, who had before submitted to him in the Name of his Father, who was then living; but, being now dead, *Mopbis* reigned in his own Right. The Appearance of this *Indian* Prince was so formidable, that *Alexander* was afraid of being surprised; and, therefore, hastily put his Troops into Order of Battle. But *Mopbis* presently undeceived him, by advancing with a small Retinue; and, making his Submission to *Alexander*, delivered up his Dominions, which he received again, with Leave to assume the Title of *Taxiles*, which was common to all the Monarchs of that Country, with such mighty Gifts besides, that *Melager*, one of his *Macedonian* Captains, could not help telling him, that he was glad to see he had met with a Man in the *Indies* worthy of receiving a Present of a thousand Talents at once^a.

Ambisarnus followed his Example; but *Porus*, whose Dominions lay beyond the River *Hydaspes*, prepared to defend himself to the last Extremity; and drew together a mighty Army to hinder his Passage of the River: *Alexander* advanced towards him; and with great Difficulty, and no small Loss, forced the Passage of this River, and afterwards defeated *Porus*, who was grievously wounded in the Side; but, being charmed with the Spirit and Courage of the Man, he restored to him his Dominions, and even augmented them. In Memory of this Victory, he built a City called *Nicæa*, and another as a kind of Monument for his Horse *Bucephalus*. As this Country abounded with Timber, he ordered a great Number of new Ships to be built for the Establishment of a Maritime Force, as well for the perfecting, as protecting his Conquests: He passed, next, the River *Acēfines*; and, having subdued all that lay between it and the River *Hydrates*, bestowed it upon *Porus*^b.

He invaded and destroyed the *Cuthreans*, who had a Custom of causing Wives to be interred with their Husbands; and, having taken the City of *Sangala* by Storm, he bestowed it on some *Indians*, who had submitted to him, and lived under a free Government. He next attacked *Sophites*, the Prince of a People called by the same Name, who were reputed the handiempt Nation in the World: But that Prince soon made his Peace, and entertained *Alexander*, and all his Army, for many Days together. *Hephæstion* returned to him here, after having subdued several Princes, and their Dominions: From thence *Alexander* marched into the Dominions of King *Phygeus*, who submitted to him, and received, as other Monarchs had done, his Kingdom, with large Presents besides.

He then passed the River *Hyphosis*, which was seven Furlongs broad and six Deep, the Stream prodigiously rapid; and from hence he intended to have marched to the *Ganges*; but, first of all, thought it requisite, to inquire of his *Indian* Confederates, the Situation and Condition of the Country through which he was to pass: They informed him, that, for twelve Days March from thence, there lay a Desert, which was bounded by the *Ganges*; and that, on the other Side that River, there were many potent Nations; but, particularly, the *Gangaride*, whose King *Xanabrames*, had an Army of twenty thousand Horse, two hundred thousand Foot, two thousand Chariots of War, and four thousand Elephants. The Report of this, the Remembrance of their late Engagement with *Porus*, and a Storm of Rain, Thunder, and Lightnings, which had lasted for above seventy Days, so dispirited his *Macedonians*, that they declared, without Ceremony, they were weary of marching eight Years together, and of being put continually upon new Labours, without any Prospect of Rest or Peace. *Alexander* thought to have quitted these Complaints, by giving them Leave to plunder some *Indian*

Nations^c that refused to submit: But this had not the desired Effect; they were still as angry, and as much disposed to Mutiny, as ever; to which, perhaps, they were artfully excited by the *Indians*, who were desirous of being rid of them.

7. In order to make the last Effort, he prepared an Oration; and when they returned to the Camp, laden with Plunder, he first distributed Corn to their Wives, and Money to their Children; and then addressed himself to them in a long Speech, in which he said all that could be possibly contrived to inspire them with a Resolution of still following his Fortunes, and attacking the *Gangaride*. His Eloquence, however, availed him no more than his former Bounties: The *Macedonians* were absolutely tired out; and besides, the Methods practised to draw them thus far, deterred them from the Thoughts of going farther. For, first of all, the Fables he had spread concerning the Expeditions of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, filled them with Apprehensions, that they were to be led beyond the Limits of the World, and be exposed to Dangers, beyond the Reach even of their Imaginations; and, on the other hand, they did by no means approve of this new Way of conquering Countries, to give them back again with Interest: And, therefore, *Cannus*, in the Name of the Army, plainly told *Alexander* their Mind; which agreeing so little with his Inclinations, he retired to his Tent, where he remained three Days close shut up, and would not see even his most familiar Friends. At the End of that Time he came out, and, making a Virtue of Necessity, told his Soldiers, with a good Grace, that since they were unwilling to follow him, he had taken a Resolution to return: But there was another Reason that contributed not a little to his taking this Resolution; and it was this: He had sacrificed for the Passage of the River, and his Priests, on the Inspection of the Entrails, declared them unlucky^d.

Now having conducted his Affairs so long by Oracles, and such-like Inventions, he durst not proceed to an Expedition, which seemed to be against the Will of the Gods; and thus he was intangled in his own Superstitions, and obliged to desist by the very Arts which he employed with a View to force his Army to move on. Yet, in spite of this Disappointment, he was still so addicted to Fables, that he chose to give the Air of Romance to his own Actions, rather than trust his Glory to a fair and impartial Recital of them. To this Purpose he caused twelve large Altars, of fifty Cubits Height, like Towers, to be erected near the River; whereon he sacrificed according to the *Greek* Custom, and celebrated Games in the adjacent Country: After this, he caused a Ditch to be made, fifteen Feet broad, and ten Feet deep, whereon, of the Earth that was dug up, he raised a considerable Wall, making the Compass of his Camp three times larger than it was. He commanded the Foot, that each in his Tent should get two Bedsteads of five Cubits each in Length, and the Horsemen to make theirs with the Mangers of their Horses, as big again as they were; he caused Arms, Bridles, and other Things to be framed after the same Proportion, to amuse Posterity with a false Appearance of the gigantic Proportion of his own Person, and of the Persons of his Followers^e.

Thus this *Indian* Expedition ended in the same kind of Follies with which it began; and had no other Effect whatever, than making these Countries, and the Nations who inhabited them, and who hitherto had been known to the rest of the World, only by idle and fabulous Reports, more truly represented; and yet even this was, in a great measure, prevented by the extravagant lying Reports of his Followers, occasioned, no doubt, by their earnest Desire of gratifying the Ambition of their Master, who loved to have his Exploits painted beyond, that is, in plain Terms, at the Expence of Truth.

8. When he came to execute his designed Retreat, he disposed of the Government of the Provinces he had conquered, and so passed on to the River *Hydaspes*, where he expected to find his new Fleet, which, however, was not perfectly complete, which obliged him to stay some Time in the Neighbourhood; so that there he was joined by six

^a *Arrian. lib. iv. § Curtius.*

^b *Curt. lib. ix.*

^c *Arrian. lib. vi. § Curt. lib. ix.*

^d *Arrian. lib. vi. Plutarch. in*

Alexander. § Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.

thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot, that had marched thither out of Greece; and met also with other Supplies. His Ships, when finished, consisted of a thousand Sail; of which two hundred were Ships of War, and eight hundred were Transports^a.

He then divided his Army, going on board the Fleet with one Part of it, and ordering the rest, under the Command of *Craterus* and *Hephestion*, to march along the Bank of the River down which he sailed, to the Junction of the *Hydaspes*, and the *Acifnes*, reducing all the Country in his Passage, particularly the *Oxydracians*, and the *Mallians*; and so proceeded to the River *Indus*. Among the rest, the *Brachmans* suffered by his Fury; for their King, whose Name was *Sambus*, having first submitted to him, and opened the Gates of his City, afterwards revolted, which cost his Subjects dear; for many Thousands were slain, and a much greater Number sold for Slaves. Yet we are informed by *Plutarch*, that many who were destined to Destruction, were preserved, on their answering, to the Satisfaction of *Alexander*, certain Questions in Philosophy, which he caused to be proposed to them^b.

While he was engaged in this War with the *Brachmans*, *Moris* King of *Pattalena*, an Island at the Mouth of the *Indus*, came and submitted himself, whom he received very graciously, directing him to provide all Necessaries for his Army, because he meant speedily to visit his Country. When the Fleet, however, had fallen as low as this Island, they found it abandoned, the People having retired into the Mountains, whither *Alexander* sent Messengers, to persuade them to return. He had now spent ten Months in his Voyage, and found himself and his Fleet in a very indifferent Condition; that Side of the Island near which he lay, being, in a great measure, destitute of Water, which obliged them to send People on Shore, to sink Wells, who were cut off by the *Indians* that fled to the Deserts. At this Island the River *Indus* divides into two Branches, both of which retain that Name, till their Fall into the Ocean: And thro' the Branch on the Right-hand, *Alexander* resolved to pass into the Sea. But the Day after he left the Island, there arose such a Tempest, as distressed them exceedingly; which obliged him to shelter himself again upon the Coast, and to send for Pilots from among the Natives; for this proved a Navigation which none of his People understood. When they resumed their Voyage, they met with new, and still greater Difficulties: For the Tide rising exceedingly high, as it always does there, all the Country near the River was quite overflowed, except some Hills, the Tops of which appeared like so many Islands in the Water; to which the *Macedonians*, leaving their Boats, swam for their Preservation, not being at all acquainted with the Nature of Tides, but supposing this some extraordinary Accident; for their Heads were so full of Fables and Wonders, that every thing appeared to them miraculous. When the Water ebbed, some of their Vessels were left on dry Ground; some were overwhelmed, and sunk; others turned Bottom upwards. On the Return of the Tide, those that stuck in the Mud were got off, without Hurt; but the rest were either dashed to Pieces, one against another, or perished in different Ways, to the Terror of *Alexander*, and all who were about him^c.

After this unlucky Accident, collecting his Navy as he could, and repairing as many of the Vessels as were yet in a Condition for Service, he detached two of the best to examine another Island that lay lower, which the *Indians* called *Gilluta*, and he thought fit to name *Scillastia*, by which he must of Necessity pass, in his Voyage to the Ocean. On their Return, and reporting, that there was in this last Island, a very commodious Harbour, he ordered the Fleet thither; but proceeded himself, without further Delay, down the Channel, that he might be satisfied whether his Fleet could pass safely, that Way, into the *Indian* Sea, or not. At the Distance of about 200 Stadia, he discovered another Island; and then returned to the Fleet, where he sacrificed to the Gods after a certain Manner; and then, going back to the Island, he sacrificed after another Manner to other Deities; affirming that he was so directed

by the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*. When he came to the Mouth of the *Indus*, he offered up Bulls to *Neptune*, by crowning them with Wreaths, and then throwing them, bound, into the Sea; made great Feasts for his Friends; and threw a golden Phial, and certain gold Cups, into the Sea; beseeching the Gods to be propitious to the Fleet, that he intended should speedily sail under the Command of *Nearchus*. He likewise erected Altars to *Thetis* and *Oceanus*, offering magnificent Sacrifices, and beseeching those Divinities, that after him no Mortal might pass the Bounds of his Expedition^d.

Then returning up the River to *Pattala*, he there found Part of his Forces, which had marched by Land. Judging this City to be extremely well situated for a Port, he directed *Hephestion* to make an Haven there, and to construct Wharfs, and whatever else was necessary for Shipping; and, having given these Instructions, he sailed down the other Changel of the *Indus*, which brought him first to a large Lake, where he left most of his Forces; and, having with him no more than thirty Vessels, passed this Way into the Ocean. The Design of this Voyage was, that he might be able to judge, whether this or the other Changel would afford the safest Passage for his whole Fleet; and, being convinced, that the Left-hand Changel was the best, he returned the same Way, causing Wells to be dug all along upon the Coast, that those on board the Fleet might not be distressed in their Passage for want of Water.

When he returned to *Pattala*, he sent Part of his Army to dig more Wells; and, proceeded a second time as low as the Lake before-mentioned, where he ordered several Havens to be made, and Magazines to be erected, for the Use of his Shipping, and leaving also a Garrison for the Defence of these Works, together with Provisions sufficient for eight Months, he prepared for his Return to *Perfia*, leaving the Care of the Fleet to his Admiral *Nearchus*, to whom he gave Instructions, when the Season of the Year would permit, to sail down the Left Changel of the River *Indus* into the Ocean; and, sailing along the Coast, to proceed up the *Persian* Gulph, and so to the Mouth of the *Euphrates*^e.

It is very plain, from this Relation, that, notwithstanding all the Pains he had taken, and the pompous Accounts given of his Fleets, he was very indifferently furnished with Seamen; and therefore we need not at all wonder at the mistaken Notions, which some Writers tell us he conceived, concerning this River. But there is one thing very commendable in this Expedition; which is, the personal Pains he took to be informed of all Things, that he might be the better able to frame a Judgment of what might be expected from the Building of Cities, settling Colonies, and establishing a constant Commerce between them, and other Parts of his Dominions. This was a Labour truly worthy of a Prince, or, to carry it much higher, worthy of *Alexander*.

9. After he had thus settled all Things behind him, he passed through the Country of the *Arbites*, who fled on his Approach into the Mountains, so that he passed the River *Arbis* without any Opposition, and so came into the Territories of the *Oritæ*, where he began to destroy the Country, on account of their joining with the *Gedresians*; but, upon their Submission, he treated them kindly, and let there a considerable Body of Horse and Foot, to wait the Arrival of his Fleet, and with Orders to build a new City. In his Passage through the Country of the *Gedresians*, greater Loss happened to him, than in all his Expedition through *Asia* besides; because, what for want of Water, by Excess of Heat, ill Diet, and Hunger, he carried not out the fourth Part of those Forces he brought into *India*: Yet was not this Loss sustained through Ignorance; For, some tell us, he knew of the Danger very well; but, hearing this Country had been formerly invaded, both by *Semiramis*, and *Cyrus*; and that the former was forced to fly but with thirty Attendants, and the latter with only seven; he had an earnest Desire to pass through it, and, in the Glory of his Adventure, to excel them^f.

^a *Arrian. D. der. Sicul. Plutarch.*

^b *Plutarch. in Alexander.*

^c *Arrian. lib. vi. D. der. Sicul. lib. xvi. Plutarch.*

^d *Strabo, lib. xv. Arrian. 2. Curt.*

^e *Arrian. Justin. Plutarch. in Alexander.*

^f *D. D. lib. xvi.*

^g *Curt. Plutarch.*

After incredible Fatigue undergone for sixty Days, he came to *Pura*, the chief City, where he refreshed his Army, and thence marched towards the Borders of *Caramania*. Here he received News, that *Philip*, Governor of the *Oxydracians*, and of other *Indians*, was killed by the mercenary Soldiers; but that his Death was revenged upon them by the *Macedonians*: Whereupon he wrote to *Taxiles* and *Eudemus*, to take care of the Country, till such Time as he could send one to succeed *Philip*. When, after all these Dangers, he arrived safely in the Province of *Caramania*, he received Complaints of many of his Governors, that, supposing he would never return, had behaved tyrannically; whom he punished for their Offences very severely. He likewise celebrated, as the Custom of those Days was, Games, and exhibited Plays, by way of Thanksgiving, to the Gods, for having preserved him, and his Army, in the Midst of so many Dangers. And while he was thus employed, *Nearchus*, the Admiral of his Fleet, arriving on the Coast, and hearing that his Master was only five Days Journey from him, thought proper to go thither, with a few Attendants, in order to report to him what had happened in his Voyage. On his entering the Theatre, the *Macedonians*, surprised and overjoyed at the Sight of him, set up a great Shout, expressing thereby their dreadful Apprehensions of being obliged to serve by Sea, which they looked upon as little better than being destined to certain Death. But, as for *Alexander*, he was extremely pleased at the News he told him; and so far from being frightened at the strange Things he related, that from thence he conceived a Design of sending a Fleet from the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, which, passing round the whole Continent of *Africa*, should have entered the *Mediterranean* by the Straights of *Gibraltar*, then called the Pillars of *Hercules*: For which Expedition he caused great Preparations to be made, as we shall see in another Place; when, for the sake of enriching this Collection, with so curious, and so authentic a Piece, we shall give the Reader the whole Voyage of *Nearchus*, as near as may be, in his own Words; and shall, at the same time, enter into the Discussion of the true Designs of *Alexander*, with regard to Navigation and Commerce; Points in which he shewed a greater Superiority of Genius, than in all his Conquests, which, exclusive of those Views, were so many Outrages on the Rights of Mankind. At present we will take a View of his *Indian Expedition*; and see how far it contributed to his own Benefit, or to that of others.

10. It is, in the first Place, observable, that however weak, and contrary to good Sense, that Humour of *Alexander's* might be, which led him to assume the Honours of a God; to boast of being the Son of *Jupiter*; and to attempt not rivaling only, but excelling, his Brethren *Bacchus* and *Hercules*; I say, how wild or extravagant soever this might be, in one Sense; yet it was attended with many good Consequences, especially to the *Indians*, who knew how to turn this Foible of his to their own Advantage; that is, to the Preservation of their Liberty, which seems to have been the only Point they had in View. We have already had an Instance of this, in the artful Speech of *Acuphis*, at the Head of the Deputies from the City of *Nysa*. But it may not be amiss to add some farther Particulars relating to the same Adventure.

When these Embassadors were introduced to *Alexander*, they found him standing in his Tent, completely armed, with a few Officers about him, and without any of that Pomp or Splendour, which used to distinguish the Monarchs of those Times. They were a little alarmed at this Appearance, and afraid of meeting with a rough Reception; but their Countenances soon altered, when *Alexander* commanded one who was near him, to fetch a Cushion; on which, as soon as it was brought, he very civilly desired *Acuphis* to sit down. The old Man, overcome with Tenderness, on this extraordinary Mark of Distinction, cried out, What is it, O King, that my Countrymen can do, to merit your Friendship? Let them, said *Alexander*, make Choice of thee for their Governor, and send one hundred of their best Citizens to remain with me, as Hostages for their Fidelity. This Answer shews the Wisdom and Pen-

etration of *Alexander*, who thought to secure his own Purpose, by paying this Compliment to *Acuphis*. But the quick Reply of that sensible old Man does Honour to the Wit and Spirit of the *Indian Nation*: I shall govern them with more Ease, O King, said he, if I send you, instead of the best, so many of the worst of my Subjects.

The Behaviour of *Mopbis*, afterwards called *Taxiles*, has been already related; but the Motives which induced him to deliver up his Kingdom to *Alexander*, deserve our Notice: They are contained in the following Speech he made to him at the Time of his Submission: 'To what Purpose, *Alexander*, should we make War upon each other, if thy Design of coming into these Parts be not to rob us of our Water, or our necessary Food, which are the only Things that wise Men are indispensably obliged to fight for? As for other Riches and Possessions, as they are accounted in the Eye of the World; if I am better provided of them than thou, I am ready to let thee share with me; but, if Fortune hath been more liberal to thee than me, I will not decline thy Favours, but accept them with all the thankful Acknowledgments that are due to a Benefactor.' This Compliment was extremely grateful to *Alexander*, who, after embracing, made him this Answer: Do not imagine, *Taxiles*, that these soft Expressions, and so polite a Behaviour, shall hinder our coming to an Engagement: No, you are not like to escape by changing the Nature of the War; for I will not be conquered even in Complaisance. It was upon this Occasion that he made him a Present of a thousand Talents, which displeased the *Macedonians* so much, but which, however, gained him the Friendship of the *Indians*.

These are certainly Instances of the good Sense, great Prudence, and generous Spirit, of these People. As to their Bravery, and excellent military Discipline, the following Instances will be sufficient to satisfy the Reader as to both. Such of the free Cities in *India*, that is, such as lived under a Republican Government, did not practise these Arts to secure, but hired Soldiers to defend their Liberties; which they did so effectually, that, when *Alexander* had granted them an honourable Capitulation, he was tempted to break it, and open a Passage to farther Conquests, by thus dispensing with his Word; which, however, lessened his Reputation exceedingly, and induced others to defend themselves with incredible Obstinacy. The Courage of *Porus*, the military Skill he shewed in the Disposition of his Forces, and the dear-bought Victory which *Alexander* obtained over him, were very fully set forth by the Pen of *Alexander* himself, in the Epistles he wrote upon that Subject; and the Request, which he made to *Alexander*, that he might be treated like a King, will, probably, be remembered and admired so long as the Light of History remains unextinguished. But it may not be amiss to observe, that in this hard-fought Battle *Porus* had no Advantage of Numbers; the Force he brought into the Field did not exceed twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and it was the Use he made of these, that struck the *Macedonians* with such a Dislike to the *Indian War*, that all the fine Speeches of *Alexander* could not inspire them with Courage enough to attempt the Passages of the *Ganges*.

It was in his Battles and Sieges in *India*, that *Alexander* received most of his Wounds. In other Countries he fought for Fame and Victory, but it was in *India* only that he fought for his Life. In a word, all his Conquests here were either obtained by the Admiration of his Virtue, or by dint of superior Force. It must be likewise observed, that the *Indians* were never charged with Infidelity to him, but maintained their Promises with the strictest Honour; and, therefore, when the *Greek Mercenaries* had murdered *Philip*, he recommended the *Macedonians* he had left in *India* to the Care of *Taxiles*, and never had any Reason to distrust his Friendship. These are solid and incontestable Proofs of the Civility, Wildom, and Virtue, of the *Indians*, who, though they abounded with Riches, used them with Discretion and Moderation; and who appear, in all the Accounts we have of *Alexander's Expedition*, to have been a People well governed, obedient to their Laws, and

^a Ptolemy, in *Alexander*,
Ptolemy, in *Alexander*.

^b Id. ibid.

^c Strabo. Arrian. Diodor. Sic. Justin.

^d Arrian, lib. vi. Quint. Curt. lib. ix.

alous of those Advantages that were the Result of their respective Constitutions; which, duly considered, will appear the highest Character that any People can deserve.

11. I have purposely omitted speaking hitherto of the *Indian Philosophers*, and of the Treatment they met with from *Alexander*, because I thought, both with respect to him and them, it was a Subject that required particular Consideration. These Men had the Misfortune to incur his Displeasure; and, in consequence thereof, to be very severely treated for doing their Duty, and acting as it became Men to act, who professed themselves Lovers of Wisdom. In short, these *Indian Sages*, instead of courting this victorious Prince, or endeavouring to gain his Favour by persuading the People to submit to him, exerted all their Eloquence, and all their Influence, to incite their Countrymen to behave with Courage and Firmness in the Defence of their Liberties; and this it was that exposed them so much to his Resentment.

We have already given an Account with what Severity he treated *Sambus*, who was their Prince, and his Subjects; and we have likewise taken Notice, that *Plutarch* informs us, that many of them preserved their Lives, by the satisfactory Answers they gave to the Questions that Conqueror proposed to them. As this Passage has a nearer Relation to the Subject of this Chapter, than most of the Adventures of *Alexander*, it cannot be disagreeable to the Reader, if we treat it at large. In the midst of the Violences that were committed, on account of the Revolt of the *Brachmans*, *Alexander* thought fit to make a Trial of their boasted Wisdom, by sending for ten of them into his Presence, whom he commanded to answer such Questions as he proposed to them, threatening such as answered amiss, with Death; and, appointing the eldest of them to be the Judge, he asked the first, 'Which, in his Opinion, were more numerous, the Living, or the Dead?' The *Brachman* answered, 'The Living; for the Dead are not.' He asked another, 'Which of all Animals was the most subtle?' 'That, said the *Brachman*, whatever it be, with which Mankind are not yet acquainted.' Of another, he demanded, 'What the Arguments were, by which he persuaded *Sambus* to revolt?' 'But one, returned the *Indian*; I told him he ought either to live free, or to die in the Endeavour to live so.' Another was required to tell him, 'Whether Night, or Day, was oldest?' 'Day,' answered the Philosopher, by one Day, at least.' But perceiving that *Alexander* was not satisfied with this Answer, he added, 'You ought not to wonder, Sir, if strange Questions meet with odd Replies.' One of them he asked, 'How a Man might become exceedingly beloved?' His Answer was, 'If he be very powerful, and, at the same time, be not very much feared.' To another this Question was proposed, 'How shall a Man act, to be thought a God?' 'Let him do, replied the *Brachman*, what by no other Man can be done.' The last of them, being ask'd, 'How long a Man ought to desire Life?' answered, 'Till Death shall become more eligible.'

When all had answered, *Alexander* commanded the Judge to give Sentence. 'All I can say, replied the old Man, is, that every one has answered worse than his Fellow.' 'That is false, said *Alexander*; and thou shalt die first, for having passed so foul a Sentence.' 'Not so, Sir, replied the *Brachman* very coolly, if you mean to keep your Word; for you said he should die first who answered worst; which I have not done, because you have not hitherto asked me any Question.' The King, surprised at their Firmness, as well as pleased with the Quickness of their Parts, and the shrewd Answers they had given him, not only dismissed them without Injury, but made them very considerable Presents.

It is to be remembered, that, in those Days, the common Method of putting Wisdom to the Test was by asking difficult Questions; as the common Method of Teaching was by short Sentences, which the *Greeks* called Aphorisms, and we Proverbs, taking that Word in its strictest and gravest Sense, which, even vulgarly used, im-

plies a Saying grown into Credit, by the Experience of its Truth. In this, undoubtedly the *Brachmans* were much happier than most other Philosophers, that hitherto have elapsed Centure, the wisest Men, in all Ages, having afforded them a just Tribute of Applause; which seems to have been chiefly derived from this Maxim, which regulated their whole Conduct, viz. to reserve speculative Doctrines for their private Conversations, and to teach the People such Things only as regarded the right Use of Life. It was owing to this Regulation, that the *Brachmans* themselves maintained their Characters unspotted; and that the *Indians* in general, of every Rank, were Men of Principle, and acted, on all Occasions, as became them. We shall have another Opportunity of describing more largely the Learning of these Sages, and their Manner of Living: At present, all I aim at, is to represent truly their Conduct, with respect to *Alexander*, and his Behaviour towards them, as a Point very curious and entertaining in itself; and which is of no small Consequence to this History.

12. It was a Custom, inviolably observed amongst the *Brachmans*, never to visit any Man, let his Rank be what it would; and that upon this Principle, that others had need of them, and they of none. In their Schools or Assemblies they spoke freely; but one thing they required of their Disciples, as well as practised themselves, which was, to appear quite naked; and in this respect they were so strict, that when *Alexander* sent *Onesicritus*, who was a Philosopher himself of the Sect of the Stoics, to hear one of them, who had the highest Reputation, the *Brachman* ordered him to strip, and hear what he had to say, naked; otherwise he would not open his Mouth, if he came from *Jupiter* himself. Thus the Story is told by *Plutarch*; but *Onesicritus* himself told it in another Manner.

He said, that he found fifteen of these *Brachmans* sitting together, at some Distance from the Town; to whom having told his Message, one of them, having conferred his Garb, could not forbear smiling, and then proceeded thus: There was a Time when Corn and Flour was as plenty as the Dust that covers the Earth; when the Fountains ran, some with Milk, some with Water, some with Honey, some with Wine, and some with Oil: But when, through Plenty and Luxury, Men grew vain and proud, the great God took away those Benefits; and decreed, that the Necessaries of Life should be obtained by Labour: Then Temperance, and other Virtues, produced once again Plenty of all Things; but now, that this Plenty seems to have begotten Vanity and Pride again, we are in Danger of being reduced once more to Penury and Want. He therefore who would hear me, must throw off his Clothes, and lie naked on the Stones, as we do.

The Name of this *Indian* Philosopher was *Spirites*; but, when he became better known to the *Macedonians*, and they observed that he saluted them always with the Word *Cale*, which, in the *Indian* Tongue, signifies *God save you*, they called him from thence *Calanus*. It was *Taxiles* who prevailed upon him to visit *Alexander*, and to converse with him; and, by degrees, he became more tractable. He was an old Man, and naturally of a severe Disposition, but withal very communicative; and, when he saw that *Alexander* delighted in philosophical Discourses, he no longer shunned his Company, or thought it a Disgrace to attend him.

On the contrary, when he left *India*, he followed him into *Persia*, where he made him, and the *Macedonians*, as they had been long Admirers of his Virtue and Wisdom, Witnesses also of his Death: For, being upwards of seventy-three, and being attacked by a Loochenis, he took a Resolution of putting an End to his Life; from which *Alexander* laboured to dissuade him, by representing, that Medicines, and a proper Diet, might produce a Cure. The Philosopher answered, that possibly it might be so; but that, according to the Custom of his Brethren, he looked upon this as a Summons from Nature; and that it became a wise Man not to wait, till the Force of his Reason

* *Diador. Sicul. lib. xvii. Plutarch. ubi supra.*

lib. xv. *Apuleius Florid. lib. i. Porphyre. de Abstinentia, lib. iv. sect. 17. Bardanes Syrus apud Euseb. Preparat. l. angel. lib. vi. cap. 3.*

* *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

* *Onesicritus ap. Strab. lib. xv. Palladius de meritis Brachman.*

* *Plutarch. in Alexandro. Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. vi. p. 457.*

* *Strab. lib. xv. Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

was destroyed, or, at least, weakened by long Sickness; but rather to die while he had the full Use of his Faculties, and was capable of making his Death as useful to his Disciples, as the Doctrines and Example of his Life.

When Alexander saw, that his Resolution was not to be altered, he gave Instructions for performing his Request; and committed the Care of erecting the funeral Pile, to *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, who was afterwards King of *Egypt*. When all things were ready, the King gave Orders, that he should be preceded by his Guards of Horse and Foot; and caused not only Spices and Perfumes to be scattered over the Pile, but likewise directed it to be adorned with several Gold and Silver Vessels. *Calanus*, being very sick and weak, was brought thither on Horseback, with all imaginable Splendor: But, before he mounted the Pile, he bestowed the Horse the King had given him, upon *Lyfimechus*, one of *Alexander's* Captains, who had been his constant Disciple; and, in like manner, distributed all the Gold and Silver Plate among his Friends; then, singing Hymns of Praise to God, for the Blessings bestowed upon him, he ascended the Pile; and, having decently composed himself on the Bed, which lay on the Top of it, he continued unmoved, and without varying his Posture when the Fire reached him; and so was consumed in the Sight of the whole Army. *Plutarch* reports, that when he embraced and took Leave of the *Macedonians*, he desired them to pass that Day in Mirth and good Fellowship, with the King, whom he doubted not to see again, in a little Time, at *Babylon*.

Strabo observes, that Writers differ very much, as to the Circumstances attending this extraordinary Fact; but, as to the Fact itself, there never could be any Doubt about it, because it was done publicly, and in the Sight of the whole Army; all their Trumpets sounding, and the Soldiers, with the loudest Acclamations, commending the high Courage, and steady Bravery, of the old Man. *Alexander* himself pronounced his Eulogium, in these few Words: '*Calanus* hath vanquished greater Enemies than I; for, whereas I warred with *Darius* and *Perus*, *Calanus* hath overcome both Pain and Death.'

Returning from the funeral Pile, *Alexander* invited many of his Friends, and principal Officers, to Supper; and proposed a Drinking-match, in which the Victor should be crowned. *Promachus* drank eighteen Quarts of Wine, and won the Prize, which weighed a Talent, from them all: But he survived his Victory but three Days; and was followed, as *Chares* says, by one-and-forty more, who died of the same Debauch, by reason of the severe Frost, which happened at that Time.

This was certainly a very odd Conclusion of a Scene so solemn, as that of the Death of *Calanus* had been: And we cannot help admiring the Inconstancy and Inconsistency of human Nature, when one reads such strange Relations as these, which would be certainly incredible, if daily Experience did not shew us, that Mankind are still the same; and that the greatest Vices, and the greatest Virtues, the noblest Sentiments, and the weakest Conduct, are very often observed in the same Man.

13. The History of *Calanus* is extremely famous, because all the Writers of the Life and Actions of *Alexander*, have mentioned it. But with respect to others of the *Brachmans*, to whom he applied himself, they are more silent; and, even in what they do report, there is such Diversity and Confusion, that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to come at the Truth. As to one Fact, however, they all agree; viz. that *Dindamis*, or *Dandamis*, was esteemed the chief of all the *Brachmans*, as much excelling the rest in Years, and in Wisdom. He it was, that when *Onesicritus* came to them, with a Message from *Alexander*, reproved *Calanus* for giving him so rough an Answer; and, having conferred with the *Greek* Philosopher for some Time, on the Doctrines delivered by *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, and *Diogenes*, the *Indian* readily confessed, that they appeared to him to be very wise Men: In one thing only, said he, I blame them; which is, that they prefer Law and Custom to Nature, which if they

did not do, they would never be ashamed of going naked, as we do. Yet this *Dandamis* was more steady in his Resolution than *Calanus*; for he absolutely refused to visit *Alexander*, upon any Terms: And when his Messenger told him, that their King was the Son of *Jupiter*; that he was Master of the World; and would reward him with great Gifts, if he listened to his Proposal; but would otherwise cause him to be fastened to a Cross; he answered roundly, that he did not believe he was the Son of *Jupiter*; neither did he conceive, that he really possessed any thing, for if he did, he would be satisfied, and not give himself, or the rest of the World, so much Trouble: That, as to his Gifts, he neither needed nor desired them: And that even his Threats made no Impression; for, said he, if he should put me to Death, he will only release my Soul from this old decrepit Body, which will then pass into a freer and purer State: So that I shall suffer nothing by the Change.

This very plainly shews, that they over-rate this Matter, who suppose, that *Alexander's* professing himself the Son of *Jupiter*, was a Stroke of refined Policy, made use of for no other Reason, than to facilitate the Conquest of the *Indies*: Since there are two Things certain; one, that he assumed this Title long before he thought of conquering the *Indies*; the other, that the *Indians* never believed it. They some of them, indeed, seemed to believe it; and, by returning him Fable for Fable, saved themselves, and their Cities, from Destruction. But we shall soon see, that what the *Greek* Writers have reported, in relation to their Notions of Divinity, is, in most respects, very superficial; and, in many, absolutely false. *Alexander* himself was so thoroughly persuaded of this, and had so high an Opinion of the Wisdom of the *Brachmans*, that instead of relenting the Answer which *Dandamis* had sent him, he admired the Courage and steady Resolution of the Man: Nay, he carried his Admiration so far, as to write to this *Brachman*, acquainting him, that he had heard of many extraordinary Things, in relation to the Wisdom of their Doctrine, and their singular manner of Living, that he was desirous of learning, from him, what their Notions were, and what their manner of Life; since, if he found that Excellency in them, which was reported, he was content to become his Disciple.

14. This Condescension of *Alexander*, as it was very singular, so it had as remarkable an Effect; for *Dandamis* no sooner received the King's Letter, than he wrote him a long Epistle, so curious in itself, so full of extraordinary Facts, and withal so agreeable to his Character, that, I conceive, the transcribing it will afford no small Satisfaction to the Reader, inasmuch as it contains a clearer and better Account of those Philosophers, than, for any thing I know, is yet extant; and, therefore, though the Epistle be long, I shall give it the Reader intire, without the least Variation: Thus then it runs.

'*Alexander*, the Desire you discover of being acquainted with Wisdom, inclines me to think, that you ought to be already ranked among wise Men. There is nothing that hinders me from regarding you as such, but your immoderate Passion for subduing Mankind, and commanding the Universe. The true Philosopher learns to conquer himself, and submit to the Law of Reason without Reluctance. But your Character, and, above all, your immoderate Ambition, is an invincible Obstacle to this. You desire to be instructed as to our Manners and Customs; I dare not undertake this, because I am conscious to myself, that I have not a Talent for speaking; and that your Course of Life, and the continual Exercise of Arms, will not allow you Time to hear me. Yet I will not wholly refrain, since you so earnestly desire it. But do not expect, that I should flatter you; we are a plain Sort of People, and know not how to colour or disguise Things.

'The Life of the *Brachmans* is equally pure and simple. That Pleasure which seduces the rest of Mankind, has no Charms for us. Reason is the sole Guide of our Desires: Always satisfied with the State we are in, we

^a *Arrian*, lib. vi. *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. xvii.

^b *Plutarch*, in *Alexandro*.

^c *Strabo*, lib. xv.

^d *Anonymus in Collectione Indanense*, 1663.

^e *Plutarch*, in *Alexandro*.

^f *Strabo*, lib. xv.

^g *Anonymus in Collectione Indanense*, 1663.

^h *Plutarch*, in *Alexandro*.

ⁱ *Strabo*, lib. xv.

^j *Anonymus in Collectione Indanense*, 1663.

^k *Plutarch*, in *Alexandro*.

^l *Strabo*, lib. xv.

^m *Anonymus in Collectione Indanense*, 1663.

ⁿ *Plutarch*, in *Alexandro*.

^o *Strabo*, lib. xv.

^p *Anonymus in Collectione Indanense*, 1663.

^q *Plutarch*, in *Alexandro*.

^r *Strabo*, lib. xv.

^s *Anonymus in Collectione Indanense*, 1663.

• never so much as murmur at any Accidents that befall us.
 • Indifferent to Nourishment, we know not so much as what
 • Delicacy means : Our Tables are only furnished with such
 • Roots and Herbs as the Earth produces in herself, without
 • Trouble, without Toil ; and hence it is, that we
 • know nothing more of Diseases, than what we are taught
 • by the Pains and Complaints of others. That pure Joy
 • which reigns in our Breasts is never disturbed, but by the
 • Sense we have of other Peoples Miseries.

• An absolute Equality renders every one of us independent, and banishes from amongst us Envy, Jealousy, Ambition, and Malice. We have no Courts of Judicature, because we do nothing that is amiss ; and our strict regard to Justice hath exempted us hitherto from those severe Laws, by which Crimes are punished among other People. We are even afraid, that the introducing of them should awaken the Notions of those Evils which they are intended to prohibit. The sole Law amongst us is, not to violate the Laws of Nature. By avoiding all Reproach, we are not exposed to the Necessity of pardoning others, in hopes of being treated by them with the like Indulgence : Much less do we purchase Pardon or Impunity by the Force of Money ; a sort of Tenderness produced by Avarice, and which renders the Judge more guilty than the Criminal.

• Amongst us, Idleness is most rigorously chastised. We dread Pleasure as the Source of Weakness. We love that Sort of Labour which exercises the Body, but we detest that which springs from the Desire of Gain. Our Occupations tend only to procure the Necessaries of Life. We abhor all other Views, and regard them as the Fountain of Evils. In our Fields we have neither Bound nor Limits, nor any thing that can constitute Property. We are convinced, that this is an Usurpation directly contrary to the Laws of Nature ; every one therefore takes where he pleases, what the Earth bountifully produces for the Service of All. We let the Birds fly quietly in the Air ; the Beasts feed peaceably in the Fields ; and the Fish are unmolested by us in the Waters. We possess all that we can wish ; because we desire no more than we want. There is nothing we dread so much as that insatiable Desire of acquiring Property, which creates a thousand Wants in the Heart of Man ; and renders him daily poorer and poorer, in proportion as his Wealth increases.

• We warm ourselves in the Sun-beams. The Dews refresh us. We walk in the Rivers. We eat the Herbs and the Roots, which the Field produces. The Earth serves for our Bed. Cares never disturb our Sleep. Peace of Mind preserves our Thoughts always free. Our Independency delivers us from Fear, and from Subjection, of every kind. We look upon each other as Brethren, whom Nature has made equal, and as the Children of one Supreme God our Father, who ought therefore to share alike the Inheritance he has given us. We are ignorant amongst us as to the Art of destroying Forests, and breaking Rocks to pieces, to build Houses, while Nature has formed Caves for that Use. There we neither fear Winds, Rain, Cold, Heat, or Tempests. These natural Habitations are our Dwellings while we live, and serve us for Sepulchres after Death.

• We avoid in our Dress, whatever has the least Appearance of Softness or Luxury. Leaves, or the Bark of Trees, cover what in Decency should not be exposed. Our Women are not allowed to adorn themselves like the rest of their Sex ; and, even if they were permitted, their Sentiments would hinder them from making use of that Permission ; persuaded, as they are, that vain and gaudy Adornment is rather troublesome than ornamental ; and that all the Art in the World cannot add to Beauty, or supply the want of it. All such Pains, therefore, are either thrown away, because they do not correct Defects ; or criminal, because they would improve the Work of an All-wise Creator. Such as our Women are by Nature, they merit all our Affection ; and we never hear amongst us the Crimes of Incest, Adultery, or other Disorders which dishonour Nature, and violate the

• Peace and Quiet rule always our Society. The least Thought of killing a Man fills us with Horror. We never provoke Strangers. We know not how to use Arms. It is Mildness, and not Force, by which we maintain a good Understanding with our Neighbours. Fortune alone is our only Enemy ; with her only we contend ; and, generally speaking, the Blows she aims at fall beside us. Attentive as we are to do nothing that may expose us to Mischief, we have few Evils which we can justly complain of. Death troubles us only when we are taken off immaturally ; otherwise the Fatal Strokes are not the Funeral of the Son, and we consider it as the Lot of Nature. Whenever it befalls us, we never attempt to raise pompous Monuments, which seem to insult the Relicts which they cover. For what more vile, more wretched, than the miserable Remains of a disfigured Corpse, destroyed by the Flames, that it might not pollute the Earth ?

• Be not displeased, if these first Strokes of our Picture disfigure thee. With what Ravages hast thou not isolated the Universe ? Madly fond of Riches, and fatigued with Ambition, how much Blood has been shed by thy Hands, or, which is the same thing, by thy Orders ? Thou tear'st Children from their Parents, depravest Men of funeral Rites, thou violatest Tombs ; thou art eager in endeavouring to reach the rising Sun, as if thou meant'st to stop his Course. Thou overturnest Thrones, thou drawest after thee captive Kings to adorn thy Triumphs. Of Citizens thou delightest to make Slaves ; and, from a like Inconstancy, thou kittest Slaves at Liberty. Thou persuadest thyself thou hast taken Towns, when thou hast bribed their Governors with Money. Without doubt, hereafter, thou flatterest thyself thou shalt be able to corrupt the Prince of Hell.

• I forbear to set thy Image before thy Eyes, that I may proceed in the Account I am giving you of our Manners. We know nothing of those tumultuous Assemblies, those Games, those Spectacles, which are your supreme Delights. Of what Use would your Comedians be to the most of a People who most heartily despise the Profession, and who do nothing that can furnish a Subject for Ridicule ? Amongst us, there are none of those mad Scenes proper to form your Tragedies. The Bravemans would tremble at the Sight of young Men exposed to wild Beasts, or at the Sight of strong July Men, who, in cool Blood, beat and wound each other for the Diversion of such as look on. Heaven is to us the noblest Spectacle ; we admire, we rejoice at the Order, the Economy, the Regularities of its Motions ; we are ravished in contemplating the Sun, mounted on his purple Car, and travelling through the Realms of Night, till he returns, at the End of the Year, to the Point from which he set out. From the Heaven, we turn our Eyes to the Earth, and behold there the Spectacle of Nature ; all whose Works appear to us equally lovely, admirable, and incomprehensible. The Notes of the Birds, the murmuring Streams, the Flowers, nay, a single Leaf of a Flower, sufficiently employ our Thoughts, and absorb our Attention.

• Content with what grows in our own Country, we never think of looking elsewhere, for the Rarities of Soils, and other Climates. Nothing strikes us so much as what is our own. We despise all the Flowers of Eloquence ; we condemn it as a pernicious Art, which too often teaches Men to employ their Talents in giving Fallshood the Air of Truth, protecting Crimes, accusing Innocence, and sometimes justifying Parricide. All our Eloquence consist in being sincere, and in never telling an Untruth.

• This is a short Account of our Manners ; this is a succinct Detail of our Doctrines. It is a Maxim among the Brackemans, never to fully try their Sacrifices with Blood by the Slaughter of innocent Victims ; they adorn not their Temples with Gold or Silver Plate, or with the Lustrre of Precious Stones. They look upon this as insulting the Divinity, as if we meant to give him what he has not, or as if we intended to shew ourselves as powerful as he, by affecting to display our

Riches in his Sight. God requires of us, that we should worship him with Purity, and not with Blood; and will accept only the Prayers and Humiliation of Men. He is that Word by which he has created the visible World, by which he preserves, governs, and causes it to subsist. He is a pure Spirit, and requires therefore no other Offerings from us than our good Works, our Virtues, and our Praises.

As I have thus given you a Sketch of our Religion, compare it, I beseech you, with your own; or, at least, permit me to make a Comparison. I can, by no means, suffer that astonishing Blindness, which allows you to pretend to draw your Original from Heaven, and to make to free, as you do, with the Supreme Being. You have no Idea of Grandeur, but as it consists in an illustrious Blood; you desire thereby the Nobility of your first Birth, by referring all Things to the Flesh, in which you place all your Delight: You make it the sole Object of your Attention; you nourish it with Delicacies; you love nothing else; and, which is a much greater Crime, you think it worthy of being presented in Sacrifice to the Supreme Being. You know not the one God, who is; and you adore a Multitude of Gods, that are not; you place many of these in Heaven, and yet assign them the Direction of several Parts of your Body: *Minerva* resides in the Brain, as in the Seat of Wisdom; *Juno* governs the impetuous Motions of the Heart; *Mercury*, your God of Eloquence, dwells on the Lips; *Hercules* gives Force to your Limbs; *Cupid* inspires you with Sentiments of Tenderness; *Bacchus* gives you Taste: Your Aliments are under the Care of *Ceres*; *Venus* procures Fruitfulness; *Jupiter* opens the Organs of Respiration; and *Apollo*, so famous for his Address, conducts your Fingers in playing on musical Instruments.

What Divinities are here! how narrow are the Bounds of their Power, inasmuch that they either will not, or cannot, change their reciprocal Functions! Their Opposition is manifest, even from the very Worship you pay them. You must offer a Bull to *Jupiter*; a Peacock to *Juno*; a wild Boar to *Mars*; a Goat to *Bacchus*; a Swan to *Apollo*; a Dove to *Venus*; an Owl to *Minerva*; Cakes to *Ceres*; and Honey to *Mercury*: *Hercules* will have Branches of Poplar to adorn his Statues and Altars; *Cupid* will have none but Rofs. You dare not change so much as the Order of these Ornaments, without running the Hazard of being disgraced with them. Now, do but consider the Contradiction of these Characters; and how they all seem to have entered into a League, to torment you. One calls you to War; another to Pleasures: This to the Toils of Commerce; and that to the Delights of good Cheer. All of them command you to do what they like: They invite, they press, they solicit you; and they never allow you any Peace, till you have obeyed them. Are such Gods as these capable of promoting human Felicity? Speak but the Truth, and you will own, that they are your own Passions canonized.

You may discover yourselves also, in the Divinities with which you have filled your Hell: It is easy there to find your own Crimes under honourable Symbols. The *Eumenides* are your fallacious Thoughts; *Tisiphone* is the Reproach of a Conscience loaded with Crimes; *Tantalus* your insatiable Covetousness. *Cerberus* expresses the Punishment due to Ill-speaking; *Hydra* is your Vices reviving, as often as they are cut off. *Pluto* himself, thrown down from Heaven, teaches that you are degenerated, like him, in forgetting that sole Being to whom you owe your Original. O unfortunate Nations! whose Religion is your Crime, while living; and your Punishment after Death.

Alexander gave no Answer to this Letter; neither did he apply himself any more to the Brahman, but a confused mix of Pride and Impiety; and despised that Wisdom, which he would not take the Pains to understand. But it was now Time to return to that Conqueror's Expedition, and attend him back to Persia, as we followed him to India.

15. His Admiral *Nearebus* having informed him, that the Season was very favourable, and that there was no Danger in sailing to the *Euphrates*, he ordered *Hephestion*, with a great Part of the Army, to embark; and with the Remainder marched on to *Pasargada*, where he heard the Complaints that were made to him of the ill Conduct of his Governors in his Absence, and punished them very severely; and, having made *Peucestes* Governor of Persia, he advanced to the *Pasitigris*, where a new Bridge had been thrown over the River, for the Passage of the Land-forces, and where, at the same time, *Nearebus* arrived with the Fleet, and that Part of the Army which had been embarked on board it, after they had been six Months at Sea: And on this Account *Alexander* instituted new Games, and sacrificed according to the Custom of the Greeks.

When he arrived at *Susa*, he married *Statira* the Daughter of *Darius*; bestowed most of the Persian Ladies on his Macedonian Captains; and made a magnificent Entertainment on account of their Marriages, at which there were 9000 Guests, to every one of which he gave a golden Cup: And that they might have nothing to embitter their Mirth, he paid all their Debts; and, suspecting that out of Shame they might not give a fair Account, he directed the Sum total to be brought him, without inquiring into each Man's Account. *Plutarch* says, that this amounted to 9870 Talents; and other Authors agree with him in that Account: But *Arrian*, the most exact Writer of his Memoirs, affirms that their Debts came to 20,000 Talents.

Here he likewise punished, with great Severity, such as had been guilty of Oppression and Corruption during his Absence; and rewarded others, who had behaved well. To *Peucestes*, *Leonatus*, *Nearebus*, *Onciscritus*, *Hephestion*, and others, he gave golden Crowns. At the same time he mustered the 30,000 young Persians, who had been trained in the Macedonian Exercise, and expressed great Satisfaction as to their Behaviour. He likewise ordered all the Invalids in his Army to prepare for their Return into Greece, promising to provide for them generously at their Departure; in which he certainly meant them well: But the Macedonians, who were now grown peevish and disaffected, put a bad Construction upon it; and, running into a Mutiny, cried out, that now he had worn them out in his Service, he was weary of the Sight of them, and did not care to look upon the Halt and Maimed, who had lost their Health and their Limbs in his Battles. They therefore desired he would discharge them all, and make use of his dancing Boys to conquer the rest of the World; or, if he found them insufficient, he might have recourse to his Father *Ammon*.

Alexander was greatly provoked, ordered thirteen of the Ringleaders to be immediately drowned in the River, and for three Days admitted none of them to his Presence; which threw them into Despair, and brought them to make the deepest Submissions: Upon which, after a gentle Reproof, he was reconciled to them, and gave the Charge of the Invalids to *Craterus*, ordering every Man to have his Arrears paid him, with Money sufficient to bear the Expence of his Journey, and a Talent besides. He likewise bestowed on *Craterus* the Government of Macedonia, and ordered that *Antipater* should come over, with fresh Recruits, from Greece; sending him Instructions likewise, to pay the utmost Honour to his Invalids; and to take care, that at all public Shews, and in the Theatres, they should have the first Seats, and be allowed Chaplets of Flowers. He likewise directed, that the Children of such as had lost their Lives in his Service, should have their Fathers Pay continued to them.

When he came to *Ecbatana* in Media, he celebrated new Games, having just received a Supply of 3000 Performers from Greece. But, in the midst of these Rejoicings, his Favourite *Hephestion* died: Upon which he put the whole Empire into Mourning; ordered the sacred Fire of the Persians to be extinguished; and, being informed that the *Cossi*, who lived in the Mountains, and had never been subdued by the Persians, refused Submission to him, he resolved to divert his Grief, by an Expedition into that

^a *Diad. lib. xvii. Arrian. Quint. Curt.*

^b *See also Quint. Curt. Plutarch. in Alexander.*

^c That is, at the lowest, 1,074,000 *l.* of our Money, or 1,000,000 *l.* at the highest.

^d *See also Quint. Curt. Plutarch. in Alexander. Quint. Curt.*

Country, which he reduced, notwithstanding it was the Winter season, and very cold, in forty Days, ordering the whole Nation, without Distinction of Sex or Age, to be put to Death, fling this Cruelty a Sacrifice to *Hephestion's* Ghost ^a.

He was now in the Neighbourhood of the *Hyrcanian*, or, as it is at present called, the *Caspian Sea*; and therefore he gave Directions, that a great Quantity of Timber should be cut down in the adjacent Mountains, and a Fleet built, on board which he intended to have gone himself the next Summer. In the mean time he resolved to proceed to *Babylon*, where he had ordered the Embassadors from foreign States to meet him, and where he intended to erect a most magnificent Monument to the Memory of *Hephestion*, for the Expence of which, he had destined 10,000 Talents; and declared besides, that he expected he should be worshipped as an Hero, or Demi-god ^b.

16. When he drew near the City, *Nearchus*, in whom he had great Confidence, informed him, that he had met with some *Chaldean* Soothsayers, who were in great Reputation, and who had declared, that the King's Entrance into that City would be fatal to him: He had the same Intimations from other Hands; to which, probably, he would have listened, but that the *Greek* Philosophers, who were about him, took Pains to persuade him, that it was unworthy of a great Prince, and unbecoming a wife and brave Man, to listen to such Stories. His Priests than suggested, that it would be best for him to enter the City on the West-side, with his Face towards the East; but, upon Trial, this was found impracticable. *Alexander* did not however, thew, upon this Occasion, that Firmness and Steadiness which some have reported; but, on the contrary, had a thousand Doubts and Fears, as was evident from the Time he spent without the City, removing his Tent from Place to Place, and betraying strong Apprehensions of his being deserted by the Goats, and betrayed by his Friends: So that he fell, at once, into such black Fits of Despair and Suspicion, as terrified all who were about him ^c.

At last, he recollected himself, and determined, without further Delays, to enter the City: To which he was chiefly moved by two Reasons; one, that he might shew his Contempt of these Predictions, to the foreign Embassadors before mentioned; the other, a Conjecture, that the *Chaldeans* might have some private Reasons to endeavour to prevent his entering *Babylon*. After he had taken this Step, he gave Audience to all the Embassadors who came from the different Parts of the known World: Some from the Sea-coasts of *Africa*, as far as the *Atlantic Ocean*; others from the *Iberians*, *Illyrians*, and *Scythians*. Some of the Nations of *Italy* sent to compliment him; such as the *Bruttii*, *Lucani*, and *Tusci*: There came likewise from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; and even from the *Gauls* and *Celts*. There are some Writers, who pretend that the *Romans* also sent Embassadors upon this Occasion; but they are Writers of no great Credit: For *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, and *Strabo*, who constantly followed him, and who left Memoirs of every thing that happened in those Days, say no such thing: And, as *Arrian* very well observes, the Story is not probable in itself; for, as the *Romans* were at that time perfectly free, and the Republic excessively jealous of their Liberty, it is a Thing incredible, that he should pay such an extraordinary Mark of Respect, as this, to a foreign Prince; and more especially to one who set up for universal Monarchy, and pretended to lord it over the whole World ^d. It is certain, however, that he considered this Concourse of foreign Ministers, as the noblest Incident of his whole Reign, as he judged it the strongest Proof of his being become formidable to People even at the greatest Distance ^e.

To keep up, therefore, this Reputation, and to have his great Officers in Action, which was a Maxim he constantly pursued, he set on Foot three vast Designs at once. The first of these was the perfect Discovery of the *Hyrcanian*, or *Caspian Sea*, the best Part of its Shore being hitherto unknown, notwithstanding the many great Rivers

that fall into it; and this it was that tempted *Alexander* to make a perfect Discovery of its Bounds, and to reduce all the Nations that inhabited on its Borders, under his Dominion. His second Design was, the establishing a great Fleet in the *Indian Ocean*; for which Purpose he caused forty-seven large Ships, according to the Notion of those Times, to be built by the *Phoenicians*; then taken to pieces, and brought to *Thapsacus*, and from thence to *Babylon*. The Use he intended to make of these Ships, was to examine the *Indian Coast* thoroughly, and to take a perfect Account of the Places where convenient Ports might be made; as also to acquire perfect Intelligence as to the Nature and Value of *Indian Commodities*. But, as he knew, that Ships were of little Use, unless they were conducted by able Seamen, he intrusted *Myndas* of *Carmania* with five hundred Talents, and sent him into *Phoenicia*, to contract there with a sufficient Number of *Baluch* Pilots, and able Seamen, to navigate that Fleet. And, to shew how little Regard he had to the Maxims of the *Politian Policy*, he ordered all the Impediments to the free Navigation of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* to be removed, that Fleets might pass these Rivers as easily as ever ^f.

His third Project was the Conquest of *Arabia*, to which he was excited by various Motives; the first of these, as we find it in *Arrian's* History, is very remarkable. He was informed, that the *Arabians* worshipped but two Gods, *Heaven*, and *Bacchus*; the former, because it contains the Sun and Stars; the latter, on account of his Victories in *Asia*: *Alexander* therefore had a mind to make their third Deity, and to force them to the same Submission that had been paid him by the *Indians*. Another Reason was, the Desire he had of being Master of their Riches; for, at that Time, the *Arabians* had Abundance of Gold, and possessed all the Spices and rich Perfumes that were known to the World. A third Reason was, the Situation of the Country, which lay in the Midst of his new Conquests; so that, without this Accession, he judged them to be incomplete. But, that he might be perfectly satisfied, both as to the Extent and Worth of the Country against which he was next to lead his Armies, and that he might know how to dispose of his Maritime Force to the best Advantage, he thought proper to send three of his ablest Officers, each in a large Ship, to examine the Coasts. The first of these was *Archias*, who, in a Vessel of thirty Oars, proceeded out of the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, and discovered, at the Distance of one hundred and twenty Stadia, an Island, in which was a Temple sacred to *Diana*. This Island, by the Command of *Alexander*, was called *Icarus*. He also discovered another, and a larger Island, at the Distance of a Day and a Night's Sail from the River's Mouth, the Name of which was *Tylus*. It was not overgrown with Wood, as the former, but a well inhabited and well-cultivated Country: But farther he durst not proceed. But *Androsthenes*, who had a Ship of the same Burden, sailed farther, and examined Part of the maritime Coast of *Arabia*. *Hieron* excelled them both; for he sailed quite round the *Gulf*, into the *Arabian Gulf*, and so to the opposite Coasts of *Egypt*; and, on his Return, gave a full Account to *Alexander*, of the Extent of the Country, which he affirmed to be very near as big as that Part of *India* which they had discovered ^g.

The King was very well satisfied with these Accounts; and therefore gave Directions for making all the necessary Preparations for the Invasion of *Arabia*. He likewise directed an Haven to be made at *Babylon*, and sailed himself down the *Euphrates*, and into the *Pactopa*, which was a Channel cut from the former River; the Passages of which he opened, and caused a new one to be cut toward the Lakes; and, having thus passed as far as the Frontiers of *Arabia*, he ordered a new City to be built, as a Monument of his coming into these Parts. On his Return to *Babylon*, he derided the *Chaldean* Soothsayers on the Falseness of their Prophecies; because he had not only entered *Babylon*, but had left it, made a Voyage, and returned thither again, without meeting with any unlucky Accident.

^a *Plutarch* in *Alexandro*.

^b *Arrian*, lib. vii.

^c *Diogen. Sicul. Quint. Curt. Plutarch*

^d

^e *Diogen. Sicul. lib. xvii. Arrian, lib. vii. Plutarch in Alexandro*

^f *Strabo. Arrian. Diogen. Sicul.*

^g *Arrian, lib. vii.*

^h

As he had now conquered his Apprehensions in respect to the Faculty of the Place, he began to be extremely pleased with the convenient Situation of this City, and to think of making it, at least for the present, the Seat of his Empire; for which Reason, he gave Directions for repairing some, and erecting other, public Buildings. While his Thoughts were thus occupied, he spent the Evenings in feasting; and, having sat up one Night till it was late, he was invited, as he was going to Bed, to pass another Hour with one *Medius*, a *Thebanian*; which he unluckily complied with; and there drank so hard the remaining Part of the Night, that it threw him into a Fever. The next Day he bathed, and remained in the Bath-chamber all Night. The Day following, which was the 19th of the Macedonian Month *Desius*, he thought himself better, and ate heartily at Supper; but had a restless Night. On the 20th he sacrificed, and, in the Bath, heard *Nearchus* read the Journal of his Voyage, and heard him finish it the next Day: But then, his Fever prevailing, he grew extremely ill, and continued so till the 28th in the Evening, when he expired. These, and some other Passages relating to his last Illness, are taken from his Diary, written with his own Hand; for in this he was extremely exact, setting down every thing of Moment that happened till within a Day or two before his Death. These Passages we find transcribed in *Arrian* and *Plutarch*.

One thing, however, was so remarkable in his Conduct, even in his last Moments, that it ought not to be omitted. When he was very near his End, he asked some who were about him, *Whether they thought they should have such another King?* As they remained all silent, and made him no manner of Answer, he proceeded. *You are ignorant of this, said he, and so am I; but this I can foresee, nay, I almost see it with my Eyes, that Macedonia will overflow with Blood before this Controversy can be decided, and that my Funeral will be celebrated by sanguinary Disputes.* When he was asked to whom he bequeathed the Kingdom, he answered, *To the most worthy;* and, when *Perdiccas* demanded, *At what time he would have divine Honours paid him,* he replied, *If whenever you are all happy*.

At the Time of his Decease, he was in the thirty-third Year of his Age, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign over *Macedon*, and in the eighth of his Empire; and this great Event, according to the best Chronologists, fell out in the 33d Year before the coming of *Jesus Christ*.

It has been already observed, that this great Prince was exceedingly exact in committing to Writing whatever occurred to him of Importance, and this to the very last. When he was dead they examined his Table-book, or, as the Antients called them, his Commentaries; and therein they found these five Schemes mentioned, as necessary to be put into Execution, for establishing and securing the Empire. I. That a thousand long Ships, of a larger Size than any that were then in Use, should be built in *Phoenicia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cyprus*, in order to subdue the *Carthaginians*, and others inhabiting the Sea Coasts of *Africa* and *Spain*, together with the adjacent Islands, as far as *Scythia*. On this Head, it is natural to observe, that *Alexander* had chiefly in View, in the bringing this Project to bear, the establishing a maritime Power not to be disputed with; which was, in Truth, the Thing, of all others, he most affected, as well knowing, that, without maritime Power, the widest Empire is a Prison, the Keys of which are in the Hands of whatever State is Mistress of the Sea.

II. That a plain direct high Road should be made all through the Coast of *Africa* to the Pillars of *Hercules*. This was properly added to the former, as conducive to the same Design; for, without such a Road, neither the Defence of those Coasts could be secured, or the Communication necessary for a free and universal Commerce be kept open. Such a Road would, he foresaw, prove so useful, and, in a short Space of Time, be found so convenient, especially in the Hands of so wise a People as the *Greeks*, that it would prevent the Country, through which it passed, from falling under the Yoke of barbarous Masters,

and thereby preserve the Empire, into whose Hands soever it fell, in a great measure, secure, as affording the Means of keeping regular Garrisons in convenient Stations, and facilitating the March of such Bodies of Troops as might be necessary for suppressing Rebellions, so as to reach any Part of that great Space of Country in a very short time.

III. That six magnificent Temples should be built, and the Sum of fifteen hundred Talents be laid out on each of them; another Stroke of the same Policy, in order that the Concourse of People to these Temples should maintain Society and Acquaintance, prevent the Revival of Barbarism, and inure all Nations to the Love of a free and general Correspondence, by the mingling frequently in the Celebration of the same sacred Rites. This was very consonant to his own constant Practice of keeping up a great Spirit of Religion in his Army; in which he found his Account, and had the Priests, in every Part of his Dominions, intirely devoted to his Service, which was the surest Means of keeping the People quiet; Yet it does not appear, that he was a Bigot, or aimed at obliging all Nations to follow his Sentiments in Religion, but rather the contrary; for he left the *Jews*, *Persians*, *Indians*, and *Egyptians*, the free Exercise of their respective Forms of Worship, though they were all directly repugnant to his own.

IV. That, in convenient Places, Arsenals and Havens should be constructed for the Reception and Security of the Royal Navy. It is clear from hence, that he intended his Empire should be protected and defended by a Naval Force. It was exactly conformable to his Behaviour in the *Indies*, and at *Babylon*, where he neglected nothing, spared no Pains, either of his own, or of his Army, to discover every Corner where he came, to examine the Rise and Course of Rivers, their Mouths, and the Means of rendering them servicable by the Construction of proper Harbours and Fortresses to protect them. This appeared fatiguing and useless to his *Macedonians*, who had always an Eye to their own Country, and considered all their Conquests as Acquisitions to that little contemptible State. But *Alexander* had other Thoughts, and other Views, as his Intent was not only to conquer the best Part of the Universe, and to keep it when conquered, but to reduce it under a regular Form of Government, to be beneficial to all his Subjects, that they might find their private Interests deeply concerned in maintaining the public Regulations he meant to have established.

V. That all the new Cities he had founded, should be planted with Colonies; and that People should be for that Purpose transported out of *Europe* into *Asia*, and out of *Asia* into *Europe*, to the end that, by reciprocal Marriages and Intermixtures, Peace and Concord might be established between the two great Continents of the World. This was the Point to which the other Projects tended; this was the Centre of his Designs, and the grand Object of all his Contivances. The Consideration of this Proposition explains his whole Conduct, and serves as a Key to every one of his particular Schemes. It was in order to this, that he was so careful in subduing all the barbarous Nations in his Return from *India*; that he took so much Pains to have the Coasts of *Persia*, and the *Persian* Gulph, so accurately examined; that he determined to reduce *Arabia*, that all the Sea Coasts on that Side might be in his Possession; that he thought of discovering and surrounding *Africa*; and, in fine, that he framed, on the other hand, a Resolution of examining the Coasts, and subduing the Nations that bordered on the *Hyrcanian* Sea.

He was not of the narrow Spirit of his Countrymen, who would have subjected all the World to *Macedonia*, but had a Soul as capacious as the World he fought to conquer. He did not, as many have imagined, rush on from Victory to Victory, from Conquest to Conquest, without knowing what he would be at, or when he would be contented; but proceeded uniform, and on a regular Plan, which he laid down early, as we shall shew when we come

^a *Plutarch* in *Alexandria*. He died, according to the best Calculation that can be made, about the latter End of May.

^b *Plutarch* lib. vii. *Quint. Curt.* lib. x. cap. 7. *Justin* c. *Trago Periplo*, lib. xii. *Corn. Nepos* in *Examine*.

^c *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. xvi.

to speak of the Foundation of *Alexandria*; and pursued steadily to the very Day of his Death, as appears by his attending, when he was so near it, to the Journal of *Nearchus*, whose Voyage had to close a Relation to his grand Design. As, in laying open this System of Policy, I have followed evidently the Minutes of this great Monarch, the Reader can entertain no doubt of the Truth of what I say. Indeed I might have collected much of what is here delivered from other Steps of his Conduct; but then my Conjectures might have been disputed; whereas now, I have given unquestionable Authority for every Title I have advanced.

19. *Plutarch*, in his two learned Orationes on the Fortune and Virtue of *Alexander* the Great, has given us abundance of fine Thoughts on these Subjects; and many of our modern Writers have, with infinite Industry, collected, from his Life, all the different Indications of his Virtues, and of his Vices. I must confess, that I do not think the true Character of *Alexander* can be this way reached; for his Virtues and Vices were most of them constitutional, and appeared accidentally, as they were by different Occasions struck out. His sole Principle of Action, his ruling and sovereign Passion, was the Conquest of the known World; from a Notion, that, under his Direction, Mankind might be new-modelled, and his Empire so constituted, as to maintain and support itself. In all human Probability, he originally either derived this Notion from the Lectures of *Aristotle*, or gathered it from the Works of *Homer*. But, however he came by it, there is no Question to be made, that he had formed an Idea of this Empire before he quitted *Macedon*; and this is the true Sense of the Answer he made one of his Captains when he divided all Things amongst them, What he kept for himself? Hope, returned he; that is, the Hope of this Empire, the very Thought of which made him regard his hereditary Kingdom, and all his former Conquests, as nothing.

It was this that induced him to reject all the Propositions made him of Peace; for, according to his Scheme, there could be no Peace, till he was Master of all. This led him to destroy the City of *Tyre*, that he might put an End to their Monopoly of Trade, which was directly opposite to the System he had formed, and was endeavouring to carry into Execution. It was this that induced him to stay so long in *Egypt*, which has been censured by so many Writers; because they did not enter into his Plan, or conceive the ultimate View of all his Conquests. It was this that led him to the hazardous Expedition to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and the sole Reason why he affected to be thought the Son of that God, from a Notion, that the Sovereign of the Universe should not be considered as the Offspring of a Man.

By degrees, however, this grew upon him; and what at first was a Principle of Policy, at last became a Foible. He found his *Macedonians*, whenever they were out of Humour, ready to rally him on that Subject; and this was a Railery he could not bear, because he really believed it necessary to the Support of his Designs; and therefore he took several Methods of inculcating this into them; not that he ever proposed they should believe it, but that they might be silent on this Head, and leave it to such as had a Capacity for Fables. But he erred egregiously, when he imagined it would pass upon the *Indians*, who were really too subtle for him in that Point, and turned the Fable upon himself.

It was this that induced him to comply with the Manners of the *Persians*, a thing detested by his *Macedonians*, because they did not understand it; for he did not fall into this from a Spirit of Luxury, or from a Desire of leading the same effeminate Life, which the *Persian* Monarchs had done; but with a View to conciliate the Affections of his new Subjects, and because he thought the *Persian* Manners more agreeable to his System, than those of the *Macedonians*. The Truth of this may be fully shewn from two Actions of his Life, which most Writers have related without Reflection, as if they had been Acts of Passion, or of

Madnefs. He selected thirty young Men, of the greatest Families in *Persia*, to whom he gave the Title of *Epigoni*, i. e. his Children, and allowed them the Honour of naming him; which threw the *Macedonians* into that violent Mutiny, when he actually disbanded them, upon which they spent two Days and a Night in Tears before his Tent, till at last he was reconciled to them; and, upon this Reconciliation, he wept himself, and, with great Tenderness, told them, they were all his Kinsmen, and allowed as many of the private Men, as pleased, to kiss him; which plainly shewed, that his former Institution was not the Effect of Pride, but of Policy; and did all that was in his Power to make them conceive and enter into his Sentiments, that there might be an End of these peevish Disputes for the future. But after this, when *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, who was just come from *Greece*, had Audience of him at *Babylon*, and could not help laughing when he saw the *Persians* adore him, this threw *Alexander* into such a Transport of Passion, that, taking him fast by the Hair, he beat his Head against the Wall; not that he really delighted in these Honours, so much from Vanity, as from a Persuasion, that keeping up this Decorum was absolutely necessary to his new Character.

To say the Truth, if there was a Difference between the King of *Macedon*, and his Subjects, there was as wide a Difference between the Monarch of that little Country, and the Sovereign of the World.

But to conclude, though there were other Conquerors, as well as *Alexander*, who had Notions of becoming Lords of the Universe, yet in this he was singular; viz. that he entered into the Spirit of the Character, and sincerely and earnestly endeavoured to behave as it would become such a Monarch to do. He threw off all Partiality for his Country, or that Family; and as he affected to rule Mankind, so he made the Interest of Mankind his Care. When he built *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, he intended to make it the Centre of Commerce; he cast his Eyes upon *Babylon*, for the Seat of Government; and seems to have reserved *Greece* for the Theatre of Arts and Sciences, which he thought were best understood by the *Athenians*; And thus he intended to have made one Part of the World useful to the other; and, by inspiring the *Greeks* with the Love of Commerce, and the Barbarians, as they were then styled, with an Inclination for the *Greek* Literature, and behaving with equal Kindness to all Nations, when their Affairs led them to his Court, he thought to have blended the human Species in such a manner, as to have worn off their narrow Principles, and to have inspired them, by degrees, with Sentiments like his own.

It was this that made him so desirous of scorching out new Countries; not that he would spoil and plunder the Inhabitants; for his Army, when it had conquered the *Indies*, were in Debt; but that, by acquiring new Subjects, he might make a greater Number of Men happy. To sum up all in a Word, other great Conquerors have had the Possession of the World in View, as well as he; but *Alexander* was the only Prince that ever thought of acquiring a Title to that Possession, by making it the Interest of all Men, that he should govern and command them.

20. It is not to be doubted, that the Conquests made by *Alexander* were long remembered, tho' they were not long maintained, in the *Indies*; for, upon the first Division of *Alexander's* Dominions, his Captains, who could scarce agree in anything else, were unanimous in their Resolution of giving up these Provinces to *Taxiles* and *Porus*, because they knew not how to keep them. *Plutarch* reports, on the Credit of some Writers, who composed Memoirs of *Alexander's* Life, that long after his Decease, the *Indian* Princes came to sacrifice on the prodigious Altars he left behind him. This however, does not seem probable, but looks like a *Greek* Fiction, since no Author of unquestionable Credit ever reported, that the antient *Indians* sacrificed at all, at least in the Sense of the *Greeks*: For, to say the Truth, that was repugnant to their religious Principles.

* *Diodor Sicul lib. vii. Arrian. Curt. Sicul. Quint. Curt. Justin's Trog.*

b *Plutarch in Alexandro. Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

c See the Letter of *Dindamis*, p. 103.

d *Vindor. Sicul. lib. xviii.*

e *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

But there is better Authority for a Fact of a greater Weight, viz. that if the *Macedonians* had complied with the Request of their King, and had passed the River *Ganges*, they had very probably succeeded in their Expedition, notwithstanding the Force of the *Gandaride*, who prepared to oppose him; for their King *Xandrames* was hated and despised by his Subjects, for this Reason: His Mother, who was the lawful Queen of that Country, had fallen in Love with a Barber, whom she first raised to great Employments, and then gave him an Opportunity of murdering the King her Husband, which made way for him to marry her, and to become the Guardian of the King's only Son, who was a Child; and soon after put out of the Way, by the same vile Hands that had been imbrued in his Father's Blood. This successful Traitor had a Son by the Queen, who was the King before-mentioned, whom some Writers call *Xandrames*, and others *Agrammes*, who was hated and contemned for his mean Original, and for his low and vicious manner of Living: So that, notwithstanding his potent Army, he would have been scarce able to have withstood *Alexander*, whose Manners would probably have been more agreeable to the *Indians*.

At least, this was the Sentiment of a great Prince, who afterwards ruled in this Country, and held a fair Correspondence with the *Greeks*. His Name was *Andracoitus*; and we may guess at his Power, by the Present he made to *Salucus*, of 500 Elephants. This Prince, at the Head of an Army of 600,000 Men, conquered the best Part of *India*; and had a great Esteem for the Memory of *Alexander*, whom he had seen when a Boy.

The Eastern Histories are full of the Exploits of our great Conqueror; but very few of them, at least, that have reached us, in this Part of the World, are to be depended upon: For they are written in a poetical Strain, and are so vitally mixed with Fictions, that they can be of no Use to such as desire to be acquainted with Facts, and not to be entertained with romantic Adventures. There may be, and doubtless there are, some valuable Histories of those Times, in the *Arabic* and *Indian* Tongues; but we have hitherto had no Accounts of them, because few Men of great Learning travel into the *Indies*; and those of another Stamp are better satisfied with these kind of Books, as full of marvellous Stories; and consequently more entertaining. It is, however, clear, even from these fabulous Writings, that the Glory of this Monarch still survives in those Parts: And, as we shall see hereafter, in the Works of our ancient Travellers, the Tradition of his Victories was very strong, when the *Europeans* first visited the *Indies*. And therefore, to avoid Repetitions, and to prevent this Section from swelling to any greater Length, to them we shall refer our Readers.

21. In order to apply what has been already said, and to justify our introducing the History of *Alexander* the Great here, it is necessary to consider him as a Traveller, who, by his Expedition into this Country, made it much better known than it had been before his Time. *Xenophon* confounded the *Indies* with a Province of that Name, between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* Seas; from whence, very probably, those Embassadors came, to whom *Cyrus* referred certain Disputes between him and his Neighbours. But nothing was more common, than to confound *Ethiopia* with the *Indies*, and even with *Egypt*: So that, as *Arrian* tells us, *Alexander* himself, when he first came to the River *Indus*, wrote a Letter to his Mother, in which he told her, that he had actually discovered the Sources of the *Nile*; which sufficiently discovers how little Acquaintance the Antients then had with those Countries.

It is to be observed, that *Alexander* entered them from the Northern Provinces of *Persia*, passing through the Country of *Paropamisus*, so called from the neighbouring Mountains, which the *Macedonians* thought fit to call *Caucasus*; and here he caused a City to be built, which he named *Alexandria*. In this Country lay the Region of *Capissene*, the Capital of which was *Capissa*, a City that had been ruined by *Cyrus*. *Babacene*, which was reduced by *Peisipheon*, lay not far from hence. The City of *Nysa*, from whence *Achephis* came Embassador, was seated

on the *Copbes*, the first River in the *Indies* passed by the *Macedonians*; tho' some do not reckon that, but the *Cboaspes*, the first *Indian* River. Between these, lay the *Aracaspans* and *Tyrwans*. Advancing still towards the East, he met with the *Aprians* and *Aspagonians*, the little River *Evaspla* terminating that Country. From whence he marched among the *Dardians*, a very numerous Nation: He likewise approached the City of *Pucela*; and then, falling into the Country of the *Assaceni*, took their Capital *Massaca*, where he was wounded. Turning then towards the South, he reduced *Ora*, the Rock of *Aornus*, and *Ecbolima*, which lay near the River *Indus*. From that River to the *Hydaspes*, lay the Dominions of *Taxiles*, the Countries inhabited by the *Ariaspians*, the *Sobeans*, the *Asenians*, the *Sibes*, and the *Mallians*; in whose Territory *Alexander* caused the City of *Nicea* to be built, as a Monument of his many and rapid Victories.

On the other Side of that River, he erected *Bucephalis*, in Memory of his Horse, which had served him many Years, and died of old Age, near this Place; all the Country hereabouts being within the Dominions of the brave *Porus*, which extended as far as the River *Aefines*. Between this last-mentioned River, and the *Hydraotes*, the Country was barren and uncultivated, as being inhabited by *Brachmans*, who had, however, a large and flourishing City on the other Side the *Hydraotes*. Between that and the *Hyphefis*, lay the Territories of the *Sophites*, *Catbeans*, *Pharaseans*, *Phogeleans*, *Oxydracians*, and other Nations. This River *Hyphefis*, which some Authors call *Hypases*, and also *Hypanis*, was the Eastern Boundary of the *Macedonian* Empire; for they never passed that River, but in order to erect the Altars, and other Monuments of their having encamped there, which have been so often mentioned, and which were erected in Imitation of *Hercules*.

It is intirely owing to *Alexander's* Expedition, that we know any thing of the antient State of these Countries; and, as to what lay between the *Hyphefis*, and the *Ganges*, we know little of them, except that *Arrian* has mentioned two Cities, *Minuagoria* and *Barygaza*, which, he says, were very opulent, and Places of great Trade. All that vast Country, which is at this Day so famous, and so well known, from the Junction of those Rivers, quite to the *Indus*, as well as the lower Part of the Peninsula, were absolutely unknown to them, except a few Nations, whose Names the Reader will find in the Map: They called the rest of the Inhabitants by the general Name of *Indo-Scythians*. All this Country is what we now call *India*, on this Side the *Ganges*: It contained in the whole 118 Nations, or Provinces; some of which were pretty large: As, for Instance, the Kingdom of *Porus*, which contained 300 Towns; but others, again, were very small, some of the *Indian* Princes not having above two Towns belonging to them, and those, probably, not very large. Within this Space, there were not fewer than forty Rivers, most of them navigable, and all running into the *Indus*; which must have been very large, since the *Hydaspes*, which was only one of the Rivers that fell into it, is said to have been twenty Stadia, which is a full League, in Breadth.

Let us now endeavour to fix the Bounds of the *Indies*, as they appear from this Description: On the North, they were separated from the Country of the *Scythians* by a Ridge of Mountains, which the *Macedonians* called *Caucasus*, that *Alexander* might have the Honour of reaching them, as well as *Hercules*. On the East lay the *Ganges*. As to the Western Bounds, one knows not well what to say to them, since the oldest Writers certainly take in *Arabia*, with a View, no doubt, to give an Air of Probability to what they relate of the Conquests of *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Osiris*, and *Sesiftris*; but, with regard to the Expedition of *Alexander*, the Western Limits of the *Indies* ought certainly to be placed at the River *Arbis*, or *Arabis*. On the South, they were bounded by that Part of the Ocean, into which the *Ganges*, and the *Indus*, discharged themselves.

As to the Cities that were built by *Alexander*, and on most of which he bestowed his Name, there are so many of them, that it is very difficult to describe them. That

* Plutarch. in *Alexandro*.

† *Arrian*, lib. vi. *Strabo*. *Plutarch*.

‡ *Diodor. Sicul. Jugur.*

§ *Arrian*, lib. vi.

¶ *Strabo*. *Arrian*. *Plutarch*.

• *Grog.*

which lay farthest North, was built upon the River called *Tamis*, by the *Macedonians*, but falsely, as has been before observed; and was, without Doubt, intended to facilitate the Expeditions he intended to have made for the Discovery of the *Caspian* Sea, and the adjacent Countries: To the South of this stood another City of *Alexandria*, upon the River *Oxus*; another on the River *Ochus*; and a third on the River *Margus*. All these were to the North of Mount *Parapanisus*; to the South of which lay two other Cities of the same Name; one near the Mountains, and another in the Country of *Aria*. On the River *Indus* stood another *Alexandria*; and, in his Return from the *Indies*, *Alexander* directed a City of this Name to be built in the Country of *Gedrosia* ^a.

In all these Cities he left *Grecian* Colonies, in order to establish an intimate Correspondence between them and his *Indian* Subjects, that he might have a more perfect Account of all these Countries; and might know the better how to regulate his future Undertakings: Yet, how wise soever his Proceedings in this respect might be, they were intirely overturned by his Death, which gave the *Greeks*, who were weary with living in those Cities, an Opportunity of forsaking them; and the Inhabitants of those Countries, who were as weary of their Neighbourhood, an Occasion to recover their Freedom: So that all the fine Plan he had formed for the perfect Settlement of this Part of his Dominions, was quickly overturned and destroyed: And, which is not a little singular, the very Method he employed for making this Part of the World better known to the *Greeks*, proved the Means of leading them into new Mistakes about it, since such of his Soldiers as lived to return home, instead of giving a just and fair Relation of their Adventures, in the Country through which they had travelled, amused themselves with contriving idle and extravagant Fictions, as irreconcilable to each other, as all of them were to Truth. We may easily guess to what a

Height the Invention of his Soldiers rose, from a Passage that happened in his Life-time; for *Craterus*, one of his principal Officers, in a Letter to his Mother *Antipatra*, which was extant in the Days of *Strabo*, gave an Account of his arriving, with *Alexander*, on the Banks of the River *Ganges*; of the Breadth and Depth of which River he reported boldly whatever he had heard, or came in his Head; since it is most certain, that he was never there, nor, indeed, near the *Ganges*.

Strabo therefore, who was a very learned, and a very judicious Writer, treats the Stories of these Men, that had defended to him, as equally incredible and absurd; and particularly mentions three of those Authors ^b, who, with some People, were even then in great Credit, viz. *Daimachus*, who is first named, not in Order of Time, but as the greatest Liar. *Megasthenes*, who was employed in an Embassy to *Andracotus* before mentioned, and to other *Indian* Princes; whereas *Daimachus* was sent to his Son *Antitrobades*: These both reported such Things of *India*, as were not to be endured, much less believed; such as that there were Nations that wanted Mouths; others Noses: Some with one Eye; and others with prodigious large Feet: Nay, they talked of Pygmies that were not above three Spans high; with Abundance of such-like strange Stories, of which the Reader may find a large Account in *Pliny* ^c. The third Author in this Catalogue is *Onchirius*, who was employed by *Alexander* in Maritime Affairs, who, tho' addicted to Fables, did not go quite so great a Length as the other two. But the Credit of *Nearchus* remains unimpeached, in a great measure: And therefore, as we have his Journal still preserved by *Arrian*, it is requisite, that it should follow, as a Supplement to this Section, and a Specimen of the Journals that were written in this Period of Time; from which the Reader will be able to form a Judgment of their Author's Knowledge and Abilities.

^a *Arrian. 2. Curt. Cillar. Geograph. Antiq. Tom. ii.*

^b *Lib. ii. p. 70.*

^c *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 23.*

SECTION VI.

An Account of the Voyage made by the Fleet of Alexander the Great, under the Command of Nearchus, from the Mouth of the River Indus, up the Persian Gulph, for the Discovery of the Coasts, and their Inhabitants.

[From the Journal of *Nearchus*, preserved by *Arrian*.]

1. The Reasons that render the inserting this Voyage necessary; with some Observations on the Translation of it in Ramusio's Collection, and the Extract published by Purchas.
2. The Design of Alexander in this Expedition explained, and the Manner in which Nearchus came to be intrusted with the Command of it.
3. The Fleet sails from the Mouth of the River Indus, to the Island of Crocala.
4. Continues this Voyage, and are exceedingly distressed by hard Weather.
5. Arrive at the Mouth of the River Tomarus, and disperse the Barbarians that endeavoured to hinder their landing.
6. Remarks made in this Voyage by Nearchus, and a Justification of these Remarks.
7. Obligated to make a Descent, in order to obtain a Supply of Provisions by Force.
8. That Part of the Persian Coast, inhabited by the Ichthyophagi, i. e. Fish eaters, accurately described; together with the Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants.
9. The Amusement of the Macedonians at the Sight of Whales in those Seas, and the Prudence of Nearchus on that Occasion.
10. Arrive at a Port, within five Days Journey of the King's Camp, to which Nearchus repairs, and is most honourably received by Alexander.
11. Resumes the Command of the Fleet, and prosecutes his Voyage through the Persian Gulph.
12. Brings the Fleet safely to the appointed Rendezvous, and is magnificently rewarded by Alexander for his Diligence.
13. The Sentiments of ancient Writers in respect to this Voyage, and the Character of Nearchus.
14. Remarks, which prove the Necessity and Utility of preserving such ancient Voyages.
15. Some Observations on the State of the Commerce of the Indies within this Period, and on the Manner in which, by the Consequences of this Voyage, it might have been affected.

IT has been before observed, that *Alexander* the Great is considered, in this Work, as a Traveller, as well as a Conqueror. Had he only overturned the *Persian* Empire, and established that of the *Greeks*, he might have merited some Notice in a Collection of this Nature; but we should never have taken the Pains to have followed him so closely in his Travels, or to have examined the Principles of his Policy: But as these were different,

indeed widely different, from those of most great Conquerors, and tended solely to unite the human Species, and to promote and extend the Intercourse of distant and different Parts of the World with each other, it became absolutely necessary to set these Designs, and the Progress he made in them, in the fullest Light possible; the rather, because the best Geographers, the most accurate Historians, and the ablest Philosophers of Antiquity, acknowledge them-

elves indebted for almost all the Knowledge they acquired of this Part of the World, to the Expedition of *Alexander*, and the Consequences of that Expedition : Among these, the most remarkable was the Voyage of *Nearchus*, from the Mouth of the River *Indus*, along the Coast of *Perfia*, through the Gulph of the same Name, to the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*.

This Voyage *Nearchus* not only conducted in Person, but wrote also a very accurate and distinct Account of it, which, in his own Words, is in a great measure preserved in the *Indian History of Arrian* ; is frequently quoted by *Strabo* and *Pliny* ; and was indeed considered, by all the great Writers of Antiquity, as the most curious and authentic Piece of its kind that was then extant. It was for the same Reason, that the judicious and industrious *Ramus* inserted it in his Collection ; and our voluminous Collector *Samuel Purchas* has an Extract of it in his Work, but abridged, mangled, and interperfed with many of those Impertinencies, with which most of his Relations are filled.

One thing I must observe, even with regard to *Ramus*, the ablest Man, beyond Comparison, that ever undertook a Labour of this Kind ; and that is, that he has not observed any Order of Time in his Collections, which, as I apprehend, is of the utmost Importance to the Understanding the History of Discoveries : And it was for this Reason, which, I doubt not, the Reader will approve, that I rather chose the hard and laborious Method laid down in the first Section of this Chapter, than the easier Way of adding Voyage to Voyage without any Connection ; which might have indeed entertained, but never would have answered the End of Instruction so well as the Track we are now in.

2. We are told by *Nearchus* himself, that when *Alexander* had, with so much Pains and Labour, sailed down the River *Indus* to the Southern Ocean, he was extremely desirous to pursue his Navigation along the Coasts of *Perfia*, and so into the Gulph, through what was then called, as the same Writer expressly tells us, *The Red Sea* ; but was checked in this Design from an Apprehension, that, in so long a Voyage on an unknown Coast, where many unforeseen Difficulties might be met with, and his Fleet exposed to many Hazards, some unlucky Accident might happen, that might tarnish the Glory of his former Success, and expose him to a Reverse of Fortune, which, of all things, he most feared. He therefore determined to intrust the Command of his Fleet to some experienced Officer, rather than make the Expedition in Person : But, as he informed *Nearchus*, he not only found the Choice of such an Officer extremely difficult ; but, what gave him most Pain, those on whom he had cast his Eyes for this Service, endeavoured all of them to decline it ; some through Fear, others through Laziness, and others again from an earnest Desire of returning to their own Country ; which gave him Reason to doubt, that an Expedition, the Consequences of which he foresaw were of the last Importance to his System, might be absolutely overturned.

Nearchus, touched with the Concern which *Alexander* shewed upon this Occasion, frankly offered him his Service. 'I, O King, said he, will undertake the Direction of the Fleet ; and, if Providence second my Desires, will conduct it, and the Soldiers embarked thereon, if this unknown Sea be navigable throughout, and the Industry of Man can overcome the Hardships that may be met with therein, safe to the Coast of *Perfia*.' *Alexander*, at first, refused to accept this Offer ; told him, he was unwilling to expose one, for whom he had so great a Regard, in so dangerous an Enterprize : But, when he saw *Nearchus* fixed in his Resolution, he, at last, complied, applauded his Magnanimity, and immediately declared him Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Fleet.

The News of this Choice quieted the Minds of the Soldiers and Sailors, who were to be employed in the Expedition ; for, well knowing the King's Tendernefs for his Friends, and how high *Nearchus* stood in his Esteem, they conceived, that this Voyage would not be attended with the Difficulties they had figured to themselves ; and therefore resumed their Spirits, and began to prepare for it with great Alacrity. They were likewise mightily encouraged

by the Pains the King himself took in sailing down both Channels of the *Ganges*, and by his magnificent Sacrifices to the Gods of the Ocean for their Safety. This sufficiently shews, that what *Alexander* did on this Occasion ; proceeded not from a superstitious Nature, but from a refined Policy ; for he well knew, that, to excite and strengthen the Courage of such as are to encounter them ; is the same thing as lessening the Dangers to which Men are exposed.

3. *Nearchus* followed in this the Example of his Master ; for, as soon as the Season of the Year would permit, that is, in our Author's own Words, when the *Etesian* Winds cease to blow, or, in our Language, when the Monsoon sets in, he weighed Anchor on the twentieth of *August*, when *Cepisodorus* was *Archon* at *Athens*, and in the eleventh Year of *Alexander*'s Reign, having first sacrificed to *Jupiter* the Saviour, and celebrated Gymnastic Games. The first Day he sailed lower towards the Mouth of the *Indus*, to a Place called *Stura*, at the Distance of about 100 Stadia, where he remained two Days ; the third Day he weighed from thence, and proceeded thirty Stadia down the River, to a Place called *Caumana*, where he observes the Water remained salt, even after the Ebb ; which shews in how low a State Navigation was in those Days.

They sailed thence to *Coreatis*, at the Distance of about twenty Stadia ; but here, or at least when they weighed from hence, they met with great Difficulties ; for, seeing that the Mouth of the River was, in a manner, blocked up with Rocks, the Coast steep, and the Sea running high, they were afraid to make much Way ; but, at last, finding the Rocks soft, they cut a Channel five Stadia in Length, through which, with the Assistance of the Tide, the Fleet passed safely into the Sea. They then sailed one hundred and fifty Stadia, and discovered a sandy Island, called *Crocata* ; on the Coast of which they remained another Day : The Coast opposite to this Island was inhabited by the *Arbians*, an *Indian* Nation, so called from the River *Arbis* ; which, running through their Country, falls into the Sea, dividing their Territories from those of the *Orilians*.

Sailing from *Crocata*, they had on their Right Hand a Mountain called *Irus*, and, on their Left, a low marshy Island ; which stretching towards the Shore, made a narrow Gulph or Bay. In this Arm of the Sea, they found a very safe and convenient Port ; which, because it was large and fair, *Nearchus* thought fit to call *Alexander*'s Haven. Against the Mouth of this Haven, at the Distance of about two Stadia, lay an Island, which was called *Bibaia* ; but all the adjacent Country was comprehended under the Name of *Sangada* : The Island before-mentioned rendered the Port perfectly secure, which was a great Comfort to the *Macedonians* ; because the Winds were now exceedingly high and tempestuous. *Nearchus*, that he might secure the Forces under his Command from any Attempts of the *Barbarians*, caused the Camp, in which they lay on shore, to be secured by a good Retrenchment, well lined with Stone ; and here he lay twenty-four Days.

It is very easy to account for this Accident, which happened at the Time of the Year when the Monsoon is not thoroughly set in, when there are commonly Storms in these Seas ; and it is likewise no difficult Thing to apprehend, how *Nearchus*, and his Scamen, came to be to extremely timorous and cautious ; for, in the first place, they were sailing through Seas absolutely unknown to them ; in the next place, the Shape and Size of their Vessels rendered them unfit to live in a rough Sea ; and, which was, perhaps, the greatest Inconvenience of all, they had no Stock of Provisions, but depended intirely on what they could, from time to time, get on shore : While they lay in this Camp, the Seamen took abundance of Water-mice, and Oysters of a very large Size, called *Solenes* ; and found the Water, when they attempted to drink it, very salt.

4. The Wind being allayed, *Nearchus* again weighed Anchor, and, having made about sixty Stadia, found himself on a sandy Coast : An Island that lay near it, and was desert, formed a tolerable Port ; the Name of which Island was *Doma* ; but no Water being found on the neighbouring Coast, they were forced to go to a Meadow at the Distance of about twenty Stadia, where there were good Springs. The next Day, having sailed till it was Evening, and having

made about three hundred Stadia, they anchored, and found Water about eight Stadia distant from the Shore. Thence they sailed to a desert Place, called *Sacala*; and, in their Way, passed over two Rocks, or rather between them, so that the Oars struck against them; and, having sailed three hundred Stadia, they arrived at *Morontobaris*: This they found a large, round, deep, and safe Port, the Entrance into which was narrow, and called in the Language of the Country, *Womens Haven*; because the Nation inhabiting the Coast had, in former Times, been governed by a Woman.

Having passed the Rocks, they found themselves now in a wide rolling Sea; having all that Day an Island on the Left, between which and the Continent the Sea made a narrow Strait or Gulph, so that it looked like a Canal cut by Art; they proceeded that Day seventy Stadia. The Shore of this Island appeared covered with tall and thick Trees, which afforded a pleasant Shade. They passed, the next Day, through a narrow Chanel, occasioned by the Ebb; and, after sailing one hundred and twenty Stadia, arrived at the Mouth of the River *Arbis*; where they found a very large and convenient Port, but the Water was so brackish, that they could not drink it: They continued, therefore, their Passage up the River about forty Stadia; and there they came into a Lake; and, having taken in Water, fell down the River again.

The Island that lies before the Port is very large; and on the Coast there are very fine Oysters, and almost every other kind of Fish, in great Plenty, and excellent in their kind. Here ended the Country of the *Arbians*, who are the last of the *Indian Nations*: They inhabit one Side of the Mouth of this River, and the *Oritians* the other: Sailing from the Mouth of the River *Arbis*, and coasting along the Country of the last-mentioned People, they came, at last, to *Pagala*, at the Distance of two hundred Stadia, and moored close by a Rock. In the mean time, some of the People went on shore for Water, which being brought on board, they weighed early in the Morning, and made that Day three hundred Stadia, arriving in the Evening at a Place called *Cabana*; they anchored at a good Distance from the Shore, because it was extremely rocky.

In their next Day's Course, having very bad Weather, two of their large Ships foundered, and a lesser Bark was also lost; but, being pretty near the Shore, the People escaped by Swimming. In the middle of the Night they put into *Cocala*, having sailed about two hundred Stadia; and, for fear of farther Accidents, they anchored at a considerable Distance from the Coast.

5. As the Soldiers and Sailors both were extremely fatigued with the Dangers through which they had lately passed, he thought proper to suffer them to go on shore, in order to recover their Strength and Spirits, fortifying his Camp, for fear of the *Barbarians*, with a good Retrenchment. *Leonnatus* was then here, to whom *Alexander* had committed the Care of reducing the *Oritians*, whom he had just defeated in a great Battle, wherein they lost six thousand Men and all their Chiefs; and for which Service *Leonnatus* afterwards received from his Master a Crown of Gold.

There was likewise in this Neighbourhood a Magazine of Corn, which had been erected by the King's Command; and from whence the Fleet was furnished with ten Days Provisions, the Vessels that had suffered by the late Storms being repaired, and such as were weary of the Voyage left on shore: Their Places were supplied by such of *Leonnatus's* Army as were willing to go in their room; so that the Men being in good Heart, and the Ships in tolerable Condition, they put to Sea with a fair Wind, and proceeded for the Space of five hundred Stadia, when they arrived at the Mouth of a River, called *Tomerus*.

There was a kind of Lake near the Mouth of the River, and on the Coast the People lived in little Huts or Cottages; who, at the Appearance of so unusual a Sight, assembled in great Numbers on the Shore: They were armed with Lances of about nine Feet long, the Heads of which were not of Iron, but hardened in the Fire, and sharpened so as to serve instead of Iron: These they shook at the *Macedonians*; and seemed to threaten and invite them to fight. Of these *Barbarians* six hundred formed

themselves into a kind of regular Body, and seemed to dispose themselves in such a manner, as if they intended to hinder them from coming on shore. *Nearchus*, having considered their Disposition attentively, ordered the Fleet to draw so close to the Land, as that their Javelins might reach the Enemy. He rightly foresaw, that, though the Lances of the *Barbarians* might serve them well enough in a close Fight, yet it was simply impossible they should be able to use them at a Distance, because their Weight rendered them unwieldy, and not at all fit to be thrown. When the Fleet had brought to at a proper Distance, *Nearchus* directed the lightest-armed Soldiers, and those who could swim best, to hold themselves in Readiness, and, on a Signal given, to throw themselves into the Water; giving them, at the same time, a strict Charge to wait for each other, and not to attempt setting Foot on the Shore, till they were drawn up in order of Battle, three-deep, and then to rush on the Enemy at once with a loud Cry.

The Soldiers in each Ship executed his Orders exactly, threw themselves into the Sea, swam towards the Shore, and, being drawn into a Phalanx, rushed upon the Enemy at once with loud Shouts: At the same Instant, those on board rent the Air with their Acclamations, and threw a large Flight of Darts and Javelins from their Engines. The *Barbarians*, amazed at the Splendor of their Arms, the Suddenness of the Attack, the vast Number of Arrows and other Weapons that fell amongst them, who were half naked, and not in a Condition to resist, fled as fast as they were able. In their Flight many were killed, many taken, and some few escaped to the Mountains. Such of them as were made Captives had not only their Heads, but their Bodies, covered with long Hair, and their Nails prodigiously long and sharp, so that they made use of them to cut Fish, and even soft Wood; such as was harder, they cut with sharp Stones; for they had not the Use of Iron: All the Cloathing they had was a kind of Mantle, made either of the Skins of wild Beasts, or of large Fish. *Nearchus* ordered such of the Ships as had suffered by bad Weather, to be drawn on shore, and refitted. On the sixth Day, he prosecuted his Voyage; and, having sailed three hundred Stadia, came to a Place called *Molone*, which was the last Port in the Country of the *Oritians*: This Nation, in their Habit and Arms, resemble the *Indians*; but differ from them in their Laws, and in their Language. The Length of their Voyage, from the River *Arbis*, was a thousand Stadia; but, in the Whole, about sixteen hundred.

6. In sailing on the Coast of *India*, *Nearchus* observed that the Shadows of the People did not fall one Way; but where the Country ran out into the Southern Ocean, the Shadows fell also Southward; but at Noon there was no Shadow at all. The Stars also, that before appeared very high, were now either scarce seen, or were depressed towards the Earth; and such as had been always conspicuous, were now observed to rise and set. I do not, says *Arrian*, dissent from this, because at *Siene* in *Egypt*, in the Summer Solstice, there is a Place shewn, where the Sun, at Noon, casts no Shadow; and in the Island of *Morice*, at the same time of the Year, there are no Shadows. It is therefore, very probable, that the *Indians*, who live under the same Latitude, should have their Shadows cast the same Way, especially towards the *Indian Ocean*, and where the Country runs out most towards the South.

This Observation of *Arrian's* is very judicious; and the Fact, as it is stated by *Nearchus*, may be very probably true, since that Part of *India* he speaks of, lies immediately under the Tropic of *Cancer*, where, when the Sun is in their Zenith, Bodies cast no Shadow; otherwise their Shadows must fall to the North: But such as live to the South of the Tropic, at that Season of the Year, when the Sun is to the North of them, have their Shadows on the South. It must, however, be allowed, that if *Nearchus* was an Eye-witness, the Mouth of the *Indus* is laid down, even in the best Maps, a little too far to the North; which, I think, is agreeable to some modern Observations: But we shall have Occasion to treat of this Matter more at large, in another Place.

In the mean time, we will proceed with the Voyage before us. Beyond the *Oritians*, within-land, inhabit the *Gedresians*;

Gedreghans; in passing thro' whose Country *Alexander* lost more People, than in all his *Indian* Expedition besides. The *Gedreghans* inhabit likewise that Country, within-land, on the Maritime Coasts of which, dwell the *Icthyophagi*, that is, the *Fish-eaters*, on whose Coasts they sailed; and weighing Anchor on the first Day, at the second Watch, they sailed 600 Stadia, before they arrived at *Bagijara*, where they found a very convenient Harbour for the Fleet. The City of *Pafira* lies 60 Stadia within-land; and the adjacent Country is inhabited by a Nation of the same Name.

The next Day they sailed very early; but, meeting with a rocky Promontory, which ran a great Way out into the Sea, they were obliged to sail round it; and, on their sinking Wells on the Shore, they had a great deal of Water, but brackish: That Day they remained at Anchor, the Shore being unsafe. They came the Day following to *Celta*, at the Distance of 200 Stadia; and, sailing the next Morning early, they made that Day 600 Stadia, and anchored off *Calama*, where they found a few Palm-trees, with green Fruit upon them. There lay an Island 100 Stadia from the Shore, called *Carnine*, where *Nearchus* was very hospitably entertained by the Inhabitants of the Village, who presented him with Sheep and Fish. The Flesh of their Sheep had a fishy Taste, like that of Sea-fowl, and for the same Reason, because they feed on Fish; for in that Country they have no Grass.

7. The next Day they proceeded 200 Stadia, and found a Village, at the Distance of thirty Stadia from the Shore, which was called *Cyfa*, but the Coast is called *Carbis*. Here they met with some small Fishing-boats, but at the Sight of the Fleet they fled. There is no Corn to be met with on this Coast; but some of the People, going on Shore, caught a few Goats, which they brought on board: They then doubled a Promontory, which ran 150 Stadia into the Sea, on the other Side of which they met with a safe Port, where there was great Plenty of Water, and a Village inhabited by Fishermen. The Name of this Port was *Mofarno*. Here *Nearchus* met with one *Hydraces*, a *Gedreghian* Pilot, who, at his Request, sailed with them, and promised to carry them safely to *Carmania*. All the Coast from hence to the *Persian* Gulph is much better known, and the Sailing much less difficult.

The Fleet weighed from *Mofarno* in the Night; and, having sailed 750 Stadia, arrived at *Balemum*; from whence they proceeded to *Barna*, which lies at the Distance of 400 Stadia from thence; and here they found Plenty of Palm-trees and Gardens. In these Gardens there was Abundance of Myrtle, of which, and of other Flowers, the People made Garlands: And this was the first Place in which they found Trees cultivated, and People who were civilized. From thence sailing 200 Stadia, they came to *Dendrobefa*, where they did not go on shore. Weighing from hence in the Night, they continued their Voyage to the Port of *Cephanta*, at the Distance of 400 Stadia. This Town likewise was inhabited by Fishermen, who had some small painful Boats, which they did not row, after the *Grecian* manner, with Oars, but with Paddles: In this Place they met with Plenty of Water, very good.

In the first Watch of the Night, they weighed from thence; and arrived, after passing 800 Stadia, at *Cyiza*; but the Shore being extremely steep and rocky, they remained on board their Ships. Sailing from thence 500 Stadia farther, they arrived off a small Town, standing upon an Hill, not far from the Shore. *Nearchus* thought it probable, this Country was cultivated; and *Archias*, the Son of *Zuaxidius*, a *Pelleian*, a Person of Distinction amongst the *Macedonians*, gave it as his Opinion, that they should possess themselves of the City; for the Inhabitants refused to part with Corn: Yet the taking of it appeared impracticable, because they had not Leisure to besiege it. On the one hand, however, they were in great Want of Bread; and, on the other, they had good Reason to believe the Place was not destitute of Provisions, because they had met with some full Ears of Corn, swimming in the Sea, not far from the Coast. After considering the Matter maturely, it was resolved, that the Fleet should proceed, or, at least, seem to do so; and *Nearchus* having given

Archias necessary Instructions, in his own Ship, cast Anchor before the Town, in order to manage the Business.

He accordingly approaching, as near as he could, to the Town, and speaking to the Citizens on the Walls, in a friendly manner, in order to obtain Refreshments, they brought him some Cakes, made of Fish dried and baked [for these, being the last of the *Icthyophagi*, did not eat their Fish raw, as the rest did]; some Dates, and other Things, which, with them, were esteemed Rarities; which when they had kindly accepted, *Nearchus* desired to see the Town; and, as they did not refuse him, he, and those who were with him, went into it, leaving two Archers at the Gate: Then himself, and two others, with the Interpreters, mounted the Walls on that Side; and having given the Signal to *Archias* that was agreed between them, the State of Things was easily underfoot, as soon as that Signal appeared; and the *Macedonians* immediately ran their Ships close in to the Shore, and began to make a Descent: Upon which the Inhabitants took Arms. *Nearchus* then commanded the Interpreters to make Proclamation, that, if they would save their City, they must furnish the Army with Corn. At first, they denied they had any Corn, and endeavoured to force them from the Walls; but *Nearchus*, and his Archers, letting fly among them, they were soon forced to retire; and now, finding that the City was taken, they were forced, as Suppliants, to apply to *Nearchus*, and beseech him, that, accepting all the Corn they had, he would be pleased to spare the Place.

Hereupon *Nearchus* gave Orders to *Archias* to secure the Walls and the Gates, himself sending others thro' the City, to see that they fairly brought forth what they had. The People shewed them a great Quantity of Meal, made of dried Fish ground, but very little Bread-corn. After they had taken as much as they thought might serve them, they sailed to a Rock, which the Inhabitants called *Bagia*, and held it sacred to the Sun. Weighing from thence, in the middle of the Night, they sailed 1000 Stadia to *Talmena*, a very safe Port, well secured from all Winds. Thence they sailed 400 Stadia to *Canafida*, a deserted City, in the Neighbourhood of which they found a Well, near which grew some wild Palm-trees, the tender Tops of which they cut down, and eat; for they were, by this time, again in great Want of Provisions. All the next Day and Night they continued their Voyage, under the great Inconvenience of perpetual Hunger, being still on a barren Coast, where *Nearchus* would not suffer them to Land, for fear, in this desperate Condition, they might be tempted to desert their Ships.

8. They continued their Voyage, therefore, 750 Stadia to *Canate*; but, finding the Landing difficult, they proceeded still 800 Stadia farther, to a Place called *Troefos*. On this Shore there were some small, pitiful Villages, the Inhabitants of which had quitted their Houses: However, they found in them a little Corn, and some Dates. The People had also left behind them seven Camels, which they immediately killed, and eat. They put to Sea again, by Break of Day; and, having rowed 300 Stadia, they arrived at *Dagafira*, which was inhabited by Shepherds; and, continuing their Voyage the whole Day and Night, without Intermission, after a Run of 1100 Stadia, found themselves clear of the Country of the *Icthyophagi*, but in extreme Want; for, even there, they could not go ashore, because the Coast was rocky and steep.

The Length of this whole Coast, which they had now sailed, was about 10,000 Stadia; and tho' the People are called *Icthyophagi* from their eating Fish, yet they can scarce be stiled Fishermen, few of them having any Boats, or knowing how to go out, and catch Fish, but taking them on the Strand, as they are left by the Tide: Some of them have Nets, that will extend two Stadia, which are made of the Leaves and Boughs of Palm-trees, wrought in an awkward manner: With these they spread the Shore about the time of Ebb, and so catch a vast Quantity of Fish, of all Sizes. The small ones they eat raw, as soon as they are taken out of the Net; the larger and firmer Fish they dry in the Sun, till they grow perfectly hard, and then grind them into Meal, of which they make Bread: Some of them, likewise, fry this Meal into a sort of Pancakes:

takes: They feed also what Cattle they have with this sort of Fish-meal; for they have no kind of Grass in all this Country.

There are, likewise, found, upon this Coast, vast Quantities of Crabs, Oysters, and other Shell-fish. The Soil of itself produces Salt, and the People themselves have an Art of making Oil. They build their Houses in this manner: Those who are in the best Condition, make use of the Bones of Whales, that are thrown on shore, instead of Beams; and of the largest Bones they make Doors. The poorer Sort make use of the small Fish-bones, to build their Huts; for the Whales, and other large Fish, which are bred in these outer Seas, are of a much larger Size than in our inner Seas.

9. *Nearcus* likewise tells us, that, sailing from *Cyza*, about Break of Day, he saw a great deal of Water thrown up out of the Sea to a considerable Height: Being very much struck at this strange Appearance, he inquired of the Pilots, and other knowing Seamen, what it meant; who told him, that the Water was spouted up by Whales; at the Hearing of which his Men were frightened, so that they let the Oars fall out of their Hands. *Nearcus*, however, encouraged them as much as he could, advised them to row towards these Creatures briskly, and as if they were going to an Engagement, making all the Noise they could, both by shouting, and with their Oars.

The Men, refusing their Spirits upon this, began, on a Signal given, to row with all their Force; and, as they drew near the Whales, shouted as loud as they were able, sounded their Trumpets, and beat the Water with their Oars with all the Force they had. The Whales, who were just under their Prows, frightened at the Noise, sunk at once, and rose a good Way behind the Ships, blowing up the Water again with prodigious Force. The Seamen, seeing themselves thus unexpectedly delivered from so great a Danger, loudly applauded the Boldness and Dexterity of *Nearcus*.

Sometimes the Whales, running in too near the Shore, are left upon it by the Ebbing of the Tide; and sometimes, being thrown thereon by Storms, their Flesh corrupting by the Heat of the Sun, the Bones are left dry upon the Shore, which these People gather carefully, in order to make use of them in building their Houses. The largest Bones they make use of for Rafters; those of the Jaws they convert into Doors, and of the smaller Bones they make their Utensils.

While *Nearcus* and his Fleet were on the Coast of the *Icthyophagi*, he discovered an Island, which lay at the Distance of about one hundred Stadia from the Continent, which was absolutely uninhabited. This Island, those who dwelt on the opposite Coast called *Nojala*, which they believed sacred to the Sun; adding, that it was inaccessible to Mortals; and farther, affirmed, that, in case any Man was so imprudent as to set his Foot upon it, he was never seen more: An Instance of this the Pilots mentioned to *Nearcus*, of a Ship, manned by *Egyptians*, which, for this impious Attempt, had vanished from the Sight of Men. This, however, did not deter *Nearcus* from going in Person, with one of his Ships, to view this Island, or from putting the Reporters of this Fable intirely out of Countenance by landing upon it; which he did. There was also another Fable related of this Island; which was, that a certain Sea-nymph, or Goddess, dwelt there, who inticed Men on shore, and, after criminally conversing with them, changed them into Fish; but the Sun obliged her to quit the Place, and to restore the Men, whom she had thus changed into Fish, to their former Shape.

Some of these *Icthyophagi* were brought to *Alexander*. These People inhabit the Coast only; but, within-land, inhabit the *Gedresians*, in a Country barren and sandy, where *Alexander* and his Army suffered great Hardships. When the Fleet had quitted this Coast, and were arrived on that of *Carmania*, they were obliged to come to an Anchor without landing, the Coast being so rocky and steep, that they durst not approach it. They sailed from thence, not directly West, but rather West and by North, and so reached that Part of *Carmania* which was a more fruitful and agreeable Country than those they had left, and

abounds in Grass, and where they found fresh Water in Plenty.

10. When they came to *Badis*, on the Coast of *Carmania*, they found all Sorts of Refreshments, except Oil; and, sailing eight hundred Stadia farther, they came upon a desert Coast, where a Promontory appeared, that ran far out into the Sea, and was about a Day's Sail. Such as were acquainted with the Coast, said, it was a Promontory of *Arabia*, called *Maceta*, from whence Cinnamon, and other Spices, were sent into *Affyria*. While the Fleet lay at Anchor, and had this Promontory in Sight, there arose great Disputes; for *Onesirius* would have had the Fleet sail thither, to avoid the Hardships and Difficulties they might meet with in the Gulph: But *Nearcus* was of a contrary Opinion, and affirmed, that *Onesirius* had quite misunderstood the King's Design; for it was not, said he, because *Alexander* could not have safely led the Army intirely by Land, that he put a Part of them on board the Fleet, but because he would have all these Coasts, Ports, and Islands, thoroughly examined, and the Gulph likewise sailed through, that it might be known what Cities there were near the Sea, what Countries were fertile, and what desert. He was not therefore for changing their Course now, when they were in a manner at the End of their Labours; and therefore he was not for steering on the Side of the Promontory, for fear it might bring them on a bad Coast, especially as they were not now in want of any thing necessary for continuing their Voyage.

The Opinion of *Nearcus* prevailed; and, in my Judgment, says *Arrian*, it was by following his Advice that the whole Fleet was saved; for the Coast beyond that Promontory was absolutely desert, and afforded no Water. The Fleet therefore, weighing, proceeded seven hundred Stadia along the opposite Coast, which was called *Noptana*; and, continuing their Voyage early the next Day, after sailing one hundred Stadia more, arrived at the River of *Anamis*. The Name of the Place in which they now were, was called *Harmozia*, since called *Ormuz*, where they found abundance of wild Fruit, and were pretty much at their Ease. There most of the Men went ashore to refresh themselves after all the Hardships they had gone through; and some of them, rambling up and down, met with a Person dressed after the *Grecian* Manner, and who spoke *Greek*; which at once surprised and overjoyed them exceedingly: And, upon inquiring who and what he was, the Man answered, that he belonged to *Alexander's* Army, and that the King was encamped not far from thence. They presently conducted this Man to *Nearcus*, to whom he told the same Things, and that the King was encamped no farther from him than five Days Journey. *Nearcus* also conferred with the President of the Province about the Security of the Fleet, after the taking the proper Measures, for which he agreed to go with him to the King.

The Day following, by that Time it was Sun-rise, *Nearcus* caused such of the Ships as were in bad Condition, to be drawn on shore, in order to their being repaired; and, resolving to leave a great Part of the Troops on shore, he took care to fortify the Place with a strong Retrenchment, and a deep Ditch, so that both the Ships and Men might remain as safe as possible. In the mean time, the President of the Province, knowing that the King was under the utmost Concern for this Fleet, took a short Cut to the Camp, in order to inform him of their safe Arrival. This News was received by *Alexander* with the greatest Joy imaginable, though he could not help doubting the Truth of it: And his Doubt still grew upon him, because some who were sent with Carriages, to meet *Nearcus*, and bring him to Court, returned after they had went a little Way, without finding him; and others who had a greater Respect for him, continuing their Journey, did not return at all: At last, the King losing all Patience, and his Concern being doubled by this short Glimmering of Hope, ordered the President to be committed to safe Custody, for having reported false News.

In the mean time, some of those who had been dispatched to meet and conduct *Nearcus* to Court, actually met with him upon the Road, accompanied by *Arrian*, and five or six more; but they were all so altered, that

in their Persons and Garbs, that they had not the least Knowledge of them; but, upon their Inquiry about the King's Camp, told them, where it was; and were then for pursuing their Journey: *Archias*, however, turning to *Nearchus*, told him, that he apprehended these People were come in Search of them; and that, considering the Condition they were in, they might not know them; which *Nearchus* also thinking not unlikely, they inquired of them, whither they were going; and he received for Answer, that they were going in Search of *Nearchus*, and thofe under his Command: Upon which he replied, I am *Nearchus*, and the Person here with me is *Archias*; do you conduct us to the Camp, that we may give the King an Account of the Fleet. Upon which they immediately took them up in their Carriages, and returned towards the royal Camp.

Some of the Number, however, being desirous to become early Messengers of such important Tidings, hastened to the Camp, and informed the King, that *Nearchus* himself, and *Archias*, with five more, were at hand; but that, as to the Army and Fleet, they were able to learn nothing. *Alexander*, from this Account, collected within himself, that *Nearchus* and *Archias*, with the five Men that attended them, had in some wonderful Manner escaped the general Ruin, but that, as for the rest of his Fleet and Army, they were, beyond Question, lost and destroyed; the Thoughts of which gave him greater Sorrow than the Joy of beholding *Nearchus* and *Archias* could overcome. They soon after arrived; and *Alexander* himself could scarce know them, they were so overgrown with Hair, looked so ill, and were in so bad a Dress, which confirmed the Notion he had conceived of the Loss of the Fleet: He embraced *Nearchus* however, and, with many Tears, congratulated him on his Arrival.

At last, moderating his Transport, he said, It is true, the Sight of you *Nearchus*, and *Archias*, who return safe and sound, moderates, in some measure, my Concern for the Loss of the Fleet; but tell me, How did they perish? *Nearchus*, catching the Words out of his Mouth, replied, the Fleet and Army are safe, O King; and we come only as Messengers of the good News. Then *Alexander* burst out again into Tears at this unexpected Account of their Safety; and, with much struggling, demanded in what Port they were. *Nearchus* informed him, that they were at the Mouth of the River *Amasis*; and that he had caused the Ships to be drawn on shore, in order to their being refitted. Now, by the Grecian *Jupiter*, cried the King, and by the *Libyan Ammon*, I swear, this News gives me more Joy than the Conquest of all *Asia*. He likewise caused the President of the Province to be discharged from his Confinement. The King, in Gratitude for the Preservation of his Forces, ordered Sacrifices to be offered to *Jupiter* the Saviour; to *Hercules*, and to *Apella* the Deliverer from Misfortunes; as also to *Neptune*, and all the Sea-gods: He likewise celebrated new Games, ordered pompous Shews, accompanied with Music; in which *Nearchus* was Chief, all the Army presenting him with Garlands, and with Flowers. When these Rejoicings were over, the King said to the Admiral, Henceforward, *Nearchus*, you shall never go on any laborious or dangerous Service: I will immediately appoint another Admiral, who shall bring the Fleet safe to *Susa*. Not so, O King, cried out *Nearchus*: To follow and to serve you in every Degree, is my Desire, and my Duty: But if, for what is past, you incline to gratify me, let not that be done you spoke of; but let me rather continue in my Command, till I have brought your Ships safe to *Susa*; nor, after running through so many and great Hardships in the Execution of the Charge with which you intrusted me, now, when the Matter is easy, and in a manner accomplished, let another take the Glory of performing it out of my Hands.

To this *Alexander* readily assented, and dismissed him again to his Command, with a small Guard, because he was now to travel through a Country inhabited by Friends. Yet it was not without great Difficulty that *Nearchus* once more reached the Sea Coast; for the Barbarians had taken up Arms, and possessed themselves of all the strong Places and Passes in *Carmania*: For the King had caused the former Governor to be put to Death, and *Tlepolemus*,

whom he had appointed his Successor, was not as yet firmly fixed in his Government. Thrice, therefore, in one Day, *Nearchus*, and his Guard, engaged so many different Bodies of Barbarians who attacked them.

At last, however, *Nearchus* safely, though after struggling with many and great Difficulties, reached the Fleet and Army. The first Thing he did on his Arrival, was to sacrifice to *Jupiter* the Saviour, and to celebrate Games. These divine Rites thus taken care of, the Fleet weighed Anchor, and sailed to a desert barren Island, and thence to another large and well-inhabited Island, three hundred Stadia distant from the Port they had left. The Name of the desert Island was *Organa*; that of the last-mentioned Island *Oarasta*: This last was a fine Country, abounding in Corn and Palm-trees: It was in Length eight hundred Stadia, and the Governor of it, whose Name was *Mazenes*, offered, of his own Accord, to accompany *Nearchus*, and to pilot him to *Susa*. In this Island, it is said, they shew the Tomb of *Erythras*, who first governed this Country, and from whom that Part of the Ocean was called the *Erythrean*, or Red Sea.

11. They sailed from hence two hundred Stadia, when *Nearchus* thought proper to put in with his Fleet at another Port in the same Island, from whence they had the Sight of another Island, about forty Stadia distant from the great one, which was sacred to *Neptune*, and reported to be inaccessible. They failed again about Day-break; but the Sea ebbing lower than usual, three of their Ships were left upon the Strand; and it was with great Difficulty that the rest, getting clear of that rocky Coast, once more gained the open Sea. At the Return of the Tide, however, the three Ships before-mentioned floated again, and the next Day rejoined the Fleet. Having continued their Voyage 400 Stadia, they put into a Port in an Island distant 300 Stadia from the Continent. They weighed from thence early in the Morning, and, leaving an uninhabited Island, called *Pylosa*, on their Left, they anchored before *Sidodones*, a very small City, in want of every thing, except Water and Fish; for Necessity, and the Barrenness of their Country, make them likewise *Ichthyophagi* against their Wills.

Thence, having taken in Water only, they proceeded to *Tarfia*, a Promontory running out into the Sea, distant from the last-mentioned Place 300 Stadia. Thence they sailed 300 Stadia farther, to the Island of *Catea*, which is desert and marshy, reported to be sacred to *Mercury* and *Venus*. Into this Island, every Year, the Inhabitants of the adjacent Coast have a Custom of sending Sheep and Goats, which are dedicated to *Mercury* and *Venus*, and run there wild. This Place belongs to *Carmania*; and from hence the Province of *Persia Proper* begins. The whole Length of the Coast of *Carmania* is 3800 Stadia; the *Carmanians* resembling in their Manners and Customs, the *Persians* their near Neighbours; are armed in the same way, and make use of the same Methods in carrying on their Wars.

The Fleet, sailing from hence, came to *Ilan*, on the Coast of *Persia*, before which Port there lies a small barren Island, called *Caicandrus*: To reach this Port, they sailed 400 Stadia from their former Station. Early the next Morning they weighed Anchor, and proceeded to another Island, well inhabited, and on the Coast of which, as well as in the *Indian Sea*, *Nearchus* affirms, that they fish for Pearl. Having doubled a Promontory upon this Island, by sailing about forty Stadia, they anchored on the other Side. They proceeded next to a certain high Mountain, called *Ochus*, where they found a very safe and commodious Port, in which they anchored, the adjacent Coast being well inhabited by Fishermen. Weighing from hence, after a Passage of 450 Stadia, they came to *Aposianus*, where they found abundance of Ships in the Harbour, the Town lying about sixty Stadia from the Sea. Thence they sailed, in the Night, to a Bay, adorned with abundance of beautiful Villages on its Shore; and, after coasting 400 Stadia, they came to an Anchor at the Foot of an high Mountain, covered with Palm, and other Fruit-trees, common in *Greece*. Sailing from thence, they passed along a well inhabited Coast, called *Gogana*, for the Space of 600 Stadia, the Fleet anchoring at the Mouth of a certain

certain River, or rather Torrent, called *Aren*, in a very inconvenient Place, the Bottom being soft, and unfit for Anchorage, and the Mouth of the River very narrow.

They sailed from thence to another River, called *Sitacus*, distant 800 Stadia; but here likewise they found very indifferent Anchorage; and, indeed, *Nearchus* complains, that the whole Coast of *Persia* is very indifferent, being in some Places intolerably stony, and in others a loose Slime, to a great Depth. Here they took in a great Quantity of Corn, the King having directed considerable Magazines to be raised there for the Use of the Army and the Fleet. They remained here twenty-one Days in the Whole, refitting such Ships as were in a bad Condition, and rebuilding others. Sailing from thence, after a Passage of 750 Stadia, they came to a well-built and well-inhabited City, called *Hieratis*; and anchored in a Port, made by Art, called *Hieraticus*.

The next Day they weighed, as soon as it was Light, and continued their Voyage to the Mouth of a Torrent called *Padargus*. The Whole of this Country is a Peninsula, laid out in regular Plantations of Fruit-trees, of all Kinds; and the Name of this Peninsula is *Mesambria*. Sailing from *Mesambria*, after a Voyage of two hundred Stadia, or thereabouts, they arrived at *Taoce*, on the River *Granidis*. About two hundred Stadia within-land, from the Mouth of this River, stands the Capital of *Persia*. In this Navigation, *Nearchus* informs us, they met with a dead Whale thrown upon the Shore, which some of his Sailors had the Curiosity to measure, and found it fifty-five Cubits long: On the Skin of which they found Oysters, and other Shell-fish sticking, as also Sea-weed. They likewise saw many Dolphins upon this Coast, which were of a much larger Size than those in our Seas.

12. They proceeded thence two hundred Stadia, to the Mouth of the River *Rogonis*, where they found a very convenient and safe Harbour, at the Distance of two hundred Stadia from their former Station. Sailing from hence four hundred Stadia, they came to the Mouth of another River, called *Brizania*. Here they found the Coast very unfit for Anchorage; and, for want of a proper Acquaintance with the Tides, some of their Vessels were left ashore at the Ebb, but were easily got off again at the time of Flood, and continued their Voyage to the Mouth of the River *Arefis*, where they came to an Anchor. This, *Nearchus* assures us, was the largest of all the Rivers that ran into this Sea. It was also the Boundary of the Province of *Persia Proper*; the *Susians* inhabiting on the other Side. Amongst these last-mentioned People, there were a free Nation, called the *Uxians*, which inhabited the Mountains, and committed frequent Robberies on such as dwelt in the flat Country.

The whole Extent of the *Persian* Coast reaches four thousand four hundred Stadia. This Province is divided, as the Inhabitants report, into three Parts, which differ from each other in Soil and Climate. That Part of it which lies along the *Red Sea*, is sandy and barren, arising from the excessive Heat; but the Country that lies more to the North, enjoys a temperate and pleasant Climate; the Soil exceedingly fruitful, affording fresh and beautiful Meadows, that are very well watered, abounding with Vines, and all kind of Fruit-trees, except Olives. In this Country there are very fine Gardens, watered by Streams exquisitely clear and pleasant; on the Banks of which are all kinds of Fowl; and Horses, and other Cattle, are found here in Abundance; and some Part of the Country also is woody, and very fit for Hunting. The most Northern Part of *Persia* is very cold, and the Snows lie long upon the Mountains. *Nearchus* tells us, that some Ambassadors from the Borders of the *Euxine* Sea coming, in a short Space of Time, to *Alexander* in *Persia*, he was, at first, much surpris'd, till they explained to him how the Country lay, and that the Distance was not so great as he had hitherto imagined.

As the *Uxians* before-mentioned infest the Country of the *Susians*, so the *Mardians*, another thievish Nation, are settled in the Mountains of *Persia*; and the *Cossians*, who likewise practise the same villainous Trade, inhabit among the *Medes*. This last-mentioned Nation *Alexander*, this Winter, contrary to all Expectation, subdued; built Cities in their Country; and obliged such as inhabited them,

to apply themselves to Agriculture, and other honest Professions, that they might live comfortably themselves, and not be any longer terrible, or troublesome to their Neighbours.

From hence, *Nearchus* tells us, he is not able to write any thing with Certainty, except as to the Ports they met with, and the Length of their Navigation, beside all that that Coast is extremely foul, and rocky: So that there is no entering its Ports, but with the utmost Danger. When, therefore, they sailed from the Mouth of this River, which is the last in *Persia Proper*, they took care to furnish themselves with Water for five Days; their Pilots having informed them, that the Coast along which they were next to sail, was absolutely dry and barren. When they had sailed five hundred Stadia, they came to an Anchor at the Mouth, or rather Fall, of a certain Lake, abounding with Fish, which was called *Caraderbis*. There lay immediately before this Port, a small Island, called *Margianus*. Weighing from thence early in the Morning, they pursued their Course through a Channel so narrow, that they were forced to sail in a Line. This Channel was marked with Stakes set upright in it, as in the Isthmus between the *Leucadian* Islands, and the Coast of *Acarnania*; there are the like Signals, or Beacons, to prevent the Ships from running upon the Shores. There is, however, this Difference between these Coasts, that the Shores, in the Neighbourhood of these Islands, are all of them sandy; so that whatever Vessels run ashore, they are sure to float again on the Return of the Tide; whereas here the Mud is so thick and deep, that Vessels left upon it are as sure to be lost, sinking by their own Weight, beyond the Possibility of weighing them; besides, that it is impossible to reach any Vessel in such a Situation, in order to use the proper Means for getting it out. Through this difficult Channel, and by so hazardous a Navigation, they rowed for 600 Stadia, without being able to find any Port into which they could put, with Safety; and therefore they were obliged to take what Refreshment they could, on board their Ships.

All that Night they continued their Course, and all the next Day, till it was Evening, having made, in that time, nine hundred Stadia; arriving then at the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*, and at a Port in the Province of *Babylonia*, called *Deridolus*, where there is a great Trade carried on of Frankincense, and other Aromatics brought thither from *Arabia*. *Babylon*, according to the Computation of *Nearchus*, stands at the Distance of three thousand nine hundred Stadia from the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*.

While they were here, they received an Express from *Alexander*, who was arrived at *Susa*; upon which, *Nearchus* steered back to and then up the River *Pestigris*, that he might the more easily reach the King's Army. When they weighed, they had the Country of the *Susians* on their Left; and, proceeding in their Voyage, arrived at a Lake, into which runs the River *Tigris*, which rising in *Armenia*, passes by the City of *Ninus*, heretofore a great and flourishing Place, and rolls on through the Country, which, because it lies between it, and the *Euphrates*, is called *Mesopotamia*, i. e. Between Rivers. From this Lake to the River itself, the Distance is about six hundred Stadia; and near it stands a Town of the *Susians*, called *Gura*, from whence the City of *Susa* is distant five hundred Stadia. The whole maritime Coast of this Country, to the Mouth of the *Pestigris*, extends about two thousand Stadia.

Then sailing along a pleasant and fruitful Coast, for the Space of one hundred and fifty Stadia, they came to an Anchor, in order to wait the Return of the Messengers sent by *Nearchus*, to learn where the King then was. This Day they sacrificed to all the saving Powers; celebrated Games; and the whole Fleet indulged themselves in every Method they could devise, that might express their Joy. But afterwards, being informed, that *Alexander* was approaching with his Army, they again resumed their Voyage, and arrived at the Bridge, which, by the King's Command, had been lately built over the River, for the Convenience of marching his Army to *Susa*. There both Armies joined, and *Alexander*, as well in regard to the Victories gained by his Land-forces, as in Gratitude for the Success and Safety of his Fleet, and those on board it, offered

offered magnificent Sacrifices, and celebrated Games. During these Rejoicings, where-ever *Nearchus* went through the Camp, the Soldiers covered him with Garlands and Flowers. *Alexander* himself also, as a Mark of his Favour, and by way of Distinction, honoured *Nearchus*, and *Leonnatus*, by presenting to each of them a gold Crown; to the former, on account of his good Service on board the Fleet; to the latter, by reason of the Victory obtained by him over the *Orontians*, and other barbarous Nations, in their Neighbourhood. Thus the Reader has received a full Account of the Manner, in which his Fleet and Army returned safe to *Alexander*, from the Mouth of the River *Indus*.

Here, properly speaking, ends the Voyage of *Nearchus*, as it is perceived by *Arrian*, in his *Indian History*; which serves as an Appendix to his noble Memoirs of the Life of *Alexander* the Great. A Work highly, and very justly, commended both by antient and modern Writers, for its Elegance, and excellent Method; but more especially for the strict Regard the Author every-where pays to Truth. His *Indian History* is written with the like Care; in which he professes to have read, with the utmost Diligence and Circumspection, the Works of *Onciscritus*, and *Megasthenes*, as well as those of *Nearchus*.

As to the first of these, I mean *Onciscritus*, he was the Captain of *Alexander's* own Ship, and wrote a large Account of the *Indies*; from which, in the Beginning of his History, *Arrian* has taken many Things, but with great Caution, on account of the bad Character he had, as a fabulous Writer: And here, by the way, it may not be amiss to take notice of one of *Arrian's* Observations: He says, that *Ctesias* the *Cnidian* asserted *India* to be as big as all the rest of *Asia*: In which he erred; for *Onciscritus* accounted it to be no more than the third Part of *Asia*. In this, however, there is good Reason to believe, that *Arrian* himself is mistaken; for both of his Authors might have been in the right. *Ctesias*, who wrote from the Memoirs he collected in the *Persian* Court, meant very probably the whole Continent of *India*, from the River *Indus* to the Sea of *Japan*; and, on the other hand, *Onciscritus* could only speak of that Part of *India*, which was known from *Alexander's* Expedition: And, taken in this Sense, the Account given by each of these Authors, may be pretty well reconciled to Truth; and their Opinions, instead of contradicting, appear, thus considered, very agreeable to each other. This shews how unsafe a Thing it is to run down Authors at random; and, by burying their Reputation under a heavy Load of Censure, to pave the Way for the Destruction also of their Works, as has happened in the Case of *Onciscritus*, and many other Authors. But *Megasthenes* was still lower in the Esteem of *Arrian*, who therefore borrows from him but sparingly; whereas he has given us the *Indian* Expedition, by *Nearchus*, at full Length, and, as near as might be, in his own Words: But of his Credit, we shall have an Opportunity to say more hereafter. At present, therefore, let us confine ourselves to the Author who has preserved this noble Fragment of Antiquity; I mean *Arrian*, whom we have so often quoted, and on whose Credit this Part of our Work must depend.

He was a Man of distinguished Quality, as well as excellent Learning, a Native of the City of *Nicomedia* in *Bitbynia*, flourished under the Emperor *Adrian*, and was by him made Governor of *Cappadocia*: He was an excellent Philosopher, as appears by the four Books, that are still left, of his Commentaries upon the Works of *Epictetus*: He wrote also, besides his Memoirs of the Life of *Alexander* the Great, a large History of the *Parthians*; of which there are now only a few Fragments left: He published likewise historical Collections in relation to the *Bitbynians* and *Alans*, as we are informed by *Photius*, who cites the former; but these are now lost, as the *Indian* History was supposed to be, till, by the Industry of some learned Critics, it was discovered, that what had been long regarded as the eighth Book of the Life of *Alexander*, was, in reality, this *Indian* History: And so, undoubtedly, it is; for whoever is acquainted with antient Authors, and has read the Works of *Xenophon* and *Arrian*, will easily discern, that the former served for a Model to the latter; and that the Expedition of *Alexander* (for so *Arrian* mo-

destly intitles his History) was, in reality, a Copy of the Expedition of *Cyrus*, written by *Xenophon*; and, for that very Reason, divided into no more than seven Books.

But as his *Indian History* had so near a Relation to that Work, it was joined to it as a Supplement; and, at last, through the Ignorance of Transcribers, came to be reckoned a Part of it, and was called the eighth Book, directly contrary to the Intention of its Author, as appears, both from the Beginning, and the End of it. He wrote also, in ten Books, the History of what followed after the Death of *Alexander*, which, to the irreparable Damage of the learned World, have wholly perished. We have, however, still remaining a *Periplus*, or Description of the *Euxine* Sea, addressed to the Emperor *Adrian*, which the learned Mr. *Dodwell*, with great Probability, conjectures to have been written about the Year of *Christ* 137. There is also a *Periplus* of the *Red Sea*, which goes under his Name, and, as a Work of his, has been translated by the learned *Battista Ramusio*, and inserted in his excellent Collection.

Yet many great Critics have been of Opinion, that it was none of his, but belonged to an Author of great Antiquity. Mr. *Dodwell* has very fully proved the former, and denies the latter with good Reason, having shewn as clearly, as a thing of that Nature can be shewn, that the Author of that Work lived much later than *Arrian*. It may not be amiss to add one Observation more, before we quit this Subject; which is, that we have given a Place here to the Voyage of *Nearchus*, as it is taken from his own Work; for, otherwise, it must have come in later; and this naturally leads us to say something more as to the Character of this original Author.

13. *Nearchus*, the Son of *Androtimus* a *Cretan*, attended *Alexander* in his *Indian* Expedition, and behaved with so much Fidelity, giving, at the same time, such Instances of his Capacity, that when *Alexander* settled the Embarkation of his Forces, and appointed *Onciscritus* Commander of his own Vessel, he made *Nearchus* his Admiral, and *Eumagoras*, the Son of *Eucleia* a *Corinthian*, Secretary to the Fleet. There is very great Reason to believe *Nearchus* had been the King's old Servant, since it appears, that, before the *Asian* Expedition, he was settled at *Amphipolis*, on the River *Strymon*, one of the most considerable Places in the *Macedonian* Dominions; where, very probably, he had been employed in the Sea-service; otherwise one can hardly suppose, that *Alexander* should give him the Command of his Fleet.

How well he performed that Service, the Reader is able to judge from his own Relation; and, that he might be able to judge of it, was one great Reason of our giving it a Place here. That his Master was extremely well satisfied with his Conduct, appears not only from the Praises and Rewards he bestowed upon him, but also from his listening to this very Journal, in the very last Moments of his Life. After the Decease of *Alexander*, when the Provinces of his great Empire were divided, he had *Lycia* and *Pamphylia* assigned him.

It is not very clear what other Books he wrote; but as to this Journal, it is very evident, that it was composed immediately after his Return from the Voyage, and while things were fresh in his Memory: Neither does it to me appear probable, in the least, that he should either attempt or desire to impose upon *Alexander*, who does not seem to have sought Entertainment from such Expeditions so much as Instruction. It is true, that *Strabo* sometimes questions the Credit of our Author, and has even treated this Journal with some Severity, particularly with regard to what is related of the Whales, which to him appears incredible; but I doubt very much, whether it will appear in that Light to such as Experience has rendered better Judges, since it is very certain, that there are Whales in these Seas, and that the Size he speaks of is far from being extraordinary. Another Observation of *Strabo's* is, that *Nearchus* was rather terrified with his own Fears, than with real Dangers; to which it may be answered, that, as those Seas were then unknown, the Coast extremely bad, and the Vessels, of which the Fleet was composed, very indolent, there is nothing astonishing in what our Author says of his Apprehensions. In respect to what other Authors

thors have cited from him that is manifestly fabulous, they ought not to prejudice his Authority in our Opinion, because the Books are not now extant, from which they cite them; and therefore, it is impossible for us to judge with what View he wrote, or in what Manner he told them. On the Whole, the Advantage of reading so curious an History, in the Words of its original Author, is certainly very considerable, and may very well justify both my Pains, and the Reader's Patience; and I make no manner of Doubt, that the Navigation of *Alexander's* Admiral will afford as great Pleasure to the intelligent Reader, as the Adventures of any modern Traveller whatever.

Besides, he gives the *English* Reader an Opportunity of judging of the Credit and Value of this Performance, the only one of its kind that is preserved entire; which he could not have done from any Extract whatever, much less from the very lame one of *Purchas*, which is as dry and insipid as the Voyage of *Nearchus* is curious and entertaining. After these Reflections, I hope it will not be amiss to add two short Observations on the Behalf of our Author: The first is, that some Writers, who cite him, such as *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*, are remarkably fond of Fables; and, therefore, it is very possible they may relate from him Stories that he did not believe, any more than the Tale of the Island of the Sun, for the very inserting of which, in his History, he is censured by *Arrian*. On the other hand, there are some Authors so fond of criticizing, that they frequently condemn what they do not understand; and, without doubt, the Geography of the Antients was so imperfect, that even the best Writers amongst them were very indifferent Judges of what might be true or false in such Relations.

14. It is not only our Curiosity that is gratified by the Reading of such antient Voyages as these, but they add likewise very much to our Knowledge, and particularly to that sort of Knowledge which is, or ought to be, most sought for, in Collections of this kind. We learn, for Instance, from this Voyage of *Nearchus*, the true State and Condition of maritime Affairs at that time. We plainly discern, that their Vessels drew very little Water, that they were managed chiefly by Oars, that they neither carried, nor were capable of carrying, any considerable Quantity of Provisions, but that they trusted chiefly for these, either to Magazines erected on shore, or, where these were wanting, to what they could obtain by making Descents. We learn from hence, what Services these Vessels were fit for, and for what they were unfit, and, in short, what they could, and what they could not, perform; and from hence we are enabled to form a true Judgment of the Conduct of their Commanders. It is certain, that this seven Months Voyage was in itself no great Affair, and might have been performed with Ease in the very worst sort of Ships that are now in Use: But when, from this particular Account, we become perfectly acquainted with the manner in which it was performed, we cannot be surpris'd, either at the Concern that *Alexander* was under about the Success of this Expedition, or the Apprehensions of *Nearchus*, since both of them were very rational.

In regard to *Alexander*, it is apparent, that he had but a very dark and confused Idea of the Nature of this Voyage, when he thought of sending his Fleet this Way into the *Persian* Gulph. He judg'd, agreeable to Truth and good Sense, that such a Passage there was, and that it might be practicable; but it was impossible for him, or any Man, to foresee the Dangers with which it might be attended; since it is plain, that if any great Part of these Coasts had been either absolutely uninhabited, or if the Inhabitants had been numerous and hardy enough to have prevented his People from landing, they must have perished; and the same thing might have happened, if they had met with very high Winds; or, for a long Space of time, a rocky and impracticable Shore, as appears from the Difficulties of that kind with which they actually encountered: And of this *Alexander* himself was so sensible, that, upon the News of *Nearchus* and *Archias*'s coming to meet him in *Carmania*, he took it for granted, that the Fleet had perished, and that these People had luckily made their Escape. But then, in the midst of these Inconveniences, we must allow, that, with regard to surveying

a Coast, and performing what *Alexander* expected to be performed, his Fleet was every way sufficient, under the Care of so prudent and experienced an Officer as *Nearchus*, who, in the first place, took care to be perfectly acquainted with his Master's Design, and then spared no Pains to accomplish it intirely. It was for this Reason that he so often landed his Troops, that he might be the better acquainted with the Country on the Coast of which he sail'd, and be the more able to answer any Questions that *Alexander* might ask about it.

At the same time that he did this, he took all the Precautions possible, by fortifying his Camps on shore, to secure his People from the Effects of their own Indiscretions, or the bold Attempts of the Barbarians. We learn from hence another Advantage that these People had, which arose from every Man's being both a Soldier, and a Seaman, and from the Capacity of their Officers to act with equal Abilities on board, and on shore; all which were of the utmost Consequence in an Expedition of this Nature. There could no Comparison be made, no true Judgment formed, of the Merit of the famous Men who are mentioned in those Days, if we were ignorant of these Circumstances. We must, in that Case, certainly, either set them too high, or too low, in our Esteem; whereas we have it now in our Power to frame as true Notions of their Behaviour, as if they lived in or very near our own Times.

We can likewise judge exactly of their Deficiencies, and our own Advantages; we can account in our own Minds for the small Progress that was made for so many Ages in Discoveries and Navigation, at the same time that we read of so many and so great Fleets; because we are perfectly convinced, that, though their Ships might serve indifferently for fighting, and be capable enough of waiting Troops backwards and forwards, from one Coast to another, yet they were absolutely unfit for long Voyages, and even, in point of Trade, could do very little in Comparison of ours; because even their largest Ships were of little Burthen. It helps us likewise to account for another thing, that might otherwise seem very surpris'ing; I mean the Number of Ships, that antient Histonians tell us, were either built or drawn together, in very short Spaces of Time, for the Execution of sudden Expeditions: For when we are satisfied, that in those Days they call'd such Vessels Ships as were not much better than our Long-Boats, the Wonder ceases. Nay, when it is farther said, that such Fleets actually performed great Services, we are able to understand that too; for where the Force on each Side is the same, the Event will be determined in Disputes between them, in the same manner as it would be, if the Force on each Side was to be increased in equal Proportions. Such are the Advantages that result from the perusing of this Voyage: It remains to connect this Section with the next, to shew what Benefits they were that *Alexander* propos'd therefrom.

15. The Concern shewn by *Alexander* for this Voyage, and the Success of it, is, generally speaking, refer'd to his Vanity, or his Ambition: Yet, if one considers it attentively, it is easy to perceive, that there must have been some other Motive. He told *Nearchus*, when he first talk'd to him of the Expedition, that he would have undertaken it himself, but for certain Reasons; one of which was, that he thought it extremely hazardous; and was apprehensive, if it miscarried, that it might be fatal to his Glory. This was reasonable enough; but it does not by any means prove, that his Vanity only led him to this Expedition. The contrary is very evident: He conceiv'd, that this Navigation along the Coast might be useful to himself; but he bestow'd all the Honour of it where it was due; that is, on his Admiral: But it was an usual Thing with him, to conceal his true Designs, under the specious Cover of aiming at a superior Degree of Reputation; and assigning no other Reason, even for the most hazardous Attempts, than that they were for his Glory. But if we look closely into his Conduct, we shall find, that his ruling Maxim was the Care of keeping what he got; and this, he knew, could not be done but by a Maritime Force. It is true, that he establish'd Colonies and Garrisons, from the Rivers that run into the *Caspian* Sea, to the very Mouth of the *Indus*: But he easily foresaw, that to secure those Gar-

rions, and to awe so vast a Country, it was necessary to have a Fleet: And he likewise very well knew, that he could make no Use of this Fleet, without being perfectly acquainted with the Coast upon which it was to act. And this was the sole substantial Reason, why he made such a Point of this Expedition. Most of the Historians, and even *Arrian* himself, suggests that he made that ruinous March through *Gedresia*, that he might surpass *Semiramis* and *Cyrus*: But I think they were mistaken; and that the true Cause of his marching through that Country was, that he might not be at too great a Distance from his Fleet. It must, at least, be allowed, that this was a better Reason; and the Care he took in sending Provisions to the Coast, as soon as he had any, is, I think, a clear Proof, that this was his Reason. I do not depend, however, on that alone, but on a Multitude of Circumstances, that, when collected together, and coolly considered, put it beyond Dispute. He was no sooner informed by *Nearchus*, of the Discoveries he had made, than he immediately took the necessary Measures for having a potent Fleet in the *Indian Ocean*. It was for this Reason, that he ordered a great Number of Ships to be built by the *Phœnicians*, and brought by Land to *Thapsacus*. This was a City that stood on the River *Euphrates*, from whence they were to fall down to *Babylon*, where he likewise caused a Haven to be made for their Reception, and went in Person from that City, down the *Pallacopa*, that he might see every thing disposed, for rendering their Passage safe and easy, into the *Persian Gulph*. At the same time, he projected the Circumnavigation of *Arabia*, and, very probably, the first Service he intended to have put this Fleet upon, was the sailing round into the *Arabian Gulph*, while he marched with an Army by Land, from *Chaldea* into that Country. When he had subdued *Arabia*, he might, and certainly would, have transferred all the Trade of that Country, and of the *East Indies*, to his new City of *Alexandria*: And it appears also, that he had taken the most effectual Measures for making it the Centre, also, of the *African Trade*. This Scheme of his was afterwards pursued, and, in some measure, perfected, by the *Ptolemies*, Kings of *Egypt*. So much at present for this Part of his Project: Let us turn our Eyes now to some other of his Designs. There was actually preparing, at the time of his Death, a large Fleet, which was to have been employed in the *Hyrcanian*, or *Caspian Sea*; and there needs but a little Attention to discern, that when he had perfected these two Designs, all that vast Country which he had subdued would have been effectually in his Power, because those Provinces are bounded on the South by one Sea, and on the North by the other. But this was not at all: He had formed another Design, which would have united them to his other Dominions; for he was extremely inquisitive as to the *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Euxine Sea*; and in Time would have had a Fleet there too: So that we need but cast our Eyes upon any Map of

these Countries, to be satisfied, that he had framed and digested, in his own Mind, the easiest and most probable Method for maintaining all his Conquests. We can hence, also, perfectly well account for his being so suddenly charmed with the Situation of *Babylon*, the City in the World the best suited for becoming the Head of such an Empire. It is true, that they are vast and prodigious Designs; but then we are to consider, that they were the Designs of a Man, who had made himself Lord of the best Part of the known World, before he was Thirty; which puts me in mind of what *Lorenzo Gracian*, a Spanish Writer, tells us of this Conqueror, 'The Heart of *Alexander*, says he, was an Arch-Heart, in a Corner of which the World was, and a left Room for many more.' It is a bold and extravagant Thought; but it is not easy to avoid Sentiments of this Sort, when one has long and attentively considered the Actions of this Man. After all, tho' his Empire perished with himself, or, at least, was split into a Multitude of Pieces, soon after he expired, tho' he did not live to perfect his Schemes, and tho' hardly any of his Successors understood them; yet it has so fallen out, that from the Wisdom he shewed in contriving, and the right Methods he took for perfecting them, all the Projects of Trade, and all the Discoveries that have been made since, are, in Truth, owing: For the *Ptolemies* first fixed the *Indian Trade* to *Alexandria*; the *Romans*, when they became Masters of *Egypt*, pursued it the same Way; when the Subjects of the *Constantinopolitan* Empire found a Way to come at a Part of this Trade, by the *Euxine*, or, as we now call it, the *Black Sea*, it was no more than a Branch of one of his Projects; and the same thing may be said of the new Trade by *Afracan*. It is true, indeed, that he knew of no such Place; but it is as true, that he meditated a Design for establishing a Commerce, by the means of the *Caspian Sea*, with the Northern Part of the *Indies*, thro' the Country of the *Usbeck Tartars*, whose Capital *Samarcand*, how little soever known to us, was once his Winter Quarters. All this will be more plainly made out in the Sequel of this Work: In the mean time, what has been already said, will sufficiently shew, that as the Study of History answers many other Purposes, so it may be made to answer the noble Purpose of promoting extensive Commerce, which is the greatest Benefit that can accrue to Mankind. This, I think, is a sufficient Apology for the Pains I have taken to explain and vindicate the Character of this great Prince: For, sure it cannot be better vindicated, than by shewing, that, in the midst of his Conquests and Victories, he did not, as some Writers would persuade us he did, forget that he was a Man; but, on the contrary, kept constantly in View a Character much superior to that of the Conqueror of the World; I mean that of being a Friend and Father to Mankind; a Title which, whoever will weigh the Nature and End of all his Designs, can never see any Reason to refuse him.

SECTION VII.

The History of the Seleucidae, Kings of Syria, who were the immediate Possessors of Alexander's Indian Conquests.

1. The Disturbances which happened on Alexander's Death, and the Division of his Empire.
2. The Establishment of Seleucus Nicator, in Syria, and the Rise of a new Monarchy in India, under Sandracottus.
3. The absolute Loss of the Indian Provinces, and the new Policy of the Syrian Princes.
4. Of the Successors of Seleucus, and the Declension of their Affairs in the East.
5. The Attempt made by Antiochus the Great to recover India, and his Treaty with Saphagatenus.
6. A View of the probable Causes of this ill Management, in the Monarchs of Syria.
7. The Wisdom and Magnanimity of the Indian Princes, and the Manner in which they preserved the Correspondence, after throwing off the Dominion, of the Greeks.

THE Death of *Alexander* was succeeded, as he foresaw it would, by Seditions among his principal Commanders; and, in consequence of that, the Division of his Dominions; in sharing of which they were so much taken up, that for several Days his Body lay neglected. At last it was agreed they should be

parted, in the following manner: *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, had *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lysimachus* had *Thrace*, and the adjacent Countries; *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*, *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Arabia*, and *Cele-Syria*; and *Seleucus* all the rest.

¹ *Diad. Sicil. lib. xviii. Arrian, lib. vii. Strabo, lib. xv. Justin. lib. xlii. Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

By this Division, all the Schemes of *Alexander* were totally defeated; for every one minding his own Interest, there soon arose four Kingdoms out of *Alexander's* Empire: So that, tho' the Dominions of the *Greeks* subsisted, yet the Form of his Monarchy, was lost within seventeen Years after his Death; and there was only an empty Form of it preserved during that Space: For tho' these great Officers contented themselves, during that Time, with the modest Name of Governors, yet they had, in effect, as much the Power of Kings, as after they assumed the Title.

It is not my Business to pursue their History farther than it concerns my Subject: And therefore, I am first to speak of *Seleucus*, within whose Division the *Indian* Provinces lay; and then I am to shew by what means *Ptolemy*, and his Successors in *Egypt*, transferred the Trade of the *Indies* intirely to their own Dominions, by pursuing a Part of that vast Plan which *Alexander* had laid down, when he proposed the Limits of the World to become those of his Empire: And this will at once answer the End of this, and the next Section, and preserve a proper Connection between the several Periods of general History, which I am constrained to touch in the Progress of this Work; and without a due Conception of which, the *Indian* Story can never be thoroughly understood.

2. It is observed, that the Follies of great Princes are much oftener copied than their Virtues. The Humour that possessed *Alexander*, of being thought of divine Original, was still stronger in *Seleucus*, and the Story he published more improbable and absurd. It was, in few Words, this. His Mother *Laudice*, being the Wife of *Antiochus*, one of *Philip's* Captains, pretended the dreamed that she had conversed with *Apollo*, and conceived by him; and that he gave her a Ring, on the Stone of which an Anchor was engraved, and directed her to bestow it on her Son, when he came to be a Man. This Son was *Seleucus*, said to have been born with an Anchor on his Thigh, by which also the whole Race of the *Seleucids* were distinguished, and which was supposed to give them a Title to the Dominion of the Sea, for the sake of which, perhaps, the Story was invented. However that might be, it was affirmed that this Ring was actually found in the Bed of *Laudice*; and that she delivered it to *Seleucus*, when he went to the *Persian* War, assuring him that he was not the Son of *Antiochus*, but of *Apollo*. This Notion he took care to inculcate amongst his Soldiers, as much as possible, and to keep up the Credit of it as far as lay in his Power, affected always a great Attention to Naval Affairs.

But this was after he had established himself in the Kingdom; for, immediately after *Alexander's* Death, he found himself fully employed in securing his Share of his Master's Territories from being torn from him by the Ambition of his Collegues.

It was during these early Disputes, that the *Indian* Provinces were irrecoverably lost. This Blow was given to *Alexander's* Empire by *Andracottus*, whom we have formerly mentioned, and whom *Justin*, and other Authors, frequently called *Sandracottus*. He was not of Royal Extraction, but he must have been the Son of some Person of Distinction, since, being a Youth in *Alexander's* Camp, he, some way or other, offended that Monarch to such a Degree, that he ordered him to be slain; which severe Sentence he escaped, by speedy Flight. It was on this Occasion, that an odd Accident inspired him with the Hopes of acquiring the Regal Dignity: Being excessively tired with the Heat of the Weather, and hard Travelling, he lay down in a Wood, to sleep; and a Lion having gently licked the Sweat off his Body, till he awaked, then left him without doing, or endeavouring to do him, the least Hurt. He gathered about him, soon after, a Crew of Outlaws, and began to make Inroads on the *Macedonian* Colonies. He saw the Disposition of the People was absolutely repugnant to the Yoke of *Greek* Slavery; and therefore, under Pretence of restoring Liberty, he very artfully brought them into Subjection to himself.

As this was an Age when Prodiges had great Effects, *Andracottus* produced an Elephant, of a very unusual Size, which, he assured the People, came, of its own Accord,

out of the Woods, and behaved towards him as tamely as if it had been long disciplined. This Story served his Purpose very extensively; for it encouraged the People every-where to rise; and induced them to accept of him for their Chief: So that, in a very short Space, he cut off all *Alexander's* Garrisons, and those who commanded them, breathing, where-ever he marched, the strongest Passion for Liberty; and enlarging, by Degrees, both his Forces and Dominions, till he was become much too potent for any of his Neighbours, and durst avow publicly his Design, not only of throwing off the *Greek* Authority, but of erecting a new and powerful Empire in the *Indies*.

As soon as *Seleucus* found himself well fixed in the Possession of his Dominions, he determined with himself, to recover the *Indian* Provinces, and to repress the Pride of this new Conqueror, who was the first Stranger that had attempted to reject the Government of the *Greeks*. But his Endeavour came too late; *Andracottus* was become, by this time, much too powerful to apprehend any thing from one of *Alexander's* Successors. Instead therefore, of abandoning his new Conquests, he was no sooner apprised of *Seleucus's* March into the Northern Provinces, than he began to assemble a numerous Army, in order to march towards, and give him Battle. *Seleucus* had been hitherto extremely fortunate, and was now at the Head of a great Body of excellent Troops, flushed with Conquest; yet when he heard, that *Sandracottus* was moving towards him, with a well-disciplined Army of 600,000 Men, and a great Number of Elephants; and that, instead of inclining to part with what he had already obtained, he demanded that all the Country, to the River *Arbis*, should be restored to the *Indians*, to whom it formerly belonged, he paused a little, and shewed an Inclination to treat.

On the other hand, the *Indian* Prince, being, by the standing Maxims of their Policy, restrained from attacking a Foreigner, that did not act offensively against him, readily listened to the Proposal; and gave *Seleucus* to understand, that he had no Quarrel or Aversion to the *Greeks*, but fought only for the Preservation of that Freedom, which the *Indians* held dearer than their Lives. An incident happened, at this time, which contributed not a little to the bringing this Negotiation to an amicable Conclusion, viz. the Apprehensions *Seleucus* was under, from the Power of *Antigonus*, which had united the other Kings against him, with whom *Seleucus* was inclined to confederate himself; and was, therefore, very desirous of getting this *Indian* War well off his Hands. After some time spent, therefore, in Conferences, they came, at last, to this Agreement, viz. that *Seleucus* should give up all the Frontier Provinces, between the Rivers *Arbis* and *Indus*, to *Sandracottus*; and that he, on the other hand, should deliver five hundred of his disciplined Elephants, to *Seleucus*: And this being complied with by both Parties, *Sandracottus* was left in quiet Possession of his Kingdom, and *Seleucus* marched Westward again with his Army, strongly reinforced by those five hundred Elephants.

It is impossible, from the few Circumstances that are left us by ancient Writers, to pretend to fix the Boundaries of this *Indian* Monarch's Territories, or to say, with any Degree of Certainty, of what Nation he was King: It is, indeed, certain, that he made Choice of the chief City of the *Prafsians*, for his Capital; but I do not think it probable, that he was first King of that People: On the contrary, it seems most likely, that having first got together an Army, composed of such as *Alexander* had driven out of their Countries, he became strong enough, by Degrees, to reduce all the Countries between the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*, and many also, on the other Side of the last-mentioned River; and then fixed the Seat of his Empire at *Palimbotra*. It is true, that *Megasthenes* reported, that *Sandracottus* was the hundred and fifty-third Monarch, from *Bacchus*; and that those Princes had reigned for the Space of six thousand and forty-two Years; which is very improbable in itself, and not at all agreeable to the other Lights we have from History.

As for this City of *Palimbotra*, which, in many Authors, is called *Palibotra*, it stood at the Confluence of

^a *Justin*, lib. xv. c. 4.
^b *Megasthenes* ap. *Strabo*.

^c *Strabo*, lib. v. p. 724. *Justin*, lib. xv. c. 4. *Plutarch*, in *Alexandro*.

^d *Strabo*, lib. xv.

the Rivers *Eranus*, and *Ganges*, and was the most famous City in the *Indies*. *Megasthenes*, who had been often there, affirms that it was eighty Stadia in Length, and fifteen in Breadth, surrounded with a Ditch, of a prodigious Breadth, and forty-five Foot deep: There were five hundred and seventy Towers on its Walls; and it had fifty-four Gates. *Ptolemy* calls it, *The Royal Palibothra*; and places it in the Latitude of 27°. And *Strabo* tells us, that, from this Royal City, the King was frequently called *Palibothrus*; which is probable enough, since it is plain, that such a Custom prevailed in the *Indies*, from the Instance of *Mephis*, who, on his Accession to the Kingdom of *Tanila*, assumed the Title of *Taxiles*.

The City of *Palibothra* is frequently mentioned, with Marks of the utmost Admiration, by many antient Authors; and continued, to the Time of *Pliny*, to be considered as the Metropolis of *India*. There is good Reason to believe, it is the same with the modern City of *Halabat*, in the *Mogul's* Dominions, situated on the Confluence of the Rivers *Ganges*, and *Exprates*, and agreeing, in other respects, to the foregoing Description. *Megasthenes*, who was employed in several Negotiations, at the Court of *Sandracotis*, represented him as a Prince no less conspicuous for his Virtues, than formidable for his Power; as one who ruled with the utmost Regard to Equity and Justice, and kept even his Soldiers to such strict Discipline, as that an Army of four hundred thousand Men, could march thro' a Country, without harrassing, or destroying it. He must, indeed, have been a Prince of singular Abilities, who, from such small Beginnings, would raise up so potent an Empire, and leave it, at his Decease, to his Son. The Name of this Successor of his, was *Antiochades*; and we read in *Pliny*, that the Standing Forces of this Monarch were six hundred thousand Foot, thirty thousand Horse, and nine thousand Elephants.

3. By this Treaty, made with the *Indian* Prince before mentioned, *Seleucus* absolutely abandoned all the Conquests that *Alexander* had made on that Side, within less than twenty Years after his Death; and they were never afterwards recovered. It was this Prince, who in his Transactions with the Kings of *India*, made use of *Megasthenes*, whom we have so often mentioned; and it was, by being thus employed by *Seleucus*, that he acquired the Knowledge requisite for the writing of his Book, which is long ago perished, tho' there are still some Fragments preserved. He is censured as a fabulous Writer, by most of those who cite him; and, in the Beginning of the 15th Century, it came into the Head of an *Italian* Monk, whose Name was *Donatus*, of *Viterbo*, to counterfeit the Book of which we have been speaking, notwithstanding that he knew so little of it, as to mistake the Author's Name, whom he calls *Megasthenes*; into which Mistake he was led, by the *Latin* Translation of *Josephus*. His Master *Seleucus* was a very wise, as well as fortunate Prince; but his Reign was so much troubled with Wars, that he had scarce Leisure to think of any thing else.

There is, however, one Circumstance in his Reign, that must not be forgot, which was his building *Seleucia*, on the River *Tigris*, at the Distance of forty Miles from *Babylon*, in order to make it the Seat of Government, for the Eastern Provinces of his Empire: And in this he, and other Successors of *Alexander* the Great, affected to copy their Master; and none of them with better Success than *Seleucus*: For his new City, which stood on the West Side of the River, soon drew most of its Inhabitants from *Babylon*, which sunk so low, as to be turned, by the *Parthian* Kings, into a Park for wild Beasts. By Degrees, however, its Name was transferred to *Seleucia*: And this is the *Babylon* that we find afterwards mentioned by Historians. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the new *Babylon* is now sunk as low as the old: For the Caliph *Amanfur*, observing, on the other Side of the River *Tigris*, a very beautiful Spot of Ground, on which there was nothing but the Cell of a Christian Monk, and a little Garden, he thought the Situation so pleasant and commodious, that in the Year after Christ 762, he built there a new City, which he

made the Capital of his Dominions; and called it, from the old Monk, *Bagdad*, i. e. the Garden of *Dad*; which is the modern *Babylon*, and the very Place which is now besieged by *Thomas Khonli Kan*: And this Remark will be found of great Use, in the Perusal of the remaining Part of this Work; and therefore I introduced it here. The same *Seleucus Nicator* was also the Founder of *Antioch*, on the River *Orontes*, about twenty Miles above its Fall into the *Mediterranean* Sea; which continued, for many Centuries, the chief City of the East: And so, indeed, it well deserved to be, for its convenient Situation, lying at an equal Distance from the two great Cities, of *Constantinople* in *Europe*, and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, about 700 Miles from each of them.

He, and his Successors, had Fleets, both in the *Caspian* and *Black* Seas; but the Accounts we have, of the Voyages made in both, by their Direction, in *Pliny*, are so obscure, and, in Truth, so absurd, that it would be to no Purpose, to trouble the Reader with any Account of them. We have, indeed, a better Character given us of one *Patroclus*, whom they employed to inquire into the Government and Trade of the *Indies*, and who wrote a Book upon this Subject, often cited, and much commended by *Strabo*; but it is long since lost, tho' from his Account of it, most certainly it deserved a better Fate.

4. This *Seleucus Nicator*, or the Conqueror, who was the first Monarch of *Syria*, and of whom we have hitherto been speaking, reigned thirty-three Years; and, on his Death, was succeeded by his Son *Antiochus Soter*, i. e. the Saviour, which Surname he obtained by defeating the *Gauls*, who broke into lesser *Asia*, and threw all that Part of the World into Confusion: He reigned nineteen Years; most of which were spent in War; and was succeeded by his Son *Antiochus Theus*: In the eleventh Year of whose Reign the *Parthians* and *Bactrians* revolted, which cut off from him most of the Eastern Provinces, and, with the Rebellion of his Son, perplexed his Reign so much, that he had not Time to look into the domestic Oeconomy of his Empire, which he enjoyed fifteen Years; and was then succeeded by his Son *Seleucus Callinicus*, who, in the Beginning of his Reign, was involved in a War with his Brother; which gave an Opportunity to *Arfaces*, the new King of *Parthia*, to add *Hyrcania* likewise to his Dominions; which, however, *Seleucus* endeavoured to recover, and marched with a great Army into *Parthia* for that Purpose, but with no great Success. In the sixteenth Year of his Reign, he invaded *Parthia* a second Time with worse Fortune than before; for he was defeated and taken Prisoner by *Arfaces*, and, having lived in Confinement three Years, died of a Fall from his Horse.

He was succeeded by his Son *Seleucus Ceraunus*, i. e. the Thunderer, an odd Surname for a weak and pusillanimous Prince, who, after sitting three Years on the Throne, and doing nothing remarkable, was poisoned by some of his Ministers, leaving behind him no Issue; after his Death, succeeded *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus*, when the Kingdom of *Syria* was in the most distressed Condition imaginable, distracted at home, and embroiled abroad.

5. This *Antiochus* merited the Title of Great; for, though at his Accession to the Kingdom, which happened in the Year 222 before Christ, he was but fifteen Years old, yet he discovered a Spirit worthy of his Crown, and capable of restoring the Glory of his Country. In the Beginning of his Reign, he sent *Molon* and *Alexander*, two Brothers, one into *Media*, and the other into *Parthia*; but they, despising the King's Youth, set up for themselves, and seized the Countries they were sent to govern: These Rebels defeated two Armies that were sent against them; but King *Antiochus* himself, marching first into *Media*, there defeated *Molon*, who killed himself in Despair: His Brother *Alexander*, finding it impossible to resist, destroyed his Mother and all his Family, and then killed himself; by which means these two Provinces were again restored to the *Syrian* Empire. Encouraged by this Success, he, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, attacked *Arfaces*, King of *Parthia*; and, after a long War, concluded a Peace with

¹ *Arrian* in *Indic*.

² *Ap. Cellar. Geogr. Antig.* p. 745.

³ *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 19.*

⁴ *Strabo*, lib. xi. *Plin.*

⁵ *lib. vi. c. 26.*

⁶ *Elmacini Historia Saracenicæ, A. H. 145. Eutychii Annales, Tom. 2. p. 399. Alul. Pbaragii Hist. Dynast. p. 141.*

⁷ *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xx. Strabo, lib. xvi. Justin. lib. xvi.*

⁸ *Apian. in Syriacis. Justin.*

him, by which he yielded up *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*. He did this, that he might be more at Leisure to recover the Eastern Provinces; and with this View he invaded *Bactria*, which had been long torn from the Dominions of the Successors of *Alexander*. *Eutibdemus* was then King of that Country, a very wise and potent Prince, against whom *Antiochus* carried on the War with great Vigour, but with little Success; so that, after his utmost Efforts for the dispossessing him of that Country, finding that he made but little Progress therein, by reason of the Valour and Vigilancy of those he had to deal with, he grew weary of the War; and, therefore, admitted Ambassadors from *Eutibdemus* to treat of an Accommodation.

By them *Eutibdemus* complained of the Injustice of the War which *Antiochus* had made against him, telling him, that he was not of those that had revolted from him; and that, therefore, he had not, on this Account, any Right of War against him: That the Revolt of the *Bactrians* from the *Syrian* Empire had been made under the leading of others before his Time: That he was possessed of that Country, by having vanquished and driven out the Descendants of those Revolters, and held it as the just Price of his Victory over them. He farther ordered it to be suggested to *Antiochus*, that the *Scythians*, taking the Advantage of the War, in which they were now wasting each other, were preparing a great Army to invade *Bactria*; and that, therefore, if they continued any longer their Contention about it, a fair Opportunity would be given those *Barbarians* to take it from both. This Consideration, added to the Desire which *Antiochus* before had to get rid of this tedious and troublesome War, brought him to agree to such Terms as produced a Peace; for the confirming and ratifying of which, *Eutibdemus* sent his Son to *Antiochus*, who took such a Liking to the young Man, that he gave him one of his Daughters in Marriage; and, for his sake, allowed the Father to take the Style and Title of King of *Bactria*; and then, having received from him all his Elephants (which was one of the Terms of the Peace) he marched over Mount *Caucasus* into *India*; where, having renewed his League with *Sappogamus*, the King of that Country, and received so many Elephants from him, as, when added to those he had from *Eutibdemus*, made up their Number an hundred and fifty, he marched from thence into *Arachosia*; and from that Country into *Drangiana*; and from thence into *Carmania*, settling, as he went, all those Countries in due Order under his Obedience.

This was the last Expedition, of any Consequence, that was ever undertaken by any of the *Grecian* Princes in *Syria*; and, therefore, this is the last of these Princes that I shall mention. But, that we may not conclude his Reign abruptly, let us continue it as concisely as may be to its Close. After having wintered in *Carmania*, he returned through *Persia*, *Babylonia*, and *Mesopotamia*, unto *Antioch*, after having been seven Years absent from thence in this Expedition. By the Boldness of his Attempt, and the Wisdom of his Conduct through this whole War, he gained the Reputation of a very wise and valiant Prince, which made his Name terrible through all *Europe* as well as *Asia*; and thereby he kept all the Provinces of his Empire in thorough Subjection to him. And thus far his Actions might well have deserved the Name of the Great, which was given unto him, and he might have carried it with full Glory and Honour to his Grave, but that he unfortunately engaged in a War with the *Romans*.

This was intirely the Effects of his Vanity, for which he paid very dearly; for it proved the Ruin of his Affairs, and brought upon him a Train of Misfortunes, that followed him to his Grave. The true Design of this War was to have torn away a Part of the Kingdom of *Egypt* from *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a Child under the Guardianship of the *Roman* Republic. It was upon this Occasion that he abandoned all Thoughts of the East, and laboured incessantly to raise a large maritime Force in *Europe*; yet, notwithstanding he succeeded in this, and had also *Hannibal*, the greatest General of his Age, to assist him, his Affairs grew

daily worse and worse; and, being, at last, routed in several naval Engagements, and in a decisive Battle at *Magnesia*, he found himself in so great Distress, that he was constrained to accept such a Peace as the *Romans* thought fit to grant him; and thereby gave up all *Asia*, on the other Side Mount *Taurus*, and paid the Expences of the War, which were settled at fifteen thousand Talents, or three Million six hundred thousand Pounds of our Money; which extremely sunk his Reputation, and wasted his Treasure, involving him, besides, in such a Train of disgraceable and successful Enterprizes, that, at last, robbing the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* in the Province of *Elymais*, in order to obtain Money to pay the *Romans*, this occasioned an Insurrection which cost him his Life.

His Successors pursued his Maxims of Policy; neglected their Eastern Provinces, in which Side they might have acted with Advantage; and, opposing the *Romans* from the Dread of their Power, drew it upon them to such a Degree, as to lose all their great Dominions to that Republic, and her Confederates.

6. It is not easy to conceive an Empire better situated for Commerce, than that of the *Seleucids*, at the Death of its Founder *Seleucus Nicator*; for they had the Eastern Provinces of *Alexander's* Empire to the Frontiers of the *Indies*, the *Red Sea* on one Side, that is to the South, the *Caspian Sea* on the North, and the *Mediterranean* open to another Part of their Dominions. It is very evident, even from the dark Accounts of *Pliny*, that the first Monarchs of this Family were very desirous of keeping up a maritime Force, and making Discoveries in the *Caspian Sea*; but the Wars and Confusions that followed the Loss, first of *Bactria*, then of *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, and, at last, of *Persia*, discouraged these Princes, and indeed took from them the Means of pursuing that Plan.

It is likewise evident, that *Seleucus* was extremely fond of another of his Master's Maxims, which was that of building new Cities; and of these he left a great Number of his own, his Wives, and his Mother's Names, besides those we have already mentioned: And this Practice of his grew into a Humour with his Successors, who were everywhere erecting new Cities at the Expence of old ones. Their Conduct differed widely in this from that of *Alexander*, who never affected to ruin old Cities, but built new ones in proper Places and for proper Purposes, leaving Colonies of *Macedonians*, where he intended they should serve for Garisons; and using all Means possible to invite Strangers of every Country, and of all Religions, to settle in them, where he intended them for Ports.

And as these Princes erected new Cities on very different Motives, so the Consequences that attended them were very different likewise; for many of the Cities, built by *Alexander*, increased and became famous on account of the Prudence he had shewn in the Choice of their Situations; whereas the others, that were most of them the Effects of Vanity, unpeopled and destroyed each other; and so, instead of remaining Monuments of the Power, became Instances of the Folly and Weakness of these Princes.

7. It was natural for me to begin the History of *Alexander's* Successors with that Family, which, at first, were in Possession, and always claimed a Right to his *Indian* Conquests; which, as we have shewn, they quickly lost by their own ill Management. It may not be amiss, however, to observe, that, from the Facts mentioned in this Period, the Steadiness of the *Indians*, in respect to their Maxims of Policy, very plainly appears. *Sandracetus* raised himself suddenly to an amazing Height of Power, and from a private Person, hiding himself in the Woods for the Preservation of his Life, rose to a Degree of Power, capable of resisting the whole Force of the Kings of *Syria*, when in the Zenith of their Glory: Yet he contented himself with restoring the ancient Bounds of *India*, and even parted with five hundred Elephants for that Purpose; but he never thought of foreign Conquests, or was drawn by Motives of Ambition or Vanity, to weaken his Force, by extending his Dominions. On the contrary, we find *Megasthenes*, who was an Eye-witness of what he wrote, in

* *Justin. lib. xxx. c. 1.*

* *Polyb. Hist. lib. xi. p. 651.*

* *Appianus in Syriacis. lib. xxxvi. xxxviii. Pals. Legat. p. 301.*

* *Strabo, lib. xvi. Justin. lib. xxxii. c. 2.*

* *Plin. lib. ii. c. 27.*

* *Appian. Tit. Livius. Polyb. Diodor. Sicul. in Excerptis Valeriana.*

* *Polyb. lib. xi.*

sitting on the strict Discipline of his great Armies, on the Frugality of that Prince's Court, and on his strict Adherence to the Manners and Customs of his Country. We find the same Principles as steadily pursued by *Sapthagenus*, who was King of that Part of *India*, which was threatened, rather than attacked, by *Antiochus* the Great: He likewise parted with his Elephants to preserve Peace, tho' he appears to have been so well prepared for War, that even that potent and fortunate Monarch of *Syria* chose rather to compromise the Differences between them amicably, than to hazard the Ruin of his Army by an Engagement^a.

These Indian Princes had nothing in view, but securing their Dominions, and maintaining their Subjects in Peace and Quiet. On the other hand, the *Syrian* Kings were fond of making a Shew of their Power in these Countries,

by keeping up a Corps of Elephants in their Armies, preferring thus the Shadow to the Substance, and seeking rather to spread a false Opinion of their Grandeur in the West by this Display of their Elephants^b, than to maintain it in the East, by a constant Attention to the Preservation of those Provinces, which, by the Conquests of *Alexander*, were derived to them. But, though the Dominion of the *Greeks* was lost on this Side, yet their Commerce with the *Indians* was, in a great measure, preserved by the wife Conduct of the Successors of *Alexander* in another Part of his Dominions^c; of which we are next to speak, and which will bring us to a Conclusion of this Part of our Subject, by leading us to the same Point which closes this Section; viz. the Falling of that Part of *Alexander's* Empire into the Possession of the *Romans*.

^a *Phib. lib. xi.*
Commerce.

^b *Tit. Liv. lib. xxxvii. Apian. Justin.*

^c The *Ptolemies*, who most of them cultivated maritime Power and

SECTION VIII.

The History of the Greek Empire in Egypt, under the Ptolemies; the Establishment of the Indian Commerce, at Alexandria; and the Consequences of that Establishment, to the Reduction of the Kingdom of Egypt into a Province, by the Romans.

1. The Settlement of Egypt, on the Death of Alexander the Great, under Ptolemy the Son of Lagus, afterwards King, and surnamed Ptolemy Soter.
2. The Character of that Prince; his perfect Acquaintance with, and earnest Inclinations to execute, the Designs of Alexander.
3. An Account of the Foundation, Peopling, and Adorning Alexandria, the Capital of the Greek Empire in Egypt.
4. The erecting the Pharos or Light-house there, and other Methods used to render the Port of that City safe and commodious.
5. An Account of the Museum, and Library of Alexandria.
6. And of the Serapeum, and additional Library, which was destroyed by the Arabians.
7. The stupendous Vaults, Cisterns, and other subterraneous Conveniences of that City.
8. The Accession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the Maxims of his Government.
9. His Care in settling the Commerce between Egypt and the Indies, the Source of the immense Wealth of that Country for many Ages.
10. The Methods used by him, to secure the Intercourse between the Red Sea, and the Nile, described at large.
11. An Account of the extensive Dominions, vast Power, and prodigious Revenue, of Ptolemy Philadelphus.
12. A succinct History of the Reign of Ptolemy Euergetes.
13. The Improvements made in the Commerce to the Indies, under Ptolemy Philopater, and succeeding Princes.
14. Declension and Ruin of the Greek Empire in Egypt.
15. Instances of the vast Profits accruing to the Egyptians, by their Indian Trade.
16. Situation of that Commerce, at the Dissolution of that Empire.
17. The Reduction of Egypt, by Augustus, under the Roman Empire.

IT is a Thing agreed, by all the Writers of the Life of *Alexander*, that none of his Commanders stood in higher Favour with him, or in greater Credit with his Army, than *Ptolemy*, called from the Name of his Father, *Ptolemy Lagus*^a. The King had raised him, merely from the Esteem he had of his Merit; and, at the time of his Master's Decease, he was one of the most considerable Officers in his Troops, tho' in the very Flower of his Age: For at the Juncture, when the Division of the Provinces was made, and he had *Egypt* assigned him, *Ptolemy* did not exceed forty-five. He went thither immediately; had the Province delivered up to him quietly; and held it thenceforward, to the Day of his Death, with all the Advantages it naturally possessed, and all that could be added to it, by his Valour and Conduct. It was not long before some of those, who conferred upon him this Dominion, moved by Envy and Ambition, would have deprived him of it: But he was so prudent a Statesman, so great a Captain, and so gracious a Master, that his Army, and his Subjects, adhered to him steadily, and enabled him to resist effectually all the Attempts that were made to his Prjudice.

A Rumour prevailed thro' the *Macedonian* Army, that where *Alexander's* Body was intombed, that Country should enjoy Peace and Felicity beyond any other. *Ptolemy*, knowing how great an Effect such superstitious Opinions have upon the Minds of the Vulgar, contrived, under colour of conveying it to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, to get the Corpse of his Master into *Egypt*, where it was first deposited at *Memphis*, and was afterwards transported to

Alexandria, where it remained, and gave Credit to *Ptolemy*, in all his Undertakings^b.

After the first Disputes, which followed after that Conqueror's Decease, and the second Partition of the Provinces, *Ptolemy* had a larger Share; and, behaving much more kindly to the Soldiers, than the other Princes did, had always a numerous, and well-disciplined Army; by the Help of which he added *Cale-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, together with *Cyrene*, and *Lybia*, to his Dominions; which rendered him, if not the most powerful, at least, the best established of all *Alexander's* Captains; which appeared by the People, or rather Army's giving him the Title of King, at a Time when his Arms were not very successful, as if they intended to suggest they would either restore his Fortune, or share it. He did not, however, assume himself the Character of an independent Prince, till nineteen Years after the Death of *Alexander*, and the Extinction of his Family; that is to say, in the Year before Christ 304^c.

2. There is great Probability, that *Alexander*, who had so much Affection for *Ptolemy*, confided to him some of his principal Designs. To which Opinion I incline, for two Reasons: The first is, that *Ptolemy* himself wrote a kind of Military History of that Prince, on the Credit of which *Arrian*, from whom we have the best Account of *Alexander's* Projects, chiefly relies: And the second, that *Ptolemy* not only executed several Schemes that his Master had left unfinished, but appeared to act, in all Things, upon the like Principles, especially in protecting to the utmost, and using all his Endeavours for the Good of his Subjects, which gained him so high a Character, that when

^a *Arrian. Strabo. Justin. Plutarch. Q. Curt.*

^b *Di. dor. Sicul. lib. xviii. Strabo. lib. xii. p. 705.*

^c *Diod. Sicul. lib. xx. Justin. lib. xv.*

his Affairs took once a wrong Turn in Syria, Thousands followed him into Egypt, chusing rather to live under him in any Condition, than to submit a second time to *Antigonus*.

He likewise imitated his Master, in his Care of having a Maritime Force, which he chiefly maintained by the Kindness he shewed to the *Rhodians*, and others, who, in those Days were esteemed most skilful in whatever regarded Navigation or Commerce. He was also very accessible by, and made large Presents to such Strangers, as, being civil-treated in their own Country, came to take Shelter in Egypt; by which he gained Multitudes of industrious, and of mercantile People especially, who were better satisfied under his mild Administration, than with the Haughtiness of his Rivals, and the many Revolutions, which, thro' the Abuse of their Authorities, happened frequently in Places under their Dominion.

But what principally manifested his Attention to the Designs of *Alexander*, was his extraordinary Application to finishing and adorning his new City of *Alexandria*, which *Ptolemy* not only performed successfully, and peopled it abundantly, but made it the Capital of Egypt, and the Seat of his Empire, as it continued (with continual Improvements and Augmentations) under his Successors. This City, as the Residence of that Monarch, who restored the antient Commerce of the *Indies*, by the Route of the *Arabian* Gulph, and as being itself the great Staple of that Commerce for many Centuries, it will be requisite for us to describe; and that more largely, and with greater regard to antient Writers, than is usual with modern Collectors of History, because it has a very near Relation to our Subject, and will enable the Reader to understand the more clearly what follows.

3. While Egypt continued a Province of the *Persian* Empire, she was always oppressed and exhausted. The Monarchs of *Persia* were so jealous of the *Egyptians*, that they reckoned their Poverty a profitable Thing to the Empire, as tending to keep them quiet, and within the Bounds of their Duty: And it was for this Reason, that they discouraged, as much as possible, any Settlements on the Coast of the *Red Sea*; and were far enough from promoting their Traffick in the *Mediterranean*. But *Alexander* was of quite another Disposition, and no sooner possessed himself of this noble Country, than he began to consider how it might be best improved, and in what manner his Power might be employed, in restoring its antient Wealth and Splendor.

In his March to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, in *Lilya*, he took notice of a Space of Ground, lying along the Coast, and directly opposite to the little Island of *Pharos*; which he judged a very convenient Situation for a City, as having the *Mediterranean* in Front, the Lake *Mareotis* behind, and the River *Nile*, and the *Red Sea*, on one Side of it. After considering the Thing a little, he entered so thoroughly into all Advantages that might be derived from these Circumstances, and foresaw so exactly all that afterwards this City arrived at, that, postponing his Journey for the present, he resolved, without Delay, to cause the Outlines of the City to be drawn, under his own immediate Inspection, and to call it *Alexandria*.

His first Care was for Health: And, hearing the gross Air, from the neighbouring Marshes, was looked upon as unwholesome, he so contrived the Streets, that they received the *Etian* Winds quite through them; which so purified the Air, and purged the Vapours, that the Inhabitants found the Situation healthy, and the Breezes pleasant. He provided next for Strength; and laid down the Plan in such a manner, that there were only two Roads to it, each of them very commodious; but so situated, one towards the Sea, and the other by the Lake, that a small Body of Forces might be able to defend it, in any time of Danger. It was laid out in the Form of a Soldier's Coat, being about thirty Stadia in Length, and ten in Breadth: There ran through the midst of it a fine open Street, one Hundred Feet in Breadth, wherein the principal Buildings for public Uses were to stand: And he likewise caused the Foundations of a Royal Palace to be marked out; and then, committing the Care of building this City to

Dinocrates, a famous Architect, he continued his Expedition into *Lilya*.

Some Writers, indeed, say, that it was not till after his Return from the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, that he built this City; which is very easily accounted for, since it is certain, that, upon his Return into Egypt, he visited the rising City; and was extremely pleased at the Progress that had been made, and at the Beauty of the Port; which, when fenced with a Wall, and cleaned, appeared to be one of the most capacious in that Part of the World. It may seem somewhat extraordinary, that the antient *Egyptian* Kings, who were so much famed for their Wisdom, should not discover a Port that lay so conveniently for embracing the whole Trade of the *Mediterranean*: But the Truth is, that they were well enough acquainted with it, and actually built a Town called *Rhacotis*, in its Neighbourhood; not with any View to the making use of the Port, but quite the contrary, with Intention to have filled it up, and spoiled it, from the Fear they were under of the *Greeks*, whom they considered as a needy, and, at the same time, an enterprising Nation, who were ready to improve any Opportunity that offered, of bettering their own Condition, at the Expence of their Neighbours.

When the Form and Extent of the new City was fully settled, *Alexander* took care to people it, by granting extraordinary Privileges to such as should inhabit it. These Inhabitants were of three Sorts: 1st, *Macedonians*, who had the highest Privileges; and in this Rank also, the *Jews* were enrolled, which, as their Affairs were in a distracted Condition at home, drew Multitudes of them thither. 2^d, The Mercenaries, who were old and unfit for Service, and were desirous of obtaining a Settlement. 3^d, The native *Egyptians*, who, tho' the least favoured with respect to Immunities, yet being offered much more advantageous Conditions in this new City, than they had in any of their own, resorted thither in Crouds: So that, in a short time, the Place was not only built, but thoroughly inhabited; which was greatly promoted by the Care that *Alexander* took, even when at the greatest Distance, for the Improvement of this favourite Colony.

4. At the Time that *Ptolemy* came to take Possession of his Province of Egypt, he found *Alexandria* in a very flourishing Condition; for which Reason he chose it for the Capital of his Dominions; and, all his Life long, studied to adorn it, and increase the Number of its Inhabitants. His long Reign of 39 Years gave him various Opportunities of fulfilling his Intentions, and of executing, in that City, what *Alexander* had proposed to have done throughout his Dominions, as we shall shew as succinctly as may be: His first Care was, to establish a great Maritime Force; in which, notwithstanding the many Checks he met with in his Reign, he succeeded beyond any of the Successors of his Master; and, at the time of his Decease, might be said to be Master of the Sea. It was this that occasioned his enlarging and improving the Port of *Alexandria*, which, even in its Beginning, alarmed the *Carthaginians* so much, that they sent one *Hamilcar*, who was surnamed *Rhodanus*, to the Court of *Alexander* the Great, to get certain Information as to the Designs of that wise Prince, with respect to this new Port, and the Communication they suspected he meant to open between it and his Dominions on the East.

Hamilcar was instructed to pretend, that he was an Exile from *Carthage*, and came to seek Refuge in the King's Court, where he was to endeavour to intimate himself into his Confidence, in order to execute his Commission the better; and, under the Protection of *Parmenion*, he succeeded perfectly: But, after the King's Death, returning home, and making a Report of the Possibility of uniting the Eastern and Western Commerce of the World at *Alexandria*, his Countrymen, displeased with his Discoveries, or thinking it dangerous to let a Man live, who knew so much, by an extraordinary Stroke of Republican Gratitude, they put him to Death, as the shortest Way of securing themselves from the Mischiefs he might do them.

* *Diod. Sicul. lib. xvii. Strabo, lib. xvii. Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

• *African. 2. Curt. 7. 4. 11.*

• *Joseph. lib. xxi. c. 6.*

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6. Phil



The Marble Watch-Tower or Light-House Erected by PTOLEMY SOTER on the Island of Pharos near the Port of Alexandria with the Causeway carried through the Sea to the Continent.

Yet, upon mature Deliberation on what was suggested to him by the ablest Seamen of those Times, *Ptolemy* was concerned, that two Things were wanting, to render this capacious Port of his perfectly safe, and easy of Access; viz. a fort of Mole, which might defend it from Winds; and a Watch-tower, that might shew the true Entrance of the Port at Sea; and for both these Inconveniences he found effectual Remedies. The Island *Pbarus* lying three Quarters of a Mile distant from the City, he determined to build a Watch-tower thereon, and to run a Causeway from the City to the Island, which would secure the Ships in the Port from the Fury of the Winds: But his Endeavours, in this respect, were so often crossed by Wars, and other Accidents, that it was at the very Close of his Reign these noble Designs were completed; but then they had this Advantage, that they were absolutely perfect in their Kinds; so that they were esteemed for many Ages after, among the Wonders of the World.

The Watch-tower, or Light-house, was a large square Building, composed of fine, white Marble, and the Height of one hundred and thirty-five Feet, on the Top of which Fires were constantly maintained, for the Direction of Ships upon the Coast. The Expence of this Tower amounted to eight hundred *Alexandrian* Talents, or upwards of three hundred and thirty thousand Pounds of our Money. The Architect who built it, was *Softratus* of *Cnidus*, who barely endeavoured to usurp the Honour of it with Posterity, to himself, by this fraudulent Device: The Inscription ordered to be set on it, being, *King Ptolemy, to the Gods the Saviours, for the Benefit of those who pass by Sea*; instead of *Ptolemy's* Name, he carefully engraved his own, in the solid Marble; and then filling up the Hollow of the engraved Letters with Mortar, wrote upon it what was directed: So the Inscription which was first read, was according as it was ordered, and truly ascribed the Work to *King Ptolemy*, its proper Founder; but, in Process of Time, the Mortar being worn off, the Inscription then appeared to be thus, *Softratus, the Cnidian, Son of Dexiphanes, to the Gods the Saviours, for the Benefit of those who pass by Sea*; which, being in lasting Letters, deeply engraved into the Marble Stones, lasted as long as the Tower itself. This Tower has been demolished for Ages past.

As for the Mole, or Causeway carried through the Sea, and by which the Island of *Pbarus* was joined to the Continent, it was called in *Greek*, the *Hepta stadium*, or Road of seven Stadia, because that was the Length of it. This stupendous Work, no way inferior to the celebrated Light-house, was performed by *Dexiphanes*, the Father of *Softratus*, about the same time that *Softratus* finished the Tower; and seems to have been the more difficult Undertaking of the two. They, being both very famous Architects, were both employed by *Ptolemy Soter*, in the Works which he had projected, for the beautifying, adorning, and strengthening the City of *Alexandria*: The Father having undertaken *Hepta stadium*, at the same time that his Son did the Tower, they finished both these Works at the same Time; that is, about the Time that *Ptolemy Soter* associated his Son *Philadelphus*. Those who attribute the making of the *Hepta stadium* to *Cleopatra*, follow *Ammianus Marcellinus*, whose Relation concerning it cannot be true; for it contradicts *Cæsar's* Commentaries, and many other Authors, that are better to be credited in this Matter.

Thus, with infinite Industry and Care, as well as at a vast Expence, this wise and powerful Monarch secured to his Capital two excellent Ports, that were equally valuable for their Extent, their Safety, and the Commodiousness of them. Neither is this Account to be at all doubted, from what modern Travellers have said, as to the Difficulty and Danger of the little Port at *Alexandria*, because, without question, it is very much altered from what it was, by the Ruin of the Watch-tower, and many other Buildings, which have been demolished, and the Materials thrown into it; and by the Shoals occasioned by the Lodging of Sand and Mud in these Ruins: So that the Embarrassments and Difficulties, with which it is now attended, are not so pro-

perly chargeable on the Port itself, as on the Ignorance, Malice, and Laziness, of its present Possessors; by which I mean the *Mohammedans* in general, who, since it has been in their Hands, have taken as much Pains to ruin and demolish it, as if the Destruction of such a noble Work was likely to raise their Fame as high, as that of those who erected it.

5. But *Ptolemy*, knowing well that neither Government nor Commerce could flourish where Learning was not encouraged; and being desirous to execute, as far as he was able, the several Projects formed by his Master, in favour of this single City; he erected, for the Service of the Sciences, as great, as beautiful, and as expensive a Building as that of the *Pbarus*, which rendered the Port of *Alexandria* at least equal, if not superior, to any in the World. This large and elegant Structure, was called the *Museum*, furnished with every thing that could make it commodious, or pleasant, to those who were to dwell in it. Here he placed the learned Men, whom the Fame of his many Virtues, his Love of Learning, and his fine Taste in almost every Branch of it, drew to *Alexandria*, from all Parts. The *Museum* stood in that Part of *Alexandria* which was called *Bruchium*, and very near the Royal Palace; where the Philosophers walked, conversed together, read their Lectures, and were splendidly entertained, in all respects, at the public Expence.

Here also, for their particular Conveniency, he founded that famous Library, the Reputation of which will last, as long as there are Books: For the supplying of this great Repository of Learning, he exerted all his Power, and dispensed no small Part of his Treasure, seizing every Foreigner's Books, as soon as he came to *Alexandria*; and, causing them to be transmitted to the *Museum*, they were fairly copied by the Scribes, whom he maintained for this Purpose, the Original safely laid up in the Library, and the Copies returned, with a proper Gratitude, to the Owners of the Books. Besides this Library, there was another, which was called its Daughter, and of which we shall presently have Occasion to speak.

At present, we will confine ourselves to this; and, having given the History of its Rise, we will also say somewhat of the Manner, in which it was destroyed. This unlucky Accident happened when *Julius Cæsar* was at *Alexandria*, and carried on a War there against the *Egyptians*, when a Fire that happened in the Royal Quarter of that City, burnt down the best Part of the Palace, and with it the Library, and in it four hundred thousand Volumes; which was such a Loss to the learned World, as could hardly be repaired. The learned Men, who lived in the *Museum*, were treated with the utmost Generosity and Respect; and had for their President, a Person equally distinguished in point of Quality and Literature; so that he might seem alike worthy of being at the Head of the King's Council, and the Superior of such an Assembly of Men of Letters. The Dignity and Reputation of this Society preserved it in all Changes and Revolutions of Government, as long as a Taste for Learning remained unextinguished, the *Roman* Emperors being no less careful, in the Choice of those whom they appointed Presidents of this Museum, than the *Egyptian* Princes themselves.

6. The last Branch of *Alexander's* Policy extended to Religion; and this also *Ptolemy* took care to comply with in a most extraordinary Manner: He gave out, that he had a Vision, while he was employed in the enlarging and adorning *Alexandria*, of a very beautiful young Man in a flowing Robe, and of divine Aspect, who admonished him, if he desired the Safety and Well-being of this City, about which he took so much Pains, to cause his Image to be transported from *Pontus*. At first, the King pretended not to mind this Dream; but, soon after, the same young Man appeared again, but in a much worse Humour; so that *Ptolemy* found himself obliged to inquire out this new Deity, who proved to be *Serapis* that was worshipped at *Sinope*, whither Embassadors were immediately dispatched to procure this Image from the King of that Country. But three Years being spent in fruitless Solicitations, a Fa-

* Strabo, lib. xvii. Plin. lib. xxxvii. c. 12.

† Strabo, lib. xvii. Athenæus, lib. i. p. 22. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxii. c. 16.

‡ Strabo, lib. xvii. Plin. lib. xxxvii. c. 12. Diod. Siculus, lib. xlii.

* Plutarch. in

mine, which afflicted the Country, came very seasonably to procure a happy Period to their Negotiation: For the People of *Sinope*, finding themselves hard pressed by Want, joined with the Embassadors of *Ptolemy* in their Intreaties, that *Serapis* might be exchanged for a large Supply of Corn; which was at last yielded to, and the so much desired Image transported with great Pomp to *Alexandria*.*

There King *Ptolemy* to welcome the new Guest, raised for him, in the Suburb *Rhacotis*, a most glorious Temple, stiled *Serapeum*, allowed to have surpassed all the Structures of its kind, except the Capitol at *Rome*. It is very easy to discern from the Circumstances of this Story, and the Answer given by the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delfos*, when consulted on this Expedition (viz. That there were two Statues at *Sinope*, one of *Serapis*, the other of *Proserpina*; and that they should be careful to bring only the former); that the Whole was no more than a political Contrivance to answer various Purposes. In the first place, it filled the Minds of the People of *Alexandria* with enthusiastic Confidence, as if a new God, from the most distant Part of the World, was come to take Charge of them. Next, by the Novelty of the Thing, it drew Numbers of superstitious People to worship him. And, lastly, it highly raised the Reputation of *Ptolemy* himself, who appeared an extraordinary Favourite with the Gods, from this surprising Instance of the Condescension of *Serapis*. Thus we discover, by a due Attention to these little Circumstances, the greatest political Art in this seeming superstitious Weakness of this Prince, an Art which served him to much the more effectually, for its being so studiously covered, and which he seems to have derived from his Master, who was very seldom superstitious, but to serve a Turn. It was in this *Serapeum* that the lesser Library was erected; in which, after that, near the *Museum*, was full, such other Books as came to hand, were, from time to time, reposit: This then is the Library of which later Authors speak; and, for the Number of its Books, became, at last, more considerable than the first Library: The End of this most noble Collection was as unhappy, and much more to be lamented, than the former; because it was not burnt by Accident, but by Design.

For at the Time the *Saracens* became Masters of *Alexandria*, which was in the Year 642, *Johannes Grammaticus*, the famous *Aristotelian* Philosopher, addressed himself to *Amrus Ebnol As*, who commanded the *Saracen* Army; and desired, that he would spare the Library for his sake, and bestow it upon him, for the Improvement of the Sciences: The General answered, That he would readily do it, if it depended upon him; but that it was too important an Affair to be decided by any but the *Caliph*, who was, at that time, *Omar*, to whom it was accordingly made known: And the Answer he gave was this; That, if these Books were in their Contents agreeable to the *Khoran*, there was no need of them; and, if on the contrary, they contained Things repugnant to that Book, they ought not to be preserved: By which judicious Sentence the noblest Collection that ever the World saw, in all Sciences and Languages, was destined to the Uses of the *Bagnios*, which were heated with them for six Months†.

Such was the End of the second Library of *Alexandria*; and the same barbarous Power, I mean, that of the *Mohammedans*, has almost buried in Ruins the very City itself: Most of the Palaces are intirely destroyed; the Walls themselves have not escaped; but some of the Towers, which were built like *Bastions*, have, even to this Day, baffled the Fury of these Enemies to all Taste and Politeness: And these Towers, all built with Marble, and in each of which there are many Apartments finely laid out, serve as Witnesses to the Truth of those Facts, which, with respect to the Magnificence of this City, are recorded by the best Authors of Antiquity‡.

7. Yet one Particular there is, relating to this once glorious Place, the Truth of which, perhaps, no historical Evidence could have established; and which, for their own Conveniency, the *Turks* have left intire to testify for itself. The ancient City of *Alexandria*, like most of the Cities of

Egypt, was destitute of fresh Water; and, lying at a Distance from the *Nile*, a Canal was dug from thence, about eighteen Leagues in Length, to supply it; but as the Waters of that River rose but once a Year, high enough to fill that Canal to any considerable Depth, the whole City of *Alexandria* was vaulted, and those Vaults sustained by Rows of Pillars of the finest Marble; so that, in fact, the City under-ground was more curious, and perhaps as expensive, as that above§.

Some of this Vaulting was walled up so closely as to serve for a Cistern, Part of which came under every House; and, at the Time of Year when the *Calis*, for so the Canal from the *Nile* was called, was full to the Top of its Banks, the Head was broken down, and a sufficient Quantity of Water let into the Cistern to supply the City, till the River overflowed again: And by this singular Contrivance, either of *Alexander* or his Architect *Dinocrates*, the City in general, and every House in particular, was supplied with fresh Water, without the Trouble of going to fetch it out of Doors. This Cistern the *Turks*, for their own Use, have preserved; and the Place is now furnished with Water by the same means. It is farther said, that there are abundance of fine Streets, and many curious Buildings, still preserved in this subterraneous City; but the Jealousy of the *Turks* is so great, that they very seldom permit Christians to visit them: Such were the Wonders of this Capital of the *Greek* Empire in *Egypt*, and such the Care of *Ptolemy*, to complete therein the great Designs of its Founder.

Let us now return to the proper Business of this Section; and, after so copious a Description of the Staple of the *Indian* Trade, shew how it was brought thither. The Reader is sufficiently acquainted with the Method by which the ancient *Egyptians* carried on their Trade to the East: It is, therefore, sufficient to say, that *Ptolemy Soter*, i. e. the Saviour, restored that Trade; from which, during the whole Continuance of the *Perick* Empire, the *Egyptians* had been debarred; and by this means, but more especially by their Trade to *Arabia*, his Subjects, even in his Time, and before the vast Improvements made by his Successors, of which we shall give a distinct Account, became immensely rich. Of this we have a most extraordinary Instance in the Procession made at the Coronation of his Son *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, whom he associated in the Government two Years before his Death, as we find it preserved in *Attenaeus*¶, but the Story is much too long to insert here.

Yet *Ptolemy Soter*, in the midst of his Power, and in the midst of this Affluence of his Subjects, preferred an honourable Poverty; and was profuse in nothing but public Ornaments, and in such Expenses as turned to the Benefit of his People, with whom he often eat, and from whom, when he gave public Entertainments, he was wont to borrow Gold Plate for the Service of the Day. This great, this excellent Monarch, the most fortunate of all *Alexander's* Captains, and whose Virtues were still more resplendent than his Fortune, died in Peace, and covered with Glory, at the Age of Eighty-four, and after a Reign of forty Years; leaving an Example of Prudence, Justice, and Clemency, behind him, which none of his Successors inclined to follow.

8. *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, the Son of *Ptolemy Soter*, came to the intire Possession of the *Egyptian* Monarchy, to which his Father had annexed *Phoenicia*, *Celo-Cyria*, *Aravia*, *Libya*, *Ethiopia*, the Island of *Cyprus*, *Pamphylia*, *Gilead*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, and the *Cyclades*, in the Year before Christ 283. He received the Surname of *Philadelphus*, or Lover of his Brethren, by way of Irony, and because he was, in reality, very unkind to them, and is even said to have put two to Death. This giving Nick-names to their Princes, was a Liberty always taken by the *Egyptians*, and is thus far useful to History, inasmuch, as it generally let us into the true Character of the Man in a Word. The Reason of his Unkindness to his Brethren was, because he supplanted them; for he was the Son of *Ptolemy Soter*, by *Berenice*, who came into *Egypt* as the favourite Attendant

* *Tertul. Hystor. lib. iv. c. 83.* *Plutarchus de Iside & Osiride.* *Clement Alexandrinus in Protreptico.*

† *Voyages de Thevenot, Tom. ii. p. 390.*

‡ *Id. ibid.*

§ *De polyphyl. lib. v. p. 197-203.*

¶ *Voyage du Paul Lucas, Vol. ii. p. 193.* *Voyages de Thevenot, Tom. ii. p. 391.*

‡ *Abulpharagius Hystor. Dynal.*

ant on *Eurydice*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, and the Wife of *Ptolemy Soter*, who had a Son by her, called *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, i. e. the Thunderer, who retired into voluntary Banishment on his Father's associating his younger Brother in the Government⁸.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, soon after his Father's Decease, espoused his Sister *Arctinoe*, according to the Custom of the Egyptian Monarchs; and, having a high Spirit, prodigious Parts, and infinite Application, though of an infirm Body and tender Constitution, he governed his Dominions with great Reputation, proceeding intirely on his Father's Plans, as his Father had done on those of *Alexander*. He endeared himself exceedingly to his People, by the Moderation of his Government, by his Love of Peace, and by his Readiness to undertake whatever might be for their Advantage; which induced him to keep up all his Father's Institutions, and to be particularly careful about the Maintenance of a maritime Force, and securing and extending the Trade of *Egypt*. His Reign was not wholly without Troubles; for *Magas*, whom he had appointed Governor of *Cyrene* and *Libia*, revolted from him, and seized those Countries. This *Magas* was, in fact, his elder Brother; for he was his Mother's Son, by *Philip a Macedonian* Captain, to whom she was married before King *Ptolemy* took her. *Magas* was not satisfied with barely seizing the Provinces that were committed to his Trust, but actually invaded *Egypt*, and shewed a strong Inclination to have dethroned his Master⁹.

But *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was not a Prince so easily driven from his Dominions, as he imagined, but, on the contrary, shewed, on this Occasion, as much Prudence and military Skill as was possible; and, in all probability, had crushed the Rebellion in the Beginning, if, in his March again *Magas*, he had not discovered a private Conspiracy in his Army, which obliged him to retire back into *Egypt*, when he had the Rebel almost at his Mercy. This Conspiracy was hatched among the *Gauls*, of whom about four thousand served as Mercenaries in his Army, who designed to have made themselves Masters of *Egypt*. *Ptolemy* drove those Traytors into an Island in the *Nile*, where he kept them so close blocked up, that most of them were starved, and the rest cut each other's Throats, that they might be the sooner out of their Misery. But, after this, the Times grew more peaceable; and, that they might be so at home, *Ptolemy* thought fit to prevent the *Syrians*, who were meditating an Invasion on his Dominions, by causing frequent Descents to be made upon theirs; which, at least, kept the War at a Distance, and served also to employ such restless Spirits as might have bred Commotions in a Time of profound Peace¹⁰.

9. But this War did not take up the Attention of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* to such a Degree, as that he was not able to pursue the Designs, to which his Inclinations led him. On the contrary, he busied himself, during his whole Reign, in improving the Library which his Father had left; in collecting Statues, and other Curiosities, throughout all *Greece*; and in adorning the City of *Alexandria* with many stately Buildings. But that which he set his Heart most upon was, what is the proper Subject of our Inquiry, viz. the Establishment of the Trade to the *East Indies* in such a manner, as that it might never in succeeding Times be separated from his City of *Alexandria*. In this Design he behaved with so great Prudence and Discretion, that it not only drew thither, during his own Life-time, a much greater Mass of Treasure than any other King had enjoyed for many Ages; but, likewise, laid his Scheme so deep, and executed it with such Judgment and Precaution, that the *Indian Trade* remained, as he designed, fixed to *Alexandria*, notwithstanding all the Revolutions in the Government of *Egypt* for upwards of one thousand seven hundred Years; and thereby made it, during that Space, the richest Country in the World, notwithstanding the Oppressions to which it was subject during that Space of Time¹¹.

I cannot help remarking here what, for any thing I know, has not been remarked before, that this is a convincing Proof of the Truth of the *Jewish History*; for, as *Solo-*

mon, who first gained that Trade to his Country, was beyond comparison the richest Monarch that ever reigned in it; so was *Ptolemy Philadelphus* the most wealthy of all the Egyptian Princes, as we observed before, and as we shall hereafter prove at large; and, as the *Indian Trade*, while the *Jews* preserved it, enabled them in a very short Space of Time, to overcome all their Losses; so the same Trade kept the Kingdom of *Egypt* full of Gold and Silver, in spite of all the Methods taken to drain it; and this to such a Degree, as to countenance the Opinion of the Philosophers Stone being no Secret to its Inhabitants, because, without the Art of transmuting other Metals to Gold, it was thought impossible to account for the immense Quantities of that Metal, which, from time to time, were drawn out of that Country, though it had scarce any Mines discovered in it.

* But their Philosophers Stone was, in reality, nothing more, than the Monopoly of this Trade, which, as I have said, they, for so many Centuries, enjoyed, and which was abundantly sufficient to account for that extraordinary Opulence, which so astonished former Ages, and is in Danger of appearing fabulous in ours: This makes it extremely necessary to give a full, as well as distinct Account of the Methods taken by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, for bringing about so great a Design, which had such extraordinary Consequences, and which lasted so much longer, than any other Establishment of the same Sort, that ever was made, before, or since. It was to render this more clear and intelligible, that I entered into so large a Description of the ancient *Alexandria*; as for the same Reason I dwelt so long upon the Projects of *Alexander the Great*, from which this was derived, and which, there is great Reason to believe, had been meditated by *Ptolemy Soter*, though he did not live to execute it; and, from the Account we have given of the Reign of that Prince, the intelligent Reader may perceive, how possible it might have been for *Alexander* to have brought all, or, at least, the greatest Part, of his vast Designs to bear, if he had lived to the Age of *Ptolemy Soter*; since he contrived them so much earlier in his Life, and was possessed of so much greater Power, to have enabled him to carry them into Execution.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, having considered the Difficulties that attended the Commerce of his Subjects in *Arabia* and *India*, for want of proper Ports in the *Arabian Gulph*, resolved first to remove that Difficulty, which was the easier for him to do, because he was absolutely Master of all the West Coasts, almost to the very Mouth of the Gulph. But inasmuch as Experience had taught the Sea-faring People, that the upper Part of the Gulph was extremely dangerous, as well by reason of the uncertain Winds, as because the Coasts were shallow and rocky, he therefore chose to place the new City, which he erected, and to which he gave his Mother's Name of *Berenice*, much nearer the Mouth of the Gulph, and on the Side of an Isthmus, or Promontory, which shoots there into the *Red Sea*. This was a very fine City; but they are misled, who have taken it for a commodious Sea-port. It was designed for an *Emporium*, or Staple for *Indian* Commodities; and the Reason of building it there was, because the Country round about it afforded Water; but the Port was distant one thousand eight hundred *Stadia*, and was called *Myos Hormus*, that is, the Port, or Station of the Mouse; but it was afterwards called, the Port of *Venus*: And it was from hence that the Trade was carried on to *Arabia* and the *Indies*. *Ptolemy* also directed various Towns to be built between *Berenice* and *Coptos* upon the *Nile*, which was distant from it about two hundred and sixty Miles. The Merchants therefore conveyed their Goods, first of all, from *Myos Hormus* to *Berenice*, (though that was back again) probably by the Help of flat-bottomed Vessels; whence the Opinion grew, that *Berenice* was the Sea-port; to the contrary of which I am led, from the not finding the Stages between *Myos Hormus* and *Berenice*, whereas we have two Routes still preserved from *Berenice* to *Coptos*; which shew, that the former was the Place to which these Goods were transported immediately from *Myos Hormus*, and that from thence they

⁸ *Jos. lib. xvi. c. 2.* ⁹ *Apian. in Syriacis.* ¹⁰ *Pausanias in Atticis.*
¹¹ *Jos. lib. xvi. c. 2.* ¹² *Jos. lib. xvi. c. 2.* ¹³ *Strabo. lib. xvi. c. 16.* ¹⁴ *Apian.*

Diogenes Laertius in Demetrio Phaleris.

¹⁵ *Pausanias in Atticis.*

¹⁶ *Suidas, in verbo Chameia.* ¹⁷ *Orosius, lib. vii. c. 16.* ¹⁸ *Synefis,*

were conveyed to the Nile, as it was found for the Convenience of their Owners.

This was all done by Land Carriage, that is, on the Backs of Camels, the Journey being divided into eleven Stages, none of which exceed twenty-seven Miles. At *Coptos* the Merchants had other Magazines, in which their Goods were laid up, till they thought fit to send them down the Nile, directly to *Alexandria*. But the Country between *Coptos* and *Berenice* being an absolute Desert, not only without Villages, or Houses, but even without Water, *Ptolemy* caused a Canal to be cut directly between the two Cities, on each Side of which there were Villages, and in all of them Inns, for the Entertainment of Passengers; so that from a wild, uncultivated Country, as it had been for many Ages before, he rendered it practicable, at least, if not pleasant; and thus a new, safe, and commodious Route was opened to the *Indies*, by the Care and Industry of this wise Prince. But as the *Arabian* Seas were always subject to Pirates, and as this rich Trade was very likely to tempt them to disturb it, he took care to have a maritime Force in the *Red Sea*, always capable of protecting it.

The more we consider the Method he took to accomplish his Design, the greater Opinion we must necessarily have of this Monarch's Capacity: A Prince of less Prudence, or less Circumspection, would, undoubtedly, have placed the Port higher up in the Gulph, and nearer to the Nile; but *Ptolemy* knowing, that it was in his Power to remedy any Inconvenience that might occur in the Land Carriage, at the same time, that it was out of the Reach of human Skill, to devise any Means for securing Ships from the Hazards to which they must be exposed, by sailing along a Coast full of Rocks and Shelves, he, with much Sagacity, chose a Port at so great a Distance, because it was capacious, safe, and convenient; and appointed the City of *Berenice* for the Magazine of the Merchants, that there might never be any great Quantity of Goods as *Myos Hormus*, to tempt the Inhabitants of the adjacent Countries to endeavour surprizing them, either by Land or Sea. It is certain, that a shorter Road might have been found to the Nile, if the Length of that had not had its Advantage.

All the Country between *Coptos* and *Berenice* was, by this means peopled, that had lain waste before: And it is very easy to discern, that the cultivating a Desert is as much an Acquisition of Country, as the Conquest of a Tract of Territory of the same Extent. By this means he also augmented the Number of his Subjects, who were to find their Account in this Trade; and, by peopling the Frontiers of his Dominions, he effectually secured them from the Insults of the barbarous Nations in that Neighbourhood; and fixed this Trade intirely to his own Subjects, without whose Help and Assistance it could not be carried on. The same Reasons determined him to fix the Mart of *Indian* Commodities at *Alexandria*, rather than at the Ports he had on either Mouth of the Nile, though the Passage thither would have been shorter, and, in all Appearance more convenient. But he very prudently fore-saw, that whatever Expences fell upon this Merchandize, from the Length of its Carriage, must be paid by such Foreigners, as purchased *Indian* Goods at *Alexandria*, and therefore must be so much clear Gains to all such of his Subjects, who were concerned, in any manner whatever, in this Commerce.

Besides, there was no Port in his Kingdom that stood so convenient for the Trade of the *Mediterranean*, as this was *Alexandria*; and as for the Trade of the East, while he was sure, that it could not be taken from him, or broken in upon by others, there was no Danger of its being at all hurt by the Length of the Passage. Add to this, the great Advantage that resulted from having all the rich Commodities of the East exposed to the View of the Merchants, who came to *Alexandria* on other Accounts, from the West; since, by this means, those Commodities were not only exported, but the Fame and Reputation of them spread, even to the most distant Parts of *Europe*, and thereby fresh Customers brought from all Quarters.

And, as he thus projected to draw all the Trade of the East and West into his Kingdom, so he provided a very great Fleet for the protecting of it, Part of which he kept in the *Red Sea*, and Part in the *Mediterranean*. That in the *Mediterranean* alone was very great; and some of the Ships of it of a very unusual Bigness; for he had in it two Ships of thirty Oars of a Side, or of twenty Oars, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty-seven of seven, five of six, seventeen of five; and of four Oars, and three Oars of a Side, he had double the Number of all these already mentioned; and he had, over and above, of the smaller Sort of Vessels, a vast Number: And by the Strength of this Fleet, he not only maintained and advanced the Trade of his Country, but also kept most of the Maritime Provinces of *Leffer Asia*, that is, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Caria*, and also the *Cyclades*, in thorough Subjection to him, as long as he lived.

All the latter Part of the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was a Scene of Joy and Triumph. *Magas*, who had torn from him the Provinces of *Cyrene* and *Lips*, growing old and infirm, listened to the Dictates of Nature, after having to long followed the Sentiments of Ambition; and when he drew near his End, bequeathed his only Daughter *Berenice* to the Son and Successor of *Ptolemy*, and with her his Kingdom. His War with *Antiochus* ended much to his Honour; that is to say, in a Peace upon his own Terms, which he made so much the more moderate, as he had the Power of making them otherwise. On the concluding this War, he gave his Daughter *Berenice* in Marriage to *Antiochus*; and out of Affection for her, commanded the Fleet in *Perion*, that carried her to *Seleucia*, on the *Orontes*; and, which was a Mark, perhaps, of Luxury, as well as Tendernefs, he ordered Vessels to be so stationed, as that he might regularly receive, in *Syria*, the Water of the Nile, and not be obliged to drink any other.

Philadelphus had not, perhaps, the military Virtue; and, having been born in *Egypt*, wanted somewhat of his Father's Severity of Morals; but, in other respects, he was, at once, the wisest, the most powerful, and the most amiable of Princes. He was, with all this, a Politician of the first Order; he despised Cunning, and hated Amice: He was his own Prime Minister, and laid that virtuous Plan of Empire, which established such a Force, as resisted, for many Ages, the Follies and Vices of his Successors. His Dominions were very extensive; and it does not appear, that he had any Thirst of enlarging them, at the Expence of his Neighbours. On the contrary, the first Maxim of his Politics was the acquiring Subjects rather than Territory; and he acquired them by the plain and simple Method, of studying their Good. He encouraged Industry, and created it: He employed his vast Power in making his own People happy, and not in subduing other Nations: He marched an Army, indeed, to the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, not so much with a View of conquering the barbarous Nations that infested his Frontiers, as to civilize them; and it was this Army he employed, in opening that famous Canal we have before mentioned, from *Coptos* to *Berenice*. Other Expeditions he trusted to his Generals, but this he conducted in Person, and directed the building all the Towns in the Neighbourhood of the *Red Sea*.

He cultivated, with the utmost Affiduity, all the Arts of Peace; he enlarged the famous Library of his Father; continued, and increased the Pensions given by him, to learned Men, with whom he conversed familiarly, and heard the Advice they gave him, tho' delivered with the utmost Freedom. It was by this means, that he drew Men of distinguished Parts from all Countries; and acquired such extraordinary Accounts of the Commerce, Learning, Arts, and Manufactures of foreign Nations, as enabled him to improve every thing in *Egypt*, beyond all his Predecessors. He was indefatigable, in his Application to the Affairs of Government, and to his Studies.

He kept up also his Father's Custom, in conversing kindly with all Ranks of People; and thereby secured the

^a Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 815. *Ptolemy* places *Berenice*, in his Tables, in the Latitude of 33 Deg. 50 Min.

^b *Thioprictus* in *Isidoro* xviii. *Appianus* in *Præfatione*. *Atten.* lib. v. p. 203.

^c Strabo, lib. xvii.

^d *Plutarchus* de *Adulatione*, p. 60.

^e *Plin.* lib. xxiv. c. 15.

^f *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. vi. c. 45.

^g *Polæmus Strategem.* lib. viii. c. 50. *Atten.* lib. 2. p. 45.

universal Affection of his Subjects. His Sister *Arfinoe*, whom he married, tho' older than himself, was extremely dear to him, inasmuch that her Death grieved him to such a Degree, as to occasion his own. It may not be amiss to observe, that, among the learned Men he had about him, there was one *Dinocrates*, a famous Architect, who, to make his Court to the King, proposed the building a Temple to *Arfinoe*, the Dome of which was to be composed of polished Loadstones; by which it was projected, that the Image of *Arfinoe*, made of burnish'd Steel, should be sustained, and from hence all the Notions of this Sort, that have been published to the World, are derived. But tho' this Temple was begun under the Direction of *Dinocrates*, yet it was never completed; for both the King and the Architect died, before it was raised to any considerable Height.

This Monarch left behind him many shining Marks of his Wisdom and Policy, and amongst these several new Cities, but exactly on *Alexander's* Plan; that is to say, not from the Vanity of being a Founder, but because he discerned the Usefulness of such Cities, in the Places where he built them: As, for Instance, having considered the Situation of *Palmyra*, and how much the Trade of that Country might be improved, by the Construction of a proper Port upon its Coast, he directed a commodious Situation to be fought out; and in the Country of *Ace*, at no great Distance from *Tyre*, he built a new City, adorned with a fine Haven, which, after his own Name, he called *Ptolemais*; which remained, for many Ages after, the most famous Port on that Coast. He likewise built, or rather rebuilt, a City on the East Side of the Country of *Arfinoe*; which City is often mentioned in the Sacred Writings, by the Name of *Rabab of the Children of Ammon*; but he called it, from his Surname, *Philadelpia*. I have mentioned these Instances, because they have some relation to my Subject; and there is very great Reason to believe, that they were founded with a View to the Indian Commerce.

This may, at first Sight, seem very extraordinary; but I alter myself, that when I have explained the Reasons that have led me to this Notion, the Reader will not judge them improbable. In the first Place, let it be remembered, that the Whole of this Commerce had been carried on, till the Destruction of *Tyre* by *Alexander the Great*, from the Port of *Rhinocorura*, which lay on the same Coast, to the South-west of *Ptolemais*. After the Ruin of *Tyre*, this Trade was revived by Land; and Caravans pass'd directly from the *Persian* Gulph, to the City of *Tadmor*, or *Palmyra* in the Desert, of which we shall speak hereafter. Now the Journey would have been shorter and easier, by much, from the *Arabian* Gulph to *Philadelpia*; to which *Ptolemais* would have served for a convenient Port, the whole Length of the Land-carriage, from the *Arabian* Gulph to *Philadelpia*, not exceeding six hundred Stadia; and the Distance between *Philadelpia* and *Ptolemais*, not being half so much; whereas, from the nearest Part of the *Persian* Gulph, it was thirteen hundred Stadia to *Palmyra*, and six hundred more from *Palmyra*, to the Sea-coast. We might be, in a manner, clear as to this Point, if we could be certain, that *Ptolemy* really rebuilt the antient Port of *Esfengeber*, on the *Red Sea*, and called it *Berenice*, from the Name of his Mother, as some Writers say he did; But, I must confess, they seem to be mistaken, and to mean the *Berenice* before described, on the other Side of the Gulph; and therefore I lay no Stress upon this Argument.

It remains that we say something, as was before promised, of the Grandeur and Wealth of this Monarch, whose Civil and Military Establishments have been preserved to us, for the very same Reason that I infer them here, because they appeared worthy of being transmitted to Posterity, and of being remembered for ever. He maintained constantly an Army of three hundred thousand Foot, twenty thousand Horse, two thousand armed Chariots, and three hundred Elephants, besides Arms in his Magazines, for three hundred thousand men. His Fleets, taken together, consisted of fifteen hundred Ships of War, and a thousand Transports belonging to them. His annual

Revenues were fourteen thousand eight hundred Talents; which makes, according to the lowest Computation of *Egyptian* Talents, two million eight hundred and three thousand six hundred Pounds: And he is said to have left in his Treasury seven hundred and forty thousand Talents, which amounts to a prodigious Sum, not less than one hundred and ninety Millions of our Money, which must have accrued to him from the Trade of the *Indies*; a great Part of which might probably be carried on, at least during his Reign, for the Advantage of the Crown; since, besides the before-mentioned Revenue in Money, he received a great Quantity of Corn, and other Commodities, from his Subjects, in order to make their Taxes the more easy. He died in the sixty-third Year of his Age, and in the thirty-eighth of his Reign, in the Year before Christ 247.

12. He was succeeded in his Throne, by his Son *Ptolemy Evergetes*, who found himself immediately engaged in a War with *Syria*, where his Sister, and her Son, had been basely murdered: In this War he was so successful, that he led his Army to the Banks of the River *Tygris*; plundered all the Treasures of the *Syrian* Kings; and recovered, amongst other valuable Effects, that had been carried out of *Egypt* by *Cambyses*, when he made the Conquest of that Country, Abundance of *Egyptian* Idols, which he brought back, and restored to their Temples; and this being an Act extremely agreeable to his Subjects, they gave him, upon this Occasion, the Surname of *Evergetes*, which signifies the Benefactor.

We have already observed, that he espoused *Berenice*, the Daughter of *Magas*, King of *Cyrene*, a very beautiful Woman, who made a Vow, that she would consecrate her Hair, in case he returned victorious from that Expedition: And therefore, on his coming back again with Safety, and full Success, for the fulfilling of her Vow, she cut off her Hair, and offered it up in the Temple which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* had built to his beloved Wife *Arfinoe*, on the Promontory of *Zephyrium*, in *Cyprus*, by the Name of the *Zephyrian Venus*. But there, a little after, the consecrated Hair being lost, or, perchance, contemptuously flung away by the Priests, and *Ptolemy* being much offended at it, *Conon* of *Samus*, a flattering Mathematician, then at *Alexandria*, to salve up the Matter, and also to ingratiate himself with the King, gave out, that this Hair was caught up into Heaven; and he there shewed seven Stars, near the Tail of the Lion, not, till then, taken within any Constellation, which, he said, was the Queen's consecrated Hair; which Conceit of his other flattering Astronomers following, with the same View, or, perhaps, not daring to say otherwise, hence *Coma Berenices*, i. e. *The Hair of Berenice*, became one of the Constellations; and is so to this Day.

This seems to have been the only War, at least, of any great Consequence, undertaken by this Monarch, except the Expeditions made by his Order, into *Arabia*; the greatest Part of which, I mean on the Coast opposite to that of *Egypt*, along the *Red Sea*, he reduced under his Dominion; as he likewise did the remaining Part of the *Ethiopian* Coast: So that he was Master of both Sides of the Shore, to the very Extremity of the *Arabian* Gulph, over-against the Southern, or *Indian* Ocean. It is unlucky for us, that we have no distinct Account of this Conquest, or of the War which occasioned it; so that we can only conjecture concerning it, that as the Inhabitants of that Coast were always infamous for Piracies; and as the *Indian* Trade, now settled through the *Arabian* Gulph, made it of vast Importance to the *Egyptian* Princes, to have these Plunderers effectually removed, it was thought this could only be done by erecting Cities, and reducing the Inhabitants to a civilized Life. This is the more probable, because *Eratosthenes*, who was his Library-keeper, and in high Favour with him, wrote an excellent Book, in relation to the *Indies*, which is often mentioned by *Strabo*, but is long since perished.

Ptolemy Evergetes caused likewise several Cities to be built, on the *Egyptian* Side of the Gulph, in order to make

^a *Strabo*, lib. xvii. p. 521. *Joseph. de Belle Jud.* lib. iii. c. 4.

^b *Joseph. lib. viii. c. 2.*

^c *Theocrit. in Idyllis* xvii. *Hieron. in Damastr. Alex.*

^d *Hieronymus in Daniel* xi.

^e *Geograph. lib. ii.*

that Part of his Dominions more secure; and for the same Reason that his Father also had erected Fortresses on the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, viz. that he might hunt Elephants, of which he had always many in his Service. An ancient Writer observes, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was reputed the first Prince that had disciplined Elephants^a; which, he thinks, is to be understood either of his being the first Greek Prince that had those Animals in his Army; or else, that he was the first of *Alexander's* Successors that used them: For, as he observes, before the Conquest of the *Indies* by *Alexander*, *Perus* had many Elephants trained to War, in his Army: But, without doubt, the true Sense of this Assertion is no more than this, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was the first of the Western Princes, who brought Elephants into the Field, of his own; for those that *Seleucus*, and the rest of the *Syrian* Monarchs had, were obtained from other Princes; whereas *Ptolemy* had them of his own, taken and tamed by his Officers. This *Ptolemy* the third, or *Ptolemy Euergetes*, reigned twenty-five Years, and died in the Year before Christ 221. He was the last of his Race that governed with any Temper, or Virtue, all that succeeded him giving themselves up to unbounded Luxury and Vice.

13. On the Death of his Father *Ptolemy Euergetes*, *Ptolemy Philopater* mounted the Throne; to which he is supposed to have made his Way, by poisoning that Prince: But it is certain, that he murdered his Brother *Magas*, and soon after *Cleomenes*, King of *Sparta*, who had taken Refuge in his Dominions, and had been in great Favour with his Father. This *Ptolemy* was likewise charged with the Murder of his Mother; and through his whole Reign gave signal Proofs of a base and barbarous Disposition, which, probably, induced the Governor he had placed in *Syria*, whose Name was *Theodotus*, to give up the best Part of that Country to *Antiochus*, who, likewise, prepared to invade *Egypt*; but, being hindered from the Prosecution of that Design, by domestic Troubles, he was forced to content himself with reducing *Philadelpheia*, which, as we have before shewn, was a new City built by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, in *Arabia*^b.

This gave the *Egyptian* Monarch time to breathe; and, finding that it was impossible for him to continue his idle and luxurious Course of Life, without running the Hazard of losing his whole Dominions, he assembled an Army of seventy thousand Foot, five thousand Horse, and seventy-three Elephants; and marching with it through the Deserts which separate *Egypt* from *Palestine*, encamped at *Raphia*, where he was met by *Antiochus*, with an Army little inferior to him in Foot, and superior in Horse and Elephants. Here *Ptolemy* ran a great Risk of being killed by *Theodotus*, who deserted from him, and who, being well acquainted with the *Egyptian* Manner of encamping, went, with two of his Friends, in the Dusk of the Evening, directly to *Ptolemy's* Tent, with a settled Design to have killed him; but, not finding him there, he murdered his chief Physician, and two other Persons, who were in the Tent; and, in the Confusion this occasioned, made his Escape. Soon after, this Quarrel was decided by a Battle, in which *Ptolemy* was victorious: And it is very remarkable, that his Wife *Aspinos*, who was also his Sister, remained by his Side, during the whole Engagement. By this Victory he recovered all his Dominions; and might, if he had pursued his Advantage, have deprived his Enemy of most of his; which he neglected, that he might return home the sooner, to a Life of Ease and Pleasure: And during the rest of his Reign, which lasted sixteen Years, he continued in a constant Course of Debaucheries, which carried him to his Grave^c.

He was succeeded by his Son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a Child of five Years old, of whom the *Romans* undertook the Guardianship, and thereby preserved his Kingdom. This young Prince followed his Father's Steps very exactly; and thereby provoked the *Egyptians* to endeavour to depose him; which, however, he eluded: And, thinking to mend his Affairs, by entering into foreign Wars, one of his Favourites poisoned him, when he had sat on the Throne

twenty-four Years. He was succeeded by his Son, *Ptolemy Philometor*, a Child, who, when he grew up, shewed little Spirit, that the *Egyptians* set up his Brother *Ptolemy Physcon*: Upon which Civil Wars ensued, and the Kingdom had been conquered by *Antiochus*, but that the *Romans* again interposed; and new Disturbances breaking out, *Philometor*, who was banished his Kingdom, to move the Compassion of the Senate, travelled from *Brundisium* to *Rome*, on Foot; and the next Year *Physcon* came thither on the same Errand. The former of these Princes was of a generous and beneficent Disposition, but the latter of a base and barbarous Temper; and yet the *Romans*, from a Principle of Interest, protected him. He was succeeded by his Son *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, who was a very bad Man, and continually embroiled with his Subjects, who, for some time, expelled him, and set up his Brother *Alexander*; but afterwards restored him, and he held the Crown, in all, from his Father's Death, thirty-six Years^d.

He was succeeded by his Daughter *Berenice*, who thereupon took the Name of *Cleopatra*; for, as the Kings of *Egypt* were called *Ptolemies*, so the Queens were commonly called *Cleopatras*. After this great Confusion followed, till, in the Year before Christ, the *Egyptians* set *Ptolemy Auletes*, who was the Bastard Son of *Lathyrus*, upon the Throne: He had his Surname of *Auletes*, which signifies the Piper, from his Fondness for Music; and is remarkable only, for giving *Julius Caesar* six thousand Talents, that he might remain in quiet Possession of his Kingdom; in which the *Romans* maintained him by Force, when he had lost the Affections of his Subjects. After a Reign of fourteen Years, he died, and left the Kingdom to his eldest Son and Daughter; for he had two Sons, and two Daughters; but the eldest of his Children was his Daughter *Cleopatra*, so famous, or rather infamous, in History, for her Amours, first with *Caesar*, and then with *Anthony*; which Excesses were not only fatal to herself, but to her Country^e.

It is easy to conceive, that, under such a Race of Princes, nothing is to be expected from the obscure Histories that are left us of their Times, in relation to the Commerce of the *Indies*, in any Degree comparable, to what has been related of the Reigns of *Philadelphus* and *Euergetes*; but, from the Fragments of *Agatharchides*, who was Tutor to one of the *Ptolemies* that yet remain, we gather, that the Commerce was, by them, not only maintained, but extended; and the Reason of this was plain, because it brought in vast Quantities of Gold, precious Stones, Spices, and other rich Commodities, especially agreeable to Princes of a luxurious and dissipating Temper. Thus, for Instance, when it was once known, that in a rocky Island, in the *Arabian* Gulph, which was called *Ophir*, or *The Serpents Island*, from its being over-run with those venomous Creatures, there were many bright Topazes. Orders were immediately given for cleaning it; and a certain Number of People settled there to find and dig out those precious Stones for the King alone^f.

In the Days of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Care would have been taken to cultivate and improve this Island; so that, at least, the People, who were there employed, might have been plentifully subsisted: But a contrary Policy now prevailed; the Island was left naked and destitute of all Things, and the People on it supplied, at stated Times, with Provisions by the King's Ships; and, all this, to secure the Monopoly of these precious Stones, which, in those Days, were highly valued. Again, on the Discovery of Gold Mines on the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, these were not left to the Industry of private Persons, or leased out by the Crown; but Multitudes of People, condemned on frivolous Pretences, were hurried away thither; and, being guarded by Bodies of Soldiers, of different Nations, that they might have no Opportunity of conversing with them, they were compelled to work in the most slavish Manner; and, this too, without any Respite or Relief, till they perished under such intolerable Hardships^g.

The Trade, all this Time, was carried on in the same Manner as before; annual Voyages were made to the Ports of *Arabia*, where the *Indian* Merchants resorted, and the

^a *Agatharchides de Rubra Mari*, p. 1.

lib. xx.

^b *Ptolem. in Canone. Pausanias in Atticis.*

^c *Agatharchides de Rubra Mari*, p. 23.

^d *Ptolem. in Canone. Polyb. lib. xx.*

^e *Ptolem. in Canone. Pausanias in Atticis.*

^f *Ptolem. in Canone. Pausanias in Atticis.*

^g *Ptolem. in Canone. Pausanias in Atticis.*

Commodities of *Europe* exchanged, at a very high Rate, against the richest Goods brought from the Countries on both Sides the *Ganges*. For the *Indians* had now settled at *Pondicherry*, improved the Haven which *Alexander* had made there; and, having got a Relish for Trade, exported, in their own Bottoms, the valuable Commodities of their fruitful Regions. Yet, there might be, also, somewhat of Policy in this; for the *Indians*, dreading all Intercourse with Strangers, in their own Country, might take up this Commerce, that by carrying all the Riches of the East, thus, to the Doors of the *Egyptians*, they might prevent their making long Voyages, and keep them at a Distance from their own Coasts; in which, in a great measure, they succeeded.

But, on the other hand, while the *Ptolemies* built new Cities, and extended their Dominions on the West Side of the *Red Sea*, the *Arabians*, on the East Coast, recovered their former Freedom; and, with it, their accustomed Rich to Poverty, which they practised very successfully; and, very probably, might, in time, have rendered the Commerce of the *Red Sea* altogether impracticable, if it had not fallen into the Hands of such, as knew better how to support it, than a Race of Female, or, which was worse, effeminate Princes, incapable of taking right Measures themselves; and, who were often put, by the Parasites they had about them, on Measures much worse than they would otherwise have taken. This Mischief, however, must have lasted some Ages before it could have increased to such a Height; since it is evident, that, at the Destruction of the Kingdom, their Affairs were in a tolerable Posture on this Side; many new Cities erected on the Coast of the *Red Sea*; the Canal to *Berenice* kept in good Repair; and, such other Steps taken, as might conduce to preserve so valuable a Branch of the Revenue.

14. The true Source of the Declension of the Power of *Egypt* was, the ill Management of that immense Wealth, which, otherwise, must have turned to so great Advantage. The Maxims of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* were buried in Oblivion; their Dominions, on the other Side the *Mediterranean*, neglected, and lost by Degrees; their military and naval Establishments much lessened; those that were kept up, rather maintained for Shew and Ornament, than for any real Service; all Ranks and Degrees of People corrupted in their Morals; so that the Courtiers studied only how to oppress, with Safety; and the People, having wholly extinguished all Principles of Loyalty, obeyed no longer than an Opportunity offered of Rebelling. The Kingdom had, undoubtedly, been conquered more than once by the *Syrian* Monarchs; particularly, by *Antiochus* the Great, if it had not been protected by the *Romans*; who, certainly, afforded them these Succours, rather from Maxims of Policy, than Magnanimity; and, by sending sometimes Tutors, at others, Embassadors, and, very frequently, Bodies of Troops, into *Egypt*, acquired a perfect Knowledge of the Country, the Temp'r and Manners of the People, the Nature of their Commerce, and the Means of getting all into their own Hands. Upon the Accession of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, they had a fair Opportunity of seizing the Kingdom; which they omitted, because the *Syrians* were then powerful; and the *Romans* very wisely judged it requisite to be rid of that Enemy first, well knowing, that the Distractions in *Egypt* would continue; and that future Opportunities would not be wanting, after their Reduction of the best Part of *Asia*, to seize *Egypt*, when they should be in a better Condition to keep it. Some of the Ministers under the *Ptolemies* were sensible enough of this Design, and would have taken Measures to prevent it, by restoring the old Economy; and, as they never wanted the Means of raising Armies, that is, Money, they would have soon put their Matters into a Condition of being independent of the *Romans*, if those Princes, who were indirectly given up to Luxury and Pleasure, had not opposed such an Application of their Wealth, as contrary to their own Inclinations, which were to squander it away in the most foolish and profuse Manner; and often removed these Minstrels by Poison, that they might not be troubled

with Advices, with which they were determined not to comply.

Cleopatra, the last Queen of *Egypt*, and whose Name makes such a Figure in the *Roman* Histories, though a very Jewess, was far from being a weak Woman. She was, at the Decase of her Father, about seventeen and her Brother *Ptolemy*, to whom she was married, much younger; so that she had the whole Power in her Hands; and, being in Possession, not only of *Egypt*, but of the Remains of the Empire of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* in other Countries, she took care to acquire their Languages; and, besides *Greek*, which was her Mother-Tongue, and *Latin*, in which she was early instructed, she was able to converse with the *Ethiopians*, *Troglodytes*, *Jews*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, and *Persians*, without the Help of an Interpreter; so, that if her Virtues had corresponded, in any Degree, with her Parts, she might have preserved, and been a Blessing to her Country.

At her Accession to the Throne, she was under the Guardianship of the *Romans*, and had actually a Body of their Forces about her Person; but the Confusions that arose in that Republic, from the Disputes between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, might have afforded her an Opportunity of rendering *Egypt* independent, if she had known how to use it: But she was wholly intent on what she considered, as her private Interest, which was, the ruling without a Companion, and keeping *Ptolemy* as much in Subjection, when he grew up, as while he was a Child. This produced a Civil War; and *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* were, each of them, at the Head of an Army, when *Pompey*, after the fatal Battel of *Pharsalia*, endeavoured to take Refuge in *Egypt*, where *Ptolemy*, who had nobody to advise him but the Eunuch who had bred him up, and the Pedant who was his Preceptor, took the vile Resolution of making his Court to *Cæsar*, by murdering that great Man in his Distress, which was accordingly performed. Soon after this *Cæsar* arrived at *Alexandria*, with no greater Force than 800 Horse, and 3200 Foot; his Errand thither was Money; for, as we observed before, *Ptolemy Auletes* was his Client, had given him 6000 Talents in Hand, to procure the *Romans* Consent, that he should remain King, and a Bond for 4000 more, with Money he now came to receive; and, accordingly, it was collected for him: And *Pothinus*, the Eunuch, *Ptolemy's* first Minister, had a mind to have been rid of him too; and, in order to exasperate the *Egyptians* to such an Height, as might serve his Purpose, he not only stripped the Temples, but obliged the King, and all the great Officers of the Court, to drink out of earthen Vessels, pretending that all the Plate was melted to pay *Cæsar's* Debt. But *Cæsar* himself took a Step, which provoked the *Egyptians* more than all this; for, as soon as he came to *Alexandria*, he sent his Rescripts to *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*, commanding them to disband their Armies, and submit their Disputes to his Decision, which was a Strain of Authority that equally surprized and enraged the *Egyptians*. Yet *Cæsar*, as soon as he knew it, found Means to quiet them, by declaring, that he did not do this from any Power in himself, but from the Title he derived under the Will of *Ptolemy Auletes*, who leaving his Children to the Guardianship of the *Romans*, and he being then their Consul that Trust devolved upon him. *Cleopatra*, being informed of *Cæsar's* Character, quitted her Army, came privately in a little Boat to *Alexandria*, there caused herself to be packed up in her Bedding; and, being carried on the Back of one of her Servants, was introduced into *Cæsar's* Apartment, and laid down at his Feet. He was much moved by her Tears and Intreaties, but much more by her Beauty; and she was so complaisant to him, that this Interview produced a Son, which secured her his Interest so effectually, that, instead of acting as a Judge, he became apparently an Advocate for *Cleopatra*; which induced *Ptolemy*, though in the Hands of *Cæsar*, to send Orders to *Achillas*, who commanded his Army near *Pelusium*, to advance towards *Alexandria*, and attack the *Romans*; which was accordingly done. But though they were five to one, they failed in

* *Diodor Sicil. in excerptis Valisii, p. 294.*
Cassius lib. ii.

• *Ptolem. in Canon. Plutarch. in Anticato.*

• *Plutarch. in Pompeio. Appian. de Brillis*

their Design of enflaming *Cæsar*, who drove them out of the City without Loss. They next attacked his Fleet with some ill Success, which, however, so provoked *Cæsar*, that he directed all the Ships of War in the Haven of *Alexandria*, to be instantly burned; and, this being executed precipitately, some of them drove on Shore, and set the adjacent Houses likewise on Fire; and the Flames communicating the Conflagration, to the Quarter called *Braetium*, it was, in a manner, wholly destroyed; and therewith, the famous Library, first erected by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, before mentioned.

Now it was that the Force of *Egypt* appeared; and, in all the Campaigns made by *Cæsar*, History acquaints us with none in which he was in so much Danger, or obtained Victory upon harder Terms; and, if the Fear of their King's being destroyed, who was all this time in *Cæsar's* Camp, had not restrained those in Arms, and their Attachment to *Cleopatra*, hindered a great Part of the *Egyptian* Nation's taking Arms, this War had preserved *Rome's* Freedom, and their own, by the total Overthrow of *Cæsar*, in spite of all his Valour, and military Skill, of both which, however, he gave abundant Instances. The War at last terminated in a decisive Battle, fought by the *Egyptians*, to prevent *Cæsar* from receiving Succours; and by *Cæsar*, that he might obtain them; in which he prevailed; and King *Ptolemy*, endeavouring to make his Escape in a little Boat, was overfett, and drowned, after a distracted Reign of between four and five Years; and, upon that, *Cæsar* declared *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, and joined with her her younger Brother *Ptolemy*, who was then but eleven Years old: As for her Sister *Arctinoë*, who was now fallen into his Hands, he carried her to *Rome*, and led her in Triumph, leaving, however, at his Departure from *Alexandria*, a Body of *Roman* Troops for the Security of the Queen's Person, and maintaining her Authority. Here then, properly speaking, ended the *Greek* Empire in *Egypt*; though it was not as yet reduced into a Province.

17. The Reader must be undoubtedly satisfied, even from this short View of the History of *Egypt*, that the Treasures of that Country must be in a manner inexhaustible, that could sustain the Negligence and Dissipation of ten such Princes as followed *Phibopater*, for there were fourteen *Ptolemies* in all; and, at the Death of *Phibadelphus*, there were, in the *Egyptian* Empire, no less than 33,339 Cities. It is true, that, by degrees, the Power of *Egypt* sunk; prodigious Sums of Money were from time to time exported, from the Folly and Weakness of their Princes, who sought that Assistance from their Wealth, which they ought to have found from their Subjects; and who foolishly fancied they could purchase Quiet, when they would not be at the Pains to secure it by a just Administration; but even at last, and when their Affairs were in the worst Situation, one of their Princes could give, in a single Bribe, 6000 Talents, which amounted to 1,542,000 Pounds of our Money, and his Bond for 2000 Talents more. At the very last, in the several Battles fought by Sea with *Cæsar*, they lost 110 Ships of War, and had still a Fleet less much superior to that of the *Romans*, in the Number and Force of Ships, if they had been as well manned.

There are as strong Proofs as can possibly be alleged of the Wealth and Power of the Government of *Egypt*, even when the Government was at the worst; and yet then it was the Public only that was distressed: The People of *Egypt* were immensely rich, as very plainly appeared, by the vast Revenues which the *Romans* drew out of that Kingdom when they had reduced it into the Form of a Province. It may be indeed objected, that *Egypt* was in itself a Country exceedingly rich; that it was regarded, for many Ages, as the Granary of the World, or, to speak with greater Propriety, of the *Roman* Empire; and, that it may be reasonably supposed, especially considering the Industry of the People, that a great Part of their Wealth was derived from thence: But when, on the other hand, it is considered, that the *Egyptians* had very few native Commodities of great Value except Corn, and that they stood in need of almost all kinds of Timber and Metals,

of Wine, Fruits, and a great Variety of other Things, which, according to the Humour of those Times, were not only esteemed Conveniences, but Necessaries; when, I say, this is considered, it will appear extremely probable, that the best Part of that Profit, which should have returned to the *Egyptians*, from their own peculiar Trade, was swallowed up by their Demand for foreign Goods and Manufactures, and especially during the latter Part of this Period, when, in proportion as their Luxury increased, those Demands must become greater.

It must also be considered, that when I speak of the Wealth of *Egypt*, I do not mean by it, that Affluence, which private Men might have enjoyed in their own Houses from their particular Fortunes, resulting from their own Industry and Oeconomy; but I mean their intrinsic Richest of Gold and Silver; in which I have shewn, that they abounded, more than any other Nation within this Period: And, I hope, I have likewise shewn, that the best Part of this intrinsic Wealth must have been derived from their *Indian* Trade; because there was really no other Way, by which they could acquire it. I do not however deny, that a great Part of this Gold and Silver might be returned into *Egypt*, by their Balance of Trade from other Nations, even from such as had much less than themselves; yet in this Balance of Trade was created, as *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, and many other ancient Writers agree it was, by their Sale of *Arabian* and *Indian* Commodities, then the Fact is with me, and I have fully made out all that I intended, or that could be expected from me, upon this Subject. I might, indeed, have spared myself a great deal of this Trouble, by insinuating on the single Fact of the Treasure amassed by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and have left the rest to the Reader's Observation; but I chose to make the Thing as plain as I could; and indeed I had no other Reason for insinuating so long upon the *Egyptian* History, every Circumstance which, however, will serve to elucidate the following History of the Trade to the *East Indies*.

16. There is the greatest Reason to believe, that one principal Motive which induced the *Romans* to be so solicitous about the Acquisition of *Egypt*, was the getting this valuable Trade into their Hands, as well as securing the mighty Empire they had before obtained on the Side, and making sure of a Country so fruitful in Corn, and upon which they, in a manner, constantly depended for Provisions. Indeed, those, taken together, were the chief, at least, if not the only Motives, that determined them to convert it into a Province: For if any thing less, than the absolute Possession of it could have contented them, they might have had it without extinguishing the Race of the *Ptolemies*, who, for so many Generations, had been absolutely dependent upon them, and held their Kingdom only by Permission.

It may be added to this, that the annexing *Egypt* to the *Roman* Dominions, was the First Fruits of that Change of Government; for so long as the Republic continued, there remained a Kind of Modesty, which hindered them from seizing the Territories of their Allies, especially of such as confided their Families and Estates to their Protection, which was expressly the Case of *Ptolemy Antiochus*, and his Children. But when the whole Power of *Rome* was engrossed into a single Hand, all these Considerations ceased, and the Desire of augmenting the Authority, and increasing the Wealth, depending on that Dominion, came to take Place. That this was really the Fact, will be rendered clear in the next Section, in which we shall shew, that the first Schemes, formed by the *Romans*, after taking Possession of *Egypt*, were relative to the securing this Commerce, and even improving it; and therefore it is necessary to shew the State in which it stood at this Juncture, and in what manner this great Revolution happened, which shrunk the extensive Empire of *Phibadelphus* into a Province; a Province, indeed, always respected as the first and most considerable of the Empire, to which it was joined, and always treated with particular Distinction, but still a Province, governed by the Laws, and subject to the Impositions prescribed by foreign Masters, to whose Use the best Part of the Wealth, acquired by its Inhabitants,

* Dion. Cassius, lib. xlii. *Cæsar* Comment. lib. iii. Plutarch. in *Cæsar*.
Plutarch. in *Cæsar* et. *Antoni*. Orig. Plutarch. in *Antoni*.

* Dion. Cass. lib. xlii. *Hirtius*, de bell. *Alexand.*

was converted; and who, consequently, reaped, for the future, all the Benefit accruing from the whole Commerce at the Red Sea.

In order to comprehend this perfectly, it is necessary to observe, that tho' the Route, opened by *Philadelphus*, for carrying on the Trade of the *Indies*, was absolutely new, yet there had been, of old, a Canal cut from the River Nile to the Red Sea, for the Convenience of Commerce; and this had been afterwards preserved, cleaned, and perfected by the *Greek Princes*, that is, by the *Ptolemies*. This cut ran across the narrowest Part of the Isthmus, which was about sixty-two Miles, though some Authors make it more, and some less. This Canal had been first attempted by *Sesistris*, but not perfected; the Design was afterwards resumed by *Darius*, and brought to Perfection by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. This Canal was one hundred Feet broad, and thirty deep; but it was managed by a sort of Sluices, by which the Waters of the Nile were raised, so as to afford a Passage for Vessels into the Red Sea, without letting any salt Water into the Canal, for fear of spoiling the River, which the *Egyptians* valued above all things. When the new Canal was made from *Coptes* to *Berenice*, this fell into Disuse, and was considered only as a Repository of fresh Water, a thing extremely requisite for such as travelled through the sandy Country that was adjoining, in order to pass round the Head of the *Egyptian* Gulph. There was another Road, which passed within two Miles, of Mount *Cafius*, and, after a Passage of about sixty Miles fell into the former Road. And there was, besides, a third, which was a shorter Road, through the Mountain, but without Water all the Way. These three Roads terminated at the City of *Arfinoe*, which stood near the Head of the Gulph, on the *Egyptian* Side; and were extremely convenient for the Interchange which the *Egyptians* had with the Inhabitants of *Arabia the Stony*, and the Countries to the North of that Region, particularly *Palmyra*.

In the Time of the old *Egyptian* Kings, and before the Conquest by the *Persians*, the little Ports, or rather Creeks, at the Head of the Gulph, were made use of for Ships, that were designed to pass down the Red Sea, and to trade on the Coast: But after *Ptolemy Philadelphus* had opened the commodious Port of *Myos Hormus*, afterwards called the Port of *Venus*, these Creeks were very little used, though, as we shall have Occasion to shew hereafter, they have since been brought into Use again. The *Egyptians* had also Towns on their own Side of the Red Sea, from *Arfinoe* to *Ptolemais*, which were one thousand one hundred and eighty-two Miles distant from each other; but this last-mentioned Place was built purely for the sake of hunting Elephants, by the Command of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: And between *Ptolemais* and *Berenice*, there were several Ports; of which, however, the *Egyptians* could make no Use, in regard to their *Indian* Trade, because they were separated from the Nile by an high Ridge of Mountains, over which the Carriage, by Camels, must have been very difficult, if not impracticable; and the chief Use that was made of those Ports, was, to shelter the Ships, that passed up or down the *Arabian* Gulph, in case of any unforeseen Accidents.

Timotheus, who was Admiral of the Fleet, which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* kept in the *Arabian* Gulph, sets down the Length of it to be four Days Sail, and the Breadth about two; but the Navigation was always dangerous and perplexed, on account of the Badness of both Shores; however, the *Egyptians* were so well acquainted with it, that, as we shall see hereafter, *Cleopatra*, in the Time of her utmost Distress, had Thoughts of drawing her Fleet thro' the old Canal, into the Red Sea, in order to have made her Escape that Way, from the *Romans*, and to have taken Shelter either in *Arabia Felix*, or perhaps on the Coast of *Persia*, where her Subjects likewise traded. Such was the State of Things, and such the Condition of the *Egyptian* Settlements, at the Time that a Period was put to the *Greek* Monarchy in that Country, with an Account of which we are to close this Section; and we shall then enter on the Improvements made by the *Romans*, in the next, which

concludes the ancient History of the Trade carried on by the *Europeans*, through this Country, to the East Indies.

17. *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*, reigned over that Country quietly, for the Space of near five Years, after she was settled in the Possession of the Kingdom by *Julius Caesar*; but at the End of that Time, her younger Brother, being grown up to the Age of fifteen, began to expect, that some Regard should be shewn to him, beyond the bare Outside, and useless Compliments of Majesty; which struck *Cleopatra* in such a manner, with Suspicion, that he caused him to be poisoned, to prevent any future Disputes; and thereby eased herself of all her Family, except her Sister *Arfinoe*, who had retired, after being led in *Caesar's* Triumph, into the *Upper Asia*, where, tho' she lived privately, she could not escape the malicious Notice of her Sister, who soon after plotted and accomplished her Destruction. In the Commotions which followed, upon the Murder of *Caesar*, she carried herself with so much Doubletness and Dissimulation, that *Cassius* intended to have deposed her, for not granting him Assistance; and after the Defeat of the Forces commanded by him and *Brutus*, *Antony* entertained some Notions of the same Kind, on Account of the Respect she had shewn to the other Party: But upon *Cleopatra's* coming to *Tarsus*, in order to give an Account of her Conduct, he was so captivated by her Wit and Beauty, that he became an absolute Slave to his Passion for her; which not only ruined both him and her, but proved also the Destruction of the *Egyptian* Monarchy, and of the *Roman* Liberties, which, if she had not been subdued by *Augustus*, might, very probably, have been preserved.

Blinded by this Passion, he followed her to *Alexandria*, where he lost a great deal of Time; and when he returned into *Italy*, found his Affairs in such a Situation, that he was content to marry *Octavia*, the Sister of *Augustus*, that he might be reconciled to him. But this Agreement did not last long; for, being still enamoured of *Cleopatra*, he managed Affairs in the East with such Indiscretion, and treated his Wife *Octavia* so ungratefully, that it produced a new Quarrel with her Brother; which he so little regarded, that he declared *Cesarion*, the Son which *Cleopatra* had by *Julius Caesar*, King of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*, in Conjunction with his Mother: And whereas he had himself three Children by her, viz. *Alexander* and *Cleopatra* at one Birth, and *Ptolemy*, whom he surnamed *Philadelphus*, at another, he, at the same time, gave unto *Alexander* *Armenia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, and the rest of the Eastern Countries, from the *Euphrates* to *India*, when they should be subdued; and to *Cleopatra*, the Twin-sister of *Alexander*, *Lybia* and *Cyrene*; and unto *Philadelphus*, *Phoenicia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the Countries of *Lesser Asia*, from the *Euphrates* to the *Hellepont*; and conferred on each of them the Title of King of Kings: And, about the same time, he also gave unto *Cleopatra* the Name of *Isis*, and assumed to himself that of *Osiris*; appearing in Public with her in the same Drefs with which the Images of these Deities were clothed, in their respective Temples.

In these Kind of Follies, he wasted his Time in such a manner, that his Competitor had Leisure to assemble a very great Force, both by Land and Sea; which, if he had been attentive to his own Concerns, *Antony* might have prevented. When Things were in this Situation, *Augustus* procured a Decree of the Senate of *Rome*, for declaring War against *Cleopatra*; and thus all the Western Part of the World armed on his Side; as all the East engaged in Favour of *Antony*. When they began the War, the Forces of the latter were much superior to those of the former; for he had with him an hundred thousand Foot, twelve thousand Horse, and a Fleet of five hundred Ships of War; whereas the Army of *Augustus* consisted only of eighty thousand Foot, twelve thousand Horse; and his Fleet of no more than two hundred and fifty Ships. But here, again, the Inactivity of *Antony* proved fatal to him; for he delayed attacking his Enemy till the next Spring, before which many of his Friends deserted him.

The best Part of the succeeding Year was spent in a

^a Strabo, lib. xvii. *Plutarch* in *Antonia*. *Dion Cassius*, lib. ii.

^b *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. v. c. 29. ^c *Strabo*, lib. xvii. *Diodor. Sic.*

^d *Appian*, de *Bellis Civilibus*, lib. v. She was murdered by *Antony's* Order, at the Invitation of *Cleopatra*. ^e Who was then called *Ottavia*; but to prevent the Confusion that might happen, from mentioning the same Person by different Names, I make use of *Antonia*.

^f *Strabo*, lib. xvii. *Diodor. Sic.* ^g *Plutarch* in *Antonia*. *Dion Cassius*, *Suetonius*, *Orosius*.

^h *Plutarch* in *Antonia*. *Dion Cassius*, *Suetonius*, *Orosius*.

ⁱ *Plutarch* in *Antonia*. *Dion Cassius*, *Suetonius*, *Orosius*.

^j *Plutarch* in *Antonia*. *Dion Cassius*, *Suetonius*, *Orosius*.

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lingering Kind of War, till towards the latter End of the Month of *August* both Armies and Fleets were in Sight of each other. *Antony*, with his Forces, encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Abium*, a small City of *Epirus*, lying on the South Side of the Mouth of the *Ambracian* Gulph; and *Augustus* was on the other Side, with his Army and Fleet, at the Distance of about a Mile from each other. *Cleopatra* was with *Antony*, and prevailed upon him to try his Fortune by Sea; and accordingly, on the second of *September*, in the Year before Christ thirty-one, a decisive Engagement ensued, in which *Antony* was far from having the worst, till *Cleopatra*, with the *Egyptian* Squadron of sixty Sail, deserted him; and he forgot his own Interest so far, as to follow her: Notwithstanding which, his Fleet continued the Engagement till Night, when they were intirely beaten; and, in a few Days after, his Army deserted to his Rival^a.

As for *Cleopatra*, she sailed directly to *Alexandria*; but, fearing that her Subjects would not receive her, if acquainted with the true State of her Affairs, she entered the Harbour, with all her Ships adorned, as if they had carried the Victory: And having, by this Artifice, got into full Possession of the City and Kingdom, she caused such of the Nobility of *Egypt*, as the most suspected, to be put to Death; and then it was, that she formed the Project of putting all her Treasures on board her Ships, and drawing those Ships thro' the Canal before-mentioned, into the *Red Sea*; which Design was prevented by the Vigilance of the *Romans*, who prevailed with the *Arabians* on the opposite Side of the Gulph to burn those Ships, which wholly disappointed her Design^b.

Antony was at that Time absent, and seemed to be endeavouring to collect new Forces; but he soon abandoned that Project, and followed *Cleopatra* to *Alexandria*, where he fell into the same lazy and luxurious Life he had led before. All his Hopes lay, now, in endeavouring to soften *Augustus* by Submissions; and, with this View, both he and *Cleopatra* sent to the Conqueror, offering to resign all they yet possessed, and to lead a private Life, in whatever Place he thought proper to assign them. To *Antony's* Proposals no Answer was made, but *Cleopatra* was flattered with Hopes, that she might not destroy, or make away with, her Treasures: And these fallacious Hopes led her to the greatest Baseness, that of betraying *Antony*, by giving up *Pelusium*, which was garisoned by her Forces, to *Augustus*, on the first Approach of his Army. *Antony* would then have put himself on board his Fleet, which was still numerous, in order to have fought another Battle; but, as soon as they were drawn into a Line, most of his Ships went over to the Enemy. His Land Forces acted by him in the same manner, thro' the Insinuation of *Cleopatra*; which drove him into such a Fit of Despair, that he threw himself upon his Sword, chusing rather to die by his own Hands, than to fall alive into those of his Enemy^c.

A little before this Accident happened, *Cleopatra* had retired to a magnificent Monument, which she had caused to be built for herself, near the Temple of *Isis*; and thither she removed the best Part of her Treasure, shutting up herself therein, with only two of her Maids, and one of

her Eunuchs, expecting, in that Solitude, whatever might befall her^d.

Upon the coming of *Augustus* to *Alexandria*, all *Egypt* submitted to him; and he took all the Precautions possible, for settling and preserving it; and, amongst these, we are to reckon his putting to Death *Cesarion*, which he did for two Reasons; first, because he had been declared the lawful Heir of *Julius Caesar*, which might have awakened new Troubles in *Italy*; and next, because of his Descent from the *Ptolemies*, which might have given him a Claim to the Kingdom of *Egypt*. He likewise put to Death *Antyllus*, the eldest Son of *Antony* by his first Wife, tho' he had married his own Daughter: As to the Reason of which, History is silent^e.

Cleopatra remained, all this time, shut up in her Tomb; for *Augustus*, having now made sure, both of her Person and her Treasures, neglected her; which she perceiving, and being likewise informed, that he intended to carry her, in three Days time, to *Rome*, in order to grace his Triumph, she caused herself to be bit by an Asp, a Kind of Serpent found only in *Egypt* and *Libya*; the Bite of which induces a Lethargy, which brings on Death without Pain, in about three Hours time. Such was the End of this Princess, in the thirty-ninth Year of her Age, and in the twenty-second of her Reign, accounting it from the Death of her Father *Ptolemy Soter*; and in her ended the Royal Race of the *Ptolemies*, after they had governed in *Egypt*, from the Death of *Alexander the Great*, two hundred ninety-four Years^f.

The Senate and People of *Rome* were so well pleased with the Conduct of *Augustus* in this Affair; for he spent but a single Month, in the Subjection of this whole Kingdom; that they decreed the Name of this Month to be altered, and that, instead of *Sextilis*, it should be called *August*, as it has been ever since. They likewise decreed, that the Day, on which *Augustus* had entered *Alexandria* should, in all succeeding times, be accounted fortunate; and that a new *Æra* should take Place in *Egypt* from that Time, as it did; and derived its Name from the Victory at *Abium*, tho' it did not commence till near a Year after, being fixed to the twenty-ninth of *August*, in the thirtieth Year before Christ, because on that Day *Cleopatra* died, and, the *Macedonian* Empire ending in this Country, that of the *Romans* commenced^g.

By this *Æra*, all publick Transactions were computed in *Egypt*, so long as it remained a Province of the *Roman* Empire, which was six hundred and seventy Years. While *Augustus* staid at *Alexandria*, he visited the Tomb of *Alexander the Great*, and saw his Body, which lay embalmed there, in a Case of *Giauw*: It had formerly been kept in a Case of Gold; but that being stolen by *Seleucus Cybistates*, who had married an *Egyptian* Queen, this of *Glaß* was provided in its stead. But *Augustus* would not be persuaded to see the Sepulchres of the *Ptolemies*, nor to visit the *Egyptian Apis*, telling those who would have had him done it, that he worshiped the immortal God, and not Beasts^h. At the Close of the Month of *August*, when he left this Country, he appointed *Cornelius Gallus* the first Governor of the Province.

^a Dion. Cassius, lib. li. Plutarchus in Antonio. L. Florus, lib. iv. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. Orosius, lib. vi.

Dion. Ca. ut, ubi supra.

^b Strabo, lib. xxv. Plutarchus in Antonio. L. Florus.

Velleius Paterculus.

Eutropius. Orosius.

^c Plutarchus in Antonio.

Galen de Theriaca ad Pisonem, c. 8.

Velleius Paterculus.

^d Dion Cassius, lib. i. Macrobius Saturnalis, lib. i. c. 12.

^e Dion Cassius.

^f Dion Cassius.

^g Dion Cassius.

^h Dion Cassius.

SECTION IX.

The History of the Indian Trade, as carried on through Egypt by the Red Sea, under the Romans; the Manner of its Establishment; the Profits drawn therefrom; and the Discoveries made in Consequence of this Commerce.

1. The Romans little addicted to Maritime Affairs before the second Punic War, and incited thereto chiefly by the Desire of destroying Carthage. 2. The Progress of their Naval Power, till they became Masters of the Sea. 3. The extraordinary Establishments of Augustus, for the Support of the Maritime Force of the Roman Empire. 4. His Maxims for the Government of Egypt, considered as inviolable Laws by the succeeding Emperors; and contributed greatly to the Preservation of the Province. 5. An Account of the Expedition of Aelius Gallus into Arabia, the many Difficulties he met with therein; and the Consequences which it produced. 6. The Ethiopians invade Egypt; are repulsed by Publius Petronius, the Roman Prefect, who penetrated as far as Nepata, the Capital of Ethiopia. 7. The Fame of Augustus reaching the Indies, Ptolemy sends Ambassadors to desire his Friendship. 8. The History of this Commerce continued to the End of the Reign of Vespasian, including the Embassies of Indian Princes. 9. An exact Description of the annual Fleets sent within this Period, to the Indies; the Nature of their Voyages; the Ships employed in them, and the Profit. 10. Observations upon the State of that Commerce, within this Period; and on the Objections raised against it by Pliny. 11. Of the new Channels of Trade opened from Egypt by the Romans, within the Compass of this Period; and the Advantages derived from them.

1. **T**HAT we may fully enter into the Wisdom of that Policy shewn by the Romans, in the Management of the Affairs of Egypt, and more especially of the Trade to the Indies, which they improved to the highest Degree possible, considering the State of Maritime Affairs in those Days, it will be necessary to say something of the Rise and Progress of their Naval Power, which did not make any great Figure in the World, till the Beginning of the second Punic War. Before that Time, they had shewed a very trivial, or scarce any, Attention thereto, either because they were then wholly occupied in extending their Dominions by Land; or, that the first Misfortunes they had experienced on their own Coasts, disgusted them in respect to a Trade, where all Things are exposed to Chance, and where there is perpetual Danger: But as their Genius led them to persevere, in Support of whatever they once discerned to be certainly and inconceivably useful, they no longer abandoned Maritime Affairs, when they found, that it was possible to reconcile them with their Views and Interests: And one may safely say, that it was to Carthage, the Haughtiness and Obstinacy of which gave them so much Trouble, that they were chiefly indebted for this Obligation.

When therefore the Senate of Rome took, at last, the fatal Resolution of razing that City to its very Foundations, the Consul C. M. Figulus made the following Harangue, by their Order, to the Carthaginians: 'It is the Sea, the mighty Power you have acquired thereon, the Treasures you have drawn from thence, that have hastened your Fall. It is the Sea, and the Powers that you possess thereon, that tempted you to seize Sardinia, Sicily, Spain; that seduced you to break your Treaties of Peace; to pillage our Merchant Ships; and to endeavour to hide your Crimes, by drowning those you found on board them. In one Word, it has been your perfect Knowledge of Maritime Affairs, made you regard nothing else; and led you to place your Glory in committing such mischievous Acts, as hitherto we have not been in a Condition, nor had the Power, to punish.'

2. I shall not pretend, here, to run into a Detail of all the Expeditions entered into by the Romans, after the Punic Wars; and in which they shewed so extensive a Capacity, in the Conduct of their Arms; so perfect a Presence of Mind, in all Danger; and an Industry so happy in gaining the Hearts of all People, and making themselves willingly obeyed by those, whom they had rendered their Subjects by Force. I shall only observe, that as all their Enterprizes had some great End in View, so they never failed to keep great Fleets at Sea, under the Command of able and experienced Captains. The Love of Glory,

amongst them, was the universal Passion; and this it was, that induced them to think, that there was something low and indecent in all kind of Commerce. But Sentiments so rigid softened by Degrees; and these very Romans, who would appear to conquer, merely to have an Opportunity of giving Examples of Probity, Disinterestedness, and Moderation, began, at length, to vanquish, in order to procure the Delights and Commodities that they wanted; and that they might adorn Italy with the Spoils, and render her opulent, at the Expence of other Nations.

The Ruin of Carthage, which, however, was purchased by Rivers of Blood, subjected to Rome all the rest of Africa; which was of infinite Advantage, by securing to that proud City a constant Supply of Corn; and the burning of Corinth, which followed afterwards, finished the Demolition of Greece, and threw her into a Slavery so much the more galling, as for so long a Tract of Time she had been used to command.

With respect to the Conquests made by the Romans in Asia, they proved the Source of such immense Riches, as were little known to former Times; and, with these Riches, were introduced at Rome, and all the principal Cities of Italy, refined Luxury, a studied Elegance, which diffused itself through all; and was alike visible in Buildings, Furniture, Dress, Gardens, and all the Appurtenances to the Table. The Love of Pleasure, that Pomp which strikes the Eye, and that Magnificence which captivates the Mind, banished the ancient Severity of Manners; and the Romans became now more rich, more polite, more voluptuous; disdained the humble Poverty of their Ancestors, and began to form new Notions of Virtue.

In this, undoubtedly, they were happy beyond all other Nations, that every new War not only led to new Conquests, but taught them likewise fresh Improvements in the Arts of Military and Naval Armaments: And thus one Victory, by the Care and Skill they discovered in improving it, became the Means of obtaining many more. Thus, for Instance, when Lucullus triumphed over Mithridates, he caused to be exposed, amongst the rest of the Spoils he had taken from him, one hundred and ten Prows of Gallies, sheathed with Copper. It is well known, that this it was, that heretofore constituted the great Force of Ships of War, and rendered them terrible in the Day of Battle: And as these Prows were easily taken off, they were, in the Day of Triumph, carried before the Victor; who, besides, had his Temples adorned with a Crown, or Circle of Gold; on which were embossed the Prows and Poops of Gallies, intermingled one with another, which Crown was titled *Navale*, or *Rostrale*.

¹ P. A. Excerpt. lib. xlviii. Liv. Epitom. lib. xlix. Flor. lib. ii. Orosius, lib. iv. Eutop. lib. iv.

² Carthage was long Masters of the Sea, and that Rome was but lately so.

³ Liv. Epitom. lib. lvi. Florus, lib. ii. Pausanias in Achaia. Plin. lib. ii. c. 2. Tacit. lib. xiv. c. 2.

⁴ This Naval Crown Augustus bestowed on Agrippa, for his eminent Services performed at Sea.

3. It was, however, reserved for the Fortune and Wisdom of *Augustus*, to unite all those Advantages, and to reduce the Maritime, as well as the Civil Affairs of the *Roman* State into a regular System. This he was enabled to do by the Fulness of his Power, as it was from the evident Advantages, derived from the prudent Use made of his Power, that the *Romans*, under his Government, so little regretted the Loss of their Freedom; for these Benefits were then present, and the Evils afterwards felt, were only foreseen. This Maritime System of *Augustus*, consisted in keeping always three numerous Squadrons, and those too, in every respect, well equipped, in constant Readiness to put to Sea for any Service, and in any Quarter of the *Roman* Dominions, where they might be wanting. The first of these Squadrons was stationed at *Frejus* in the *Narbonnensis* Gaul, which was to restrain the Inhabitants of the *Spanish* Coasts, and of those Parts of *Provence* and *Languedoc*, which are washed by the *Mediterranean*. The second was at *Cape Messina*, for the Security of the Navigation, in that which was called the *Lower*, or *Etrurian* Sea: The third at *Ravenna*, for scouring the *Upper* Sea, which is, by us, commonly called the *Adriatic* ^a.

Besides these two last Squadrons, he kept, as we are informed by *Vegetius*, always quartered near the Capes of *Messina* and *Ravenna*, a certain Number of Soldiers, ready to embark at a Minute's Warning, who are called *Classarii*, or Marines. Their Duty was to serve at Sea, in which they were continually exercised; and this, for any thing we know, was the first regular Institution of Seamen among the *Romans*: For so, in Fact, these People were; and ought, therefore, rather to be styled Mariners than Marines, in the modern Acceptation of that Word. Before this Time, Soldiers and Seamen were the same thing amongst the *Romans*; or, in other Words, Soldiers handled the Oar, when put on board their Ships; hung their Shields along the Sides of their Vessels; and refused the Use of them, and of their Swords, whenever an Opportunity offered for the making a Descent. But now this Discipline was, in some measure, altered, and these *Classarii* were particularly destined to serve on board these Squadrons, in both Capacities; that is, as Seamen, and as Soldiers: And therefore, in the strict and natural Sense of the Word, they may be, very properly, called Marines.

There is another Point of this Emperor's Discipline, which demands our Notice, because it regards our Subject more nearly than any of the rest. He was sensible, that a great Part of the *Roman* Provinces remained, in a manner, hid and undiscovered; by which the Inhabitants were injured, and the public Revenues suffered. He, therefore, equipped Ships for making Discoveries in *Africa*, towards the Equator; others for examining the Coast of *Europe*, as far as the *Cimbrian* *Oversnessus*; and, lastly, a third Sort, which were to sail up such Rivers, the Mouths of which were only known: The Vessels employed in these Courses, were styled *Naves Luforie*. In a Word, the *Romans* never undertook such perilous or important Voyages, as under the Reign of *Augustus*: That Emperor, who effaced, by his Virtues, and by his beneficent Actions, all Memory of the Cruelties committed during the *Triumvirate*, took care to send into the most distant Provinces, Men of the most quick and penetrating Parts; from whom he received a most sincere and accurate Detail of all that passed there: So that he was always possessed of the true State of every Part of his extensive Dominions; and could judge what was requisite to be done in them, either for remedying present Inconveniences, or that future Advantages might be procured. Such, then, was the State of the *Roman* Affairs; such the Genius, Character, and Conduct of the Prince, who was then at their Head, when *Egypt* was added to the Dominions of that State; and thereby, in a manner, completed their Conquests.

4. As the Reduction of *Egypt* into the Form of a Province was intirely the Work of *Augustus*, so he conceived himself at Liberty to dispose of it to whom he pleased; and to settle it as he thought proper. The Knowledge he had of the Country, and its Inhabitants, made him regard this as one of the most difficult Points that ever fell under his

Consideration. But his Parts, tho' slow, served him so effectually, when he considered any Subject maturely, that in this Case he settled so just, so excellent a Plan, that the Government of *Egypt* was regulated exactly according to his Maxims, by all his Successors. It would take up too much Time, and lead us too far from our Subject, should we attempt to explain the Manner in which the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire were distributed. It will sufficiently answer our Purpose to observe, that some of them were assigned by the Senate, and others were absolutely at the Will of the Prince; which Method of Distribution was settled by *Augustus*, and that, at the Time of his settling it, he reserved *Egypt*, and almost all the Countries depending upon it, to himself ^b.

The first Maxim he established with regard to its Government, was, that the Prefect should be always chosen out of the Order of *Roman* Knights, from an Apprehension, that if it was in the Hands of a Man of great Family and Interest, he might be tempted to revolt; in which Case he forelaw, that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to recover that Province to the Empire. His second Maxim was, that no Senator, or other Person of Distinction, should be permitted, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to enter that Province without a special Licence, which was very rarely granted either by him, or his Successors. In the third Place, he took care, that there should be but a small Body of Troops kept up there, for many Reasons: First, the Country itself was very defensible from its Situation; for its Coasts on the North had few Ports, and those very difficult to be entered; and the Navigation on the Coast extremely hazardous and dangerous: On the East and West it had the *Arabian* and *Libyan* Deserts, that were, in a manner, impassable. On the South lay the *Troglodytes*, and other Nations, who were rather desirous of preserving their own Freedom, than inclined to invade or disturb their Neighbours: And, as for the *Ethiopians*, the Frontiers of *Egypt* towards them were narrow, well fortified, and easily guarded ^c.

Secondly, though the People of *Egypt* were naturally mutinous and seditious, yet they were far from being of a warlike Nature; so that a few regular Troops were, at all Times, sufficient to repress their Insolence, and to keep the Province quiet. Thirdly, while the Prefect had but a few Troops, and those, for the most part, disposed into Garisons, the Commanders of which were not absolutely under his Power, he had little Probability of maintaining himself in the Possession of the Country, in case his Ambition, at any time, tempted him to forget his Duty. His fourth Maxim was, to change its Governor frequently, that he might not have Time to form any Schemes to the Prejudice of the Empire, or be able to raise any considerable Party among the Inhabitants. His fifth and last Maxim was, to make an absolute Secret of the whole System of Government in this Province; so that under him, and most of his Successors, the Management of Affairs in *Egypt* was considered as one of the great Mysteries of State, into which few were admitted, and none were suffered to pry ^d.

It was agreeable to these Maxims, that he appointed *Cornelius Gallus* the first Governor of the Province, a *Roman* Knight, raised by his own Merit and the Emperor's Favour; but of no great Family or Interest, and whose Talents were not of a Nature to excite any Jealousy of his undertaking great or dangerous Designs: Yet this Man held the Government but a little while; and, when he lost it, fell into absolute Disgrace. The Manner in which he directed the Affairs of the Province, and the needless Severity he made use of in exacting the first Tributes that were levied, occasioned Tumults in the Province, and Complaints against him to the Emperor, who immediately sent *P. Petronius* to succeed him, when he had not held that Government four Years. On the Return of *Gallus* to *Rome*, he very foolishly censured the Conduct of *Augustus*; upon which the Emperor forbid him his Palace, and sent him to the Judgment of the Senate with respect to the Accusations that had been brought against him for his Male-administration in *Egypt*; and they entered so warmly

^a *Dion. Halicarn. lib. i. Veget. de Re Milit. lib. v.*

^b *Dion. Cassius, lib. lxxi.*

^c *Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 819*

^d *Sueton. Aug.*

into the Prosecution, that *Gallus*, to prevent being sent into Banishment, threw himself upon his Sword, and died on the Spot. The Zeal shewn by the Senate upon this Occasion was so grateful to the Emperor, that he returned them his Thanks for it; and it is observed, that this *Cornelius Gallus* and *Salvidienus Rufus* were the only Persons given up by *Augustus* to the Severity of the Laws during his whole Reign; and it is very possible, that the former, in some measure, met with his Fate to gratify the Egyptians upon their first becoming Subjects to Rome, and to whom he had rendered himself hateful.

5. *Publius Petronius* was made Governor of Egypt in the Year before Christ 26 and, in the Year after, *Augustus* formed a Design, which very plainly shews how far the Indian Trade had already made an Impression upon his Mind. He had been informed, that the Southern *Arabians*, that is, the *Arabians*, who inhabited the Side of the Gulph opposite to Egypt, were a Nation very rich in Gold, Silver, and precious Stones: He, therefore, determined either to make them Friends to his Government, or to bring them under Subjection, by which means two very desirable Ends would have been answered; for, in the first place, a very rich Commerce, and very commodious, would be secured to his new Subjects; and next, he flattered himself there would be such Discoveries made, as might enable him to extend either his Conquests or his Trade on that Side much farther. As this Scheme of his was really of great Importance, so the Means he took to have it executed were exceedingly well contrived, and plainly shew how much he had studied it. He knew that the Thing was difficult in itself, and that, unless it was conducted by Persons who were well acquainted in the Country, it would certainly miscarry. He, therefore, directed *Herod*, King of Judea, who had been always his fast Friend, to assist in the Execution of the Project; and gave the like Orders to an *Arabian* Prince, whose Dominions bordered on those Nations that were to be affected by this Project, which rendered his Assistance therefore of the utmost Importance.

Gallus, a Roman of the Equestrian Order, was the General of this Expedition, for which *Augustus* furnished him with ten thousand of the Allies; to these were added five hundred Men from *Herod* above-mentioned, and a thousand more that were brought him by *Syllaeus* from *Obodas*, King of the *Nabatean Arabs*. This *Obodas*, had succeeded *Malchus* in the Kingdom, and *Syllaeus* was his chief Minister, and a Person of great Craft, Vigour and Application; He, knowing the Country, undertook to be *Gallus's* Guide in this Expedition, and thereby made it miscarry by betraying him in it. It was proposed to march through the Country of the *Nabateans*, and from thence to enter on this Expedition; but *Syllaeus* falsely informing *Gallus*, that there was no safe Passage thither by Land, thus put him on building a Fleet to pass thither by Sea; and therefore, having provided an hundred and thirty Transports at *Cleopatris*, a Port at the Bottom of the *Arabian* Gulph, or *Red Sea*, he there put his Army on board them, and sailed to *Lucomae*, a Port of the *Nabateans*, lying on the Eastern Side of that Sea: This being a very dangerous Navigation, by reason of the many Rocks and Shoals that are in that Part of the *Arabian* Gulph and *Syllaeus* piloting him the worst Way through it, he was hither Days in the Passage, and lost several of his Ships in it; and when he was landed, all his Army falling sick of a Disease common in that Country, he was forced to lie by all the remaining Part of the Summer, and the Winter following to wait their Recovery.

We have all these Circumstances from *Strabo*, who was the intimate Friend of *Gallus*, and must, therefore have been perfectly well acquainted with every thing relating to this Expedition; and it is his Observation, that tho' *Obodas* was very hearty in this Affair, yet leaving it, as it was too much the Custom of the *Arabian* Princes, to his Minister, he ventured upon these extraordinary Measures, with a View, as our Author conjectures, to his own private

Advantage; for his Design was, that the Romans should conquer a great Part of the Country, but with such Difficulty, and under such Disadvantages, that they might be weary of keeping it, and that so it might, with the rest of his Master's Dominions, fall into his Hands; for he had already projected the Poisoning of King *Obodas*, which he afterwards executed. It is, also, worthy of Observation, that this Disease, which carried off such Numbers of the Romans, was a Swelling in their Gums, their Thighs, and their Legs, or, in plain English, the Scurvy. In the Beginning of the Spring, when his Army had recovered their Health and Spirits, *Gallus* continued his March, but through such Roads, as made it absolutely necessary to carry a Supply of Water on the Backs of Camels, which was another Contrivance of *Syllaeus*, who, if he pleased, might have shewn them a much easier and shorter Passage.

After a tedious March of many Days, they arrived in the Country of *Areta*, in the Neighbourhood of *Obodas*, who came thither to meet the Roman General, treated him with great Kindness, and made him many Presents. They made, from thence, another fatiguing March of fifty Days, through a sandy and desert Country, belonging to a King whose Name was *Sabus*; and then came into the Country of the *Agrarians*, the chief City of which they took; and in this Country they found great Relief, being in itself very fruitful and pleasant, and inhabited by a People who were naturally peaceable. Continuing their March for six Days, they came to a River, where, for the first time, they saw an Enemy; for, the neighbouring Nations, having heard of their Approach, assembled to stop their Passage; a Battle ensued, in which the *Arabians* were routed, or rather slaughtered; for here were ten thousand of them killed, with the Loss of no more than two Romans: The *Barbarians*, indeed, were armed with Lances, Swords, Bows and Slings; but they were naturally a timorous People, and made but poor Use of their Weapons. They took soon after the City of *Asca*, the King having abandoned it.

Thence they marched to *Atrulla*, which they took without any Trouble; and, making it a Place of Arms, they provided themselves there with Corn, and other Necessaries. Thence they moved on to *Marfiba*, a City of the *Ramanitanians*, not far from *Ilasarus*, which Place they besieged for six Days, and were then obliged to decamp for want of Water. The Treachery of the Guides being by this Time fully detected, they took another Road in their Return, and, in the Space of sixty Days, reached the Port of *Nagra* on the *Arabian* Gulph, though they had been six Months in penetrating into that Part of the Country, from which, without any great Difficulty, they returned in two. There they again embarked, and in eleven Days, and without any Accident, arrived safely at *Myos Hormos*: From thence they continued their March to *Coptos*, and so back to *Alexandria*.

Ælius Gallus brought home with him, after two Years Absence, but a small Part of his Army, having lost the rest, not in Battle, but by Hunger, Fatigue, Sickness, and the Hardships they endured; for, in the whole Expedition, there were no more than seven fell by the Sword. After all, there was but very little gained by all this Labour, either in point of Conquest or Discovery; which was absolutely owing to the treacherous Arts of *Syllaeus* before mentioned, who, being at Rome some Years afterwards, and there charged with these and other Offences, and fully convicted, suffered an infamous Death, the just Reward of his superlative Wickedness. Yet, as unsuccessful as this Enterprize proved, it was undoubtedly a well laid Design; and, if it had taken Effect, must have contributed greatly to the opening a free Commerce throughout the whole Gulph, from the City *Arfinoe* to the City of *Ptolemais*; and, as *Strabo* likewise suggests, it would have afforded a short and easy Passage across the Straights of *Babel-Mandel*, to the Region of the *Trogodytes*; the Reduction of which must have been very advantageous, because, as we shall

¹ *Dion. Cassius*, lib. lxxxiii. p. 512. *Sueton. in Augusto*, c. 66. The learned *Cajaubon* has confounded in his Notes upon *Strabo* this *Cornelius*, the Patron of *Virgil*, and himself an excellent Poet, with *Ælius Gallus*, of whom we are to speak immediately; and, indeed, the Mistake was easy, considering they were of the same Name, flourished at the same time, and were both Prefects of Egypt.

² *Strabo*, lib. xvi. p. 780.

³ *Dion. Cassius*, lib. lxxxiii. *Strabo*, lib. xvi. p. 780, 781, lib. xvii. p. 819.

⁴ *Joseph. Antiq. Jud.* lib. xv.

⁵ *Strabo*, lib. xvi. p. 782.

shew very speedily, the Commerce of that Country, when opened, proved very beneficial to the *Egyptians*. One good Effect, and, perhaps, the only one that followed from this Expedition, was, the spreading the Fame of the *Romans*, and of *Augustus*, through the *Indies*; which produced two several Embassies; an Honour the *Romans* never received before, and which might, very probably, operate favourably for their Commerce; and, if so, the Expence of this Undertaking (which fell, however, mostly on the Allies) was not wholly thrown away.

6. But while *Aelius Gallus* was endeavouring to extend the *Roman* Conquests in *Arabia*, there happened a very unlooked for Invasion in *Egypt*. *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*, for this, it seems, was a Name common to those Princesses, as *Cleopatra* to the Queen of *Egypt*, made an Irruption into the Frontiers of the Province, and carried off three Cohorts of *Roman* Soldiers from *Syena*, *Elephantina*, and *Pibitis*, where they likewise threw down the Emperor's Images. As soon as *Petronius*, the Prefect of *Egypt*, was informed of the Invasion, he marched with near ten thousand Foot, and about eight hundred Horse, in order to come up with the Enemy, though they were upwards of thirty thousand. They were not much inclined to fighting, but retired before him to the City of *Pfelca*, where they made a Halt: There *Petronius* sent Embassadors to demand the Prisoners, and to know the Cause of the War. But finding that Negotiation would do nothing, and having waited three Days as they desired, without receiving any satisfactory Answer, he resolved to attack them, as he accordingly did, and defeated them intirely. They were, in truth, very poorly armed, most of their Shields being made of raw Hides; and, for offensive Weapons, they had some Swords, some Pole-axes, and some nothing but long Sticks, so that they were speedily routed.

Many were taken in this Engagement, and sent by Water to *Alexandria*; but most got into *Pfelca*, which was soon taken; and in it an infinite Number of People of all Ranks. From hence he advanced to *Premnis*, a Place exceedingly strong by Situation; in the Neighbourhood of which there are many Mountains, which being blown by the Winds, on the Army of *Cambyses*, buried a great Part of them; which forced him to a precipitate Retreat. This Place reduced, he marched forwards to the Royal City *Negata*, where *Candace*, and her Son, then were. She now offered to treat, and to restore the Prisoners, and the Statues of the Emperor. *Petronius*, however, attacked and plundered the City: From whence the Son of *Candace* privately fled. Having now pierced near eight hundred Miles into the Enemy's Country, and finding it grow very full of Woods and Deserts, and the Weather proving extremely hot, he determined to return, after putting a strong Garrison into *Premnis*, and causing it to be victualled for two Years, that he might have a sure Passage into *Ethiopia*; and then he marched safely back to *Alexandria*. There, having divided the Prisoners, he sent a thousand of the chief of them to *Augustus*, who was then just returned out of *Spain*; but of these many died by the Way. The rest of the Prisoners were sold by the Soldiers, into whose Hands they fell, to the Amount of many Thousands.

By leaving four hundred Men in *Premnis*, he provided effectually against any future Irruptions of *Ethiopians*; for he foresaw, that however terrified they might be, while he continued with an Army in their Country, they would, notwithstanding, return to their former furious Disposition, as soon as that Check was withdrawn. In this he was far from being mistaken; for when it was known, that he was returned to *Alexandria*, then *Candace* immediately drew together the whole Force of her Empire, and marched it down to *Premnis*, which lay towards the Frontiers of *Egypt*, and besieged it. We have already had an Instance, that the *Ethiopians* were no great Soldiers in the Field; and therefore we may easily conceive, that they were incapable of reducing a Fortrefs strengthened by Works, after the *Roman* Manner, and well supplied with Men and Provisions. A great deal of Time they spent before it, without making any great Progress; and the *Roman* Prefect, having Intelligence of what had happened, immediately

collected his Forces, and moved towards it, in order to raise the Siege. On his Approach, the *Ethiopian* Army quitted the Place with the utmost Precipitation; and, as soon as they were at a safe Distance, *Candace* sent to know from the *Roman* General, what his Demands were; and upon what Terms she might hope for Peace. *Petronius* answered, that he formed no Pretensions on the *Ethiopians*; and that what he had done was in Discharge of his Duty, and for the Preservation of the *Roman* Province. As to the rest, he could not pretend to propose any Terms of Peace, but they must be content to fend their Embassadors to *Cesar*, in order to excuse what was past, and know his Pleasure, as to their Conduct, in Time to come. This amazed *Candace* more than the War: She declared that she knew not *Cesar*, or where to seek him; and seemed to doubt whether this was not an evasive Answer given, to furnish themselves with a Pretence for conquering her Dominions. But *Petronius* quickly eased her of these Apprehensions, by offering to fend her Embassadors to *Cesar*; and to conclude a Peace till their Return. This Proposal was readily accepted, and the Embassadors dispatched to the *Roman* Camp; with which the *Ethiopian* War ended, and the Province was again restored to Quiet.

We have an Account of this Expedition, and of the Embassy sent by *Candace* to *Augustus Caesar*, in the Natural History of *Pliny*; but he says not a Word of the Invasion; which, however, is fully related by *Strabo*, who was, of his own Knowledge, perfectly acquainted with these Matters; and has recorded them very faithfully. By this War, as he justly observes, the *Romans* came to be acquainted with the Nations bordering on *Egypt*, and who, by being subdued by the *Ethiopians*, now passed under their Name. In consequence of this, they were undecieved as to the strange Reports they had heard, of the Strength and Courage of these People; for they found them half-naked, badly armed, far from being of a martial Disposition; living in Tents, on the Produce of their Herds and Flocks; and quitting their Habitations, as the Conveniency of feeding those Herds and Flocks, directed them. They likewise saw, that their Black Cattle, Sheep, and every thing but their Dogs, were of a dwarfish and diminutive Kind, as well as the People themselves, who, with the Help of a strong Fancy, might have passed for Pygmies: So that, here, all their Terror wore off; and they concluded themselves fully able to maintain the Frontiers of the *Roman* Province, against all its Enemies on this Side. But, however satisfied the *Roman* Soldiers might be of all this, who resided in *Egypt*, and were Eye-witnesses of these Things, yet the Learned at *Rome* still followed the Fictions of the *Greeks*; and therefore *Pliny* speaks of some Nations without Noses, others without Mouths, and some without Tongues, that lived beyond the Mountains on the other Side of *Ethiopia*, towards the *Red Sea*: All which Fictions I attribute to the indistinct Accounts they received from the People on the Frontiers between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, as to various Kinds of Apes and Monkeys. One thing, however, this Expedition plainly effected, that it extended the Knowledge of the *Romans* 800 Miles, and drove these Monsters so much farther.

7. When *Augustus* had settled his Government at *Rome*, and obtained, in a legal way, the supreme Authority over the Empire, he began to think of visiting the East, where he had many Things to settle; and accordingly, in the tenth Year of his Administration, and in the twenty-first before *Christ*, having devolved on *Agrippa* the Affairs of the West, *Augustus* went as far as the Island *Samos*, in his Journey Eastward, and there he passed the Winter. While he was at *Samos*, came the Embassadors from *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*, to excuse what had happened in that Country, and to beg a Peace; which he granted them very readily, and the Embassadors returned into their own Country, full of Amazement at the Sight of the Power and Glory of the *Roman* Prince: And it was owing, in all Probability, to their Report, on their Return home, that a firm Peace ensued between the *Ethiopians* and the *Romans* in the Province of *Egypt*, which subsisted for many Years. The next Year

* This story was probably owing to this Expedition, that *Parus* sent the Embassy hereafter mentioned.

† *Strabo* lib. vi. c. 23.

‡ *Strabo* lib. vi. c. 23.

§ *Lib. vi. cap. 23.*

¶ *Dion Cassius. Lib. liv. p. 544.*

§ *Agrippa*

Augustus went into *Syria*, settled the Affairs of the Empire with the *Parthian* Monarch, and recovered the Ensigns, which he had taken from *Craſſus*.*

This spread his Fame over all the East, inſomuch, that *Porus*, King of *India* on this ſide the *Ganges*, who had before ſent an Embaſſy to compliment him, thought proper now to ſend a ſecond time, from an Apprehenſion, probably, that *Augustus* might imitate *Alexander*, and attempt to penetrate as far as the *Indus*. Of theſe Embaſſadors only three lived to execute their Commiſſion; and, finding *Augustus* at *Antioch*, there delivered him the Letters of King *Porus*. It appears from hence, that, according to the oriental Cuſtom, *Porus* was the common Name of all the Princes of that Country: And it likewiſe ſhews, that there were no great Revolutions in thoſe Parts of the World, ſince the ſame Kingdoms continued for the Space of three hundred Years.

In this Letter from *Porus* to *Augustus*, there was firſt ſet forth the Grandeur and Power of the *Indian* Prince, which conſiſted in his having under him ſix hundred petty Princes; which ſome modern Writers have compared to the *Rajahs*, now ſubject to the Great Mogul; but I can ſcarce think, that theſe Princes could be ſo conſiderable; for then the Empire of *Porus* muſt have been very extenſive, and muſt conſequently have ſwallowed up that of *Sandracottus*, which makes ſo great a Figure in ancient Hiſtory, and with which the *Romans* could not but be well acquainted. It ſeems therefore, to me, very probable, that theſe ſix hundred Princes were no more than the Heads or Chiefs of ſo many Towns; and, taken in this Senſe, the Empire of *Porus* was juſt twice as big as when it was ſubdued by *Alexander*. After this Diſplay of his own Greatneſs, the *Indian* Prince acquainted *Augustus*, that he was moved by the Fame of his great Actions, to ſend this ſolemn Embaſſy to requeſt his Friendſhip, and the Acceptance of the Preſents, which attended it; deſiring him to believe, that he had conceived the higheſt Reſpect for his Perſon and Power, and that there was nothing he could deſire of him, with which he would not readily comply^b.

The Preſents, which accompanied this Letter, were borne by eight Slaves, and conſiſted of Tygers, which were then ſaſt ſeen by the *Romans*, Birds of a prodigious Size, Serpents fifteen Feet long, and Shells of Tortoiſes four Feet and an half over; which Preſents ſeem to have been calculated rather to deter, than to invite the *Romans* into the Country from whence they came. Amongſt the Embaſſadors, that were ſent on this Occaſion, there was a Braſhman, whom *Dion Caſſius*, in his Hiſtory^c, calls *Zarmanus*; but *Strabo*, as we ſhall ſee, calls him by another Name; who was ſo well pleaſed with the Reception he met with, that he followed *Augustus* to *Athen*s; and there, having cauſed his funeral Pile to be prepared, he told the Emperor, that, having lived to a good old Age, and never having experienced the Frowns of Fortune, he judged it proper, as a wiſe Man, to put it out of her Power to give him any Iſtance of her Inconſtancy, by voluntarily embracing Death, while he was yet in the Poſſeſſion of Health and Strength, and, which he valued much more, the full Exerciſe of his Faculties. In all Probability, he emulated, in this Action, the ſteady Bravery of *Calanus*, who died in the like manner, in the Preſence of *Alexander* the Great. However that may be, certain it is, that he ſhewed no leſs Conſtancy and Courage; for, coming out naked, and his Body anointed, as if he had been going to Exerciſe, he mounted the Pile, whereon he laid himſelf down; and here being ſet thereto, he was conſumed to Aſhes. The *Athenians*, aſtoniſhed at this Action, erected a Tomb to his Memory, which was ſtanding in the Days of *Plutarch*, who ſays nothing, however, of any Inſcription; but *Strabo*, who lived at the very time, has preſerved it in his excellent Work, and ſays it ran thus: *Here lies Zaimanochagas, an Indian of Bargaſa, who, according to the Cuſtom of his Country, the Indians, voluntarily quitted this Life*^d. It is very clear, from the Whole of this Tranſaction, that the Fame of *Augustus* had extended itſelf into the moſt diſtant Parts of the Eaſt, that were at that Time known to the *Europeans*; and from hence it is evident, that the Trade car-

ried on from *Egypt* to thoſe Countries, through the *Red Sea*, inſtead of being interrupted or reſtrained, was preſerved and protected by the *Romans*, after they had reduced *Egypt* into a Province.

Petronius did not hold the Government of *Egypt* long; for in the Year before *Chriſt* 18. he was ſucceeded by *Aelius Gallus*, of whoſe Expedition into *Arabia* we have already given a large Account. This celebrated Governor of *Egypt* was the Patron and Friend of *Strabo* the Geographer, whoſe Work we have already ſo often quoted, and which we ſhall be obliged to mention frequently, before we bring this Chapter to a Concluſion. This learned Man was a Native of the City of *Amafia* in *Pontus*, a Stoic Philoſopher^e, and juſtly famous for his excellent Geography; to qualify himſelf for writing which, he not only ſtudied, as his Book plainly ſhews, the beſt Writers on that Science, that were then extant; but had likewiſe travelled through moſt of the Countries, which he deſcribes: That is to ſay, Weſtward, from *Armenia* to that Part of *Italy*, which is oppoſite to the Iſland of *Sardinia*; and Southward, from the *Euxine* Sea into *Ethiopia*. This laſt Journey he made in the Company of *Aelius Gallus*, who went to take a View of the Frontiers of *Egypt*, as far as *Syene*; all which Circumſtances of *Strabo*'s Life we learn from himſelf; and theſe ſerve to ſhew, that he muſt have lived to a very great Age, ſince he publiſhed his Work in the Reign of *Tiberius*, and pretty late in that Reign too^f. He is alſo thought to have written ſome other Books, particularly an Hiſtory, ſome Paſſages of which are cited by *Joſephus*, but this is perished long ago, to the inexpressible Loſs of the learned World; for he was ſo accurate a Writer, and took care to be ſo perfectly informed as to every Fact he related, that whatever fell from his Pen, muſt, on that account, have been extremely valuable and uſeful. We may likewiſe ſee, from this ſecond Expedition of *Gallus*, how attentive the *Romans* were to the Concerns of this Province, and how deſirous of being acquainted with every thing that belonged to it.

Indeed the ſecuring to *Rome* all poſſible Advantages from ſo great an Acceſſion of Territory, ſeems to have been one of the principal Objects of the Policy of *Augustus*; for he took care to eſtabliſh a regular Commerce between *Rome* and *Alexandria*, as well for the ſake of a continual Supply of Corn, as for the bringing thither the Merchandizes, that they acquired by their *Indian* Traffic; ſo that, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, many of the *Romans* themſelves, who hitherto had not been much addicted to Trade, were, with the Sight of theſe rich Commodities, induced to embark their Fortunes therein, becoming thereby Principals in this Sort of Traffic, and making uſe of the *Egyptian* Merchants as their Factors. Thus we have ſhewn, how this Trade came into the Hands of the *Romans*, and what Pains were taken by *Augustus* to ſettle and ſecure it, by reducing, if it had been poſſible, the Nations on the oppoſite Side of the *Arabian* Gulph, whoſe Piracies were the only Evils, to which it remained expoſed; and how, by this Care, a new Turn was given to the Temper of the *Romans*, who, in ſucceeding Times, became as active and vigorous in the Management of this Buſineſs, as they had been before unattentive to any thing of this Nature. But it is time for us to take our Leave of the Reign of *Augustus*, of which we have already ſaid ſo much, in order to give the Reader, in as few Words as poſſible, an Account of ſuch Facts as relate to this Subject, and are recorded in the Hiſtories of ſucceeding Emperors: After which we ſhall proceed to an exact Deſcription of the Manner in which this Trade was carried on by the *Roman* Factors; and give ſome Account of the immenſe Profits that annually reſulted from it.

Tiberius, who ſucceeded *Augustus* in the Poſſeſſion of the *Roman* Empire, was not of a Diſpoſition to forget or leave unimproved any Part of his Dominions, much leſs a Province capable of yielding ſuch Advantages as *Egypt*, in the Management of which he ſteadily purſued the Maxims of his Predeceſſor; for ſo careful was he to prevent any Danger, that might ariſe from the finding a Perſon of conſiderable Rank to govern that Country, that he made

* *Strabo*, lib. vi. p. 288. *Tacit. Annal.* lib. ii. c. 1. *Juſtin.* lib. xlii. c. 1.

^b *Dion Caſſius*, ubi ſupra.

^c *Strabo*, lib. ii. p. 116, 117. xvii. p. 816.

^d *Strabo*, lib. xv. p. 685. *Plutarch*, in *Alexandro*.

^e *Strabo*, lib. xv. p. 789. *Dion Caſſius*, lib. liii. p. 527.

^f *Strabo*, lib. xlii. *Vall. de Uſu. Græc.* lib. ii.

Choice of one of his Freedmen for that Employment: And when his Nephew *Germanicus* took the Liberty of visiting that Province without asking his Leave, he reprimanded him for it very severely; and it is with good Reason supposed, that it was chiefly from the Suspicion he conceived on account of this Journey of his into *Egypt*, that he caused him to be poisoned; so jealous he was of any Inquiries into the State of a Country that furnished him with so great a Revenue.^a

Caligula, the Son of *Germanicus*, who succeeded *Tiberius*, tho' in all other things as bad a Prince as he was a Man, yet encouraged and protected Commerce, keeping always a strict Eye to the maritime Force of the Empire, which, under him, was at its greatest Height. With respect to *Egypt*, he understood the Worth of the Country so well, and had so true a Notion of its Strength, that when he had rendered himself universally odious to his Subjects, he had Thoughts of retiring thither, in order to have passed there the Remainder of his Days; but he was cut off by a sudden Conspiracy before he could execute his Intention.

It is uncertain whether *Caligula*, or his Successor *Claudius*, began the Custom of letting the Revenues of *Egypt* to Farm; but, certain it is, that they were lett out in this manner under the Reign of the latter, which produced, accidentally, a very extraordinary Discovery. There was one *Annius Placanus* who farmed the Customs of the *Red Sea*, and who, on that Account, visited the Coast in a Vessel of his own; and being once on the Shore of *Arabia*, on some Business relating to his Office, he was suddenly driven to Sea by a strong North Wind, which blowing for fifteen Days together, he was thrown first on the Coast of *Carmania*, and then on a certain Island, in a Port of which he came to an Anchor; the Name of the Port, as he was informed by the Inhabitants, being *Hippurus*: He was there very kindly entertained by the King of the Country for six Months, who furnished him with whatever he wanted, and was extremely delighted with the Accounts he gave him of the *Romans*, and of their Power; but what struck him most was, the Sight of the *Roman Coin*, it appearing to him a very singular thing, that though the several Pieces were of the same Weight and Value, yet, by their different Impressions, they shewed, at first Sight, by whom and on what Occasion they were coined.^b

This, and the Explications given him by *Placanus*, induced him at last not only to provide for the safe Return of the *Roman* into his own Country, but engaged him likewise to send four Embassadors to *Rome*, the chief of whom was one *Rachias*, who was a Man of great Figure in that Country. It seems, from the Account that *Pliny* has given us of this Adventure, that he had seen and conversed with those, who had what he relates from the Mouth of this *Rachias*. The most remarkable Points mentioned by him were these: That the Island he came from contained five hundred great Towns; that it had a spacious Port on the South Side belonging to a City called *Palefimum*, which was the Capital of the Island; and so populous, that it was esteemed to contain not fewer than two hundred thousand Inhabitants. In the Neighbourhood of this City there was a Lake called *Megisba*, two hundred seventy-five Miles in Circumference, in which there were several Islands very fruitful in Pasture. Out of this Lake there ran two Rivers, one to the South, called *Palisundus*, which fell into the Sea by three Mouths, on one of which stood the City called by the same Name, the smallest of these being of the Breadth of five Stadia, and the largest fifteen. The other River ran Northwards towards the Continent of *India*, called *Cydara*. Opposite to the Island there ran a large Promontory of *India*, called *Colasium*, distant four Days Sail; and in the midst of the Passage there lay an Island sacred to the Sun.

The Sea on the Coast was of a very deep Green, with Trees at the Bottom, the Branches of which were sometimes beaten off by the Heads of their Ships. The Sight of the Northern Constellations surprised the Embassadors at *Rome* very much, and seemed to them like a new Heaven. In their own Country, they said, they observed the Moon only from the eighth to the sixteenth Day, and spoke much

of the bright Star *Canopus*, which was visible in their Hemisphere. But what most amazed them was, the falling of their Shadows to the North; and that the Sun rose to the Left, and set to the Right. They affirmed, that the Coast of their Island, opposite to the Continent of *India*, was ten thousand Stadia in Extent, and that it reached towards the South-east beyond the *Emadian Mountains*. They added, that the Country of the *Seres* lay within Sight of them; and *Rachias* affirmed, that his Father had traded with them. He said, that the Country inhabited by that People was much infested by wild Beasts; that the *Seres* were of a gigantic Stature, red-haired, their Eyes blue, and their Voices hoarse and rough, so that they were unintelligible to Strangers; that in other respects they were like other Men, and traded fairly; for when Commodities were laid down on their Side the River, they came and took them away, if they liked them; and left in Exchange enough to satisfy those who brought them. As to the Island from whence these Embassadors came, *Pliny* tells us, that it was *Taprobana*; and that Gold and Silver was esteemed there, as well as at *Rome*, which he thinks strange; as also precious Stones, and Pearl, especially if they were bright and transparent. He tells us farther, that the Embassadors were wont to say, that there was greater Plenty of Riches in their Island, but that the *Romans* made more use of them. They likewise observed, that they had no Slaves amongst them; that they never slept in the Day-time; that their Houses were but low; that they knew not what Law-suits were; and that they worshipped *Bacchus*. They likewise informed the *Romans* that their Country was extremely well cultivated, and that it produced other Fruit-trees in abundance, but that they had no Vines: That on their Coast they had Plenty of Fish; and that the People were much given to Fishing, and especially to the catching of Tortoises, the Shells of which were so large, that they made use of them to cover their Houses: That their Climate was so wholesome, that a Man of 100 Years of Age was no uncommon Sight. The Account they gave of their Government was this; that their King was elected by a Plurality of Voices, and was assisted by a Senate composed of thirty Persons; who were likewise chosen by the People, together with some other Circumstances which have been already taken Notice of in the Account we gave of the Voyage of *Lambulus*.^c

We shall hereafter have Occasion to inquire more particularly into the Situation of this Island, which makes so great a Figure in the Writings of the Antients; as also of some other Islands, Part real and Part imaginary, which are mentioned in their Works, and which it will be necessary to explain, that the Reader may not be misled into wrong Notions on this Subject, or suppose, that because the Antients speak of prodigious Riches found in these Islands, that we are less knowing than they, since we are not at present acquainted with any Island that produces the Commodities they mention.

The Emperor *Nero*, who succeeded *Claudius*, was very attentive to the Affairs of *Egypt*, and not only took care to maintain his Fleets in perfect good Condition in both Seas, but likewise sent Persons on Purpose thro' *Egypt* into *Ethiopia*, in order to have a clear and distinct Account of its Products and Inhabitants; to which he was very probably incited from the Scheme he had formed of retiring into *Egypt*, in case he found it impossible for him to maintain himself against his Enemies at *Rome*: And it was from the Report of these People that the Distance was determined between *Syene* or the Frontiers of *Egypt*, and the Island of *Meroe*, to be eight hundred and seventy Miles.^d And we may judge of the great Commerce carried on to *Alexandria* in the Reign of that Prince, from the vast Quantity of Incense that he is said to have burnt at the Funeral of his Wife *Poppaea*. The Reigns of the three succeeding Emperors, *Galba*, *Otho* and *Vitellius*, were too short to afford us any thing remarkable, and therefore we must pass on to *Flavius Vespasian*, who received the Empire in *Egypt*, where *Tiberius Alexander*, who was then Governor of that Country, declared for him, and *Vespasian*, making haste to *Alexandria*, no sooner found himself in the full

^a Tacit. Suet. Vellutius Paternulus. c. 7. 2. p. 347.

^b Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 32.

^c See Section iv. p. 383.

^d Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi.

Possession of that City, than he ventured to assume the Imperial Ornaments, not doubting that he should now be able to compass his Design, and make himself entirely Master of the whole *Roman* Empire, which in Effect he did^a.

His Son *Titus*, who succeeded him, having in the Lifetime of his Father made a sudden Journey into *Egypt*, and being received with great Honours at *Alexandria*, this alone created a Suspicion that he intended to revolt, and set up for himself; which plainly shews the settled Opinion of the *Romans* at that Time, that the Possession of *Egypt* was sufficient to give any Prince a Power of making himself Master of the whole Empire^b.

As we have now conducted the History of this Commerce to a proper Period, it is requisite to give a particular Description of the manner in which it was carried on, and of the extraordinary Changes it produced in the Customs of the *Romans*, who, till they became acquainted with this Traffick, had never shewn themselves much inclined to Trade, but left it rather to the *Greeks* and other Foreigners established amongst them.

o. The Navigation to the *Indies* was proscribed, when the *Romans* first became Masters of *Egypt*, by sailing down the *Arabian* Gulph, to a Port near the Promontory of *Sagrus*, which *Ptolemy* the Geographer places in the Latitude of fourteen Degrees; which, beyond Controversy, is that Point of the *Arabian* Coast which is now called *Cape Fartak*, and which, in the best modern Maps, is laid down in the Latitude of fourteen Degrees, forty Minutes; which agrees very well with the Situation assigned by *Ptolemy*: And from hence their Vessels sailed to the Mouth of the River *Indus*; that is, to the Island of *Pattala*, so often mentioned in the History of *Alexander* the Great. But afterwards this Navigation was changed; for, under the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*, there was one *Hypalus*, who was, probably, a Citizen of *Alexandria*, of Greek Extraction, that found out a shorter and easier Passage: And this by the Observation of the Time when the Trade-wind blew, which enabled him to pass, at once, through the Streights, and across the *Indian* Ocean, directly to *Pattala*; which was looked upon as so extraordinary a Thing, that the South-west Wind was afterwards called by his Name, and so became a perpetual Monument of his good Fortune, in this respect^c.

Yet in succeeding Times (but all within this Period) they made still farther Discoveries, with respect to this *Indian* Voyage; in which, however, they met with perpetual Interruptions, from the Piracies of the *Arabians*, which constrained them to carry, besides their ordinary Complement of Men, a certain Number of Soldiers, or Archers, in each Ship, to defend them from these Robbers. At length, however, the great Profits, arising from this Trade, overruling the Number of such as engaged in it, they conquered all Difficulties, and settled an annual Trade from *Alexandria*, to the Mouth of the River *Indus*, after this manner: The Goods that were intended for the *Indian* Markets, were embarked at *Alexandria*; from whence they were carried to *Juliopolis*, two Miles from thence; and so up the River *Nile*, to *Coptus*, at the Distance of three hundred and three Miles; which City *Ptolemy* places in the Latitude of twenty-five Degrees twenty Minutes; which agrees very well with the Accounts that modern Travellers give us of the Situation of its Ruins at this Day. If the Wind was fair, they commonly performed their Voyage in twelve Days. At *Coptus* the Vessels were unloaded; and the Goods on Camels Backs, were transported, in eight Days, to *Berenice*, which lay at the Distance of two hundred and fifty-eight Miles; and there they remained in Warehouses, till the proper Season of the Year for the Continuance of their Voyage, which was about the Rising of the Dog-star. When they were embarked for the last Time, they steered directly for the *Arabian* Coast, and in thirty Days arrived at *Ocelis*, which *Ptolemy* lays down in the Latitude of twelve Degrees, tho', undoubtedly, that is too far South. Or else the Fleet sailed to *Canis*, or to *Muca*, all Ports on the opposite Coast of *Arabia*; but

the two last were only frequented by the Merchants of the Country; and therefore were not visited but by such as intended to take in Frankincense, and other *Arabian* Commodities; for which they exchanged Arms, Knives, and Glass Vessels, and other Things^d.

But *Ocelis* was the principal Place, because there they met with Merchants from the *Indies*, with all Sorts of Goods; and it likewise lay very commodiously for prosecuting their Voyage to the Continent of *India*, where they usually made the Port of *Muziris* in forty Days, which *Ptolemy* lays down in the Latitude of fourteen Degrees, if his Tables have not suffered some Alteration. But this Port being found inconvenient, from the continual Depredations of Pirates in its Neighbourhood, it was thought necessary to seek a better Station; and this led them to the Port of *Becara*, where, by the Help of *Indian* Procs, they transported their Goods up a navigable River, to a great trading Town, called *Madufa*; and, having completed their Affairs, so as to have the Advantage of the Trade-wind back, they usually returned to *Alexandria* towards the latter End of *December*, or the Beginning of *January* at furthest. The *Indian* Commodities, which were thus brought to *Egypt*, were again unladen, and carried to *Berenice*; from whence they were transported by Land to *Coptus*, thence by the *Nile* to *Alexandria*, and so to *Rome* by the annual Fleet from *Alexandria*, which was settled by *Augustus*^e.

The Expence, or, properly speaking, the Stock which was annually invested by the *Romans*, in the Commodities fit for this Commerce, amounted, in the Time of *Pliny*, to fifty Millions of Sesterces, which makes about four hundred and three thousand Pounds of our Money: And, by the Profit of the Goods returned, they gained one hundred per Cent.^f

It may not be amiss, to add to this general Account some Particulars as to the Commodities in which these *Indian* Merchants dealt. In the first place, we ought to reckon Spices, and particularly Cinnamon; of which we have a large Account given us by *Pliny*, wherein there are some Circumstances that deserve to be considered: In the first Place, he observes, that very strange Stories were told by the Antients, in regard to these Spices, on purpose to enhance their Value; such as, that they were collected under Trees, in which the Phoenix built her Nest, being pressed down, and broken, by the Prey he brought to feed her Young; or else shot down with Arrows headed with Lead. To this Story succeeded another, no less incredible, viz. that Cinnamon-trees grew in certain Marshes, guarded by frightful Dragons. And when People grew too wise to believe this, it was next said to come from very distant Countries, where it grew in such Abundance, that the Scent of it might be perceived at a great Distance; by which, as they pretended, the Fleet of *Alexander* discerned the Coast of *Arabia*. All these Accounts he declares to be false; and then tells us what, in his Opinion, was the Truth; which is, that Cinnamon grew in *Ethiopia*, and the adjacent Country of the *Troglodytes*, from whom the *Ethiopians* purchased it, that they might keep this Trade intirely in their own Hands. This precious Commodity they exported in small Boats, without either Oars or Sails; and, putting to Sea in the midst of Winter, they, by the Help of the South-east Wind, doubled the Cape of *Argosse*, and so arrived at the famous Port of *Ocelis*, where they trafficked with the Merchants from *Egypt* for Glass, Copper, and Brass Ware, fine Linen, and Toys. This Navigation was so tedious, that these People very seldom returned in less than five Years; and many of them perished in these dangerous Voyages. At *Ocelis* the King set the Price upon it, which was formerly too high, that a Pound of Cinnamon was sold at *Rome* for one thousand Sesterces, which was about eight Pounds of our Money: And it even arose to a much higher Price, when it was pretended, that the Woods of Cinnamon in *Ethiopia* were burnt down by the *Troglodytes*: But, at the time *Pliny* wrote, it was much sunk in its Value, and yet remained dear enough, in his Opinion^g.

^a Stron. in *Veipia*. Joseph. de *Bello Jud.* lib. vii.

^b Sueton. ubi *supra*.

^c *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. vi. cap. 23. *Periplos*

^d *Egypci*, p. 14.

^e *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xii. cap. 19. *Marston. Heraciot.* p. 16.

^f *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. vi. cap. 23.

^g *Id. lib. xii. c. 19.*

He likewise tells us, that the Emperor *Vespasian* was the first, who in the Capitol, and in the Temple of *Peace*, dedicated Chaplets of Cinnamon, inclosed in fine Gold; and in the Temple erected to the Memory of that Emperor, there was a green Cinnamon-tree preserved in a golden Vessel, which, every Year, thrust out Drops of a whitish Liquor, which afterwards grew hard like a Gum: And this seems to have been Camphire. He tells us also, of Ginger, Pepper, and Cloves, which were brought by the same *Indian* Fleet: And these Spices, when the *Indian* Trade was first known to the *Romans*, were, of all its Commodities, held most valuable.

They likewise brought, in these Fleets, Abundance of precious Stones, particularly Diamonds; of which *Pliny* distinguishes six Kinds, the best of which was the *Indian*; and after that the *Arabian* Diamond; which was esteemed the richest Jewel in those Days, as it is in ours. Pearls were next in Price; and these, too, were brought from the Coast of *India*, and from *Arabia*. We may guess at the Value of them, by what is reported of *Cleopatra's* dissolving in Vinegar, and then swallowing, a Pearl that was esteemed worth near fifty thousand Pounds of our Money: But it is a remarkable Observation, which *Pliny* takes from *Fenestella*, that Pearls bore a very high Price, before *Egypt* became a *Roman* Province; but afterwards they grew common; and, in his Time, the Ladies had their Shoes embroidered with them. Emeralds were next in Price: And of these there were twelve Sorts; the very best of which were those brought from the Northern *Indies*; and the next, those of *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*. The Opal, which was a Stone of great Value, and of different Colours, was likewise brought in these Fleets: Of which *Pliny* tells us a remarkable Story, of one *Nemius*, a Senator, who was proscribed by *Antony*, for the sake of a fine Ring, in which one of these Stones was set, valued at twenty thousand Sesterces. The *Indian* Rubies were likewise in high Esteem, especially such as were of a very bright Colour; but they were then, it seems, as they are now, exceedingly scarce. Add to these the Topaz, and an infinite Number of other Stones, that were then accounted Jewels. We are next to reckon Metals, especially Gold, of which they had great Quantities, by means of this Trade; as also Ebony, and other rich Woods, with Incense, Gums, Ivory, and other Oriental Commodities.

Against the Use of all these *Pliny* inveighs bitterly, affirming that they were principally procured to oblige Women; and that the Riches of the Empire were squandered away, merely to make the *Roman* Ladies vain. As an Instance of this, he tells us, that he had often looked with Amazement upon *Lollia Paulina*, the Dowager of *Caligula*, whose Head-dress, Necklace, and Bracelets, alone, were adorned with Emeralds, Pearls, and other precious Stones, to the Amount of forty Millions of Sesterces, which makes upwards of three hundred and twenty thousand Pounds of our Money. He adds, that her Father *Marcus Lollius* had acquired the immense Wealth, with which all these fine Things were purchased, by taking great Bribes from the Princes of the East; for which being called to an Account, and finding that *Caius Caesar*, the Grandson of *Augustus*, would not screen him, as he expected, he swallowed a Dose of Poison; and thereby prevented the Judgment of the Laws which he so much feared. These Facts, taken together, are sufficient Proofs of the Wealth, as well as Luxury, of the *Romans*; and of that prodigious Alteration made in their Affairs, by the Conquest of *Egypt*, and the Passage thereby opened to the Commerce of the *Red Sea*, and of the *Indies*; which never failed of enriching the Countries where it was settled, to a Degree almost beyond Credit.

10. That I may render the History of the ancient Trade of *India* as clear, as intelligible and satisfactory to the Reader as it is possible, and that I may leave him with few or no Difficulties about it, I will take this Opportunity, after setting down at large, what *Pliny*, and other ancient Writers, have delivered as Matter of Fact, to add some Observations that may reconcile them to the State in which Things are

now found, and which almost all the Writers, who have gone before me, have thought impracticable. I must, however, beseech the candid and ingenious Reader, not to suspect me of Vanity; for I freely profess, that it is not from any Sagacity or Penetration of mine, but merely from Industry, and the Comparison of ancient and modern Writers, that I am enabled to set him right in this Matter, and to lay open the Truth in such a manner, as to convince him, that both the Antients and the Moderns have delivered nothing but what is founded in Fact; and that their seeming Contradictions arise only from their not having beneficially considered.

In the first place, I must observe, that there is nothing reported by Antiquity, which has given so much Trouble to modern Critics, as the Appellation of *Happy*, conferred on the South Part of the Peninsula of *Arabia*, which in itself is a very desert and barren Country, and produces nothing in Appearance capable of meriting that Title. The learned Mr. *Huet*, Bishop of *Avranches*, was the first who hit upon the true Reason; and far be it from me, to conceal the Lights I have derived from the short Hint given by the great Man, who, in his Treatise of the Commerce of the Antients, tells us, that *Arabia the Happy* was so called from the Convenience of its Ports, and the prodigious Riches acquired by its Inhabitants, from their extensive Commerce. This single Thought, properly pursued, will enable us to resolve all the Difficulties that have arisen about the Commerce of the *Indies*.

Strabo, speaking of the *Sabeans*, tells us, that, in their Country, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, and every other valuable Commodity, appeared with Profusion, inasmuch that they were justly esteemed the most opulent Nation in the World.

We may add to this, that almost all the other Nations of the World, which were distinguished for their Trade and Wealth, derived it from thence. It was from hence, that the ancient *Egyptians* drew their Supplies; from hence the *Syrians* had their richest Commodities; from hence *Solomon* received such valuable Presents; from hence the *Egyptians*, under the *Ptolemies*, obtained their most valuable Merchandise; and from hence, as the foregoing Account shews, the *Romans* brought all the Riches of the East. The great Difficulty, then, lies in finding out, how these People came by this prodigious Wealth. This Secret, when once revealed, will appear plain and easy: The Situation of this Country, and their early Knowledge of the Trade-winds, or Monsoons, threw the whole Trade of the *Indies* into their Hands; and as they were the most subtle People in the World, they took care to conceal their Navigation with the utmost Caution. It is clear from the Account we have already given out of *Pliny*, that Abundance of Fables were invented, to keep up the Price of Cinnamon, and other Spices; and the last Account, which he gives as the true one, was, in fact, much a Fable as any of the rest; and leaves only to shew, that the *Arabians*, who were always famous for the Fertility of their Invention, knew how to proportion the Stories they told, to the Lights which other Nations had received.

The Cinnamon, and other Spices, sold in the Port of *Ocelis*, were undoubtedly brought from the Island of *Ceylon*, to which the *Arabians* sailed by the Help of one Monsoon, and returned by the other. When therefore we are told, that *Hyalus* first discovered the South-west Wind would carry a Ship directly to the Coast of *India*, we must refer this to the *Greeks*, and other *European* Nations; for the *Arabians* understood this kind of Navigation long before, as appears plainly by the vast Abundance of Commodities with which their Markets were stocked; for as none of these, except Incense, and other Perfumes, were the Growth of *Arabia*, it is manifest, that they brought them from the Islands of *India*.

I say, it is manifest, that they brought them, and that they were not brought to them; because, if they had, the Secret must soon have broken out, and the Navigation to the Eastern Islands have been made thoroughly known to the *Egyptians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*, which never was. They had, indeed, some confused Notions of

^a *Periplos Maris Erythrei. Marciani Hecataei Periplos. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 63.*
^b *Agatharchides de Rebus Maris, p. 63.*
^c *King's X. 2 Chron. ix.*

^d *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ix. c. 35.*

^e *Cleopatra lib. vi.*

^f *Diad. Sicul. Strabo. Periplos Maris Erythrei.*

^g *Diad. Sicul. Dion Cassius. Strabo.*

^h *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ix. c. 35.*

ⁱ *ibid.*

certain rich Islands in the Indian Seas, such as *Taprobana*, *Palaunda*, and *Panchaia*; but they were very confused indeed. As to the first, they have described it so imperfectly, that it is almost impossible to guess where it lies; the second was no other than the Island of *Pattala*, long before discovered by *Alexander*; and the other was a mere Invention, or a Story palmed upon them by the *Arabians*, as *Plutarch* very judiciously observes^a.

It is true, that several antient Writers speak of the *Indian Merchants*, that frequented the Ports of *Arabia*; but they came only from the Coast of *Malacca*, and the Countries bordering upon *Persia*; and were as little acquainted with the Countries from whence the *Arabians* transported their most valuable Merchandize, as the *Greeks* and *Romans* themselves, who also frequented their Coasts, and carried on a considerable Commerce with them; but not in these rich Commodities; for *Pliny* observed, that they came only from *Ocelis*, and that the Price was set by the King of that Country, which other Writers have confirmed^b.

This Account is so much the more probable, as it corresponds exactly, both with antient and modern Relations; for, with respect to the former, it shews how the Country might of old be as rich and opulent as the *Greek Writers* represent it; and, on the other hand, how it comes to be in so different a Condition at this Day, for that the Air is excessive hot, the Climate near the Coast very unwholesome, the best Part of the Soil sandy and barren, and the Country in general producing nothing but Incense, and rich Gums, of all the valuable Commodities, that were formerly brought from thence, are Facts that cannot be now disputed^c: And, upon a View of what antient Writers have delivered, we shall easily discover, that many of the wisest of them suspected the very thing that I maintain, that is, that the Wealth of this Country was the Result of Commerce, and not of its natural Fertility; for *Strabo*^d long ago observed, that they obtained vast Quantities of Gold, and precious Stones, in Exchange for their Aromatics; and that these rich Goods were again exchanged for such Commodities and Manufactures of the West, as they stood most in need of, or with which they were most affected: And hence it was, that, in spite of the Difficulties attending its Navigation, the *Arabian Gulf* was one of the most frequented Seas in the then known World. In the second Place, I observed, that this accounts perfectly well for the Mistakes that we meet with in antient Writers, as to the Places where Spices, and other valuable Commodities, are found. Their Reports as to *Arabia*, and its Fruitfulness in Spices, were so far founded in Truth, as that they knew no Country where they were to be found, but that; and the Desire of possessing so rich and valuable a Place, was what principally moved *Augustus*, and some of the succeeding Emperors, to think of conquering *Arabia*, which had been before in Danger, from the Power of *Alexander*, on the same Account^e.

It was probably the Fear of the *Romans*, that induced the *Arabians* to frame the new Tale, of Cinnamon's growing in the Country of the *Ethiopians* and *Troglodytes*, and that it was brought to them with infinite Difficulty; I say, they might very possibly be induced to circulate this Story, in order to engage the *Romans* in a War with those People; which would have been an effectual Means of keeping their Forces on the other Side of the Gulf. It is very plain, from what *Pliny* says, that this Notion of Spices growing in *Ethiopia*, was a very new thing, and that he thought he had made a great Discovery, in publishing it to the World: And what still confirms this the more, is, the Fact he gives us from his own Knowledge; viz. that the first Cinnamon-plant that ever was seen at *Rome*, was brought thither in the Reign of *Tiberius*, and was consecrated in the Temple erected to the Memory of *Flavius Vespasianus*^f.

But I know it may be objected, that abundance of Doubts have been moved about the Cinnamon of the Antients, as it is quite another thing from the Spice known to us by that Name. In Answer to this, I must remark, that the Objection rises from the Descriptions left us by the Antients, of a thing they had never seen, but took their Ac-

counts upon Trust from the *Sabeans*, who, with respect to them, had the Monopoly of that Commodity; so that, in the first Place, there is no great Credit due to their Descriptions; and the less, because they agree as little with each other, as with our Accounts of that Spice, from those who are best acquainted with it. In the next Place, we are to consider, that in the Island of *Ceylon*, from whence we have all our Cinnamon, they distinguish no less than nine different Sorts, by the Adjunction of so many different Epithets to the Word *Coronda*, which, in their Language, signifies Cinnamon: The third Sort, for Instance, is called *Cappereon Coronda*, which is as much as to say, the Camphire Cinnamon; and there is a Kind of wild Cinnamon, that grows on the Continent of *India*, near *Goa*, called by the Naturalists in *India*, *Canella Malabarica sylestria*, or the wild *Malabar Cinnamon*; which so exactly resembles the *Cappereon Coronda*, that it is not to be distinguished but by the Taste: And, in all Probability, it was a Root of this Plant that *Pliny* saw consecrated in a golden Urn, in the Temple of *Augustus*; or, at least, his Description agrees very well with this. In the third Place, if we consider, the imperfect and discordant Descriptions, which the Antients give of this Spice, and the many Kinds of it that are known to the Moderns, we cannot wonder at the Doubts that have arisen about it; nor can we reasonably believe, that any Argument, drawn from thence, ought to weigh against the positive Matters of Fact, that have been laid down, and are not liable to any Dispute^g.

The third Observation I shall make with regard to the Commerce of the *Romans* in the East, is in relation to the precious Stones they brought from thence; about which as many Doubts and Difficulties have been raised, as about the Spices; and for the very same Reason, because they were not well acquainted with the Subject, but spoke of Things at second-hand, and generally from the Reports of the *Arabian Merchants*, from whom they received them. Thus, for Instance, their Description of the *Opal* does by no means agree with the Stones of that Kind that are known amongst us; and, as for the *Topaz*, it is impossible to know what to think of it, since they sometimes describe it of a green, as well as at other times, of a gold Colour, which is the only one known to us. As to their *Emeralds*, they distinguish the *Indian* from the *Egyptian*, but we know not now of any *Indian Emeralds*; by which I mean, Emeralds that are actually found in *India*; for the oriental Emerald is a Phrase in Trade, and means no more than a very perfect Stone in point of Colour and Hardness, which the best Judges have esteemed to be the *Egyptian Emerald*; though some say, that the Inhabitants of the *Philippines* actually received them from *Peru*, before that Country was discovered by the *Spaniards*; and that these, coming into *Europe*, from *India*, were, on that account, distinguished by the Name of oriental Emeralds^h.

Before I part with this Subject, I cannot but observe, that the Hint, expressed by *Pliny*, against these Ornaments, and his sarcastic Remark, that if the antient Conquerors of *Rome* could return from the Dead, they would regret their Triumphs, when they saw, that the sole Effect of them, was to deck the fine Ladies, their Descendants, with an infinite Number of Jewels of high Price, is ill-founded. There is, no doubt, a Luxury in Stones, as well as in other Things: But, on the other hand, they are much mistaken, who affirm, there is no intrinsic Worth in them, and that they ought not to be regarded, or valued. The intrinsic Worth of Iron, and other Metals, consists in their Usefulness; the intrinsic Worth of Silver and Gold, in their being proper Measures of the Value of other Things; and the former, with respect to Mankind, is not a Grain more important than the latter: Without useful Metals, we should be much at a Loss at home; and, without these common Standards, as to the Worth of which, all Nations are agreed, we could not conveniently carry on any Commerce abroad. It is in this last Light, therefore, that precious Stones are to be considered; they are extremely beautiful to the Eye, which gains them a general Esteem; they are wonderfully firm and durable; and this augments their

^a De Id. et Of.

^b Celer. Geograph. Antiq. tom. xi. p. 591.

^c De Id. lib. xii. c. 9.

^d Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 19. Agatharchides de Rubro Mari, p. 63, 64, 65. Periplus Mari Erythrai, p. 14.

^e Id. lib. xii.

^f Geograph. lib. xvi.

^g Strabo. lib. vii. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

^h See the Account of the Jewels brought from the East Indies, in Sect. xv.

Credit: To say, that these Circumstances do not constitute a kind of intrinsic Worth, is to confound, instead of rectifying, our Notions. And, therefore, how sparkling soever the Thought of *Pliny* may be, it is not, at the Bottom, founded in Truth; and I must, for my own Part, confess, that I do not think the Vanity of a *Roman* Lady, dressed out with Jewels to the Value of forty Millions of their Money, was at all greater, or more worthy the Contempt of a Philosopher, than the Vanity of her Ancestor, in his triumphal Car; since, in the Eye of Reason, one Species of Pride is as much, and as truly, a Folly, as another; of which the elder *Vespasian* was very sensible, when, being extremely fatigued with the Length of his Triumph, he could not help saying, I suffer, very justly, for being Fool enough to delight in such a Spectacle as this at these Years. But it is now time to return from these Remarks to the Prosecution of our Subject; which leads us to shew more particularly, what Improvements were made in this kind of Commerce, after the *Romans* took the Management of it into their Hands.

11. The ancient *Egyptians* had very early and constant Quarrels with their Neighbours the *Ethiopians*, which kept them at a great Distance from, and hindered them from engaging in any Commerce with them, at least of great Importance: But, after the Kingdom of *Egypt* fell under the Dominion of the *Greeks*, these Disputes subsided, and the Nations began to entertain a friendly Intercourse; for the Encouragement of which, the City of *Copius* was originally designed. This Commerce between the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians* was particularly promoted by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, for the sake of obtaining Elephants; for the Taming of which he was very famous: When the *Romans* came to the Possession of this Country, they were likewise very desirous of penetrating into *Ethiopia*, for many Reasons, but more especially for the obtaining of Elephants, and their Teeth: And so eager was *Nero* in this Matter, that he sent an Officer, with a Detachment of his own Lifeguards, into *Egypt*, on purpose to invade *Ethiopia*, if they might not have Leave to march through it peaceably. These People performed their Errand, and returned with a fair Account of what they had seen; which did not, by any means, answer the Expectations that were raised by the Descriptions that had been formerly given of that Country. They found it, for the most part, poor and barren, the People, on the Frontiers of *Egypt*, living mostly upon Millet; and those beyond them, upon Milk and Venison: By degrees, however, there grew a considerable Commerce with this Country, from whence they brought Elephants, Rhinoceroses, and other wild Beasts, Ivory, and particularly that Sort of it which was easiest wrought into Images, Chairs, Thrones, and other Utensils; as also rich Gums, and precious Stones, especially Emeralds and Topazes.

At last, they proceeded to the very Extremity of the *Arabian* Gulph, on the Coast of the *Troglydites*, who had been painted in such disagreeable Lights by old Writers; and there carried on a very lucrative Commerce with these People, at a Port of their own, called *Adula*, which *Ptolemy* the Geographer places in the Latitude of $14^{\circ} 20'$, and must consequently have been in that Part of the Country which is now in the Hands of the *Turks*, and there they met with very just and honest Usage from these Barbarians, as they were then pleased to call them. Over-against this Port of *Adula* lay the Island of *Orine*; and there were some considerable Cities within-land, from whence the most valuable Commodities were brought down to this Port, which was looked upon as the Staple of the Ivory Trade, and for the Myrrh that was most esteemed, with various Sorts of Gums, and some precious Stones.

It was in consequence of their Possession of *Egypt*, that the *Romans* carried on a considerable Traffick into the *Persian* Gulph, at the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*; as

also along the Coast of *Persia*, to the Frontiers of the *Indies*; but the Produce of all this Commerce, as it came to *Rome* in the Fleet from *Alexandria*, was generally considered as *Egyptian*, at least by the common People; and, on the other hand, all the Commerce of *Egypt* was, at *Rome*, called by the general Name of the Trade of *Alexandria*. This City, which had made for great a Figure from the Time of its first Foundation, and, indeed, in Right of its Founder, which was afterwards made the Capital of their Dominions by the *Ptolemies*, received great Additions, in point of Wealth, under the *Romans*; inasmuch that *Josephus* reports, that the *Romans* drew as much from thence in a Month, as from the rest of *Egypt* in a Year; and that, in point of Riches, it did not only equal, but exceed even *Rome* itself; which is the more probable, since, under the *Ptolemies*, who were remarkably tender of imposing high Duties, and thereby injuring the Commerce of their Subjects, the Customs of the Port of *Alexandria* amounted annually to a Million and an half of our Money. And *Diodorus Siculus* reports, from his own Knowledge, that, at the Time he was there, the Freemen of the City were above three hundred thousand: So that it must have been then as populous as *London* is at present, even upon the lowest Computation, and supposing that the far greater Part of its Inhabitants were wholly supported by Trade.

To say the Truth, *Alexandria* within this, and the Period which will be contained in the next Chapter, seems to have attained to that Grandeur for which its Founder designed it, since it embraced, in a great measure, the whole Trade of the *Roman* Empire. This was principally owing to these two Causes: First, the Convenience of its Situation, by which it lay open to the *Mediterranean*; and the Care taken by the *Romans* to preserve, and even to enlarge its Ports: And next, to the *Indian*, or *Oriental* Commerce, which has always had an attractive Quality, and drawn, where ever it was seated, almost all the Trade of the World beside. Thus, for Instance, when the *Phoenicians* and *Greeks* shared that Trade between them, they ingrossed all the rest: Then it was, for a small Time, attached to *Lisbon*; and came afterwards, in consequence chiefly of their *Indian* Commerce, to the *English* and the *Dutch*. This, I think, is the clearest and most satisfactory Answer that can be given to that Objection, which we so often hear made to this Commerce, that it carries out a vast Quantity of Silver; and which, as I conceive, was first started by *Pliny*, who actually complains, that the *Arabians* received ready Money for their *Indian* Commodities, and laid out nothing in Return. This, I say, is the most satisfactory Answer, because it shews, that whatever Loss may attend this Trade in the first Instance, yet those who are possessed of it, are sure to have a large Balance in their Favour, in consequence of the general Refort it occasions, and the Returns that are made from those Countries which take their *Indian* Commodities off their Hands. How far this Objection may lie to the Trade of *Europe*, in general, with the *Indies*, is another Question, and shall be largely considered at the Close of this Chapter; when I hope to demonstrate, that all that has been hitherto said on this Topic, flows from a Misapprehension of the Nature of Commerce; and that, upon the Whole, whatever Country maintains the greatest, and most extensive Trade, under proper Regulations, must be the greatest Gainers by Trade, tho', in some particular Branches of it, they may be said to lose. At present, our Business is to pursue this Subject one Step farther, and to shew what additional Improvements the Commerce of the East, by the Way of *Egypt*, received, while in the Hands of the *Romans*, till the Seat of the Empire was removed from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, which created a great Alteration in the Face of Affairs in this, as well as in all other respects.

^a *Plin. Nat. Hist.* xxxvii. c. 6, 7, 8.

^c *G. lib. v. c. 16.*

^b *Periplos Maris Erythraei*, p. 2.

^d *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi.*

^e *Strabo, lib. xvii.*

^f *Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. ii.*

SECTION X.

An Account of the Affairs of Egypt, and of the Commerce carried on by the Romans, through that Country, to the East, till the Seat of the Empire was transferred from Rome to Constantinople.

1. *A succinct Account of the Attention paid to Commerce in general, and to this Branch in particular, from the Reign of Trajan, to that of Marcus Aurelius.*
2. *The State of this Commerce, during that Period, and the Mistakes that have been made about it rectified.*
3. *A succinct Account of the Roman Emperors, from the Accession of Marcus Aurelius, to the Death of Alexander Severus.*
4. *This View of their Reigns continued, from Maximin to Aurelian.*
5. *The History of Tadmor, or Palmyra, and of the Indian Commerce carried on there, from the Rise to the Destruction of that City and Principality.*
6. *An Account of the succeeding Emperors, from Aurelian to Constantine the Great.*
7. *The Situation of the Commerce of the Romans, at the Close of this Period.*

THE Rest which the Roman Empire had enjoyed under two such excellent Princes, as *Flavius* and *Titus Vespasian*, was intirely forgotten under the tyrannical Yoke of *Domitian*, the last Prince of that Family, and one of the worst that ever profaned the Imperial Purple. As he lived in Blood, so he died by the Hand of an Assassin, who thought he did the World good Service, by removing one who had shewn himself an open Enemy to Mankind. He was succeeded in the Empire by *Cocceius Nerva*, who reigned only a Year and four Months; and in that Time, shewed a laudable Intention to have remedied all the Evils introduced by his Predecessor: And that he might secure the Happiness of his Country, in case he should be taken off by an unexpected Death, he, without any Regard to his own Family, chose for his Successor *Ulpianus Trajan*, a Spaniard by Birth, and one who was recommended to him only for his Virtues. The raising this Man to the Empire, was not more fortunate to him, than happy for his Subjects; for he was a Prince endowed with all the Qualities that were necessary to the Support of that high Dignity, and with the Talents that were peculiarly requisite to restore the Reputation of the Roman Name, and the Forces of a Government now sinking under its own Weight^a.

He was raised to the Empire in A. D. ninety-eight; and having first secured all the Provinces on the Side of Germany, he began to turn his Eyes to the opposite Frontier; and having ordered the Governor of Syria, to enter Arabia the Stony with an Army, he struck such Terror into the East, that some Indian Princes sent their Embassadors to Rome, where he received them with great Civility and Kindness^b. He made afterwards an Expedition into the East, where he extended, by his Conquest, the Bounds of the Empire, as far as the River *Tygris*: And, having made himself Master of the City *Ctesiphon*, he was again proclaimed Emperor, and had the Name of *Parthicus* given him by the Senate. He was a great Admirer of the Fortune of *Alexander*; and in some Things affected to imitate him: For which Reason, as he was now near the Indian Ocean, he determined to visit it; which Design he also put in Execution. While he was at the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, he saw a Ship there that was bound to the *Indies*; with which he was exceedingly pleased, and declared that he would have taken that Opportunity of making the Voyage, if he had been a younger Man than he was^c.

He rendered divine Honours to *Alexander* the Great on the Spot where he died; and often expressed a very high Esteem for his Virtues, and an earnest Desire to imitate his great Designs for the Benefit of Mankind; with which View he directed a large Fleet to be built in the *Red Sea* for the Defence of the Navigation on that Side; and undertook himself the Reduction of Part of *Arabia*, in hopes of securing by that means the Trade of the East to his Subjects, who were extremely harassed by the con-

tinual Piracies of the *Arabians*: With this View he entered the Country of the *Iranians*, which lay on the South Side of the *Persian Gulph*; but found that Region so barren and destitute of Provisions, that he was constrained to retire from before the Capital of their Country, to which he had laid Siege^d. In this Enterprize, however, he fatigued himself so much, that he fell into a Looseness, of which he died in *Cilicia*, after he had reigned only nineteen Years. He was a Prince careful, in all respects, of the Interests of the Empire, but particularly of what concerned the East; and, therefore, he took care to cause the Canal between the Nile and the Red Sea to be cleaned and repaired, so that it was thence forward called the Canal of *Trajan*^e.

He was succeeded, A. D. 117, by *Adrian*, who had been his Ward; and to whom, for his constant Fidelity in all the various Scenes of his Life, *Trajan* bequeathed the Empire^f. There were few of the Roman Princes who had either greater Talents for governing, or the Qualities of whose Minds were better suited to the Times in which they lived, than those of *Adrian*, whose Knowledge was extensive, his Temper firm, his Capacity equally great as a Soldier, and a Statesman. At his Return to Rome from the East, he remitted at once all the Taxes due to his Predecessor. Then he made a Journey into the Western Provinces, where having restored all things, he returned to Rome with great Glory, and, with the like Diligence, applied himself to settling the Affairs of the East. In the fifteenth Year of his Reign he made a Tour into Egypt, and resided for some time at *Alexandria*, where he took a great deal of Pains to examine into the Character of its Inhabitants, and has left us in his Letters several curious Remarks; among which we may reckon these two; first that though the *Alexandrians* seemed to have amongst them many Religions, yet, in fact, they all of them worshipped but one God, which was *Gain*^g: The second, that it was the busiest Place in the World, where there was no Room for Beggars, since they made even blind Men get their own Bread. He found the City labouring under many Difficulties, many of their Privileges being lost by their frequent Seditions; all of which, however, he restored, repaired such Parts of the City as had suffered in these Commotions, restored all the public Foundations of the *Ptolemies*, and made some excellent Regulations for the Security of Commerce. In his Return through Syria he received the Submission of the City of *Palmyra*, as we shall hereafter shew more largely: And it was about this time, that *Adrian* undertook, by his Direction, the Examination and Description of the *Euxine Sea*^h: And, indeed, his Care of the Public was in nothing more remarkable, than in restoring the Sea-laws, and in the Edicts he made in favour of Marinersⁱ.

Titus Antoninus succeeded in the Empire, by Virtue of his Nomination, A. D. 138; and proved as worthy a Prince as ever sat upon the Throne: He is generally called, in or-

^a Dion Cassius, lib. lxxviii. p. 771. Plin. Paneg. Aurel. Victor. Eutropius. Xiphilinus.

^b Dion Cassius, p. 784. Plin. ab. supra. Eutrop. ^c Dion Cassius, p. 785. Aurel. Vict. ^d Ptolem. lib. vi. c. 5.

^e Dion Cassius, lib. lxx. Spartian. de vita Adrian. Aurel. Vict. ^f Vesp. de vita Aurelian. Spartian. de vita Adrian. ^g The Title of this celebrated Work of Adrian is as follows. *Arriani Epistolæ in quæ Posiphus Pontus Euxinus.*

^h The Title of this celebrated Work of Adrian is as follows. *Arriani Epistolæ in quæ Posiphus Pontus Euxinus.*

ⁱ Digest. de lege Rædia, l. 9. Tit. 2. lib. xiv. Digest. ad. S. C. Trebellianum, lib. xxxvi. L. 49.

der to distinguish him from the Princes of his Family, *Pius*, for his Regard to his Predecessor, and the Purity of his Life, by which he was as illustrious as from his imperial Dignity: He was naturally a Lover of Peace, and strict in the Administration of Justice: His Care of Trade was equal to that of any of his Predecessors; for the promoting it, he caused all the High-roads throughout the Empire to be repaired; and for the Convenience of such as were engaged in Business, he directed, that the Diversions of the Play-house should begin later on those Days, on which the Merchants met on the Exchange. As the Works of the best Historians of these Times, which regarded his Reign, are long since lost, we have a much worse Account of it, than it deserved; and therefore we cannot enter into any Particulars, relating immediately to our Subject; but this we know in general, from an Oration, that has escaped Oblivion, that the Commerce of the Romans was never better protected, and, consequently, was never more extensive or flourishing, than while the Reins of Government were held by this excellent Prince, whose constant Maxim it was, that the Glory of the Monarch consisted solely in the Happiness of his Subjects; and by the Prosecution of this Maxim he secured to himself the peaceable Possession of his Dominions while living, and the greatest Respect to his Memory after his Decease.

2. It is by no means my Intention to enter here even into a succinct History of the Roman Emperors; all I aim at is, to give the Reader such an Account of them, as may render what I have to say with regard to this Trade; while in the Hands of the Romans, perfectly intelligible; that so I may avoid putting him under a Necessity of consulting many other Books, that he may be able to understand this; a Fault which having often observed in other Works of this Nature, rendered me the more careful in avoiding it. We have an ancient Writer who has given us a very complete Description of the *Mare Erythraeum*,^a or *Red Sea*; which has long past, under the Name of *Arrian*, as I have hinted, more than once, before; but is, I think, answerably shewn by the learned Mr. *Dadwell* to have been written by some other Author. This Writer, whoever he is, has shewn us, that, within the Compass of Time mentioned in this Section, there were very great Improvements made in the Navigation of the Romans to this Part of the World: And, therefore, I am not a little surprised, that so learned a Man as Bishop *Huet* should suggest, that the Trade to the *Indies* was sunk in some measure till revived by *Trajan*, and supported by the Fleet which he caused to be sent into the *Red Sea*. The avowed Design of that Fleet was to crush the Pirates in those Seas: But these sort of People never trouble any Seas where there is not a great Trade carried on; and, therefore, the building such a Fleet was by no means a Proof, that the Trade of the *Indies* was at that time any way lessened, but rather the contrary. The Secret, and true Design, of *Trajan's* equipping this Fleet was, that it might facilitate a Project he then had of rivalling *Alexander* by the Conquest of the *Indies*: And the Reason he laid it aside was, that he began to suspect, that it would be impossible to keep such Conquests, even supposing it possible to make them.

He, therefore, began to turn his Eyes towards *Arabia*, with a Design to establish, and even to enlarge the Conquest that had been made by his Lieutenant *Cornelius Palma*. Of these Conquests we have very indistinct Accounts in History; for they must have been much more considerable than those Accounts make them, since there are yet extant several Medals struck on taking of Towns in that Country. It is likewise very certain, that either *Trajan*, or some of the Emperors who succeeded him, reduced the greatest Part of *Arabia the Happy* under their Dominion; for the Writer I have before mentioned, who describes the *Red Sea*, speaks of a Port without the Streights of *Babyl-mandel*, called *Eudemon*, or the *Happy*,^b which, he says, was formerly a Place of very great Commerce: But a little before our Time, continues he, it was destroyed by *Cæsar*.^c

Some Writers, indeed, ascribe the Ruin of this Place to *Caius Cæsar*, the Grandson of *Augustus*; for whose Uncle King *Juba* wrote a large Work in relation to these Countries: But if we consider what *Pliny* says, that *Caius Cæsar* only looked into *Arabia*, and that *Ælius Gallus*, of whose Expedition I have already spoken, penetrated farther than any other Roman into *Arabia*,^d we shall easily see, that this is a Mistake; and that this *Cæsar* lived much later, than is to say, within the Compass of the Period of which we are now writing.

It appears, moreover, from the Description of the *Red Sea*, so often cited, that, by this Time, I mean under the Emperors who succeeded *Trajan*, the Romans had extended both their Power, and their Trade, very far on this Side, and were, in a manner, Masters of all *Arabia*, though when, or how, it was subdued, is a Point not so easily resolved; nor do I intend to trouble my Readers with a tedious Inquiry into so perplexed a Subject. It is sufficient for my Purpose, that I have cleared the Matter thus far, and have shewn the true Period within which these Conquests were made; by the Mistake of which, we must be led into many others, capable of misleading us entirely in regard to the History of the *Indian Commerce*, by inclining us to believe, that it was in a declining State in that Period, when, in Truth, it flourished most.

This Port of *Eudemon*, which I before-mentioned to have been destroyed, was afterwards restored and repaired; and became so famous a Mart for all the Commodities of the East, and, withal, was so much frequented by the Subjects of this Empire, that it was called, by way of Eminence, the *Roman Port*; and is the very same which is now called *Aden*, a Name that signifies nearly the same thing in *Arabic*, that *Eudemon* did in *Greek*, according to the well-known Custom of the *Arabians*, who every-where restore the old Names of Places that they become Masters of. It is also very clear, that, at this Time, the Romans carried on a great Trade in Countries much beyond the Limits of their Knowledge in former Times, that is to say, along the Coasts of *Media*, *Persia*, *Cambaya*, and the *Peninsula of Malacca*; but they were still as far from being acquainted with the Spice Countries as ever. The Author of the Description of the *Red Sea* does indeed speak of the River *Ganges*, and of the Countries lying on the Gulph of *Bengal*, but not with the same Accuracy that he does of other Places; from whence, I think, it may be fairly concluded, that he drew the Accounts he had of them from Hearsay, that is, from the Reports which the Roman Merchants received at *Barygaza* and *Muziris*, which were Ports of *Malacca*; and the latter is, with great Probability, thought to be that which is now called *Dis*.

It was by the prodigious Profits arising from this Commerce, that, on the one hand, the People of *Alexandria* grew so rich, and so mutinous, as all the Historians of these Times represent them; and that, on the other hand, the Roman Emperors, of whom we have been speaking, and who were by far the best, if we except one or two that enjoyed that Dignity, were engaged to make so many Visits to that City in particular, and to take so much Care as they did of all Things relating to Trade in general, which had an extraordinary Effect on the Manners of the Romans, and altered their Notions to such a Degree, that even the most considerable Persons of the Empire, for Birth and Quality, were not at all ashamed of becoming Merchants; and this, in all Probability, was the Cause, that their Capitals became larger, and their Trade through *Egypt* much more considerable than in former times. How far this might contribute to the corrupting the Minds of the People, by the increasing Luxury, I shall not pretend to determine; but, most certain it is, that the Times do not appear to have been worse within this Period, but rather better; and, therefore, it seems more agreeable to Truth, to attribute that Corruption of Manners, which was afterwards visible amongst the Romans, and had very nearly ruined their Empire, to the bad Example of succeeding

^a This Part of the Work of *Dion Cassius*, whose History is here meant, perished, before *Xiphilin* made his Abridgment.

^b This curious Piece is printed in the first Volume of Dr. *Hudson's* Collection of ancient Geographers, under the Title of *Arrian's Periplus Maris Erythraei*, which is the Edition I use.

^c We have this Circumstance from *Eutropius*; and the Reader, by consulting *Dion Cassius*, will find, that the Roman Emperors regarded him as the Conqueror of the *Indies*; which was either gross Flattery, or they must have reckoned *Arabia Felix* Part of the *Indies*.

^d *Pliny's Natural History*, p. 14.

^e *Adem* *ibid.*

^f *Nat. Hist. lib. 12. c. 14.*

Princes, than to the great Wealth that was poured in upon them by their extensive Trade. Of these Princes, and of their Conduct, it is necessary, that we should say something, in order to preserve the Thread of our History, and that the Connection may be preserved throughout; but, at the same time, we shall use all possible Brevity, in order to restrain this Section within due Bounds.

3. *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, furnished the Philosopher, succeeded *Antoninus Pius*, A. D. 161. and associated *Lucius Verus* in the Government, which was the first Time the Romans had seen two Emperors at once; neither had it, in this Instance, any ill Consequence: For, as *M. Aurelius* was justly esteemed the very best of all the Roman Emperors, so his Colleague *Lucius*, during the nine Years of his Reign, behaved towards him with all that Modesty and Respect, which was due from him to the Author of his Greatness. After his Decease, *M. Aurelius* governed alone, with the utmost Wisdom and Moderation, neglecting nothing that could contribute to maintaining the great Character he had gained, and securing, at once, the Love and Esteem of his Subjects. He made a Visit to *Egypt*, in the fifteenth Year of his Reign; and though the Inhabitants had, a little before, shewn an Inclination to revolt, yet he behaved towards them very kindly, and renewed all their Privileges: So that there is not the least Reason to doubt, that the Trade of the Romans through that Country, was preserved in its full Extent.

His Son *Commodus*, who succeeded him in the Empire, A. D. 180 was as wicked and cruel a Prince, as his Father had been just and virtuous: His Reign was a continued Scene of Blood and Debauchery; and as the Empire, in general, suffered exceedingly under his scandalous Administration, to the Trade of the East was particularly endangered by an Irruption of the *Saracens*, who were now first heard of in *Arabia*, where they defeated the Roman Armies, in the last Year of the Reign of this Prince^a, who was murdered by some of his Favourites, that he had intended to remove in the same Way.

Helvius Pertinax was raised to the Empire in A. D. 193. and as his Reign was very short, I should not dwell upon it at all, but for the singular Circumstance of his Name, which signifies Obstinate, and was given him for a Reason that the Reader may, perhaps, think worth his Notice. His Father was a Woodmonger; but, having acquired a considerable Fortune, he was willing, that his Son should have entered the World in another Character, than that of a Trader; to which, however, he was so strongly inclined, that all his Father's Persuasion, for some time, had no Effect: And from thence he was called *Pertinax*^b. He altered his Conduct afterwards, and rose regularly, through a long Series of Civil and Military Employments, to the Empire: With his Preference to which, all Degrees of People were pleased, except the Soldiers, who, after a Reign of three Months, murdered him^c.

After his Death followed many Disturbances; but at last A. D. 193. *Severus* was raised to the Empire, in which, however, he had *Niger*, who was declared Emperor in the East, for his Competitor. In the fifth Year of his Reign, he entered *Arabia* with an Army, and laid Siege to *Trajan*, the same Place that had been formerly attacked by *Trajan*, out of a covetous Disposition, and that he might make himself Master of the vast Wealth, that he understood was in the Place; but he was repulsed with great Loss, and forced to retire. His Passion for Money, however, was so strong, that he returned thither a second Time; and had certainly taken the Place, if his Covetousness had not hindered him: For the Breach being made, he was apprehensive, that his Soldiers, if they took it by Storm, would share the Plunder amongst themselves; and therefore he would needs give the Besieged time to capitulate, which they employed in repairing the Breach; and did it so effectually, that the Roman Army refused to return to the Assault: So that he was obliged to raise the Siege a second time^d. This Instance sufficiently shews us, to how great a Height of Power the Profits of their Trade had, in those

Days, raised the *Arabians*, since a small Principality amongst them, was capable of defending its Liberties against two such Princes as *Trajan* and *Severus*: And we may add to this another great Prince no less powerful, viz. *Alexander*, who re-established the Empire of the *Persians*. In the succeeding Year *Severus* visited *Egypt*, and made some Stay in *Alexandria*, where he repaired the Tomb of *Pompey*, and granted to the City a Senate and publick Council, which hitherto the Romans had constantly refused them^e. This Emperor travelled over all *Egypt*; inquired carefully into every thing that related either to his Government, or Commerce; and, having seen the Body of *Alexander*, he ordered the Tomb to be walled up, that others might not satisfy their Curiosity in like manner^f. His Son *Caracalla* succeeded him, A. D. 211. and proved as great a Tyrant as any that had hitherto sat upon the Throne. He was, however, extremely fond of *Egypt*; and admitted one *Ceranus*, an *Alexandrian*, into the Senate of *Rome*, contrary to the established Maxim of *Augustus*, that no *Egyptian* should ever enter that August Assembly^g. Towards the End of his Reign, he went to *Alexandria* upon a very odd Errand: He had heard, that the People treated his Vices and Follies with Hatred and Contempt: He, under Pretence of visiting it, as his Father had done, entered it with his Troops; and, having directed them to kill, without Distinction, all they met, destroyed an infinite Number of all Ranks and Ages. He afterwards abolished their Privileges, destroyed a great Part of the City; demolished the Museum; banished the learned Men who lived there, and all Strangers, Merchants only excepted, to whom he vouchsafed his special Protection^h. This Tyrant was soon after killed, in an Expedition he made into the East; to the great Joy of the Senate and People of *Rome*.

Macrinus, one of his Officers, and his Murderer also, succeeded him: But we find no Change in his Reign, nor that of his Successor, the execrable *Hellogabalus*, worthy of Notice.

Alexander Severus was raised to the Empire while a Boy, A. D. 222. He proved an excellent Prince, and a great Blessing to the Empire; and, being governed, during his whole Reign, by very wise and prudent Counsels, did every Thing that could be expected from him, for promoting the Welfare and Happiness of his Subjects. He was particularly attentive to Trade, and the Ease and Comfort of such as were engaged in it. He took off many of the high Duties imposed by his Predecessors: And it is remarkable, that he was the first of the Roman Emperors who made any Distinction between Merchants, and Traders in or Mechanics; which he did by dividing them into separate Companies, and appointing Judges to hear and decide the Disputes that might arise amongst the Members of either Company. Towards the End of his Reign, he made an Expedition into the East; from whence he returned victorious, and was honoured with a Triumph. But the Soldiers, who were, in a great measure, corrupted by the Licence allowed them under former Emperors, being no longer able to bear the Strictness of his Discipline, or endure the Purity of his Manners, took an Opportunity to murder him a little after Dinner, when he was left almost alone, in his Tent, in the twenty-seventh Year of his Age, and fourteenth of his Reignⁱ.

4. The execrable Murder of so good an Emperor was followed by the Soldiers setting up a perfect Monster, both in Body and Mind, called *Maximin*; which obliged the Senate to set up other Emperors, in order to preserve some Degree of Decency in the Government, which they found very difficult for them to do, the Army being as much bent to maintain their Power, as the Senate were to support their Authority: But at last *Maximin*, on whose Account these Disturbances began, being slain, and *Gordian* and his Nephew, who were exalted to the Empire in the Year 236. being slain also, the People would needs have a Share in making Emperors; and therefore obliged the Senate to declare the younger *Gordian*, who was a Boy of thirteen, and the third of his Name, *Augustus*. It is natu-

^a *Mar. Aurel. Vit.* p. 33.

^b *Herodian*, lib. iii. *Spartian*, de Vita *Nigri*, p. 77.

^c *Capitolin*, de Vita *Pertinacis*.

^d *Herodian*, lib. ii. *Capitolin*, de Vita *Pertinacis*.

^e *Spartian*, de Vita *Sever*.

^f *Zeph*, lib. i. *Cæren*, Alex. p. 626. *Herodian*, lib. vi.

^g *Capitolin*, de Vita *Pertinacis*.

^h *Dion*.

ⁱ *Dion* Cæsar, lib. lxxv. *Herodian*, lib. iii.

^j *Dion* Cæsar, lib. lxxvi. p. 362.

^k *Dion* Cæsar, lib. lxxvi. *Herodian*, lib. iii.

ral to suppose, that, in the Midst of these Confusions, the whole Oeconomy of the Empire suffered; and, indeed, suffered in every Part, by the Ambition of their Governors, who all imagined, that, by courting the People under their Subjection, they might be able to raise themselves to Sovereignty. The Army, disliking the Youth of *Gordian*, could scarce be persuaded to follow him to the *Perfians*: War; and tho' he was there successful against the Enemy, yet he found it impossible to triumph over the Malice of his own Troops, who, taking the Opportunity, when he had few of his Friends about him, and being headed by *Philip*, who was the Captain of his Guard, murdered him, when he had held the Empire about six Years^a.

M. Julius Philippus, who had thus betrayed his Trust, and murdered his Prince, was, by the Army, raised to the Empire. He was an *Arabian* by Birth, and attended, so far as the Disturbances of his Reign would give him Leave, to the Concerns of the Government with great Diligence; but a Sedition rising in his Army, and he sending *Decius* to quiet it, the Soldiers threw an imperial Mantle over his Shoulders, and, declaring for him against *Philip*, a Battle was soon after fought between them, in which the latter was slain, after a short Reign of four Years. This *Decius*, who was an *Hungarian* by Birth, governed the Empire with Reputation for two Years and an half, and was then slain in a Battle against the *Goths*, by the Treachery of *Vibius Gallus*, who succeeded him in the Empire, and associated his Son *Vesulian*; but they scarce held it long enough to be accounted Emperors: for the *Scythians*, and other barbarous Nations, invading the *Roman* Territories on all Sides, who-ever had Courage and Fortune enough to resist these Barbarians, was presently saluted Emperor by his Soldiers: And thus the Misery of the Empire was increased by what ought to have been her Defence, the having many brave Men, and good Officers, in her Service^b.

It was in this manner that *Emilianus*, an *African*, was raised to the Purple, which he held but a few Months; for another Army having proclaimed *Valerian*, who was a Man of Quality and great Abilities, the Army that had chosen *Emilian*, thought proper to dispatch him out of the way, rather than involve themselves in any Danger about a disputed Title. The Emperor *Valerian* assumed the Purple *A. D.* 253. and, having a great Reputation, brought the Affairs of the *Roman* Government into some Order; for, having repulsed the *Germans* on one Side, and the *Goths* on the other, he resolved to march himself against the *Perfians*, who had created new Disturbances in the East. In the Year 258. he was at *Byzantium*, in his Way towards the East; and, having spent the next Year in a slow War against the *Perfians*, it came, in the Year following, to a decisive Engagement, in which he was beaten, and afterwards taken Prisoner.

He had associated his Son *Gallienus* in the Empire, soon after he was raised to it; and this Son now succeeded him in the imperial Dignity, and governed alone near nine Years, but without either Peace or Reputation; for he gave himself up to a luxurious and indolent Life, without taking the least Care to free his Father out of the Hands of the *Perfians*, or to prevent his Dominions from being over-run by the numerous Armies of Barbarians, that attacked them on either Side. While Affairs were in this Posture, almost every great Province gave the Title of Emperor to whoever commanded it; and *Egypt*, among the rest, where the Country was ruined, and the City of *Alexandria* desolated by War, Pestilence and Famine, all at one time. These Miseries, however, were not sufficient to hinder them from creating new Disturbances; for in the Year 262. they gave the Title of Emperor to *Emilian*, who was then Prefect of *Egypt*, against whom *Gallien* sent *Theodotus*, who was an *Egyptian* by Birth, and who having shut up *Emilian* in the *Brachium*, or Palace of *Alexandria*, at last made him Prisoner, and in that Condition sent him to *Rome*, where, by the Order of the Emperor, he was strangled. In this unfortunate Dispute the City of *Alexandria* suffered very severely for; the *Brachium*, or royal Quarter which was very large, and very magnificent,

was intirely destroyed, and rendered desert; so that in succeeding Times the Ruins of it were at some Distance from the City, which, we may hence conclude, began about this Time to decline; and no Wonder that it did, since the whole *Roman* Empire was now visibly sinking under its own Weight, and crumbling into as many Parts as there were Provinces^c.

The *Roman* People, perceiving that *Gallienus* took too little Care of Affairs, began not only to hate, but to dispute him. This created some Insurrections in *Italy*; and *Gallienus* putting himself at the Head of an Army, in order to repress them, he was there murdered; and soon after, his Son and his Brother were cut off at *Rome*. He had for his Successor *Claudius Gothicus*, who received that Name for a great Victory he obtained over the *Goths*, in which he destroyed three hundred thousand of them, and sunk two thousand of their Ships or Barks, for which the Senate decreed him a golden Shield, and ordered his Statue to be set up in the Capitol. The *Romans* began now to conceive Hopes of seeing better Days; and indeed there is no Instance of any Prince, who, during so short a Reign, made himself so much beloved, since he died, at the Close of his second Year, at *Syracum*^d.

He recommended, on his Death-bed, *Valerius Aurelianus*, whom he had sent into *Etruria* against the *Goths*; but the Army, instead of proclaiming him Emperor, set up *Quintillus*, the Brother of *Claudius*, in a Fit of Zeal for that Monarch's Memory; but, finding their new Emperor a Man of too severe Morals for those licentious times, they murdered him in a fortnight, and proclaimed the Person, whom *Claudius* recommended. This *Aurelianus*, who was raised to the Empire in 270. was a Person of great military Capacity, a Lover of strict Discipline, and, in every respect, proper to restore the distracted Affairs of the Empire, and to retrieve the antient Glory of the *Roman* State. He soon freed the Western Provinces from the Apprehensions they were under, from their barbarous Neighbours; and, having likewise settled the domestic Oeconomy of the Empire, to the Satisfaction of the Senate, he began to turn his Eyes towards the East, where a new Power was erected, and had assumed the imperial Title: But as the Rise and Progress of this Power, has a very close Connection with our Subject, it is necessary, that we should examine it more at large; which will enable us to take notice of many Particulars, that must otherwise have been buried in Obscurity^e.

5. While the *Roman* Empire was thus torn by intestine Confusions, and while many wore the Title of Emperors, with Power enough to oppress, and too little to protect their Subjects, a new Principality started up, or rather discovered its Power to the World; of which, as I have already observed, I am necessarily obliged to speak more at large, because it owed that Grandeur, which it possessed in so high a Degree, intirely to the Commerce of the *Indies*; so that it may serve us for an Instance, that there is no Situation so wild, as not to be improved and rendered pleasant; no Country so barren, as not to admit of Cultivation; no Spot of Ground so unhappily placed, as not to become the Seat of Pleasure, if, by any Art or Contrivance, any Commerce of Importance can be fixed there.

The Place, of which I am to speak, was originally built by King *Solomon*, after he had conquered the King of *Hamatb Zoba*, a little *Syrian* Prince, within whose Dominions the Country lay, upon which this City was afterwards erected. It was called by *Solomon*^f, *Tadmor*; and from its Situation in the midst of a sandy Desert, which surrounded it on all Sides, *Tadmor* in the *Wilderness*. But, as the Singularity of its Situation was sufficient to charm whoever attentively considered it, so in the Decline of the *Greek* Empire in the East, it became a free City, or rather the Head of a final Principality, under the Name of *Palmyra*, from whence the Country under its Jurisdiction was called *Palmyrene*^g. This City and Country are very well described by *Pliny*.

Palmyra, says he, is excellently situated, as well in the

^a *Herodotus*, lib. 8. *Zosim.* lib. i. *Europs.* lib. 9.

^b *Herodotus*, lib. vii. *Zosim.* lib. i. *Europs.* lib. ix. *Aurelius Victor.*

^c *Plinius* de trigint. *African.* *Pomponius Mela.*

^d *2 Corin.* vii. 3.

^e *Plin.* Nat. Hist. lib. v. c. 25.

^f *Herodotus*, lib. vii. *Zosim.* lib. i. *Europs.* lib. ix. *Aurelius Victor.*

^g *Europs.* lib. vii. *Cicero* *Attic.* p. 237.

^h *Zosim.* lib. i. *Europs.* lib. vii. *Origen.* lib. vii. *Europs.* lib. ix. *Aurelius Victor.*

ⁱ *Egyptus*

^j *Origen.*

gard to the Pleasants of the adjacent Country, as from the great Abundance of Water. And this little Territory seems to be set apart by Nature for a peaceful and undisturbed Retreat, being surrounded on every Side with dry and sandy Deserts, which reach as far as the very Confines of Arabia*. This little State lay between the two mighty Empires of Rome and Parthia, when the Disputes between them were at the highest, having the Parthians on the East, and the Roman Territory on the West; so that it seemed to be perpetually in Danger, and yet, though exceedingly rich, it was so wisely governed, as to escape any great Loss during all those Confusions; and never ran any great Hazard except from Mark Antony, who, being distressed for Money to pay his Army, sent a Body of Horse to plunder it; but the Inhabitants, having Notice of his Intention, removed their Effects, and so prevented that Delolation with which they were threatened. The Source of its great Wealth was the Share it had in the Commerce of the Indies. This Commerce was thus carried on: The Goods were brought by Sea to the Mouth of the Euphrates, and, perhaps, a little higher; and thence they were sent by Land in Caravans for some hundred Miles through the Deserts to Palmyra, which stood one Day's Journey from the Euphrates, one hundred and twenty-seven Miles from Damascus, and about two hundred and three Miles from the maritime Coast of Syria, by the Ports of which it dispersed these Goods to all the different Parts of the Roman Empire, that did not immediately correspond with the Port of Alexandria.

When Trajan overturned the Parthian Empire, the Principality of Palmyra declared for the Romans; and A. D. 130. they submitted themselves to Adrian, who was then marching with his Army from Syria into Egypt; who was so well pleased with the Situation of the Place, and the Behaviour of the People, that he granted them the Privileges of a Colony, and adorned the City with so many beautiful Structures, that the Inhabitants, in Compliment to their Benefactor, called their City for some time *Adrianople*†. From the Time of Adrian, to that of Aurelian, which comprehended the Space of 140 Years, this City, and the Territory under its Jurisdiction, so flourished and increased, that when the Emperor Valerian was taken Prisoner by Sapor, King of Persia, Odenatbus, who then governed Palmyra, was able to bring a powerful Army into the Field, to recover Mesopotamia from the Persians, and even to penetrate as far as their capital City Ctesiphon; which was so acceptable a Service to the Roman Empire, then governed by Gallienus, a lazy and inactive Prince, that, with the Consent of the Senate, he took Odenatbus into Partnership with him, and gave him the Title of *Augustus*‡; which Incident, by a strange Turn of Affairs, proved the Cause of the utter Ruin and Subversion of the Place.

For Odenatbus, and his Son Herodes, being soon after murdered by Meonius their Kintman, his Wife Zenobia, in Right of her Son Wabalaubus, then a Minor, assumed the Government of the East; which she managed with so much Prudence and Discretion, that, after the Death of Gallienus, she made herself Mistress of Egypt, and held it during the short Reign of the Emperor Claudius.

On the Accession of Aurelian to the Imperial Dignity, he refused the Title of *Augustus* to this Family, though he willingly honoured them with that of Viceroy, as appears by his Coin§; neither did he shew any Inclination to deprive them of the Government of the East: But the high-spirited Zenobia would be contented with nothing less than the Partition of the Empire; and Aurelian could not bear the Thoughts of sharing the Sovereignty with a Woman: Which produced the War between them; in which the hazarded two Battles, and was defeated in both, and afterwards shut herself up in the City of Palmyra, where, for a long time, she made an obstinate Defence; but, finding it to no Purpose, and that sooner or later the City would be taken, she quitted it privately, and, with her Son,

attempted to make her Escape: But, Aurelian being informed of it, caused her to be pursued; and she was overtaken on the very Banks of the Euphrates¶. Aurelian was far from treating her with Severity: He reserved her indeed for his Triumph; but, in other respects, he treated her very kindly, and with much Esteem. On his Return to Rome, she was led through the City, as a Proof of his Victory; and the Roman Writers agree, that there never was seen a more magnificent Spectacle. She was, in her Person, of the largest Size, but exquisitely beautiful. I mention the Circumstance of her Stature, because we are particularly told, that the Jewels she wore upon this Occasion, were so many, and so large, that they were a great Burden to her, and tired her to such a Degree, that, though a strong Woman, and much used to Exercise, she was forced to halt several times in her Passage*. After this triumphing Ceremony was over, she had a Country-house given her near the Tiber, where she lived many Years, with her Family, in great Honour, and in perfect Tranquillity. She was indeed, in all respects, the most accomplished Lady of her Time, and equally remarkable for her unblemished Chastity, her extensive Learning, her masculine Courage, and her deep Policy.

If the Inhabitants of Palmyra could have forgot the Figure they made under her Reign, or could, from her Example, have learned to bear a Change of Fortune with Discretion, they might have escaped without suffering much by this unlucky Accident; but believing, after Aurelian was returned into Europe, that there was no Danger of his coming back, they cut the Throats of the Soldiers he had left in Garrison; which incensed him to such a degree, that he took a sudden, and yet inflexible Resolution, of marching in Person to chastise them; which he accordingly did; and having, with little Opposition, made himself Master of the Place, he caused the Inhabitants to be destroyed without Mercy, and gave the City to be pillaged by his Soldiers; which produced so dreadful a Delolation, that even the Emperor himself, who was far enough from being of a gentle Disposition, was touched therewith, and gave Orders, that the few who had escaped, should be spared; and he likewise gave Instructions for restoring the Plunder, taken by his Soldiers out of the Temple of the Sun†.

This dreadful Destruction of Palmyra, which happened A. D. 272, put an End to this Principality; but it is not probable, that the City was then ruined to the Degree which Travellers see it now, because we often find it mentioned in History as a considerable City after this, thought not as the Seat of Government, as it had been in Times past, when there were no less than sixteen Cities in its Neighbourhood under its Jurisdiction, the Ruins of which are yet visible, and very plainly shew how great the Power and Magnificence of those Princes must have been, by whom they were erected: And, as for the Ruins of Palmyra itself, they are allowed by all who have visited them, to be equal, if not superior, to any thing of the same kind yet remaining in the World‡. As for the Course of that Part of the Indian Traffick which passed this Way, it has, after some Variation, been in a great measure fixed to Aleppo, particularly that Part of it which is the Consequence of an Intercourse with the Persians, some Provinces of that Empire being, within this Period, always regarded as Part of the Indies. But it is now Time to quit the Story of this City's Ruin, in order to pursue the Thread of our Narration, which leads us to another Insurrection against the Emperor Aurelian, which was fad to take Rise from the same Cause; I mean, too great Wealth amassed together by the Commerce of the Indies.

We have already observed, that Zenobia had added to her Dominions Egypt, as well as some other Countries. On the Ruin of her Affairs, there was a Roman Merchant in Egypt, whose Name was M. Firmus, who dealt in Paper, Glue, and other Commodities, with which he furnished the Inhabitants of Arabia, and other Parts of the East; and became thereby so rich, that he had Money enough

* Uti sup.

† Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. Dion Cassius, lib. 40.

‡ Flav. Vopisc. in Vit. Aurelian. Zosim. Zonar.

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¶ Some Pieces of which are extant, with the Head of Aurelian on one Side, and that of Wabalaubus on the other; with these Letters, V. C. R. I. M. OR. which Father Harduin has most judiciously interpreted, *Vice Caesaris Restor Imperii Orientis*.

* P. 110. in Vit. Aurelian.

† Zosim. lib. 1. Vopisc. in Vit. Aurelian.

‡ See a Description of these

Ruins, and an Account of the ancient State of this City, in the *Miscellanea Curiosa*, Vol. iii. p. 129, 160.

to maintain an Army, which he undertook to raise under Colour of supporting the Cause of *Zenobia*; but, in fact, with a View to have secured to himself the Sovereignty of *Egypt*, where he found the People inclined enough to mutiny; and was soon in a Condition to render himself formidable; the rather, because the first Step he took was to lay an Embargo upon the Fleet that was bound from *Alexandria* to *Rome*. But this, instead of contributing, as he vainly imagined it would, to his Safety, drew upon him immediate Ruin; for *Aurelian*, knowing well the Consequences that this must produce at *Rome*, marched with all imaginable Diligence to *Egypt*; and, having easily made himself Master of *Alexandria*, he blocked up *Firminus* in a Castle, and soon after took him Prisoner, and caused him to be put to Death, with horrid Torments^a.

He likewise settled the Trade of that Country on a new Foot, by the Regulations which he made, and which seem to have been very advantageous to the *Romans*, whatever Hardships they might bring upon the *Egyptians*. These Precautions, however, could not have affected the Inhabitants of this Country so deeply, or the Severities exercised by *Aurelian* have depressed them to such a Degree, as History mentions, if they had remained at Peace among themselves, and had been content to enjoy quietly, what was left them after their Misfortunes: But this they could not do, for their mutinous and restless Temper threw the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* into such factious Disputes, as occasioned a kind of civil War amongst them; which produced the Ruin of many of the public Buildings, and finest Edifices, that were yet left standing; so that, with their own Hands, they laboured incessantly to demolish, what had been raised by the Industry and public Spirit of their Ancestors; and thus the Desolation of this great and rich City was increased, and in a manner finished, by the Madnels of her Citizens^b.

Soon after, this *Aurelian* was murdered by some of the principal Officers of his Army; and the Senate and Soldiers were, for some time, in Suspense, before they proceeded to an Election, which, at last, fell upon *Tacitus*, who was at the Head of the Senate, and seventy-five Years of Age: For which Reason, he laboured, with the utmost Diligence, to have avoided, had it been possible, the Acceptation of this Dignity; but, finding that his Endeavours were vain, and knowing that it was sometimes as dangerous to refuse the Purple as to accept it, he yielded, at last, to the Intreaties of the Senate, and became, as it were, Emperor by Force.

6. The Reign of *Tacitus* began and ended in the Year 276. For, having sent a Relation of his to govern *Syria*, while himself was in the Neighbourhood of that Province, and this Man having discharged his Duty but indifferently, the People first murdered him; and then, fearing they might be punished for this Action, endeavoured to secure to themselves Impunity, by cutting off the Emperor also^c. He was succeeded by *Probus*, who was a most excellent Prince: For he first settled Peace at home, and then visited the Provinces, where he, likewise, gained great Honour, and secured the Empire from all Apprehensions of Disturbance from any of the barbarous Nations that had hitherto interrupted its Quiet. His Reign, however, was disturbed by an Insurrection in *Egypt*, where the Soldiers and the People made *Saturninus*, a worthy Officer, Emperor against his Will. *Probus* had made him General of the Forces in the East, with a particular Caution, that on no Account whatever, he should enter *Egypt*: But he, being extremely desirous to see the Curiosities of that Country, and, perhaps, not the less so for this Prohibition, made a Journey to *Alexandria*; which City he had scarce entered, when the People, out of that Spirit of Fickleness, of Flattery, and of Folly, for which they were famous, saluted him *Augustus*. He acted right, at first, by quitting the Place instantly, and returning to *Palestine*; but, fearing afterwards, that he should be punished for what the People had done, he changed his Conduct, and assumed the Purple. *Probus*, at first, would

not believe the News of his Revolt, so great was his Confidence in this Man's Virtue; but when it was confirmed, he marched against him with an Army; and, after several hard-fought Battles, besieged him in a Castle; which was taken by Storm, and *Saturninus* killed, in spite of all the Care the Emperor took to save him^d.

This Revolt did not hinder *Probus* from labouring to restore the Affairs of *Egypt* to their former flourishing Condition; in order to which, he caused all the Mouths of the Nile to be cleaned and repaired, and enlarged the Ports of that Province: He further declared his Resolution to take the same Care, and employ the same Pains, in all the other Provinces of the Empire. This gracious Disposition, this Desire of establishing universal Peace, this Hope of finding it possible to govern Mankind upon Principles of Humanity, inspired him with an Openness of Heart, and Freedom of Speech, which drew upon him a sudden and violent Death: For tho' it may be a new, a strange, and seemingly absurd Maxim, yet Reason and Experience will shew it a true one, that more Care and Art ought to be employed in covering and concealing good Designs, than bad ones; and that, for this plain Cause, the Majority of the World are bad, or, at least, were Men, who prefer their present Interest, or what they think so, to any future Good, how great soever: And therefore, whoever proposes to act for the Benefit of all, will surely to provoke the Displeasure of many, and awake the Affections of very few. This was the Case of *Probus*, for his great and good Projects being interrupted by a War with the *Persians*, he was so indifferet as to hint, in the midst of the Preparations for it, that he hoped there would come a Time when Soldiers would be no longer necessary; which, with the hard Labour he put them upon, in draining the Waters about *Syrmium*, irritated his Forces to such a Degree, that they first mutinied, and then murdered him^e, when he had reigned six Years with universal Applause, and had restored the Affairs of the Empire miraculously.

After his Death, the Army, A. D. 282 declared *Carus* Emperor, who entered on a Scene of Trouble; and entered only to go off again: For the barbarous Nations began, on every Side, to be in Motion, as soon as the Death of *Probus* was known. And his Successor, advancing was the Army as far as the River *Tigris*, was there found dead in his Tent, in the midst of a Storm of Thunder and Lightning, in the second Year of his Reign. He had associated his eldest Son *Carinus* in the Empire, and his younger Son *Numerianus*, who was with him, and who was acknowledged by the Army, and continued the War some time after his Father's Death, till by the Treachery of *Aper*, who was Captain of his Guard, and who hoped to succeed him, he was murdered in his Tent: Upon which the Army chose *Dioclesian* Emperor, who revenged the Death of his Predecessor, by killing *Aper* with his own Hands^f.

Dioclesian was raised to the Empire A. D. 284. and as soon as he found himself established, entered into a War with *Carinus*, in which the latter was slain. In 286. *Dioclesian* associated *Maximinian* in the Empire, that they might be the more able to act against all the Enemies of the *Romans*; and the Troubles still increasing, the two Emperors named *Constantius Chlorus*, and *Maximinian Galerius*, *Cæsars*. At this Time one *Achillius* had drawn *Egypt* to revolt, and assumed there the Imperial Ornament, and maintained himself better than five Years; but when other Parts of the Empire were quieted, *Dioclesian* in the Year 296. entered *Egypt*, attacked, defeated, killed *Achillius*, and, as some Writers say, suffered his Soldiers to pillage the City of *Alexandria*. But the People, who inhabited the Country between *Egypt* and *Libya*, were now become so powerful, and the Affairs of the *Romans* in that Province were in such Confusion, that *Dioclesian* could find no better Expedient for securing the Peace and Safety of the Province, than yielding up the greater Part of Country to that Nation, with whom he was at Peace.

^a Zosim. lib. i. *Papisc.* in *Vit. Aurelian.*

^b *ib.* *Zonar.* p. 240.

^c *Aurel. Vict. Epit.*

^d *Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxii.*

^e *Zosim. lib. i. Zonar. p. 241. Papisc. in Vit. Probus. Aurel. Vict. Epit.*

^f *Zosim. lib. i. Aurel. Vict.*

perpetual Alliance, and agreed to pay them an annual Tribute for protecting the Frontiers from other Barbarians, which was paid to the Time of *Justinian* *. This is sufficient to shew, how far the Power and Credit of the *Romans* was sunk; and it is natural to suppose, that with them, had Things continued in this State, the Commerce of *Egypt* would have sunk likewise. But in succeeding Times, when the Troubles of the Empire were appeased, and the Emperor *Constantine*, surnamed the Great, mounted the Throne, Things began to change their Face, and new Measures were taken for restoring and settling the Affairs of *Egypt*, as will be shewn in its proper Place. At present, this Part of our Plan is executed, and the History of this Commerce connected with that of the Princes by whom it was established, and under whom it flourished.

7. All the Proof we have of the flourishing State of the *Indian* Commerce, in the latter Part of this Period, are drawn from the Circumstances of Things related in History; which, however, sufficiently demonstrate it in general, tho' they do not enable us to enter into Particulars. The great Attention shewn by many of the Emperors, in regard to the Provinces of the East, and the Victories obtained over the *Persians*, and other Nations, kept up such an high Idea of the *Roman* Power in all that Part of the World, that we hear of *Indian* Embassadors sent to almost every Emperor, from *Alexander Severus* to *Dioclesian*: And therefore we have the greatest Reason that can be to believe, that their Commerce was, at this time, carried on with all the Vigour and Success imaginable.

Another Proof of this, is the Accounts we have of the profuse Reigns of *Caracalla*, *Heliogabalus*, and *Carinus*: From which we learn, that there were prodigious Quantities of *Indian* Commodities at *Rome*; and it is particularly taken notice of, that *Heliogabalus* † first wore a Robe entirely made of Silk, at that Time one of the dearest and rarest Commodities they received from the East.

But the strongest and clearest Proof we derive from the Laws made in this Period, in favour of Trade in general, and for settling the particular Duties on the Goods imported from the *Indies*, by the Way of *Egypt*: For these plainly shew, that this Commerce was now more extensive than ever. We may add to this the several Seditions and Rebellions which happened in *Egypt*, and which were the pure Effects of the vast Wealth of the Inhabitants of that Country, derived to them from the Progress they made in their own Manufactures, and the Means that within this Period they found out, of vending their Paper, Glais, Lincen, and other Goods, throughout the East; by which private Men acquired such immense Fortunes, as enabled them even to maintain Armies at their own Expence; which was the Case of *Marcus Firmus*, whose Riches induced him to attempt making himself Master of the Province, and of becoming, from an *Indian* Merchant, an *Egyptian* Monarch *. Indeed, if the Resources of their Traffick had not been so odigiously great, it would be very difficult to account for the People of *Egypt*'s recovering themselves, after so many Pillagings as they were exposed to, in consequence of the Disorders and Confusions of those Times, which must have carried immense Wealth out of the Province.

It is impossible to turn one's Thoughts upon this Subject, without remembering that the City of *Rome* was adorned with many of its most costly Ornaments, at the Expence of *Egypt*, and particularly of *Alexandria*, from whence they were transported in Ships that were contrived on Purpose, and were of a most extraordinary Size. Thus, for Instance, *Flavius Vespasian* dedicated, in his Temple, which he erected to the Goddess of Peace, the largest Statue that had been seen, of *Egyptian* Porphyry; and of that Kind, that was called *Basaltis*, of an Iron-colour, which represented the *Nile*, under the Figure of an old Man, with sixteen Children playing about him, signifying the Number of Cubits which that River rises, when at the

highest. Innumerable Instances might be given of the same Kind, but that one is sufficient; and it is impossible to conceive how such prodigious Expences could be defrayed, as must have been necessarily occasioned by the Luxury of those Times, and particularly the Love they had to Building, in a manner which employed many more Hands than any that has been practised in later Ages. And, to be convinced, that ancient Writers have not deceived us in what they have delivered upon this Subject, we need only consult what modern Travellers have written, of the Ruins that are still remaining in that Country, which not only come up to, but even very far exceed, all the Accounts we have in Books: So that the Wealth and Splendor of this Country must have been very astonishing, in its flourishing Condition, since the very Remains of *Roman* Magnificence in *Egypt*, are capable of surprising such as behold them; and are observed to strike those most, who are best acquainted with the Nature and Value of such Things †.

These are all certain and indubitable Signs of immense Riches: And tho' these might fall into the Hands of particular Persons, even in Countries that were not, generally speaking, more opulent than their Neighbours; yet we are sure this could not be the Case in *Egypt*, since it was not *Alexandria* alone, but all the Cities of the Province that were enriched with such Ornaments: So that their Wealth seems to have been very equally spread; or rather, there was such an Abundance of it, that not a Corner of the Kingdom remain unimproved. The City of *Arsinoe*, the Ruins of which are yet to be seen, as it stood near the *Arabian* Gulph, and at the Mouth of the Canal that had been cut from the *Nile* to the Sea, was crowded with fine Works, costly Obelisks, and Pillars of incredible Size; which must have been brought thither with inexpressible Difficulty: And yet so intent were the *Romans*, in whatever might contribute to the Improvement of their Trade to the East, that, finding an Obelisk of exquisite Beauty, that had been set up by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, in Memory of his Wife and Sister, whose Name the City bore, and which was 120 Feet high, incommoded the Dock, because they were then went to build larger Ships than were used in *Ptolemy*'s Reign, *Maximus*, who was then Governor of the Province, caused it to be taken down, and removed to *Alexandria* ‡.

But if it should be objected, that there is no reasoning, with any Certainty, about things of this Nature, if the Expence, at the Time they were made, cannot be known, it is a very easy Matter to answer this, since, at the same Time that this Obelisk was hewn out of the Quarries in the *Higher Egypt*, there were six more cut, of the same Size, for which the Workmen received fifty *Egyptian* Talents, which amounts to upwards of thirteen thousand Pounds of our Money; and the Expence of carrying them must have been far larger §.

But to sum up all in a Word: Even at the Close of this Period, I mean, when the Emperor *Dioclesian* was in *Egypt*, he thought it necessary to burn all the Books of Chemistry that could be collected, from a Notion, that it was by this Art the *Egyptians* became possessed of such prodigious Sums of Gold and Silver, as made them mutinous and ungovernable; which is a clear and certain Sign, that the *Romans* themselves had not a just Notion of the mighty Profits that accrued from the Commerce that the *Egyptians* carried on.

But it is now high Time to inquire into the Discoveries that were made, in consequence of this Trade, and the Accounts that were from time to time transmitted, of the State and Condition of the Countries, which their Merchants, and other Travellers, visited; a Thing extremely requisite, even for the understanding of modern Voyages and Travels, where we often meet with Passages, that either tend to explain the Accounts given by the Antients, or to refute them; the Worth of which we cannot comprehend, unless we are acquainted with the Accounts themselves: And, indeed, in laying these together, consists the

* *Procop. Bell. Persic. lib. i. cap. 19.*

† *Tacitus* tells us, that, in the Reign of *Tiberius*, there was a Law made, that no Man should adorn himself by wearing Silken Garments: But, in order to understand the true Sense of that Law, it is to be observed, that the women had two Sorts of Silk Manufacture: the one, in which the Warp was Silk, and the Wool Thread, which was called *Subericum*; and this was the Cloathing which the Law of *Tiberius* forbid Men to wear: The other Manufacture, which was all Silk, called *Heliaricum*, and was worn only by Women, till as *Campanella* tells us, in the Life of *Heliogabalus*, that effeminate Emperor wore his Imperial Robe made of purple Silk.

‡ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi.*

§ *Id. ibid.*

¶ *Voyages de Thevenot, Lucas, &c.*

great Difficulty of a Work of this Kind, since, except the Voyages of *Iambulus* and *Nearchus*, which we have already given the Reader, in their full Extent, there is nothing of this Kind preserved; that is to say, there is nothing preserved intire, and in the Manner in which Relations of this Sort are, and ought to be written; but the Observations of Travellers are scattered through a Multitude of Books, relating to Geography, History, Philology, Politicks, and other Kinds of Learning; from all which I have drawn them out, and ranged them in such an easy and natural Order, as that I flatter myself the Reader will peruse them with the same Ease and Satisfaction, as if they were the Observations of a modern Traveller, and the Fruits of a single Voyage.

By running through these, he will be completely Master of all that can be known upon this Subject at this Day; and by comparing what these old Writers have delivered, concerning the Religion, Government, Laws, Manners and Customs of the *Indians*, the Animals, Trees, Fruits, Plants, Stones, and other Curiosities of the *Indies*, with

the succeeding Voyages and Travels of such as have visited the same Countries, in later Times, he will be able to discover not only where the Antients have erred, and to how great a Degree, but will be also able to distinguish the Causes of those Errors; and sometimes, perhaps, will find, that they are not altogether so great as they have been represented, but that some of the Mistakes which they are charged, have been, in Reality, owing to the Mistake of their Meaning, or to the over-training it, where, by taking it in a milder Sense, it might have been brought very near the Truth. Add to this, that these Accounts are, to the full, as curious and entertaining, have as much Spirit and Variety, contribute at once to inform and to delight as much, as any modern Accounts whatever: For tho' it may be true, that for want of the Lights which we possess, they are less exact, yet, as far as their Lights went, they were most certainly capable of giving as clear, as circumstantial, and as pleasing Accounts, as any that have come after them.

SECTION XI.

An Account of the Religion, Government, Laws, Customs and Manners of the Indians, as they are recorded in the Works of antient Authors.

1. *Of the Religion of the Indians, their Sacrifices, and other Rites, with some Reasons tending to prove, that in these early Times they were not Polytheists or Idolaters.*
2. *An Account of their antient Monarchies, the Power of their Princes, their Palaces, Magnificence of their Courts, &c.*
3. *The Division of the People into seven Classes; a distinct Account of each Class; and a short View of the good Consequences flowing from this excellent Regulation.*
4. *Of their Drejs, and of the Changes introduced by their Commerce with the Greeks, who had embraced the Manners and Customs of the Persians.*
5. *Of the exalted Fortue, strict Honour, and uncorrupted Probity of this Nation; and the Means they used to extinguish Ambition, Malice, Fraud, and other Vices.*
6. *Their Frugality in Eating and Drinking, the Plainness of their Houses and Furniture; with other Instances of their extraordinary Temperance and Moderation.*
7. *Their natural Magnanimity, and noble Contempt of Death; the Custom of Wives burning themselves with the Bodies of their Husbands, and the Reasons assigned for it. The Strictness and Secrecy of their Laws.*

IT is natural, in speaking of the Inhabitants of any Country, to begin first with their Religion. In this respect the *Greek* Writers report of the antient *Indians* many Things, which seem more agreeable to their own Notions, than to the Conduct of the People of whom they speak. They report that they worshipped the Sun and the heavenly Bodies¹; and we are farther told of a most glorious Temple of the Sun, the Walls of which were of red Marble, resembling Fire, and interspersed with Streaks of Gold: The Image of the Sun on the Pavement so intermixed with Pearls, and precious Stones, that the Reflexion of them appeared almost as radiant as the heavenly Body it represented. And after they were thoroughly acquainted with the *Greek*, they are said to have imitated their Customs by setting up an Image of an Elephant, which they called *Alex*; two Statues of Gold to the Honour of *Alexander*, and two others of *Porus* in Brass². Their Worship of the Sun is said to have consisted in a kind of circular Dance, by which they seemed to intimate, that by the Motion of that Luminary the Universe subsisted³. It appeared from their Sacrifices, and other religious Rites, that they held the *Egyptian* or *Pythagorean* Principle of the *Metempsychosis*, or the Passage of the Soul from one Body to another; and this Notion of theirs, that the same Soul, which animated a Man, might be now in a Plant or in a Beast, restrained many of them from any other Sacrifice than that of Libation⁴: Others are said to have offered Animals, but without cutting their Throats, that they might avoid spilling the Blood, which they thought rendered the Victim imperfect; and, therefore, the Priest contented himself with strangling them. It was farther remarked, that in this Ceremony the holy Man did not wear a Wreath, or Crown, as the Priests of all other Nations did⁵.

In their grand Solemnities, they were wont to make very pompous Processions in Honour of their Divinities; in which they, from a Principle of Confidence, displayed all their Wealth, as a Testimony of their believing it derived to them from the Bounty of the Gods. On such Occasions, a great Number of Elephants marched at the Head of the Procession, covered with Ornaments of Gold and Silver; then followed many Chariots, richly adorned with the same Metals; the labouring Oxen, yoked in Couples, succeeded next; after them the Soldiers, richly dressed, carrying Pots, Kettles, Balons, Cups, Tables, and other Utensils for the Feast, all of Plate richly adorned with Diamonds, Rubies, Beryls, Carbuncles and Pearls: They, sometimes, also led tame Leopards, Lions, and Tygers, in these Processions; and, at other times, they carried Cages full of Birds, the Melody of whose Songs, joined to the Tabor and Pipe, made up all the Music of the Feast.

When, by excessive Rains falling in the Northern Part of the *Indies*, their Rivers swelled beyond measure, and the flat Country was too much and too long under Water, then the King or Sovereign, in every little District, made use of certain Ceremonies to appease the Wrath of the Gods, and to procure fair Weather. In these Ceremonies they are said to have sacrificed Bulls and Horses that were Coal-black, because such Cattle were rare, and of great Price; and they likewise threw a Golden Bathel into the River, which Ceremonies the *Greeks* likewise used to obtain the Favour of *Jupiter*, the Giver of Rain⁶. As they were a very temperate and abstemious People, they never drank Wine but at these Feasts; and even their Princes themselves, as *Apollonius* reports, drank that Liquor only when they offered to the Sun. There is, however, great Reason to doubt, whether much Credit is to

¹ *Plinius ex Ctesia*. 2. *Curt. lib. viii. c. 9.* *Philist. lib. iii. c. 3.* *Strabo.*

² *Strabo, lib. ii. c. 100.* *Philist. ubi sup.*

³ *Philist. in vit. Apollon. lib. ii. c. 11.*

⁴ *Strabo, lib. xv. p. 710.*

⁵ *Arian. in Indica. Strabo, ubi sup.*

⁶ *Lucianus de*

be given to these Relations. The *Greeks* themselves were so addicted to Idolatry, that they had no other Idea of Religion, than as it consisted in the Worship of a Multitude of Divinities; and, therefore, in their Reports of the *Indians*, they attributed the Ceremonies they saw practised to Principles like their own. But it is very plain, even from the Writings of their best Authors, that at the time *Alexander* the Great invaded this Country, the *Indians* had not the Use of Images; and even *Apollonius* confesses, that the Representation of the Sun was the only one he saw. It is likewise very certain, that these People made a great Secret of their religious Opinions; which was another Cause why the *Greeks* had recourse to their own Inventions, which were very fertile; and, by this means, represented the Sentiments of the *Indians*, as conformable to their own. The *Brachmans*, however, who were, for the most part, their Priests, and, as we shall see hereafter, were in that respect, in some sort, superior to their Kings, disclaimed all these superstitious Notions, and either worshipped in the open Air, turning their Faces to the East, without any regard to the Sun, or other heavenly Bodies, or in Temples that had neither Images, nor Ornaments of any kind. They likewise professed their Belief in One God, the Author of all Things, the Creator and Sovereign of the Universe, and the Father of Spirits; conformable to which, when *Onesiphorus*, in the Name of *Alexander* the Great, threatened *Dindamis* with Death if he did not immediately rise, and go and wait upon that Prince, he told him, smiling, that the King's putting him to Death would do him no hurt at all: For, said he, when this Head is divided from this Body, they will return to the Earth from whence they came; and the Spirit, now included in them, to Him, by whose Power it was included; for the Body, said he, is the Cloathing of the Soul, and has no more to do with the Man than his Garments.^a

It is true, that, since these early Times, the *Indians* have deviated much into Idolatry; but it is no less true, that the *Brachmans*, who are the wiser and better Sort, have always professed a different Opinion; and, upon certain Occasions, have ventured to declare, in Confidence, that they did not believe in Idols; but that they considered them as Symbolical Representations, which were necessary to fix the Attention, and to exercise the Piety, of the common People, who were not able to comprehend, or were not fit to be trusted with, the Secrets of their Religion. This is all we know, and indeed all that can be known, of the Religion of the ancient *Indians*, except that the very Burning of themselves proceeded from a Principle of Religion, and from the Hopes of avoiding, by that kind of Death, the being transmigrated into any Animal; upon which Principle, Women, to this Day, burn themselves with their Husbands Bodies, in hopes that their Souls shall again enter the World with those of their Husbands in an happy Condition, and in an human State, that is, without passing through Plants or Beasts.^b

2. As to the Government of the Country, it was, generally speaking, monarchical, though there were some Republics amongst them: But the *Cutbeans* had a very singular Custom; for, amongst them, their Kings were chosen purely on the Score of Beauty; and, therefore, when their Children were but two Months old, they were examined by proper Judges, who, if they found them perfect in all their Limbs, well made, and likely to prove handsome, they suffered them to live, otherwise they put them to Death; and it is in virtue of this Precaution, that they were considered as the handsomest People in the World. It is worthy of Observation, that the Custom of Women burning themselves with their Husbands was first introduced here; which was occasioned by their frequently deserting them for the sake of younger Men; and, where this could not easily be done, removing them out of their Way by Poison. In all the other Countries of the *Indies* the Crown was hereditary, and the eldest Son constantly succeeded his Father without any Difficulty or Dispute: But, as to the regular History of their Principalities, there are none that have been preserved, if we except that of the *Indian Bacchus*, concerning which *Megasthenes* received in the

Indies the following Information: *Bacchus*, when he had settled a Principality in the Neighbourhood of *Nysa*, devolved the Government upon *Spartibembras*, his Friend, who reigned fifty-two Years, and left the Crown to his Son *Budyas*, who ruled twenty Years, and was succeeded by *Crudrus*, his Son; and so, in a continued Descent from Father to Son, except where a King died without Issue, and, in that Case, a new Prince was elected; the Succession in this Order came to the famous *Sandracottus*, who was the hundred and fifty-third Successor of *Bacchus*.^c

But besides this great Monarch, who had a considerable Territory, and Abundance of tributary Princes, every Tribe of *Indians* had its particular Prince, who was at once King and Priest within his own Dominions, according to the ancient Custom of most Countries, from whence it came, that the *Hebrews* used the same Word to signify both Prince and Priest. The *Indian* Monarchs were far from having absolute Power, or from living in a State of Luxury and Ease: Of the contrary, they were obliged to hear every Day the Causes that were brought before them, and to give Audience to such of their Subjects as had any thing to say to them: Nor were they allowed, by their Laws, to go into the Bath, or even to dine, before all these Suitors were answered. In Matters of great Consequence, they could not act without the Advice of their Council; and, in Points of Religion, they received the Instructions of the *Brachmans* with implicit Obedience; so that, in all respects, they were circumscribed, and had it not in their Power to violate the Constitution.^d This was very probably the Reason, that these small Principalities, which had neither great Power, nor much Wealth, to support them, subsisted for so many Ages. It is, however, to be observed, that to prevent the People from being overborn by the Torrent of a sudden Invasion, there was always a supreme Monarch over a certain Country, who could draw together the Forces of all these subordinate Chiefs on any public Occasion that required it: And thus it was that the numerous Armies were raised, which in the foregoing History have been mentioned; and, in this respect, the ancient Constitution of *India* was very like the Gothic Form of Government, and came very near the Constitution in this Island, before it was invaded by the *Romans*.

The Reception which *Apollonius* met with from the King of *Taxilis*, affords us a very agreeable Picture of the Court of an *Indian* Monarch. When the Philosopher arrived there, he found the Palace a large and convenient Structure, but, in every respect, perfectly plain; so that, if he had not been informed, that it was the Royal Dwelling, he would have taken it for the House of some considerable Citizen. He found there neither Guards nor Attendants: There were only a few Slaves at the Gate, and three or four Persons of an ordinary Rank, who desired to speak with the King. *Apollonius* entered with them into the Royal Apartments, where he found every Thing plain and neat, disposed, however, in so excellent an Order, that they struck him with much greater Awe and Reverence, than the lofty and sumptuous Palace of the King of *Babylon*, which he had visited before. The Appearance of the Monarch, whose Name was *Pbraortes*, or *Pbraotes*, was in every respect suitable to the Modesty of his Palace; a noble and majestic Presence was the sole Mark of Dignity he bore, and he was attended by a very slender Retinue; so that *Apollonius*, recollecting what he had heard of the *Brachmans*, and of their Disciples, concluded that the Princes of *India* were, also, a kind of Sages; and, therefore, he addressed him by his Interpreter in these Words: It appears to me, Sir, that Philosophy is your supreme Delight, and the Rule of your Actions: Permit me, therefore, to have the Honour of congratulating you thereupon. What you say is true, replied the King; and I am extremely glad, that your Sentiments agree with mine. Is it the Laws of your Country, continued *Apollonius*, or is it your Majesty's particular Taste, that removes from your Court all that Magnificence and Pomp, that are usually found in the Dwellings of Princes? It is both the Law, replied the Prince, and my

^a *S. Ambrosius de Moribus Brachmanorum*, p. 70.

^b *Feyer's Travels into India*, p. 191.

^c *Strabo*, lib. xv. p. 699. *Diodor. Sicul.*

^d *Philos. lib. vi. c. 10.*

own private Judgment, that have banished that outside Shew, which is certainly no more than a false Glory, and has no sort of Correspondence with true Merit. I use, with Moderation, the little Splendor that our Laws permit; and, though I may truly say, that there are few Monarchs more powerful than myself, yet, with like Veracity, I can affirm, that I can be content with a little, and leave the rest to my Friends. Happy Economy, cried out *Apollonius*, which teaches you, by despising Wealth, to purchase a Treasure of superior Nature! But, replied the King, it is not only to my Friends that I part with my Riches; I even bestow some upon my Enemies, that my Subjects may enjoy Rest and Tranquillity. It is in that, and that alone, that I place all my Glory.

Apollonius, afterwards, inquired into the King's manner of living; to which that Monarch answered very graciously, I never drink Wine, but when I sacrifice to the Sun: What I take in hunting I distribute among my Friends, contenting myself with the Benefit I receive from the Exercise. As for my Food, it consists of Herbs, the Fruit of the Palm-tree, and other Vegetables, which I cultivate with my own Hands. After this he bathed with the King, and was entertained at a sumptuous Dinner, at which no more than five Persons were present; at which were served Fish, Fowl, whole Lions, Kids, the Paws of Tygers, Roots, Fruits, and Bread. Every one rose from his Place, and took at the Table what he thought fit, returning to his Place, and eat it there at his Leisure. Branches of Laurel, Myrtle, and other odoniferous Trees, were scattered in the Room, yielding an agreeable, but not an overcoming Scent. All Dinner-time the Table was surrounded by thirty Musicians; and, at the same time, several young *Indians* diverted the King with Feats of Activity. When every body had done eating, several Cups were brought of a very large Size, out of which every Man drank what he thought fit; his Head, according to the Custom of the Country, being entirely covered by the Cup.

It is not to be supposed, that in a Country of so large Extent as the *Indies*, all the Princes should pursue the same regular Plan, or preserve a like Severity of Morals: And, indeed, the contrary of this is evident from what History informs us, with respect to the Kingdom of *Muschan*, which lay towards the Mouth of the River *Indus*, in that Part of the Country, which, from its Likeness to the *Delta* of *Egypt*, bore the same Name; the Princes of which lived in all the Splendor, and in all the Luxury, of the *Persians*, or rather exceeded them in both. A Multitude of Women were perpetually about the King's Person; so that he was, by their Actions, their Songs, and their Discourse, perpetually excited to lascivious Pleasures. Whenever this Monarch appeared in public, his Officers carried silver Inlaid-pots before him, to perfume the Air. He lay at full Length in a Litter of Cloth of Gold, garnished with Pearls, long Strings of which hung down on every Side. His Habit was a long Robe of Linen, embroidered with Gold and Purple. His Concubines accompanied him with a Pomp equal to his own; and his Guards carried Branches of sweet-smelling Wood, filled with Birds of every Kind, the wild Notes of which were esteemed by the *Indians* beyond any kind of Music. After his Train followed the Queen, with a Magnificence equal, in all respects, to that of her Consort.

The only Kind of Exercise used by this King, was Hunting: And when he took this Diversion in a Park, he was always in his Chariot, surrounded by his Concubines, who shot at the wild Beasts, as well as he; but if he pursued his Sport in the open Field, he went alone, mounted upon his Elephant. The Entry of his Palace was adorned with a stately Portico, composed of many Pillars richly gilt, on each of which a Vine of Gold twisted itself to the very Top, a bended with the Figures of several kind of Birds, painted of different Colours. This State-room was open to all the World, at the Hours of Audience especially; but at these Stations, while the King gave Audience to Embassadors, and Caudes, or did any other kind of Business, he had

several Women about him; some of whom combed his Hair, some perfumed his Hands, and others his Feet: His Face was very closely shaved, except the very Point of the Chin, from whence there hung a long Beard. At Table, and on all other Occasions, he was served by these Ladies; and was so jealous of finer Designs against his Person, that if any looked upon him too readily, or came nearer than he thought convenient, he ordered them to be put to Death. So passionately fond this Monarch was of Horses, that he commanded Holidays on their Account, as if they had been really Part of the Royal Family. It may not, however, be amiss to caution the Reader as to both these Accounts, which, it must be confessed, are liable to some Objections: And, in my Opinion, an Author has no more a Right to produce a suspicious Witness, and avail himself of his Testimony, than he would have to deceive, in the same manner, a Court of Justice. In both Cases, there is an Injury done to Truth; and tho' it be true, that the latter may have more fatal Consequences than the former, yet the Falsifier of Truth does his utmost, in one Case as well as the other: And so far the Crime is alike in both. The Author of the latter Account is *Ouseirius*, who was Captain of *Alexander's* Ship, and had, doubtless, Opportunities of knowing the Truth of the Fact, if he could have had Candour enough to have related it; but he had naturally such a Love for the Marvellous, that he could not help exaggerating whatever he reported, as *Arabo*, and other Writers, agree, and as the Facts themselves plainly declare. *Quintus Curtius*, an elegant Writer, but one who was likewise fond of Wonders, copied this Story where-ever he found it; which may, possibly, be true, but has an Air of Improbability, at least.

As to the former, *Apollonius Tyaneus*, I ought to have given the Reader a complete Section of his Travels; it had not been for the former Objection; which, I must confess, weighed with me so far as to engage me to lay aside that Design. He was a very famous Philosopher of the *Pythagorean* Sect, born about the time of the Commencement of the Christian Era, and who lived to the Age of ninety-six, or thereabouts. He was a Man of very singular Character; for he affected great Purity of Manners, and, at the same time, aimed at two Things, which seem incompatible therewith: The first of these was Magic, in which he pretended to have extraordinary Skill, and took a great deal of Pains to persuade the World, that he had great Familiarity with the Demons, and was able, by their Helps, to perform mighty Feats. The other great Aim of his Life, was the restoring and supporting *Polytheism*, or Idolatry, which was then very much on the Decline.

To accomplish these Views, he travelled more than any Man of his Time. His principal Disciple was one *Damis*, who followed him in most of his Peregrinations, and particularly into the *Indies*: And this Man it was, that left behind him Memoirs of his Master's Life, which were drawn up in a very confused Way, and in a Style that was very uncouth. *Philostratus* undertook to polish these, and to put them into proper Order; and this Work of his is that which I cite. But whether it be thro' his Fault, or from the Defect of the original Memoirs of *Damis*, it follows out, that there many Things very punctually related in the Story of his Travels, which, even at this Distance of Time, we know could not be true. One Instance of this may suffice, for the Reader's Satisfaction, which I shall bring within as short a Compass as possible.

In his Way to *India*, *Apollonius* passed thro' *Babylon*, which, in his Life, is described as a City of twenty-four Leagues Circuit; and, in short, appears, in every respect, as a flood in the Days of *Nebuchadnezzar*; tho' it is certain that City was long before destroyed; and *Ptolemy*, who was his Contemporary, assures us, and that very truly, that nothing but the Temple of *Belus* remained intire, all the rest being become a perfect Desert. He likewise represents it as the Seat of the *Partian* Kings, which it never was; for those Princes spent the Winter at *Ctesiphon*, near *Susa*, and the Summer at *Ecbatana*. There are many other Signs of the same Kind; by whose Negligence committed, it is not

^a *Philostat. lib. iii. c. 26.*

^b *Ouseirius. ap. Strabonem, p. 710. c. 2. Cap. lib. viii. c. 2.*

easily to say; but inasmuch as the Work of *Philostratus* abounds with such Mistakes, it was neither fit for me to infer the Travels of *Apollonius* in this Collection, nor even to quote him as to any particular Facts relating to the *Indies*, without giving the Reader a fair Account of his Character, that so it may be in his Power to judge of the Credit due to the Matter which he relates.

It is likewise necessary to observe, that the principal thing he proposed by this Journey to the *Indies*, was to be better informed by the Brachmans, as to the Theory and Practice of Magic; in which, it is pretended, he succeeded perfectly well: And yet, as we shall see hereafter, from a Cloud of Witnesses, the Brachmans were, of all People in the World, the last that ought to have been applied to for the Ends at which he aimed, since they were strict Deists in point of Opinion, and heartily abhorred Fraud, in which, without doubt, Magic is, and ever was founded, as confining in nothing more than the Invention of cunning Tricks, to amuse and impose upon the Ignorant. On the Whole, therefore, we may, perhaps, come near the Truth, if we believe, that the *Indian* Princes lived in much greater Splendor than he relates, since we have the Authority of an antient Author to prove, that the Palace of a Descendant of *Porus* was much more magnificent than those of the *Parthian* Kings at *Susa* and *Ecbatana*; yet this might be without any Diminution of their Virtue; for it is not the Possession of Wealth, but the ill Use of it, that constitutes Luxury and Effeminacy. In other respects, the Character he has given *Phraotes*, has nothing in it absurd or improbable, because, supposing him to have acted on the Principles ascribed to him by *Apollonius*, he would have done no more than his Ancestor *Taxiles* did, who, by smooth Words, and rich Gifts, got the better of *Alexander* the Great, and not only preserved, but enlarged his Dominions, by the Wisdom of his Behaviour.

3. The Virtues of Kings are not to be depended upon for the Preservation of States; which is a Maxim taught by the Light of Reason, as well as supported by that of Experience: But perhaps no History furnishes us with any Instance of a Nation, that took such early and effectual Care to secure themselves from the bad Effects of arbitrary Power, as the *Indians*. In every Principality there was a Senate, without whose Advice the King could do nothing of Importance; and, in case any Man thought himself injured by the joint Power of the King and Senate, he was not without Remedy, but might, if he pleased, appeal to the People. It was for this Reason, and to facilitate the Preservation of their respective Privileges, that in every *Indian* State the People were divided into seven Classes, Tribes, or whatever else you will please to call them, each of which had a sufficient Number of Heads, vested with a competent Degree of Power, for the Preservation and Protection of their Brethren: And it was the capital Maxim in their Laws, that every Man belonged to some Class, or other; so that all were alike free; and there was no such thing as Servitude known amongst them.

The first of these were the Brachmans, or Philosophers; of whom we shall speak particularly in the next Section, and shall, therefore, content ourselves with only naming them here, in their Order. The second were the Husbandmen and Farmers, who composed the Body of the State; and the signal Service they rendered to the Public, by cultivating the Land, and securing Plenty, joined to their exemplary Frugality, obtained them the highest Respect. It was for this Reason, that in all Wars, whether civil or foreign, they were exempted from taking up Arms: Neither could they be injured or disturbed in their Labours, without a Breach of the Law of Nations; a Crime no *Indian* Prince was ever hardy enough to commit. It was, therefore, no uncommon Sight, to behold a bloody Battle on one Side of a Plain, and on the other, Men sowing or reaping, without the least Apprehension, either from the Fury of the Victor, or the Despair of the Vanquished. They were, likewise, exempted from all publick Offices: For it was held, that their very Profession was a publick Office, since it contributed to the Good of all, by main-

taining a constant and uninterrupted Plenty. The King, however, was acknowledged the sole Proprietor of all the Lands in his Dominions, from which he received a certain Tribute; and besides that, a fourth Part of the net Produce; out of which Revenue, all the Expences of the State were defrayed.

The third Class was composed of Graziers, Shepherds, and Huntsmen: These had the Care of their Herds and Flocks, and had the sole Privilege of breeding, buying, and selling Horses: And as the Country was much infested by Lions, Tygers, Elephants, Birds of Prey, and other pernicious Animals, the Huntsmen were not only regarded as a Race of People very useful to the State, and allowed to possess, in full Property, the Fruits of their Labour, but received also an annual Proportion of Corn, as an Acknowledgment for their preserving the rest, which could not have been either sown or reaped in Safety, but under their Protection. As these People led a wandering kind of Life, they had no Villages or Settlements; but pitched their Tents, fed their Cattle, and pursued their Hunting in the Woods or Mountains: So that they did no Prejudice to any Part of the arable Ground.

Under the fourth Class were comprehended Artificers and Merchants. They paid the King a certain Tribute, except such as were employed in making Arms, or in the Construction or Service of the Fleet, who were paid for their Labour by the Public.

The fifth Class was composed of Officers and Soldiers, or, to use a modern Phrase, the fifth Class was the Militia. They had no other Business to mind, than the Preservation and Protection of the State, and were obliged to take Arms whenever the King thought fit, for the public Service. They were lodged and maintained at the King's Expence, who provided for their Families when they were absent in War. At that time, the whole Society contributed to the Support of what was intended for the common Good; some furnished Elephants, some Horses; one Province Forage and Provision, and another Arms. The *Megallians*, who were a People inhabiting on the other Side the *Hyphasis*, supported constantly five hundred Elephants, and a considerable Body of Troops besides. The *Corymbians*, the *Arangians*, and the *Parangians*, who were all Subjects of the same Prince, kept constantly on Foot for his Service, an Army of thirty thousand Men, eight hundred Horses, and three hundred Elephants. The Soldiers, after their Return from the War, were kept constantly to martial Exercises, and a very strict Discipline, tho' at the Close of the Campaign, they delivered up the Arms and the Horses, which were furnished them at the public Expence.

The sixth Class was composed of the Inspectors, who had the Care of examining and looking into the Affairs of Town and Country, and were intrusted with the Superintendence of Arts and Commerce, each Man in his particular District; and these People made from time to time, exact Reports to the Prince, if the Government they lived under was Monarchical, or, if a Republic, to the chief Magistrates, of the Condition that all things were in, within the Limits of their respective Jurisdiction. And if we can give Credit to what the Historians report, we must allow the *Indians* to have been the wisest and happiest of Nations, since they positively assert, that before they were conquered by, or intermixed with Foreigners, there never was an Instance of an Inspector's neglecting, or betraying his Trust, to the Prejudice of the Crown, or to the Oppression of the Subject. It is requisite to add, that the Women were under the Care of female Inspectors, who had a Power of correcting all Excesses in Drefs, in the Luxury of the Table, and Digressions from the strict Rules of Morality.

This Country was subject to Inundations, like that of *Egypt*, and perhaps to those that were more considerable; for the Snow melting on the Hills of *Paropamisus*, *Caucasus*, *Imaus*, and the *Emedian* Mountains, together with the prodigious Quantity of Rain that falls in their Winter-months, of *April*, *May*, and *June*, floods the Country to

* *Elia. de Animalibus*, lib. xiii. c. 18.

* *Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. Strabo, lib. xv. Adrian de Indiciis.*

* *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi.*

* *Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii.*

such a degree, [that when the Waters are sunk, it is simply impossible, that any Boundaries, Land-marks, or other Signs of Property, should be discerned. To prevent any Disputes that this might occasion, there were, in every District, a certain Number of Inspectors, who were Men of such Skill and Dexterity, that by retracing every Man's Limits, they prevented any Disputes. The same Persons had likewise the Care of the public Recevoirs of Water, and of the Sluices: So that, by their Diligence, the Country never suffered in the driest Summer. Another Branch of their Charge was, to look into the Conduct of the Grasers and Huntmen, such as wrought in the Woods, and in the Mines. They were also Surveyors of the Highways; and in that Quality they appointed Guides, who, at every ten Stadia informed the Traveller which Way the Road lay; where he might have Lodging; and how far it was to the next Stage.*

The Inspectors that resided in Towns, were divided into six Classes: Of these, some looked into the Management of Traders and Artificers; others had the Care of the Inns, where they examined such Strangers as arrived, in relation to their Builids in the Country, and gave Directions, that they should not stay above three Days in one Town. They likewise prevented Strangers,† as far as they were able, from committing any thing contrary to good Manners; visited them, if they were sick; examined them as to the Nature of their Distemper, that they might be sure it was not contagious: Took care that they wanted for nothing; and, in case of their Deaths, that their Effects were disposed of pursuant to their Wills. Others kept a Register of Births and Burials, and set down very exactly the Time, the Place, and other Circumstances: These likewise looked into Weights and Measures, and saw that they were agreeable to the Standard: They also prevented the same Man from dealing in different Goods, saw that Manufactures were properly finished, and set their Seal, to prevent Disputes; inquired into Workmen's Wages, and caused them to be regularly paid: They received likewise, the King's Revenues, which consisted in Duties on Goods sold, and not on the Stock in Trade; but if any Man was convicted of selling, without bringing it to Account, he suffered Death.

The military Inspectors had many things committed to their Care: As, for Instance, they were charged to keep a certain Number of Boats in constant Readiness, for the Passage of Rivers, and for transporting Forage and Provisions by Water; as also a certain Number of Cattle for Carriages, and for removing Baggage. The Magazines were likewise under their Care; and it was their Duty to look to the Arms that were laid up in them, that they might be constantly in good Order, and fit for Service. Some of them had the Charge of the Elephants, others of the War-chariots; and others again inspected the Conduct of the Soldiers in their Quarters.

It is not a little surprising, that such as composed the Council of the Prince, were thrown into the seventh and last Class: Yet these were nearest the Throne, and had the largest Share both in the Pains and in the Honours of Government. All Affairs relating to the Public were submitted to the Deliberation of the Senate; and their Authority was, in some respect, superior to that of the Crown: For they had the sole Power of Life and Death in their Hands, and possessed all the Dignities of the State. These Senators seemed the more honourable, from the Continuance of their Offices in their Families, from Time immemorial; for by the fundamental Laws of their Constitution, it was forbidden for any Man to pass out of one Class into another, even by Marriage. A Farmer could not become an Artificer, or an Artificer a Merchant or Soldier: By which prudent Precaution, all kinds of Professions rose to the highest Perfection, the Lights of the Father being communicated to the Son, and so downwards, every Calling being, in this respect, as it were, an Family. We might very reasonably suspect the Truth of all this, tho' confirmed to us by the concurrent Testimony of ancient Historians, if this Division of the *Indians*

did not subsist even to our Times: For these Classes are precisely the several *Indian* Casts, of which modern Travellers speak at this Day; so that, as to the Form of the ancient *Indian* Government, it is a Fact out of all Dispute: And one may safely affirm, that there scarce ever existed a better Constitution.

4. The *Indian Bacchus*, whoever he was, has the Honour of being the Author of this wise and wonderful System of Government, which was every where established in the *Indies*, at the time of *Alexander's* Expedition, when the Subjects of every little Principality, the Inhabitants of every free City, lived exactly in the manner as we have described; and were, in all respects, the most civilized, and the best regulated People in the World. All the Writers of those Times, and even such as are the least given to Fables, represent the *Indians* as a very robust People, and of extraordinary Stature; some of them seven Foot high, particularly *King Porus*, who was vanquished by *Alexander*. The Inhabitants of the lower Provinces, lying on the Banks of the River *Indus*, were of a dark Complexion as the *Ethiopi*ans: And the only Difference between them was, that the *Indians* had long lank black Hair, whereas the Hair of the *Ethiopi*ans was short and curled. It was a Custom among the *Indians*, to wear long Beards, which they dyed of several Colours; some white, some red, some green, and some of a purple Colour†.

Their Habits also differed very much: Some of them wore the Skins of Lions and Tygers; others covered themselves with a single Piece of Cloth, which reached from their Heads to their Knees. As for the Soldiers, their Dress consisted in a Turbant, and a light Coat: All their Cloaths were commonly white, and were made either of Worsted or Cotton; for tho' many Authors speak of the latter, as if they were Linen-garments; yet it is certain, that Flax is not of the Growth of the *Indies*. The only Shew they made of their Riches, was by wearing a sort of Ivory-pendants in their Ears, now and then a purple Robe, white or striped Shoes, and Umbrellas of several Colours, which the Heat of their Climate rendered necessary, as well as agreeable‡.

But the *Macedonians*, and other *Greeks*, who were the Remains of *Alexander's* Army, introduced amongst them, by degrees, the Luxury which they had themselves learnt from the *Persians*; and tho' the *Indians* soon shook off their Yoke, yet they found it impossible to quit the ill Customs these Strangers had brought amongst them: And from this Time it was, that these People began to wear Cloth of Gold and Silver, to embroider with Pearl, and other Stones of Price; and to endeavour to display, to the utmost, the Riches with which their Country furnished them. It is from this Account of the Matter, that we are enabled to judge of the Truth, or, at least, of the Probability, of what Authors report concerning this Nation; for, as on the one hand it is certain, that they were a plain, open, and generous People, who despised Pomp and Shew, before they were corrupted by Strangers, so it is no less certain, that after they became acquainted with the *Greeks*, and with the *Persians*, by their means, the Courts of their Princes, at least, received considerable Alterations; and they began to affect Pomp and Splendor to almost as high a degree as any of their Neighbours, which was the more easy for them to do, since they were possessed of much greater Riches§, and saw too, that this Display of their Wealth had a great Effect upon Strangers, and procured an unusual degree of Reverence and Complaisance: For it is with Nations as with private Families, the only Way to avoid ill Customs, is to remain unacquainted with them.

5. It does by no means appear, that, upon their going into this Change in their Habits and Cloaths, they sunk at all in their Morals; but, on the contrary, maintained the high Reputation they had acquired for their steady Virtue, and strict Honour, for several Ages. Their Heralds wore a Gold Anchor, embroidered on their Coats, to signify that, in their Alliances, they were unalterable; and that a Treaty concluded with them, held them as fast as an Anchor; a Character they justly deserved. They admired

* *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Pliny*, lib. vi. *Herodotus*, lib. iii.

† *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Pliny*, lib. vi. *Herodotus*, lib. iii.

‡ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Pliny*, lib. vi. *Herodotus*, lib. iii.

§ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Pliny*, lib. vi. *Herodotus*, lib. iii.

the Courage, but more the Clemency of *Alexander*; and did no less Justice to the Bravery of their own Prince *Porus*, making care that the Statue of the one should be constantly accompanied by that of the other. Their *Brachmans* were continually inculcating Principles of Virtue in their Sermons to the People, which Sermons are still continued, though the Subjects of them are much changed: For the *Brachmans*, finding their People began to relish the fabulous Theology of the *Greeks*, invented one of their own, which is now the current Religion of the *Indies*.

But what must appear an incontestable Proof of their great Regard for Virtue, is, the Law they established; by Virtue of which, when any eminent Person died, Inspectors were appointed to examine strictly into his Life and Actions, of which they composed a Memoir, concluding with his Character; in which, if they were guilty either of Partiality or Prejudice, they lost their Offices, and were declared infamous to all Posterity; but there were very few Instances of their incurring this Punishment. It was in consequence of this Law, that they never erected any Monuments to the Memory of the Dead; for they supposed that this Memorial of their Virtues secured their Fame more effectually.

They had, naturally, a great Love for Order, and were exceedingly attentive to whatever might promote, or preserve it. They could not be said to have borrowed any Part of their Policy from foreign Nations, because, as we have often observed, they had not, for a long Series of Ages, any Correspondence with Strangers: And though it be true, that the *Egyptians*, *Spartans*, and *Romans*, divided their Subjects into Tribes, yet it is certain, that none of these Nations carried this Regulation near so far as the *Indians*, who took in all sorts of People; so that, by the Frame of their Constitution, the lowest, as well as the highest Orders of Men, were under the immediate Inspection of their Government; and could not be wanting, in any respect, to their Duty, without falling under the Censure of their Superiors; which was a Thing of infinite Consequence to the Well-being and Tranquillity of the State.

It was in virtue of this Regulation, that the Government was perfectly acquainted with the Rank and Fortune of every one of its Subjects; so that none were permitted to travel so much as from one Town to another, in any other manner than was suitable to their Characters. Thus, for instance, their Princes, and great Lords, rode upon Elephants; such as were next to them in Rank were allowed four Horses in their Retinue; the next in Degree travelled on Camels; the ordinary sort of People rode either on Horses or on Asses.

It is easy to conceive, that by adhering strictly to these Rules, Pride and Ambition were hardly known, or, at least, could not gain much Ground amongst them. If at any time, in spite of all the Care that could be taken, Disputes arose about Place or Precedency, they were terminated in a public Audience before the King and Senate. There, also, all Controversies relating to Property were heard and decided almost as soon as they rose; and it was, by this means, that all the Mischief arising from Law-suits were prevented, and the Peace and Quiet of the Nation effectually preserved.

Their Monarchs, in regard to the Love of Peace, set their Subjects a constant and persuasive Example: For though they had all of them great Armies, and those perfectly well disciplined and provided, perpetually on Foot, yet they very rarely brought them into the Field; though it appears from the Example of *Porus*, and from the Resistance that *Alexander* met with from the free Cities of *India*, they were capable of making a great Figure, as a warlike People, if they had affected it: And this appeared still more clearly from the Conduct of the famous *Sandracottus*, and his Successors, who were content to purchase Peace, though at the Head of Armies, capable of acquiring and maintaining Conquests.

6. In a Country so happily situated as theirs, and which has been, in all Ages, renowned for its Abundance, they might certainly have lived with as much Delicacy as their Neighbours the *Persians*, who, from the most hardy and frugal, became the most luxurious and profuse People in the East. But, amongst the *Indians*, the Love of Temperance, instilled into them as a Principle of Religion by the *Brachmans*, prevented any Excess of this kind, and restrained them to a very moderate Use of that Plenty which they possessed.

They had not, properly speaking, any Wine of their own Growth; and the Liquor so called by ancient Writers, was drawn either from Rice, or from the Cocoa-tree: But, as both sorts of Liquor were very apt to intoxicate, they were very seldom used but in Sacrifices, public Feasts, and in very small Quantities at the Tables of their Kings. If at any time a Prince so far forgot his Dignity and Character, as to suffer himself to be over-taken with Liquor, their Laws allowed any Woman, who was about him, to put him to Death while he was drunk; and his Successor was obliged to espouse this Woman, and make her the Partner of his Throne. The common Drink of the *Indians*, in general, was Milk and Water.

As for their Food, the System of the *Metempsychosists*, which prevailed generally throughout the *Indies*, kept their Tables within due Bounds, allowing nothing more for their Supply than Corn, Roots, Fruit and Milk-meats; yet some kind of Animal Food they had, such as Tygers, and other wild Beasts; and Fish too; but they were very plainly dressed, without any Sauces, or other Allurements to the Taste, that they might not be tempted to eat more than was necessary for the Support of Nature, and, thereby, render themselves liable to Diseases. As they lived sparingly, they slept not much at their Ease, having nothing but a Mat, or the Skin of a Beast, between them and the Ground. Their Houses were low, composed, for the most part, either of thin Planks, or of Reeds, small, with little Furniture, and no Ornaments at all, unless we should account for such their Roofs being made of Tortoise shells. Thus, in all respects, they were perfectly uniform, and led their Lives in the quiet Possession of what their Labour and Industry procured; content with what they possessed, and willing rather to part with somewhat of their own, to secure that Peace, which they held their greatest Blessing; than desirous of employing Force to enrich themselves at others Expence. It was, indeed, the great Felicity of these People, that they acted in every respect upon Principle; and were so addicted, from their Infancy, to a regular Life, and an equal Contempt of Danger and of Pleasure, that they were not liable to the common Failings of Men, but were capable of resisting Temptations, and of despising Threats.

7. If we had no other Proofs of the constant Courage, and magnanimous Spirit of the *Indians*, we might be convinced of it from that Readiness with which almost every Rank of People not only met, but, if Occasion required it, hastened Death; and, if we may be allowed the Expression, went out to receive him. It was not the *Brachmans* only, who, from the Maxims of Philosophy, were able to steel themselves against the common Weakness of human Nature; but even Women, who, by Constitution and Education, were in the *Indies*, as well as every where else, naturally of a more timid Disposition than the Men. The Accounts we have of this differ something from one another; but, by a little Attention, they may be easily reconciled. It was certainly in the Beginning a voluntary Act, arising from an extravagant Affection, which induced them to quit that Life which appeared to them more hateful and terrible, than Death itself: But, afterwards, there were some Reasons which made it requisite to encourage this Practice by Laws; yet still the Spirit and Courage of the Women, who thus devoted themselves to Death, rather than survive their Husbands, deserved Admiration. An ancient Writer, of great Integrity, as

^a *Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. Arrian. Indici, Philostrat. lib. ii.*

^b *Sicil. ab. japon.*

^c *Strabo, Arrian. Philostrat.*

^d *Arrian. lib. v. c. 4. Philostrat. lib. iii. Metel. lib. iii.*

^e *Arrian. lib. v. c. 4. Philostrat. lib. iii. Metel. lib. iii.*

^f *Arrian. lib. v. c. 4. Philostrat. lib. iii. Metel. lib. iii.*

^g *Arrian. lib. v. c. 4. Philostrat. lib. iii. Metel. lib. iii.*

^h *Arrian. lib. v. c. 4. Philostrat. lib. iii. Metel. lib. iii.*

ⁱ *Arrian. lib. v. c. 4. Philostrat. lib. iii. Metel. lib. iii.*

^j *Arrian. lib. v. c. 4. Philostrat. lib. iii. Metel. lib. iii.*

^k *Arrian. lib. v. c. 4. Philostrat. lib. iii. Metel. lib. iii.*

^l *Arrian. lib. v. c. 4. Philostrat. lib. iii. Metel. lib. iii.*

^m *Arrian. lib. v. c. 4. Philostrat. lib. iii. Metel. lib. iii.*

ⁿ *Arrian. Ctesias in Indici.*

^o *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.*

^p *Strabo, lib. xv. Athen. Deipn. lib. xii. Plin.*

^q *Diodor. Sicul. Strabo. Philostrat.*

^r *Diodor. Sicul. Strabo. Philostrat.*

^s *Diodor. Sicul. Strabo. Philostrat.*

^t *Diodor. Sicul. Strabo. Philostrat.*

^u *Diodor. Sicul. Strabo. Philostrat.*

^v *Diodor. Sicul. Strabo. Philostrat.*

^w *Diodor. Sicul. Strabo. Philostrat.*

^x *Diodor. Sicul. Strabo. Philostrat.*

^y *Diodor. Sicul. Strabo. Philostrat.*

^z *Diodor. Sicul. Strabo. Philostrat.*

^a *Arrian. Strabo.*

^b *Arrian. Strabo.*

^c *Arrian. Strabo.*

^d *Arrian. Strabo.*

^e *Arrian. Strabo.*

^f *Arrian. Strabo.*

^g *Arrian. Strabo.*

^h *Arrian. Strabo.*

ⁱ *Arrian. Strabo.*

^j *Arrian. Strabo.*

^k *Arrian. Strabo.*

^l *Arrian. Strabo.*

^m *Arrian. Strabo.*

ⁿ *Diodor.*

^o *Diodor.*

^p *Diodor.*

^q *Diodor.*

^r *Diodor.*

^s *Diodor.*

^t *Diodor.*

^u *Diodor.*

^v *Diodor.*

^w *Diodor.*

^x *Diodor.*

^y *Diodor.*

^z *Diodor.*

well as great Learning, hath given us a large Account of this Matter, occasioned by an Instance that fell out after a Battle between the Successors of *Alexander the Great*, in which *Eumenes* defeated *Antigonus*. The latter had, in his Army, a Body of Troops that had been drawn out of *India*, where they had been left in Garrison by *Alexander*, and were commanded in this Action by *Cleus*, who, fighting very gallantly, was killed upon the Spot; the rest of the Story, with his Observations upon it, I shall give you in the Author's own Words.

‘He left, says he, two Wives behind him, who followed him all the Campaign. One he had lately married, the other had been his Wife for some Years; and both loved their Husband exceedingly. It had been an ancient Custom in *India*, for Men and Women to marry themselves according to their own Liking, without consulting their Parents; and, in regard that young People would rashly marry, and often repent afterwards, as being deceived in their Choice, many Wives were corrupted, and fell in Love with other Men; and because they could not, with Credit and Reputation, leave their first Choice, they would often poison their Husbands; to the more ready effecting of which, the Country did not a little contribute, by bearing many poisonous Herbs; some of which, if mingled in ever so small a Quantity, in Meat or Drink, would infallibly kill the Person to whom it was given. This wicked Art growing every Day to a greater Perfection, and many being destroyed by this Means, notwithstanding the Examples that were made to prevent it, another Law was enacted to this Purpose, that Wives should be burnt with the Bodies of their deceased Husbands, except they were with Child, or had borne Children; and that she who would not observe the common Law of the Land, should remain for ever after a Widow; and, as one convicted of the greatest Impiety, should be excluded from all sacred Rites, and all other Benefit and Privilege of the Laws.

‘This being thus established, henceforward this wickedness of the Wives was changed into a contrary Practice; for, as every Wife, to avoid that unfulfillable Disgrace, was to die, they became not only careful to preserve the Health, and provide for the Well-being of their Husbands, as that which was likewise their own Preservation, but the Wives strove, one with another, who, by burning with his Corpse, should gain the highest Reputation. An Example of which fell out at this Time; for altho’, by the Law, one only was to be burnt with the Husband, yet, at the Funeral of *Cleus*, both strove which should die, as for some honourable Reward of their Virtue: Whereupon the Matter was brought before the Generals, for their Decision. The younger declared, that the other was with Child, and therefore her Death could not satisfy the Law: The elder pleaded, that it was more agreeable to Justice, that she, who was before the other in Years, should be preferred before her in Honour; for, in all other Cases, the constant Rule is, to yield Respect to the Elder.

‘The Captains being informed by the Midwives that the Elder was with Child, preferred the Younger; upon which, she who lost her Cause, went out weeping, rending her Vail in Pieces, and tearing her Hair, as if some sad and dreadful News had been told her; the other, rejoicing in the Victory, made forthwith to the funeral Pile, crowned by the Women of her House, and, by her Kindred, brought forth, most richly adorned, as to some nuptial Festival, all of them setting forth her Praises, as they went, in Songs suited to that Occasion.

‘As soon as she came to the Pile, she threw off her Garments, and distributed them amongst her Servants and Friends, leaving these behind her as Tokens to those who loved her. Her Ornaments consisted in Multitudes of Rings upon her Fingers, set with all manner of precious Stones, of divers Colours; upon her Head, were a great Number of little golden Stars, between which were placed sparkling Stones, of all Sorts; about her Neck, she wore abundance of Jewels, some small, others

large, increasing by degrees in Bigness, as they were put on, one after another; at length, she took Leave of all her Family and Servants, and then her Brother placed her upon the Pile; and, to the great Admiration of the People, (who flocked thither to the Sight) with an heroic Courage, she there ended her Life.

‘The whole Army, solemnly, in their Arms, marched thrice round the Pile, before it was kindled; she, in the mean time, disposing of herself towards her Husband's Body, discovered not, by any Shrieks, or otherwise, that she was at all daunted at the Noise of the crackling Flames; so that the Spectators were affected, somewhat with Pity, and others with Admiration and Astonishment of her Resolution; however, there are some who condemn this Law as cruel and inhuman.’

Such are the Sentiments of this able Historian; and we find them confirmed by some of the greatest Writers of *Greece* and *Rome*. *Strabo*, speaking of the same cruel Custom, assigns the like Reasons for it; and so had *Cicero*, long before. There cannot, therefore, be any Doubt made as to the Matter of Fact; by which we plainly see, that what was originally a peculiar Act of Generosity, became in time a common Practice, and was, in the End, established by Law, and so became a Principle of their Religion; inasmuch that Women, who refuse to comply with the Custom of their Country, are reputed infamous; and accordingly the modern Practice is, to share them, and let them turn Whores, for a Livelihood; so that none of their own Relations will look upon them, or afford them the least Support, because they consider their Cowardice as a Reflection on their Family; and, for this Reason it is, that the Relations of the Woman, and not of the Husband, always attend them to the funeral Pile, oblige them to drink a kind of stupefying Liquor, called *Dutry*, and then thrust them into the Flames.

In many Places in the *Indies*, the Custom is now in some measure laid aside, but in others it still prevails; and they erect Monuments to the Memory of these brave Ladies, in order thereby to encourage this Practice: And, not far from *Goa*, there are at this Day a *Capt* of *Indians* called *Linguis*, who have still a worse Custom; for, when the Men die, the Manner of interring them is, by letting them in a Pit, where the living Wife stands by the Body of her deceased Husband, the Earth is ram'd down to their Shoulders, and then their Necks are twisted round, and broke; after which, a little Hillock of Earth is rais'd over their Heads.

I mention this, to shew how tenacious the *Indians* are of their Customs, whether good or bad, as well as to justify the Truth of what the Antients have delivered in this respect. Before I quit this Subject, I think it will be proper to say somewhat of its Antiquity; for, undoubtedly, the *Tyrians* found it practised amongst them while they had the Monopoly of the *Indian Trade*; since the true Story of *Dido* is this; that, to avoid a second Marriage, the voluntarily burnt herself, and, after the *Indian Custom*, became a living Sacrifice to the *Mones* of her deceased Husband.

The other Laws of the *Indians* were exactly of the same Nature, founded on the Principles of strict Justice, and executed with the utmost Degree of Severity: For Instance, a Man who had given false Testimony in any Cause, civil or criminal, had his Hands and Feet cut off. He who maimed another, not only suffered the Law of Retaliation, that is to say, lost the same Member, whatever it was, but lost his Hand likewise with which he did the Fact; but, in case he put out the Eye, or took away the Use of an Hand from a Mechanic, or one who got his Bread by his Labour, he suffered Death without Mercy, as a just Punishment for depriving another Man of the Means of living. The same Sentence was passed upon him who discovered any kind of Poison, if he did not, at the same time, discover a Remedy capable of preventing its Effects. We may easily discern, that the Design of these Laws was, to support that strict Discipline, which was thought requisite for maintaining the Quiet and the Prosperity of the State.

^a *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix. p. 698.*
^b *Idem. lib. xix. p. 698.*

^c *Idem. lib. xix. p. 698.*

^d *Strabo, lib. xv. Cicer. Tullianus. Quæstion. lib. v. c. 27.*
^e *Strabo. lib. xv. p. 710.*

^f *Dr. Forster's Travel. p. 32.*

In a Word, the *Indian* Constitution was wholly of a Piece; and, if we take it throughout, was the best calculated for the Good of the Whole, of any Form of Government devised by the Wit of Man. By considering it, as we find it stated at large in this Section, we shall easily discern, why the ancient *Indians* were so jealous of Foreigners settling amongst them; since it is very evident, that a mixed People could never be brought to live peaceably under such a Constitution, which required a suitable Education, from their very Infancy, to dispose the Minds of Men to submit to it. It is also no less clear, that they discouraged as long as they found it practicable, all foreign Trade, from the same Principle; on which they reasoned after this manner: The great End of Commerce is to procure and to maintain Plenty; and as this was already well provided for by the Nature of their Constitution, and their Laws, in favour of Husbandmen, it seemed to them, that there was no foreign Trade requisite for completing the Happiness of their Subjects; but that, on the contrary, it must be attended by Consequences detrimental to that Form of Government, upon which their Felicity depended; which they thought therefore justified this Prohibition.

Hence, likewise, we discover the true Grounds of that Policy which restrained the Ambition of *Indian* Princes, and deterred them from making Conquests. The Prosperity of an *Indian* Kingdom did not depend upon an Extent of Territory, or a Multitude of Subjects; but upon the strict Obedience of those Subjects to the Laws, which never would have been secured by over-running their Neighbours; for either the conquered Nation must have been incorporated with their own, which would have been a Work difficult, if not impracticable, or these new Subjects must have lived after their old manner, which would have produced numberless Inconveniences. It was therefore the Interest, even of the most powerful of their Monarchs, rather to satisfy the Avarice of such as invaded them, by costly Gifts, than to run the Hazard of ruining their Dominions, and their Subjects, by long and bloody Wars, which never could produce them any Good, and were, in their Nature, pregnant with Mischiefs.

But what is most wonderful, and best deserves our Notice, was the Care taken by the *Indian* Constitution, to conciliate the Love of Peace with undaunted Courage, and the surprising Expedients they made use of, to inspire their Subjects with a Contempt of Death, at the same time that the great End of all their Laws was, to render their Lives easy and happy. Where People are frequently exposed to Dangers, the Sense of Danger wears off, and they acquire an habitual Courage; but where People lead an easy, regular Life, in the full Possession of all that they desire, they naturally become timorous and effeminate. This, however, was not the Case of the ancient *Indians*, among whom, there were daily Instances of Men dying, because they were not inclined to live longer; and of Women that chose to accompany their Husbands in Death, rather than endure Life without them. By these Examples, a Spirit of Heroism was kept up, and the *Brachmans*, by sealing their Doctrines with their Blood, secured an implicit Belief of all they taught; that is, of all the Principles on which their Religion and Government were founded.

There cannot, therefore, surely, be any thing more instructive, more entertaining, or more worthy of the Reader's Attention, than an ample and distinct Account of these extraordinary Men, their Tenets, Discipline, and manner of Living; by a thorough Examination of which, we shall be able to discover what mighty things the human Understanding is capable of achieving, when it is not depressed by Tyranny, or weakened by a luxurious way of Living. We shall see too, with how much Justice the *Brachmans* held the first Place assigned them in their Casts or Tribes, as Men who spent their Lives in the Study of Truth, and in teaching it to others; whereby they maintained and exercised a Power equal to Kings, in virtue only of the Wisdom of their Words, and the Conformity of their Actions to their Professions; and how the Being of this most excellent Constitution depended on the Maintenance of this Order of Men, in their primitive Integrity.

SECTION XII.

The Learning, Discipline, Offices, Manner of Living, and Privileges of the Brachmans; including also an Account of their peculiar Doctrines in Theology and Divinity.

1. The Care taken of the Women, before the Children of the Brachmans were born; and the Pains bestowed on the Education of their Sons, in order to fit them for this Profession.
2. The Discipline in their Schools, and their Exercises, in order to form their Minds, and qualify them for their public Offices.
3. Their Conduct, in quality of Priests and Prophets; their Precautions for securing their Authority; and Punctuality in Discharge of their Duties.
4. A rational and distinct Account of their Philosophy; and an Explanation of the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis, as it was taught by them.
5. The Time at which they were allowed to quit this austere Course of Life, to marry and to settle in Towns, with their Privileges.
6. Of the Germanians, Sarmanians, or elected Brachmans; the manner of their coming into the Society; their Studies and Employments.
7. Of the Brachmans, which Alexander the Great met with in the Indies; with some Conjectures as to their Form of Government.
8. Of the Mistakes, Fables, and improbable Reports, concerning these Sages, and their Philosophy.
9. Of the Proofs derived from the present State of the Brachmans, or Bramins, in the Indies, in Support of the foregoing Particulars.
10. Some Remarks upon what modern Authors have delivered upon this Subject.
11. The Conversation of Alexander the Great, with Dindamis the Brachman.

THE *Brachmans* were a Tribe, or Cast of *Indians*, who accustomed themselves to the Study of sublime Things, and were esteemed the first Cast, on Account of the Excellence and Importance of their Duty, upon the right Discharge of which depended, in a great measure, the Safety and Prosperity of the State, as will more clearly appear, when we come to speak of their civil and sacred Functions: They were divided into *Brachmans* and *Germanians*: The former were *Brachmans* by Descent, the latter by Election, as shall be explained hereafter. Their Attention to their Posterity began very early, and even while their Children were in their Mo-

ther's Womb. As soon as it was known, that one of their Wives was become pregnant, such of their Society as were charged with the bringing up of Children, went to visit the Mother, under colour of giving her their Blessing, but, in Reality, that they might have an Opportunity of bestowing on her good Counsels; such as engaging her to abstain, during her Pregnancy, from what might be hurtful to the Child, informing her what Exercises she might use, and what it was fit for her to avoid. According to the Reception she gave to these Admonitions, they regulated their Conjectures, as to the Genius and Disposition of the Child.

* Strabo, lib. xv. Arrian, de Exped. Alexand. lib. vii. Porphy, de Abstinent. lib. iv. Pallad. de Brachm. S. Ambros. de Moribus Brachm. NUM. 31.

As he grew up, he passed gradually from the Care of one Master to another, all watching attentively, not only over his Progress in Learning, but more especially, in regard to the Probity of his Manners; and, in the mean time, the greatest Care was taken, that neither the Abilities of his Mind, or the Strength of his Body, should be weakened by too great Tenderness or Indulgence. If, as he grew up to Years of Discretion, it appeared that he wanted Talents for acquiring their Knowledge, or a Constitution capable of undergoing the Hardships of that Life which these Philosophers led, he was not constrained to pursue their Course of Life, but allowed to follow any other. But, on the contrary, if he was assiduous in his Studies, and exact in the Performance of what was directed by his Superiors, he was initiated into their Mytheries, and brought up to all the Learning of the Sect. Their Schools were kept in a little Grove, at a Distance from the Town to which they belonged, where there was a Throne of Ebony placed for the Superior, from whence he delivered his Lectures; and this with such an Air of Gravity, as made so deep an Impression on the Minds of his Auditors, as that they never presumed to speak, or to much as stir, during the time of his Discourse. If, thro' any Accident, they did either, they were turned out of the School for that Day, as rude and intemperate Persons.

To lay the Truth, the Subjects of these Lectures were of so exalted a Nature, and were delivered with such Seriousness and Dignity, that they naturally commanded a most profound Reverence, especially from such as from their tender Years were filled with the highest Respect for their Instructors, and taught to conceive just Notions of the Consequences of what was thus delivered to them. In these Lectures, they insisted chiefly on the Principles of natural Religion, the Immortality of the Soul, and the Duties of Men towards each other, and to their Creator. They explained the Advantages that arose from a strict Morality, and took Pains to shew, that a Life of Hardships, in which a Man was continually exposed to what the World thought the greatest Evils, such as Abstinence from Meat and Drink, a perpetual Solitude, and the bearing the Intemperance of the Air, and the Inclemency of the Seasons, was, notwithstanding, preferable to any other Course, inasmuch as it led to the Possession of true Wisdom, the obtaining a perfect Command over their Passions, and the Enjoyment of Health; together with an undisturbed Peace of Mind: They likewise set forth the Perfections of the Supreme Being, the Wildom and Goodness of Providence, the admirable Harmony of the Universe, the Position of Man in the Scale of Beings, the End of his Creation, the Dignity of his Nature, and the Means of exalting it to the highest Degree of Perfection.

It is a thing well known to those who have studied Mankind, that it is not so much for want of Lights, as for want of Will to follow those Lights, that People fall into dangerous Errors, and gross Vices. Amongst the Brachmans this was rendered almost impracticable; for, being obliged daily, to attend several Hours to the wise Discourses of their Chief, their having constantly before their Eyes so many Examples of rigid Virtue, and the Reproaches to which they were exposed, if they, at any time, failed in their Duty, kept them equally firm in their Principles and Practice. We may add to this; the Ambition of sustaining the Rank of their Cast, which was the first in the State, and to which the highest Honours were paid by the People, must have contributed not a little, to keep up their Spirits, and to encourage them in the Pursuit of those Studies which were attended with so high a Reward.

2. As to their Exercises, they spent a great Part of the Day and Night in Prayer, in singing Hymns to the Deity, in making Vows for the Prosperity of their Prince and People, and for procuring the Blessing of Heaven upon all their Endeavours. When they were not thus occupied, they retired to their Cells, where they meditated on the great Truths of Philosophy, amused themselves with Experiments, or discoursed with such of their Friends as came

to see them: But if, at any time, they were sensible, that they exceeded in this, by talking too much, too truly, or upon improper Subjects, they imposed a voluntary Silence upon themselves, which, constituting an absolute Silence, for a certain Space of Time, made a sufficient Abatement for their former Indiscretion.

It is inconceivable to what Heights of Science this kind of Life conducted them; for their Spirits being continually active, their Heads perfectly clear, and their Hearts full of that Confidence which is the Result of Innocence, they considered themselves, and were considered by others, as a Race of People superior to common Men. In some Instances, this led them to a sort of Behaviour, which looked like Pride; for they never visited any: And when their Friends came to see them, they constantly entertained them with moral or philosophical Discourses, suited to the capacities of their Hearers; and meddled very little, if at all, with the common Concerns of Life, despising alike the Pleasures which other Men sought, and the Difficulties of which they complained. They are, on this Account, charged with Haughtiness, Self-conceit, and Vanity, by some of the Antients, and by most of the Moderns. But whoever attentively considers the Necessity there was keeping exalted Ideas of a future State constantly in View, in order to lead such a Life here, as these Men did, when, at the same time that it was so honourable to themselves, was likewise of so great Consequence to Society, they will plainly see, that nothing but such a Frame of Spirit as the Brachmans are said to have possessed, could have enabled them to have gone through so fatiguing a Course of Life, with Satisfaction to themselves, and to the Benefit of their Countrymen.

In a Word, the Abatement of their Pride, as it is called, must have been attended with an Abatement of their Virtue; of which we have an Example in *Cullanus*, who, being once prevailed upon to visit *Alexander the Great*, and to converse with the *Grecians*, came soon after to have such a Compliance for them, as to quit his Country, and follow that Monarch into *Persia*; for which he was derided and despised by his Brethren, as a Renegade; and with Reason, unless we can imagine, that the Manners and Morals of the *Brachmans*, at that time equally free from all Superstition and Impurity, were not superior to those of the *Macedonians*, who were visibly the most ambitious, the most unjust, and the cruellest People upon the Earth; who thought they were to lord it over all other Nations, and that the Victories of their Princes were to serve no other End, than filling their Pockets, and gratifying their Passions. If, unless we can prefer such a Conduct, to the peaceable, modest, and quiet Behaviour of the *Indians*, we must allow his Brethren to have been in the right, and *Cullanus* in the wrong: And consequently, we must confess, that the Appearance of Pride in the *Brachmans* was really no more, than the Reflexion of too bright a Virtue, which vulgar Eyes are not able to bear.

3. They were as venerable in their public Characters, as unblameable in their private Lives; and it was the Purity of the latter, that recommended them to the former; for the *Indians*, in the earliest Ages, were thoroughly persuaded, that Sanctity of Manners was the Quality most requisite in Priests. The *Brachmans* acted, every-where, through all the *Indies*, in this Capacity; so that whenever sacrifices were made to the Gods, either to deprecate their Wrath, or by way of Thanksgiving for their Favours, the *Brachmans* constantly officiated: It was on such Occasions that they made solemn Sermons to the People, in which they usually inculcated three Things: The first was, Reverence to the Divine Being, from whom they received all Things who was alone capable of granting them what they wished, and of defending them from what they feared, and to whom they were accountable for the Use they made of the Benefits he bestowed upon them. The second was, Obedience to the Laws, and a hearty Concern for the Welfare of the Society. The third regarded the Love of Liberty, and the Obligations they were under to sacrifice their own

* *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*. *Plutarch* in *Alexandro*.

Philodotus lib. iii.

Bayle's Dictionary.

* *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*. *Apuleius*.

* See the Discourse between *Alexander* and *Dindamis*, at the Close of this book.

* *Apollonius* in *Florus*, lib. i. *Clem. Alexandr.* *Strabo* lib. i.

* *Tacitus* de *Morte Principum*. See the *Annals* of *Augustus*.

particular and immediate Happiness, to the preserving the Form of Government, under which they lived, in its full Vigour, in order to provide thereby for the Security and Welfare of their Posterity¹.

The Sacrifices they offered, were absolutely pure, and consisted chiefly in burning Incense, and other Perfumes, upon their Altars; and, while these were burning, they delivered in the most pathetic Terms, a solemn Prayer to God, in the Name of the People. They likewise took upon them the Office of *Augurs*, in which they delivered Oracles to the People, as they presented their Petitions to the Deity; but, if it so fell out, that a Man was thrice mistaken in his Attempts to prophesy, he was thenceforward condemned to perpetual Silence; which seems to have been a very wise Contrivance for preventing the Fallings of particular Men from bringing their Order into Disrepute. Another Function of their Ministry consisted in Ablutions, when they washed the People in the River *Ganges*, as a Token of their being cleansed from all Impurity, delivered from the Stain of Sin, and rendered acceptable in the Eyes of God: This was an exterior Rite, signifying a general Repentance of past Offences, and a sincere Renovation of their Desire to fulfil the Will of God in every respect, agreeable to other symbolical Institutions, which were common in the Religion of the *Brachmans*².

It was, by this regular Discharge of their Duty, on all public Occasions, and by the Austerity of their Lives, that they maintained their Influence over the People, and supported that Dignity and Precedence which the Laws had given them, and which they would very soon have lost, if their Characters had been stained by their Negligence, or their Vices. It was, without doubt, a very great Power that they enjoyed; and we should scarce credit what the Antients have delivered upon this Subject, if the Remains of that profound Veneration and Respect did not, in a great measure, subsist even at this Day. The *Brachmans* are still acknowledged the first Cast among the *Indians*, are yet considered as their Priests and Prophets; and, in short, the Privileges of which they are now possessed, are so many rational and convincing Testimonies of the Truth of what these old Writers have delivered.

4. As the *Brachmans* were possessed of all the Science in their Nation, and were, in a manner, the only Men of Learning in it, they, for the better and more effectual Cultivation of Knowledge, applied themselves to different Branches; that is, after they had first ran through the general Discipline of their Schools; for it was a Maxim of theirs, and that not at all ill-founded, that the Sciences depended upon each other; and that, to be perfectly Master of one, it was necessary that a Man should have a Tincture of the rest.

They stuck to one Sort of Knowledge. Some of the *Brachmans* addicted themselves to Philosophy; and it was by them that System was formed, which has been since known in the World by the Name of the *Indian* or *Pythagorean*, and which is, in Truth, the Basis of the new Philosophy, and, therefore, deserves to be particularly considered. They thought that there was One necessary self-existent Being, from whom all other Spirits were derived, and all the Matter of the Universe created by his Will. They represented this Being, as pervading the Whole, and yet occupying no Space; and, as they ascribed the Existence of the Universe to his Power, so they acknowledged the Preservation and Direction thereof to be the Effects of his Wisdom. They had a very distinct Idea of the solar System; though the Writers that have mentioned their Opinions, have represented them very confusedly; so that all we can gather from them is, that they regarded the Universe as a Sphere; of which, it is said, they made the Earth the Centre; but I rather think the Sun; and that their dancing round his Figure, represented the Effects of the Motion of the Sun round its own Axis. The Manner in which they spoke on these Subjects, and the Difference of their Opinions from those of the *Greeks*, occasioned the Mistake.

They held, that Water was the Principle of all Things, and that the Heavens and the Stars were not composed of Elemental Matter, that is, not of the same Matter with

our lower World. They made use of some odd Comparisons, or rather of Parables, that were a little strained, to express their Notions about Things that do not so properly fall under the Cognizance of the human Understanding, and will, therefore, appear dark and confused, tho' treated with the utmost Care, and by Men of the most distinguished Abilities. In Points that more nearly concerned Mankind, they were explicit enough. They taught, for Example, that as the World had a Beginning, so it should likewise have an End, and that by Fire. They were of Opinion, that all Countries produced whatever was requisite for making their Inhabitants happy; and that reasonable Men ought rather to contract their Appetites, than to be content with what Nature, in all Places, bestows, than augment the Inconveniences, to which human Nature is subject, by desiring what is the Product of other Lands. As to Spiritual Beings, they divided them into three Classes, Angels, Demons, and Men: The first they were thought perfectly good, the latter absolutely bad, the third capable of both; and therefore, they depicted Death, because they stedfastly believed a Regeneration, the highest Degree of which they took to be the Deliverance of the Spirit from the Body, and its Association with the Angels³.

The Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* they had in common with all the Eastern Philosophers; and the Meaning of it seems to have been this: They conceived, that whatever grew, or had any Faculties, must be endowed with Spirit; from whence they inferred, that such Bodies were the Cases of Spirits, or rather Prisons, in which they were confined till they purged or purified themselves, and so purchased their own Redemption. Upon this Principle they built their Doctrine of Abstinence from Flesh, because they thought that in all Animals Spirits were included; and that in such especially, as were useful and serviceable to Men, resided those Spirits, that, though impure, had yet Principles of Good in them, the Souls of a worse kind being thrust into the Bodies of wild Beasts; which, therefore, they permitted to be eaten by those who were not of their Sect or Class: And they imagined, that in proportion as Men heightened or depressed their animal Faculties in this Life, they should fare in the next; that is to say, such as gratified their brutal Passions, passed into Beasts; and such as cultivated the Virtues of the Mind, rose, by degrees, through the several Classes of Mankind, till, in the End, they merited an entire Freedom from Body, and were received into the Company of Angels⁴.

Such, as far as I am able to gather from the Lights left us by the Antients, were the Opinions of the *Brachmans* who taught Philosophy. Another Sort of them there were, who bent their Studies principally to the cultivating of Policy, or the Laws and Constitutions of their Country; it was to these that, in critical Conjunctions, their Princes addressed themselves for their Advice, without which they were not at Liberty to act in difficult Cases. At such Times the Monarch had not the Power of sending for such as he desired to consult, but was obliged to go to the Grove where they resided, and where he was constrained to comply with their Ceremonies and Manner of living, by laying aside all Marks of Grandeur, eating, as they did, Herbs, Fruit and Puls, and listening attentively to their Discourses. They did not permit such Conversations to last above a Day and a Night, and the latter was generally the Time in which they gave such Audiences. There were a third Sort, that applied themselves chiefly to Morality; in which they instructed the People who came to visit them, and to hear their Discourses⁵. It is highly probable, that they passed thro' these Offices in the different Periods of their Lives; so that they were advanced in Years before they arrived at the Capacity of teaching in the School of Philosophy, at the Head of which there was always the oldest and gravest *Brachman* of the Country: But this is what I gather from comparing the Accounts we have of them, and is not positively laid by any Author; so that, if the Reader thinks it improbable, he is at Liberty to reject it.

5. The *Brachmans* pass their Days in Groves, at a

¹ Strabo, lib. xv. Arrian in Indici. Philostrat. lib. viii.

Clem. Alexand. Stromata, lib. iii.

² Strabo, Arrian, Plutarch.

³ Strabo, Arrian, Philostrat.

⁴ Pallad. et S. Jacobus de Moribus *Brachmanorum*.

⁵ Strabo, lib. xv. Arrian in Indici.

small Distance from Towns, where they eat and slept under the Trees upon the Ground, or else in Caves. As to their Drefs, Authors differ very widely: It is generally said, that they went naked, and were, from thence, called *Gymnophiles*; but this must be understood only when they were at home, that is, in their Groves: For, when they were employed in their public Functions, they wore a Turbant on their Heads, a Linen Garment on their Bodies, which was called the sacred Robe; had a Staff in their Right Hand, and a Ring upon one Finger. Some Authors, indeed, speak of very different Clothing: *Hierocles* mentions a Robe of that kind of Stone, which may be spun into an incombustible Cloth^a. *Megasthenes* asserts, that their Garments were made of the Barks of Trees^b; and, very probably, their Customs, in this respect, might vary in different Ages.

After they had spent thirty-seven Years in their Ministry, they were allowed to quit it, to live the Remainder of their Days at Ease in the Towns, dressed like other People; might eat the Flesh of wild Beasts, and take as many Wives as they thought fit, in order to preserve the Race of the *Brachmans*. But it was an essential Rule, to such as entered into the Matrimonial State, that they were not to reveal any of the Secrets of their Philosophy to their Wives; and this for two Reasons: First, because there was great Reason to doubt, whether they would be discreet enough to conceal what they were thus taught: And, secondly, it was no less doubted, if they should, whether this Accession of Knowledge might not incline them to Pride and Disobedience. This is certainly a very plain and probable Account of the Marriages of the *Brachmans*; and we discern therein the same wise Precaution, the same Regard to the particular Interest of this Cast, and the same Respect to the Good of the Whole, that is so manifest in the Provisions made for all other Casts of People, in virtue of the *Indian Constitution*^c.

Notwithstanding they had quitted the Order, as we may call it, yet they were treated with the utmost Respect, and enjoyed all the Privileges annexed to their Cast, as much as if they had still remained in their Groves, and continued to officiate as Priests. That is to say, they were exempted from all Duties, they were permitted to gather Herbs, Fruits, and Puls, where-ever they thought fit; and were allowed Oil, for anointing their Bodies, at the public Expence: They were likewise made welcome at the Tables of the Great, where they gave their Advice, and discoursed freely, on public Affairs: And it was commonly out of the Number of these married *Brachmans*, that the Senators^d were chosen, in whom was vested so large a Share of the Administration. Thus, in every Station, they were attended with Reverence, and found themselves particularly considered both by their Princes and Fellow-Subjects; whose Interests as they perfectly understood, so they constantly pursued them; and, by interposing, when their Princes were inclined to arbitrary Measures, they hindered the Violation of the Laws, and secured the Happiness of the People.

Thus they passed their Days, even to old Age, without any Danger of being neglected, or meeting with Contempt: The Law secured them from this, as an habitual Temperance did from most Diseases; of which they were, generally speaking, so much athamed, from an Apprehension, that they would be looked upon, especially if of a long Continuance, as the Effects of Excess, that they, generally speaking, chose to die rather than bear them. When the Inconveniences of old Age began to weigh them down, they had certainly recourse to this violent Remedy; and, having ordered a Pile of Wood to be erected in some public Place, they ascended it, dressed in their best Apparel, and with whatever Ornaments they possessed. There they sung certain Hymns, setting forth the Vanity of human Life, wherein Men amuse themselves with Dreams and Shadows, except the Few who are mindful of that heavenly Country, which their Souls are to inhabit; and then laid themselves down upon their Faces, and remained there still and quiet, without to much as a

Groan, till they were consumed to Ashes^e, leaving the Example of their Death to inspire their Countrymen with Courage to adhere steadily to the Principles which they had taught them, in spite of any Checks or Misfortunes that they might meet with. Thus living and dying, they were always useful to Society; and, as their Dispute began even before their Entrance into Life, so it ended only with their last Breath; for they were wont to compare the Weakness and Infirmitates of old Age to the imperfect Senses of a Child while in the Womb, and their burning themselves to their being brought forth a second time to a new Life, sifting that Action their Regeneration.

6. We are now to speak of the second Sort of *Brachmans*, or of such as became so by Election, and who were taken from different Classes, being such as desired to be admitted into the Order: For, as the *Brachmans* professed themselves Lovers of Wisdom, they thought it neither just nor reasonable to exclude those who were desirous of attaining, by voluntary Application, what they, by a regular Education, had acquired. These, as *Megasthenes* reports, were called *Germanians*^f; but they are styled *Sarmatians* by *Clemens Alexandrinus*^g. The Manner in which they were admitted was this: They went to the Magistrates of the City to which they belonged, and, in the first place, made a clear and distinct Discovery of all their Effects, which they delivered up to them for the Maintenance of their Wives, in case they had any; and, if they had Children, they were taken care of by the King. After this Step they presented themselves to the Person who was at the Head of this Body of Sages, and desired to be admitted amongst them: Upon which they were strictly examined, as to the Sincerity and Steadiness of their Resolutions, and the Desire they had to pass the Remainder of their Days in the Study and Practice of Philosophy. An Inquiry was next made into the Behaviour of their Ancestors, in which they ascended as high as their great Grandfathers; and if they found, that any, within nine three Degrees, were justly chargeable with Pride, Intemperance, or Covetousness, such a Candidate was rejected; but if nothing of this sort appeared, then a strict Inquiry was made into his own Life and Conversation; and if he had a good Memory, had been always remarkable for Modesty, for a peaceable and humble Behaviour throughout his whole Life, and had never given any Marks of a proud, revengeful, or humorous Disposition, he was admitted^h.

These differed from the *Brachmans* in this, That they inhabited most of them between the Rivers *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*; where they had Houses and Temples not only neat and convenient, but also handsomely adorned, at the King's Expence. At a certain Hour they were called to the Temple, by the Sound of a Bell, where they assisted at public Prayers, and from whence they were not allowed to stir till the Bell rung again, to inform them, that the Service was over for that Day. The King's Officers then gave each of them a Porringer of boiled Rice, or some sort of Food which was equivalent; and then they sat before they separated. The Habits they wore were made of the Bark of Trees, or of coarse Cotton; they passed all their Days in the strictest Chastity, and never drank any strong Liquor whatever. As they studied the Divinity, Philosophy, and Policy, of the *Brachmans*, they attained, in time, to a great Degree of Wisdom, and were consulted by their Kings; and presided with equal Honour at the Sacrifices that were made by the People. In a Word, it appears that they were received into a full Participation of all their Privileges, except that of quitting the Order, and of Marriage; which there was the less Reason they should enjoy, since, of their own Accord, they had quitted that State already. It was of this kind of *Brachmans* that most of the Stories were told, that we find recorded in the Life of *Apollonius*; for, instead of cultivating the high and sublime Sciences, they amused themselves chiefly in acquiring natural Secrets; which Science, in those Days, was third

^a Hierocles in his Geography. ^b Strabo ubi supra.

^c Strabo ubi supra. ^d Strabo ubi supra.

^e Strabo ubi supra. ^f Strabo ubi supra.

^g Strabo ubi supra. ^h Strabo ubi supra.

ⁱ Strabo ubi supra.

^j Strabo ubi supra.

^k Strabo ubi supra.

^l Strabo ubi supra.

^m Strabo ubi supra.

ⁿ Strabo ubi supra.

^o Strabo ubi supra.

^p Strabo ubi supra.

^q Strabo ubi supra.

^r Strabo ubi supra.

^s Strabo ubi supra.

^t Strabo ubi supra.

^u Strabo ubi supra.

^v Strabo ubi supra.

^w Strabo ubi supra.

^x Strabo ubi supra.

^y Strabo ubi supra.

^z Strabo ubi supra.

^{aa} Strabo ubi supra.

^{ab} Strabo ubi supra.

^{ac} Strabo ubi supra.

^{ad} Strabo ubi supra.

Magic: They were likewise a kind of itinerant Physicians, and took a great deal of Pains to make themselves successful this Way; but we are informed that their Medicines consisted chiefly, if not wholly, in Draughts, or Fomentations; and we are told by *Strabo*^a, that they professed the Knowledge of certain Secrets, that were equally extraordinary and ridiculous.

The Reader, after perusing these Accounts, will be able to resolve, without much Trouble, most of those Difficulties, which some modern Critics^b have represented as inexplicable. For Instance, when he is told that one Author says, that the *Brachmans* live always in Woods, and another that they were frequently seen at Courts, and admitted into the Cabinets of Princes; instead of taking this for a flat Contradiction, he will perceive, that the former speaks of the *Brachmans* that were still pursuing their Studies; and the latter, of such as had completed their Course; and, according to the Rules of the Society, had Liberty to retire, to marry, to live in Cities, and to be chosen Senators. He will likewise be able to account for the seeming Difference between living together in a kind of collegiate State, and rambling through the Country like a kind of Doctors; because the former must be understood of the *Brachmans* by Descent, and the latter of their Associates, who, at their own Request, were admitted to the Pursuit of such Studies. In a Word, it is in this as in most other Things, a hasty Collection of the various Accounts, given by different Authors, thrown together without Order or Method, serves no other Purpose than giving us confused and indistinct Notions; whereas when we take the Pains to range Things methodically, and under their proper Heads, this Obscurity is dispelled, and we see the whole Matter in a clear and true Light.

7. The Account we have of *Alexander's* attacking and destroying a Kingdom of the *Brachmans*, is very extraordinary: And, from the Lights afforded us from History, not easily to be accounted for, since we are no-where told, that these Philosophers affected Government, or desired to make themselves Princes. It is likewise related, that *Alexander* put to Death near fourscore thousand of these People; which cannot, certainly, be understood of the *Brachmans*, taken in a strict Sense^c. And therefore I am apt to think, that in this Country, upon the Death of some hereditary Prince, without Issue, a *Brachman*, who, perhaps, was a Senator, succeeded him in his Throne by Election: And in that Case, it is natural to believe, there might be a more than ordinary Number of his Cast resident in his Dominions. It is true, that *Diodorus the Sicilian*, and many other of the Writers of Antiquity, called the Subjects of King *Sambus* expressly the *Brachman* Nation; but from the Account that we have given, the Reader will be able to deliver himself from this Difficulty, from his Knowledge, that the *Brachmans* are not a Nation by themselves, but a Class or Cast in every Nation; tho' it was very natural for a Greek Writer, when he heard of a *Brachman* Prince, and a Senate of *Brachmans*, to conclude that this was their Kingdom: But there is no Reason, that we should be misled by his Mistake, especially when it can be so easily accounted for, and plainly set to Rights, by the Distinction we have proposed.

As it is my Business to give the Reader all the Information I can, I will take this Opportunity of inserting and explaining another Passage in the History of *Alexander* the Great, which happened at the time that he destroyed the Kingdom of this *Brachman* Prince *Sambus*. It happened, that at the Siege of *Harmatelia*, which was the principal City of that Kingdom, the Inhabitants wounded many of the *Macedonians* with poisoned Arrows; amongst the rest *Ptolemy Lagus*, afterwards King of *Egypt*; for whose Misfortune *Alexander* was exceedingly concerned, because all who had been hitherto wounded, died, in spite of all the Care that could be taken of them: But the Life of *Ptolemy* was saved by the King's having a Dream, in which he was informed, that a certain Herb, common in the Country, would cure this Poison; which it did effectually^d. Now

this Dream was, undoubtedly, no more than an Artifice, and *Alexander* received his Information from some *Brachman*; for, as we have seen before, no such Poison could be used, unless the Remedy was likewise known; and this gives a fair Account of the Performance of this Cure, without a Miracle. This Pretence of the Dream, however, was a well-chosen Stroke of Policy, because it intimated, that *Alexander* was particularly favoured by the Gods; which was an Opinion he always laboured to establish, especially among his own People: For, as to the *Indians*, it can hardly be supposed, that the Tale of the Dream would go down with them, because they knew the Remedy before, and could therefore account for the Discovery of it to the King, without the Interposition of any Divinity.

8. As the *Brachmans* were, in reality, a very extraordinary People, and had amongst them some very strange Customs, it was natural enough for Authors, who delight in relating Wonders, to give us some very improbable Stories about them. It appears from a Passage in *Strabo*, that they injured themselves to Fatigue; for he speaks of two *Brachmans*, one of whom gave a Proof of Patience, by lying on the hard Ground, and there suffering whatever the Sun and the Rain pleased. The other, who was not so far advanced in Years, exhibited his Proofs, by standing a whole Day, sometimes on the Right Foot, sometimes on the Left, while, with both his Hands, he bore up a large Piece of Wood in the Air^e.

All this is very credible; and the Greek Writers tell us something of the same Kind, with regard to their great Philosopher *Socrates*; but *Pliny* carries these Exercises of Patience beyond all Bounds, when he says, that the *Brachmans* gazed upon the Sun with fixed and steadfast Eyes, from his Rising to his Setting; and that they sometimes stood whole Days upon one Foot, in the midst of burning Sands^f. Yet *Solinus* advances this a Step farther; and for Fear it should be thought, that they did all this to no Purpose, he is so kind as to assure us, that they discovered mighty Secrets by thus surveying the Sun^g.

We have already given an Account of the Marriages of the *Brachmans*, and have assigned the true Reason why their Cast was less numerous than the rest, notwithstanding that the *Indian* Women are generally very prolific. But *Suidas* hath a very extraordinary Story upon this Subject^h: He says, that the *Brachmans* dwell in an Island in the Ocean, where the Air is so pure, that they lived one hundred and fifty Years; they are obliged to be contented there, not with Bread and Water, but with Water, and a few Apples: They do nothing but pray to God. In the Months of *July* and *August*, the Fruits being more plentiful, warm them with the Fire of Love; so that they go to find out their Wives beyond the *Ganges*, and stay with them forty Days, and then repass into their Island. So soon as a Woman hath brought forth two Children, her Husband goes to see her no more: She, on her side, comes not near any Man more; and if any Woman has been barren for five Years together, her Husband makes no farther Trial of her, and repasses the Sea no more with the others. This was not the Way to stock the Country greatly; nor was it very populous, as *Suidas* observes: But he should not have forgotten to acquaint us, that these are Stories made at Pleasure, and Romances, which idle Scribblers have forged.

But, notwithstanding all these Fables that disfigure their History, we find, in all Ages, the most intelligent and polite Writers extremely favourable to these Sages; and *Apuleius*ⁱ, who was both an elegant and candid Writer, has left us such a Character of these Men, as extremely deserves our Notice; and therefore I shall finish my Citations with his judicious Account of our Philosophers: 'There is also, says he, among the *Indians*, a noble sort of Men called *Gymnosophists*. I have a very great Value for them, because they are skilful Men, not, indeed, in laying the Vine, nor in grafting a Tree, nor in tilling the Ground. They do not know how to cultivate a Piece of Land, or to melt Gold, or to break a Horse, or to tame a Bull, or to shear a Sheep or a Goat, or to lead them to the Pasture.

^a *Geograph. lib. xv. p. 431.* where he says, that by their Medicines they could make a Person beget many Children; and those either Boys or Girls, as they chose themselves.

^b See the Article of *Gymnosophists*, in *Baile's Dictionary*.

^c *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. Strabo lib.*

^d *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

^e *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.*

^f *Strabo, lib. xv.*

^g *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 2.*

^h *Solin.*

ⁱ *cap. 12.*

^j *Sub voce Βραχμανισμ.*

^k *In Florida.*

What is it then? Instead of all this, they know one thing: Both the most ancient Masters, and the youngest Scholars, study Wisdom; nor is there any thing for which I commend them more than for their Aversion to Indolence and Sloth. When the Cloth is laid, before the Meat is brought upon the Table, all the Youths are called together from several Places and Offices; but they are not suffered to sit down, till they have answered the Masters, who ask them, What Good they have done, since Break of Day till Dinner-time? One will answer, that having been chosen Arbitrer between two Persons at Variance, he has removed all Subjects of Hatred and Suspensions between them, and reconciled them together. Another will say, That he obeyed his Parents Commands. A third, That he found out some Truth by his own Meditation, or learnt it from another. Thus they all give an Account of the Good they have done. He who has nothing to say why he should be admitted to Table, is sent back to his Work without his Dinner.*

9. I think it necessary to take some Notice here of what has been said by the Moderns upon this Subject; more especially by such as might either be supposed better Judges from their Learning, or better qualified to come at the Truth, by their having travelled in the Indies, and being acquainted with those of this Sort of Sages that still remain there. A learned French Writer observes*, that Dr. Hyde, in his most learned Book on the Religion of the Persians, has advanced a new Notion, in supposing, that the Brachmans were so called from Abraham: But he is mistaken in this; for, though Dr. Hyde inclines to this Opinion, yet he did not advance it, since it had been long before maintained by William Postell, who asserts, that the Brachmans were descended from one of the Sons of that Patriarch by Keturah†. I agree, however, with this Critic, that the Notion is improbable; and that it is much more likely they were so called from the Word *Bram*, or *Brama*, which signifies an enlightened Man, and is also the Name of the reputed Founder of their Sect.

Their fundamental Notions remain so much the same, that it is really wonderful they have not, in the Course of so many Ages, received greater Alteration, especially considering the Revolutions that have happened in their Country, and that they have been now, for many Centuries, under a foreign Yoke; for the *Mogul* is a *Tartar* by Descent, and a *Mohammedan* by Religion; and yet it is with the *Indians* who are his Subjects, that we are best acquainted. Francis Xavier, whom the Papists stile the Apostle of the *Indies*, says, in one of his Letters, that, having acquired the Friendship of a *Brachman*, very eminent for his Knowledge and Learning, he opened himself to him in the following Terms: 'The Secret of our Religion consists in these two Points: first, in knowing that there is one God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and the Author of all Good, who alone is to be worshipped; the second is, that the Idols are the Images only of evil Genii: But Care must be taken not to divulge this to the People; it is a Doctrine quite out of their Reach; and the Principles of good Policy require, that they should not be made acquainted with any Divinity. These were the Principles of our old Philosophy; Prosecute your Studies, and pursue Truth; but, if you should be so happy as to reach it, communicate your Discoveries only to a few. The Many are to be held with a tight Rein, and not to be kept in strict Subjection; which cannot possibly be done, if they are not hindered from seeing to the Bottom of Things, and their Imaginations flattered with pleasing Appearances.'

Our old, and our modern Travellers, agree very well, in their Accounts of the modern *Bramins*, with what I have before delivered: The celebrated Signor Pietro della Valle, a noble Roman, a learned and candid Writer, and whose Travels are justly esteemed as accurate as any that were ever made into this Part of the World, tells us, that though the Sects of the *Indians* are multiplied to eighty-four, yet they may be reduced to four; viz. the *Brachmans*, the Soldiers, the Merchants, and the Mechanics.

In the essential Points of Religion, says he, all agree; for all believe the Transmigration of Souls; which, according to their Merits and Demerits, they think, are sent by God into other Bodies, either of Animals, more or less clean, and of more or less painful Life; or else of Men, more or less noble and handsome, and more or less pure of Race, wherein they place not a little of their vain Superstition, accounting all other Nations and Religions, besides themselves, unclean; and some more than others, according as they more or less differ from their Customs: All equally believe, that there is a Paradise in Heaven with God, but that thercinto go only the Souls of their own Nation, more pure, and without any Sin, who have lived piously in this World; or, in case they have sinned, that after diverse Transmigrations into various Bodies of Animals and Men, having, by often returning into the World, undergone many Pains, they are, at length, purged, and at last die in the Body of some Man of Indian and noble Race, as the *Brachmans*, who amongst them are held the noblest and purest, because their Employment is nothing else but the divine Worship, the Service of Temples, and Learning; and they observe their own Religion with more Rigour than any others.

He likewise says, they acknowledge there is a Devil, whom they describe much in the same manner that we do: And they likewise think, that many wretched Souls, unworthy ever to have Pardon from God, as the last of the great Punishments which they deserve, become Devils also; than which they judge there cannot be a greater Misery. The greatest Sin in the World they account the eating of Blood, especially that of Men; and then, above all, the eating of human Flesh, as some barbarous Nations do, who are therefore detested by them more than all others. Hence the strictest among them, as the *Brachmans*, and particularly the *Boti*, not only kill not, but eat not, any living thing; and even from Herbs tinged with any reddish Colour, representing Blood, they wholly abstain. Others of a larger Conscience eat only Fish; and the lowest Sort, and such as have scarce any Conscience at all, tho' they will not kill, will nevertheless eat all sorts of Animals for Food, except Cows; to kill and eat which, they have an absolute Abhorrence; for they say, that the Cow is their Mother, on account of the Milk she gives them, and the Oxen she breeds, with which they plough, and make use of them, from the Scarcity of other Animals, upon almost all Occasions; so that they think they have Reason to lay the World is supported by a Cow, which, from being used as a Proverb, is now converted into a Fable. Moreover, as Cows are well kept in India, and much taken Care of, they believe that the best Souls, to whom God has given little Pain in this World, pass into them; which is a new Motive of Veneration.

The same Author informs us, that the Race of the *Germanians* are still in Being, tho' under another Name. I shall give the Reader the Author's own Words, and leave him to judge of them. 'The *Gioghis*, says he, are not *Brachmans* by Descent, but by Choice, as our religious Orders are. They go naked; most of them with their Bodies painted and smeared with different Colours; yet some of them are only naked, with the rest of their Bodies smooth, and only their Foreheads dyed with Sanders, and some red, yellow, or white Colour; which is also imitated by many secular Persons, out of Superstition and Gallantry. They live upon Alms, despising Cloaths, and all other worldly Things. They marry not, but make severe Profession of Chastity, at least in Appearance; for in secret it is known, that many of them commit as many Debaucheries as they can. They live in Society, under the Obedience of their Superiors, and wander about the World, without having any settled Abode. Their Habitations are the Fields, the Streets, the Porches, the Courts of Temples and Groves, especially under those where any Idol is worshipped by them; and they undergo, with incredible Patience, Day and Night, no less the Rigour of the Air, than the excessive Heat of the Sun, which, in these sultry Countries, is a thing sufficiently to be admired.'

* *Il Jure Critique de la Philosophie*, p. 95.

† *Aug. Isaac*, by Sir Tho. Roe, p. 437, 438.

‡ In *Commentario ad Jer. arab.*

* *Cap. xiv.*

* *Cap. xvii.*

* *Voyage*

In the Accounts that has been published of Sir Thomas Roe's Voyage to the *Indies*, which was drawn up by his Chaplain, we have the original Rule delivered to the *Indians* by *Brama*, in relation to sparing the Lives of Animals: It runs thus: "Thou shalt not kill any living Creature, whatsoever it be, having Life in the same; for thou art a Creature, and so is it; thou art indeed with Life, and so is it; thou shalt not therefore spill the Life of any of thy fellow Creatures that live." Other Precepts, they say, were delivered unto them by their Law-giver, about their Devotions in their Wailings and Worshipings; wherein they are commanded to observe Times for Fasting, and Hours for Watching, that they may be the better fitted for them. Other Directions they have about their Festivals; wherein they are required to take their Food moderately, not pampering their Bodies. Concerning Charity, they are farther commanded to help the Poor, as far as they are possibly able. Other Precepts they say were likewise given them in Charge, as, Not to tell false Tales, nor to utter any Thing that is untrue; not to steal any thing from others, be it never so little; not to defraud any by their Coming in Bargains or Contrails; not to oppress any, when they have Power to do it. This Writer farther informs us, that some of the *Bramins* had told him, "They acknowledged one God, whom they depicted with a thousand Eyes, with a thousand Hands, and as many Feet; that thereby they may express his Power, as being all Eye to see, and all Foot to follow, and all Hand to smite Offenders. The Consideration whereof makes that People very exact in the Performance of all moral Duties, following close the Light of Nature in their Dealings with Men; most carefully observing that royal Law, in doing nothing to others, but what they would be well contented to suffer from others."

There is a very curious Piece, relating to this Subject, that has been preferred by the Royal Society, written by Mr. John Masball, who lived long in the *Indies*, and had taken a great deal of Pains to make himself perfectly acquainted with the Notions of the modern *Bramins*; and what he says is so conclusive, that the Reader must be satisfied, that what the Antients have delivered to us concerning the Religion and Philosophy of the *Brachmans*, was strictly true. Upon what Ground, says he, some Travellers have stiled these People Polytheists, or Atheists, I cannot tell. It is very observable here, that their Priests "or *Bramins*, and holy Men, whom they call *Jagees*, or *Gigbis*, when they have Occasion to write any thing, they always put a Figure of One in the first Place, to shew, as they say, they acknowledge but One God, who, they say, is *Burme*, that is, immaterial. When they preach to the People, and instruct them, which is commonly every Feast-day, Full Moon, or the time of an Eclipse of either Luminary, they tell the common People much of God, Heaven and Hell, but very imperfectly, obscurely and mystically: They say, that when God thought of making the World, he made it in a Minute. They account this World the Body of God: For all that, they say he is immaterial; and say, that the highest Heavens are his Head, the Fire his Mouth, the Air his Breath and Brest, the Water his Seed, and the Earth, and the Mountains the rest of his Legs and Feet; but assert, in general, that God is the Life of every Thing; yet is the Thing neither greater or less for him.

They hold, that God dwelt in a Vacuity before that he created the World; and that, as he dwelt in the Vacuity, he created several Beings out of himself: The first were Angels, the second Souls, the third Spirits, all differing in Degrees of Purity; the first being more pure than the second, and the second than the third. The Angels, they say, neither act Good or Evil; the Souls either Good or Evil; but the Spirits, or *Dewtas*, as they call them, act scarce any Thing but Evil. They have a good Opinion of the Angels, and think their State mighty happy, hoping, when they die, they shall be made Partakers of the same Bliss and Pleasure. They believe, that every thing that hath Life hath a Soul, but especially Man; and they, accordingly, affirm, that as these Souls behave themselves in

their pre-existent State, so are their Actions in this World either good or bad, by a sort of fatal Necessity, which is very hard to conquer or overcome. Hence it is, say they, that there are so many different Humours and Dispositions of Men; for their Souls, before their Entrance into their Bodies, being tainted with different Affections, cause the like Difference in the Parties, whose Bodies are their Vehicles; so that if a Man happens to have a sudden or unfortunate Death, they immediately ascribe the same to the Parysown Wickedness, or the bad Life that his Soul led, before that it entered into his Body: For, say they, the aforeacted Evil that his Soul did in its other Life, brought these Accidents upon him, by getting the upper Hand of him, and by being too powerful and strong: And these, that die thus, they believe their Souls turn into Devils.

They maintain *Pythagoras's* Transmigration, or Metempsychosis, but in a grosser Sense than he did: For they believe that Mens Souls, that have not lived so well as they ought, go, as soon as the Body dies, not only into the Birds and Beasts, but even into the basest Reptiles, Insects, and Plants; where they suffer a strong sort of Purgation to expiate their former Crimes. But as for the Souls of the *Jagees* or *Gigbis*, that is, of religious Men and Saints, they fancy that they go and inhabit, with the good *Dewtas* or Angels among the Stars. As for the Spirits, or inferior Angels, they believe that they are very evil, and have a hand in all Wickednesses, Murders, Wars, Storms and Tempests; so that when they solemnize the Funeral of those that are dead, they always present Dishes of Meat as Offerings to those Spirits, and sometimes sacrifice unto them, that they may not hurt the Souls of the Dead.

As they acknowledge the Being of a mighty God, so they hold, that he created the World, and every Thing therein. They believe, that there are almost infinite Numbers of Worlds; and that God has oftentimes annihilated, and re-created the same; but how he came first to create the World, and Mankind, they relate to have been thus: Once, on a time, (say they) as he was set in Eternity, it came into his Mind to make something; and immediately, no sooner had he thought the same, but the same Minute was a perfect beautiful Woman immediately presented before him, which he called *Adea Suktee*; that is, the first Woman: Then this Figure put into his Mind the Figure of a Man; which he had no sooner conceived in his Mind, but that he also started up, and represented himself before him; this he called *Manapuisse*, that is, the first Man: Then, upon a Reflection of these Things, he resolved further to create several Places for them to abide in; and, accordingly, assuming a subtil Body, he breathed in a Minute the whole Universe, and every thing therein, from the least to the greatest.

A Divine of the Church of *Rome*, who had resided long in the *Indies*, and filled there with great Dignity a very high Post, in a Relation which is not yet printed, and therefore the more curious, gives us the following Account: "The *Brachmans* are, at this Day, the only People among the *Indians* that have a Right to cultivate the Sciences; and of this Right they are so jealous, that they suffer scarce any of those Rays to shine upon the World, which might be expected from Persons, boasting themselves in Possession of so much Light. Their Cast is the most noble and the most considerable of all, and is even looked upon to be as much superior to Princes, as Wisdom, and useful Knowledge, are, in their Nature preferable to Grandeur and Power, which Kings so easily abuse.

The Sciences cultivated by these *Brachmans*, and in which they make a greater or less Progress, in proportion to their Parts and Application, may be reduced to eighteen. The first is a kind of Grammar, which contains the Rules necessary for the understanding of that Language, which they call *Grandham*; in which they converse amongst themselves, and wherein all their Books are written: From hence their Sciences ascend in a very regular Scale, from the more simple and easy, to

¹ *Miscellanea Curiosa*, vol. 3. p. 257.

² Extract from a Manuscript written by Dom Francisco Roci, Archbishop of Cranganor.

"those which are more difficult and complex. The last, which is esteemed the Perfection of all Sciences, is styled *Veldata*, or *Vendata*; which is, as much as to say, the Close, or the Sum of all Things. This is a kind of metaphysical Theology, which the *Brachmans* receive not with a Spirit of Inquiry, but with profound and implicit Submission, as a kind of Divine Doctrine, which is, in its Nature, superior to all Examination or Dispute. Thus, these Men suffer their Wisdom to be bounded by that of their Ancestors, which, as they desire not to transcend, it is very probable they do not equal."

10. I have treated this Subject more largely, because I find many Things omitted by very great Men, who have undertaken to give us Accounts of the *Brachmans*, their Learning, Manners, and the particular Turn of their Philosophy. The celebrated *Bayle* has vouchsafed them Two Articles in his Dictionary, but seems in both to have aimed more at exposing the Contradictions of such ancient Writers as have mentioned these Philosophers, than to give his Readers any distinct and methodical Account of them from what he had himself read*. In one of his Articles indeed he tells us, that the Book, written by *Palladius* on this Subject, deserves to be consulted; and in his Notes informs us, that this Author was published from a Manuscript in the Royal Library, by Sir *Edward Bysshe*, *Clarencieux* King at Arms; and furnishes us with some Remarks on the Editions of the Book, or rather on the Change of the Title Pages; for there never was but one Edition, which I have read with a great deal of Care; and am from thence enabled to give the Reader some Lights, beyond what he can receive from Mr. *Bayle*.

The Editor of that Book collected every thing that had been written upon this Subject, of which he composed a very curious Miscellany, addressed to the Earl of *Clarendon*, then Lord High Chancellor of England. The Treatise of *Palladius* of the *Indian Nations*, and of the *Brachmans*, was indeed never published before; yet it contains very little, if any thing, new upon the Subject, since the Discourse of St. *Ambrose*, of the Manners of the *Brachmans*, which is addressed to one *Palladius*, and had been long before published in *Latin*, contains the Substance of what is related by the other in *Greek*; but the Letters of *Dindamis* or *Dandamis*, which are added to these Two Pieces, are absolutely new, and never were published but by Sir *Edward Bysshe*; for which Reason I thought the Substance of them would be acceptable to the Reader, and therefore I inserted it in a former Section.

*Strabo** mentions the Application of *Alexander* to this Philosopher, and so does *Plutarch*†; but both *Ambrose* and *Palladius* gives us a large Account of a Conference that the Monarch had with this *Brachman*, which they received from the *Indians* themselves; which is the more probable, since it is certain they had formerly Books upon this Subject, which, very probably, contained the very same Accounts that are preserved to us in these: They are much more curious, and will afford the inquisitive Reader far greater Satisfaction, than any thing that I know of, that has been written of this kind; and therefore I wonder, that so judicious and so learned a Man as Mr. *Bayle* did not rather chuse to give us some Quotations from these scarce and valuable Pieces, than from Books that were in every body's Hands, and had been so often quoted before.

The Bounds prescribed to this Work, and the many Things that are to be treated of in this single Chapter, will not allow me to insert the Whole of either of these Pieces: But, after having given such a Character of them, the Reader, perhaps, would not excuse me, if I should close this Section, without putting it in his Power to judge for himself, by adding a Specimen from a Book, which, so great a Man has told us, ought to be consulted by whoever pretends to write upon this Subject. I will therefore subjoin the Discourse between *Alexander* and the *Indian Philosopher*‡; which, I think, will be sufficient to satisfy his Curiosity, and discharge me effectually of this Part of my Task.

11. "When *Alexander* had heard, from the Report of *Onesicritus*, whom he had sent to him, that neither Promises nor Threats would induce *Dindamis* to come to him, he was the more desirous of seeing one, who, tho' naked and old, was able to overcome the Conqueror of so many Nations. He went, therefore, with a few of his Friends, to the Wood where the Philosopher was; and when he drew near it, alighting from his Horse, laying aside his Crown, and every thing that had an Appearance of Pomp or Shew, he went alone to the old *Brachman*, and sat himself down at his Feet. God save you, *Dindamis*, said he: I am come to you, because you refused to come to me. And to what Purpose do you come? said he: What is there in our Solitudes that you can desire to carry away? What you want, we have not; and what we have, is not necessary to you. We honour God, love Man, neglect Gold, and condemn Death: You, on the other hand, fear Death, honour Gold, hate Man, and condemn God. Teach us, replied *Alexander*, some of your Wisdom: They say, that you are full of Divinity; and that you often confer with God himself: Now, I would willingly know in what you excel the *Greeks*; in what you are better; in what wiser than other Men. And I, returned *Dindamis*, would willingly bestow on you, what I have received from God; but that I know, your Bosom affords not Room for such a Gift: Thy Mind is filled with vast Desires, and insatiable Avarice, and a diabolical Thirst of Empire; all which fight against me, who would endeavour to extract them from your Breast. You are desirous of going to the Ocean: I after that would conquer some other Part of the World, to satisfy those Desires which you subdue in you with Sadness when you had no more to conquer. How then is it possible I should content you? who, if all the World were subjected to your Service, would not even then be at Rest. You are made much less than the World; and yet you would conquer all, and obtain whatever Mankind possess, but, after all, you could have no more than you see me lying on, or lie you fit upon. The Case would be exactly the same, if we should remove from hence; for you and I would then be still equal in our Possessions. I desire only to use the Elements of Air, Water, and Earth, as other Men use them; and therefore whatever I have, I justly possess; for if you were possessed of all the Rivers in the World, you could only drink Water from them as I do. If you will but learn Wisdom of me, you will want nothing; for he has all who desires no more than he has. For it is Desire that is the Mother of Poverty; which, without knowing the proper Remedy, you seek to cure; for whoever seeks to possess all Things, will never find what he seeks; and, meeting with no Rest in what he possesses, but expecting it from what is yet to be possessed, he still excruciates himself more and more. You will have the greatest Wealth possible, and enjoy it with the utmost Pleasure, if you would live thus with me; for, if you could taste the Wisdom I teach you, you would possess all the Riches I have. The Heavens serve me for a Canopy, the Earth is my Bed; I drink out of the River, and the Field here supplies me with Food; I do not eat other Animals like a Lion, neither do the Remains of other Animals consume in me, and so make my Body their Sepulchre; but I feed naturally upon Fruits, as on the Milk my Mother gave me.

"But you are desirous of knowing what it is I possess, more than other Men, and how far I am wiser. I live, as you see, agreeable to the Manner in which I was created: I live as I came from my Mother's Womb, naked, without Riches, and without Care. I know what God has done, and I know what will be done by him. You, on the other hand, are amazed at the Production of Things to come, because you understand not the Works of God, which he sheweth you every Hour, such as Famine, Plagues, Wars, Droughts, Rains, and fruitful Seasons; all which I know how, whence, and to what End they come: Which Knowledge is com-

* See the Articles *Brachmani* and *Gymnosophisti*.
† *Strabo*, lib. xi. de *Geographiis*, p. 25. §. *Ambrosius de Moribus Brachmanum*, p. 7.

‡ In *Alexandro*.

§ *Palladius de Gentibus*, lib. 2.

"communicated to me by Providence; and it rejoices me, that God is pleased to communicate his Works to my Understanding, so that I know, and am persuaded of his Justice. If, at any time, Kings address themselves to me, as to a Messenger of God, under the Apprehensions of War, or any other Evil, I pray to God in their Behalf; and, having restored their Courage by Words of Consolation, I send them back with some comfortable Message.

"Tell me which is best, to kill and destroy Men, and thereby obtain a Fame for Mischief, or, by preserving them, and doing them good, to acquire that of a Benefactor? And which agrees best with the Character of the Sons of God, to war against and overturn what God hath established, or, rather, peaceably to support, and earnestly endeavour to restore, whatever is decayed, as the Servant of the Deity? It is not, O King, either thy great Power, thy immense Wealth, the Multitude of Elephants, the costly Robes that are about thee, the numerous Armies under thy Command, or what thou hast taken from other Nations in War and Battle, that can assist thee, but a proper Attention to my Words, and a due Regard to the Counsels I give thee. Neither am I afraid of thee, O Alexander, though thou shouldst kill me; for I should go immediately to God, who knows my Cause, and from whom my Life has not been hid: For what can there be hid from him? The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, all serve him for Eyes; and he will judge whoever does an Injury to his Neighbour; neither is there any Place to which thou canst fly, to avoid his Justice in that State of Retribution.

"Therefore, O Alexander, seek not to overturn what God has established, or to ruin and deface what he hath pleased him to adorn: Neither shed the Blood of Citizens, or lay waste whole Nations, that they may feel the Weight of thy Power: For, is it not better for thee to live, than to make others die? and, thereby, render your own Death a Blessing to others? Tell me why, having but one Soul thyself, thou wouldst destroy whole Nations? Why shouldst thou rejoice at filling the World with Mischief? Why shouldst thou regard the Distresses of others as thy Gain? Why smile, because others weep? Share here with me my naked Solitude, and thereby enrich thyself at once, and others. Henceforward renounce all Wars, and embrace here that Peace which Submission to Providence bestows: Boast no longer of your Power of doing Mischief, but enjoy here with us all the real Pleasures of Life: Throw off that Garment made of a Sheep-skin, and be no longer proud of wearing the Spoils of a dead Beast: You will then, by imitating us, do Honour to yourself, and become such an one as you were created to be; for the Soul exercises itself in Virtue, when in this State of Solitude. Prefer therefore, King Alexander, our seemingly savage Life, in which you will be happier than you have hitherto been. Even now your Macedonians expect you to raise new Wars, to slaughter other Nations, and to despoil fresh Countreys: but they are sad, if other People be sate; uneasy, if they make not the rest of the World so; and, having nothing in View but their own Gain, regard not what enormous great Injustice they commit, so they augment it."

"How happy a Life mightst thou lead, by doing what God intended thou shouldst do, pursuing thy own Good without Prejudice to others! Now, while it is yet Time, hear what I say, and listen to the good Advice I give thee: For, if thou art deaf to these Admonitions, I shall hereafter, when we are delivered out of this World, see thee suffering in the Air, and bitterly lamenting the Evils brought upon thyself, by inflicting Evil upon others. You will then think of my Words; and none of you Horse and Foot will follow you there, as, by your Clamours, disturb your Meditations, which will be wholly employed in the Remembrance of Mischief done as thou wilt then feel, to thyself: For well I know the just Punishments which God inflicts upon ungodly Men. You will then say to me, Dandamis gave me good Counsel: For then will be present to thy

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"View all the Murders thou hast committed, or caused to be committed; and of these how canst thou possibly excuse thyself?"

All this Alexander heard patiently, and without the least Displeasure; but an evil Spirit hindered him from profiting by this good Advice. He answered, therefore, the Philosopher thus: "I am thoroughly sensible of the Truth of all you have said; for, descending of an holy Race, thou art here conveniently situated, where, without any Trouble, thou enjoyest with the greatest Pleasure the whole Circle of thy Days, and possessest all the Riches of Nature in a perfect and uninterrupted Peace. I, on the other hand, live in the midst of Tumult, and of Toils: For much I fear even those, who by their Office ought to defend me from Fear; and seldom rise the Apprehensions of my Enemies so high, as those I have of my Friends; for I am daily in greater Dread of their Treachery, than of the Force of my Foes. Thus, between the Necessity of having Guards for my Safety, and the Dread that these very Guards may deprive me of Safety, I live in perpetual Anxiety.

"My Days are spent in troubling, distressing, and distressing other People; and, in the Nights, I am filled with Terrors and Suspensions, lest, by some sudden and secret Enemy, I should be cut off myself. If I put to Death those I fear, I become hateful; if, again, I am mild and gentle, I am contemned: And how, out of such a Variety of Dangers, I shall be able to snatch myself, I know not; for, if I sought to quit the World, and to live with you in the Deserts, it would not be in my Power. It is impossible for me to quit the Station I am in; and, therefore, I hope that this will excuse me to God, who placed me in this Station, and made me what I am. But thou, O wise and good Man, who have heard my Complaints, and soothed my Grievs by the Wisdom of thy Words, dissuading me from War and Battles, be pleased to accept the Gifts I offer; and do not condemn me so far, as to reject the Tribute I bring to thy Wisdom."

As he spake these Words, the Slaves, who waited with the Presents, brought them in, and spread abroad great Variety of Gold and Silver Vessels, rich in themselves, and exquisitely wrought; together with large Quantities of Oil and Bread.

At the Sight of all this, Dandamis could not help smiling. At last he delivered himself thus: "Who do you think could persuade the Birds, that haunt these Woods, to the Use of Gold and Silver, and to sing the better for it? Or, if this you conceive impossible, why should you judge me to be worse than they? Why should I accept from you what I cannot neither eat or drink? Why should I take what I can make no Use of? Why retain under my Care what cannot contribute to my Benefit? and to bind and enslave myself, who have hitherto been free; for I desire not to purchase, in any Shape, what in these Solitudes I cannot sell. God bestows upon me here Fruits on every Side, which I pull and eat freely. God sells Man nothing for Gold; nay, he even bestows his Wisdom freely upon such as are able and qualified to receive it. I am covered with that Garment with which my Mother brought me forth. The Air I freely breathe, and esteem my Limbs at Liberty, while unrestrained by any Garment; and Honey cannot be sweeter to the Taste, than whatever from the Relish of Hunger I eat and drink. If these Cakes were good before, why were they exposed to the Fire? For my part, I suffer not that Element to touch what I eat, any more, than in the Flesh of other Animals, I chuse to eat at second-hand what they have eaten before: Take then away these Cakes that are baked; but, that I may not seem to despise every thing you offer me, I am content to accept this Oil."

Dandamis, having said this, immediately rose; and going into the Wood, gathered up a considerable Quantity of dry Sticks, which having raised in a Heap, he set Fire to them; and then, turning to Alexander, said, "The Brachman hath all Things, and enjoys Abundance, because he enjoys all he desires." Then pouring Oil into the Fire, while it burnt up very fiercely, he sung an

Hymn to God, the immortal Giver of all good Things, thanking him for the manifold Gifts he had bestowed. Which things when *Alexander* had seen and heard, he went away astonished, causing all his Gifts, except the Oil, to be carried back. At the same time, *Dandamis* gave him many other Pieces of sound Advice, desiring him to remember, that the *Brachmans* were such as himself, and not such as *Calanus*, whom they esteemed the worst of Men, for having deserted their Society, to embrace the Manners of the *Greeks*.

There is great Reason to believe, that these Facts are reported but confusedly, and with many Variations, by the Authors I have cited; but as there appears to be a great Certainty of their coming originally from the *Brachmans* themselves, they deserve to be attentively considered, because they very plainly prove, that the Correspondence between *Alexander* and *Dandamis* was very famous amongst those People, and had made a great Impression upon them. As to the modern *Bramins*, it is certain, that they fall very short of their Predecessors in Learnings, and have very much corrupted their religious Principles, by the Liberties they have taken; which we need not wonder at, since the same thing has happened to almost every kind of Philology; and, we may likewise add, every kind of Religion.

It is not evident, from any of the Accounts given us by the Antients, that the *Brachmans* had any Book or Writings, which contained the Principles of their Science: And the contrary seems probable from the Nature of their Education. The modern *Bramins*, however, tell us, that the first Being created by God, was *Brabma*, the Author of their Sect; of whom they have many Images, which have commonly four Heads, because he is said to have been the Author of a Book, containing four Chapters, or Sections; wherein are contained the Principles of the Religion and Ethics which he taught. This Book is still extant amongst them, and is what we may call their Bible; neither is it absolutely unknown to other Eastern Nations, having been translated out of the Eastern Tongue, by one *Aboumatb a Gieghi*, who embraced the *Mohammedan* Religion, into Arabic, under the Title of *Morat al mâni*; that is, *the Mirror of Science*: But they say, that the true Sense of it cannot still be understood, without the Assistance of some learned *Bramin*.

* The Name of this Book, in the *Indian* Language, is *Anherethud*; which is as much as to say, the Cistern of living Waters. It is composed of fifty distinct Treatises, each subdivided into ten Chapters; and in this Book their Theology, Philosophy, and Policy, are contained, but chiefly in Parables and Enigmas; so that ordinary Readers can make little or no Use of it.

All these, however, are Inventions far later than the Times of which we are now speaking; and, as we have hinted before, the old *Brachmans*, tho' they took their Name from the Word *Brabma*, yet they did not consider that as the Name of any particular Person, but as expressive of that Character which they affected; the natural Signification of that Word, in their old Language, being no more than a *Man enlightened*, or one filled with divine Science. As they had no Books, much less had they Images; neither is it clear, that they made Use of any fabulous Theology, in order to amuse the People; but, on the contrary, told them in plain and pathetic Terms, what they conceived fit for them to know and practise.

All the rest came in by degrees: And this is the true Reason, why it is so difficult for the modern *Bramins* to give any rational Account of that Doctrine which they preach to the People, because it is all invented, and has not the least Relation to that secret and solid Science, which the most Learned of them still retain by Tradition from their Ancestors. We may from hence easily apprehend, why the Lectures of some learned *Bramins* are necessary, to render the Book before-mentioned intelligible: The Purpose of those Lectures, no doubt, must be to explain away the best Part of that celebrated Treatise, by shewing, that whatever is delivered therein, relating to Idols, Saints, and Demigods, are, in Fact, but Parables relating to the Attributes of the true God, and his Providence; concerning which, their Ancestors discoursed clearly, plainly, and without making use of any of these Figures or Fables.

Having thus used my utmost Endeavours, to set this Subject in a clear Light, and to reduce the scattered Passages of antient Authors, relating thereto, into such a Method, as that they might contribute to illustrate each other, and leave nothing obscure, I shall proceed next to the Animals in the *Indies*, as they are described to us by antient Authors; and shall fairly shew wherein they deviated from Truth; wherein their Accounts have been mistaken by the Moderns; and in what Cases their Descriptions, tho' heretofore rejected with Contempt, have of late Years, and upon a stricter Examination, been again admitted as clear, and more suitable to Truth, than those which had been hastily received in their stead, upon the Credit of those who were not proper Judges of what they saw.

SECTION XIII.

Of the Land-Animals in the East-Indies, as described by antient Authors, compared with modern Writers: And some Remarks upon both.

1. A Description of the Elephant, with a particular Account of the different Methods of hunting that Animal, as described by the Antients.
2. The modern Method of hunting Elephants, described by the Embassadors from Louis XIV. to the King of Siam.
3. The great Sagacity, wonderful Docility, and remarkable Fidelity of this Creature.
4. Some other singular Properties of the Elephant, from antient Authors, with Remarks.
5. The Modesty of Elephants, and their Aversion to Indecencies in the human Species.
6. The Notions of the Indians, and other Oriental Nations, with respect to these Creatures; and more especially the white Elephant.
7. Some miscellaneous Observations as to the Size, Value, and medicinal Uses of Elephants, their Skin, Bones, Fat, &c.
8. An exact Description of the Rhinoceros, from various Authors.
9. An Account of his Size, Food, Manner of living in the Woods; and of the Uses of his Horn, Fat, &c.
10. Some extraordinary Passages in modern Travels, relating to this Animal.
11. Of the Lion and the Lioness.
12. Of the Tiger, as described both by the Antients and Moderns; with some remarkable Instances of the Strength and Agility of these Creatures.
13. A particular Account of the Leopard and Panther; both from old Authors and new.
14. Of the Camel; its Size, Strength, Shape, and other Properties; and the Uses for which it serves in the Indies.
15. Of the Dromedary, and of its prodigious Swiftness.
16. An exact Description of the Giraff, or Camelopard; and sufficient Proof, that there is such an Animal.
17. Of the wild Ass, reputed the most beautiful Creature in the World.
18. Of the Manticore, and other Beasts mentioned by the Antients, and unknown to us from their Descriptions.
19. An Account of Apes, Monkeys, &c. with some Conjectures as to the Mistakes of the Antients, and wild Men, Satyrs, &c.
20. Of the Musk-Cat, and the various Qualities of that Animal.
21. Of the Dragons in the Indies; the strange Reports of the Antients concerning them, how far confirmed, and exploded by the Discoveries of the Moderns.
22. Of the Gryphon of the Antients, and the Fables relating concerning

concerning it. 23. The Chameleon particularly described; its remarkable Properties, and the Causes of those Errors that have been spread about it. 24. Of the Ants of India, the Wonders related of them, and how far they are supported by Facts. 25. Various Remarks, and curious Observations, on this Subject.

It has, in the foregoing Sections, been fully shewn, that the People of the *Indies* were very singular in all respects. This, tho' it might be, in some measure, due to Education, and other Accidents, yet ought to be chiefly ascribed to their Nature and Constitutions, since we know by Experience, that the Characters given of most Nations by antient Authors, are excellent Pictures of them, even at this Day. To say the Truth, *India* was alike singular in all things, and particularly happy in one, that while the rest of the World earnestly pressed through all Obstacles, to come at a Share of her Riches, the Inhabitants of *India* themselves felt no Inclination to wander, and were never compelled by any kind of Wants, to go and proclaim their Indigence in foreign Climates. The accurate Description of the Singularities and Riches, with which this Country abounded, was naturally the Work of every Traveller, and of every Author too, that pretended to write any thing of a Region so remarkable.

Amongst these, it is natural to suppose, that, next to the Men, the Animals struck them first; and of these, that Animal most, which of all the rest was, in every respect, the most extraordinary. This, without Question, was the Elephant, a Creature found only in the *Indies*, and in the Southern Provinces of *Africa*. The Indian Elephant, however, was, in every respect, superior, not only in the Eyes of Men, but even of those Creatures themselves, if we may credit what some Authors relate^a.

These Creatures are, generally speaking, either of a dark Colour, or of a white; but the latter are very rare.

Their Bodies are heavy and gross, and far enough from being beautiful in their Appearance: Their Eyes are like those of a Hog; their Legs and Feet resemble Columns; yet they bend their Fore-legs, when they rest themselves, or sleep: They cannot bend their Heads, or turn their Necks; their Ears lie pretty much behind, and are very close: Their Trunk, as long as their Fore-legs, and reaches down to the Ground; it is strong, tough, and hollow; they can open and shut it, and by the Help of little Caruncles, like small Points, they are able to take up any thing, a Pin, for Instance, or a Grain of Mustard-seed: They make use of their Trunks in Eating and Drinking, conveying with them what they take into their Mouths. The whole Force of the Animal chiefly consists in this Member, in which if he be deeply wounded, the Creature dies. There lies behind the Ear a little Cavity, covered with a Membrane, no thicker than the Head of a Drum, and any Wound in that Part also is mortal. At the two Corners of the Mouth grow two large Teeth, and between these the Trunk is placed, in the Male: These Tusks, or large Teeth, are six or seven Foot long; but in the female Elephants, they rarely exceed a Foot. They feed on Grass, Nuts, Sugar-canes, and other things of a like Nature; and they are chiefly afraid of Smoke or Fire, of the Lion, and of some kind of Serpents^b.

They are naturally as wild as Tygers, or any other Beasts; and are therefore, like them, caught by Hunting, by that Craft of *Indians*, which, as we have before shewn, was the Exercise of a Part of their Profession. The Manner in which they hunted them, is very remarkable, and related by good Authors: In the first Place, they inclosed a Plain somewhat less than a Mile over, with a large deep Ditch, over which, in several Places, there were wooden Bridges; and in the midst, there were Cabins erected for the Reception of the Elephants. Into this inclosure, they conducted some female Elephants, to whom Men were sure to come in the Night: As soon as the Men heard them, they withdrew, and took up the Alarm, summoning the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, to assist in bringing them away. Some Days

after, when they judged them to be sufficiently weakened by Hunger and Thirst, they returned, mounted upon tame Elephants, with which they pursued and fatigued them, till they were quite spent. Then they bridled them, and gave them some Cuts over their Jaws, and over their Neck, that they might humble them more effectually; and then, mounting them, they forced them, by Blows, to proceed to their Stables^c.

They used, besides this, another Method as singular as the former: They hunted them out of the Forest with a great Noise, and drove them before them all Day long: When it was Evening, they drove them back again; but, in the mean time, the Huntsmen had taken care to fet the Brulwood on the Skirts of the Forest, on Fire. The Elephants, being extremely afraid of that Element, when they drew near the Flames, were so astonished, that they stood stock-still, and suffered themselves to be easily taken; and then they beat them till they grew tame. This, however, seldom answered the End at once; and, therefore, to complete the Business, they fastened them to Pillars, and there, by Hunger and Beating, made them perfectly tame. Sometimes, however, the Loss of their Liberty threw them into so deep a Melancholy, that they began to pine and languish, refusing all Sustainance, and seeming disposed to seek a Remedy for their ill Usage in Death. Their Keepers, in this case, had Recourse to Singing and Music; which soon dissipated the Grief of the Animal, and brought it to its Stomach again^d.

Pliny assures us, that the *Troglodytes*, who live on the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, and who hunted these Creatures merely for the sake of feeding upon them, did it in quite another manner: They got up into high Trees, and there they waited the coming of the Elephants in Herds: They suffered all to pass them but the hindmost; upon which he who had the most Courage, and was esteemed most active, leapt down on the Back of this Elephant; and, striking his Heels into the Creature's Sides, and laying hold of the Tail with his Left Hand, he sat fast: Then bending backwards, with a Hatchet, which he held in his Right, he hamstringed the Elephant on one Side; and as he grew faint thro' Loss of Blood, and began to slacken his Pace, the Man got down, and took his Leave with another Stroke with his Hatchet, at the Sinews on the other Side. He afterwards tracked the Elephant by his Blood; and, having found where the Creature lay, seized him when dying, and cut him to Pieces^e. Of this Sort of Venison these *Troglodytes* were so fond, that they seldom eat any thing else: Nor would they listen to any Proposals that were made them by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, to forbear destroying Elephants; for the preserving and taming of which, that Monarch had a particular Passion. The Elephants in the *Indies* were never hunted in this barbarous manner.

2. The modern Method of hunting Elephants is particularly described by the Embassadors sent by the late *Louis XIV.* to the King of *Siam*. They say that it is a Diversion in its Nature truly Royal; and from their Account of it, the Reader will be probably of the same Opinion. The Ground originally encompassed, say they, is in Extent near twenty Leagues; and this is bounded by a double Row of Fires, which burn all Night. At each Fire, that is to say, at the Distance of about ten Yards, there are two Men posted with Pikes; and the intervening Space is filled up by Elephants trained to War, and small Pieces of Cannon. When the Hunting begins, a Body of armed Men enter the inclosed Space, and by degrees proceed to straighten the wild Beasts. The Fire, the Elephants, and the small Pieces of Cannon, gradually advance, till such time as they are very near the wild Elephants; and then they begin to attack them with their Lances. When one of them is surrounded, and taken, the War Elephants, which are trained for this Purpose, place themselves on each Side of him;

^a See Hist. p. 1. lib. v. T. 1. lib. xxxvi. c. 39. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii.

^b See Hist. p. 1. lib. v. T. 1. lib. xxxvi. c. 39. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii.

^c See Hist. p. 1. lib. v.

^d This Description is taken from a Manuscript Ac-

^e See Hist. p. 1. lib. v. T. 1. lib. xxxvi. c. 39. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii.

^f See Hist. p. 1. lib. v. T. 1. lib. xxxvi. c. 39. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii.

and, if he is troublesome, beat him soundly, but without wounding him; while others go behind, and push him along: Then the Men who are employed in this Hunting, fetch the Remainder, in like manner tie them with Ropes; and, mounting them, force them along to a Post, to which they are fastened, till, by Hunger, they are made as tame as Sheep*. At this Hunting they took twenty. The King of Siam, then reigning, had revived this Method of hunting Elephants, was present himself, mounted on an Elephant of War, and gave his Orders. The Embassadors were informed by his Prime Minister, that this Prince had, at this time, two thousand Elephants of War, and forty-five thousand Men, in his Service.

Father Tackard, who was of this Embassy, tells us farther, that there was a kind of Amphitheatre, which was built in the Form of a long Square, walled on every Side, and a convenient Terrace on the Top, on which the Spectators were placed. On the Inside, there was a kind of Palisade, composed of large wooden Pillars, fixed in the Earth, at the Distance of about two Feet one from another; behind which the Huntsmen retired, when pursued by the enraged Beast. A large Extent of Ground was taken in towards the Country, and over-against it, near the City, a smaller Part; at the End of which there was a long Passage, so narrow, that an Elephant could not pass thro' it without Difficulty; which led into a Court where the Elephants were tamed. On the Day appointed for the Chase, the Huntsmen entered the Woods, mounted on female Elephants, properly trained to the Sport, being themselves so covered, as not to be seen by the wild Elephants. When they were so far advanced in the Forest, as that they judged themselves near the Haunts of those wild Beasts, they made the female Elephants roar; to which the Males never failed to answer with a most dreadful Noise: By which the Huntsmen judging of the Distance they were from them, began to return, and, leading the Females gently towards the Amphitheatre, the wild Elephants followed them very peaceably, till they entered within the Inclosure, and the Barrier behind them was shut.

The Females continued their March thro' the Amphitheatre, and entered, one after another, the narrow Passage on the opposite Side. The wild Elephant, at the Entrance of that Passage, stopped; and then they put in Practice every Method to force him forward, by making the female Elephants that were on the other Side cry, while the Huntsmen in the Amphitheatre pushed the Elephant forward with loud Cries; and when he turned upon them, they took Shelter behind the Pillars. At last having got him to the Entrance of the Passage, one ran before him; and the wild Elephant following with all imaginable Fury, his Passage was presently stopped by two sliding Barriers that were let fall, one before, the other behind him. The Animal, finding himself in this Situation, not able to get either forward or backward, made prodigious Efforts, and set up a hideous Cry. They then endeavoured to pacify him, by throwing Buckets of Water over him, rubbing him with Leaves, and wetting his Ears with Oil: They likewise brought tame Elephants, both Male and Female, who caressed and made much of him with their Trunks.

In the mean time, they fastened Ropes under his Belly, and to his Hind-legs: Then an Officer, mounted on an Elephant trained for that Purpose, advanced, and retired several times thro' the Passage, to show the wild one how he might come out; and the Barrier before him being removed, he readily followed the other Elephant to the End of the Passage. As soon as he came to the Entrance of the little Paddock, they fastened him, by the Help of the Ropes, to two of the Elephants that waited for him, one on each Side. Another marched before him, and pulled him along by a Rope, while a fourth, that was behind, thrust him on, by pushing him with his Head, till they brought him to a great Post, fixed like the Capstern of a Ship: There they left him till the next Day, to cool himself; and while he was turning round this Pillar, came a Brahman, dressed in white, mounted on a tame Elephant, who gently sprinkled him with a kind of consecrated Wa-

ter, out of a gold Vessel; by which Ceremony they fancy the Elephant is deprived of his Fierceness, and rendered fit for Service. The Day following he went with the rest, and in a Fortnight's Time was quite tame†.

3. The Elephant, tho' the largest of all Beasts, some of them being twenty Feet in Compass, is extremely docile, very industrious, and has Sense so much superior to a Beast, that it seems, in some measure, to approach human Reason. It is very certain, that this Creature is capable of Fidelity, deep Affection, and Gratitude; and that to such a degree, as to be extremely afflicted on the Loss of its Governor: But this Passion rises to a surprising Height, if by any Accident he injures his Keeper; which sometimes is out, when the Creature is seized with that kind of Fury to which its Species is subject. The Compassion and Tenderness of its Nature appears in various Circumstances: The Loss of its Companion disturbs the Elephant more than any thing; for it is reported, that it never makes a second Choice. In some Countries they had a Custom of taking Elephants, by digging deep pits, and covering them with Hurdles, strewed with Leaves. If a female Elephant beheld her Young one thus caught, she would throw herself into the same Pit, there to remain, at the Hazard of her Life and Liberty. In a Word, she never was known to be in any Danger, but would rather suffer herself to be killed. In passing a River, she carried it on her Trunk, if the River was fordable; but if they were obliged to swim, the young one passed first, before the Water was raised by the Entrance of so many Creatures of vast Size, the Elephants going usually in an Herd. If at any time, they found one of their own Species wounded in the Woods, they took all imaginable Care to succour and relieve it, by bringing Food to the Place where it lay, and such Remedies as might contribute to its Cure. In spite of all their Endeavours, it died, they found it most interred and cover it with Leaves, that the Body might not be exposed, and torn to Pieces by wild Beasts‡.

When they were tamed, they were taught to kneel at the Approach of the King, as if they meant to adore him, after the Fashion of the East. Some Princes had no less than twenty of them belonging to their private Use, which, in their Turns, did Duty before their Tents, and in time of Battle defended them with the utmost Zeal. All the Writers of the Life of Alexander agree, that the Elephant on which Porus was mounted, took incredible Care of his Prince, lifting him safely down when he was wounded, drawing the Darts out of his Body with its Trunk; and then, gently replacing him in his Seat, carried him safely back to his Quarters. The Reader will observe, that we do not deliver these Facts as either certain or credible: We mention them only as related by ancient Authors, and leave the rest to his own Judgment.

Ellian, in his History of Animals, mentions several things very curious and remarkable as to these Creatures: He tells us, with respect to their Fidelity, that a young Indian Lord, having caught a small white Elephant, brought it up with the utmost Tenderness, and was exceedingly beloved by that Animal. The King of the Country, having a very extraordinary Account of the Beauty and Docility of the Beast, demanded it from its Master for his own Use; but the young Lord not being able to part with it, chose rather to fly to the Mountains. He was pursued further by the King's Orders, where, from the Top of a Rock, he for a long time defended himself, by throwing Stones, in which he was perfectly well seconded by his Elephant; but at last the Soldiers getting up, a young Man being much wounded, the Elephant was obliged alone to sustain the Combat; when he, rushing at his Enemies, threw some of them over the Precipice, the rest having put the rest to Flight, returned, took up the wounded Master, and carried him off. What a Remark continues that Naturalist, is the Fidelity of this Beast to the Ingratitude of some Men, who, having received the manner of Favours and Support from others, have been at last, to perish under Mistortunes, or, perhaps, to complete their Fortunes, assist in their Ruin!§

* Journal de l'Asie, tom. 1. p. 11.

† Voyage de l'Asie, tom. 1. p. 118.

‡ Elliot. Hist. Animal. lib. ix. c. 8.

§ Elliot. lib. ix. c. 46.

Plutarch tells us something of the like Kind, that happened at the Time the City of *Argos* was taken by Storm, by *Pyrrhus*: A Soldier of his, mounted on an Elephant, having received a dangerous Wound, fell from his Back upon the Ground. The Creature, sensible of the Accident, scattered with his Trunk all that were about him, till he found his Master; and then lifted him gently upon his Fore-teeth, and, returning to the Gate by which they had entered, overturned, without Mercy, all that stood in his Way¹.

But if these Creatures were valuable, on account of their Fidelity and Tractableness, they were no less servicable by their Courage and Strength: They were disciplined for War, and placed either in the Front, or in one of the Wings, in a general Engagement; and as soon as the Signal was given, either by the Sound of Trumpets, or by the Sight of Blood, for which Elephants have a natural Abhorrence, they rushed on the Enemy with incredible Violence, overturning whole Battalions, and spreading Terror, Confusion, and Death, where-ever they came. The Smell and Cry of the Elephants was enough to disperse the Enemies Cavalry from acting, the best Horses flying on their Approach, and running out of the Field, in spite of all that could be done to restrain them. *Cæsar* had but one in his Army, and yet it proved sufficient to procure him Victory over the *Gauls*².

The Use of these Creatures in War was common amongst the *Persians* and the *Syrians*; and it was from them the *Romans* learned the Use of them, which they improved very much. Sometimes they did not trust entirely to the Force of the Elephants, but erected Towers upon their Backs, from whence their Archers fought with great Advantage. *Antiochus Eupator*³, when he invaded *Judea*, had thirty such Elephants in his Army; on each of which thirty-two Men fought in a Tower; while an *Indian* who sat before, conducted the Elephant.

The *Indians* themselves, used them in somewhat a different manner, and, perhaps, with greater Advantages than other Nations; for they made them always the first Line of the Army, their Foot being drawn up behind them, as if they were intrenched. There was a Space of about one hundred Yards left, from one Elephant to another, thro' which their Infantry might safely advance, and retire: But it was impossible for the Enemy to penetrate thro' those Intervals, in order to begin the Attack. The Elephants of *Porus*, to the Number of two hundred, were thus ranged in the front Line, when he was attacked by *Alexander the Great*: And it was owing to the long Spears of the *Macedonians*, and to the invincible Strength of their Phalanx, that the Elephants could not bear them down; which decided the Fate of the Day: For the *Indians*, being despirited at a Sight which they had never beheld before, began to think these People were invincible; and, therefore, could not be brought to return again to the Charge, any more than the Elephants; for it is the Nature of these Creatures, when once beaten, to turn upon those behind them⁴.

4. The *Romans* frequently produced them in Shews, and on their Amphitheatres. It was in the Year 655, after the building that City, that this Spectacle appeared for the first time. They were then opposed to Bulls; but they were afterwards brought to fight with Men. When *Pompey*, in his second Consulship, dedicated the Temple of *Venus*, he exhibited twenty Elephants, which were to fight against a Troop of *Getulians*, who were a People of *Africa*, equally remarkable for their natural Courage, and for their military Skill. This Combat was very singular, and made a great Impression upon the People: For one of the Elephants, being so wounded in the Fore-foot, that he could hardly stand, fell upon his Knees; and, running upon the *Getulians*, tore from them their Shields, which he threw into the Air with incredible Agility and Force; so that they fell down, without hurting any of the Spectators. Another Elephant was in this Fight killed outright, by an Arrow which struck through his Eye into his Brain. The Elephants, at this Sight, endeavoured to

burst through; but, being repulsed, they seemed, with heavy Moanings, to beseech the Pity of the People; who were so much affected therewith, that, forgetting the Respect due to *Pompey*, they began to curse him, and to wish all those Mischiefs might light upon his Head, which soon after fell upon him⁵. But this did not hinder *Cæsar* the Dictator from exhibiting another Shew of Elephants, when he brought forth twenty, which were opposed to five hundred Foot: And, finding that the People were extremely pleased with it, he again exhibited twenty Elephants, with Towers upon their Backs; in each of which were sixty Defendants: And to these, he opposed not only five hundred Foot, but as many Horses. The Emperors *Claudius* and *Nero* caused single Elephants to fight with experienced Fencers; with which the *Roman* People were exceedingly delighted.

It is to be observed, that, with all their Force, the Elephants are far from being cruel; so that, unless they are provoked, they never commit any Violence. We are told a very remarkable Passage, in Support of this natural Clemency of these Creatures, which is this: A certain King, whose Name was *Bocchus*, having destined thirty Persons, who had offended him, to be torn to Pieces by Elephants, they were tied to so many Posts, and the Elephants turned loose upon them, with Soldiers behind, who picked and pushed them forward, in order to put them in a Rage: Which, at last, they did, but to their own Destruction; for, instead of attacking the naked and defenceless Men, they fell upon those who injured them; and could not, by any means, be rendered the Instruments of this Monarch's Cruelty. It is further asserted, that, in passing through a Flock of Sheep, they separate them into two Lines, with their Trunks, that they may march through, without treading or trampling upon them.

It is from *Pliny* also, we learn, that a certain noble *Roman*, whose Name was *Mutianus*, who had been three times Consul, taught an Elephant the Knowledge of the *Greek* Alphabet; in which, it is said, he wrote these Words, by placing the Letters in their proper Order, *viz.* *This I wrote, and dedicated the Celtic Spoils*. Another gave a manifest Proof of Memory, by performing in the Mornings, perfectly, certain Lessons, which he had been beat for not performing over Night. Almost every Elephant understands so much of the *Indian* Language as concerns him, or he hears from his Keeper; and so gentle they are, that a Child of twelve or thirteen Years old may mount and guide them as he pleases.

As extraordinary as these Stories may seem, one might be almost tempted to believe them, considering that *Arrian*, the most sincere, the least credulous, and, by far, the most authentic Writer of the Life of *Alexander the Great*, gives us the following Story, of his own Knowledge: I have seen, says he, an Elephant, that had two Cymbals fastened to its Fore-legs, upon which it beat, or played, a regular Air, with its Trunk; while others danced about it, with their Steps making a regular Cadence. Yet this Animal, as gentle and as quiet as he seems to be, gives sometimes Proofs of his Memory, by revenging the Injuries he receives, at some Distance of Time. One Instance of which we have, from an eminent Writer of the last Age⁶; and this too, of his own Knowledge: He was at *Macassar*, in the Year 1658; and there saw the King's Elephant: passing quietly along, with his Driver upon his Back: But, soon after, he returned alone; which surprising the Company, they began to inquire how it happened, and were told, that, the Day before, his Keeper had a Cocoa-nut given him, which he threw twice at the Elephant's Head, with all his Force, in order to break it; and, going into the Town, when they saw him pass by, it so happened, that some People were selling Cocoa-nuts in the Street; and as soon as the Elephant had Sight of them, he snatched one out of the Basket with his Trunk, and beat it to pieces about his Rider's Head; by which he killed him on the Spot. This, says my Reverend Author, came of jelling with Elephants.

¹ *Plutarch. in Pyrrho.*

² *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 5.*

³ *Polyæn. Strategem. lib. viii.*

⁴ *Arrian. in Indica, cap. 14.*

⁵ *A. Ruccab. vi. 24.*

⁶ *Arrian. Dindor. Sicul. Plutarch.*

⁷ *Nowwette's History of China, Book vi. chap. 8.*

are no more than the Signs or Shadows of them; which is just as reasonable, as it, upon reading *Aesop's* Fables in *Greek*, which, by the way, is only a Translation of the old *Perſian* Writer *Lokman*, we should reproach the *Greeks* with their Folly, in believing that Birds could argue, or Rats hold a Conversation. It was, in all Ages, and is to this Day, the Custom of the oriental Nations, to wrap up all their Wisdom, either in short Sentences or Proverbs, or in Allegories and Parables; which if, for want of sufficient Information, we cannot perfectly understand, it does not follow, either that these People believe these Stories literally, or that they may not couch under them Truths of very great Importance.

It muſt at the ſame time be confeſſed, that the Monarchs of the *Indies* ſometimes carry their Paſſion for ſupporting and giving Credit to theſe Sort of Fables, to a very great Height; of which we have an Inſtance, in regard to the Animal now under our Conſideration; an Elephant, perfectly white, is in itſelf a great Curioſity, and therefore worthy of being preſerved, with peculiar Care, in the Stables of Kings; but this Point is carried much farther; and, as the Reader will ſee, in ſome Voyages that follow, very long and bloody Wars have happened in this Quarter of the World on account of the white Elephant, the Poſſiſſion of which is eſteemed of ſo great Conſequence, that it finds Place amongſt, or, otherwiſe, comes at the End of a Prince's Titles^a. In order to account for this, we are told, by ſuch as have inquired very diligently into the Matter, that the high Eſteem the *Indians* have for a white Elephant, is grounded on a Fable related of *Fee*, their principal Idol, who is the ſame with *Ghaca*, *Saca*, or *Xaca*, as he is called by the *Japoneſe*, and about whom the *Bonzes* tell a thouſand impertinent Stories. They ſay, that he was born eight hundred times, in different Species, before he was born of a Woman; and that, when he was born of her, he iſſued through his Mother's Sides, through which he gnawed with his Teeth. The Truth is, *Xaca* was a Sophiſter, who perſuaded People of any thing he pleaſed; his Mother, being big of him, dreamt, that a white Elephant iſſued through her Mouth: Hence it is, that white Elephants are held in Veneration in *India*, *China*, *Tenquin*, *Siam*, and *Pegu*, where they are ſerved in Gold-plate; and Noblemen, of great Diſtinction, viſit them in great Crouds, and pay to them the ſame Honour as to Kings^b. Yet a Man would be exceedingly miſtaken, who ſhould from hence conceive, that theſe Stories are really believed by Kings; the contrary of which is ſo true, that the *Bonzes* themſelves make no Difficulty of acknowledging, to any intelligent Perſon, that talks to them on the Subject, that all theſe are Fables, invented at Pleaſure^c, ſerve only to amuſe the common People, and keep them from prying into what their Betters do not think it fit for them to underſtand.

7. It is now time to leave the Elephant; with reſpect to which, however, it would be very eaſy to aſſemble twice as many curious Relations: But, before we quit it, it will not be amiſs to give the Reader a few Particulars about this wonderful Creature, which may be depended upon, and ſerve, in many reſpects, to ſettle his Opinion with regard to the Facts before related. The largeſt and fineſt Elephants in the World are thoſe of the Iſland of *Ceylon*; next to them, thoſe of the Continent of *India*; and, laſtly, the Elephant of *Africa*. The Moors, who deal in theſe Creatures, throughout all the *Indies*, have a fixed Price for them, if found and ſtrong. They meaſure from the Nail on one of his fore Feet, to the Top of his Shoulder; and, for every Cubit he is high, they give a thouſand Pardoes, which is, in our Money, about 100*l*. An Elephant of the largeſt Size, is nine Cubits, or thirteen Feet and an half high; ſo that the largeſt Elephant is worth about 900*l*. unleſs he be of the *Ceylon* Breed, for then he will fetch four times that Sum^d.

The Female Elephant gives ſixteen or eighteen Months with her Young; which, when brought forth, is as big as

a Calf: They are fifty or ſixty Years old before they come to their full Strength, or are fit to have Towers upon their Backs, or Coaches, ſuch as are uſed in *Cochin-China*, where Elephants carry in ſuch Machines twelve Perſons, beſides him who rules the Elephant, and ſits before upon the Shoulders, and a Boy, who belongs to him, and ſits upon the Elephant's hinder Parts, and who, if the Reader pleaſes, may be called the Coachman, and Poſtilion^e. As to the Age of theſe Creatures, nothing can be ſaid with Certainty. If we could depend upon what we are told by *Philoſtratus*, in his Life of *Apoſtanius Tyannus*, we ſhould believe, that this great Traveller ſaw the very Elephant upon which *Perus* rode in the Battle he fought againſt *Alexander* the Great, with two Hoops of Gold on his Teeth, ſignifying, that *Alexander*, in Eſteem of his Fidelity, had conſecrated him to the Sun. At this rate, that Elephant muſt have been above four hundred Years of Age^f. That they live till between two and three hundred Years, is not only affirmed by the beſt Authors of Antiquity, but alſo by ſuch as are beſt acquainted with them in the *Indies*; and that they are in full Vigour at much above a hundred, is very certainly known.

They feed, when wild, upon Graſs, or on the green Boughs of Trees; when they cannot get theſe, they will eat Roots; if they can get into Corn-fields, they commit terrible Ravages: When tame they will eat almoſt any thing, but are particularly fond of Sugar-canes, or whatever elſe is ſweet; they will likewiſe drink Wine or Ale; and it is obſerved, that, when they drink Water, they fiſt ſtir, and make it thick, with their Feet: The Reaſon generally aſſigned for this, is, that they hate to ſee their own Figure in the Water, which is a mere Fancy; and the true Cauſe, that the Gravel and ſmall Stones which they ſwallow by this Means, may help to digeſt their Food; which is likewiſe practiſed by Geck, Ducks, and other Water-fowl, but is the more neceſſary to the Elephant, becauſe this Creature is very much troubled with Indigeſtion, and the Colic.

The famous Sir *Thomas Brown* cenſures the Antients, for ſuppoſing that the Elephant ſlept ſtanding; and yet the Fact is really ſo; and, which is more extraordinary, they ſhake their Heads continually while they ſleep. Sir *Thomas* was, however, thus far right, that this does not proceed from their being unable to lie down, becauſe in Places where they are wild, the Print of them is frequently ſeen upon the Graſs. In all Parts of *India*, but in *China* eſpecially, they make uſe of almoſt every Part of this Animal in Medicine. The Broth, made of its Fleſh, is excellent for a Loofeneſs; and the Fleſh burned, becomes a Specific for the Flux of Urine. The Gall is very good for the Eyes; and the Humour of the Elephant's Eye, mixed with Breſt-milk, is alſo held a moſt excellent Ophthalmic. They likewiſe uſe the Gall to take away an offenſive Breath. A Powder, made of the Aſhes of the Skin, burnt, and mixed with Oil, is an excellent Balm for green Wounds; and the Bone, at the Pit of the Stomach, powdered, is a noble Stomachic. I ſhall ſpeak, in another Place, of the Uſe and Value of the Elephants Teeth; but it may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that, in the *Indies*, they reckon three Sorts of Ivory; the beſt, that which is taken out of the Mouth of the Bealt, immediately after it is killed; the ſecond Sort, when the Teeth are taken out of the Head of an Elephant that has died a natural Death; and the third or worſt Sort, what is found in the Woods, where the Elephants have ſhed or loſt their Teeth. The Pace of an Elephant is equal in Speed to that of a Horſe on full Trot, and they will travel at this Rate ſome Hours. The moſt cautious of our modern Travellers juſtify to the full what *Pliny*^g ſays of this Creature, and what *Cicero* had ſaid before him^h, that no Animal ſeems to approach, by its Actions, ſo near to the Reaſon of Man, as this.

8. The Rhinoceros, next to the Elephant, has been always eſteemed the moſt extraordinary Animal in the *Indies*, both with reſpect to Size, and to Shape. This Creature is com-

^a *Journal des Savants* for July, 1689. p. 405.

^b *Ibid.*

^c *Grand Voyage aux Indes*, p. 127.

^d *Voyage de Barri*, cap. 3.

^e *Plin. elimen. prudens, memoria valens*. Nat. hui. lib. viii. cap. 5.

cap. 5.

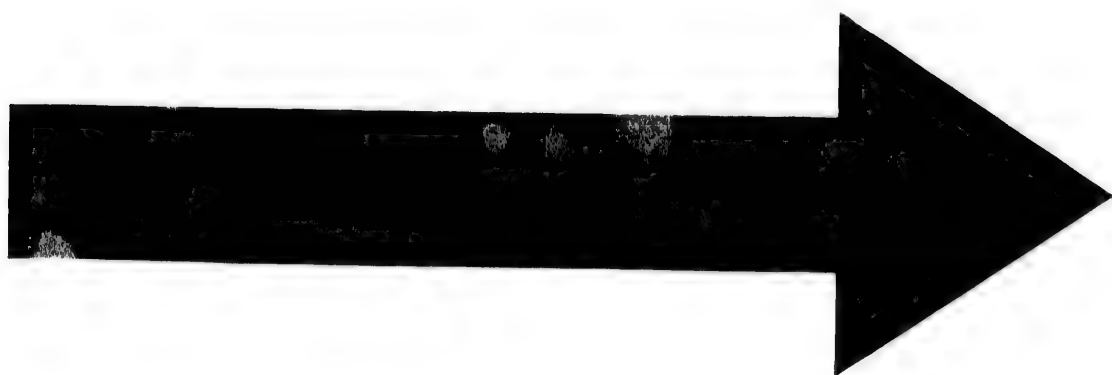
^f *Poſſevin Biblioth. ſec. Tom. i. lib. x. cap. 2.*

^g *Nic. de*

^h *Philoſtratus* lib. ii. cap. 21.

ⁱ *Animalium omnium maximus*.

^k *Elephanto belluarius nulla praeſentior*. Decorum Natura, lib. i.



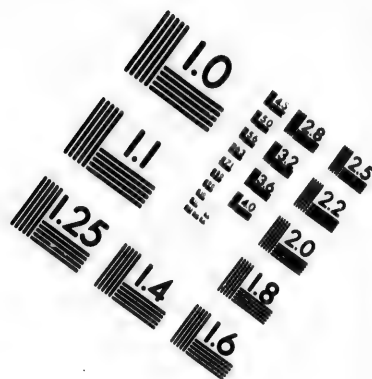
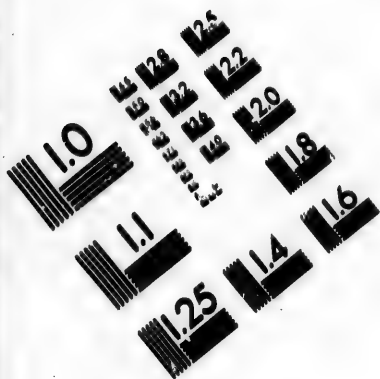
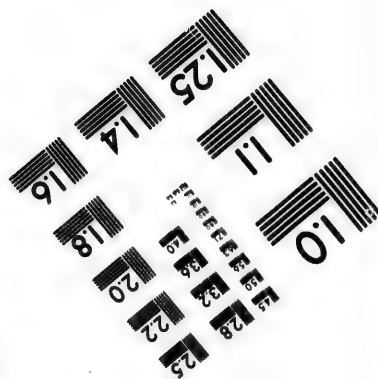
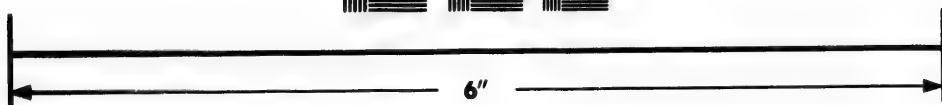
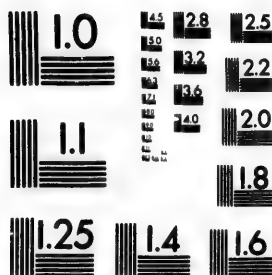


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mon in the Isle of *Java*, as also in the Kingdoms of *Ben-gala* and *Patala*. There is scarce any Creature more frequently mentioned by antient Writers, than this; and yet there are very few that have been so imperfectly described. I shall pass by the Sentiments of some learned Men, who conceive this to be the Unicorn of the Scriptures*: I say, I shall pass them by, because I do not see how the Question can ever be decided; only thus much seems to be certain, that the Unicorn is there mentioned for his Strength, and for his Strength's lying in his Horn, which is exactly true of the Rhinoceros. *Pliny*^b, who is so fond of Wonders, and so copious in his Recital of most of them, is very short in his Description of this Animal, not having vouchsafed us as many Lines upon the Subject, as he has written Chapters upon the Elephant. All he tells us of it, amounts to this, that *Pompey*, in his Shews, exhibited, among other strange Beasts, a Rhinoceros, with one Horn, and no more, and that in his Snout. This, continues he, is by Nature a dreadful Enemy to the Elephant; and, by rubbing his Horn against hard Stones, makes it so very sharp, that he is able to pierce with it the Belly of that Creature; at which Part he aims, because it is tenderer than the rest. In point of Description, he tells us, that he is full as long as the Elephant, but that his Legs are shorter, and his Skin of the Colour of Box. *Alian*, who insinuates so largely upon other Animals, that are very common, did not think it necessary to describe the Rhinoceros, because all the World had seen it at *Rome*, in the Shews given by the Emperors, for the Amusement of the People. *Strabo* is as 'short in his Description as *Pliny*; though he tells us, that he had seen this Creature at *Alexandria*, and cites *Artemidorus* on the same Subject. *Dion Cassius* contents himself with observing, that this Animal had never been seen at *Rome* before the Triumph of *Augustus*^c, in which he contradicts *Pliny*.

It would be to no purpose to collect a greater Number of Citations, unless we could meet with some that were larger and fuller in the Description of this Animal; and, therefore, it is necessary, in order to give the Reader a tolerable Idea of it, to have recourse to the Moderns. *Bontius*^d has described it in his excellent Work, and so has *Father Le Comte*^e; and, as they agree perfectly well, I shall only relate what we are told by the latter. The Rhinoceros, says he, is one of the most extraordinary Animals in the World: He seems to me to resemble, in many Respects, the wild Boar, except, that he is much bigger, has shorter Legs, and a heavier Body. His Skin is intirely covered with large and thick Scales of a dark Colour, and excessively hard. They are divided into little Squares or Buttons, which arise somewhat above the Skin, in a manner not much unlike those of the Crocodile. It is by this means that its Legs seem to be inclosed in a kind of Boots, and its Head wrapped up behind, in a sort of Hood, or Capuchin; for which Reason, the *Portuguese* call this Creature the Monk of the *Indies*. Its Head is very large, but its Mouth is not very big; its Snout long, and armed with a large Horn, which renders it extremely terrible even to Tygers, Butaloes, and Elephants. But what seems to be the most wonderful in this Animal, is its Tongue, which Nature has covered with a Membrane so tough and strong, that, in Effect, it differs nothing from a File, so that he tears his Prey to pieces barely by licking it. As we see some Animals that delight in feeding on Thistles, the little Points of which, by pricking the Extremities of the Nerves in their Tongues, afford them an agreeable Sensation, so the Rhinoceros feeds with great Pleasure on the Branches of such Trees as are thick-set with the toughest and strongest Thorns. I have myself often given this Creature Twigs of such Trees as were thick-set with Briars that were exceedingly sharp and strong; and have been amazed to see how greedily, and with what Address, he chewed and fed upon them, without being at all incommoded by their Points. It is true, that sometimes his Mouth is a little bloody, but that serves only to render the Taste of his Food more agreeable; and

has apparently no other Effect on his Tongue, or Taste, than Salt and Pepper on ours. Some other Authors add to this Description, that he has under his fore Legs a kind of very ugly loose Skin, that hangs down over his Belly, of a Texture not unlike that of the Wings of a Bat; which, all together, must render this Creature equally singular and disagreeable.

The ingenious Mr. *Kalben*^f, in his excellent Account of the Cape of *Good Hope*, has given us a still more accurate Description of the Rhinoceros; and, indeed, by comparing it with all that I have met with on this Subject, I am thoroughly satisfied, that it is more clear, more distinct, and more agreeable to Truth, because the Author seems to have had more Attention, and less Quickness of Fancy, than other Writers. Its Skin, says he, is without Hair, or other Covering; but is of itself so hick and hard, that even the most sharp pointed Knife will hardly pierce it. Painters generally represent this Creature with Scales, but it has really nothing of that kind. Its Skin indeed is so full of Scratches and Scabs, that, at a Distance, they may be very well taken for Scales, especially as they frequently run over and across each other. His Nose, or Snout, is not unlike that of an Hog; on the End of which, he has an Horn of a dark-brown Colour, which, without doubt, by the continual Use he makes of it, is bent back towards his Head, so that it in some measure resembles a Ploughshare. This Horn is of very different Sizes, according to the Age of the Animal; but, in Length, never exceeds two Feet. It has another Horn a little above the large one, towards the Front of its Head, which is of a yellow Colour, but small in a young Rhinoceros, and in an old one, does not exceed six Inches at the most. In its Figure, it resembles a Bowl cut in half; the Cavity is turned towards the Head: This lesser Horn hinders the larger one from doing all the Mischief that it otherwise might: Its Ears are less, and its Limbs shorter than those of the Elephant: Its Eyes are exceedingly small, and it only sees strait forward; which is the Reason, that when it runs or pursues its Prey, it is always in a strait Line, fencing, tearing, and throwing up, whatever it meets with in its Passage, so that neither Bush, Tree, Thicket, or large Stones, ever oblige it to quit its Path. With the Horn upon his Nose, he tears up Trees by the Roots, throws Stones that lie in his Way over his Head, to a great Distance, and with a prodigious Noise. When he meets with nothing to obstruct him, and is in a Rage, he will make great Ruts in the Ground, and throw, from time to time, large Quantities of Earth over his Head. His Grunt is very much like that of an Hog, and not very loud, if he is not angry; but, if he is in Pursuit of his Prey, he makes such a terrible Noise, as may be heard at a great Distance; and, as he is very dreadful to all Kinds of Beasts, they fly at the Sound of it in the utmost Terror.

9. The principal Food of the Rhinoceros, are Bushes, Shrubs, Boughs of Trees, and other things of the same Nature: For tho' this Creature be a Bait of Prey, and one of the most terrible in this Part of the World, yet it is both able to subsist, and does subsist, for a great while together, without feeding on Flesh^g. What the *Ancients* report, of the Rhinoceros having a natural Antipathy to the Elephant, is strictly true; and they never meet in the Woods, but it is fatal to the latter, if it does not see the Rhinoceros time enough to make its Escape; for the Elephant places all its Safety in Flight; and, if once attacked, is scarce able to make any Defence through Fear^h. It is very seldom that the Rhinoceros attacks a Man, and hardly ever, unless he happens to be dressed in Red; a Colour to which he has a mortal Aversion. When he comes up with the Man whom he pursues, he lifts him by the Twilt on his Horn, and throws him directly over his Head with such Force, that he never fails of finding him dead when he comes to devour him, which he does by licking all the Flesh from the Bones, with his Tongue, in the same manner that he destroys other Animals. But, however furious, and however swift, this terrible Creature may be, yet it is

* Numbers xxxii. 22. God brought them out of Egypt: He hath, as it were, the Strength of an Unicorn.

^b Lib. xvi. p. 773.

^c Lib. ii. p. 460.

^d Medicam. Indor. lib. xvi.

^e Memoires de la Chine.

^f Lib. viii. cap. 22.

^g Description de

^h Ca. de la bête Esquante, p. 12. s. 2.

ⁱ Jonston. Theat. Animal. Tom. ii. p. 66.

^j Mandélie, Poings aux Indes, p. 30.

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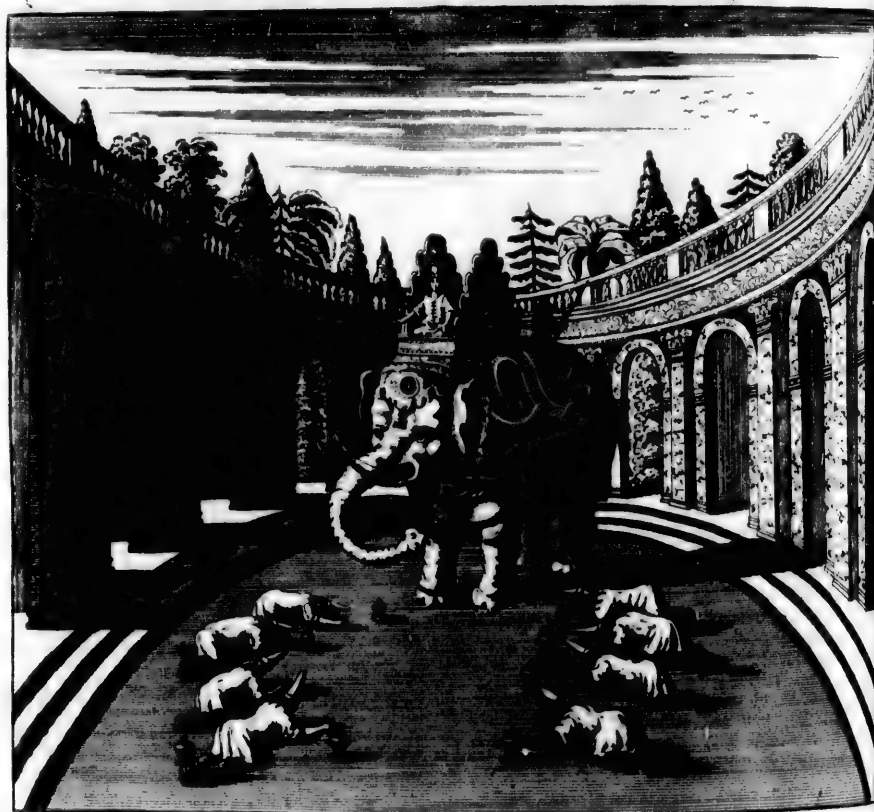
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The Rhinoceros as described by the Ancients



The Rhinoceros drawn from the life



An Indian Monarch giving Audience from his Elephant

far from being difficult to avoid it, provided a Man has a tolerable Prehence of Mind; for the Rhinoceros seeing only straight forward, and turning being very troublesome, striking twice or thrice out of the Road, is sufficient to escape all Danger: For this Creature very rarely turns back, or changes his Path, but destroys, without Mercy, whatever he finds in it.

The general Name of this Creature, in the *Indies*, is *Abada*; and in *Persian*, it is called *Kerkeden*, much esteemed for the Virtues of its Horn: And therefore, notwithstanding the Danger of the Exercise, industriously hunted by the Natives of the Country, who, when they are so lucky as to kill it, suffer nothing to be lost, but apply every Part of it to some Use or other. The Flesh is said to be hard and stringy, but, in other respects, wholesome and well-tasted; so that the *Europeans* eat it readily, and think it no contemptible Venison.

The Horn is extremely precious, and sells at a great Rate, for the Property it is supposed to have, of discovering Poison: The Fact is universally believed in the *Indies*, and a Man would be as much laughed at there for doubting it, as he would be here for believing it: Yet some Writers of unquestionable Credit, have asserted the Truth of this from their own Knowledge, particularly Mr. *Kolben*, who assures us, that, at the Cape of *Good Hope*, they make Cups of this Horn, which are finely adorned with Gold or Silver; and that, upon pouring Wine into them, a great Ebullition follows; but, if there be any Poison mixed with the Wine, the Cup infallibly breaks, as it also does, if the Poison be put in unmixed. The Experiment, we are told, has been made so frequently, and with such constant Success, that Thousands of Persons settled at the Cape of *Good Hope*, might be produced, as Witnesses to the Truth of it.

For my own Part, I must confess, that I think it almost as difficult to believe, that Mr. *Kolben* himself, or any other Writer of Reputation, should endeavour to impose upon Mankind by such a Report, if there was no Truth in it, as to believe the Fact. I therefore incline to think, that the Relation is only delivered in too general Terms; and that, instead of asserting, that this Horn breaks, on the pouring into a Cup made of it any kind of Poison, an Inquiry ought to be made, what sort of Poison really breaks it? For I very much suspect, that if we knew what kind of Poison it is, we should be able to account for it from natural Causes: And I am the rather led to this Opinion, from what the same Author tells us, of the bubbling, or boiling of Wine, when poured into the same Cup.

10. The *Indians* fancy, that, in splitting the Horn, they discover, on each Side, the Figure of a Man, marked out by little white Spots; as also Birds of several Kinds, as we see in *Egyptian* Pebbles: But, without doubt, this is the Effect of a very strong Fancy, with regard to both. It is, however, highly probable, that, as it serves to raise the Price of this Commodity, it also serves to support its Credit; for the more Wonders are reported of any thing, the more readily the common People believe them. In the Island of *Java*, where there are many of these Creatures, they are most valued, and the Virtues of their Horns in the highest Esteem; so that when they are sent to be turned, they always order a Person to stand by, to collect theavings, that no Part may be lost: For of this sort of Ivory, they give a certain Quantity, boiled in Water, or a Broth, for Convulsions, Fainting-fits, and other Diseases that proceed from Disorders in the Nerves. The Blood likewise, of this Animal, is held to be extremely medicinal: And therefore, when it can be got fresh, they set it in a Cup made of the Rhinoceros's Horn, in the Sun, till it grows hard; and then they preserve it in a Bottle close-stopped, for the following Uses: They conceive it to be a specific for all Obstructions, and, at the same, admirable for healing and consolidating broken Vessels; but, above all, it is held an infallible Cure for the Spitting of Blood. The manner of taking it is, by mixing a few Grains of the blood, in a Dish of Tea or Coffee.

It is most certain, that, on the first coming of the *Eu-*

ropeans into these Countries, they found the People universally persuaded of the Efficacy of these Drugs: And we are told by the famous *John Hugo Linfchoten*, one of the most candid Writers on this Subject, that in *Bengal* the Rhinoceros Horn was sold at a very high Price. He tells us likewise some other Circumstances, that deserve to be mentioned: 'These Horns, says he, are much valued throughout all *India*, as effectual Remedies against Venom and Poison; for which, likewise, the Teeth, Claws, Flesh, Skin, Blood, Urine, and Dung, of this Animal, are likewise much valued: And that this is not an idle Notion, but an Opinion founded in Truth, I can, from my own Experience, attest. There is, however, one thing, which is to be remembered, that all these Horns are not of equal Value and Price, because all of them are not of equal Goodness; for some will sell for 200 or 300 Pardoes, while others of the same Size and Colour will not fetch above three or four Pardoes. The Reason which the Natives assign for this Difference, is their feeding in different Places; for they believe, that the Virtue of the Horn is derived from the Herbs by which the Creature is nourished; and therefore, they have almost an equal Esteem for the Horns of the wild Goats that feed in the same Places.'

I shall conclude this Account with the Relation of *Father Borri*, in his Account of *Cochin-China*, as to the Hunting of the *Abada*, which, however, he describes as covered over with Scales; tho' this might, perhaps, arise, from his seeing him only at a Distance. His Account is curious; and therefore I shall give it in the Author's own Words, the rather because it not only confirms many things before related, but furnishes us also with some Particulars that are new. 'When I was at *Nuocmon*, a City in the Province of *Pulucambi*, says he, the Governor went out to hunt a Rhinoceros, that was in a Wood near our Dwelling-place: He had with him above an hundred Men, some on Foot, and some on Horseback; and eight or ten Elephants. The Rhinoceros came out of the Wood; and, seeing so many Enemies, was so far from giving any Tokens of Fear, that it furiously encountered them all, who opened, and making a Line, let the Rhinoceros run through, till it came to the Rear, where the Governor was mounted on his Elephant, waiting to kill it. The Elephant endeavoured to lay hold with his Trunk, but could not, by reason of the Rhinoceros's Swiftnes: And leaping, to wound the Elephant with its Horn, the Governor knowing it could receive no Hurt, by reason of the Scales, unless they struck it on the Side, waited, till leaping it laid open the naked Place; and, casting a Dart, dexterously struck it thro', from Side to Side, with great Applause, and Satisfaction of all the Multitude of Spectators, who, without any more to do, laid it upon a great Pile of Wood, and, setting Fire to it, leapt and danced about, while the Scales were burning, and Flesh roasting; cutting Pieces as it roasted, and eating them. Of the Entrails; that is, the Heart, Liver, and Brain, they made a more dainty Dish, and gave it to the Governor, who was upon a Rising-ground, diverting himself with their Merriment. As I was present at the taking of this Creature, I obtained from the Governor the Hoofs; which I esteemed not inferior to his Horn: And this is thought as effectual in expelling Poison, as that of the Unicorn.' This seems to countenance my Sentiment, that these Horns, as Alcalis, may serve as Remedies for a certain kind of Poisons.

11. The Lion, of which so many extraordinary Stories are told us by the Antients, is also a Native of the *Indies*, and more common there than in any other Part of the World, except *Lithya*. The Lion of the true Kind, of full Size, and with a flowing Mane of yellow Hair, is by all Authors acknowledged to be, at once, the most majestic, and the most dreadful Sight, that is furnished by the Animal Creation. The Lioness has no Mane; her Ears are shorter and wider; and she has more Fierceness, and less Dignity in her Countenance, than the Lion.

De Origine du Cap de Bonne Esperance, Vol. iii. p. 16.

Idem. ibid. p. 17.

Herbelot. Bibliot. Orient. p. 959.

Poings

De Origine du Cap de Bonne Esperance, Vol. iii. p. 16.

De Origine du Cap de Bonne Esperance, Vol. iii. p. 16.

Idem. ibid. p. 17.

Herbelot. Bibliot. Orient. p. 959.

Poings

NUMB. 32.

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It is positively insisted on, both by *Aristotle* and *Pliny* *, that the Bones of the Lion are much firmer, and more solid than those of any other Beast; which some Moderns have denied: But such as have had the best Opportunities of inquiring into, and being satisfied as to the Matter of Fact, assure us, that the Antients are in the right; and that the Cavity in the Leg-bones of a Lion is not larger than those of a Tobacco-pipe; so that when they are suffered to lie and dry in the Sun, that Cavity is intirely filled up; and they become so smooth, so strong, and perfectly united, that they will strike Fire like Flints. When he falls upon his Prey, he first brings it to the Ground, and then beats its Breath out with his Paw, before he tears or eats it; and generally accompanies this Death-stroke with a loud Roar.

Their Strength is prodigious, and much beyond their Size; which is the Reason, that other Beasts fly at the Sight of them. We are told by *Pliny*, that they never prey upon Men, till they become very old, and cannot provide themselves with other Food; in which time of Distress, they watch about the Skirts of Villages, and even of great Towns, that they may catch and devour such as come out carelessly in a Morning, or are returning in an Evening.

The Romans thought there was something ominous in the manner in which Lions were introduced into their Amphitheatres. *Sylla* the Dictator exhibited one hundred Lions, which fought all at once. After him *Pompey* exposed six hundred; and his Competitor, *Julius Caesar*, exposed four hundred. All which, the Romans observed, happened in Times when their Liberty was declining. But what contributed to spread this Notion the most of all, was the Contrivance of *Mark Antony*, who, after the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, caused himself to be drawn through Rome in a Chariot, to which two Lions were yoked, at the same time that there sat with him one *Cytheris* an Actress, his favourite Mistress, before he became acquainted with *Cleopatra*. This, says *Pliny*, seemed to preface, that Men of high Spirit, and noble Courage, should be tamed, and brought into Subjection to such as were only remarkable for their Pride and Luxury: And for my Part, continues he, I consider the very Sight of so monstrous a Spectacle, as none of the least of the Calamities of these unhappy Times.

It was not at Rome only, that such Notions prevailed; the *Carthaginians* seem also to have had the same Sentiments; for when *Hanno*, who was one of their most excellent Citizens, and greatest Generals, had found a Way to tame a Lion, so that he stroked and handled him like a Dog, they took occasion from thence to drive him into Banishment, believing that the Liberties of a People could not be safe, where that Man had any Power, who had Skill enough to alter the Nature of the fiercest Beast, and make him tame and gentle as a Spaniel.

It is very doubtful, whether there be any Truth in what is reported of the Lioness's bringing forth but five times in her Life, and having at first five Whelps, then four, and the last time but one: Neither is there much Credit due to what is said, of their living to a great Age; since we know, by Experience, that they are not a very long-lived Animal. But with respect to its Magnanimity, and disdaining to eat such as approach in an humble and suppliant manner, it is affirmed as well by modern Travellers, as the Writers of Antiquity: And it is on all hands agreed, that if this Beast does not lash himself with his Tail, or set up his Mane, a Man may safely go by him.

There are a kind of Lions that have no Manes, but are smooth like the Lioness: These are said to be a mongrel Breed between the Leopard and the Lioness. As to the Antipathy between the Lion and the Cock, and the former's flying, if he hear the latter crow, it is no better than a Fable; of which there are more related of this, than almost any other Animal. And, in Truth, one cannot but wonder, how so grave a Writer as *Pliny* could bring himself to set down so many improbable Stories as he did, upon this Subject; which, as they could only serve to tire, without instructing the Reader, I think it best to omit. The

Flesh of this Animal is often eaten, is not at all unpleasant, and is not known to prove unwholesome; but, whether any Part of this Creature be of any Use in Physick, I am not able to say.

13. The Tyger is justly reported by the Antients one of the fiercest, swiftest, and strongest of all wild Beasts. Other Animals, of which we have hitherto spoken, are found in several Countries besides the Indies; but the true Tyger is, in a manner, peculiar to that Part of the World: They differ from the Leopard in Size, and in Spots; for the Tyger is much bigger, having yellow Spots that are very round, with black Hair about them; whereas the Leopard is spotted with black, almost in the Shape of Horse-shoes. The Female, which is called the Tygress, is even fiercer than the Male, as appears from what *Pliny* tells us of the Manner in which the Huntmen caught her young ones in those Times. They provided themselves, says he, with a very swift Horse, on which one of the boldest went in Search of the Tyger's Den, while the rest remained with their Boat by the River-side. When he who was on Horseback had an Opportunity, by the Absence of their Dam, he carried away the Whelps, and rode as hard as he was able to join his Companions; but the Tygress, missing her Young, frequently came up with the Huntsman before he reached the River-side, who, as soon as he found himself in Danger, dropped one of the Whelps, which the Tygress taking up, and carrying back to her Den, gave him Time to escape with the rest to his Companions, who immediately quitted the Place with the utmost Expedition. This Story shews the quick Scent, and prodigious Speed, of this Creature; of which, however, *Pliny* does not give us any particular Description.

By comparing, however, the several Accounts we have of this Creature in modern Travels, it appears, that their Eyes are wonderful bright and shining, their Necks short and strong, their Teeth and Claws prodigiously sharp, their tabby Skins of a beautiful Colour, and their Hair short and glossy. The Kingdom of Malabar is, of all others, the most famous for these Animals, of which they distinguish these three Sorts: The first is somewhat bigger than a wild Cat, makes a frightful Noise, not unlike the Lowing of a Cow, and does a great deal of Mischief. The second Sort, which is most common, is of the Size of a small Calf, wonderfully brisk and active, and, without excessively cruel. The third is called the Tyger Royal, and is very near as big as a Horse, for the Skin of one of them will serve for a Coverlid for a Bed six Foot long; and for this they are much used in the Indies. The last of all the Species of this Creature are very valuable, both in the Indies, and in Europe. They are used there chiefly for Beds and Palankins; and here for Horse-furniture, and for lining Cloaths in the Winter, especially in the North.

As the Lion never eats any Creature till it is dead, so the Tyger tears his Prey to Pieces while it is living; and if he meets by chance with a dead Sheep, or Horse, he will not touch them: But if, at any time, they fall in with an Herd or Flock, where they have Plenty of Cattle at their Mercy, they seldom eat them at all, but content themselves with sucking their Blood; by which it is incredible what Havock they make. A Tyger, Tygress, and two of their young ones, have been known to destroy upwards of an hundred Sheep in a Night's time, in this manner: They generally hide themselves behind Bushes or Hedges, in an inclosed Country, from whence they leap at once, with almost incredible Force, upon whatever passes by: Neither are they at all afraid of Men, but, whenever they have an Opportunity, seize them generally in the Middle, carry them into the Woods, and there tear them to-pieces, and devour them. The Flesh of this Creature is remarkably white and tender: Such as have eat it affirm, that it is as delicate as any kind of Veal, and much better tasted: And the Flesh of young Tygers is said to be as tender and sweet as that of Fowls.

The Antients report, that Tygers often mingle with Dogs; which, having been observed by the Indians, they were wont to carry a certain Number of Bitches into the

* *Pliny*, lib. viii. cap. 16. *Aristot.* ubi sup.

Not. Hist. lib. vi. c. 20. *lib.* v. c. 18. *Oppian.* lib. i. *Beckert.* *Hier.* P. i. lib. iii. c. 7 & 8.

Ticks. *Voyage au Indes* par J. le Maistre.

Ælian. lib. iii. cap. . . lib. vii. cap. 96.

Hist. Nat. lib. viii. cap. 16.

Dictionnaire de Commerce.

A Lion & Lioness as described by most accurate Writers on Natural History — Vol. I. Pa. 463. 66 & 67



A Tiger Tigress & Leopard common in most of the Deserts of India? —

Woods, where the Tygers frequented, and there left them tied to Trees. By this Contrivance they obtained a Species of Dogs so fierce and strong, that they were not afraid of attacking even a Lion: And it was of this Breed that *Sopibes*, an Indian King, presented some to *Alexander* the Great; of which we have a particular Account in the History of *Diodorus Siculus*. *Alexander*, having a mind to make an Experiment of their Strength and Courage, let loose a large Lion upon two of them, which not being able to manage him, he ordered two other Dogs to be let go: The Lion, being surrounded by these four, was very soon over-powered; upon which the Indian King sent a Person with a Sword, who cut off the Right Thigh of one of the Dogs by little and little; and, in spite of all the Pain he endured, the Dog neither howled, nor let go; but held the Lion fast, till he fell down dead. The Number of these Creatures, given to *Alexander* by this Indian Prince, was one hundred and fifty, which that Hero esteemed a very valuable Present.

A Dutch Traveller informs us, that in the Kingdom of *Congo* the Tygers seldom or never attack white Men; and, as a Proof of it, he tells us, that when he was there, a Tyger surpris'd a white Man and a Black asleep, and immediately tore the Negro to-pieces, but left the White untouched: And we have the same thing asserted by other Writers, but, I think, without any good Grounds, farther than as it may be supposed, that the Tygers are better acquainted with the Blacks in those Countries; and, therefore, may be more apt to attack a Prey they have been used to.

In the Voyages of *Walter Schouten* we have a very curious Account of these Creatures; and, as that Dutch Writer is highly esteemed for his strict Regard to Truth, the Reader will not, probably, be displeased with the Translation of what he has given us upon this Subject. 'It is very true, says he, that the Tyger thirsts as much after human Blood, as after that of Beasts. He catches a Man exactly as a Cat does a Mouse, and carries him off with as much Ease. At the first Leap he sticks his fore Paws into the Shoulders, or, rather, a little below them; and, having brought the Man down, he strikes his Teeth, on both Sides, through his Ribs. One may very well say, that a Man is lost, upon whom a Tyger sets his Eyes: The Sight of them, and the being attacked, are, in a manner, instantaneous; so that the Fear, and the being pait all Fright, is over in two or three Minutes. The Desarts of *Bengal* are somewhat less dangerous in the Light than in the Dark; for then the Tygers quit their Thickets and Caverns, and come even into Houses and Villages, where they seize any they find abroad, and tear them to-pieces. They have even the Boldness to attack Men on Horseback; as also the largest and strongest Buffaloes of that Country, which are of an extraordinary Size: They, generally, leap upon their Shoulders, and tear them to-pieces in an instant; some Instances of which happened while we were there. It is looked upon as a Thing certain among the *Indians*, that the Tyger and Rhinoceros live in great Harmony together. There are many of both Sorts of these Creatures in the Woods of *Bengal*, and it is never known, that they attack each other. The Reason which the *Indians* give for this is very singular: They say that Tygers, after gorging themselves with the Flesh of Men or Beasts, grow extremely sick, and find Relief by eating the Dung of the Rhinoceros, which, as it feeds chiefly upon green Herbs, that are of great Virtue, they are still very wholesome, even when they have passed through his Body; of which they appear to be very thoroughly persuaded, since they frequently make use of the same Medicine themselves.' The same Writer tells us, that in this Part of the *Indies* they are forced to travel in Company, for fear of their merciless Creatures; and that their Dogs, when they hear the Cry of them in the Woods, tremble, and sweat in a most surprising Manner. The People, however, at certain Seasons of the Year, assemble in great Numbers to

hunt the Tygers, and carry along with them several of their Conjurers, who pretend to enchant them, which is, at once, a strong Proof both of their Folly and their Fear'. There are a smaller Sort of Tygers in *Africa*, and, it is said, in *America*; but it is very doubtful whether the latter are at all of the same Species: And, as to the former, though they are very fierce, and do infinite Mischief, especially in the Dutch Settlements, near the Cape of Good Hope, yet they are far below the Size of an Indian Tyger, and are only equal at most to the second Sort. This Difference is occasioned, in all Probability, by some Mixture in the Breed; for it appears plainly, by comparing the Accounts of ancient Writers with those of modern Travellers, that it was the large Indian Tyger was known to the former, and not the smaller Sorts, which, if then existing, were called by other Names.

13. The Leopard and Panther are the Male and Female of the same Species, which, though not equal in Size, is very little inferior in Strength, to the Lion, and not at all less mischievous. It is not, however, very common for them to attack Men, at least if they are not under the Necessity of doing it; for, in that Case, there is no Creature bolder. The Skins of these Animals were much valued by the Antients, on account of the Beauty and Regularity of their Spots, which, as I before observed, were small, and of a semicircular Figure, not unlike an Half-moon: But on the Shoulder they were supposed to have a larger Mark, which not only resembled, but was in a manner governed by the Moon, increasing as she did, and decreasing likewise in the same manner; having now blunt Points, now sharp, and sometimes a complete Orb, like the Full Moon*. One would find it more difficult to believe, that such Opinions as these would gain Credit with Men of Learning and Sense, if there were not Instances, even in our Days, of as ridiculous Notions prevailing with Men who pretend to follow no other Lights than those of Reason and Experience.

The Antients tell us, that these Creatures had a very singular way of hunting. They derive from Nature a kind of musky Smell, which being agreeable to Deer, Goats, and other Animals, they were wont to frequent the Haunts of the Panthers, till at the Sight of her fierce Countenance they were frightened, and fled; which this Creature observing, she contrived to hide herself behind the Bushes, that, when these Animals were attracted by her Smell, she might leap on them at once; by which Method she easily surpris'd them. The *Indians* hunt them very assiduously, as well for their Flesh, which they esteem very wholesome as well as savoury, as for the sake of taking their Young, which they breed up tame, and then present them to their Kings, who breed them up for hunting; and find them not only superior to any kind of Dogs in Swiftmess and Strength, but in Fidelity also; for they constantly bring back what they take without tearing it: And, even to this Day, it is found, that they make use of the same Method of enticing their Prey that has been before described from the Antients. The *Arabians* call this Creature *Beber*; the *Turks*, *Joz*; and the *Tartars*, *Jem*: But the general Name of them through the East, is, *Pars*, which is a *Persian* Word; and it signifies, also, the Country of *Persia*, properly so called: And hence it is, that the Person, who has the Care of these Creatures that are kept for the hunting of the Grand Signor, is called *Parfagi*: And so jealous they are in the *Indies* of this kind of Sport, that no private Man is permitted to hunt with Leopards†.

When the Panther has young ones, it is reported, that the Leopard, though much stronger, will not defend himself against her, but suffers himself to be very ill treated, till the young ones are grown up, and able to snit for themselves. It is certain, that, however fierce in their Nature, the Panthers are extremely tender of their Whelps; of which *Pliny* gives us a very singular Instance. A Panther, by some Accident or other, had her whole Litter tumbled into a deep Pit, out of which she was not able to deliver them. In this Distress she went to the next

* *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.* † *Curlius, lib. ix.*

† *Hist. Anim. lib. viii.* † *Ælian, lib. iv. cap. 49. lib. v. cap. 40. lib. xv. cap. 14.*

† *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 17.*

† *Voyage de P. van de Broek, p. 397.* † *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 17.*

† *Voyage aux Indes, p. 331.* † *Herbelot Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 700.*

Highway, in hopes of finding some Passenger, that might be kind enough to assist her. The first who came by, was the Father of *Philinus* the Philosopher, about whom the Panther played and trifled, without offering to hurt him. The Man would willingly have escaped from her Careless, but found it impossible. At last she lay down at his Feet, and seemed to bemoan herself; and then taking hold of his Robe, led him gently to the Place where her Offspring lay: By which discovering the Cause of this Change in the Nature of the Beast, he descended into the Pit, and reached up her young ones. When the Whelps were once in Safety, they fell to leaping and playing with their Dam, who, in Company with her young ones, led their Benefactor safely out of the Wilderness^a.

There are many strange things reported by the Antients, as to the Amours between the Leopard and the Lioness. The latter, they say, is exceedingly prone to the Company of the former; and fearing that the Lion should detect her Infidelity by the strong Smell of the Leopard, she keeps, for some time, at a Distance from her Consort; but, when she finds herself pregnant, she deserts him intirely, and resorts to the Haunts of the Leopard; because, when the Lion finds her young ones spotted, he tears the spurious Breed to pieces, and chastises the Lioness herself severely^b. In the Travels of *Apollonius Tyanicus*, we meet with many Instances of the Tenderness of Panthers to their Young, and of their Gentleness and Fidelity. *Philophrastus* informs us, that from their natural Wantonness the Panthers were held sacred to, and Symbols of *Bacchus*; but other Authors ascribe this to their Love of Wine, in which they differ extremely from other Beasts^c. But, whatever the Cause might be, the Fact is certain, that they were held sacred to that Divinity; and that the Chariot of *Bacchus* is frequently represented as drawn by Leopards: But as it is sometimes either drawn nor attended by Tygers, I am inclined to think, that both were used for the same Reason, viz. to shew that he was the Conqueror of the *Indies*, where these Creatures naturally reside; if there was not a moral Reason for this Representation, which might be intended to shew, that even the fiercest and most intractable Natures were softened and civilized by the Charms of social Mirth^d.

There was an old Law at *Rome*, which forbade the bringing any of these Species into *Italy*; but for what Reason it was made, or why they were more afraid of those than of other wild Creatures, does not appear. However, when *Cornus Aspidius* was Tribune of the People, he procured a Licence, notwithstanding this Law, to bring over Leopards for the *Circensian Games*. *Scaurus* was the first Man, who in his *Edilship* exhibited one hundred and fifty Leopards. *Pompey* the Great exceeded this very far; for he produced four hundred and ten. But, at the Dedication of the Temple of *Marcellus*, *Augustus* exhibited to the People four hundred and twenty Leopards, and a tame Leopard in a Cage, which was never seen before. But the Emperor *Claudius* produced four tame Leopards at once^e.

But this is now thought no extraordinary thing; for, in the *Indies*, they tame even those of the largest and fiercest Kind, and keep them at their Tables, where they feed as freely and as quietly as Dogs^f. As to the Age to which these Creatures attain, we meet with nothing certain, either in old Authors, or in new; but it is probable, that as in other respects they resemble, so in their Age they come near the Lion, which is not observed to enjoy a very long Life. Some report, that the Tygers and Leopards mingle; which may be true in *Africa*, but such Conjunctions are not frequently observed in the *Indies*. It may not be amiss to add, that in hunting with these Beasts, when tame, they sit on the Crupper of the Huntsman's Horse, with their Eyes covered till the Game is roused; and then they are let go^g.

14. The Camel is, at once, as useful and as remarkable a Creature as any that has been yet mentioned; nor is there one that makes a greater Figure in the Works of the An-

tients, who seem to have considered it with greater Attention; and therefore speak of it more accurately than of almost any other Animal, in this Part of the World^h. The Camel is cloven-footed, hath a large, fleshy Bunch on his Back, which is peculiar to the Species, another lesser Bunch on the bending of each Knee, which appears to be of Use in supporting his Body: His Tail is like that of an Ass in Shape, but has four Knots in it, like that of the Cowⁱ.

This is the Description of *Aristotle*; but a Chinese Writer that I have before cited, gives us, in my Judgment, a much better Picture of a Camel: And, therefore, I will submit it to the Reader's Inspection: "This Creature, says he, is a kind of Ship by Land; for he transports vast Quantities of Goods from one Country to another, in a short Space of Time, at small Cost, since he eats seldom, and scarce ever drinks in his Passage. His Form is singular, and not so beautiful as his Qualities are valuable; for in the Neck and Fore-part of him he is made most like a Sheep. In his Body he resembles a Horse: His Back and Hind-limbs are peculiar to his Species; for scarce any other Creature has any Resemblance to him therein. Nature has furnished this Animal with a Palate, to which Thistles, and such-like harsh Food, are most agreeable; two Stomachs admirably contrived for Digestion, and so lined, as to receive a Quantity of Water sufficient to maintain his dry Food for many Days. Besides this, he derives from the same bounteous Hand, two Qualities, that the Sagacity of Man could never reach; for by his Scent he distinguishes Springs, how deep soever they lie: And whoever digs where a Camel scrapes, will never miss finding Water, let the Soil seem ever so unpromising. Their second Property is, foreseeing venomous and burning Winds, which fly swiftly, and are mortal in a Moment: A little while before they come, the Camels run together, cry, and hide their Noses in the Earth; but as soon as they are past, they lift up their Heads, and continue their Journey."

Aristotle asserts, that they go twelve Months, and never bring forth more than one Foal. *Pliny* either copies him, or is of the same Opinion: But *Suidas* holds, that they go but ten Months complete, and bring forth in the beginning of the eleventh. According to *Aristotle*, they are very private in their Copulation, retiring into unfrequented Shades, and remaining there whole Days; at which Seasons they are very furious^j. At other times they are a very gentle and tractable Creature, undertake their Drivers perfectly, and, instead of a Whip, are quickened in their Pace either by a Pipe, or the Driver's Whistling.

Indeed all Authors agree, that, next to the Elephant, they are of all Animals the most gregarious: They troop, like him, to receive their Burdens, and arise as soon as they have their accustomed Load. But, with all this, they are very vindictive; and, if beaten, bear Malice a long time; and, whenever they have an Opportunity, fall out of taking Revenge. The *Arabians*, who are best acquainted with them, reckon two sorts of Camels; the first they call *Hegen*, which are the larger and the stronger Sort, and will carry a thousand or twelve hundred Weight, their Backs being almost flat. The second are called *Baktri*; they are less, and cannot carry above half the Weight: These have two Lumps upon their Backs. The *Indians* and the *Persians* make the same Distinction, tho' they make use of other Terms; for they call the stronger the Northern Camels, because bred, for the most part, on the Frontiers of *Tartary*: The lesser they call Southern Camels.

It is certain, that they will travel four or five Days without Water, and some say much longer; they go a pretty round Pace, and at the Rate of thirty or forty Miles a-day, which they will continue, if Occasion requires, for thirty or forty Days together. They are a very timorous Animal; so that if at any time they are surprised by a Lion, Tyger, Leopard, or other Beast of Prey, they are devoured without making the least Resistance. It is remarked of this Creature, as well as of the Elephant, that it troubles the Water before it drinks, and, very probably, for

^a See *Hist. Nat. c. 17.*

^b *Philophrast. lib. ii. c. 17.*

^c *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^d *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^e *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^f *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^g *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^h *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

ⁱ *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^j *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^b *Philophrast. lib. ii. c. 17.*

^c *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^d *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^e *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^f *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^g *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^h *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

ⁱ *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^j *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^c *Idem. lib. ii. c. 17.*

^d *Idem. lib. ii. c. 17.*

^e *Idem. lib. ii. c. 17.*

^f *Idem. lib. ii. c. 17.*

^g *Idem. lib. ii. c. 17.*

^h *Idem. lib. ii. c. 17.*

ⁱ *Idem. lib. ii. c. 17.*

^j *Idem. lib. ii. c. 17.*

^d *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^e *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^f *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^g *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^h *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

ⁱ *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

^j *Plinius lib. ii. c. 17.*

the same Reason. In one respect this Creature is very singular, which is in having no Teeth in its upper Jaw, and yet it feeds without any Inconvenience from hence; and, perhaps, the want of Teeth, is, in some Cases, rather an Advantage to it.

The Smell of this Animal is so disagreeable to Horses, that they will not endure it; and, by the Knowledge of this, *Cyrus* gained a complete Victory over *Cresus*, King of *Lydia*; for, knowing the other trusted much to his Superiority in Cavalry, *Cyrus* posted a Body of Camels over-against them, and the Horses no sooner perceived their Scent, than they fell into Confusion, and ran away. As to the Age of this Creature Authors are much divided. *Aristotle* asserts, that they do not live much above fifty Years; but *Pliny* says, that if they escape Accidents, they often approach, and sometimes reach, an hundred^a. Modern Writers agree rather with the former than the latter.

There are few Creatures that are in all respects so valuable; for, besides the Services they render by Carriage, their Hair, which they shed every Year, is extremely valuable; for, of this Hair, Camblets, and other Manufactures, are wrought; and the very Urine of the Beast yields a considerable Profit, since of that the true *Sal Armoniac* is made. The Lump on the Back is most of it Fat, which, when melted, becomes an Ointment of excellent Use in discharging hard Swellings, and in curing all Sorts of Pains in the Limbs, from whatever Cause. The Flesh is well-tasted, and the Broth much used by the *Chinese* in asthmatic Cases: The Milk of the Camel is thinner, and therefore esteemed more wholesome, than any other, especially in Consumptions: Of the Dung, dried, a kind of Snuff is made, which is said to cure Bleeding at the Nose.

The received Opinion amongst the Antients, that the Camel preserved Water in its Stomach^c, has been ridiculed by some of the Moderns as equally foolish and false; but others assert, that, on Dissection, there appear four Ventricles, capable of holding a considerable Quantity of Water, with Holes into the Stomach, by which, it is supposed, this Creature forces the Water, contained in them, to mix with the dry Food that is in its Stomach, by holding its Breath. It is, on the other Side, asserted, that, in *Arabia*, there are a Race of Camels that never drink at all, but are supplied with Moisture from the Grass, and Tops of green Trees, on which they feed; but, with respect to this, I do not pretend to decide, desiring only to report fairly such Facts as I have met with.

The Camel is as much the Theme of modern Travellers, as of the antient Naturalists, and they agree exceedingly well in their Descriptions with the former; so that we have all the Reason in the World to believe, that both may be depended on. The modern Travellers observe, that there cannot be any thing better suited, than the Nature of this Animal, to the Commerce of the *Indies*. They tell us, that from the very time the Camel is brought forth, it is accustomed to Burdens; that they take care to place its Legs in their proper Posture under it, and then lay such a Weight upon it, as keeps it in that State for a certain time; and, by repeating this Method, they beget such a Habit in the Beast, as renders it tractable and obedient for Life. This appears to be the more necessary, because, naturally, the Camel has a great Degree of Obstinacy; and, though it readily kneels to receive its usual Load, yet, as soon as it feels that Weight upon its Back, it rises at once, and will not suffer any Augmentation^d.

The Capacity of this Creature, to bear Hunger and Fatigue, is very extraordinary; and the Moderns assert more upon this Head than the Antients. We are particularly told, by a Writer eminent for his Candour, that a Camel, in a Fit of Lust, will go forty-two Days without eating; during which time, they are so furious, and so mischievous, that there is no going near them, and therefore they take care to put them into Places where they can do no hurt. Some assert, that this Creature is enabled to fast longer

than any other, by a sort of gradual Consumption in his own Body, which supplies, for a certain time, to the Stomach, what should be derived from Food; but then it weakens him exceedingly, inasmuch, that a strong Camel, after the Fit of Lust is over, is scarce able to sustain a tenth Part of his usual Load^e.

These Animals are at all times very sober Feeders, so that they are able to subsist on a very little Matter, which enables them to perform such prodigious Journeys, as, for the Convenience of Commerce they are put upon; all over the East; so that it is visibly the Wisdom of Providence, that destined this Creature to be the Native of Countries where such a Beast was absolutely necessary for the Service of the Inhabitants; and it may be regarded, as an additional Proof of this, that the *African* Camel, which fares harder, and has still greater and more uncouth Journeys to take, is larger, stronger, and capable of carrying heavier Burdens, than the Camels of *Asia*. The Moderns have likewise discovered some medicinal Virtues in the Camel, which do not appear to have been known to the Antients: As for Instance, that the Brain of it, when dried, is in a manner a Specific for the Falling Sickness; that its Urine is an excellent Preservative for the Teeth and Gums; and that its Dung is capable of resolving white Swellings, and is an excellent Cure for green Wounds^f. It is no wonder, therefore, that the *Arabs* account their Camels their greatest Wealth; and, it is the clearest Proof of their Firmness in their Customs, that they are not, in this respect, at all changed from what they were in the Days of *Aristotle*, who asserts, that some of them were possessed of 3000 of these Animals^g.

15. The Dromedary is, in the Opinion of all the Naturalists, a Species of the Camel; and, though it be weaker, and less capable of carrying Burdens, yet, in other respects, it is of no less use. Instead of one large Lump on its Back, as the Camel has, the Dromedary has two Lumps of Fat, so disposed, that the Vacancy between them is a kind of natural Saddle; and, as they are lighter made than the Camel, and serve only to carry a Passenger, so they go much easier, and at a much greater Rate; for whereas the Camel has a shuffling uneasy Pace, in which it goes at the Rate of ten Leagues a-day, or thereabouts, the Dromedary has a regular, brisk, and not very uneasy Trot, in which it will, without Difficulty, perform a Journey of forty Leagues in a Day. The Feet of this Creature are observed to be as soft as a Sponge, so that they are not hurt either by Stones or Sand, but travel on much at the same Rate, let the Road be what it will; they kneel to receive their Riders, as the Camel does for his Load, and rise as soon as a Man is fixed upon their Back^h.

They are likewise capable of faring hard, and will endure Thirst for four or five Days, but are not able to bear altogether so much Fatigue as the Camel. The *Arabians* call them *Raguabill*, or *Elmakari*; and the strongest and best are bred in the Northern Countries: They make use of them in the *Indies* for going Post, and Expresses frequently perform a Journey of eight hundred Miles upon them in the Space of a Week. There is one thing very singular in these Animals, which is, that they go much better, and have greater Spirits in hot Weather, than if there be any Wind stirring; and, it is observed, that the slightest Breeze makes them sluggish and lazyⁱ.

We have in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, a very curious Paper in relation to this Creature; it consists in the Account given by the *Persian* Ambassador to Mr. *Constance*, who, from being a Servant in an *English* Factory, became first Minister to the King of *Siam*; and who, at the Request of the Missionaries, took upon him to inquire of that Ambassador, what he knew in relation to the Dromedary, which is hardly known to the *Siamese*. He told him, that they were brought originally from *Turkestan*, which is the only Part of *Asia* where they are bred in Perfection; that they were very much esteemed in *Persia*, on account of their carrying so

^a *Polyn. Stragagem*, lib. vii.

^b *Anim. lib. iii.*

^c *Id. p. 295.*

^d *Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. v. c. 26.*

^e *Pliny, lib. viii. c. 18.*

^f *Id. tom. iii. p. 401.*

^g *Arist. Hist. Anim. lib. v. c. de Pers.*

^h *Id. Description de l'Afrique Occidentale,*

ⁱ *Faunagarten's Travels through Arabia.*

much easier than the Camel, by their having two Bunches on their Backs. That, however, these Bunches were not made by any Irregularity of the Spine, which was as flat and even under them, as in any other Part of the Back; but that they were a kind of glandulous Substances, about six Inches in Height. He added, that, as to the common Report of their having a Supply of fresh Water in their Stomachs, which, in extreme Necessity, Travellers sometimes were forced to have recourse to in the Deserts for the saving of their Lives, it was absolutely a Fable, without the least Foundation.

The famous *Shah Jehan*, who governed the *Indian* Empire with so much Reputation, contrived a Method, by which he made the Dromedaries extremely useful to him in time of War; which was a thing unthought of by any of his Predecessors, because they are a timorous Animal, and cannot be brought to charge like a Horse: But this Emperor made them useful in another way: A Rebellion broke out near the City of *Agra* in his Absence, on a supposition, that it was impossible for him to march back again before the Rebels had assembled Forces enough to make themselves Masters of his Capital. He was no sooner informed of this, than he mounted 12,000 of his choicest Troops upon Dromedaries, and, in the Space of nine Days, made a March of seven hundred Miles; which so astonished the Rebels, when they heard that the Emperor was within a few Miles of them, that they dispersed without a Blow, and he had the Honour of suppressing, by the Quickness of his Invention, an Insurrection, that, if the Chiefs of it had gained time to have executed their Purpose, might possibly have deprived him of the Government; for, it was afterwards known, that some of the Generals of his Army had secret Intrigues with the Malecontents; but this sudden Victory, gained by the Swiftness of his Dromedaries, disappointed them entirely, and obliged them to lay aside their Design.

16. The Giraffe, or Camelopardus, as it is called by the Antients, was a Creature better known to them than it is to us. According to the Accounts they give us of it, it resembled the Camel only in its Head and Neck, which it carried more upright; and had from thence a bolder and a fiercer Aspect. The Hair was either red mixed with white, or white mixed with red. It was of the Height of a Horse, and shaped like it in the Chest; but towards the Rins it was so slender, as to be more like the Ape than any other Creature. All that *Pliny* tells us of it is, that the *Ethiopians* called it *Nabis*; and that the first time it was seen at *Rome*, was when the *Circenian* Games were exhibited by *Cæsar* the Dictator. Since that time, says he, this Creature comes now-and-then to *Rome*, more to be gazed on for the Singularity of its Appearance, than for any Savageness in its Nature; of which, says he, it has to little, that some stile it a wild Sheep.

The celebrated *Pachymerus*, who was at *Constantinople* when one of these was brought thither, in the Reign of the Emperor *Michael Palæologus*, towards the Close of the thirteenth Century, gives us a larger Description of it than is any where to be met with; and therefore I shall transcribe it; the rather because this is an Author not frequently cited: 'The Giraffe, says he, is an Animal so rare, and so wonderful, that I have thought it not improper to insert a Description of it, to refresh the Memories of such as saw it, and to make it known to such as, perhaps, have not heard of it before. It is of the Bigness of an Ass; its Colour white, spotted like a Panther, but with red. Its Shape resembles that of those Camels which have a Rising in their Back, from their Tails to their Shoulders: Its Fore-legs are longer than its Hinder ones; its Neck slender like that of a Crane, with a small Head, shaped like that of a Camel: The Belly white; and a broad Streak of Black down its Back, from the Neck to the Tail; its Legs exceedingly thin, and its Hoofs cloven, like those of the Deer. It was so gentle, that it suffered itself to be touched, and even to be guided, by a Child. The Food of this Animal was Herbs, Meal, and Barley. When attacked, it does not defend itself with its Heels, as Horses do; nor with

Horns, like Oxen; nor with Tusks, like the wild Boar; nor with its Nails, as Cats; but with its Teeth, which, however, are not very sharp, and serve rather to repel Injury, than to revenge it: Nay, even these Teeth have nothing in them venomous, like those of most other Animals. This Creature was brought from *India*, and presented to the Emperor, who ordered it to be led thro' the principal Streets of the City, for several Days, for the Diversion of his Subjects. This is a clear and plain Description from an Eye-witness; so that there is not the least Reason to suspect, as some have done, that this is an imaginary Animal, and a Creature that never had Existence in Nature. I do not indeed pretend to deny, that some such imaginary Animals are to be met with in the Writings of the Antients: On the contrary, I shall give some Instances of this kind hereafter. At present, I think it better to present the Reader with another Description, from an Eye-witness likewise: But it will be necessary to premise, in the first Place, that the Author I am now going to quote, was certainly mistaken as to his Name, for the Creature he mentions, could not be that described by *Pliny*, and by the Author I have before cited; whose Description agrees very well with what *Pliny* says of men.

Bellennus describes them thus: 'I saw, says he, a Couple of them at *Grand Cairo*; each having two little Horns in the Forehead, about five Inches long; between which appeared a Bunch, like a third Horn, about two Inches high: From the Tail to the Crown of the Head, was about eighteen Feet: His Legs were much of a Length before and behind; but the Upper-joint, or Shoulder-bone, was much longer than the Thigh: His Back sloped, like the Ridge of a House; his whole Body resembling, in Colour, that of a Deer; but sprinkled over with large square Spots. His Feet were cloven, like those of an Ox; his Upper-lip hanging over the under: His Tail slender, indifferently thin or large, and tufted at the End; his Mane like that of a Horse: And he limped in moving, first on the Right Leg, and then on the Left: When he eat, drank, or toos, any thing from the Ground, he stretched out his Fore-legs; otherwise they would have hindered him. His Tongue, as *Jesepb Barbarus* writes, is two Feet in Length, of a dark-blue Colour, long and round like an Eel; with which he gathers Herbs, Leaves, and Grats, into his Mouth, with wonderful Dexterity.'

There is, without doubt, a very wide Difference between these Descriptions, inasmuch that I very much doubt whether they belong to the same Animal: But the Question is, which most resembles the Camelopardus of the Antients: And I must confess, that, in my Opinion, it is the first; at least it is certain, that this is the Creature which is called a Giraffe in the *Indies*, and is frequently found in the Woods of *Bengal*. As for the Creature which *Bellennus* saw at *Cairo*, it is an Animal common enough in *Ethiopia*; and is described by Father *Alopes Mendez* under the Name of *Strutio-camelus*, that is, the Ostrich Camel; because, says he, it resembles, in its Shape, the Ostrich: But this Creature is allowed by all, who have seen it, to be the tallest Animal in the World: For, though much slenderer, it is higher than an Elephant: Its fore Legs are commonly twelve Hands high, so that a Man on Horseback can pass under their Belly, as many who have seen them in *Ethiopia*, positively assert. But it can scarce be believed, that it this Creature had been ever seen at *Rome* by such a Writer as *Pliny*, he would have given us so short and dry a Description of it as that above-mentioned, when it must have been infinitely a greater Curiosity, than any that had ever been seen there.

On the other hand, it is very clear, that *Pachymerus* saw the very Creature that *Pliny* describes; and, therefore, we have good Reason to believe, that the Creatures *Bellennus* saw were by him only stiled Giraffes, as Mr. *Ludlow* in his History of *Ethiopia*, blames Father *Mendez* very much for calling the Creature he saw *Strutio-camelus*, and not *Camelopardus*, or *Camelopardalis*, which is the Word used by *Pliny*. The Amount of all this Reasoning is, that

* *Histoire de Moysès*
Tome 4. *Épître*. Relatative

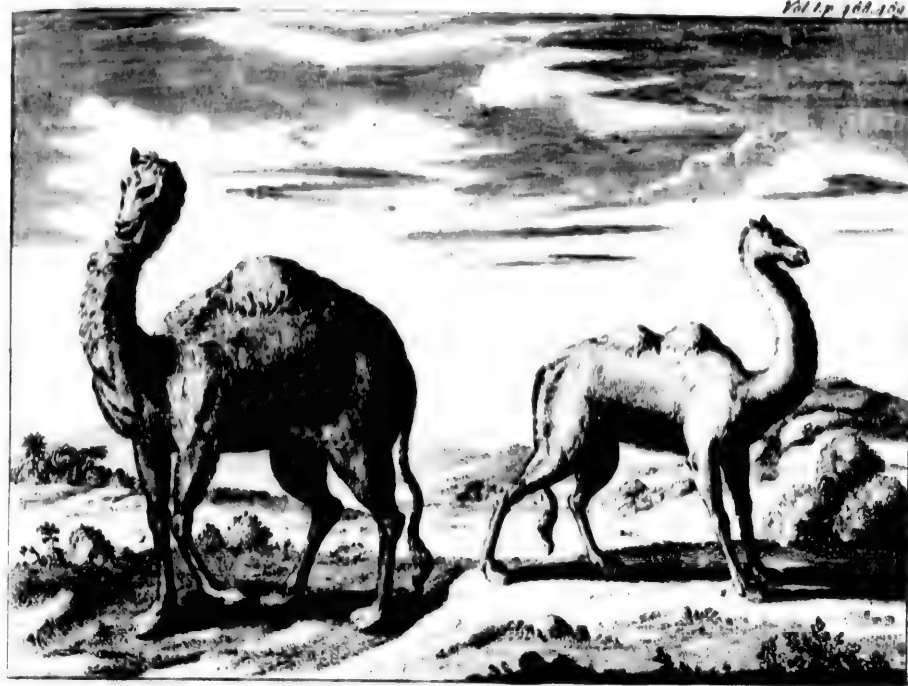
* *Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 18*
* *Voyage de P. Leake, tom. 1. p. 292*

* *Pachymer. Hist. lib. iii. c. 4*

* *Bellenn. Ob. creat. lib. iii.*

* *Idem*

* *Idem*



1 The CAMEL call'd by the Arabians *NEGEN* used for carrying great Burthens through the Desert.
 2 The DROMEDARY which the Arabs call *BOCHETI* used for riding & proper because of its swift pace.



1 The WILD ASS or as some Writers call this Creature the ZEBRA. 2 The GIRAFFE or CAMELOPARDUS of Aristotle.
 3 The MANTICORA of Ctesias.

more, than to shew, that we are in much greater Danger of being imposed on by the Criticisms of the Moderns, than by either the Credulity or the Negligence of the Antients; for, before we can accuse *Pliny* of having passed slightly over to extraordinary a Creature as this *Ethiopian Giraffe* is supposed to be, we must first be sure, that this was really the Creature he saw; whereas, I think, I have made it more than probable, that it was not: After all, if there be, as it is certain there is, a Creature called a *Giraffe*, or *Giraffe*, in the *Indies*, which agrees exactly with the Description of the Animal seen at *Constantinople* between four and five hundred Years ago, and which was then allowed to be the *Giraffe* of the Antients, I cannot apprehend, why we should not admit this to be the Creature mentioned by *Pliny*, which involves us neither in Absurdity nor Contradiction, rather than agree with *Belonius* and *Ludolf*, in supposing this prodigious Animal, which *Father Mendez*, and many other Travellers, have seen in *Ethiopia*, to be the *Camelopardus* of the Antients; though it does not, in any respect, agree with the Descriptions they have given of this Creature.

18. The wild *Als*, as we find it described by the Antients, is undoubtedly an imaginary Creature; and the very Description of it, is, in a manner, a sufficient Proof. *Ctesias* tells us, that it is of the Size of a Horse; that it has a fine white Front, and on it a Horn, of the Length of a Cubit; the Upper-part of which is red, and the lower black: The Head of a purple Colour, the Eye of a bright blue, and the Body white, but streaked with several Colours; and the Coat of a most exquisite Beauty. When first pursued by the Hunters, it does not move at any great Rate; but, increasing its Speed by degrees, it flies, at last, with such prodigious Swiftness, that no Horse can come near it. The only Method of taking it, is by watching when it goes into the Meadows to feed its Young; of which it is so tender, that it will never abandon them, however distressed; it exposes itself, in their Defence, to all Dangers, with a most desperate Courage, combating the Hunters both with its Horn and Hoofs, till, in the End, being stuck full of Darts, it dies through Loss of Blood: The *Indians*, as soon as it falls, cut off its Horn, and its Hoofs, which are of the most bright and beautiful Red; and next, seizing the young ones, they carry them home, and breed them up tame, Experience having taught them, that if this Creature once attains its full Strength, which it does in about two Years, it is impossible, by any Art, to conquer the Savageness of its Nature. As *Ctesias* resided at the *Persian Court*, and wrote all his Account of the *Indies* from Hearsay, we need not wonder, that he fell into such Mistakes: Neither is it at all improbable, that some of these Vermilion Horns and Hoofs, which were dyed of this Colour by Art, might be carried to the *Persian Court*; and this Story of the wild *Als* invented, to make them sell at a dearer Rate; since many Instances might be given of Frauds of the like Nature, practised with the same View, in regard to other Commodities.

This Story, however improbable, seems to have kept its Ground for a long time, since *Pliny* tells us, that the *Indian Als* had only one Horn; and that no other Creature, that did not divide the Hoof, had Pattern Bones: But he gives us no distinct Description of this Animal. The oriental Histories speak much of the wild *Als*, and acknowledge it to be the swiftest and most beautiful of all four-footed Animals. In the old *Persian Language*, this Creature was called *Gur*, or *Gour*, and *Babaram*, one of the ancient Kings of that Country was surnamed *Babaram Gur*, though Authors do not well agree as to the Reason. Some report, that it was because he once shot, when he was hunting, a Lion, and a wild *Als*, that were fighting, with the same Arrow: But others affirm, that it was be-

cause he delighted much in the hunting of these Animals, and was, at last, killed by one of them. The Circumstance, however, of this Creature's fighting with a Lion, is very singular, and shews the Opinion entertained in the East of the Courage and Strength of the wild *Als*. We may add to this another Proof of the same Nature, viz. that one, indeed the last of the *Khaliffs*, of the *Omniades*, was called *Mervan Hemar*, or *Mervan* the *Als*, (for the *Arabians* use the Word *Hemar* both for a wild and tame *Als*) on account of his great Courage and Strength. This singular Animal is not, however, particularly described by any who have travelled in the *Indies*. But it is also a Native of various Countries in *Africa*. And this affords us an Opportunity of obliging the Reader with an exact Description and Print of it, from an Author of unquestionable Credit. He describes it thus:

The wild *Als* is one of the loveliest Animals I have ever seen; he is of the Size of an ordinary Saddle-Horse; his Limbs finely turned, and well proportioned; his Coat very soft, and close; from his Main to his Tail, there runs a large black Lilt, from whence proceeds abundance of Streaks, which, falling regularly down on both Sides, meet under his Belly; these Streaks are of different Colours, some white, some yellow, others of a Chestnut, which are blended and mixed on their Sides, so as to strike the Eye exceedingly by their beautiful Mixture: The Head and the Ears are in like manner streaked with very beautiful Colours: The Hair of his Mane and Tail, for the most part, either white or of a Chestnut-colour, with a small Intermixture of Yellow. This Creature is so swift, that no Horse can come near him; so that it is with infinite Difficulty he is overtaken; and whenever they are so lucky as to catch one, it is sold at a very extravagant Rate.

Father Tellez informs us, that the Great *Mogul* gave two thousand Ducats for one of them. Abundance of Pains have been taken at the Cape of *Good Hope* to tame them, but to no purpose; though they have been taken very young: And it is reported, that, of all Creatures in the World, it has the strongest and most ungovernable Passion for Liberty. The Reader, after reading this Description, which agrees exactly with that given us by another Traveller, of great Reputation, will ask why it is called an *Als*; and the only Answer that can be given is, that, with all its Beauty, it has the long and large Ears of that Animal, from whence it derives its Name. Mr. *Ludolf* complains of this most heavily, and wishes that, to free the Animal from this Disgrace, it might have its Ears cut off. We owe to this Writer another remarkable Proof of the Beauty and Value of this Creature; who informs us, that an *Abyssinian* Ambassador at *Batavia* having made a Present of one of them to the *Dutch Governor-General* of the *Indies*, he, by the next Ship, sent it to the Emperor of *Japan*, who was so charmed with it, that he made the Company Returns in Money and in rich Silks, to the Value of one hundred and sixty thousand Crowns.

Mr. *Thevenot* tells us, that he saw one in its Passage through *Egypt*, which was a Present to the Grand Signor; and was so exquisitely beautiful, that he could not help suspecting there was some Art used in colouring its Coat; for which, however, there does not appear to be any just Foundation. Some of our old Travellers to the *Indies* report, that, near the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, the Natives shewed them abundance of Horns, which they asserted to be the Horns of wild *Als*: Whence it appears, that the Author first-mentioned did not invent the Story he tells us concerning them. There is a very extraordinary Creature, not only described, but expressed in a wooden Cut, by *Purchas*: He tells us, that it is bred in the Kingdom of *Congo*, and is there called *Zebra*. It is, says he, of all Creatures the most comely, resembling an

¹ *Ctesias* in *Indicis*, c. 25. *Ælian* de *Animal. lib. iv. c. 53.* *Joufflon* *Threat. Animal. tom. ii. p. 11.*

² *Herdias Bibliotheca Orientalis*, p. 174.

³ *Ibid* *ibid* p. 437.

⁴ *Hist. Æthiop. lib. i. c. 14.*

⁵ *Ludolf. Commentar. ad Hist. Æthiop. p. 150. N^o 79.* ⁶ *Infortunatum Animal, quod tam pulchris Cebribus præcipuum, Apini munes in Europa ferre cogatur. Aures certe, quibus delectatur, abscindi possunt, quod tam pulchris Cebribus Equis.* ⁷ *Voyage de Thevenot, Vol. ii. p. 755.* ⁸ *I find this Passage in the 5th Volume of Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 436. in the Travels of one Mr. Fiech, an English Merchant, who passed through the Territories of the Mogul, in the Beginning of the last Century; who says, that the Indians affirm them to be the Unicorn's Horn: And told him further, that some of them were of very great Price; and that it was only of the best valuable Horns that they made drinking Cups, and adorned their Bucklers with Pieces of them; of which he saw many.* ⁹ *See his Pilgrims, Vol. ii. p. 484.*

¹⁰ *There is a Prince of the Zebra, or Zebra: But in his Pilgrimage, p. 621. he gives us a larger Account from the Conversation of one Mr. Bartel, who, being Sergeant in a Portuguese Company, thought fit, on some Occasion or other, to run away from them, and lived nine Months in the Woods, which gave him frequent Opportunities of observing this, and other wild Beasts.*

Horse of the finest Make, and overlaid with party-coloured Laces or Girts from Head to Tail. It is very clear, from this Description and from the Cut, that this Zebra is no other than the wild Ass. Purchas had his Account from *Andrew Battel*, who lived long in the Kingdom of Congo, and had shot many of these Creatures wild in the Woods; for they were so little acquainted with Fire-Arms, that, when he had shot one, the rest of the Herd stood gazing at him, till he had brought down three or four more: Which Account of his is the more credible, inasmuch as it agrees perfectly with other Relations concerning this Creature.

19. The Antients mention, besides the wild Ass, another Indian Animal, which they called in Greek the *Monoceros*; in Latin, the *Licorn*, or *Unicorn*. This Creature is thus described by *Pliny*: It is, says he, the fiercest and most furious Beast in the World; in its Body, resembling a Horse; in his Head, not unlike a Stag; his Feet having some Likeness to those of an Elephant; and his Tail, resembling that of a Boar. The Noise made by this Creature is hideous and terrible; in his Forehead he has a black Horn, about three Feet in Length, with which he so defends himself, that, as it is said, he cannot possibly be taken alive. Another Writer of Antiquity contradicts the latter Part of this Account, and affirms, that the *Indians* not only take, but tame them, and make use of them to draw in Chariots; but he owns, that this is impracticable, if they are above two Years old when they are taken; and that they are always governed by a sharp Bit, or rather a Bit with little Spikes in it. He mentions also their black Horns, and says, that the Cups made of them, will not hold any Poison*. All these Stories seem to be founded in the admirable Properties of the Horn of the Rhinoceros, which is, perhaps, the only Unicorn that ever existed.

The Manticora is another Creature, which all the antient Writers have mentioned on the Credit of *Ctesias*†. But *Aristotle*‡, in speaking of it, says, that if *Ctesias* be to be believed, there is such an Animal, and then copies his Description; which is this: The Manticora has a Face and Ears resembling a Man, blue Eyes, and the rest of its Body red, of the Size and Shape of that of a Lion. It is armed with a triple Row of Teeth, and devours both Men and Beasts, having a Tail armed with a Sting, like a Scorpion; his Voice resembles the Noise of a Flute and Trumpet sounded together. This Beast is excessively swift, and one of the most dreadful in the World. If we consider this Description attentively, and make some reasonable Abatements for the Credulity of its Author, and the Passion he had for Wonders, we shall see that it is no other than a Species of the Tyger; I mean that kind which has a Head like a Monkey, and which has been shewn in Europe under the Name of the Man-tyger; and it is indeed a Creature of a very horrid Aspect, so that, seen at a Distance, it might well enough strike the Fancy so, as to give Rise to this Description.

As *Ctesias* only described the Manticora, so *Ælian* alone§ mentions another strange Creature in the *Indies*, called *Peribagor*, of which he gives us the following Account. This Animal, which is as big again as an ordinary Horse, is much esteemed by the *Indians*, for the exquisite Beauty of its Hair. The Tail of this Animal is about three Feet in Length, and the Hair of it much finer and softer than that of a Horse, which makes the Women of that Country esteem it for Head-dresses: But few Ornaments are dearer or harder to be met with; for, notwithstanding its large Size, there is scarce any Animal swifter than the *Peribagor*, or that is taken with greater Difficulty. It defends itself against the Hunters, and their Dogs, with wonderful Courage and Obstinacy; and sometimes, being too hard for the Dogs, the Huntmen come in to their Assistance, and, by a Shower of small poisoned Arrows, quickly destroy the Beast. Its Skin is almost as valuable as its Tail; but, as for its Flesh, it is absolutely useless.

No modern Writer mentions any Creature in the *Indies*, that has the least Resemblance to this Description; and,

one might have imagined, that it was dually a Creature of Fancy, if Mr. *Kalben*, whom we have so often mentioned, had not assured us, that a Creature of this Kind had been actually seen in *Africa*, not far from the Cape of *Good Hope*. The Story, in his own Words, runs thus: * I remember to have seen, in the Lodgings of Captain *Olofsberg*, the Picture of an Animal which exactly resembled the Description given of the *Peribagor*. I took an Opportunity of inquiring after the Beast itself, and received from the Captain the following Account: That, travelling once in the Country of the *Hottentots*, at a considerable Distance from the Cape, he saw an Animal exactly like that represented in the Picture; and, having never seen, or indeed heard of, any thing like it before, he took some time to consider it, with singular Attention; by which means, he so effectually fixed in his Mind the Shape, Size, and Look, of the Creature, that, at his Return, he drew this Picture of it. As to this Representation, continues Mr. *Kollen*, it does not make it altogether so big as the *Peribagor* is represented; and there are besides some other little Differences, which I shall remark: In the first place, this Picture give the Creature a Mane, like that of a Horse; in the next, the Shape and Size of it resembles that of a large Buffalo. I could not obtain any farther Accounts of this Animal from any other Person, there having been nobody that remembered the seeing any such Creature in the Country of the *Hottentots*, except the Gentleman I have before-mentioned.

It is requisite to inform the Reader, that most of the Animals found in the *Indies* are likewise found in *Africa*, and more especially in *Ethiopia*, and in the Neighbourhood of the Cape of *Good Hope*; and though it be true, that the proving such Creatures, as the Antients mention are found in these Parts, is no direct Proof of their being found in the *Indies*; yet, it certainly demonstrates, that many of the Animals, mentioned by the Antients, are not Creatures of Imagination, but have a real Existence. We ought likewise to remember, that, as the *Romans* extended their Dominions to the Frontiers of *Persia*, so they had an Opportunity thereby of being well acquainted with the Curiosities of the most inland Parts of the Northern *Indies*; towards the Frontiers of *Tartary*, in which most of these wild Beasts are bred; for, as most of our modern Travellers have not gone any very great Distance from the Sea Coast, and, consequently, have not had much Opportunity to make themselves so thoroughly acquainted with these Parts, as that, on their Reports, we should be able to determine positively, whether there are such Creatures in the *Indies* or not. Add to this, that many of them are but very indifferent Judges of what they relate, as appears from their contradicting each other in their Descriptions, as the Reader will easily perceive from those of the Rhinoceros. On the Whole, where the Accounts of the Antients are equally irreconcilable to Reason, and unsupported by modern Testimonies, we may very reasonably give them up; but otherwise, it is certainly as advisable to preserve them in Collections of this Nature, in proportion as our Discoveries increase, we may be the better able to discern how far they are contradicted or confirmed by those Discoveries, which is a Point of great Consequence towards perfecting natural History; the Consideration of which was what chiefly determined me to take so much Pains about it. The Reader will likewise find, that the Perusal of this Chapter will greatly contribute to the perfect Understanding of the succeeding Voyages.

20. There was nothing contributed more to mislead and distract the Antients, in what they have delivered concerning the Animals in the *Indies*, than the vast Number of Apes and Monkeys that were Natives of that Country, and of such different Shapes and Sizes, that it was a very difficult thing to distinguish their various Sorts; and, to want of doing which, it was very easy to mistake them for different kinds of Beasts. There are in the *Indies* of

* *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 21.* † *Ælian de Animal. lib. xiii. c. 9.* lib. xvi. c. 9.
‡ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 21.* § *Ælian Hist. Anim. lib. iv. c. 21.*
§ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 21.* *Ælian Hist. Anim. lib. iv. c. 21.* *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 21.*

† *Ctesias in Indis, Argel de Asie lib. ii. c. 1.* *Argel. de Asie lib. ii. c. 1.*

these Creatures of all Colours, and almost of all Shades of Colours, black as well as white, red as well as grey, and some that with red Bodies have their Heads and Faces of a fine Sky-blue; and these last sort are much of the Size of our common Dogs. In some Places there are such Numbers of them, that they cover the Tops of the Houses, and by throwing Things down hinder People from going along the Street; others from a like Spirit of Mischief post themselves in hollow Ways, where they almost murder such as pass by, throwing down broken Rocks and Stones.

The ancient *Indians*, as they had an Aversion to spilling Blood, found a Way to make these Creatures, which are by Nature active, not only quiet, but useful. In such Places as produced Pepper and Cacao-trees, they were wont, in the Sight of the Monkeys, to cut the highest Branches within their Reach, and lay them regularly on the Ground. This they did in a Morning, and then leaving the Place, these natural Mimicks pulled all the Fruit that was out of Man's Reach, and laid it in the same Order upon the Ground, where the *Indians* coming in the Night, found their Harvest gathered to their Hands, and carried it away. When their Numbers made them excessively troublesome, the *Indians*, as *Strabo* and *Diodorus Siculus* inform us, turned this imitating Faculty upon them to their own Destruction, for coming to their Haunts with Basins full of Water, or of Honey, they washed their Faces in the Sight of these Animals, and then substituting Pots of thin Glee instead of the Water or Honey, retired out of Sight. The Monkeys, as soon as they were gone, came down and washed their Faces likewise, and sticking their Eyes together, became blind, and were easily taken. In other Places they brought Boots into the Woods, and putting them on and off, left them well lined with Glue, or a sort of Bird-lime, so that when the Monkeys put them on, they stuck fast, and hindered them from making their Escape. A third Method they invented of taking them was by the Help of Springs at the Back of Looking-glasses, which when the Monkeys came to handle, as they had seen the Men do before, held them fast, and disabled them from making a Retreat; but the most dangerous of their Enemies was the Lion, for finding their Flesh equally pleasant and wholesome, he pursued them with greater Eagerness than any other sort of Beasts.

It is a very singular Passage that *Strabo* relates of their giving an Alarm to the Army of *Alexander the Great*. Every body knows that the *Macedonians* were distinguished by the Severity of their Discipline, and the exact Order in which they marched; it happened, that in passing through that Part of *India*, which lies between the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*, they travers'd a Wood, and passed on the Edge of a Mountain, which served these Creatures for a Retreat, and encamped in their Neighbourhood all Night. The next Morning, when the Army began to move, they saw at a Distance many thousands of these Creatures drawn up in Batail, and not doubting but that it was the Army of their Enemies, the Trumpets sounded, and *Alexander* himself began to prepare for an Engagement; but the *Indian* Prince *Taxiles*, who was then with *Alexander*, soon informed him of his Mistake, and assured him that upon his advancing these Creatures would again betake themselves to their Woods and Mountains, as in Effect they did. The most remarkable Property of these Animals is their Attachment to each other, and living in a kind of Society, of which the Ancients took great Notice; and as to the Truth of the Fact, a single Instance from a modern Traveller of great Reputation may suffice. The famous Monsieur *Tavernier* tells us, that returning from *Agra* with the *English* President to *Surat*, they passed within four or five Leagues of *Amenabad*, through a little Forest of *Mangoes*. "We saw there, says he, a vast Number of very large Apes, both Male and Female, many of the latter having their Young in their Arms. We were each of us in our Coaches, and the *English* President stopped his to tell me that he had a very fine new Gun, and knowing that I was a good Marksman, desired me to try it by shooting one of the Apes. One of my Servants, who was a

"Native of the Country, made a Sign to me not to do it, and I did all that lay in my Power to dissuade the Gentleman from his Design; but to no Purpose, for he immediately levelled his Piece and shot a She-Ape, which fell through the Branches of the Tree on which she was sitting, her young ones tumbling at the same time out of her Arms upon the Ground. We presently saw that happen which my Servant apprehended, for all the Apes, to the Number of sixty, came immediately down from the Trees and attacked the President's Coach, with such Fury, that they must have infallibly destroyed him, if all who were present had not flown to his Relief, and by drawing up the Windows, and posting all the Servants about the Coach, protected him from their Relentment. I must confess I was not a little afraid, though they did not offer to meddle with me, because they were very large, and of incredible Strength, and their Fury was so great, that they pursued the President's Coach for near three Leagues."

It is very natural to suppose, that from the Sight of the larger sort of these Creatures the Ancients were confirmed in their Notions of Fawns, Satyrs, and wild Men; and if I might presume to speak my own Opinion freely, as to the Attendants of *Bacchus*, as they appear on the Coins, Gems, and Bas-Reliefs of the Ancients, I should say that these were no more than so many different sorts of Apes thus represented to signify his Conquest of these Countries. I would not be understood to assert, that the Ancients considered them in this Light, the contrary of which is very certain; but what I mean is, that their Fables altered and distorted the original Fact, and occasioned frequent Changes in the Figures to make them suit the better with the Stories they invented, whereas originally the Chariot drawn by Leopards, and followed by these Inhabitants of the Woods, was a very natural Picture of the Conqueror of the *Indies*. I might enlarge considerably on this Topick, and shew from a Variety of Authors, that in truth all the Satyrs and wild Men mentioned by old Writers, were no other than Apes and Baboons of an overgrown Size; and this might be likewise confirmed by comparing the Accounts given by those Writers, with the Relations of modern Travellers; but as this would take up a great deal of Room, and as I have Reason to believe that the Notion is in itself so plain and so agreeable to Truth, that it does not stand in Need of any Arguments to support it, I shall not prosecute it farther at this Time, the rather, because this Chapter begins already to grow very long, and I have still some remarkable Creatures that before I finish it I find it necessary to mention.

20. Among the other Wonders of the *Indies*, it is a little strange, that the Animal, which produces Musk, was so long before it was known to the Ancients; for *Pliny*, the most curious and the most diligent Collector among their Writers, has left us nothing that seems to have the least Relation to this Subject, the first Notice of which we received from *Arnobius* and *Apuleius*. Yet this Perfume was always in very great Esteem in the *Indies*, and when properly tempered, must be acknowledged the richest of its kind. It is taken from an Animal called the Mofch or Musk, which is very common throughout all *China* and the *Indies*, and is about the Size of a Fawn, or rather a little less; this Creature is said to be so lazy, that the Hunters are hardly able to make it stir, but are obliged to discover its Haunts, which once done, they kill it without the least Reluctance. When this is done, they cut off a little Excrecence cover'd with Down, which grows near its Navel, from whence they take a kind of Blood, or rather Juice, clotted, of a most odoriferous Smell; and then they skin and cut it to Pieces.

But besides this Liquor, which is a kind of Essence of Musk, there are three other Methods of making this valuable Commodity, though not in the same Degree of Perfection. The first is, by taking the Hind Quarters of the Animal from its Kidneys, and steeping them in its Blood; they are then bruised and beat in a Mortar into a sort of Pap, which is dried and put up in little Purfes made of that Animals Skin. When it is proposed to make a greater Quantity of Musk, though not quite so

¹ *Voyages de Tavernier*, Vol. V. p. 37. 199. 201. In the Duke de Bourbon's Menagerie there was one of these blue-faced Apes shewn for many Years. ² *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. xvii. *Ælian.* de Animal. lib. xv. c. 14. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. viii. c. 21. *Philoprat.* lib. iii. c. 4.

³ *Strabo*, ubi supra. ⁴ *Voyages des Indes*, lib. i. c. 3.

⁵ *Mandislo*, p. 81. *Le Brun*, p. 121.

⁶ *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, Tom. iii. p. 1463.

nich, the Flesh of the whole Animal is taken chopped to Pieces, and beat in a Mortar into a kind of Paste, which is afterwards moistened with the Blood, and so put up into Purfes made of the Skin of the Beast, as the former. The third Sort, which is also tolerably good, though much short in Value to either of the former, is made only of the Fore-part of the Animal, from the Reins to the Head; and thus no Part of this valuable Creature is ever lost. In *China*, where all Preparations of this Kind are best understood, it is managed in quite a different Manner. They take from the Animal a little Cod or Bag, which lies under its Belly, about thrice as big as a Man's Thumb; it contains a Substance not much unlike Tallow, which is dried till it is fit to powder, and then it appears of a light Yellow, and has a Smell that is exceedingly agreeable. It is sold even in *China* itself for its Weight in Silver; but they are prohibited from selling it net to Strangers, and therefore, for common Sale, they make a counterfeit Musk in the following Manner. They take rotten Wood, which they steep in the Blood and Juices of the Animal, and then few it up in Purfes made of its Skin, and having dried it, vend it for the true Musk. They ascribe to it many Virtues in that Country, and amongst the rest one that is very singular, which is this; they say, that being worn under the Stocking when People are obliged to travel through Woods or Mountains where there are abundance of Serpents, they are preserved thereby from being attacked by them; and the Reason assigned for this seems to be natural and probable enough: The Animal, say they, which produces Musk, feeds chiefly upon Serpents, and therefore the Smell makes them quit the Place, from an Apprehension of their own Danger. This rich Perfume has lost much of its Credit in this Part of the World, and is consequently much sunk in its Price; the very best Musk from *China* is sold at *Amsterdam* for about nine Florins an Ounce by the *East-India* Company; and that of *Bergal*, which is esteemed the second Sort, is not worth above five Florins: The *Russian* Musk, which has the strongest Smell, but loses its Scent in a small Space of Time, may be had for less than a Florin an Ounce. There are some People who have still a high Opinion of the Virtues of this Drug. They say that it is an excellent Remedy for almost all nervous Disorders; and to confirm this, they assure us, that though in their own Country, the *Dutch* are frequently attacked by Apoplexies, yet at *Batavia*, and other Places in the *East-Indies*, where Musk is very much used, they do not find themselves subject to these Disorders. It is upon this Principle that they attribute the Increase of nervous Complaints within fifty or sixty Years past in these Parts of *Europe*, to the quitting the Use of this Perfume, which is said to have been owing to the Averfion which the Queen of *France*, Consort to *Louis XIV.* had to the Smell of Musk, which first drove it out of that Court, and by Degrees made it unfashionable every where else. I do not pretend to answer for the Truth of this Observation; but as it is certainly very curious, and the Examination of it may possibly be of Use to Mankind, I thought it might not be amiss to report it.

After this History of the Beasts of *India*, it is natural to say somewhat of the Reptiles and Insects there, of which we have a very large Account from the Ancients, and those not at all less remarkable than what has been already taken Notice of with regard to other Animals, the rather because in their Kind they appeared much more surprizing, and withal more terrible to Strangers: For as there is a Kind of innate Dislike to the Reptiles of our own Countries, which are generally in our Eye; so when we see Creatures to which we have such an Averfion, of a Size infinitely beyond what we have beheld before, it naturally inspires us with Horror, our Antipathy rising in the same Proportion that the Object becomes more dreadful; especially if the Creature be fierce or venomous in its

Nature, and capable as well of hurting as of fighting us. From hence, very probably, it comes to pass, that such extraordinary Relations of these frightful Creatures have been, in all Ages, well received; because it is natural for us to hear with Pleasure, of Mischiefs to which we are not exposed, the Prospect of distant Dangers, adding to the Sense of our own Safety, and gratifying our Curiosity at the same Time.

22. The Dragon was a Creature frequently mentioned by the old Naturalists, and described as one of the most dreadful in the World. *Aristotle* mentions the Dragon's living in continual Enmity with the Eagle; and also says, that when the Dragon is surfeited with eating Apples it has Recourse to Lettice for Relief. *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* were Countries the most famous, next to the *Indies*, for producing Dragons of unusual Size. We have, in an ancient Author, a very large and circumstantial Account of the taking a Dragon on the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, which was One and twenty Feet in Length, and was carried to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who very bountifully rewarded such as ran the Hazard of procuring him this Beast. Yet, terrible as these were, they fall abundantly short of Monsters of the same Species in *India*; with respect to which, *St. Ambrose* tells us, that there were Dragons seen in the Neighbourhood of the *Ganges*, near twenty Cubits in Length. It was one of this Size that *Alexander* and his Army saw in a Cave, where it was fed, either out of Reverence or from Curiosity, by the Inhabitants; and the first Lightening of its Eyes, together with its terrible Hissing, made a strong Impression on the *Macedonians*, who, with all their Courage, could not help being frighted at so horrid a Spectacle. The Dragon is nothing more than a Serpent of enormous Size; and they formerly distinguished three Sorts of them in the *Indies*, viz. such as were found in the Mountains, such as were bred in Caves, or in the flat Country, and such as were found in Fens and Marshes: The first is the largest of all, and are covered with Scales as resplendent as polished Gold. These have a Kind of Beard hanging from their lower Jaw, their Eye-brows large, and very exactly arched; their Aspect the most frightful that can be imagined, and their Cry loud and shrill; their Crest of a bright Yellow, and a Protuberance on their Heads, of the Colour of a burning Coal. Those of the flat Country differ from the former in nothing but in having their Scales of a silver Colour, and in their frequenting Rivers, to which the former never come. Those that live in Marshes and Fens, are of a dark Colour, approaching to a Black, move slowly, have no Crest, or any Ruling upon their Heads. *Strabo* says, that the painting them with Wings, is the Effect of Fancy, and directly contrary to Truth: But other Naturalists and Travellers, both ancient and modern, affirm, that there are some of these Species winged. Yet, after all these terrifying Accounts, *Pliny*, and many other Writers, assure us that both Sorts are rather dreadful than dangerous, their Bite having nothing in it venomous; the Reverse of which is asserted by later Authors, and several Fables alledged in Support of their Opinion. But what makes the greatest Figure in the Works of the Ancients with relation to this extraordinary Animal, is, the Stone supposed to grow in its Head, and reputed of inestimable Value. It is said to be naturally divided into Tables like a Diamond of the brilliant Cut, and to have as high a Lustre. But, to preserve this Quality, it is necessary that it should be taken out of the Head of the Animal the Moment it is killed; for otherwise it loses all its Virtues and all its Beauty, and yet becomes so extremely hard, that no Tool will touch it. *Pliny* gives us a long Catalogue of medicinal and magical Properties, which he ascribes to the Skin, Flesh, Bones, Eyes, and Teeth of the Dragon, which are too ridiculous to be repeated; and, believe me, such Stories have now entirely lost their Credit, since the

^m *Ibid.* ⁿ Account of *China* before cited. ^o *De Haldi's China.* ^p *Nerces de Amsterdam*, p. 110. ^q All Kinds of such Stories are much in Request among the better Sort of People over all the *Indies*, as appears from their prohibiting the Exportation of such Creatures. ^r *Memoirs de M. Garzin*, who observes, that our not using ourselves to Perfumes, occasions their giving us the Vapours. ^s *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^t *Diction. d'ed. lib. iii.* ^u *De moribus Brachmannum*, p. 63. ^v *Strabo*, lib. xvi. p. 75. ^w *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^x *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^y *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^z *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{aa} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{ab} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{ac} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{ad} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{ae} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{af} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{ag} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{ah} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{ai} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{aj} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{ak} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{al} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{am} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{an} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{ao} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{ap} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{aq} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{ar} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{as} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{at} *De rebus Indis lib. ix.* ^{au} *De rebus 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Indians, at present, confine the Value of these Animals to the Stone in their Heads; which, however, no *Euro-pean* could ever find, and to the Quality that their Bones are supposed to have of resisting Poison. It is for this Reason that they are as assiduous as ever in hunting *Dragons*; concerning which, old Writers tell us, this was their constant Method. They hung before the Mouth of the *Dragon's Den* a Piece of Stuff strowed with Gold, which attracted the Eyes of the Beast, till, by the Sound of soft Music they lulled him to Sleep, and then cut off his Head.

As for the *Dragons* on the Mountains, they cost them much more Pains; for they were forced to pursue them with Lances and Arrows, with great Danger to themselves. The *Dragon*, in his Turn, hunted the *Elephant*, and, if we may credit some Authors of great Rank in the learned World, was from Infinité his mortal Enemy. In order to destroy him, he mounted a Tree in the Forest where the *Elephants* fed, from whence, as soon as one of them came by, he threw himself on his Back, and twisting himself round him, thrust his Head into his Nostril, and thereby strangled him. The Hate of this Animal towards the *Elephant*, was thought an apt Symbol of human Malice, for in his Fall, the *Elephant* crushed him to Death; so that the Combat was equally fatal to both.

The Ancients tell us further, that it was not for the annual Inundations, this Country would be infested with a vast Variety of other Serpents and destructive Insects of different Kinds, which, as in all hot Climates, breed here in prodigious Numbers. Amongst others they mention a kind of *Viper* of a most dangerous Nature, and some other Reptiles, the Bite of which is infallibly mortal, when the Simples, which have a specifick Quality of curing these Wounds, are not immediately taken, with which Simples the Country through the especial Care of Providence plentifully abounds. There are some of these *Vipers*, they say, twelve or fifteen Foot long, others not above half a Foot; and these, together with the *Scorpions*, are the most dangerous, because they are so small, that it is very difficult to guard against them. But the annual Inundations in a great Measure purge the Country of those dangerous and destructive Creatures, without which it would scarce be habitable. The *Macedonians* suffered exceedingly from these venomous Animals before the *Indians* acquainted them with the proper Remedies, and the only way before that by which they could defend themselves, was by hanging their Beds between Trees, and sleeping, as it were, in the open Air.

Several modern Travellers report almost as strange Things of these *Indian Serpents* as the Ancients; for instance, *Peter Van Caerden*, who was Admiral of a *Dutch Fleet* in the *Indies*, assures us, that at *Calicut* they are as big about as *Hogs*, their Bodies six Foot long, and their Heads larger and longer than that of a wild Boar, yet the Natives assured him that these Animals were not venomous. It is very remarkable that he tells us these monstrous Creatures haunted chiefly their Marshes, so that, according to the foregoing Distinction, they must have been the least of that Species in that Country, and probably they were so; for the same Author tells us, that there were others, which if they but drew Blood of a Man, their Bite was mortal upon the Spot. He adds, that besides these he saw many of the Size of *Water-Snakes*. While he was at Anchor on the Coast of *Mozambique*, a Boy that was washing himself by the Ship-side was seized by the Middle by a Serpent of enormous Size, that dragged him under Water at once in the Sight of the whole Fleet.

Mr. Richter tells us, that while he lived in the Island of *Banda*, his Fowls were continually stolen, and on his complaining to his Neighbours, they told him they were carried away by the Serpents, which he was not very forward to believe. However, having let some People to watch, they in the Night alarmed him with the Cry of the Serpent, which had got in amongst the Fowls. They pursued it, cut off its Head and Tail with Hatchets, which they had in their Hands, and then opened its Belly, in which they found a Pig, a Duck, and five Fowls, and

what is not a little extraordinary, they skinned these Creatures, and together with the Body of the Serpent, boiled, and made Broth of them.

An Author, whom we have cited more than once, assures us, that he has seen of these Animals twenty-five Foot long, and five round, their Throats so large, that they were able to swallow a Stag whole. These monstrous Serpents live both on Land and in the Water, where, when they have gorged themselves with their Prey, they sleep, which Opportunity the Natives take to kill and eat them, esteeming the Flesh excellent, and not at all venomous. The same Writer says, that at *Golconda* there are Serpents of a prodigious Size, the Bite of which is instantly mortal; and observes farther, that whenever these Creatures are seen at Sea, it is a certain Sign of their being near the *Indian Coast*.

Admiral Verbeven tells us a singular Story of a Sea-Serpent in the Straights of *Sinapoua*. A Seaman washing himself by the Ship-side was seized by one of these Creatures, upon which he roared so loud, that one of his Companions threw him a Rope and pulled him into the Ship; but the Serpent had tore such a Piece out of his Side, that he died immediately. The Serpent continued about the Ship, till at last it was taken, and was the largest they had ever seen. Upon opening its Belly, they found therein the Piece of Flesh which he had torn from the Sailor, and which they buried with him.

Mr. Thevenot, a most careful and candid Writer, informs us, that the Country about *Golconda* is terribly infested by Serpents, the Bite of which is mortal, unless Care be taken to apply proper Remedies immediately: Of these he mentions two, which are both very extraordinary, the one is holding a light Coal very near the Wound, which draws out the Venom by Degrees, and which is very singular, the Patient does not feel any great Inconvenience from the Heat during the Time of the Operation. The other Remedy is the Snake-stone, or, as they call it, *Cobra*, the Manner of making and applying of which he describes very particularly.

The best are made in the City of *Diou*, and are composed of the Roots of certain Plants burnt to Ashes, which Ashes are mixed with a particular kind of Earth, and then burnt a second Time. Of this Composition reduced into a Paste, they form the Stone made of the Size of a Pigeon's Egg; this is applied in case a Person is bit by any kind of Serpent or *Viper*, or wounded by a poisoned Arrow in the following manner: They first prick the Wound with a Needle till the Blood comes, and then clap the Stone to it, which sticks fast, and remains there till it falls off of itself. It is afterwards put into Breast, or, if that cannot be had, into Cows Milk, where it purges itself of the Poison; and if this be not done immediately the Stone bursts.

Dr. Fryer, who was ten Years in the *Indies*, and who, as a Physician, was certainly a proper Judge of such Matters, speaks also of these Snake-stones, he says, they are made by the *Gioghis*, and that they are counter-poison to all deadly Bites. If the Stone sticks, says he, it attracts the Poison, and put into Milk, it recovers itself again, leaving its Virulency therein, which is discovered by its Greenness. I have mentioned this Circumstance of the *Cobia*, the rather because the common Notion in the *Indies* is, that it is a Stone taken out of a Serpent's Head, which, as we have seen, is altogether fabulous.

22. In respect to the *Dragon*, the Ancients have only exceeded as far as we can judge from modern Relations in certain Circumstances the Truth; but as to the *Gryphon*, all they say appears the pure Effect of Imagination, and so strange an Animal they make it, that I was in some doubt whether it belonged to this or to the subsequent Section; but perceiving that it would be liable to the same Objections there, I thought it might be as well to dispatch it here. According therefore to the Accounts we have of it, it is hard to say whether it be Beast or Bird Inhabitant of the Earth, or of the Air. They say it has four Feet, and is of the Size of a Lion; thus far then it is plainly a Beast; but then they say farther, that it is entirely covered with Feathers, and has the Head and Beak of an Eagle.

^a *Elisan de Animal*, lib. vi. c. 21.

^b *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. viii. c. 11, 12.

^c *Pomp. Melo*, lib. iii. de Indiciis.

^d *Nearclius & Aristobulus*

^e *apud Strabonem*, lib. xiv. *Arrian. de Indica*

^f *Diador. Situl.* lib. xvii.

^g *Voyage aux Indes*, p. 403, 327.

^h *Voyage aux Indes*,

ⁱ *Voyage de P. van der Broek.*

^j *Voyage de l'Admiral Verbeven aux Indes Orientales*, p. 92.

^k *Voyages des Indes Orientales*, Vol. V. p. 318.

^l *Ibid.* p. 97.

^m *Fryer's Travels*, p. 53.

It has either Wings, or something like them, that is to say, a Membrane resembling that which the Bats fly with. The Colour of the Body is a dark brown, or black; but the Breast is of a bright red, or, as some say, purple *.

This Creature was consecrated to *Apollo*, and fastened to the Chariot of the Sun, because among its other singular Properties, it was held, that the Gryphon could steadily look upon the Sun in its full Splendor. It was supposed to inhabit the Woods and Mountains, where the Ancients imagined it discovered and guarded the Gold Mines; but they do not tell us to what Uses it converted this Metal, or why departing from the Instinct of Beasts it shared in the Follies of Men. It is also affirmed, that this Animal was one of the fiercest and most cruel, fearing no other Enemies than the Lion, the Tyger, and the Elephant, over which also it sometimes triumphed. The *Indians*, whenever they attacked it, went in considerable Bodies, and generally in a Moon-light Night, in hopes of finding it asleep, which, however, they rarely did, and were forced to buy the Treasures, guarded by the Gryphon, at the Expence of their Blood. The Watchfulness of this Animal was one of its most remarkable Qualities; and in all the Fables that are related concerning it, it is a Circumstance always thrown in, that the Gryphon seldom or ever sleeps †.

It there had been any such Creature, it fell undoubtedly under our Cognizance, because the Ancients affirm that they are no where else to be met with but in the Northern Part of the *Indies*, which however does not agree extremely well with the Talk they assign them of guarding the Gold Mines, because in truth there are no such Mines there. It must however be acknowledged, that some of the Ancients themselves have given us plainly to understand, that they looked upon all that had been said of the Gryphon as mere Fables; but whence those Fables arose, or why they were invented, is a Question, that the Reader from the Scope of this Work, which is to leave nothing unexplained, may expect should be answered.

On this Head I must say, that I take the Origin of it to have been an *Egyptian* Hieroglyphick, and my Reason for it is, because taken in this Light, it has a Meaning, and otherwise none. In this Sense then the Gryphon was a Figure invented, which signifies the Power of the Sun in the Sign of the Lion; and hence proceeded the Notion that the Gryphons guarded the Mines of Gold, because according to the old Doctrines of the *Egyptian* Chymistry, the Sun in this Sign had an extraordinary Operation in that Respect; and hence also some of the old Alchemists, or at least some Writers as are imposed on us under ancient Names make use of the Gryphon, and some other such-like imaginary Creatures for the better veiling of their Secrets; but when the *Greeks* first saw these Figures without being let into their Meanings, they took them, as it was natural enough for them to do, for the Representations of real Animals, and the *Indies* being the Place where the most extraordinary Creatures they were acquainted with resided, they took the Liberty of supposing that the Gryphons came from thence, and from the Northern *Indies*, because there were more wild Beasts there than any where else.

This I take to be the true Account of the Rise of this Notion, which afterwards came to be employed symbollically, of which Sir *Thomas Brown* * has given us a very rational Account. It doth well make out, says he, the Properties of a Guardian, the Ears, implying Attention; the Wings, Celerity; in Execution the Lion like Shape, Courage and Audacity; the hooked Bill, Refervance and Tenacity. It is also an Emblem of Valour and Magnanimity, as being compounded of the Eagle and Lion, the noblest Animals in their respective kinds; and so it is applicable to Princes, Generals, Presidents, and all in chief Authority, which is the Reason that the Heralds laid hold of it, and we see it borne in the Coats of Arms of the noblest Families in *Europe*.

In taking leave of this Subject, it will be proper for me to observe, that the Gryphons mentioned in Scripture † are no more than a kind of Eagle, and not the imaginary Gryphon; and therefore in our Translation, it is very well rendered after *Tremellius*, as I conceive, the Ostridge, which is, properly speaking, the Sea-Eagle.

23. There is no Creature of which the Ancients have talked more than of the Cameleon, and perhaps, of all the Animals they have mentioned, there is not one of which they have reported more Absurdities, or shewn a less Regard to Truth. In all Probability, they were originally misled by the Reports of the *Indians* themselves, who have always been inclined to exaggerate, and have shewn less Care in examining the real Nature of Creatures than in framing such Stories of them as might best suit their Parables and Enigmas. It must, however, be allowed, that the Ancients are not all alike faulty in this respect, either in believing the Dreams of others, or reporting their own; for though *Pliny* and *Solinus* † positively affirm, that the Cameleon lives wholly on Air; yet *Aristotle* ‡, who went before them, and has written largely upon the Subject, says not a single Word of this supernatural Quality. Indeed, it is wonderful, that ever this Opinion prevailed at all, because the very Formation of the Animal plainly refutes it, as is very well observed by the learned Sir *Thomas Brown* §.

The Word Cameleon, in *Greek* signifies a little Lion; and this Name must have been given it from some Resemblance it had to that Animal, not surely in its Figure, for therein it approaches the Crocodile, but rather from its Vigilance in catching its Prey, a Notion irreconcilable to its living upon Air. It is for this Purpose certainly, I mean of catching its Prey, that it has a long sharp Tongue, which it can thrust out to a Length equal to one Third of its Body; and though very slow in its Motion, yet it manages this Member with extraordinary Agility; and therefore, from the established Law of Nature, we may presume: that its Tongue is of extraordinary Use, and as we cannot conceive that it should be of any Use with respect to drawing in the Air, which might be done without, it naturally leads us to believe that it serves to furnish the Animal with other Food. In the next Place, it hath very remarkable Teeth, which is another Indication of its living on Prey; and what seems to put it beyond all Doubt, is, the Formation of its Stomach and Guts; to which we may add its voiding Excrement, a Fact admitted by *Pliny* †, though manifestly destructive of his own Opinion.

It is no Wonder, therefore, that this Notion was soon exploded, or that we find *Augustine*, *Stobæus*, *Forer*, *Licetus*, and many other great Men, opposing themselves to this popular Sentiment. But *Belonius* positively affirms, that it feeds on Flies, Caterpillars, Beetles, and other Insects, and that from the best Reason in the World; because, upon Dissection, he found these Animals in their Bellies; ‡ to which we may add what other learned Writers have affirmed as to its drinking Water, and delighting to catch Meal-worms. We will therefore quit the Ancients, as insufficient Guides in this respect, and have Recourse to the Moderns, by whom this singular Animal has been very fully and faithfully described.

The Cameleon then, according to their Account, resembles a large Lizard, except that it has two great wide Ears, which lie pretty far back upon its Neck. It lives commonly in the Cliffs of Rocks, or in Holes of a Wall. It has four Feet and five Claws upon each Foot, which serve for its perching upon the Branches of Trees or Shrubs, where it likewise secures its Station, by twining its Tail round them. Its Motion on the Ground is as slow as that of a Tortoise, but upon Trees it moves from Branch to Branch with great Agility. The largest of these Animals are about eleven or twelve Inches in Length from the Head to the Extremity of the Tail, and about three

* *Ctesias in Indici cap. 13.* *Hierod. lib. iii.* *Plin. lib. vi.* *Philost. lib. iii.* *Aelian. lib. iv.* *Photius Codic. 72.* *Servius in Elog. vii.*
† *Ctesias, Pliny, Philost. ubi supra.* ‡ *Vulgar Error, lib. iii. cap. ii.* § *Leviticus xi. 13.* Where among the prohibited Fowls are reckoned the Eagle, the Ostridge, and the Gryphon. It is however to be observed, that the Word Gryphon came first in from the *Greek* Translation of the Septuagint, and the afore whether the Ostridge be, strictly speaking, that kind of Eagle which the *Greeks* called a Gryphon, is a Question that has nothing to do with the Veracity of the sacred Text; for *Moses* undoubtedly forbade the Hebrew (some Fowl) that was well known and common in their Country, nor is it of any Importance to us whether we know exactly what Bird it was, or not.
¶ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 97.* *Solinus.* *Hyl. Avim. lib. ii.* *Vulgar Error, Book 3d, Chap. 81.* *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 37.* *Cicero in Off.*
|| *Alm. de P. Acad. Tom. vi. part. 1. p. 53.*

Inches round, that is to say, when they puff out and extend themselves; for, otherwise they have not half that Bigness, and, in all Probability, it was from this strange Property of swelling and lessening their Bodies, that the Notion of their living upon Air was first derived.

When they do not puff up themselves, their Skin hangs loose, in such a Manner, that the Spine of their Back is plainly seen through it, their Ribs may be counted, and the Tendons of their fore and hind Limbs are plainly visible. It was from the Consideration of the Creature in this Condition, that *Terullian* was led to say, a Camelion was no more than a living Skin*. It must be confessed, that this Property is not only very singular, but, in some measure, also inconceivable, for that it defends itself by receiving Air, is a Point generally agreed; and yet, how this Air should pass from the Lungs into the Habitude of the Body, is a Thing not hitherto accounted for.

There is another Quality of this strange Animal no less admirable, which is, that when it is thinnest, and the Skin hangs as it were upon the Bones, the Motion of its Heart cannot be perceived, which one would imagine in such a State, must be very sensible. Its Skin is very cold to the Touch, and very uneven in its Surface, full of little Points like Shagreen; but, at the same Time, not at all rough, but very finely polished. The Colour, when the Creature is still, and in the Shade, is, for the most part, of a Blue-grey, about the Feet it is of a White, inclining to Yellow, and, on the Body, there are some Streaks of a pale Red, which is likewise intermixed with Yellow.

Aristotle says their Skin is black; but it is certain, that the Camelion seen in *Europe* hath its Skin naturally of a Blue-grey, which it likewise retains after it is taken off. At first also it retains the Streaks before-mentioned, but by degrees, and as it grows dry, they wear out, and are no longer visible. When these Animals are placed in the Sun, they change their Colour intirely, and assume that which is called an *Isabella*, composed of a pale yellow on the Surface, and a deep red underneath. When removed out of the Sun, this beautiful Colour goes off, and the natural Blue-grey returns by degrees. The Camelion being touch'd and disturbed when in the Sun, there appeared immediately on its Shoulders and Legs black Spots as big as ones Nail. Sometimes again its Skin appears chequered with brown Spots, inclining to a dark green.

Upon wrapping the Camelion in Linnen, it was taken out white. *Aldrovandus* says, that he saw one so changed in this manner, that it seemed to disappear, being not distinguishable in its Colour from the very Linnen it lay upon; but this Description seems to be a little exaggerated; for commonly it is observed to change only to a light grey, and its natural dark Colour comes on again in the Space of two or three Minutes. But notwithstanding this, the Experiment most evidently refutes what *Plutarch* and *Solinus* gravely tells us, that the Camelion assumes all Colours except white. *Aristotle* likewise seems to be in the wrong in affirming, that it changes its Colour through its whole Body, whereas in all the modern Experiments the Skin, instead of being uniform, has been spotted with different Colours. It must however be confessed, that most of these Circumstances have varied in different Experiments, so that it is very difficult to speak exactly of all these Particulars.

It is natural to conclude with some Account of the Discoveries made by the Moderns as to its Food, which seems to put that Point entirely out of Dispute. They have found that it is so far from living upon the Air and Sunshine, as some learned Men reported, and credulous People believed, that it is in Fact a Beast of Prey, and more ravenous than could be expected from its Size.

The Tongue of the Camelion is the Weapon with which he does all this Mischief. It is covered constantly with a kind of natural Glew, which draws to it Flies and other little Animals, which stick fast therein, and are drawn back there with into the Creature's Mouth, with such prodigious Agility, that it is hardly possible to perceive

this Motion of throwing out and recalling the Tongue. Upon examining this Member closely with a Microscope, we discern a Multitude of very small Fibres, which run winding like a Screw from the Root to the Point of the Tongue, which, doubtless, contributes very much to that extraordinary Quickness of Motion with which this Creature useth it. Upon Dissection, there are found in the Ventricle and in the Intestines the Flies and Worms which it has swallowed.

It voids from Time to Time a kind of Stones of a Size and Weight superior to any thing it could swallow; and these Stones have afforded Matter for fresh Observations. After having examined them closely, and making some Experiments on them with distilled Vinegar, it has been found that they have the Head of a Fly, or some such thing in the Centre, round which the stony Mass forms itself, and rises to a considerable Bulk before it is thrown out. I do not find that the Moderns have at all enquired into one Fact expressly asserted by *Ælian*†, which is, that this Creature is not afraid of, or affected by the Bite of the most venomous kinds of Serpents; which perhaps might lead us into new Discoveries.

24. The Description and History of the Ants of *India* recorded by ancient Authors, is at once the more singular and extraordinary of any thing they have related concerning this Part of the World, and the more so, because it is on the one hand confidently reported, not by one or two Authors only, but by almost all the great Writers of Antiquity; and on the other, the strictest Enquiry that can be made by the Moderns, furnishes us with no sort of Intelligence, to prove that either there are, or ever were, any such Animals as these in Nature. It would take up too much of the Reader's Time to enter into a particular Account of all the Stories that the old Writers tell us with regard to the *Indian* Pismires; and therefore to cut the Matter short, I shall report what *Pliny* says upon this Head, as containing the Substance of what other Writers have delivered.

There are still to be seen, says he, in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Erythræ*, the Horns of a certain *Indian* Ant, which were there set up to employ the Wonder as well as Curiosity of all Posterity. These Ants in the Northern *Indies*, and especially in the Country of the *Dardians*, burrough in the Ground like Rabbits, and from thence throw up abundance of fine Gold from the Mines under the Earth, in which they make their Holes. These Creatures are of the Colour of Cats, and of the Size of Wolves or Foxes in *Egypt*. This Gold, which they throw up in the Winter Season, the Natives of that Country endeavour to steal from them in the extremest Heat of Summer, taking that Opportunity, when the Pismires, to shun the raging Heat of the Sun, lie close shut up in their Caves. Yet this is even then performed with great Danger; for if these Creatures gain any Scent of them, they pursue with incredible Boldness and Speed, neither can the Swiftmess of their Camels save them; but they are frequently torn in Pieces by these furious Animals, eager to recover that Gold in which they so much delight.

Aristotle hath treated largely of the Nature of Ants in general, and seems to have examined the Subject with great Diligence and Application; yet he says nothing of these *Indian* Ants, though the Story had been told by Writers who flourished long before him, and therefore in all Probability he looked upon it as a Fable. *Philophratus* says, that these Creatures are not only found about the Sources of the *Indies*, but also in *Ethiopia*‡; and yet such Travellers as have visited that Country, say nothing of any such Animals, which it is impossible they should have omitted, if they had either seen or heard of it. It appears however clearly both from *Strabo* and *Arian*, that this Tale, and all the Circumstances relating to it, came originally from *Mageshenes*, who pretends that he had seen the Skins of these Animals, which were spotted like the Skins of Tygers; and he also reports another Circumstance not mentioned by *Pliny*, which is, that the Inhabitants, by scat-

* Oper. p. 795.

† Hist. Nat. p. 33.

‡ Plutarch. Oper. p. 1153.

§ Aristot. de Hist. Anim. lib. xi. cap. 11.

¶ Memor.

de l'Acad. Tom. iii. p. 53.

‡ Ælian. de Animal. lib. iv. c. 33.

§ Herodot. lib. iii. c. 102.

¶ Strabo, lib. xv. Clem. Alexandrin. Prodig.

lib. ii. p. 207. Buchart. Hierozoci. p. 11. lib. vi. c. 4.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xi. c. 31.

§ Aristot. de Hist. Animal. lib. v.

¶ Philophrat. de Vita Apollon. Tyana. lib. vi. c. 1.

tering the Limbs of Animals, cut to Pieces near the Dens or Holes of the Pinnires, drew them to feed upon these; and while they were thus employed, carried away their Golden Stores. *Nearchus* also has asserted, that he likewise saw the Skins of these Ants in the *Macedonian* Camp; but both *Strabo* and *Arrian* seem to give no Credit to these Relations¹.

One might be tempted to imagine, that the original Reporters of these Stories mistook the Creature of which they spoke, and which they ought rather to have stiled it a Mole than an Ant; I say we might suspect this, if in any later Writer there was the least Notice taken of this Method of coming at Gold; but as there is not, I must confess I look upon the whole as a Fable, invented by the *Indians*, to prevent Strangers from being too busy in looking after their Gold Mines. *Pomponius Mela*² reports the Fact without the least Mark of Diffidence. "*India*, says he, produces "Ants not inferior in Size to the largest Dogs, which, after "the manner of Gryphons, are said to discover and watch "over Gold with incredible Solitude." A Thing in itself so incredible, that it is amazing any could speak of it without Suspicion.

That there are, however, vast Numbers of Ants in this Country, and of a large Size, is very certain; and these too very mischievous; so that to avoid their Depredations, the Inhabitants in some Places are obliged to have their Chests fixed upon four Feet, and those Feet set in a Vessel full of Water to prevent the Ants from getting into them. But then the largest of these Creatures are not said to be above a Finger's Length, which with respect to such a Creature is a prodigious Bigness³. There are also infinite Numbers of these destructive Animals in *Africa*, which raise Hills of a surprizing Height; but these are not said to be above half an Inch in Length⁴, so that after all the Enquiry possible, I have not been able to discover any Fact that could be depended upon capable of giving Light into what the Ancients have related upon this Head. It is not however amiss to preserve even the most extravagant of their Accounts, because future Travellers, by perusing them, may have an Opportunity of making such Enquiries as may possibly discover what gave Rise to these Fables; for it would be easy to shew from many Instances, that a strict Examination of Falshoods has frequently led to the Discovery of very important Truths.

25. After the Perusal of this Chapter, the Reader will be able to judge for himself as to the Capacity of the Ancients, with respect to the Description of the *Indies*, and be able to decide wherein they deserved Praise, and how far they are liable to Censure. It will be clear to him, that in some Respects they had the Advantage of us, though not in many. As for instance, in the Knowledge of the Nature, Disposition and Strength of Elephants, which were much in use both with the *Greeks* and *Romans*, after *Alexander* had opened a Passage to the *Indies*⁵. This must have given them many Opportunities of examining carefully into all the Qualities of that Creature, which are Opportunities that we have not. *Aristotle*⁶ has written about them with great Judgment and Accuracy; but as to the Work of *Elion*⁷, I must confess he seems to have studied to amuse, rather than inform his Readers.

The Terror of the *Roman* Arms was so great, especially after they had reduced *Egypt* into the Form of a Province, that the *Indians* were extremely afraid of them, and therefore made use of all the different Methods they could invent to hinder them from making that Use they might have done of their Maritime Power. It was with this View that they sent Embassadors to their Emperors, and with them Presents of wild Beasts, and Serpents, that on the one hand they might persuade them of their Submission, and on the other fright them from undertaking Expeditions into a Country, where they were to run so many Hazards from Beasts as well as Men. It was from the same Principle that they filled their Ears with dreadful and false Reports. If they had Spices, they pretended that they were obtained with infinite Difficulty, and by such a dangerous Navigation, as scarce any Man in his Senses would attempt; if

they had Gold, it was taken from the Dens of Gryphons, and other fierce and terrible Beasts, so that it appeared infinitely better to obtain this precious Commodity by Traffick, than to expose themselves to the Dangers which the poor *Indians* ran in procuring it; if their Markets were furnished with precious Stones, they likewise were collected with incredible Hazard; which kind of Fables joined to the Distance of the Country, and the natural Aversion which the *Roman* Legions had to serving in Climates different from their own, for many Age had as good Effect in securing the *Indians* from their boundless Ambition.

The false Religion of the *Romans*, and their great Proneness to Superstition, was another invincible Bar to their arising at any true Knowledge of the Countries they visited. Their Heads were so full of Fables, Omens, and Propdigies, that it was very easy to make them believe that the *Indies* was inhabited by Giants, and that the *Ganges*, and all the other Rivers in it, swarmed with Monsters. We have a strong Proof of this in what happened when the Learning of *Rome* was at its greatest Height. It was found necessary to change the Course of the River *Orontes* to facilitate the bringing up their Fleet to *Antioch*; a prodigious Work, that, however, they undertook and executed; which shews that there was nothing that so enterprising a People might not have performed, if they had not been liable to the Terrors of Superstition. When the Waters of the River were turned out of their old Channel, they discovered a Sepulchre of Earth, above sixteen Foot long, filled with Bones of an enormous Size; and which, nevertheless, the People of that Country persuaded them were those of a Man; upon which the Oracle of *Apollo*, at *Clarus* in *Ionia*, was consulted, and they were informed, that these were the Remains of *Orontes*, a Native of the *Indies*; which was enough to confirm them in the Opinion they had conceived, that the Inhabitants of that Country, were much superior in Size to the rest of Mankind⁸.

The great Reverence paid by them to Antiquity, was another Source of Errors. One would imagine, from reading some of their Writers, that they had from never to be wiser than those who went before them: Almost all the voluminous Work of *Pliny*, is taken from *Greek* Authors, and those not of the best Credit. Whoever will take the Trouble of comparing the Geography of *Pomponius Mela*, with the History of *Heraclitus*, will plainly perceive, that he has borrowed from him the best Part of what he has written, particularly that Passage relating to the Ants that dig Gold. And hence it comes to pass, that when we diligently trace any of the incredible Stories we meet with in old Writers upwards, we find the original Author to be *Cicero*, *Herodotus*, or *Megasthenes*, decry'd, and yet copied in all Ages.

But for those Things which fell immediately under the Eyes and Observation of their best Writers, such as *Aristotle*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, and many others, they are very candidly and fairly reported; at least, as far as the Lights they had would permit. We must not, therefore, either implicitly believe whatever they have delivered, for, if we do, we shall fall into the same Errors that they did from that very Cause, of trusting to the Ancients; and, on the other hand, we must not imagine that wherever they differ with the Moderns, or are not absolutely supported by them, they are constantly in the wrong, and deserve no Credit at all; because, such a Notion may, and suprobably will, betray us into new Mistakes; because, in some Things, the Ancients had better Opportunities of knowing than we; and Experience has shewn us, that, after several Turns, they have told us, have been exploded for Fables, they have, upon further Discoveries, been acknowledged for Facts.

The only true Rule of judging, is, to consider the Nature of the Thing related, the Character of the Author who relates it, and how far he is supported or contradicted by others; but, in such Cases as do not afford us an Opportunity of having Recourse to these Rules, the best

¹ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

² *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

³ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁴ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁵ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁶ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁷ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁸ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

¹ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

² *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

³ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁴ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁵ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁶ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁷ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁸ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

¹ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

² *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

³ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁴ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁵ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁶ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁷ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

⁸ *Strabo*, lib. xv. *Arrian*, in *Indicis*, c. 15.

way is to avoid all hasty Decisions, and to wait till new Enquiries afford us new Lights. But it is now Time to proceed to the Accounts which these Writers have given us of the other Animals of the *Indies*, that live either in the Water or the Air; and in regard to them as well as to the Land-Animals, we shall confine ourselves only to a few of the most remarkable; and, even with respect to

them, set down nothing more than what seems most striking and worthy of Notice; which Method, if we did not pursue, each of these Sections might be very easily swelled into a Volume; so that, if any think them rather too much extended, I flatter myself they will alter their Opinion, when they consider how much is omitted, in order to bring only the capital Points within Bounds.

SECTION XIV.

An Account of the most remarkable FISH and FOWL in the East-Indies, as described by ancient and modern Authors, with proper Observations and Remarks.

1. The Notions of the Ancients with regard to several Kind of Whales, Sea-elephants, and other Fish of enormous Size in the Indian Ocean, with a particular Account of the Hound-fish.
2. An exact Description of the River-cow, with the Reason why the Teeth of this amphibious Animal are preferred to every.
3. The fabulous Accounts of the Dolphin examined, with a singular Relation from *Ælian* on that Subject.
4. Of the *Purpura*, or Purple-fish; the History of the famous Die made from this Fish by the Tyrians; and an Enquiry into the Causes of our losing this Secret.
5. The Pearl-fishery in the Indies, described from ancient and modern Authors; with many Remarks upon that Subject.
6. Of the Flying-fish in the Indies, from ancient Writers, compared with *Martinus's* Account of a Flying-fish in China, and the *Tobiwo* in Japan.
7. The several kind of Tortoises in the Indies, their extraordinary Size, the Uses and Value of their Shells.
8. The Crocodile described by ancient Authors, the vast Size of these Creatures in the Indies, and many curious Passages relating to them, drawn from Works of modern Travellers.
9. Of the *Cynocides*, or Blue-worm in the Ganges, a kind of Serpent that seems to be unknown to the Moderns.
10. The Indian-Eagle described; an Account of all the remarkable Properties of that Bird, and a distinct Relation of what is said as to the *Aetites*, or Stone found in the Nests of Eagles, and its Virtues.
11. A Description and succinct History of the Ostrich, in which many Errors relating to that Bird are corrected, and the Causes of them explained.
12. Of the Pelican, the singular Qualities of this Creature, and the many Fables that have been invented concerning it.
13. The History of the Phoenix, from the Writers of Antiquity; the Fables on this Subject examined, and the true State of the Question explained.
14. Of the *Semendal*, or *Scaligers Phoenix*, a Bird really found in the Indies.
15. An accurate Description of the Casoar, one of the largest and most extraordinary Fowls in the Indies, and which seems to have been unknown to the Ancients.
16. Of some other remarkable Birds mentioned by Eastern Writers, or in the Relations of modern Travellers.
17. Miscellaneous Observations and Remarks on the foregoing Descriptions, tending to the farther Illustration of the Subject.

IT seems to have been an established Opinion among the Ancients, that, of all the Elements, Water breeds the most, the largest, and the greatest Variety of living Creatures; or, at least, was inhabited by such, and of all Seas, or Collections of Salt-water, that which washed this Shore of the *Indies*, was held to be the most fruitful in large Fish, and those too of the greatest Size in their respective kinds. We have already mentioned, in the Circumnavigation of *Nearchus*, how the Fleet of *Alexander* the Great was alarmed by a Shoal of Porpusses, and what mighty Whales were seen by them in those Seas. *Pliny* carries the Matter much farther; he talks of Whales in the *Indian Sea*, that covered four Acres of Land; and mentions a lesser-kind, called *Pristes*, which in all Probability, were a Sort of Fin-fish, two hundred Cubits, or three hundred Feet in Length; and at this, says he, we need not wonder, since, in that Country, even the Locusts are four Cubits in Length; and that there are Eels in the River *Ganges* that measure thirty Feet. He farther observes, that, in the Red-sea, there is a Pininfula, called *Cadara*, which runs far out into the Sea, and makes thereby a Bay so commodious, and so well covered from all Winds, that the Fish lie there as quiet and as still as in a Mill-pond; and there, says he, are bred those Whales of an enormous Size, which, sometimes venturing out to Sea are caught by Storms, especially about the Dog-days, and thrown on the opposite Coast of *Persia*, where the People eat the Flesh, and build themselves Cabins of the Bones, as we have, long ago, heard from *Nearchus*, whose Voyage on that Coast, seems to be the best Account that even in the Days of *Pliny* they had of those Seas.

In the *Ganges* there were Fish resembling Dolphins in Shape, called *Platanistæ*, which were more than twenty Feet long; and these I take to have been a kind of Sturgeon; but what most astonished them was, the Reports they had, that in the *Indian Ocean* there were Fish resembling all kinds of Land-animals; and of these they mention particularly the Sea-elephant, which they held to be five Times as large as the Creature from which it borrowed its Name, and of these they had not bare Reports only, but some of them had been seen and measured. As for Sea-lions, Sea-dogs, and Calves, they were common in those Seas, and though extremely terrible in their Descriptions, yet appear plainly to have been nothing more than different Species of the Seal, as I take the Sea-lions in the *West-Indies* to be. But of these, that which seems to have been the most dangerous was the Sea-hare; which Creature, *Pliny* affirms, was in the Mediterranean, a mere Lump, or very ill-shaped Fish; but, in the *Indian-Seas*, he assures us, that it was very like the Land-hare, and of a Nature so venomous, that the very Touch of it caused Sickness to the Stomach, strong Vomitings, and other deadly Symptoms.

What is related of the Hound-fish, or Sea-dog, seems very fabulous; and, one would imagine, was invented by the Pearl-fishers, in order to set the higher Price upon their Commodities. It is affirmed of these Monsters, that they attack the Divers when under Water, who are forced to keep them off with long Poles, at the Head of which are Spears, or sharp Points. The safest Way, as they found, by Experience, was, to attack these Animals first, for this struck a Terror into them, and kept them at a Distance; but the Danger was not then over, since,

* *Nat. Hist. lib. ix.*

* *Plin. lib. ix. Ælian. lib. xvi.*

when the Divers had done their Business, and began to ascend, the Sea-dogs returned to their Charge, and followed them with greater Fury than ever, while the Man was less able to defend himself, as being obliged to employ one Hand in holding the Rope which drew him up, so that he had only the other, in which he held the Pole, which was to keep off his Enemy. But the greatest Difficulty of all was, to pull him up into the Ship; for these furious Animals were ready, at the Instant he rose from the Water, to leap after him, and devour him in Sight of his Companions. To avoid so cruel a Death, the Man was forced to draw up his Legs and Feet as close as he could to his Body, while those on Board drew him up with a quick Jerk, and some of them with Hand-spikes, Trout-spears, and what ever else came to hand, stood ready to defend him from the Sea-dogs, in case they leaped after him out of the Water. These Creatures were no less subtle than cruel; and therefore getting under the Keel of the Vessel, they kept themselves very secure, and were ready again to renew their Attack upon the next Diver that was let down.

Now, though many Circumstances of this Account are very improbable, yet, it must be allowed, that the Pearl-divers run very great Hazards from those voracious Animals, with which these Seas abound, as we have already shewn by various Instances of Men torn to Pieces even in the Harbours, and in the Sight of the Crews of a whole Squadron, not by the Hound-fish, or Sea-dog, but by Sharks, Crocodiles, or Sea-serpents. It is highly probable that they were in all Ages liable to the like Misfortunes, and that the Reports of these, which, in themselves, were true, gave Birth to this and other Stories of the same kind, which however fabulous in their Circumstances, were not at the Bottom absolutely void of Foundation.

2. It was in the same Manner that they magnified by misapprehending what they were told concerning amphibious Creatures; and hence it is that they report these come out of the Sea and Rivers, and make strange Havock in the Meadows and Corn-fields, which shews what an Impression the Accounts they had received of the Sea-horse, or Sea-cow, for it is called by both Names, had made upon them; for though they were in some measure acquainted with it in Egypt, and some of them had been brought to Rome, yet those of the Indies were much larger; and, indeed, there were few Animals more capable of striking with Astonishment by their Description, such as were unacquainted with them before.

The Sea-cow in the East-Indies resembles in Size and in Shape the Rhinoceros; and as that Animal has Legs shorter than the Elephant, so the Legs of this amphibious Creature are still shorter than his. When it rises out of the Sea or River to come on Shore, it spouts a vast Quantity of Water through its Nostrils. The Head, in its Make, resembles that of a Horse, except that it is much bigger, and therefore from thence, and from the Clumsiness of its Limbs, it derives its Name of the Sea or River Cow. The Coat is hairy, but very close, the Skin an Inch thick at least. It has on each Side two strong Teeth about a Foot and half in Length, weighing each of them about ten Pounds. These are esteemed the very best Ivory, or rather better than any Ivory, if we understand that Word strictly of the Elephants Teeth, because they have one Property which those Teeth have not, and that is, that they never lose their Colour, which is exceedingly white, whereas the finest Ivory grows yellow by Degrees.

The Sea Cow hath Udders, and suckles her young ones in the same manner that the Land Cows do their Calves, and they are often found with them in the Meadows; the Feet of these Creatures are divided into four, and they move pretty fast, notwithstanding their Bulk, when they are pursued. Their Flesh is esteemed more delicate than any other, and the Fat is as hard and as sweet as Butter. It is said, that feeding upon this Animal will change all the Juices in the Human Body, and therefore it is held the best

Restorative, and the most effectual Cure for Scurvey, Gouts, and other ill Habits of Body. It is allowed that these Creatures feed mostly upon Grass, and may possibly eat Corn too if it comes in their Way; but that they come up in Drowes, and breaking into Corn-fields, trample down and destroy the whole Fruits of a Harvest, is a thing not to be believed. We will now proceed to the Fish, properly so called, that are taken notice of by those Writers, or at least of such as are most remarkable.

3. The Dolphin seems to have exercised in a very particular manner the Attention of the Ancients, who have described it with greater Care, and preferred more Particulars relating to it than any other Fish, though at the same time it must be confessed, that the Accounts they have given us serve rather to raise our Admiration than to increase our Knowledge, because it so falls out, that with the Help of all they have told us, we are not able to affirm, with any Certainty, what Fish it was they distinguished by this Name. They report that it was excessively swift in swimming, that it carried its Head a little above Water, and that it had an extraordinary Kindness for Mankind. They likewise say, that the Dolphin was very common in the Mediterranean, the Atlantick Ocean, and the Indian Sea.

It is very certain, that at present we meet in none of those Seas with any Fish that resembles the Figure of the Dolphin, as represented by the Ancients, neither is it known that any Fish has those Properties which they ascribe to the Dolphin. Pliny tells us a remarkable Story of a Dolphin that took a Fancy to a Boy in the Kingdom of Naples, and carried him on his Back across an Arm of the Sea to and from School every Day, the Boy calling him *Simo*, which Fact, he says, he would not have related, but that he found it mentioned before in several authentick Writers as a thing so well known, that it could not admit either of Doubt or Dispute.

I have but just mentioned this Passage, because it hath been already transcribed by many Writers; but there is another Story in *Ælian* to the full as remarkable, which is worthy the Reader's Notice. It happened under the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, that some young Men were bathing themselves in the Sea at the Mouth of the Port of *Alexandria*, when a Dolphin swam in amongst them, and taking a particular Liking to one of them, encouraged him to get upon his Back, which the young Man did, and it carried him a good way out to Sea. This being several times repeated, the Spectacle at last became common, and was beheld by Multitudes of Spectators. The End, however, was as tragical as the Beginning had been pleasant, for the Dolphin having one Day forgot to shut close the sharp Fin upon his Back, one of the Spikes ran into the young Man's Thigh, and he fainted with the Loss of Blood. The Fish perceiving his Distress by his not conducting him as usual, brought him back to the Shore, and then beholding the Condition he was in, remained likewise on the Sand, and perished with him.

It would be an easy Matter to collect many more Relations of this sort from the Writings of the ancient Naturalists, if what has been said was not more than sufficient to shew, that upon certain Occasions they set no Bounds to their Credulity, and their Fondness for wonderful Stories. They likewise report of this Animal, that it was of such a social Nature, as to swim in Company with others of its own kind, for the sake of resisting mutually with greater Strength any Attempts that might be made upon them. They likewise assure us, that the Dolphins were drawn towards the Shore, and kept there by the Sound of Music, which is as incredible as any of the rest, and seems calculated purely for Amusement. Some other Circumstances they report which are more probable, such as that the Dolphin was naturally an Enemy to the Crocodile, and defended itself from the Attacks of that furious Creature, by raising the sharp Fin upon its Back.

Certain it is, that from a Notion of its Friendship to Men the Ancients forbore eating its Flesh, and the Cyre-

¹ *Theriacal. Tom. i. lib. ix. cap. 48.* ² *Theriacal. Tom. i. lib. ix. cap. 48.* ³ *Strabo, lib. xv. p. 700.* ⁴ *Ælian, lib. xii. cap. 12.* ⁵ *Plin. lib. ix. cap. 8.* ⁶ *Athen. Deipn. lib. xii. p. 101.* ⁷ *Hyd. Nat. lib. ix. cap. viii.* ⁸ *De Animal. lib. vi. cap. 15.* ⁹ *Ælian, lib. v. cap. 6.* ¹⁰ *Plin. lib. xi. cap. 37.* ¹¹ *Cypri.*

stant carried their Reverences so far as to erect a Temple to it. It was from the same Notion that *Alexander the Great* appointed a Boy to execute the Office of High-Priest to *Neptune*, because the prevailing Opinion then was, that the Dolphins had a great Tenderness for Youths. As for the Fish that is known to us by this Name, they have been described in the former Chapter, and will be mentioned in subsequent Voyages; and therefore without dwelling longer on a Topic, upon which some learned Men have written large Treatises, we will proceed in our Discourse to other Inhabitants of the *Indian Seas* that have exercised the Pens of the Writers of Antiquity.

4. Of the *Purpura*, or Purple Fish, many Authors speak largely; and from them we gather, that there were several different sorts, some fed amongst rotten Mud, others on Sea-Weeds, a third sort in the Gravel; but that which was the richest, and yielded the strongest Dye, was called *Dialus*, or the *Wandering Fish*, that fed in all the different Soils beforementioned. This Fish had a long sharp Tongue, of the Size of ones Finger, so hard, and sharp at the Point, as to be able to pierce into other Shell-fish, and suck them; and thus living on their Blood, it became, when digested in the Body of that Fish, the noble Dye which was so much esteemed, and carried to great a Price, that the *Tyrrians* gained not only immense Wealth, but immortal Reputation, by their Skill in managing their Trade therein.

The manner in which they carried on this Fishery was thus: At the proper Season, which was in the Beginning of the Autumn, or the Beginning of the Spring, they let down into the Sea certain small Nets, in which were Cockles, or some other small Shell-fish, which had been for some time out of the Water. These opening their Shells for Sustainance, the Purple Fish, which, as we observed before, was a Fish of Prey, came presently about them, and greedily thrusting their Tongues into the Shells of the other Fish, they closed upon them, and so they were drawn up together. Then, as some Writers say, the Vein of the Purple Fish was opened, and the Colour drawn out. But *Pliny* gives us a much clearer and more copious Account of this Matter; for he tells us, that as soon as the Fish was caught, they did not take out the Colour, but the Vein which contained it; and having obtained a sufficient Quantity, they mixed it with Salt, and in this Condition it remained three Days; then to eight Gallons of Water they put one hundred and fifty Pounds of Colour, and boiling it over a gentle Fire, skimming it from Time to Time, it came in about five Hours to look perfectly clear and bright. In order, however, to judge the better of this Dye, and to know when it was perfectly boiled, they dipped now and then a Lock of Wool into it, by considering of which they knew when it required a higher and when a lower Degree of Fire.

After the Colour was thus prepared, they put into it such a Quantity of Wool as they intended to dye, which soaked in it for five Hours; then it was taken out, dried and carded, and afterward thrown into the Dye-Tub again; and after it was dried a second time was delivered to the Manufacturers to be spun, and wrought into Cloth. This was what was properly called the true Purple, which had been used in *Rome* Time out of Mind, when *Pliny* wrote, but not in common; for *Romulus* never appeared in this Colour, but when he put on his Robe called *Trabea*, and even in the Days of *Augustus* it was at a high Price; but afterwards it grew cheaper, or at least it grew more common, as *Pliny* tells us at large.

There seems to be no doubt that this was the finest and richest Colour known to the Ancients, especially the *Dibapha*, or double-dyed *Tyrian Purple*; for whatever Changes there might happen in Fashions, that from the first to last was esteemed the best. A great Question has been raised how this Colour came to be lost, since all the different kinds of Shell-Fish, from whence it was taken, were found in various Parts of *Europe*, as well as in the *Indies*; and the losing this Colour has been always mentioned as an extraordinary Misfortune, and as one of the Things in which we fall most short of the Ancients. But, perhaps, when this

Matter comes to be more seriously examined, the Loss will not be found so great, nay, I doubt, if upon the whole, we ought to account it any Loss at all.

In the first place, let us consider how it is possible the Art of managing this Dye should have been forgot, which was in so many Hands esteemed at so great a rate, and in general Credit throughout *Europe*; I say, let us consider this, and we shall plainly see, that it could have been lost no other Way than by the coming in of some other Colour, or rather of some other Dye, which afforded as fine a Colour, and at a cheaper Rate. We learn from *Pliny*, that a Pound of the true *Tyrian Purple* was worth a thousand Denarii, or upwards of thirty-two Pounds of our Money, which was surely an exorbitant Price; and therefore, if in succeeding Times a Method has been found of dyeing Purple at a cheaper rate, there is no Ground for saying that we fall short of the Ancients, that a valuable Colour has been lost, or that either their Knowledge or their Industry, at least in this Respect, was greater than ours.

But after all, there seems to be some Reason to doubt whether the Fact be true, I mean, that this Secret is lost, since both our own Royal Society, and the Academy of Sciences at *Paris*, have made considerable Discoveries on this Head, that is to say, their Members have made several Experiments on the Purple extracted from Shell-fish; and if their Experiments have succeeded but indifferently, I do not think it can be understood as a Proof, that the Ancients excelled us in this Particular. Father *Gaga*, in his Survey of the *West-Indies*, tells us boldly, that the *Spaniards* have retrieved there the Secret of the ancient Purple, and that they dye Cloths, which are sold for twenty Crowns a Yard. I must confess this is a Fact, that I do not find confirmed by later Writers, and therefore I think there is Reason to suspect the Truth of it.

Father *Labat*, a much more careful and accurate Writer, has given us a very curious Account of the Attempts made in the *French Islands in America* to recover this kind of Dye, which is very worthy of the Reader's Notice; and therefore I shall give him as clear and as succinct an Account of it as I can. They have in those Parts a kind of Shell-fish, about the Bigness of the Top of one's Thumb, resembling in its first Appearance the common sort of Snails; but when examined more closely, and after the Fish is taken out, it appears one of the most curious and beautiful Shells that can be imagined. It is, though very thin, of a very strong Substance, and of a beautiful Azure Colour. The Flesh of the Fish is extremely white, but its Intestines of so bright a red, that the Colour is seen through its Body; and it is this Colour which tinges the Slime it throws out, when taken of a Violet, or rather of a deep Blue. In order to oblige these Animals to throw out a greater Quantity of this Slime, they are put alive into a Dish, and struck one against another, either with the Hand, or with a little Twig, upon which the Dish is presently covered with this kind of Slime, in which, if a Piece of Linnen be dipped, it is immediately dyed red, and by degrees becomes, as it grows dry, of a deep Purple. But Father *Labat* observes very cautiously, and like a Writer, very careful of speaking Truth, that if this be the Purple of the Ancients, we have not hitherto the Art of fixing it; for how deep soever the Colour may appear when the Linnen is dried, it soon decays, and if washed, is speedily taken out.

This Fish, while admired only for its Shell, was called simply *le Burgau*; but since this Discovery it is called *le Burgau de Teinture*. Our Author himself made several Experiments toward arriving at a finer Colour from a Plant in the same Country, and not without Success, which I think plainly proves that he had no great Hopes of obtaining any fixed and perfect Colour from the Shells. On the whole therefore, I think it as plain as any thing can well be made, that the Purple of the Ancients gave way to some brighter and cheaper Colour; and if ever this Secret should be recovered, it would prove a Curiosity only, and never could be brought again to a Manufacture, because in

¹ Strabo, lib. i. p. 56. *Plin.* lib. ix. cap. viii.

² Nat. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 38. ³ Idem, ibid.

⁴ l'Amérique.

⁵ *Plin.* lib. ix. cap. 36. ⁶ *Jequeu. Aelian.* lib. vii. cap. 34. ⁷ *Athen. Deipn.* lib. iii. p. 86.

⁸ Id. c. 39.

⁹ Id. ibid.

¹⁰ *Histoire des Antilles*, p. 224.

¹¹ *Voyage de*

All the Experiments that have been made in this Country, and in *France*, it has been found, that a great Difficulty would arise in procuring Shells enough to furnish a sufficient Quantity of this Colour for Use; whence it follows, that after all the Improvements that could be made for fixing and perfecting this Dye the Dearness of it would hinder it from coming again into Use, as heretofore it drove it out.

Before I part with this Subject, I think it may not be amiss to observe, that in some Lakes in the North, and in the West of *Scotland*, there are a kind of Mussels, which have in them a purple Vein at the Extremity of the Shell, in which there is contained a Drop or two of a Liquor that stains Linnen of a deep Crimson, which is not at all apt to wear out, but continues as long as the Cloth can be worn; but I do not know whether this Fish be very common, or whether this Purple Vein be natural to it, or the Effect of some Disease, which has been suspected of the true Purple*.

5. We will now proceed from this Source of Riches which at present is lost to another that still subsists, I mean the Pearl-Fishery; for it is allowed that the finest and most perfect Pearls are, and in all Ages have been, brought from the *Indies*. It is true, they do not at this Day fetch so high a Price in *Europe* as they did formerly; but still the Oriental Pearls are of considerable Value, and are like to continue so, inasmuch as they have all the Properties that are requisite to render them fit to be reckon'd amongst the most beautiful Jewels that can be, neither is there any Counterfeits that at all approach them in their Lustre: Though People have attained in that Art to a Degree of Perfection scarce to be expected.

The Fish that produces the Pearl is a kind of Oyster, but much larger than the common Sort, or indeed than any that are found in our Seas; they are common on the Coast of *Perfisa*, near *Ormus*, about *Cape Comorin*, and on the Coast of the Island of *Ceylon*†. The Shell-fish which produces them is called the Mother of Pearl. The Ancients had an Opinion that Thunder and Storms had some Effect in producing them; for which we shall be able to give a tolerable Account, without admitting any thing wonderful, in the Fact. The Fishing of Pearl was a Thing always attended with great Hazard and Danger; such as were employed in it being obliged often to dive in Places thirty Fathom deep, where they were exposed to many ravenous Monsters, peculiarly thirsting after human Blood. They were let down out of the Vessel to which they belonged with a Weight of Stone, fixed either to their Side or to their Feet, that they might defend the quicker and remain the more steady under Water. In their Right-hand they had a sharp Iron, which they used for removing the Oysters from their Beds; and on their Left-arm hung a Basket, in which they put the Fish when they were caught, and about this Arm also a Cord was tied, by which they gave Notice to those in the Ship when to pull them up by another Cord that was about their Middle*. Some Writers, say they, carried their Basket or Bag, into which they put their Fish, about their Necks.

The largest Sort of Fish were found far in the Sea; and if they were at any Time driven upon the Coast it was by tempestuous Weather. And hence the Opinion arose, that great Thunders and Storms contributed to swell and to encrease the Pearl. The Fact therefore was true, that after Tempests the largest Pearls were found: But the Opinion grounded upon this, that the Thunder was the Cause of the Pearls Increase, seems to have no Foundation in Reason. So easy a Thing it is to mistake Effects for Causes, and to introduce Errors in Natural Philosophy, by reasoning wrong upon Facts. When the Divers touched the Oysters, especially those of the largest Size, they clung so strongly to the Rock, that, very often, there was no removing them, even with the Help of their iron Instrument. In the Oysters they brought up, when opened, the Pearls appeared like little Drops of

fair Water or Dew, which hardened with being exposed to the Air, and were then carefully taken off the Shell. In one Oyster there was commonly ten or twelve, in some more, in some less; but the more there were the smaller; and if there was but one, it was generally of a very considerable Size, and of greater Value than many small ones; so that these Shells were esteemed the richest of all*. The Shell itself is also of some Value, as having a prodigious Lustre, and being extremely fit for making and other Uses.

Philestratus has a very curious Passage in relation to this Subject, if his Accounts could be absolutely depended upon; but whether they be or be not, as what he relates is very remarkable, it deserves at least to be related; and then let the Reader think of it as he pleases. The Story, as he tells it is this; some of the *Indian* Pearl-fishers have a Method of obtaining that valuable Commodity, without bringing up the Oysters at all. In order to this, the Divers carry down with them a certain kind of rich Perfume, which they hold before the Mother-of-pearl; and while the Fish sucks it, which it will do very greedily, they gently open the Shell, from whence a Liquor distils Drop by Drop, that presently harden into Pearl†. It might be alleged, in Support of this Story, that both *Athenians* and *Phry* seem inclined to believe that Pearls are at first Liquid; which is, indeed, agreeable enough to their Form and to their Lustre‡.

At this Day, there are four considerable Pearl-fisheries in the *East*. The first is on the Coast of the Island of *Babaren*, in the *Persian* Gulph, of which the *Portuguese* were formerly Masters, but now this Fishery belongs to the *Persians*. The second is near *Catifa*, on the Coast of *Arabia the Happy*, over-against *Babaren*. The Pearls taken at these Fisheries are most esteemed in the *Indies*, though of a yellowish Cast; for they assert, that the Pearls of a brighter Water do not last, but turn of a muddy Yellow in the Space of about thirty Years; whereas those which have originally a little Mixture of the Lemon-colour, are thoroughly ripened and never abate of their Lustre. A great Part of the Pearls taken in this Fishery, are carried to *Balsora*; from whence they are distributed all over the *Indies*; those again which are transported into *Perfisa* and *Mascooty*, are sold at *Bandarcongo* two Days Journey from *Ormus*. They fish twice a Year; first in the Months of *March* and *April*, and again in the Months of *August* and *September*. The Depth where they fish is from four to twelve Fathoms; and the deeper the Oyster is found, the Pearls are the brighter, because the Water is not so hot there, the Sun not being able to penetrate so deep.

The third Fishery is on the Coast of the Island of *Ceylon*, at a Place which is called *Manar*. The Pearls found there are of a good Water, but small; and the greatest do not surpass two Carats; nay, it is seldom that they are found of that Weight: But, in Recompence of this, there is great Quantity of Seed-pearl fit to powder. The fourth and last Fishing is at *Japan*; the Pearls there are of a Water white enough, and heavy, but ill shaped, most of which fall into the Hands of the *Dutch East-India* Company; because the *Japanese* themselves have no Esteem for Jewels of any Kind*. The poor People employed in these Fisheries live very meanly, and scarce get a Subsistence by them; even those who deal in Pearls are far enough from being rich, through the Oppression of their Princes on one Side, and the Art of the *Dutch* on the other: who finding that the bright Pearl taken on the Coast of *Ceylon*, are most esteemed, and go off at the greatest Rate in *Europe*, employ a *Brachman* to buy them up as they are caught, which he does at a very low Rate. The Persons concerned in this Trade, launching out into greater Expences than they can afford, and thereby subjecting themselves to the dreadful Necessity of parting with the Fruits of their Industry to such as are possessed of Money*.

* This is the Sentiment of *M. Raimar*, who made many Experiments on the Purple fish on the Coast of *Provence*.
 † *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 35.*
 ‡ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 35.*
 § *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 35.*
 ¶ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 35.*
 ** *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 35.*

• This tempts some of them to a very base Practice, which is throwing a poisonous Drug into the Sea, near the Banks where the best Fish lie; upon which they immediately remove to another Coast, where such as are in the Secret fish for them, and become rich before their Roguery is found out^a. There are now several Pearl-fisheries established in the *West-Indies* and in other Parts of the World, as we shall shew in their proper Places. But, as the Value of those Pearls arise from their approaching in their Colour and Water to the Oriental Pearl, this sufficiently shews that the Excellence attributed to them by ancient Writers, is not at all prejudiced by the Discoveries made in later Times, to which the Policy of the *Indian* Princes contributes not a little; for by purchasing the fairest Pearls at high Rates, they keep up their Price to the *Europeans*, so that there never came such Numbers into this Part of the World as to sink them much in their Value; hence it is whatever becomes of the Pearls of other Countries, those of the East still keep up their Credit, and a Pearl of the Weight of four Carrats, is worth ten or twelve Pounds, and of a larger Size and well shaped much more^b.

6. As the Pearl-fish and the Pearl-oyster were deservedly admired for their Value and Price, so the *Indian* Seas afforded other Fish that were held extremely remarkable for their extraordinary Properties. Amongst these the Flying-fish were thought none of the least extraordinary. The Flying-fish that are common in the *West-Indies*, are of the Size of a Herring, with a round Head, and a Sort of large Fins, which serve them for Wings, and with which they fly about the Height of a Pike from the Sea, and are then forced to drop again into that Element, because their Wings become dry^c; but there no way resemble the Flying-fish in the *East-Indies*, or at least those mentioned by the Ancients; for they came out of the Sea, or out of Rivers, at certain Seasons, and leaped about in the Meadows like Grass-hoppers^d. The Story is strange, and we have it told in very fucinct and general Terms by *Albemaus*, who is the only Author who reports it^e. But *Marco Polo*, one of our most ancient Travellers, mentions something of the like Nature, and says, that from its living in this Manner, the Creature is called the *Sea-locust*^f.

Martinus, who has written as copiously, and with as great Reputation of the Empire of *Cbina*, as any Author whatever, confirms this; and informs us, that the *Chinese* call it *Huangcicqu*; but he is very short in his Description; for he tells us only that it is a yellow Fish, or, rather a Bird; for in the Summer, says he, it flies on the Mountains, but towards the End of Autumn, it throws itself into the Sea, and becomes a Fish of a most exquisite Taste^g. He tells us, likewise, of another Creature that he saw, that had the Head of a Bird and the Tail of a Fish, which it was reported had some very singular Qualities^h.

It appears from these Citations, that we ought not, absolutely, to reject the strange Things told us by ancient Authors, without Examination; because, though the Facts they relate cannot be verified, yet, as in this Instance, it may be plainly made appear, that they are not pure Inventions; and, therefore, it is better to preserve even what seems incredible in their Writings, in order to encourage Enquiries that may, in Time, bring out the Truth. It may not be amiss to observe, that, in *Japan*, they have likewise a Flying-fish of about a Foot long, which, in their Language, is called *Tobiwao*; and is said to be very scarce, but excellent Eatingⁱ.

It were to be wished, that such as travel in these Countries, would be more careful in examining the Animals they meet with upon the Spot, and in committing their Descriptions to Writing immediately; because, we should not then be so much at a Loss as we now are, what to make of their Descriptions.

7. The Tortoise, though it cannot be said to be a Creature peculiar to the *Indies*, yet the *Indian* Tortoises are so much larger than any others, that, in this respect, they deserve to be particularly considered. Of these Creatures there are three different Sorts. The first live entirely on Land; the second in the Sea; and the third in fresh Waters. The Figure of this Creature is very extraordinary. It has a Head so very small that it seems to bear no Proportion to its Body. They have not either Teeth or Tongue, and yet the Tortoise not only breaks to Pieces the hardest Shells, but even Stones with its Lips; which, by their excessive Hardness, very effectually supply the seeming Want of Teeth. The Feet of this Animal are very short, and its Motion remarkably slow. It has, on its Back, a Lump of Flesh, which communicates with its Shell, by which it is entirely covered, and it even extends beyond its Body, when the Animal withdraws itself into it, and thereby proves a sure Defence against all Dangers from without; and are so strong that a Waggon well laden, may pass over them as over a Stone, without any Injury either to the Shell, or the Creature within it. They are five or six Foot long, which is a monstrous Size, considering the Bulk of these Creatures in other Countries; and yet some ancient Writers speak of Tortoises in the *Indies* of a much larger Size, the Shells of which are said to be big enough to cover a small Cabin; and it is said, that in the Island of *Taprobana* they made use of no other Covering for their Houses^j.

There were various Methods practised in taking these Creatures; for sometimes they gorged themselves to such a Degree in the Meadows, that they were not able to retire; and then, whoever found them, turned them on their Backs. Sometimes the Sea-tortoises were, in like manner, left on Shore at the Time of Ebb; and sometimes they placed round Sticks in their Road to the Meadows; and as soon as they set their fore Feet upon them, those who watched for that Purpose, laid hold of one End of the Stick, lifting it suddenly up, turned the Creature over. Their Flesh is both wholesome and pleasant, and their Eggs, which in Size resemble those of a Hen, are excellent^k.

Pliny reports, that their Flesh, their Blood, and even their Excrements, are very medicinal. Among other Receipts from this Creature, he gives us that which follows. Take, says he, three Land-tortoises, he means those of the smaller Kind, throw them on a Fire made of Vine-twigs; and as soon as their Shells begin to part from each other, pull them out immediately; and having taken their Shells off, boil them in a Gallon of Water, with a small Quantity of Salt, till a third Part of the Liquor be consumed; the Broth will be then, says he, a sovereign Medicine for such as are troubled with the Palsy, the Gout, or Rheumatism^l.

But that, for which this Creature is chiefly valued, is, his Shell, of which, over all the *Indies*, but particularly in *Cbina*, they make a Multitude of useful Things, as well as many beautiful Toys. These were Arts far from being unknown to the Ancients; for, as we learn from *Pliny*, *Carbilius Pollio*, a Man of a wonderful Invention, was the first who introduced the Use of Tortoise-shell-plates for In-laying all Sorts of Household Furniture. It is reported, that the *Portuguese* settled in the *East-Indies*, place Sea-tortoises near the Fire till their Shells begin to rise; and then taking them off in an Instant with a flat Knife, they afterwards throw the Creature back into the Sea, where, they affirm, that, in a single Year, they gather a new Shell, as firm and as beautiful as the former^m.

Besides the Uses that have been already mentioned, there is another to which those Tortoises are applied, the Flesh of which is not fit for eating, and that is boiling it into, Oil, which Oil not only serves for Lamps, but also for many physical Uses; and more especially for restoring

^a Voyages de la Blau, p. 330. ^b Voyage de Thovenot, Tom. iii. lib. ii. cap. 11. ^c Tavernier, ubi sup. ^d Vide etiam Hist. Nat. des Indes de Jor.
^e Hist. lib. vi. ^f Hist. Gen. des Indes de Lopez G. mara, lib. vi. ^g Hist. des Antilles, p. 183. ^h Theophrast. apud Athenæum, lib. viii. p.
ⁱ Voyages Arabes donnez par P. Abbe Renaudot, p. 15. ^j Deipn. Sigheft. p. 332. ^k Lib. iii. cap. 18. ^l Atlas Sin. p. 171.
^m Hist. lib. p. 173. ⁿ Hist. du Japon, Tom. ii. p. 582. ^o Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 22. ^p Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 773.
^q Hist. lib. xvi. cap. 14. ^r Plin., lib. ix. cap. 10, 11. ^s Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. cap. 4. ^t Voyages aux Indes par P.
Gouy, p. 105.

wasted Limbs, or such as have had their Sinews shrunk. The Tortoise is exceedingly annoyed by the Sea Eagle, which taking the smaller sort in his Talons, carries them a great way up into the Air, and then letting them fall on a Rock, breaks the Shells, and so feeds upon their Flesh, which, but for this Contrivance, would be secure from his Fury.

8. The Crocodile is another amphibious Creature common to Africa and the Indies; but the Indian Crocodiles are by far the largest, and those that frequent the Marshes near the River *Ganges* are believed to be the biggest in the World. *Aristotle* has given us a very large Description of this Animal, which is withal very accurate and just: He informs us, that the Female Crocodile lays sixty Eggs or upwards at a time, each of the Size of a Goose's Egg, and the Animal, when hatched, is of the same Proportion; but as it grows as long as it lives, it reaches in some Countries a larger, and in others a less Size; *Aristotle* mentions fifteen Cubits, which is two-and-twenty Feet and a half, as the largest Size he had heard of; but in the Indies there are Crocodiles of twice that Bigness, for which we shall hereafter assign a probable Reason.

The Crocodile is of the Lizard kind, and therefore we need not enter into a particular Description of it; it has no Tongue, and moves only the upper Jaw. Its Teeth, which are very strong and sharp, shut into each other like the Teeth of two Combs. It is also armed with terrible Claws; and his Back and Legs are covered with Scales so strong, that they are not to be pierced. He passes the Day mostly on Shore, and retires in the Night mostly into the Water, where having gorged himself with Fish, he comes on Shore when the Sun is up, and sleeps upon the Sand. *Pliny* says, that for four Months in the Winter the Crocodile retires to some Cave or Den, where it sleeps for that Time, without receiving any Sustainance.

As this Creature is only bred in hot Countries, so it seems incapable of living in colder Climates. There was one brought into France in 1681, and being landed at *Rochele* was brought from thence by Land to *Verfailles*; but they were frequently obliged to lay it before the Fire, for otherwise it would not have survived the Journey. It would eat nothing after it left the Ship, and died when it had been kept about a Month at *Verfailles*. When they dissected it, they found in its Stomach a considerable Quantity of Sand, and some Snails with their Shells whole. It appears from hence, that the Accounts of this Creature that are given us by the Ancients are justified by Experience.

Thus far of Crocodiles in general, we will now speak particularly of those in the Indies, and compare the Accounts given us of them by the Writers of Antiquity, with the Relations of such modern Travellers as are thought to deserve most Credit. *Strabo* informs us, that when *Alexander* found the River *Hydaspes* much infested with Crocodiles, and Egyptian Beans growing on its Banks, he made no sort of Question that he had found the Head of the Nile in the Indies; nay, to such a Degree was he persuaded of the Truth of this Discovery, that he actually directed a Fleet to be prepared in order to have sailed that way into Egypt, from whence it seems highly probable, that before *Alexander's* Expedition the Ancients did not know that there were Crocodiles in the Indies.

It is from *Strabo* likewise that we learn that these ravenous Creatures have an Aversion to Swine's Flesh, which, however, is a Point that deserves to be enquired into. *Philostratus*, in the Life of *Apollonius Tyanicus*, enters into an express Comparison between the Rivers *Indus* and *Nilus*, which, he observes, have a great Resemblance, especially in these two Particulars, their overflowing annually, and their being full of Crocodiles; but in this as in many other things, that Writer is plainly mistaken, for the River *Nilus* is not the only River in Africa, in which Crocodiles are bred, nor are these Creatures peculiar to the *Indus*, but infest generally most of the large Rivers in the Indies, and

particularly the *Ganges*, where are the largest Crocodiles perhaps in the World; and it is observed by *St. Ambrose*, that it passed for a kind of Miracle among the Indians, that at the Season of the Year when the Brahmans passed that River to go to their Wives, they were never infested by these terrible Animals.

If we could confide in what the Missionaries have told us of this Subject, we might add some curious Particulars to the natural History of Crocodiles. Father *Francis Collins* asserts positively, that this Creature voids no Excrement, nor has any Passage for it, which I doubt is not agreeable to Truth. It is likewise affirmed both by him and Father *Navarette*, that the Female Crocodile destroys her Young, swallowing them as they run from the Sands, where they are hatched, into the Water, which is another wonderful Circumstance that never occurred to the Ancients, or for any thing I know to any other of the Molems. As to what both these reverend Writers relate of Musk-bags being found in this Animal, it is singular, but not at all improbable, because almost all Writers agree, that the Flesh of the Crocodile has a very rank Scent; and in the West-Indies the Mouths of the Rivers where these Creatures haunt have their Waters so strongly tinged with this Smell and Taste, that they are not drinkable.

Gasper Balbi, whose Travels through the Indies are extremely curious in his Description of the City of *Pige*, which he visited in 1576, has the following extraordinary Passage: "The Inhabitants of this City lead, for the most part, a lazy and scandalous Life, they are very stultish in their Houses, in which, generally speaking, they keep Hogs. They drink the Water in their Ditches rather than Superstition or Custom, than from any other Reason, which is the more wonderful, since the Crocodiles in those Ditches are not only numerous, but of an extraordinary Size, inasmuch that many of them exceed thirty Feet in Length, and yet the People, who see some or other devoured by them every Day are so stupid as to reverence them as they do the Apes; and this from a firm, as well as foolish Persuasion, that the Souls of such as are devoured by the Crocodiles find the direct Road to Heaven. The Subtlety of these Creatures is very extraordinary. When the People come with their Pitchers to take up Water, they conceal themselves under the great Weed, or under the Reeds, which grow on the Side of the Ditch, and laying hold of the Perlon by the Hand, or by the Foot, pull them to him. Men and Women have been seen in this manner with their Heads and Hands above Water, roaring out for Help, till such time as they were dragged to the Hole where the Crocodile lay, and who was distinctly heard to devour them. Remonstrances having been once made to the King on that Subject, he ordered the largest Crocodile, and which was known to have done most Mischief, to be taken and killed. This Creature was of an enormous Size, and of a most terrible Appearance. After his Death there were not so many People killed as before; and it seems not a little wonderful, that they did not pursue the Education of these Animals for the Preservation of the Inhabitants. It is observed here, that though the Elephant, which is a very hot Creature, not only drinks out of those Ditches, but frequently goes into them to cool and refresh himself; yet the Crocodiles never venture to attack him, which is supposed to be owing to the Bigness of the Creature; for it is observed, that the Crocodile is as cowardly as it is cruel."

Peter Vanden Broek tells us, that on the Coast of *Caramandel* the Crocodiles are very common in all the Rivers, inasmuch that the People are afraid to pass them, or to go by Water; and this with great Reason, since while he was there there were several, both Men and Women, devoured by them. In the Island of *Java*, when the Dutch first visited it, the Rivers were full of Crocodiles, and People were often devoured by them; yet the Chinese, who lived

¹ Hist. Gen. des Indes, lib. iv.

² Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 26.

³ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 606.

⁴ Idem. ibid.

⁵ Idem. ibid.

⁶ Idem. ibid.

⁷ Idem. ibid.

⁸ Idem. ibid.

⁹ Idem. ibid.

¹⁰ Idem. ibid.

¹¹ Idem. ibid.

¹² Idem. ibid.

¹³ Idem. ibid.

¹⁴ Idem. ibid.

¹⁵ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 26. where he tells us, that *Marcus Silius* was the first who

¹⁶ *Strabo*, lib. xv. p. 606.

¹⁷ *Idem. ibid.*

¹⁸ *Idem. ibid.*

¹⁹ *Idem. ibid.*

²⁰ *Idem. ibid.*

²¹ *Idem. ibid.*

²² *Idem. ibid.*

²³ *Idem. ibid.*

²⁴ *Idem. ibid.*

²⁵ *Idem. ibid.*

²⁶ *Idem. ibid.*

²⁷ *Idem. ibid.*

²⁸ *Idem. ibid.*

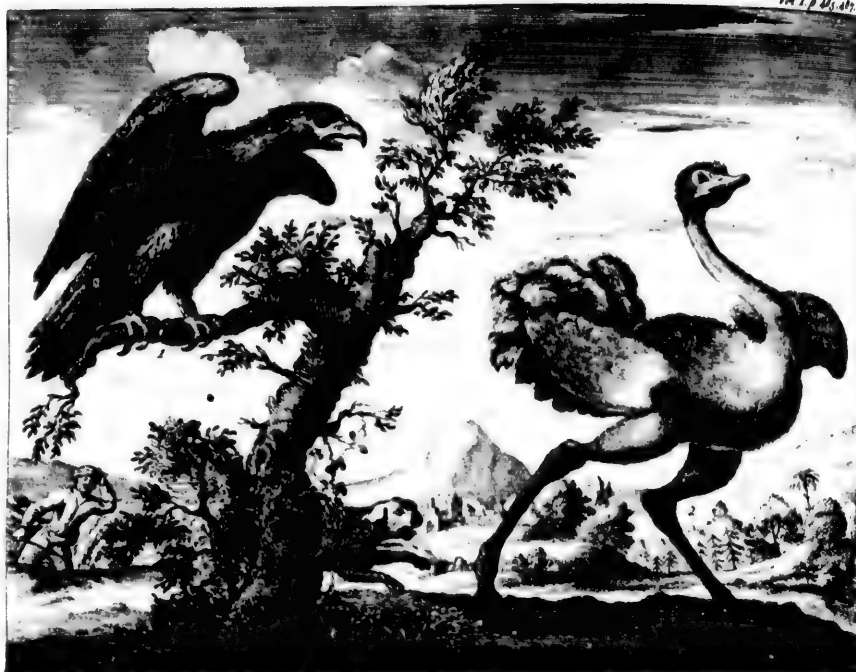
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1. The large Indian Eagle described by Aristotle and other Writers of Natural History, with the *Lapis Lazuli* or stone found in its nest. 2. The Ostrich in its common posture in running.



3. The Emu or Cassowary a Bird of a very singular Kind found in Sumatra, Banda, and the Moluccas. 4. The Water Pelican or *Oncorhynchus* of Pliney from a Painting taken from the Life.

in that Island, had the Secret of taming them, fattened, and afterwards killed and eat them; which will appear the less strange, when we are told, that *Aristotle* relates the same Thing as done in his Time in *Egypt*¹. In the Island of *Ceylon*² they are much infested with Crocodiles, which the *Portuguese* call *Lagartos*, they are generally about eighteen Feet long, and the Inhabitants of that Country report, that they have a Stone in their Head, which is a Specifick for all gravelly Complaints, and is even capable of dissolving the Stone.

The *Arabians* call this Creature *Temsa*, the *Persians* *Nibink*, the *Turks* *Loui*, and the *Chinese* *Tiben*; they all agree, that they are as long-lived as a Man; and this seems to account for their monstrous Size, since I do not find, that what the Ancients relate of their growing as long as they live is disputed by the Moderns; and that in *India* they should be larger than in any other Country, may be accounted for from two Causes, the first is, the Heat of the Climate, which is allowed to have a great Effect on such kind of Animals; the second is, the preposterous Reverence shewn to these destructive Creatures in many Places, by which they are preserved to a greater Age, and consequently arrive at a larger Size than in other Countries, where the People have Wisdom and Resolution enough to rid themselves of these Monsters.

9. The *Ganges*, and as some antient Writers report, the River *Indus* also nourishes in it a Worm or rather Serpent, of a most singular kind, considering either its Form or its Properties; its Skin is of a dark blue, from whence it receives its Name *Cynocoides*; it is in Length six Cubits: *Pliny* by some Error sure in the transcribing, has sixty Cubits, and is about two Foot round; it has but one Tooth in each Jaw, which is about four Inches long, with which laying hold of whatever Animal comes to drink at the River, whether Horse, Cow, Camel or Elephant, it pulls them under Water, and there tears to pieces and devours them, the Entrails only excepted.

This dreadful Creature is caught with a Hook hid under the Belly of a Sheep or Goat, and the Use made of it when dead, is to the full as singular as what is related of it while living. The Fishermen after it is caught hang it up by the Tail in the open Air, where, by the Heat of the Sun, in the Space of three Weeks it consumes into a kind of Oyl, which has this singular Quality, that it takes Fire of itself if exposed to the Air, and is absolutely unextinguishable. It was for this Reason, that the Emperors of Persia who were Masters of the Provinces bordering upon the River *Indus*, and the *Indian* Princes, Successors to *Saudracottus*, who were in Possession of the same Provinces after the Successors of *Alexander* quitted their Claim to them, reserv'd all this Oil for their own Use, and employ'd it in Time of War to set the Gates of any City on Fire, which they intended to take by Storm³.

This Serpent appears to have been at least as strong, and at the same time much more fierce, than the Crocodile; which, as we have heard, never ventur'd to attack the Elephant. The original Writer of this strange Story, was *Ctesias*⁴, who was told it at the *Persian* Court, where perhaps they had some such Oil brought from the *Indies* with this Fable tack'd to it, to make it esteem'd more valuable; which from numerous Instances we have shewn, was a common Artifice of these People to fright other Nations from making any Expeditions into their Country. The Reader may perhaps be surpriz'd at my supposing it possible, that there should be any such Oil; and therefore I think myself oblig'd to mention my Reason for it: Our Chymists have a Secret of making a black Powder which is called *Pulvis Infernalis*, that will take Fire by being expos'd to the open Air, and therefore, I see nothing absurd in admitting, that there might be an Oily Composition which had the same Quality. It is also certain, that the *Greeks* had a kind of Wild-fire of the same Nature, which they employ'd in burning the Ships of the *Saracens* when they block'd up the Port of *Constantinople*.

It is certain, that none of our modern Travellers mention any Thing, that has the least Relation to this extraordinary Creature; but in all Probability, the Accounts given us by these ancient Writers, took Rise from some of those Water-Serpents that are common in the Mouths of most Rivers in the *Indies*, of which we have spoken before under the Head of Dragons, and of these great Numbers are brought down into the Sea on the Coast of *China*, as they are also by the Rivers that run thro' the *Terra Australis*, or the *Southern-Continent*, as we observ'd before in the Account given of Captain *Abel Tasman's* Voyage for the Discovery of that Country; and if there be any Probability in the Arguments drawn by *Philostratus*, of the Likeness of *Aethiopia* to the *Indies*, from the Resemblance between the *Nile* and the *Indus*, we might from hence infer, that there is a like Correspondence between the Climates of the *Southern-Continent* and the *Indies*.

The same *Philostratus*⁵, differs from other Writers as to this Serpent in several Circumstances; first, he says, it is found in the River *Hypophates*, next, he affirms it to be white; and lastly, he says nothing of its Teeth or of its Fierceness. *St. Ambrose*⁶ mentions another very singular Worm in the *Ganges*, which he says looks at first like a long Pipe, with the Horns of the Animal appearing at one End; then it changes to a Sort of Worm, rolls itself up soon after in a Ball or Cafe, like that of the Silk-Worm, and when it comes out from thence, puts on the Appearance of a Butterfly. He adds, that from the Ball they draw a kind of Silk, of which are made the finest Stuffs in the Country; but, this too, if any such Creature there be, is not known to the Moderns, which is the more extraordinary, because it is generally believed that we are much better acquainted with the Manufactures of the *Indies*, than the Ancients; so that upon the whole, I am apt to suspect, that this is no more than a mistaken or erroneous Account of the Silk-Worm.

It cannot, however, be amiss, to preserve all these Relations, because however improbable or even incredible, they may appear, yet it is not impossible, that there may be something of Truth at the bottom, even of the most extravagant Relations. This at least is certain, that for many Ages the *Indians* concealed not only the Sources of their Riches, but the Secret of their Manufactures, and especially that of Silk, as we shall have Occasion to shew at large; and it is no less certain, that in order to conceal them, they invented a Multitude of Fables, with which for a long Time they impos'd upon the World. One would suspect that something of this Spirit remains still among the *Chinese*, from the improbable Accounts that are given us by the Missionaries, of that Country, and every thing in it; but more of this in its proper Place; at present, we have done with the Animals that inhabit the Water, and are next to examine the Volatiles of the *Indies*.

10. The Eagle is generally considered by all Naturalists, as the King of Birds, which Title is supposed to have been bestowed on this Creature for its superior Strength; for the natural Terror that it strikes into the whole feather'd Race, and for the Boldness of its Flight in which it soars higher than any Bird whatever⁷. It was very possibly, the Consideration of these Properties, that induced *C. Marius* when a second Time Consul, in the Year after the Building of *Rome* 650, and the Year before *Christ* 103, to suppress the Figures of the Wolf, the Minotaur, the Horse, and the wild Boar, which hitherto (as well as the Eagle) had been borne on the Roman Ensigns, in Order to substitute the Figure of the Eagle, with her Wings half display'd in their Stead, as an Emblem more significant than any, or than all the former, and more capable of exciting the Ardour, Courage, and Emulation of the Soldiers, than any that could be devised; and this Alteration of his was sufficiently justified by the Event⁸.

Pliny distinguishes six kind of Eagles, among which however, he allows only one to be the true Royal Eagle,

¹ *De Hist. Animal. Lib. ix. chap. 1.*

² *Gaspard Balduin's Description of the Island of Ceylon, chap. 3.*

³ *Eliaen Lib. v. chap. 3.*

⁴ *Ideu*

⁵ *In Indica No. 27.*

⁶ *In Vit. Apollon. Lib. 3. cap. 1.*

⁷ *Hexameron Lib. v. cap. 23.*

⁸ *Aristot. de Hist. Animal. lib. ix. Plin.*

⁹ *Hist. Nat. lib. x. cap. 4. Eliaen. de Animal. lib. ii. Horat. lib. iv. Od. 3. Natal. Com. Mytholog. lib. i. p. 85.*

¹⁰ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. cap. 4.*

Where he observes that seldom or never, any Corps of Roman Troops encamp'd with fewer than two Eagles. But *Aristomachus* had long before this borne an Eagle on his Buckler, as we are informed by *Pausanias*, lib. iv. p. 319.

of which we are now to speak. It is a very difficult Thing to assign the true Size of this Bird, because the Records of History, and the Experience of later Ages do not very well agree. The Antients report, that the Eagle is very long-lived, so as to reach a full Century, and to grow as long as he lives, which if certain, might induce us to believe what *Albanius* tells us, that at the Inauguration of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, there were Eagles carried in the Procession, the Wings of which when extended, measured thirty Feet¹. A modern Naturalist assures us², that not far from *Dresden* in *Saxony*, an Eagle's Nest was discovered, in which there were three young Birds full fledged, but not quite able to fly, tho' their Wings expanded reached seven Yards. But in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at *Paris*³, there is a large Account of a She-Eagle dissected there, which falls very far short of what is mentioned in the former Relations; for this Bird measured but two Foot nine Inches from the Beak to the Tail; the Extent of her Wings was but seven Feet, and the whole Weight of the Bird no more than ten Pounds. In all Probability this was a very small Eagle, and perhaps not of any of those Sorts mentioned by the Antients, who agree very well in their Accounts, and particularly in this, that the *Indian* Eagles excelled the rest in Courage and Strength, and consequently in Size.

The same Writers observe, that this Bird has a very brisk Eye, which is fixed pretty deep in the Head, covered in some Measure by the Bone which projects over it, and strengthened by a Membrane of a singular Texture, being made up of several small Scales. The Ball of the Eye is of a bright Iliabell, and has all the Life and Beauty of a Topaz. The Tongue of the Eagle is not pointed like that of other Birds, but in a manner square, of a sort of cartilaginous Substance with two hard Points at the Bottom like the Barbs of the Head of an Arrow. The Wind-pipe of this Animal is prodigiously strong, and in breathing is distended to such a Degree, as to be near two Inches in Diameter. Its Bones are very thick and hard and have scarce any Marrow: Its Brain is said to be of so hot a Nature, as when given in Powder to occasion Madness: Its Blood is very thick, and in a Manner fibrous: Its Gall sharp, penetrating, and capable of eating into whatever it touches, and its very Feathers are of such a corrosive Quality, that they destroy if mixed with them, the Feathers of other Birds⁴.

The Voracity of the Eagle is so great, that it requires a considerable Extent of Country to furnish Prey sufficient for his Subsistence; and hence it is observed, that two Eagles never live near each other. *Aristotle* and *Pliny* tell us, that when the young Eagles grow up and begin to fly, the old ones not only drive them from their Airies, but also force them to quit the adjacent Country⁵. These voracious Birds not only prey on all Sorts of large Fowl, but hunt also Rabbits, Hares, Sheep, Goats and Fawns, which they kill and carry away. We have an Account from *Ælian*⁶, of an Eagle of extraordinary Size, which ravaged Part of the Island of *Crete*, and was so furious, that he hunted Bulls and Oxen, as well as smaller Creatures: The Manner in which he destroyed them was this, he fixed his Talons betwixt their Horns, and then began to tear their Heads with his Beak, and often covering their Eyes with his Wings; the Creatures mad and blind, ran as fast as they were able, till they either fell over Precipices, or stuck fast in some Morass, where the Eagle tore out their Bellies, and having thus killed them, devour'd them at his Leisure.

As this Creature lives entirely on the Flesh of Animals, he tastes no Liquid but their Blood, and never drinks Water but when he is sick. It is said that the Stork is the only Creature able to resist him; and in one of the old Poets we have a large Description of a Battle between these Birds, in which, however, there is a greater Appearance of Imagination than Reality⁷. Other Animals are so fearful of the

Eagle, that they tremble at his Cry; and even the Dragon is said to retire for Shelter to his Den. The Sea Eagle hovers over that Element, or over the Lakes, and darts with prodigious Force into the Water, seize the Fish in their Talons, carry them on Shore and devour them; 'tis for this Reason that the *Indians* prosecute them with a cruel and never ceasing War, and are said to destroy them with burning Arrows.

One of the most singular Qualities of this Bird is, the Capacity he has of beholding without Inconvenience the Sun in his Meridian Lustre; and of this Property he is so jealous, as to destroy (if the Antients say Truth) such of its Progeny as wink, when in their Nests the old one turns their Heads towards the Sun⁸. But with respect to the young ones that are able to bear this Trial, the Eagles cherish them with as much Tenderness as any other Bird, and defend them with the most obstinate Resolution in case any Attempt be made to take them. They fly round their Nest, and vary their Flights for the Instruction of their Young; and afterwards taking them on their Backs, they soar with them aloft in order to try their Strength, shaking them off into the Air; and if they perceive them too weak to sustain themselves, they with surprising Dexterity fly under them again, and receive them on their Wings to prevent their Fall. The Eagle is supposed to be the only sort of Bird indued with this kind of Infinité, and this serves to explain one of the boldest and most beautiful Similes in the Sacred Writings⁹.

The young Eagle, perfected by such Instructions, wags his Flight into the superior Regions of the Air, and notwithstanding his great Bulk, frequently soars out of Sight, flying always directly towards the Sun. Hence is derived the Fancy of the Poets, that *Ganymede* was carried by an Eagle up to Heaven, and there became the Cup-bearer of the Gods; and hence also another Notion took Rise, that the Souls of Heroes were in like manner conveyed to the Celestial Regions¹⁰. It is pretended, that the true Reason why some of the young Eagles are not able to bear the piercing Light of the Sun is their having some Defect in their Eye-lids; for it is said, that they are furnished by Nature with two Membranes for this Purpose, one of which we have before spoken, which covers the Eye, and shuts out the Light entirely, the other of a thinner and more delicate Texture, which being drawn over the Eye, preserves it from being any way injured by the strongest Rays of Light¹¹. It is however very remarkable, that in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at *Paris*, relating to the Dissection of this Bird, there is nothing said of this second and thinner Membrane, though the Eye and the other icaly Membrane are very accurately described¹².

In this, however, all Writers antient and modern agree, that the Eagle is not at all incommoded by the Sun-beams, and that it is very probable he renews his Strength, or preserves his Youth by touring so near that Fountain of Light and Heat. We are particularly told by some Writers, that once every ten Years he makes an unusual Progress in his Journey, and that for this Reason: He finds his Wings and other Feathers heavy and unfit for flying, which induces him to rise with all his Force, in order to reach as near the Sun as possible; and having thus heated his Plume excessively, he drops at once into the Sea, after which all his Feathers fall off by degrees, and others succeed them¹³.

Ælian assures us, that the Eagle is exceedingly grateful¹⁴, an Instance of which he gives us in a Bird of that kind, which attended the great Conqueror *Pyrrhus* all his Life, and which he was wont to feed with his own Hand; and which after the Death of that illustrious Person, refused to take any Nutriment from another Hand, but chose rather to starve. He mentions likewise another Fact still more remarkable, which is, that an Eagle flew into the Funeral Pile of one by whom it was brought up, and was there consumed with the dead Body of his Benefactor.

¹ *Deipnosophist. lib. v.* ² *Jonston Theatr. Animal. Tom. i. p. i.* ³ *Memoirs de l'Acad. Royal des Sciences Tom. iii. p. ii. p. 89.* ⁴ *Ælian. ubi supra* ⁵ *Aristot. de Hist. Animal. lib. ix. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. x. c. 4.* ⁶ *Ælian. lib. ii. c. 40.* ⁷ *Lucian. Civ. Bel. lib. ix. c. 20.* ⁸ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. 4.* ⁹ *Ælian. lib. ii. c. 40.* ¹⁰ *Lucian. Civ. Bel. lib. ix. c. 20.* ¹¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. 4.* ¹² *Ælian. lib. ii. c. 40.* ¹³ *Lucian. Civ. Bel. lib. ix. c. 20.* ¹⁴ *Ælian. lib. ii. c. 40.* ¹⁵ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. 4.* ¹⁶ *Ælian. lib. ii. c. 40.* ¹⁷ *Lucian. Civ. Bel. lib. ix. c. 20.* ¹⁸ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. 4.* ¹⁹ *Ælian. lib. ii. c. 40.* ²⁰ *Lucian. Civ. Bel. lib. ix. c. 20.* ²¹ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. 4.* ²² *Ælian. lib. ii. c. 40.* ²³ *Lucian. Civ. Bel. lib. ix. c. 20.* ²⁴ *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. 4.* ²⁵ *Ælian. lib. ii. c. 40.* ²⁶ *Lucian. Civ. Bel. lib. ix. c. 20.* ²⁷ *Plin. Hist. 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Aristotle assures us *, that the Eagle lives to a great Age, and is at last starved to Death; the upper Bill growing over the under in such a manner as that the Bird can receive no sort of Sustainance. In the *Persian* Language the Eagle is called *Hemai*, that is to say, the Royal Eagle, which is held in a manner sacred throughout the East, because they are persuaded, that though this be the boldest and fiercest of all Birds, yet it injures no Creature living, but feeds upon Bones that it finds in the Deserts *. But we must have a care to distinguish this Royal Eagle from the Ossifrage or Bone-breaker, which is another kind of Eagle that lives chiefly on Shell-fish, as also on Carrion, and is reported to have frequented Church-yards, and to have torn open the Graves in order to feed upon the dead Bodies.

It is necessary before we leave this Subject to mention the Eagle-Stone, or *Lapis Aëtiæ*, as it was called by the Antients. This was held to be found in the Eagles Nest; and *Pliny* says †, that there were generally two without, which the Eagle could not hatch. That Writer says there are four sorts of Eagle-Stones, the first bred in *Africa*, small and soft, with a little Piece of white Clay included within it, which had a very pleasant Smell; and this was said to be the Female Eagle Stone. The second was found in *Arabia* of the Size of a Walnut, and of a reddish Colour; it had also a little Stone in the middle, and was accounted the Male. The third was found in *Cyprus*, which resembled those found in *Africa*, but was broader and flatter. The fourth was called *Taphiusus* from the Region in which it was found, and was soft like Clay. These Eagle-Stones, of which I have one before me, are in truth little bigger than a Hazle-Nut, of a greyish Colour, and have another Stone within them which rattles. They are light, and seem to be some kind of Vegetable petrified, having a black Spot at one End, as if they had been broken off from a Stalk. *Pliny* says they were much esteemed for their Medicinal Virtue, which consisted in making the Female of every kind of Animal go its full Time with Young. At the Time of Delivery, however, it was to be removed, for otherwise they held that the Creature could not be delivered; and this Notion prevailed in the last Century, when these Stones were sold at a great rate; but at present such Notions are out of Date, and considered as mere Fictions.

11. After the Eagle the Ostrich was the Bird most considered in the *Indies* on account of its large Size, the Singularity of its Shape, and other extraordinary Qualities. The Antients thought its Neck and Head resembled those of a Camel, the Eyes sparkling, the Beak blunt, and the Nostrils very wide *. The Neck, the Head, and the Thighs of this Creature, is without Feathers; the Legs remarkably strong, and the Feet cleft or divided into two Toes. There were some Years ago no less than eight of these Birds exhibited at *Paris*, of which *M. Perrault* has given us a Description. They were seven Feet high from the Ground to the Top of the Head, that is to say, four from the Flat of the Back to their Feet, and three from the rising of the Neck to the Top of their Heads, from the Rump to the Head, the Neck being extended in a right Line from the Back, they were six Feet in Length. The Tail about a Foot, the Wing without the Feathers a Foot and a half, and with the Feathers three Feet. It is of the Feathers of the Ostrich that the Plumes heretofore worn on the Helmet, and the Feathers now used in Hats, are made. As they grow on the Bird they are alternatively white and black, or black and grey †.

Almost all other Birds have two sorts of Feathers, one downy and soft to keep them warm, and defend them from Water; the other strong and stiff, to assist them in flying. In the Ostrich, however, it is quite otherwise; for tho' the Feathers of this Bird be long, yet the Substance is downy and soft, which, notwithstanding, does not seem to keep them very warm, neither do they enable them to fly. There is another thing remarkable in their Feathers, because they likewise differ therein from those of other Birds. The latter have more of the feathery Substance on one Side of the

Quill than on the other, and on both Sides so ranged, as to end in a kind of Point. In the Feathers of the Ostrich the Quill runs directly through the middle, and the End is in a manner round. To apprehend this the better, it is necessary to observe, that the former kind of Mechanism is of great Use in flying, for these two Reasons; first, that the Air resists the Stroke of the Wing powerfully, and thereby enables the Bird to rise; the second, that the Air makes the least possible Resistance in the shutting of the Wing for the next Stroke, so that the Bird loses little of that Advantage which she gained by the former Stroke. It is for the same Reason that the Quill extends to the very Extremity of the Feathers, so that the Wing forms a kind of Arch when expanded, by which means the Bird presses upon, and is sustained by the Air gathered under it. But there is nothing of this kind observable in the Structure of the Feathers of the Ostrich, which are not connected to each other, but lie loose on each Side of the Quill, and are not at all stiff or gummy like those of other Birds.

Hence *Aristotle* long ago observed ‡, that the Feathers of the Ostrich resembled more the Hair of Beasts than the Plumage of other Fowls, that is to say, were rather contrived to cover the Body, than to assist the Bird in her Flight. To say the Truth, this Animal, as *Aristotle* rightly observes, is incapable of raising itself from the Ground; but then it runs at a great rate, so that they hunt it with Grey-hounds, the Huntsmen mounted on fleet Horses bred on purpose to the Sport.

The Antients were of Opinion, that the Wings of the Ostrich was one great Cause of its Swiftnes; but the *French* Author before cited has taken a great deal of Pains to shew from the Structure of the Feathers, that they cannot possibly have any such Effect, because they are intirely destitute of the Qualities requisite for that Purpose, which though contrary to the Sentiments of ancient Naturalists, was, however, a thing known long ago to some of the Curious §. It has been likewise asserted, that the Ostrich had an Instinct in gaining the Wind, which by swelling its Wings, forced the Creature along at a great rate; but modern Experience contradicts this likewise, and it is generally affirmed, that this Bird very seldom runs with the Wind, but on the contrary is often in danger of falling, by running opposite thereto when the Gale is brisk. It is notwithstanding generally allowed, that the Ostrich throws Stones behind her in her Flight with equal Agility and Force.

The Inside of this Animal is, to the full, as curious and remarkable as the Out. The Stomach of this Bird is about fifteen Inches long, and eight wide, separated by a muculous Piece of Fleth, which, in the Middle, may be two Inches thick, or somewhat more. In these two Cavities were found considerable Quantities of Grass, Hay, Barley, Beans, Bones, and Flints, some of which were of the Bigness of a Hen's Egg, together with seventy Pieces of little copper Money, of the Size of our Farthings. The greater Part of these were Three-fourths consumed by their rubbing one against another, and against the Flints, and not by any acid Spirit which had corroded them; which manifestly appeared from hence, that whereas one Side was quite smooth and polished, by continually rubbing; the other, being preserved by its lying hollow, had the Impression quite fair.

All that was contained in the Stomach of the Creature, whether Stones, Bones, or Beans, were all over of a greenish Colour. The antient Naturalists, therefore, had certainly no Idea of the true Manner in which Stones, Iron, and such like Things were consumed in the Stomach of the Ostrich, since, they plainly assert, that this was done by some particular Quality in the Juices; so that, as the Stomachs of other Creatures were fitted for the Dissolution of Fish, raw Fleth, and Bones, that of the Ostrich had the peculiar Power of consuming Metals and Stones. For, if the Stomach of this Animal had any singular or particular Quality of digesting Metals, they would, most certainly, be digested in the same Manner as other

* De Hist. Animal. lib. ix. cap. 1. † Herib. Biblioth. Orient. p. 456. ‡ Hist. Nat. lib. x. cap. 3. lib. xxxiv. cap. 21. § Aristot. de Part. Animal. lib. iv. cap. 14. Pliny. Hist. Nat. lib. x. cap. 1. ¶ Memoirs de l'Academie, Tom. iii. p. iii. p. 113. * De Part. Animal. lib. iv. cap. 1. † Aristot. de Hist. Animal. lib. iv. cap. 4. yet as to its prodigious Swiftnes, the Author of the Book of Job observes, xxxix. 18. "When the Ostrich stretcheth herself on high, she scorneth the Horse, and his Rider."

Food is digested, that is by melting and dissolving them into a Liquid; whereas Experience shews us, that this Operation is performed in the Stomach of the Ostrich in the same Manner as it would be performed out of it, if Pieces of Copper were to be rubbed and bruised with a Mixture of acid Herbs, and by the Help of rough Bodies. It is, therefore, highly probable, that the Ostrich, being a voracious Animal, has occasion to swallow hard Things to assist in bruising and consuming its Food, and that abusing this Instinct of Nature, it swallows Iron and Copper, which, instead of answering that Intention, becomes poisonous, and turns to the Destruction of the Animal. This seems to be put quite out of Dispute, by a Fact which has been attested by those who have the Care of the *Menagerie at Versailles*, who affirm, that when the Ostriches kept there, have swallowed considerable Quantities of Copper and Iron, they have died soon after; and therefore they have had Orders given them to hinder People from throwing Nails or Pieces of Copper to these Birds^a.

The hot Constitution of this Creature, may be very well supposed to contribute not a little to its Fruitfulness. The Ostrich lays, generally speaking, Four-score Eggs in a short Space of Time, each of them weighing twelve or fifteen Pounds, so that one is sufficient to serve six or seven People for a Meal^b. The Shell of these Eggs is very near as hard as a Stone, so that it cannot be for fear of breaking them, that the Ostrich abandons them, and leaves them to be hatched by the Heat of the Sun, as the common Opinion is; but either from Forgetfulness, as she lays every Egg in a different Place, or from a certain kind of Instinct, which is therefore made a very proper Symbol of Cruelty^c; not that it is really so in itself, because the young Ostriches do not stand in Need of their Parents Care: But that it appears so in the Eyes of Men; and by Comparison with the Tenderness of other Animals, and of other Fowls especially.

The Fact, upon which this Observation is grounded, is sufficiently made out by the Multitude of Ostriches that are seen in those Countries where they inhabit. Such as several Islands in the *East-Indies*, a great Part of *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Africa*, and *South-America*, in all which Countries there are large Deserts, in which they multiply exceedingly.

The *Arabians* are said to be so credulous, that, as an eminent Traveller informs us, they are content to believe that the Ostriches hatch their Young by looking at them. I will give the Reader the Story in his own Words. "We read, says he, in an old *Arabian* Manuscript, that when this Fowl would hatch her Eggs, she does not cover them as other Fowls do, but both the Male and Female contribute to hatch them by the Efficacy of their Looks only; and, therefore, when one has Occasion to go to look for Food, it advertises its Companion by its Cry, and the other never stirs during its Absence, but remains with its Eyes fixed upon the Eggs, till the Return of its Mate, and then goes, in its Turn to look for Food: And this Care of theirs is so necessary, that it cannot be suspended for a Moment, for if it should, their Eggs would immediately become addle."

This Story, no doubt, is fabulous; but why do I say so, when, at the Bottom, the *Arabians* believe no more of it than we do? In reality, it is no more than a parabolical Fiction, to express the perpetual Attention of Providence, in which the Egg represents the Universe, and the parental Inspection of the Ostrich, the continual Interposition of the Father of all Things for its Preservation. Thus, in the Letter, this Story is idle and foolish, and so are most Fables; but the Interpretation or Moral is noble and just.

The *Ethiopians* eat the Eggs of this Bird, and esteem them the most exquisite Food that can be, and the common People eat the Flesh of the Ostrich in all Countries where they are found; though it is admitted, that it

is dry, and very indifferent; but there must, probably, have been something very exquisite in the Relish of its Brains, since the Emperor *Heliogabalus* caused several Plates filled with this Sort of Food to be served at one of the Entertainments that he gave to the Nobility of *Rome*, of which it was common for him to ransack the whole Empire for Dainties. We learn also from *Alian*^d, that to the Time in which he wrote, the *Indian* Princes esteemed the Brains of the Ostrich, one of the greatest Delicacies their Country produced.

12. The *Phoenix* is the Theme on which the *Greek* Writers seem to have exhausted their Eloquence; and that with so good Success, as, in some measure, to have imposed on the wisest of the *Latin* Writers. The Author of this Fiction, at least, as high as we are able to trace it, was *Herodotus*^e; and yet he does not deserve to be treated as a fabulous Writer, for what he has left us upon this Subject, since he acknowledges fairly, that he knew nothing more of this Bird than from Report and from Picture. On his Authority, however, the Story was so often repeated, that, by Degrees, it gained Credit with the learned as well as the Vulgar, inasmuch that *Pliny*^f gives us a long and plausible Account of it.

"The Birds of *India*, says he, are most of them of different Colours, and such as a Man can hardly describe. But the *Phoenix* is the most noble of all; neither know I whether it be a Fable or a Truth, that there is but one in the World, and that but rarely seen. It is said to be of the Size of an Eagle, its Neck as resplendent as Gold, the Body of a deep Purple, the Tail composed of blue Feathers, mixed with red, the Head adorned with a beautiful Tuft of different Colours. *Manilius*, a noble *Roman* Senator, distinguished by his Excellence in every kind of Learning, was the first who wrote at large of this singular Bird; and by him it is reported, that the *Phoenix* is never seen to eat: That, in *Arabia*, this Bird is held sacred to the Sun; that he lives Six hundred and sixty Years, and that finding himself old and beginning to decay, he builds himself a Nest with the Twigs of *Cassia*; and having filled that Nest with Frankincense and other Aromatics, he therein expires. But from his Bones and Marrow is produced a little Worm, which, in Time, becomes a young *Phoenix*; and the first Thing it does, is to celebrate the Funeral of its Parent, by transferring the whole Nest to the City of the Sun, which is near *Panchaia*, and leaving it there upon the Altar. The same *Manilius* reports, that the great Year agrees exactly with the Term of this Bird's Life, when the heavenly Bodies return to their first Points, and the Seasons revolve again in their former Order, this Year commencing at *Noon*, when the Sun enters the Sign *Aries*. According to his Computation, therefore, this great Year began when *P. Licinius*, and *M. Cornicius* were Consuls; but *Cornelius Valerianus* writes, that *Quintius Plautius*, and *Sextus Papinius*, being Consuls, the *Phoenix* appeared in *Egypt*. It is also said, that this Bird was brought to *Rome* when *Claudius* was Censor, that is, in the Year of the City Eight-hundred, and was openly shewn in a full Assembly, as the public Records attest, but in this respect falsely, nobody at this Time doubts."

Such is the Account given us by *Pliny*; yet in such general Estimation was this Story grown, that *Pope Clement*^g in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, written in the Name of the Church of *Rome*, makes use of this History of the *Phoenix* to prove to them the Possibility of the Resurrection; the Passage is very curious, and therefore I shall transcribe it for the Entertainment of the Reader. "Let us, says he, consider that Prodigy which happens in the East, where they behold a certain Bird called the *Phoenix*, which is the single Bird of its Species. This Animal lives five hundred Years, and when it perceives its End approaching, it makes a Nest of Myrrh, Incense, and other Aromatics, in which it seats itself, and after a

^a *Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences*, as before cited.

where this Bird is common.

^b *Buchart. Hiern.* p. 1. lib. 1. cap. 3.

^c *P. Varro, Relat. d'Egypte.* p. 103.

^d *Alian. lib. ii. cap. 27.*

^e *Herodotus.* lib. ii. cap. 2.

^f *Pliny.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^g *Clement.* lib. i. N. 25.

and all the modern Travellers thro' *Comien* Lamentations of *Jeremiah* lv. 3. "The Daughter of my People is become cruel, like the Ostrich in the Wilderness."

^h *Lampridius in Heliogabalo.*

ⁱ *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^j *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^k *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^l *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^m *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

ⁿ *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^o *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^p *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^q *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^r *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^s *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^t *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^u *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^v *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^w *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^x *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^y *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^z *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^{aa} *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^{ab} *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^{ac} *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^{ad} *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

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^{af} *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

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^{ey} *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^{ez} *Strabo.* lib. x. cap. 2.

^{fa} *Strabo.* lib. x. cap

"certain time there, finishes its Days. Out of its Flesh
 "when corrupted, there springs a kind of Worm, which
 "feeding for some time on the Remains of this Animal,
 "begins at length to be covered with Feathers; and when
 "it becomes stronger, it carries away the Nest, which con-
 "tains the Relicks of its deceased Parent, and passing from
 "Arabia into Egypt, bears them to the City of Heliopolis.
 "There in full Day, and in the Sight of a Multitude of
 "Spectators, it flies to the Altar of the Sun, and having
 "thereon deposited its Burden, immediately retires. The
 "Egyptian Priests having consulted their Oracles, and
 "having from them made an exact Computation, find, that
 "this happens precisely at the Close of five hundred
 "Years."

This Fable was not only current in Italy, but in Africa,
 as appears from the Writings of *Tertullian**, who makes
 use of this Example with the same Intention as *St. Clement*.
 The Ancients, however, differed much about the manner
 in which the Phoenix died. According to the former Ac-
 counts, it expired in the ordinary way; but a Multitude of
 Writers affirm, that having raised its Funeral Pile, it set
 Fire thereto, and fanning that Fire with its Wings, was
 therein consumed to Ashes, out of which Ashes arose the
 new Phoenix thus consecrated to the Sun†. The Date of
 its Life was a Point no less controverted. An *Ethiopian*
 Prince, in a Letter of his to a Pope, cited by *Vossius*, says,
 that it lives three hundred Years. *Herodotus*, *Alian*, *Pbi-
 lophrat*, and *Aurelius Victor*, extend the Term of its Life
 to four hundred and forty, or five hundred Years*. *Pliny*,
 on the Authority of *Manilius*, as we have seen before, to
 six hundred and sixty, *Martial* and *Lactantius* to a thou-
 sand; but the *Arabian*, *Egyptian*, and *Rabbinical* Writers,
 far beyond this, in consequence, as they pretend, of its not
 having tasted the forbidden Fruit†.

In the midst, however, of these Contradictions, and
 though several of the ancient Authors freely profess their
 Suspicions of the whole Story, yet *Tacitus** does not seem
 to question the Fact, but rather to admit, that such a Bird
 had been sometimes seen in Egypt; and another Historian
 says, that its coming to Rome was considered as an ill Omen
 by the Augurs, and thought to portend the Death of the
 Emperor *Tiberius*. Father *Martinus*, in his *Chinese Atlas**,
 assures us, that it was seen in China in the Beginning of the
 Reign of *Kaboor IV.* and that it was thought to come from
 the Indies. All the Circumstances of the Story are so ap-
 parently fabulous, that it would be losing time to refute
 them. If the curious Reader has a mind to see this done
 effectually, he may consult Sir *Thomas Browne**, who has
 handled this, as he does every other Subject, with great
 Learning and Capacity; but I have chosen rather to insist
 on the Facts reported by ancient Writers, than to enter into
 a Detail of Arguments, which would extend this Article to
 an extravagant Length, and be at the same time quite beside
 the Purpose.

It may not be amiss, however, before we conclude, to
 say somewhat of the Origin of this Fable, which some have
 imagined arose, or was at least strengthened by the same
 Word, signifying in Greek both the Phoenix and the Palm-
 tree†. Thus much is certain indeed, that a Mistake of this
 kind has brought this Bird into the Scriptures, the Autho-
 rity of which can never be brought to justify such Fables,
 though some, to shew their Learning, are for finding in
 them whatever Facts or Reasons they have a mind to esta-
 blish. The true Source, however, of this Notion, lay like
 that of the Gryphon in the Egyptian Hieroglyphicks. It
 was from the Egyptians that *Palo* and the rest of the An-
 cients borrowed their Notion of the great Year which they
 never fully understood, and the Reigns of their several
 Gods, which have given so much Trouble to our most
 learned Chronologers, were in truth no more than the Pe-
 riods of the Planets, that is to say, the Spaces of Time in
 which they finished, according to the Egyptian System,
 their Revolutions; and this is the true Cause why, after all

the Pains that has been taken about them, the Accounts we
 have are almost as perplexed as ever.

The true Story of the Phoenix, though applied by the
 Christian Fathers to the Resurrection, was by the ancient
 Egyptians understood of another sort of Resurrection; for
 they conceived, that when the great Year of all was accom-
 plished, the Universe was to be destroyed by Fire, and a
 new System arise out of the Ruins of the old. This I con-
 ceive they borrowed from the Indians; at least thus much
 is certain, that this was, and still is, a Principle of their Phi-
 losophy, which, as the learned Dr. *Burnet** of the *Charter-
 house* well observes, they explained by another Symbol, viz.
 that of a Spider, which after spinning various Webs, re-
 fumes them again all into himself, and re-produces the same
 Matter under other Forms; and thus Philosophical Simi-
 litudes, which imperfectly expressed what Reason could
 scarce comprehend, came by the Mistakes of vulgar Minds
 to corrupt natural Philosophy, by introducing imaginary
 Creatures, which never had, or could have, Existence
 according to the Laws of Nature.

13. After the Fable of the Phoenix had been rejected by
 almost all the Learned, it was again in some measure re-
 sumed by the great *Julius Caesar Scaliger**, a Man, whose
 Eminence in all kind of Learning gave him so high a Re-
 putation in the World, that his Opinions were received as
 a kind of Oracles: He thought that the Accounts given
 of a certain Bird found in the Southern Countries of the
 Indies, called *Semenda*, or *Semendal*, had some Relation
 to the Phoenix, and that consequently all that had been ad-
 vanced in relation to this Bird was not absolutely false and
 fictitious.

In order to judge the better of this, it will be requisite to
 enter into the Description of this last mentioned Bird, and see
 how far it accords with that of the Phoenix. The *Semendal*
 is said to have a Triple Bill, or three Bills raised one over
 another, by the Help of which, when he is near her Death,
 she makes a most delightful Harmony. Then forming a
 Pile of odorous Wood, she sets Fire thereto, and fanning
 it with her Wings, suffers herself to be consumed to
 Ashes, out of which a Worm is produced that afterwards
 changes into the same kind of Fowl†.

This is visibly nothing more than the old Fable a little
 varied, and yet it is true enough, that there is in the Island
 of *Java*, and in the Spice Islands belonging to the *Dutch*,
 a kind of Bird that has two Bills, and therefore is called by
 the Inhabitants the *Double Bill*; but as to its singing, I find no
 Evidence to that Point. As it is a Native of the *Moluc-
 cas*, it is very probable that it may make its Nest of Spices;
 but that it consumes itself therein there is no good Testi-
 mony to prove, notwithstanding what the single Traveller,
 on whose Relation the original Fact is grounded, has ad-
 vanced.

It may indeed be alledged, that some Eastern Writers
 have countenanced this Notion by their Relations*; but
 then we know that such Accounts as these are liable to great
 Suspicions, and especially to that of giving an Air of Mat-
 ter of Fact to Parables. On the whole therefore, there is
 just as little Reason to credit the modern Story of the *Se-
 mandal*, as to yield any Belief to what the Ancients have
 related concerning the Phoenix, or to express the thing
 plainly, and in few Words, they are both Fables equally
 destitute of Foundation. It is very hard to discover the
 Motive why even the greatest Men are unwilling to give
 up Authority, when it is directly contrary not only to Rea-
 son, but the Laws of Nature; and yet that this is frequently
 the Case, many Instances might be brought to prove, but
 this before us is more than sufficient; and therefore I shall
 trouble the Reader no farther upon this Subject.

What has been already said was necessary to shew, that
 no Pains have been spared to examine these Points, and to
 set the Truth in a fair Light, which was thought the more
 requisite, because most Writers of Voyages are so much in-
 clined to report strange and wonderful things, and to call

* *De Perseet. Carm. cap. xii. p. 387.*

* See this Matter largely discussed in Father *Hardwin's* Annotations upon *Pliny*.

* *Vossius de*

Idol. lib. iii. cap. 99.

* *Barbati. Hieroz. p. 11. lib. vi. cap. 28.*

* *Idol. lib. vi. cap. 28.*

* *Idol. lib. vi. cap. 28.*

* *Idol. lib. vi. cap. 28.*

* *Barbati. Hieroz. ubi supra.*

* *Barbati. Hieroz. ubi supra.*

* *Barbati. Hieroz. ubi supra.*

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* *Barbati. Hieroz. ubi supra.*

into their Assistance the Relations of the Ancients, that without the Aid of such clear and explicit Commentaries, as we have given, it is simply impossible to cure the Minds of many People of that sort of superstitious Credulity which these kind of Relations naturally induce. And with the Retutation of which, we should have been forced to interrupt the Thread of subsequent Voyages, if we had not once for all dispatched the Subject in this and the foregoing Chapter.

14. The Pelican is a very singular Bird, concerning which the Ancients have written largely, and yet there have been very great Disputes among the Moderns as to the Bird which they have described, the Reason of which, as well as of the Fables current about this Creature, will quickly appear. *Aristotle*¹ and *Ælian*² call it by the same Name, viz. Pelican, or Pelecan; but *Pliny* describes it under the Name of *Onocrotalus*³, yet their Accounts agree so exactly, that there seems to be no Reason to doubt they meant one and the same Bird. The Author last mentioned tells us there is but one thing remarkable in this Creature, which is, that it has a false Stomach, into which it swallows its Prey when first taken, and throws it out again from thence in order to feed upon it.

There are some of these Birds that live mostly on Land, and others that resort constantly to the Waters; yet the Figure of both is the same. There were several of them kept for many Years in *France*, and in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, we have a very distinct Account of them. According to their Description the Pelican is five Foot high from the Beak to its Feet, the Wings when extended eleven Feet from one Extremity to the other. Their Beak about fourteen Inches in Length, and an Inch and an half broad at the End, its Legs fifteen Inches, the longest of its Claws four Inches and a half, the Length of its Neck about ten Inches⁴.

There is scarce any Bird except the Eagle of so great Strength as the Pelican, which is also a Bird of Prey, and flies to a great Height. *Culmanus*, in a Letter of his to *Gesner* the famous Naturalist⁵, tells us of a tame Pelican that soared so high as to appear in the Air no bigger than a Swallow, and which having for a long time attended the Army of the Emperor *Maximilian*, that Prince ordered it to be maintained, and allowed for that Purpose four Crowns a Day, which Bird lived in *Germany* fourscore Years. This Fact is the more credible, because in the Menagery of *Lewis XIV.* there were many Pelicans, and it was observed, that they were the only kind of Birds of which there died not one in the Space of twelve Years. Two of them were by Order of that Prince dissected at *Paris*. The first was intirely covered with white Feathers, except the Wings in which there were some black, and others brown; and in the Feathers on the Body there was a little Mixture of red. The other was altogether of a Flesh Colour, without any Mixture of black or of white Feathers. Some of the rest of the Pelicans in the Menagery were all over grey, except the Extremity of their Wings, which was white. Some had a large Tuft of Feathers behind the Head, and some wanted that Tuft, so that it may be affirmed there are few Birds more differently feathered than this.

But there is one Mark which sufficiently distinguishes this Bird from all others: It has under its Beak a large Bag which is quite naked, and hangs down on its Neck. In this Pouch it keeps its Food till it is properly prepared for Digestion, and then if there be nothing hard or undissolved, it swallows the whole at once; but if there be, it discharges it, and picks out what is easiest for Digestion. *Aristotle*⁶ had observed this long ago; for he tells us, that the Water Pelican was wont to swallow Shell-fish, keeping them in her Stomach till they opened, and then threw them up and picked out the Fish. *Ælian*⁷ says the same thing, which sufficiently proves that we are not mistaken as to this Bird, but that the Pelican known to us is the very same Creature which is described by the Ancients.

The old Fathers of the Christian Church exceeded the Greeks themselves in the Fables they reported upon this Sub-

ject; they had heard that the Pelican fed her young ones out of this Pouch, or false Stomach; and this being told them either imperfectly, or with Addition of some fabulous Circumstances, they from thence framed a Parable or Similitude between this and the most solemn Mystery in the Christian Religion; and to render it the more apt, they devised new Circumstances, and enlarged every Part of the Story to make it answer their Intention the better. The Tale then ran thus; that the Female Pelican killed her young ones by caressing them too much with her Beak, and then mourned over them for three Days, till the Male Pelican becoming still more sensible, tore his Breast open with his Beak, and by the Effusion of his own Blood, restored the young Pelicans to Life⁸. This, without Question, is very wild and extravagant, and has nothing to countenance it in the Works of any of the Naturalists; whence the learned *Vossius*⁹ very justly concludes, that these Stories were invented by such as were in Love with the Allegations and Hieroglyphicks.

We find in the Writings of a very learned German Author, whose Name is *John-George Volkamer*¹⁰, that he saw at the Fair of *Leiden* a Pelican, which the Man who kept it affirmed to have been in his Custody upwards of fifty Years. It was much larger and stronger than an Eagle, but otherwise very like it both in Size and in the Colour of its Feathers, except that from its Head to its Wings it was grown quite white through Age; he assures us, that of all Birds it lives the longest, that it renews its Feathers like the Eagle, and that it often survives to upwards of an hundred. He adds, that its false Stomach, which hangs upon its Neck, is big enough to admit ones Hand, and that he actually thrust his own into the Pouch of the Pelican, where he felt the Food it had taken half dissolved, and so hot, that he was not able to endure it. He tells us likewise, that from thence it feeds its young ones. The Ancients having long ago observed the same thing, thus, as I observed, gave the first Rise to the Stories which have been told of this Bird's feeding its young ones with its Blood: Yet in Fact there is nothing extraordinary in this, since the same thing has been observed of very many, and perhaps might be observed of most Birds who fill their Gizzards full of whatever they meet with when their Females are hatching, and disgorge it again for the Support of the Hen and her Brood.

It is therefore through want of Attention to the Animals in our own Country, that we are so much struck with the Singularities reported by Travellers of the Animals in other Countries, for without doubt, if we examined carefully what passes every Day under our Eyes, we should not only be less apt to be surprized at such Relations, but be also better able to judge how far they ought or ought not to be believed. It is in this Respect that the Study of natural History is exceedingly useful not only by guarding us against Credulity, but enabling us to correct the confused and discordant Accounts given us by such as from a superficial View of Foreign Creatures venture to describe them, and often add such Circumstances from Hearsay as are not to be depended upon, but out of which an intelligent Naturalist will be able notwithstanding to pick the Truth.

15. All who have visited the most Southern Islands of the Indies, particularly *Sumatra Banda*, and the rest of the *Molluccas*, agree in relating some extraordinary Particulars of a very large Bird, common in those Islands, and of which it does not appear that the Ancients had any Knowledge. This Bird the Natives call *Emen*, but the Dutch usually distinguish it by the Name of the *Cajon*. This Creature is thus described by Mr. *John Niebuß*, a Dutch Traveller¹¹, very justly esteemed for the Fidelity and his Exactness of his Relations, and therefore I shall set down his Description in his own Words.

"This Bird, says he, carries his Head very upright, and then it is about five Foot from the Ground; the Length of his Body, from the Breast to the Tail, is about three, or perhaps a little more. The Head appears smaller in Proportion than the Body, and is very

¹ De Hist. Animal. lib. ix. c. 10.

² De Animal. lib. iii. cap. 20.

³ Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. 47.

⁴ Memoirs de l'Acad. Tom. iii.

⁵ p. iii.

⁶ Gesner Ornitholog. lib. iii.

⁷ Hist. Animal. lib. ix. c. 10.

⁸ De Animal. lib. iii. c. 20.

⁹ Physiol. pp. 120.

¹⁰ cap. 8. Aug. in Placit. c. 1. Idor. Origin. lib. xii. c. 7. & Alii.

¹¹ De Indis. lib. iii. c. 84.

¹² Ephem. Nat. Dead. iii. de vi.

p. 247.

¹³ Travels through India.

" smooth,

"smooth, and in Colour of a dark Blue; on the Chest there hangs two Excellences like Bags: The Eyes are large and fierce, behind which are the Ear-holes, and almost at the Extremity of the Bill two Nostrils; and from the Midst of the Bill to the Crown of the Head grows a hard yellow Substance like a Cockle-shell, especially in the Males. They have very long and grofs Legs, covered with a yellowish Rind; their Feet are thick, knobby, and without Spurs; instead of which they have on the Fore-part three long, horny Claws, in which they differ from the Ostrich, whose Feet are cloven both before and behind. They are covered all over with Feathers, or rather Plumes of a dark Red, mixed with Black: These upon the Breast and Thighs grow two and two together; but those on the Tail are of much greater Length, and stronger; underneath the Feathers which grow on both Sides, are hidden certain Pens, which serve them in running; for these Birds are scarce able to raise themselves from the Ground. They are exceeding greedy, devouring every Thing they meet with, even to Iron and burning Coals, all which they evacuate backwards without any Alteration; nay, they sometimes do not throw out what they have eat till a Year after, without the least Signs of any Digestion; for the rest they live upon Herbage. Their Strength consists in their Legs and Feet, and they run so fast that no Man can overtake them; and when exasperated, kick with their Feet backwards and sideways like a Horse. They lay greenish Eggs upon the Ground among the Shrubs, scarce so big as our Hen eggs, speckled with dark green Spots, the Yolks thereof are eaten by the Inhabitants. They have not either Tongue or Tail."

This Bird was first seen in Europe in the Year 1597, when the Dutch brought home one on their Return from their first Voyage to the Indies^a. It had been given them as a great Curiosity by one of the *Javanese* Princes, as a Mark of their Friendship; and the Description of it having made a great Noise in the World, *Lewis XIV.* when he formed his Menagery at *Verfailles* had one sent him in the Year 1671, by the Governor of the Island of *St. Lawrence*, or *Madagascar*, who bought it of some Merchants who touched at that Island in their Return from the Indies. This was the first of its Kind that had been seen in France, and it lived at *Verfailles* about four Years. The King had afterwards several of these Birds sent him, which gave the Members of the Royal Academy an Opportunity of examining and dissecting some of them: The largest was five Foot and a half high, its Legs two Foot and a half, its Head and Neck a Foot and a half, the largest of its Claws five Inches long, and the Nail of its smallest Claw three Inches and a half. The Wing, which was composed only of five bare Quills, was so small that it was entirely covered by the Feathers on its Back. The Head, Neck, and Chest of this Creature were absolutely bare, and the rest of its Body might be more properly said to be covered with Hair than with Feathers: In all other Respects the Description given by them of this Bird, agrees exactly with that which we have before given, and therefore it would be tedious to repeat it, only it may not be amiss to observe, that the Head and Neck are said to have resembled a Turkey-cock's, and to have been spotted with blue, violet, and red, a large Comb behind its Head, and its Gills, instead of hanging immediately under its Beak, appeared on the Bottom of its Neck, where it joined the Breast. In its Size it came nearest to the Ostrich, and was, in every Respect, as greedy and voracious^b.

16. There are, besides these, a great many remarkable Birds in the Indies, of which modern Travellers have given us very exact Accounts; and of these we will mention a few. The *Dronte* is a very singular Creature, and common in all the Southern Parts of the Indies. In Bigness it is betwixt an Ostrich and a large Turkey, and has some Resemblance to the last, in his Feathers and Tail. His Head large, not unlike that of a Cuckoo, but

covered all over with a Skin. The Eyes are large and black, the Neck crooked and very thick, the Bill very long, thick, and of a pale Blue, except towards the Extremities; the uppermost thereof is blackish, and the undermost yellowish, but both Shape and Bent of his Body is very thick and round, covered with soft grey Feathers, like those of an Ostrich. The Belly and upper Parts are so thick as almost to touch the Ground, which is the Reason he is very easily caught. On both Sides he has certain Pens instead of Wings, of a pale Yellow Colour, and, instead of a Tail, five curled Plumes of the same Colour. His Legs short and thick, with four large Claws. The Meat, especially that on the Breast, is fat and pleasant enough, and three or four of these Creatures afford a Meal for one hundred Persons. In his Stomach is sometimes found a certain porous hard Stone^c.

The Cormorant, which is very common in the Island of Java, and indeed in most Parts of the East-Indies, seems to me to be the Water-pelican of the Ancients. They resemble our Geese in Shape, but much exceed them in Size, and have underneath their Beaks a large Bag, which they can extend and draw together at Pleasure, and in it keep such Fish as they have swallowed. Their Feet are like those of the Swan, and their Bills are crooked towards the Extremities. They are so greedy after Prey that they rush out from among the Flags with such Violence, that they are easily taken. They swallow Oysters with their Shells, and keep them in their Bags till they open, when they spew them out again, and pick out the Oyster^d.

If we could depend upon the Accounts given us by the Missionaries of the Birds found in China, we might venture to yield implicit Credit to whatever the Ancients have delivered, their Stories of the Phœnix not excepted; for to say the Truth, the Missionaries affirm of their own Knowledge Things full as strange; and we must either believe these or renounce their Testimony entirely. The Reader shall have an Instance of this from *Father Navarette*, and in his own Words, that we may not seem to justify the Truth of this Observation, by giving an extravagant Turn to what he relates.

"On the Sea-coasts, says he, of the Chinese Islands, there is a very singular Bird called *Tapon*; now what I, and many besides me admire is, that being no bigger in Body than an ordinary Chicken, though its Legs are very long, it lays an Egg larger than that of a Goose; so that the Egg is really bigger than the Bird itself; and no Man living would judge that the Egg could be contained within it: In order to lay its Eggs, it digs in the Sand above a Yard in Depth; after laying it fills up the Hole, and makes it even with the rest: there the Eggs hatch with the Heat of the Sun and Sand. When the Chickens are hatched, by natural Instinct, they break through the Sand upwards; and so get out of that Dungeon their Parent put them into; then they walk directly to the Sea in search of Weeds to feed on. Another Thing in it is wonderful, which is, that they are not stifled when they come out of the Shell with the Heat and Weight of the Sand, how they breathe till they get out, and how they have the Strength to break through so great a Weight. They are Prodiges of the Almighty's making. The Indians, to find these Eggs, stick sharp Canes into the Ground, when they find the Sand light, they stop and throw it up something above the Length of a Man's Arm, and there they find them. They are of a pleasant Relish; one of them is enough for a Man who has a good Stomach; the fatter the Egg the better. One Morning, having lain on Shore, and near the Place where these Birds resorted, we repaired thither carefully, and making a Noise, a great Company of them came out of their Holes, in which we found many Eggs, some hot, some cold, some white, some of the Colour of the Sand, which were stale ones. I had before eaten of the latter, and now eat of those that were fresh and warm; but, in truth, the stale ones were much better. There were

^a *Memoirs de J. le Blanc.*
^b *History of China.*

^c *Voyage aux Indes par J. le Blanc.*

^d *Voyages de*

" among

"among them some which had Chickens, and I observed, that the *Indians* eat them eagerly, and they courted me to eat, but I could not endure to look at them, and it went against my Stomach to see other People eat them. Once they pressed me so much, that at last, not without great Aversion, I resolved to taste one; I did so, and made an End of it, regretting very much that I had not eaten of them before. I must own it, that, since I was born, I never eat any Thing more pleasant and palatable, and I am convinced, there is nothing in the World to compare to it."

There may be, and doubtless there is, a great deal of Truth in this Relation; that is to say, there is such a Bird, its Eggs are very large, and they are eaten as the Author describes; but then every thing is so much exaggerated, that the whole has the Air of a Fable, which shews plainly to how little Purpose large Collections are made of such kind of Writers, since what they relate cannot either entertain or instruct, because it is impossible to read such Stories without suspecting and disbelieving them. But to return to the remarkable Birds mentioned by the Moderns.

All the Writers that have mentioned *Macassar* inform us, that no Country in the World produces so many speaking Birds. Amongst these there is none more extraordinary than the *Lory*, which is as big as a Parrot, but infinitely more beautiful in its Plumage; its Breast, which is very large and high, being covered with bright yellow Feathers; the Wings are green, the Head black, and shining with a yellow Bill. The *Indians* give sometimes thirty Crowns for such a Bird, because they will learn and speak several Languages, and are very tame. There is another with large and long Tails, sometimes three Quarters of a Yard long; these are blue on the Back, and yellow under the Belly, and commonly called *Kakkataws*, or *Indian Ravens*. Another kind there is which is white all over, except a yellow Tuft on the Head, which they set upright when they are vexed: They have also some Resemblance both in Shape and Bigness to our Magpies, or Black-birds; these imitate a Man's Voice much more distinctly than Parrots, they are of a bluish Colour, mixed with dark purple Spots and Streaks; they have a yellow Tuft on the Head, which is black, and as smooth as Velvet*.

The *Kokoy*, which is common in the *Indies*, is a kind of Heron, but much exceeding ours in Beauty, being yellow before, and green over all the rest of its Body. On the Head he has a delicate Plume spreading all over the Neck; the young ones eat tolerably well, but the old ones eat tough, and taste much of Fish. The *Kolibry* is the least of all Birds, being no bigger than a House-Fly, it hath a very sharp Bill, with which it sucks its Sustainance out of the Flowers, though some are of Opinion it feeds upon the Dew; it has all the Colours of the Rainbow, and its Wings are not unlike those of Pigeons or Ducks. It builds a very neat Nest to the South, under the Branches of Orange, Lemon, or Cotton Trees, to defend itself against the Injuries of the North Winds. Its Eggs are no bigger than Pease. There is another which sings exceedingly fine, but

not so beautifully coloured; it weighs no more than 24 Grains*.

17. These Observations plainly discover, that no Part of the World was better stocked with useful, valuable, and beautiful Creatures, than the *Indies*. For Domestic Service, besides the Horse, and the Ass, which are common with us in *Europe*, they had the Elephant, the Camel, and the Dromedary, fitted in every respect for carrying on the inland Commerce of that Country, which was in all Ages very considerable. They had for the Service of Agriculture a very strong Race of black Cattle, and for the Pleasure of Hunting, they had the finest Dogs that we read of in History for Courage, Speed, and Strength. If their Woods were full of wild Beasts, they had it in their Power to lessen the Number of their Enemies; and to turn this to their Profit, as well as to their Diversions, the Skin, Horns, Teeth, or other Animal Productions, sufficiently compensating the Trouble they took, and the Dangers to which they were exposed in the Chase.

The Sea that washed their Coast, and the Rivers that watered their Country, were abundantly provided with Fish, so that no People had either better or greater Plenty, which to the lower sort was a great Relief; they likewise drew a very considerable Profit from their Fisheries, especially those of Purple and Pearl, and from the Sale of Tortoise-Shell, which was highly valued in those times for its admirable Cleanness, and for the Beauty and Variety of its Colours. The Birds and Fowls in the *Indies* were likewise of all sorts, and all of them the largest and finest in their respective kinds. The Birds of Prey, and particularly the Pelican and the Cormorant, were of great Service; for the former feeding naturally upon Snakes, Serpents, and other Vermin, cleared the Country of them in those Months when they were most numerous and most dangerous; and as for the latter, they taught them in *China*, and other Parts of the *Indies*, to catch Fish, and to bring them to such as kept those Creatures, as we shall see hereafter in its proper Place. As for Geese, Ducks, Hens, and other Domestic Fowl, they were, and are still, as common and as cheap as in any Country in the World; and of the beautiful Feathers of a Multitude of other Birds, they made Hats, Umbrellas, Screens, and other Utensils of exquisite Workmanship, and at the same time of great Price.

There is no great Wonder therefore, that all the ancient Writers, such as *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, *Anon*, and many others, should so highly extol this Country, and speak of every thing found therein with Astonishment. Be notwithstanding all this, it must appear somewhat surprising, that the Antients were acquainted with Animals, Trees, Fruits, and Precious Stones, of the most distant Parts of the *Indies*, to which without doubt they never penetrated at all, notwithstanding what we find reported in their Writings of the Islands of *Taprobana*, *Panchia*, the Country of the *Seres*, and other Places, which renders it necessary for us to give a clear Account of that Point, which shall be done in the two succeeding Sections, which will conclude our Labours with respect to the ancient History of *India*.

* *Histoire de Macassar*, lib. i. c. 4.

* *Voyages de P. Pander-Brock*.

SECTION XV.

An Account of the Descriptions left us by the Ancients of the Eastern and Northern Parts of the Indies, the Notions they had of their Riches, together with an Enquiry into the Reasons which hindered the extending their Discoveries on that Side.

1. A brief Description of the Country of the Sine or Thinae from ancient Authors.
2. Observations on the foregoing Description, proving, that this Country was the Kingdom of Siam.
3. Of the Indian Islands, described by old Authors; and more particularly of the famous Island of Taprobana, and their Mistake about it.
4. This Point more particularly inquired into, and the Taprobana of the Ancients shown to be no other than the Island of Ceylon.
5. Of the Country called Serica, and the Nation of the Seres, from the best Writers of Antiquity.
6. An Objection arising from the Knowledge which the Ancients had of the Chinese fully stated, and clearly refuted.
7. A second Objection taken from the Commerce of the ancient Chinese, stated and examined.
8. A third Objection from the seeming Discordancy of these Accounts, explained and refuted.
9. An Account of the Island of Panchaia, and a full Proof of its being absolutely imaginary.
10. The high Ideas which the Ancients had of the Riches of the undiscovered Indies.
11. Their Errors as to the Possibility of establishing a regular Commerce with those Countries.
12. The Causes which impeded their Discoveries, and occasioned the Decline of that Trade which they actually had to the Indies.
13. The Conclusion of this Part of our Subject, with Observations and Remarks on the principal Passages therein.

IN what has been delivered in the former Sections, we have confined ourselves to such Points as regard the actual Discoveries of the Ancients. But it is no less necessary to give the Reader some Account of another sort of Discoveries, I mean such as were made by their Geographers, who by the Help of such Relations, as were from Time to Time published of these distant Countries, and which are long ago lost, compiled a systematical Account of the Regions bordering upon, and even of those that lay very far beyond the Ganges. It is, however, certain, that they were but very indifferently informed as to the Course of this River; and *Cellarius** corrects the Mistake of *Artemidorus* in *Sirabo*, who says, that from the Mountains called *Enodi*, it runs South as far as the Town of *Ganges*, and afterwards East, because it is contrary to the Discoveries of our Times.

The first remarkable Town mentioned by *Ptolemy* beyond the furthestmost Mouth of the *Ganges* was *Pentapolis*, or rather this was the Name of a District, next to that lay the *Emporium*, or Mart of *Laracura*, beyond the Mouth of the River *Tecofanna*, then the Country called *Argentea*, with several Towns; next to that lay the Country of the *Bijygeti*, who were Man-eaters, their capital *Bijynga* an *Emporium*. From hence Southward lay the *Aurea Chersonesus*, now *Malacca*. On the West Side of it *Tacola* an *Emporium*, and on the East Side the Cape *Malei-Colon*, with several Towns. Many are of Opinion, that this was *Sciamon's Opbir*, which seems to be favoured by *Josephus*†, who says, *Sciamon's* Vessels sailed into a Country of *India*, formerly called *Sophira*, but then the *Golden Land*; *St. Jerom* says, it was also in *India*, but calls it an Island.

Bechart‡ alledges it was the Island *Taprobana*, now *Ceylon*, and founds his Conjecture upon an Etymology. But *Cellarius* rejects as mere Dreams the modern Disputes about *Opbir*, and sees no just Cause why the latter Opinions should be better than the former. He says, the Length of the Expedition mentioned in the sacred History shews, that *Opbir* must have been at a great Distance from *Palestina*, or the Arabian Gulph; yet he is not displeased that *Bechart* distinguishes betwixt the *Indian* and the *Arabian Opbir*, because the Gold of *Opbir*, mentioned in the Book of *Job*§, could not, because of the Ignorance of those Times, be easily understood of the *Indian* Gold. *Bechart* places the *Arabian Opbir* near the Country of the *Sabaeans*, and thinks the *Arabs* called the *Indian Opbir* by its Name when they discovered it. Beyond this *Chersonesus* to the North lay the Country of the *Lesse*, who were Pirates and Robbers. The River *Sobannus* runs through it. Next to that lay

Ptolemy's Sinus Magnus, in which were *Balanga* and *Cor-gaba* Metropolitan Towns; and here *Ptolemy* finishes the Maritime Coast of *India* beyond *Ganges*. The Inland Parts were so obscure, that it is needless to insist upon them by the Situation of the Country; these Places last mentioned seem to have been in that Kingdom which is now called *Siam*.

2. The next Country described by *Ptolemy* is that of the *Sine*, which he places farthest towards the East of all the Regions mentioned by him, as lying beyond the Great Bay or Opening of the Sea, which he styles *Sinus Magnus*, and says, their Country extended very far to the South. It is well observed by *Cellarius*, that this Country is not to be confounded with the modern *China*, although it reaches as far North as *Serica*¶. *Ptolemy* calls the Country beyond this to the East and South, *Terra Incognita*, and bounds it on the West by *India* beyond the *Ganges*. He places about the Equator the *Ethiopes Ichthyophagi*, or Fish-eating *Ethiopian*s, and beyond the Equator the River *Contiars* and *Catigara*, which he calls a Harbour of the *Sine*. *Martianus Heracleota*‡ places the *Sine* likewise at the Extremity of the habitable World towards the East, and next to the *Terra Incognita*, or Country to that time undiscovered.

It must be allowed, that all this is very dark and very perplexed, so that it is extremely difficult to pass any certain Judgment as to the Places mentioned. On the other hand, however, it ought to be considered, that even these dark and obscure Accounts are infinitely better than the Fables that preceded them, and the ridiculous Stories that prevailed of these Countries and their Inhabitants in succeeding Times. If we compare what *Ptolemy* has written with the confused Accounts that *Pliny* has collected from ancient Authors, we may easily discern that one contented himself with Fables, and transcribed whatever came to hand, to shew a Variety of Reading, whereas the other examined very carefully such Descriptions as he received from the Merchants that traded in these Countries, and by comparing them with each other, he gathered from them such Lights as enabled him to draw up a short and imperfect Account indeed, but at the same time such an Account as appears very conformable to Truth; and would appear much more so, if the Manuscripts of *Ptolemy* were not incumbered with so many various Readings, which renders it extremely difficult to come at the true Sense of that learned Writer.

In the following Ages again, when *Science* once more gave way to *Fable*, the World was amused with wild and ridiculous Accounts of these Countries, and he who wrote the strangest things was read with the greatest Approbation.

* *Geograph. Antig. Tom. ii. p. 747* The Passage in *Artemidorus*, which he corrects, is found in *Sirabo*, lib. xv. p. 494.

† *Geograph. lib. vii. cap. 3. Tab. 2. Affr.* ‡ *Antiquit. Judaic. lib. viii. cap. 2.*

§ *Job xxii. 24. xxviii. 16.* ¶ *Isaac. Voss. de atate mundi, cap. 11. p. 276, 279.*

advances an Opinion very probable and worthy of Notice, viz. that the *Sine* of these ancient Writers are the *Siamese*. The very learned Bishop *Huet* is for extending this Denomination to the *Tonquinese*, the *Cochinchinese*, &c. but I am for adhering to *Vossius's* Conjecture strictly, because *Ptolemy* owns all beyond these unknown.

¶ *In Periplus Maris Erythraei.*

For this is a certain and a just Observation, that in times of Ignorance, what is most wonderful is the best received, and that on the contrary in the learned Ages plain and unadorned Relations are the most esteemed. The Design of *Ptolemy* was to improve, as far as he was able, that Branch of Knowledge, to the Study of which he had addicted himself, and not to report the Notions of other Men, who wrote for the sake of seeming wiser than the rest of Mankind; and therefore confidently set down as things certain what Fables forever they met with relating to these distant Parts of the World. But in *Ptolemy's* Account, as we before noted, the true Method of treating the Subject is pursued, the Sea-coast distinctly described; and if the Names only of a few Cities are mentioned, these few seem to be all that from good Memoirs he was able to mention, so that the known and the unknown are not confounded; but the Reader is clearly informed, that beyond such a Tract these Eastern Countries were absolutely undiscovered, and therefore they were properly the Objects of future Inquiries.

This was the way, and indeed the only way of coming at real, certain, and useful Knowledge; neither is it to be doubted, that the full Discovery of these Eastern Countries would have been pursued, if the Troubles and Disturbances which overwhelmed the Roman Empire had not equally destroyed the Passion for exploring unknown Countries, and the Means of gratifying it. But besides the Countries situated on the Continent, the Ancients had some Knowledge also of the Islands of *India*, partly from their own Commerce, and partly from the Reports of the *Indians*, with whom they traded on the Main; and therefore of these we are next to give some Account from the same Authorities.

1. *Ptolemy* places the Islands of the exterior *India* betwixt the Mouths of the *Indus* and *Ganges*. Thus, in the Bay of *Combus* lies *Baract*, and from thence to the Bay of *Colobis*, *Milinzigeris*, *Heptanisia*, *Peperina*, *Tricadira*, *Trinacia*, *Leuce*, *Panigeris*; and in the Bay of *Argaris* the Island *Cory*. *Taprobana*, which is the noblest and largest of all the Islands in this Sea, is placed by *Ptolemy* between the Bay of *Colobis* and *Argaris*. The Ancients differed much about its Situation, some placing it near the Continent, others twenty Days Sail from it; and some questioned whether it was an Island, or the Beginning of another Continent, particularly *Mela*^a; though before him it was generally reckoned an Island, as appears by *Dionysius* in his *Periegeta*^b, which the Learned agree to have been writ in the Time of *Augustus*.

Strabo^c compared it to *Britain* for Dimensions: *Pliny*^d, in his Account of the Embassy which the Inhabitants sent to *Claudius Cæsar* (supposing the Island he speaks of *Taprobana*) says, it contained five hundred Towns, and that *Palaefmundum* their Capital, and the Seat of their King, had two hundred thousand Inhabitants, that they had a Lake called *Megisba* of 375 Miles in Circuit, which contained several fruitful Islands, and sent out two Rivers, one of which fell with three Mouths into the Harbour of *Palaefmundum*, that in some Places was five Stadia in Breadth, and in others fifteen; this Harbour lay in the South Side of the Island, and they had another on the North called *Cidara*, four Days sail from *India*, the Island of the *Sun* being in the Middle betwixt them. *Ptolemy* places it nearer the Continent, and though he makes it very long, and extends it beyond the Equator, reckons but thirty Towns in it; nor does he say any thing of the great Lake, nor of the Town and River *Palaefmundum*, all which occasioned the Learned to doubt whether his and *Pliny's* *Taprobana* was the same; and though most agree now, that *Taprobana* was *Ceylon*, yet others will have it to be *Sumatra*: But *Salmafius*, *Boisbat*, and *Vossius*, think it is *Ceylon*, it being incredible that the *Romans* or *Alexandrians* ever failed so far as *Sumatra*.

Cellarius thinks also that *Ptolemy's* *Taprobana* was *Ceylon*, though he placed it too far South, and extended it beyond the Equator. It was anciently, as many Authors affirm, called *Insula Palaefmundi*, and *Salie*, and the Inhabitants *Sale*. Yet some, as is said before, will have

Palaefmundum to be different from *Taprobana*. The Towns and Capes mentioned by *Ptolemy* in this Island, were, 1. In the North Cape *Borrum*, over-against *Cory*, or *Comigium* in *India*. 2. In the West lay *Margana* and *Jogana*, with Cape *Anorjmundum*; next to them the River *Seana*, the Portus *Priapus*, Cape *Jous*, and the Bay of *Præjodes*. On the South Shore lay the Mouth of *Hyfamus*, the Towns *Odena*, *Dana*, or *Dagana*, sacred to the Moon. The Promontory of the Birds of *Dionysius*, with a Town of the same Name, and *Cissium*. On the East-side lay the Harbours of *Mardus*, of the *Sun*, *Rhizala* and *Spatana*, with the Town *Procurus*, and a River called *Ganges*; and towards the North lay the great Marcs of *Maduti* and *Talaroti*. In the inland Parts northward were the royal Seat *Anuogrammum*, and the Metropolis *Magrammum*.

Pliny's Island of the *Sun* is different from that which others place near *Gedreha* and *Carmania*, and some think it to be *Cory*. *Ptolemy* reckons in the Bay of *Ganges* the Island *Bazacata*; and far from hence southward, under the Equator, the *Island of good Fortune*^e; and near the great Bay, against the Country of the *Sine*, he places the three Islands of the *Satyrs*; and from hence southward, the Island of *Jebadum*, which produced Gold, and whose Capital was named *Argentina*, *Cellarius* corrects *Stephanus* for making this the Metropolis of *Taprobana*. Ancient Authors mention several other Islands in these Parts; but *Cellarius* looks upon many of them to be fabulous, and takes their *Chryse* to be the same with the *Aurea Chryseus*, or *Peninsula of Malacca*.

4. In the Examination of these Points, I have hitherto followed other Writers, and reported their Sentiments on the Subject, for the Reader's Information; but as I am afraid that what has been hitherto said, will appear a little dark and perplexed, I think it may not be amiss to endeavour, by a due Comparison of Facts, to find out the Truth; and, without an unnecessary Display of Learning, set this seemingly confused Matter in the clearest Light to the English Reader.

In the first Place, then, I lay it down as a Thing certain, that the Name of *Taprobana* was long known to the Ancients before they had any Opportunity of being acquainted with the Country itself; and as they were told in general, that this Island was very large, thoroughly inhabited, abounding not only with all the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life, but also with Spices, precious Stones, Gold, and other rich Commodities, they were very desirous of knowing it more perfectly; and therefore, whenever they met with any Accounts of an Island in the *Indian* Sea that was fertile, pleasant, and abounding with rich Commodities, they immediately pronounced it *Taprobana*, of which they had heard so much.

Thus that Island, which was visited by *Iambulus*, of which we have before given a large Account, was, without Hesitation, taken for *Taprobana*; though the Author of that Voyage does not either call it so, or describe it in such a Manner as to justify their Supposition, when thoroughly considered. In like manner, *Pliny* makes no Scruple of asserting that the Island which *Annius Placamus* discovered, and from whence Embassadors were sent to the Emperor *Claudius*, was *Taprobana*; which, however, we have disproved, as the Reader has already seen. Hence it was that such different Accounts were given of this Place; one Author affirming it near the Continent, another at a great Distance from it, according as they affixed the Name of *Taprobana* to this or that Island which had been discovered in their Times.

I must confess, it seems very probable, that some of the more ancient Writers, such as *Dionysius*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, when they speak as Geographers of the Island of *Taprobana*, mean the true Island so called, that is, the Island described by *Ptolemy*; but as for the Island discovered under the Reign of *Claudius*, which was first called *Palaefmundus*, and afterwards *Salica*, it was not *Taprobana*, but an Island at the Mouth of the River *Indus*, which had been long before known to, and examined by

^a De Situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. vii. where, however, he mentions this as the Sentiment of *Hipparchus*.

^b Insula Taprobana nigris tetrus Elephantis.

^c 22. As I have before given this Account at large, I only mention so much of it here as is necessary to connect the Discourse.

^d Perieget. Vers. 922. which is thus

^e Geograph. lib. xi.

^f Hist. Nat. lib. vi.

^g Plin. ad Hipparchum.

Alexander the Great; and I conceive that the calling of this Island by the Name of *Taprobana*, was the principal Occasion of all the Mistakes and Confusion that has been discovered in subsequent Accounts.

But as for the *Taprobana*, which *Strabo* mentions very cautiously, and, as a Writer afraid of offending the Truth, and which *Ptolemy* more largely describes from the Accounts that were current in his Time at *Alexandria*, it is most likely to be the Island of *Ceylon*. I shall not trouble the Reader with a long Account of the Reasons which other Writers have assigned for this Opinion, but content myself with giving him as succinctly as I can, the Motives which have induced me to believe that the Islands *Taprobana* and *Ceylon* are the same. In the first Place, the Situation of *Taprobana*, as laid down by *Ptolemy*, agrees very well with that of the Island of *Ceylon*. He mentions four Places in *Taprobana*, and sets down their Latitudes thus. The Mart, or Emporium of *Talaceni* 11° 20', *Nagadia* 8° 30', *Maugramman*, which was the Metropolis of the Island, 7° 20', the Bay of *Prasades* 1° 0'. The best modern Maps lay down the Island of *Ceylon*, from one to ten Degrees of North Latitude, the Capital of the Island lying very nearly in the same Position with that which *Ptolemy* has assigned it. In the next Place, the Ancients say that *Taprobana* was famous for producing the largest Breed of Elephants, which is true of *Ceylon*, where the Elephants are acknowledged to be the largest and strongest in the Indies. Thirdly, *Taprobana* was celebrated for its Spices; and in *Ceylon* there are found not only Ginger, Pepper, and Cardamums, but Cinnamon also is the staple Commodity, and is very justly esteemed the finest in the World. Fourthly, there are said to have been abundance of precious Stones in this Island of *Taprobana*; and, except Diamonds, all Sorts of Jewels are found in *Ceylon*, and particularly Rubies, Topazes, and Sapphires, the best in all the Indies. Lastly, *Taprobana* is celebrated for its great Fertility in various Sorts of Corn, and this too, may be affirmed of *Ceylon*, where they have not only five Kinds of Rice, which ripen one after another, but also eight other Kinds of Grain, of which they make either Bread or Oil. On the whole, therefore, when we consider that all the Variations in the Accounts given us by the Ancients of the Island of *Taprobana*, may be so easily accounted for; and that this last and clearest Description by *Ptolemy*, is so reconcileable to the Accounts we have of *Ceylon*, I see no Reason why we should not acquiesce in the Sentiment of the learned *Vossius*, that the *Taprobana* of the Ancients is the *Ceylon* of the Moderns.

It may, indeed, be objected that *Ptolemy* extends the Island of *Taprobana* southward beyond the Line, which does not, by any Means, agree with *Ceylon*; but I answer to this, that *Ptolemy* sometimes uses the plural Number, and mentions the Islands of *Taprobana*; so that it is not impossible that he might include some of the *Maldives* under that Name. I do not say that this is certain, but that it is possible, and, I might add, probable too; because since the Ancients were acquainted with the Sea in which the Island of *Ceylon* lies, and the Coast that is opposite to it on the Continent, it is not easy to conceive how they could be absolutely ignorant of so considerable an Island, which lay directly in the Way of all the Commerce carried on in this Part of the Indies. On the other Hand, if the Ancients were really acquainted with *Ceylon*, as it is very improbable that they should not, this furnishes us with a new Argument, and, indeed, the strongest Argument of all, that their *Taprobana* was our *Ceylon*; for, if

it was not, it is most certain that the Ancients have left us no Account of any Island that resembles it, which is a Piece of Negligence of a Nature directly opposite to their usual Exactness.

5. It is to be observed farther, that except *Taprobana*, the Ancients do not mention any Islands on the Coast of *India* of any Consequence; and from hence it is plain, that they were not acquainted either with the larger or lesser Islands that lay farther to the East. It is necessary, therefore, that we should return once more to the Continent, in order to mention another Eastern Nation, very famous in Antiquity. These were the *Seres*; and their Country is by *Ptolemy* called *Serica*, which he represents as bordering upon *Scythia*; so that according to his Description, this Country of *Serica* lay thus. On the West it was bounded by *Scythia* beyond Mount *Ianus*. On the North, and on the East, by Countries unknown; on the South by *India*, beyond the *Ganges*. *Ptolemy* mentions many Regions into which this Country is divided, and abundance of Cities in them, in all which he has been copied by many succeeding Writers; but it is not easy to say what Part of the higher *Asia* they have described under the Name of *Serica*.

Many of our Critics are of Opinion that *Serica* is the northern Part of *China*, which may possibly be true; tho' in that Case, it is not very accurately described. But the Accounts they give us of the People, are much stronger and better Proofs, that by the *Seres* they meant the *Chinese*, than any that can be drawn from the Description of their Country. The *Seres*, say they, were a People that spoke a Language peculiar to themselves, and very guttural, which is exactly true of the *Chinese*. They were very just in their Dealings with Strangers, but had a very odd Way of carrying on Commerce; for they took all the Goods that were brought them, without giving any Thing immediately in Exchange: Yes, afterwards, they fully satisfied the Strangers for what they had thus taken, in their own Commodities. This, as we shall hereafter see, was likewise the constant Practice of the *Chinese*, as it still is of the *Japanese*. It is also affirmed of the *Seres*, that they were the first Manufacturers of Silk, that they were, generally speaking, clothed in that Manufacture, and that they made their Exchange either in Silk or in Goods made of Silk, which agrees perfectly well with the Practice of the *Chinese*. So that, on the whole, we have no Reason to doubt that the *Seres* and the *Chinese* were the same People; especially as all the ancient Writers agree, that the *Seres* were extremely fond of their own Country, very diffident of Strangers, and not inclined to travel, which are all of them Circumstances very applicable to the Inhabitants of *China*, before their Country was subdued by the *Tartars*.

It must, however, be confessed, that there are some Variations in these ancient Accounts, and that several Writers mention Circumstances that do not so well agree with the *Chinese* as those that have been related; and yet there seems to be no just Cause from the Consideration of these Mistakes, to reject the Matter of Fact, which, from the foregoing Circumstances, appears to be so well founded; for, if we consider the Contradictions met with in modern Writers, and particularly such as have treated of this Country, instead of being surpris'd at the Mistakes of the old Geographers, we may justly wonder, that their Errors were so few, and of so little Consequence; more especially, if we reflect on the prodigious Difference between their Lights and ours.

* I have been guided in my Remarks on this Subject, by comparing the Tables of *Ptolemy* with the best modern Maps, and the Particulars mentioned of this Island by ancient Writers, with the Remarks made by Mr. Robert Knox, who was many Years on the Island, as well as those of *Ribeira*, a *Portuguese*, who likewise resided for a great while in *Ceylon*.

* In *Ptolemy's* Catalogue of famous Cities, with their Longitudes and Latitudes, which is very accurately published in the third Volume of Dr. *Hadley's* Collection of the ancient Greek Geographers, *Ptolemy* uses the plural Number, and seems to make *Taprobana* the chief of several Islands; and it is remarkable, that our first Voyages to the East-Indies, assert, that the little Princes of the *Maldives* were subject to the King of *Ceylon*.

* As *Ptolemy* was forced to supply, from his own Judgment, the Situation of the Regions he mentions; and as all the Maps drawn from his Tables, depend likewise, in a great measure, on the respective Judgments of those who drew them, the Reader cannot but discern the Reasonableness of what I have asserted in the Text.

* All this will be fully justified in our succeeding Collection of Voyages, which, by their being placed in the proper Order of Time, will enable the Reader to understand this Matter perfectly, and to see clearly the Truth of these Observations, which are not intended to lessen the Credit of the Ancients, but to represent Things as they really are.

* This Difference chiefly consists in their Writings from the Memoirs picked up by their Merchants, from the Reports of the *Indians*; whereas we take our Accounts not only from such as have actually visited these Countries themselves, but from those who have resided there many Years, and have had all possible Opportunities of knowing the Facts which they relate.

6. There are, however, some Objections that will naturally occur to the intelligent Reader, and ought not to be passed over in Silence, because if they cannot be fully answered, they have a direct Tendency to overturn the best Part of what we have delivered, and therefore it is requisite that we should consider them more at large. The first is, that if we suppose the Ancients to have been acquainted with *China*, and the *Chinese*, it absolutely contradicts what has been before asserted of their knowing little or nothing of the Countries beyond the *Ganges*, and extends their Knowledge of the East to such a Degree, as is absolutely incompatible with the Sentiments of the most learned Writers upon this Subject, as well as with the foregoing Part of our own Work; so that instead of clearing this Matter, we should only perplex it the more, and be so far from making it peripatetic to the *English* Reader, that on the contrary we should entangle him in new Doubts, and leave him upon the whole in at least as great Obscurity as we found him. That this, notwithstanding, is very far from our Intention, appears plainly from the Pains already taken, and from our stating this Objection fully and fairly; and it ought likewise to pass for a strong Testimony of our aiming at Satisfaction in this Point, that we so freely mention the Difficulties that occur in the Execution of this Undertaking.

In order to the clear Solution of this Point, it is necessary to remember, that in this Section we do not handle the actual Discoveries of the Ancients, but the Accounts given by their Geographers, which are very different things. We suppose, agreeable to the best Lights that Antiquity affords, that the Ancients never actually sailed farther than the Mouths of the *Ganges*, and that they might do by coasting round Cape *Comorin*, and so along the Coast of *Coromandel*; neither is it very probable that they made many Voyages so far, but rather that the best Part of their Knowledge was derived from Travels made by Land through the Countries that lie between the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*.

Upon this Supposition, all that they have written may be very well accounted for, and the seeming Differences between what is related in the foregoing Sections and this very easily reconciled. To make this Matter clearer, we will examine in their natural Order the Seas mentioned by ancient Writers, which will in a great measure enable us to extricate ourselves from these Doubts. In the first place then they navigated the *Mare Erythræum*, which lies between the *Arabian* Gulph, and the opposite Side of *India*; and having in their Commerce often heard of *Taprobana*, they were led into many Mistakes about that Island, till by degrees their Vessels sailing on the Coast of *Malabar* in doubling Cape *Comorin*, discovered *Ceylon*, which is the true *Taprobana*. The Gulph of Bengal was their *Mare Eoum*, and the upper Part of it towards the Continent *Sinus Gangeticus*, or the Bay of the *Ganges*, because the Mouths of that River fell into this Bay. The Gulph of *Siam* was their *Sinus Magnus*, or *Great Bay*; but this they knew by Hearsay only, their Navigation never extending thither.

But it may be demanded what Proof there is of this? To which I answer, all that the Nature of the Subject will admit affirmative and negative. As to the first, it is plain they never were thoroughly acquainted with the Island of *Taprobana*. *Strabo* makes it of the Size of *Britain*, and writes no doubt from Information only pretty near the Truth; but *Ptolemy* extends it much beyond its real Bounds, by supposing (at least this is the only way of accounting for it) the *Maldives* belonging thereto, or dependent thereon. Yet the Situation of the principal Places he mentions therein are not so near to Truth, so that the West and North Parts of it were tolerably known in his Time, but not the South. The *Maldives* very imperfectly, if at all; and those on the *Komar* and *Alexandrian* had not pushed their Commerce very far on this Side, much less into the *Sinus Magnus*, or Bay of *Siam*. This appears from the very Name, which undoubtedly was given it from a Notion that it was a very wide spreading Sea, whereas in Fact it is much narrower than the *Sinus Gangeticus*.

As to the negative Proof, they are stronger and more in Number: For in order to have sailed into the *Sinus Mag-*

nus, they must have passed through the Straights of *Malacca*, which had opened to their View all the *Indies* that are now known, and of which there is not a Word in *Ptolemy*, or even in *Amianus Marcellinus*, and consequently no Cause for believing they had any other Knowledge of that Bay than from the Relation of the *Indians*, with whom they traded. Their actual Discoveries therefore went no farther than we before mentioned; but by the Help of these Discoveries, the Report of Travellers, and his own Sagacity, *Ptolemy* formed his Tables, which seem to extend the Knowledge of the Ancients so much farther. We might, to verify this Matter, mention a Multitude of Errors in those Tables, and in other Accounts of those Times, which could arise from no other Cause than their Authors setting down the Names and Situation of Places from very indifferent Memoirs, and yet from the best they had; but that this is unnecessary, since *Ptolemy* himself ingenuously owns that beyond the Country of the *Sine*, or *Tine*, which is certainly the Kingdom of *Siam*, they knew nothing to the East at all.

It is most evident from these Observations, that we have done the strictest Justice to the Ancients, both with respect to the Voyages made by them, and the Uses they made of the Knowledge derived from thence; and have shewn, that instead of treating their Geographical Descriptions with Contempt, as some have done on Account of the many Mistakes in them, we ought rather to applaud their Diligence in making the best Use of the Materials in their Power, and thereby furnishing to such as are their professed Admirers very plausible Arguments for maintaining, that the Ancients knew almost as much of these Countries as ourselves. Indeed, while they speak in general Terms only, they seem to justify this Opinion; for they assure us, that this Eastern Part of the World is inhabited by the *Indians*, the *Sere*, and the *Syrtians*; that is, in the Language of the Moderns, by the *Indians*, the *Chinese*, and the *Seres*, which is very true; but when they endeavoured to assign the Bounds of the several Countries which those Nations inhabit, they shew us plainly, that they did not understand what they themselves said, by their bringing the *Chinese* almost as far as the *Ganges*, and placing beyond them a Race of Man-eaters in *China* properly so called. To sum up all, and answer the Objection in few Words, the Accounts left us by the Ancients do not prove that they visited any Part of the *Indies* beyond the *Ganges*, though the Informations they received in their Commerce enabled the Geographers to lay down Tables of a few other Countries, about which, however, they were much mistaken in their Conjectures.

7. It may very possibly happen, as it very often does, in the discussing such perplexed Subjects, that by removing one Objection the Means is afforded of raising another; and that perhaps no less specious than the former. It may in short be said, that from the Account we give of the Knowledge the Ancients had of the *Seres*, which we allow to be the *Chinese*, we admit that they had extended their Dominions very much beyond what they possess at this Day; and, as great Conquests are evident Proofs of extraordinary Power, it follows, that the *Seres* could not have been such a dispersed People as they are represented, but must have possessed a very large and flourishing Empire, which, if they had done, it must have been famous through the East, as the other Empires raised in that Part of the World were. The Force of this Objection, therefore, consists in making the Description given us by the Ancients inconsistent with itself, and by overturning that, our Answer to the former Objection will be overturned also.

Now to this I answer, that the Matter of Fact, which is, that the *Chinese* were known to the Ancients by the Name of the *Seres*, has been clearly made out; and therefore there is no receding from that, let its Consequences be what they will. But it so falls out, that we have not only the Authority of the ancient Writers before cited, to prove that the *Seres* or *Chinese* extended themselves very far to the Side, but also the Accounts of the *Chinese* themselves, which assert, that they were Masters of *Cochin-China*, and

* The Reader will naturally call to mind on this Occasion what we have already said of *Megasthenes* and other Persons, whose Negotiations with the *Indians*, gave the Ancients not only the first, but the best Lights they had into the Situation of those Countries, and the Manners of the *Indians*.

Persia; that is, in all Probability, those Countries were subject and tributary to them. It is likewise very probable, that they were Masters of *Tibet*, or *Thibet*, from whence it will follow, that whoever traded in the Countries near the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, might very well obtain some such dark and imperfect Relations of the *Seres* as those are which the Ancients have left us; and upon this Occasion I shall not scruple to advance, that their Dark-ness and Imperfection, instead of being considered as Marks of Falseness, ought in reality to pass for Proofs of their being true; for it plainly appears from a Multitude of Instances, which we have already given in this Work, that not only the *Chinese*, but the *Indians* also, were very little inclined to let Strangers into the Histories of their Countries, or into the Secrets of their Governments; and therefore it was very natural for such as endeavoured to make Enquiries into these Matters, to report things slightly and imperfectly. We may be the better satisfied of this, if we consider, that it appears from all the Accounts of the *Indies* published by the Ancients, that these Countries were extremely populous, full of large Cities well fortified, and a great Number of Sea-ports, in which a great Trade was driven amongst themselves; these Particulars plainly prove, that, however barbarous their Customs might appear to Strangers, yet within themselves these Eastern Nations were perfectly well governed, and in the strict Sense of the Word thoroughly civilized.

What serves chiefly to confound us is our considering the *Indians* of those Times in the same View that they are represented to us by modern Travellers, which is what we ought not to do; for though it be reasonable, and in that Light we have made use of it often as a probable Argument, that the Accounts given us by ancient Writers of Wives burning themselves with the dead Bodies of their Husbands, the *Brachmans* living in a kind of Collegiate State, and the whole People being divided into Tribes, are true, because in a great measure we observe the same things among the *Indians* at present, yet it does not follow that in every respect the modern *Indians* resemble their Ancestors. On the contrary, we ought to reflect, that the Accounts we have from the Ancients, refer to the first and flourishing Ages of the *Indian* Principalities, when they were absolutely free and independant, when their Philosophy was pure and sublime, their political Constitutions in their full Vigour, their Laws well supported, and thoroughly executed, their military Establishments so well adjusted to the Regulation of their civil Affairs, that in times of imminent Danger, they were able suddenly to set on Foot Armies so puissant, that their very Countenance was sufficient to teach the most ambitious Princes Moderation; as was the Case of *Alexander*, and some of his Successors. The *Indians*, therefore, in those Days, were another sort of People than the *Indians* known to us; and though the latter may still retain in some measure the Manners of the former in private Life, yet in their publick Conduct, they can furnish us with no Idea of their Progenitors. In few Words, though they have preserved some of their Customs, they have lost all their Spirit.

It is the same thing with respect to the *Chinese*, they are no longer what they have been; and if we admire the Wisdom of their present Government, and the wonderful Excellence with which their Affairs are administered, we ought to conceive much higher and more magnificent Notions of their Power and Splendor in former Times. That Accuracy and Regularity which strikes us so much at present are no more than the Remains of those Institutions which took place when their Empire was much greater and more glorious than at this Day. It is true, that we have received from the Missionaries, great Lights with regard to the *Chinese* History; but we are very far from having any thing complete in this kind, even at this Day. We have only general and short Accounts of the Revolutions that have happened in that Country, and of the Conquests made of its frontier Provinces; no wonder therefore that we are not better acquainted with the Conquests made by them, and yet, as I hinted above, we do not want Authority to prove, that the *Chinese* actually extended their Power into Countries that might make their Fame known to the *Alexandrian* Traders; and perhaps in its proper Place we shall

be able to account for their relinquishing those Conquests.

Here, however, it is sufficient to observe, that it appears very clearly from what we know of the *Chinese* History, that there was a constant Fluctuation in their Politics, and that sometimes a Spirit of Dominion, and at others a pacifick Disposition took Place; and there are extant, even in the modern Languages, Discourses addressed to the *Chinese* Emperors by their Ministers, exhorting them to be content with their hereditary Countries, and rather contract their Power than extend it, that they might govern with greater Ease to themselves, and with Effects more beneficial to their Subjects. After these Reflections, it will be easy to understand how the Ancients came to know so much, and, at the same Time, so little of these People. It was their penetrating southward and westward, that gave the Ancients an Opportunity of knowing any thing of them at all, since it is very certain, that if they had been always restrained within the Bounds of *China*, strictly so called, they would never have been heard of; and therefore these Accounts, instead of contradicting the Facts before-mentioned, when thoroughly looked into, and coolly considered, carry in them the highest Probability, and the most evident Marks of Truth. That, upon Enquiry, the Ancients being informed that the Country, which is now called *Tibet*, was under the Power of the *Seres*, should, from thence conclude it the native Soil of those People, and their Geographers be induced from thence to give it the Name of *Serica*, has nothing in it strange at all, any more than that they should imagine that the Metropolis of this Country was the Capital of the *Seres*, and the chief Seat of their Empire. Thus it is hoped this Difficulty is entirely taken away, the Credibility of the Testimonies before alledged, fully established, and the Difference between the ancient and modern Geography of these Countries rationally accounted for, without offering any Injury either to the old Writers or the new, and consequently what is laid down in this Section, perfectly reconciled to all that has been asserted in the former.

8. There is a third Point in reference to this Subject, which requires some Attention, and then I think we may safely proceed. As the last Objection respected the Country of the *Seres*, so it is very possible that some Doubts may arise as to the People who are described by *Pliny* and other old Writers, equally removed in their Manners from the rest of Mankind, as separated from them by the great Distance of their Country. It may, I say, be suggested, that the Customs of the *Seres*, as they stand recorded in ancient Writers, have no sort of Resemblance to those of the *Chinese*, if the Accounts I have just now given of them be well founded; for, whereas I make them a potent, wife, and polite People, they paint them as a kind of Savages, differing in their Dialect from the rest of Mankind, and shunning, as much as might be, all Conversation with Strangers.

Now, to reconcile these Contradictions, we are to consider, first, that the Ancients themselves speak very differently of the *Seres*, sometimes commending them for their strict Justice and Probity, for the Purity of their Manners, and for their having no Desire to injure their Neighbours; and at others, as a Race of intractable People, absolutely bent to conceal themselves in their Woods and Fortresses, and trading no other Way than by Exchange, and that too by leaving and taking of Goods without any Intercourse between the Merchants who sold them, and those who purchased. Secondly, it appears from the Diversity of these Accounts, that the Ancients were entirely led in this Matter by Hear-say, and by the Hear-say of a People who were not much inclined to let them into all they knew. Thirdly, it is necessary to remember that the *Indians*, from whom the Ancients had every Tittle of what they report concerning the *Seres*, might give them such Informations as were grounded on Truth, but were so unintelligible to the *Greeks*, that they were not able to report them without Misrepresentation.

As for Instance, the *Indians* might tell them, that the *Seres* made use of a Language very different from that of other Men, and in this they would have told them no

more than has been justified by Experience; but in repeating this, the Ancients have represented the Tongue of the *Chinese* as if it had nothing in common with human Speech, which is a manifest Exaggeration. That the ancient *Seres* had a great Aversion to Strangers, and an invincible Resolution of continuing in their own Country, is another Fact true in itself, but strangely misrepresented. All the *Chinese* Histories agree, that this Nation had, as indeed they still have, a great Jealousy of Foreigners, and by their Laws forbade their settling amongst them; yet the same Histories shew, that notwithstanding this Jealousy and these Laws, they have always had a great many Foreigners in their Country; and these not only *Scythians* or *Tartars*, *Indians*, *Persians* and *Turks*, who were in some sort their Neighbours, but *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Mohammedans*; and that for such a Length of Time, that it is almost impossible to account for their coming into and settling in *China*, as is evident from the learned Dissertations that have been wrote expressly upon these Subjects. The Amount of all this, therefore, can be stretched to nothing more than our not having very distinct Relations of what passed a long Time ago in a very distant Country, which is not very wonderful. But, however obscure, however contradictory, these Accounts may be in other Respects, yet in this they agree perfectly well, that such a Jealousy always subsisted in this Nation, though for particular Reasons, and under particular Circumstances, they were content to dispense with those Laws, which from this Spirit of Jealousy they had enacted.

To make this Matter still plainer, let us consider the *Chinese* in their present Situation, and in regard to the different manner in which they carry on Commerce at home and abroad. Their Junks sail annually to almost all the different Ports in the *Indies*; but particularly to *Botavia*, where they trade as other People do, and comply with all the Regulations that are thought necessary in those Places for the Security and right Management of Commerce, from whence they have acquired very justly the Character of being as active, as industrious, and as general Traders, as any in that Part of the World. This, one would think, might effectually purge them from the Imputation of having a Dislike to Strangers, and an Unwillingness to correspond with other Nations, and, in short, of all Intractability on the Head of Commerce. Yet when we look into their Management at home, we shall find many things that may very well justify such a Charge even at this Day. For there are but one, or at most but two, of their Ports open to Strangers, *viz.* *Canton* and *Amy*; they do not suffer any *European* Nations to make Settlements in their Dominions, if we except the *Portuguese*, and even they are not only Subjects, but in a manner Slaves to the *Chinese*; their Port Duties are not high only, but very extravagant; the Precautions they take against, and the Hardships they put upon Foreigners, are so many, and so inconvenient, that it is plain they only tolerate Trade instead of encouraging it. If this therefore be, as most certainly it is, the Case, why should we accuse the ancient Accounts of Absurdity and Contradiction?

It would be needless and unnecessary to enter into a Digression about the Navigation of the ancient *Seres*, how far it extended, and what the Consequences were that attended it. I say, it would be needless and unnecessary; because, after all the Pains that could be taken, we should find it very difficult, if not impossible, to give a tolerable Account of it; but in general, however, we know that in very ancient times they traded to most of the *Indian* Islands, settled Colonies in many of them, and as there is good Grounds to believe, were the Ancestors of the *Chingalese*, which are the most powerful Nation in the Island of *Ceylon*. These Circumstances seem absolutely to contradict another Part of their general Character, which is, that they have no Inclination to leave their own Country on any Terms. In all probability, their Settlements abroad were gratified by domestic Confusions, when Numbers chose rather to seek new Habitations, than to be exposed to certain Death or Destruction from the Rage of their Adversaries, which, nevertheless, implies no Alteration in the Nature of the People; for it is one thing to be of a roving Disposition, and another to prefer Banishment to Death.

Upon the whole, if there be any thing certain in the *Chinese* History, it is this; that both the People themselves have the most sincere Love for their Country, and desire to remain in it; and that this is nourished in them by their Laws, and the Propagation of this Spirit made a capital Point of their Politicks. On scanning therefore this Matter as strictly as it is possible, we see, that taking all Things together, the oldest Accounts of the *Chinese* are not liable to more Objections, or incumbered with greater Difficulties than the modern; and therefore, if the Ancients have represented the *Seres* as a People of an odd Humour, and their Practice and Principles considered somewhat inconsistent with themselves, we have the more Reason to be positive, that the *Seres* and the *Chinese* are the very same Nation, because from the Knowledge we have of them at present, it is impossible to conceive that any Character given of them in past Ages, should come nearer the Truth than that which from a superficial View seems incompatible therewith. In cases of this Nature, Nations are to be described as they really are, and of such Temper and Disposition as their Actions speak them; other Accounts may be more plausible, and to such as take up with the first Appearance of things more credible; but unquestionably, the best way is to write the Truth, because in the end, and after the strictest Examination, it will be found, that Truth will always justify itself.

9. There still remains an Island mentioned in ancient Writers as lying in the *Indian* Ocean, though never discovered by any of the Moderns, of which we promised, and of which it is necessary that we should give a clear Account, the rather, because though surrounded with a Mist of Fables, there is at the Bottom something which deserves our Notice, and which may enable us to detect such kind of Relations when we meet with them elsewhere. The Name of this Island is *Panchaia*, and it is supposed to lie between the *Arabian* Gulph and the opposite Coast of *India*. There was but one ample and distinct Relation of this Country, which is still preserved almost entire in the Works of the learned *Diodorus Siculus*, which therefore we shall fairly transcribe for several Reasons. First, that the Nature of such kind of Relations may plainly appear, and the Reader be able to judge for himself of the Difficulty in distinguishing between Facts faithfully related, and Fictions so elegantly dressed out. Secondly, that he may the better understand the Detection of this fabulous History. And, thirdly, that he may be satisfied we do not impose upon him our own Notions and Sense of Things, but admit him freely and fairly to the Sight of our Authorities.

There are, says our Author, many things observable in *Panchaia*, or *Panchaia*, that deserve to be taken notice of. The natural inhabitants are those they call *Panchai*; the Strangers that dwell among them are People of the Western Parts, together with *Indians*, *Cretans*, and *Scythians*. In this Island there is a famous City called *Panara*, not inferior to any for Wealth and Grandeur. The Citizens are called the Suppliants of *Jupiter Triphylus*, and are the only People of *Panchaia* that live under a Democracy without a Monarch. They chuse every Year the Presidents or Governors that have all Matters under their Cognizance; but what concerns Life and Death, and the most weighty Matters, they refer to the College of their Priests. The Temple of *Jupiter Triphylus* is about sixty Furlongs distant from the City in a fair, open Plain. It is in great Veneration for its Antiquity, and the Stateliness of the Structure, and Fertility of the Soil. The Fields round about the Temple are planted with all sorts of Trees, not only for Fruit, but for Pleasure and Delight; for they abound with tall Cypress, Plane-Trees, Laurels and Mirtles. The Place well furnished with running Water; for near the Temple there's such a mighty Spring of sweet Water rushes out of the Earth, so that it very soon becomes a navigable River. Thence it divides itself into several Currents, and waters all the Fields therabouts. It produces thick Groves of tall and shady Trees, amongst which, in Summer, abundance of People spend their Time, and a Multitude of Birds of all sorts build their Nests, which creates great Delight, both by affecting the Eye with the Variety of their Colours, and charming the Ear with the Sweetness of their Notes. Here are many Gardens, sweet and pleasant Meadows, dells

with all sorts of Herbs and Flowers, and so glorious is the Prospect, that it seems to be a Paradise worthy the Habitation of the Gods themselves. Besides all these, there are a Multitude of Vines of all sorts springing up on high, and so curiously interwoven one among another, that they are exceeding pleasant to the View, and greatly augment the Delights of the Place.

The Temple was built of white Marble most artfully jointed and cemented, two hundred Yards in Length, and as many in Breadth, supported with great and thick Pillars, curiously adorned with carved Work. In this Temple were placed huge Statues of the Gods of admirable Workmanship, and amazing Bulk; round the Temple are built Apartments for the Priests that attend the Service of the Gods, by whom every thing in that sacred Place is performed. All along from the Temple is an even Course of Ground four Furlongs in Length, and one hundred Yards in Breadth; on either Side of which are erected vast brazen Statues, with four-square Pedestals; at the End of the Course breaks forth the River from the Fountain before-mentioned; from whence flows most clear and sweet Water, the drinking of which conduces much to the Health of the Body. This River is called the Water of the Sun. The whole Fountain is lined on both Sides, and flagged at the Bottom with Stone at vast Expence, and runs out on both Sides for the Space of four Furlongs: It is not lawful for any but the Priests to approach the Brink of the Fountain.

All the Land about for two hundred Furlongs round, is consecrated to the Gods, and the Revenues bestowed in maintaining the publick Sacrifices and Service of those Gods beyond these consecrated Lands, is an high Mountain dedicated likewise to the Gods, which they call the Throne of *Caelus* and *Triphylus Olympus*; for they report, that *Uranus*, when he governed the whole World, pleasantly diverted himself in this Place; and from the Mount observed the Motion of the Heavens and Stars; and that he was called *Triphylus Olympus*, because the Inhabitants were composed of three several Nations; *Pantheani*, *Oceanites*, and *Daians*, who were afterwards expelled by *Ammon*; for it is said, that he not only rooted out this Nation, but utterly destroyed all the Cities, and laid *Doia* and *Alterusa* even with the Ground. The Priests every Year solemnize a sacred Festival in this Mountain with great Devotion. Behind this Mount, in other Parts of *Panchaia*, they say there are abundance of wild Beasts of all kinds, as Elephants, Lions, Leopards, Deer, and many other wonderful Creatures, both for Strength and Proportion. In this Island there are three chief Cities, *Hipacia*, *Dalis*, and *Oceanis*; the whole Country is very fertile, and especially in the Production of all sorts of Wine in great Plenty.

The Men are warlike, and use Chariots in Battle after the ancient manner. The whole Nation is divided into three Tribes; the first is composed of the Priests, with whom are joined the Artificers; the second consists of the Husbandmen; and the third of Militia and Shepherds. The Priests govern all, for they give Judgment in all Controversies, and have Authority in all publick Transactions of State. The Husbandmen till the Land; but the Fruit is brought into the common Treasury, and who is judged the most skilful in Husbandry, receives the largest Share of the Fruits for a Reward in the first Place, and so the second and the rest according to that Rule, as every one merits in the Judgment of the Priests. In the same manner the Shepherds and Herdsmen carefully bring into the publick Stock the Victims and other things both by Number and Weight, as the Nature of the Things are; for it is not lawful for any to appropriate any thing to themselves, except a House and Garden for all the young Breed of Cattle, and other things; and all the Revenues are received by the Priests, and they justly distributed to every one as their Necessity requires, only the Priests have a double Portion.

They wear soft Garments, for their Wool is much finer here than any where else; both Men and Women likewise deck themselves with golden Ornaments, Necklaces of Gold, and Bracelets about their Arms, and,

like the *Persians*, have Rings hanging in their Ears; their Shoes are such as others wear, and of different Colours. Their Soldiers, who are hired for Pay, defend the Country, and have their proper Posts, and in proper Parts of the Island Fortresses, the Hills being infested with Thieves and Robbers, who often surprize the Husbandmen. To conclude, these Priests, for Delicacy, State, and Purity of Life, far exceed all the rest of the Inhabitants. Their Robes are of white Linen, and sometimes of pure soft Wool. They wear likewise Mitres embroidered with Gold. Their Shoes are Sandals, curiously wrought with exquisite Workmanship; and in their Ears hang golden Ear-rings, like Womens. They attend chiefly upon the Service of the Gods, singing harmonious Songs in their Praise, setting forth their glorious Acts and Benefits bestowed upon Men. The Priests, say they, came originally from *Crete*, and were brought over into *Panchaia*, by *Jupiter*, when he was upon Earth, and governed all the World, and alledge their Language for a Confirmation of this Assertion, inasmuch as they retain many Words of the *Cretan* Tongue among them; and moreover say, that they derived from their Ancestors that Civility and Kindness wherewith they entertain the *Cretans*, the Fame and Report of their ancient Confraternity, descending continually in a perpetual Succession to their Posterity; they shew likewise a Record, written, as they say, by *Jupiter's* own Hand, at the Time when he was on Earth, and laid the Foundation of the Temple.

There are in this Island likewise Mines of Gold, Silver, Brass, and Iron, but not lawful for any to export them. Nay, it is not permitted to any of the Priests to go out of the Verge of the consecrated Ground; and if any do, it is lawful for any Person who finds them, to kill them. They have, under their Charge, innumerable Vessels, and other consecrated Things, both of Gold and Silver, which have been laid up there in Honour of the Gods for many Ages. The Gates of the Temple are of admirable Workmanship, beautified with Gold, Silver, and Ivory, and Thyme-wood. The Bed of the God is six Cubits long, and four broad, of massy Gold, most curiously wrought in every Part; and near adjoining stands the Table, as large, and of the like Materials and Workmanship with the other in every Respect. In the Middle of the Bed is placed a great golden Pillar, whereon are Letters inscribed in that called by the *Egyptians* sacred Writing, expressing the famous Actions of *Uranus*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and *Apollo*, written, as they say, by *Mercury* himself: But this may suffice concerning the Islands lying in the Ocean over-against *Arabia*.

Such is the Account delivered to us of this Island by *Diodorus Siculus*, who had this Account from a more ancient Writer, one *Euemerus*, a *Messenian*; so that he is not to be charged with inventing the Fable, but with giving it a Stamp of Authority, by taking it into his History. But if the Reader should enquire what induced the original Author of the Story to frame so circumstantial a Relation out of his own Head, and attempt therewith to cheat and impose upon Posterity, it falls out very luckily, that we are able to resolve this Question, and to set the Truth in the clearest Light possible; from whence it will appear, that these Fictions of the Ancients were not devised with a malicious Intention of imposing Fables for Matters of Fact upon credulous Readers, tho' undoubtedly, they very often had this Effect; but they were contrived chiefly for another and better Purpose, as appears plainly from the Case before us.

Plutarch not only knew that the whole of this Relation was an absolute Fiction, but he likewise knew, and fairly informs his Reader of the End for which it was framed. He says, that the Author of it was an irreligious Man, or an Atheist, who, in delivering this Story of the Island *Panchaia*, aimed chiefly at inculcating his own Opinions without running the Hazard of being punished by Law. Now those Opinions of *Euemerus* the *Messenian*, which *Plutarch* very prudently styles atheistical, were no other than these, that most of the Deities worshipped

in his Time, such as *Uranus, Jupiter, Apollo*, and the rest, were, in Fact, no other than Men famous in their Life-times, and, by the Flattery of Posterity, magnified as Gods after their Decease. This Opinion was certainly well founded and agreeable to Truth; but if that Author had delivered it simply and plainly as his own, he had probably died a Martyr for speaking Truth improperly and against the Laws; and therefore he invented this History of *Panthea*, to insinuate that the Priests there had a Record of this Matter written in golden Characters. By this Means he, without Danger to himself, intimated to his intelligent Reader, that whatever the Vulgar might believe of these Deities, yet, in Fact, they were no other than Men; and the Stories related of them the bare Inventions of Priests.

I must confess, that it is my own Opinion, *Plutarch* did not unveil this Mystery with a Design of exposing its Author, as he seems to do, for an impious Man, and an Atheist, but with an Intention to deliver this Matter more clearly, and by giving the Key of *Eumernus's* Story more effectually to divulge the Truth: For, whoever considers the Drift and Design of his Dissertation concerning *Isis* and *Osiris*, will easily discern that he wrote it with much the same View that *Eumernus* invented his Fable of *Panthea*; and as for the hard Words he bestows on that Writer, they served only to cover and screen himself; since, undoubtedly, had he not stiled these Notions impious and atheistical, he had passed (with the Vulgar at least) for as impious and atheistical a Writer as *Eumernus*, whose Fiction he unveils.

A great Happiness it is, that the Christian Dispensation has freed Mankind entirely from this tyrannical Yoke of Superstition, and opened a free Passage to Men's Thoughts, without Danger or Distrust. But it has, notwithstanding, so fallen out, that, even under the Light of the Gospel, Superstition has sometimes prevailed to such a Degree, that learned Men have found themselves under a kind of Necessity of making use of the same Artifice, as appears by Sir *Thomas More's Utopia*, and other Works of the like Nature, which, however, are penned in such a Manner as very seldom to mislead the Reader, or impose upon him Fictions for Truth. Thus, we have at length finished both the real and feigned Accounts of the *Indies*, as delivered to us by the Ancients, and are now at Liberty to take Notice of their Observations and Reflections upon these Accounts, which are of so much greater Importance, as they certainly kept up the Fame of these Countries, and in a great measure excited that Spirit which lead to the more perfect Discovery of them.

10. As slight as the Knowledge was which the Ancients had of the Inland Parts of *India*, yet they took great Pains to propagate a very high Opinion of its Fertility and Riches. *Diodorus Siculus* gives a very pompous Description of the Advantages possessed by *India* beyond any other Country. He asserts, that the Air is remarkably settled and serene, the Seasons equally regular and pleasant, the Mountains covered with Fruit-trees of the most exquisite Kinds; the flat Country so rich as to yield two Crops every Year, one of Wheat, and the other of Millet-Rice, or some such Grain; the Waters so delicate and pure as greatly to contribute to Health and long Life, and most of the Rivers overflowing annually like the *Nile*, and thereby lessening the Labour of the Inhabitants in the Cultivation of their Grounds.

After this Representation of the golden Age, as still remaining in *India*, we are further assured, that the Treasures which the Earth contains in her Bosom, are much superior to those born upon her Surface, and that Gold, Silver, Brass, Iron, and Tin, are more common there than in any other Country. Yet, after this magnificent Detail of the Plenty, and Riches of the *Indies*, he plainly puts the *River Ganges*, as the Boundary of all the *Indian* Regions, with which he was acquainted; for, into that, he says, the rest of the Rivers of *India* fall; and in the Neighbourhood of this River he places the *Gandarides*, a Nation so powerful that *Alexander* was glad to leave them untouched, as having four thousand Elephants trained to War, and a

proportionable Number of Horse and Foot; which sufficiently shews, that, in his Opinion, the Conquest of this Country was not to be attempted.

He likewise sets another Bound to the Desire of discovering, by affirming, that a great Part of this Country lies under the Line, for so he must be understood, and not under the Tropic of *Capricorn*, as some of his Interpreters would have it; for, he adds immediately after, that in many remote Parts of *India*, the Sun casts no Shadow, neither is the North Pole, or any of the Constellations near it seen there in the Night, which was sufficient to deter the Travellers of those Times from all Hopes, and even from all Wishes of penetrating into these Regions.

Strabo likewise gives us a large and magnificent Account of the Plenty and Riches of *India*, and assures us that it abounds with all kinds of Wealth, more especially Pearls, Carbuncles, Diamonds, and other precious Stones; he mentions likewise Aromaticks and Spices, as Part of the Commodities brought from the *Indies*, but he does not tell us in what particular Parts of *India* these valuable Commodities are found; and indeed all the Writers of Antiquity are alike faulty in this Point.

Pliny, who had read almost every Author extant on this Subject, is very clear in the general, as to the Plenty of all things necessary for the Service of Mankind in this Country, and gives us very copious Accounts of the rich Metals and various kinds of precious Stones that were brought from thence, some of which he tells us were found in Rivers, others in the Clefts of Rocks, and not a few in the Mines of Gold and Silver; but with respect to the Places where these Mines lay, or how they were to be reached, he is silent; and we may say the same thing of *Arrian*, and all the ancient Writers cited by *Akenens*; for though they are profuse in their Commendations of *India*, and in their Panegyrics on its Wealth and Riches, yet they never distinguish where we are to look for this precious Commodity, or where that is to be found; but content themselves with assuring us, that all are to be met with in the *Indies*.

This was owing, beyond all Question, to the Conduct of the *Indians* in their Commerce with the Ancients; for they always pretended that things were brought to them from distant Countries with infinite Hazard and Danger, and these Pretences served at once to heighten the Value of their Goods, and to deter Strangers from going in Search of them, as it likewise hindered them from making such Enquiries as might have acquainted them with the Truth, which was, that many of the valuable Commodities of the *Indies* were actually the Produce of those Countries they visited.

It may not be amiss to observe here, that in the Description of the *Erythraean* Sea ascribed to *Arrian*, and in all the other Works of the same Nature that are still extant, the *Indians* are every-where represented as much given to, and extremely well versed in, all the Arts of Commerce. It appears from those Accounts, that there was a very considerable Trade carried on in all their Sea-ports, and that where-ever the Situation of their Rivers afforded them an Opportunity of conveying their Merchandise in small Vessels within Land, they had great Cities upon their Banks full of Artificers and Manufacturers, where every thing was carried on with the utmost Regularity, so that the Fame of their Industry was equal to that of their Riches. I make therefore no Scruple of asserting, that these were the flourishing Times of that Country, and that the *Indians* have been since on the Decline, which will appear the more credible, if we consider, that the prodigious Trade of *China*, which is the great Source of the Wealth and Happiness of its People, is, properly speaking, a domestic Commerce; that is to say, the best Part of it is carried on amongst themselves, and from one Province of that Empire to another.

It is not therefore at all wonderful, that People that practised in Trade should be able, by studied Relations, to impose upon Strangers, who finding them all in the same Story, took this for an incontestable Argument of Truth; and hence it is that we are told of rich Mines of Gold in

* The Court of *Areopagus* at *Athens* punished severely such as broached new Opinions in Religion, or derided the old.

Ed. ii. * Geography. lib. xv.

* See the List of Authors cited by *Pliny* in his Natural History in Father *Harden's* Edition.

Diod. Sic.

the Northern *Indies* on the Frontiers of *Scythia*, and of Diamonds and Precious Stones found there, whereas in all probability, the Gold which the Ancients met with in *India* came from the Peninsula of *Malacca*; the Diamonds were found near *Cape Comorin*, and the Rubies and other colour'd Stones were brought from *Taprobana* or *Ceylon*. We will conclude these Remarks on the Riches of the *Indies* with a few Lines from the Poem of the famous Geographer *Dionysius*, whom some Critics place as high as the Reign of *Augustus*, and which *Priscian* has thus rendered into *Latin*. They occur towards the End of the Poem, and contain a most lively and elegant Picture of the Riches of the *Indies*, with as much Accuracy and Correctness as any Prose Writer whatever, and may serve as a Specimen both of the Matter and of this Manner of Writing.

*Respice nunc reliquas Asia sub finibus eras.
Persilis ad pontum Carmant, solis ab ortu;
Littora pars habitant, medice pars limina terre.
Gurgis post hos tendunt orientis ad ignes,
Oceanum juxta: radiis propriis inde
Est Scythiæ Tellus australis, flumen ad Indum,
Qui ponto rapidus rubro contrarius exit:
Gurgite nam celeri reclus decurrit ad Austrum,
Caucasus oriens primum de montibus altis:
Didiva cujus Patalens cingitur unda.
Separat innumeras & vasto gurgite gentes.
Ad partes rapidi qua vergunt lumina Solis,
Orissas, Aribasque simul, linique Aracotas
Ugentis lentis, & Sairacidas simul omnes.
Porpenei Montis sub celsa rupe, Arivos
Nemine comuni, qui terras ubere nullo
Eluentes habitant, squalent nam sentibus aspris;
Cur illi lapidem qui rubrum littore carpunt,
Satyris que decus nigri fluvique coloris
Sarcum cadunt venis, hac merce beati.
In omni Terras hinc Teltyos æquora claudant,
Quos primo Titan ascendens lumine cernit.
Unde Color populus niger est flagrantibus ortu,
Atque gerunt similes hyacintho fronte Capillos.
Effodiant alii terras aurique metallum:
At alii texunt tenuissima tegmina lini:
Vel dentes fringunt elephantis ab ore revulsos:
Scrutantur ripes alii torrentibus imbri
Beryli gemmas glauci, nitidumque adamantam,
Atque aura viridi legitur quæ splendet Iaspis,
Cur lique decus liquidi, gratique Topazi
Purpureque amethystos inest suffusa colore.
Dicitur magnas sic tellus illa ministrat.
Affluunt rigant hanc totam fontibus amnes:
Arboribusque viget variis, milioque frequenti,
Et pretio rubræ perforet arundinis illa.
Hic alii superant procero corpore tantum,
Inflant equitum facies ut more Elephantos:
At alii vicunt sapienti pectore nudi
Luminibusque vident relictis, mirabile, solem:
Et radios oculis, & sacramento retrahant,
Signaque concipiunt arcana luce futuri.
Pistacus hic viridis decoratus torque rubenti
Nascitur, humane simulat qui verbera lingue.*

11. The principal Hindrance that the Commerce of the Ancients met with was owing to the following Causes; first, the over-valuing their own Knowledge, and supposing all Nations at a Distance from them *Barbarians*, and more or less so in proportion to that Distance; the next was their adhering to their old Notions in Cosmography, notwithstanding the Arguments their own Experience furnished to the contrary; and thirdly, their discontinuing their Voyages to distant Countries during domestick Contentions, by which those Routs were lost which were known in former times, and their Discoveries so confounded, that it is scarce possible to affirm any thing about them with Certainty.

The two former were voluntary Errors, the last was rather their Misfortune than their Fault. We have an Account in *Strabo* of a very singular Navigation to the *Indies* performed in the Reign of *Proteny Evergetes*, which, if carefully pursued, might have opened to them a much

shorter and easier Passage to the *Indies* than they had been hitherto acquainted with. The Guards that were appointed to patrolle on the Shore of the *Arabian Gulph* found an *Indian* half dead upon that Shore, and brought him to the King; all they could tell of him was, that he alone had escaped a Shipwreck; but as they understood not his Language, they were not able to say whence he came. The King caused him to be well taken care of, and to be instructed in the *Greek Language*, in which, when he had attained a sufficient Knowledge to discourse, he acquainted him, that in a Voyage from the *Indies*, being driven out of the usual Course, he lost all his Companions by Hunger; and the Ship being stranded, he escaped alone on Shore, where the Guards found him.

This Man offered to pilot a Ship to his own Country, which he did, and carried one *Eudoxus* with him. The Voyage was very happily performed, and they found in the Country to which this *Indian* carried them Aromaticks, and several sorts of Precious Stones, some of which the *Indians* found in their Rivers, and others they dug out of the Earth in the same manner that Crystal is found. *Eudoxus* conceiving that he had acquired Experience enough by this Voyage, set up for a great Navigator, and undertook several Voyages to very little Purpose, because he followed his own Notions instead of endeavouring to acquire proper Lights from the *Indians*, notwithstanding it clearly appears from the Accident that befel this Man, that the *Indians* were much bolder and better Seamen than the *Greeks*.

But these last were so persuaded of their own Skill, and had such a Contempt for the Nations they held *Barbarians*, that nothing could induce them to change their Sentiments, or prevail on them to think of obtaining Lights from those they so much despised. Bishop *Huet*, speaking of this Passage, seems to be of Opinion, that from the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* the *Egyptians* had neglected their *Indian Commerce*, and recovered it by this Accident. I must confess this does not appear at all probable to me, and I am rather inclinable to believe, that this *Indian* carried the Ship he navigated to a Part of the *Indies* with which till then they had never been acquainted; and this by the perfect Knowledge he had of the *Monsoons*, or constant Trade-Winds; for I cannot believe that the *Indians*, in these early Ages, had any other Secret which enabled them to make long Voyages in less time than other People. This is an Instance of the first Error.

As to the second, one might collect many; but that I may not dwell too long upon this Subject, I will take notice only of one. They had a Notion that the Eastern and unknown Part of the *Indies* was bounded by the Ocean, and that this Ocean communicated with the *Hyrcanian*, or *Caspian Sea*; and upon this they grounded their Hopes of discovering the most distant Part of the *Indies* by the Navigation of the latter. *Strabo* declares plainly, however, that he believes this Navigation never had been performed; but at the same time admits, that it was practicable. This he did on the Credit of *Patrocles*, who was sent to make Discoveries on this Side by the *Seleucide*; and this he labours very earnestly to prove by that kind of reasoning, which will always affect the Vulgar among the Learned, and which no great Man ever wants to establish what he thinks probable.

Pliny also mentions the Voyages of *Patrocles*, and seems to insinuate that he actually discover'd some such Passage; but what he says is very dark and perplexed, so that after all, one can affirm nothing positively from his Writings. The Opinion however grew common, and passed for current, even upon such obscure Testimonies; and this drew after it, as a necessary Consequence, a Notion that only an inconsiderable Part of the World remained undiscovered; and this, together with the whimsical Apprehension that one Zone was intolerably hot, and two as intolerably cold, damped the Spirit of enquiring, and confined Men to the Spots where they happened to be born, or, at most, to those which their Ancestors had discovered by Accident or good Fortune, rather than Industry. Indeed, this circumscribing Scheme is so strong in the Ancients, and even in those Works, which, at first Sight, appear calculated for a different Purpose; as for Instance, the Story of the Island *Atlantis*, related by *Plato*, and the famous

Expedition of *Hanne*, that they contain much more to affright and terrify, than to allure and invite Men to undertake long Voyages, and endeavour great Discoveries, which had this bad Effect, that it quite dastardized common Minds, and rendered them incapable of being wrought into a Temper fit to go through the Hardships that must be met with in such Undertakings.

The third Disadvantage they laboured under was, the frequent Revolutions their own Countries were exposed to, for this laid them under many and great Difficulties. They had this Method or that prescribed to them by a superior Power, and they were to pursue such Plans only as were agreeable to the Government under which they lived, and those too no longer than they were agreeable. Another Inconvenience was, the Interposition of the State on any Discovery, or surmised Discovery. It was to be cultivated or neglected at the Will of the Government, and not of the Adventurers, for the Spirit of Negotiation was not so free as it is now; but any Attempts out of the ordinary Mode of Commerce gave Jealousies to such as ought to have been best pleased with them.

These Discouragements, at particular Times, and under particular Circumstances, interrupted several kinds of Commerce, and kept the whole in such a Condition as hindered private Men from turning their Thoughts this Way; for, otherwise, no doubt, they would have thought of settling Colonies, and securing some Footing in the *Indies*, in order to have examined the whole of it, and putting the Navigation of it into a certain and irreversible Order; so that nothing which happened at home might have affected those Colonies: But after the Time of *Alexander*, or at least, of his immediate Successors, we find nothing of this sort thought of, but every Thing abandoned to Chance and the Humour of the Times.

12. There were many Impediments besides those already mentioned, which hindered the Progress of Discoveries among the Ancients, and some of them of such a Nature as to be almost invincible. Their Ships were built in such a Manner, as did not, by any means, render them fit for long Voyages; for their Contrivance was such, that they could not bear a high Sea, or go safely before the Wind at any great Rate. In the next place, their Ships wanted Room; and though this seems to be contradicted by the Accounts we have of Vessels that carried several hundred Men, yet, when these come to be closely examined, they appear to be no other than a sort of Barges, or rather Gallies, fit for transporting Men across an Arm of the Sea, or for fighting, where this could be done in a few Hours after they were on Board; and this will be the more evident, if we reflect on the Scenes of naval Combats mentioned in the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories. The Labour of working their Ships was likewise intolerable in a long Voyage; and these Inconveniences taken together, appeared in the Eyes of their Seamen so dreadful, that they were more apt to mutiny, especially when employed in Discoveries than can well be imagined, so that if it had not been for some Accidents, and their being encouraged by the Examples of the *Arabians* and *Indians*, it is scarce credible, that they would have made such long Voyages as they really did.

If it should be inquired how the *Arabians* and *Indians* made such frequent Voyages in spite of these Inconveniences, the Answer is easy, they made use of another sort of Vessels, which, though less stout in Appearance, were much better Sailers; nor would it be difficult to prove, even from the Accounts of *Strabo* and other ancient Writers, that the *Indians* actually made use in those Days of the *Paraos* or *Proes*, which before a Wind are allowed to be the best sailing Vessels in the World. The Ancients wanted likewise the Assistance of Charts, which are so essentially necessary to Navigation; for it appears plainly from the Voyages already inserted, and from the Accounts we have in *Pliny*, and in other Authors, that they were guided solely by a kind of Tables, containing the Names of Places on the Coast, and their Distances from each other; neither had they any Ideas of sailing in a different manner, because they knew not how to regulate their Course in an open Sea, which forced them upon the Choice of that sort of Navigation which is now with Reason held to be the most

dangerous, and in which they could make use of such Vessels only as had a small Draught of Water; and this was particularly inconvenient in the Navigation of which we are speaking, because the *Indian* Coasts are very foul, and by sailing near them they lost the Advantage of the Trade Winds, which before the Invention of the Compass, afforded the only means of making long Voyages with Safety.

It must be owned that many of these Facts have been disputed, and that too by very learned Men, who have endeavoured to persuade us, that the Ancients wanted very few of the Conveniences possessed by modern Navigators, as will be largely shewn in another Place; but at present it may be sufficient to observe, that most of their Arguments are drawn from their own Explications of perplexed and obscure Passages in Historians or Poets, whereas ours are grounded on the Scope of their general Histories, and on Declarations in our Favour, as express as can be desired. For instance, *Vegetius* assures us, that the Seas were shut from *November* to *March*, and that it was not thought safe to undertake any Voyage of Consequence before the Month of *May*. This very plainly proves the Defects of their Navigation, and that they lost a great Part of the Year for want of those Helps and Advantages, which purely from a Spirit of Contradiction these learned Men would persuade us they enjoyed.

It may not be amiss to remark, that supposing their Opinion to be true, it is so far from adding to the Credit of the Ancients, that it really does a greater Injury to their Reputation, than the contrary Assertion taken in the strongest Sense; for if the Ancients had the Use of the Compass, and of Sea-Charts, as these learned Writers maintain, their not making a better Use of them is altogether inexcusable, and shews such a want of Spirit, and such a Defect of Genius, as is absolutely irreconcilable to their Performances in other Arts; but what seems to put the Matter beyond all Question is this, that the *Arabians* becoming Masters of the *Greek* Learning as well as of their Empire, and translating into their own Language the best Books that were written on these Subjects, met with nothing that at all corroborates this Notion of the great Knowledge of the Ancients, with respect to the Instruments of Navigation necessary in long Voyages.

Sir *John Chardin*, who was a Man of much reading, as well as of a good Understanding, and withal a great Traveller, has delivered his Sentiments upon this Subject in the following Terms, which I the rather cite in this Place, because I shall not hereafter have any Opportunity of entering again on such Reflections in the Course of this Chapter. "I cannot tell, says he, whether the *Chinese* found out the Art of Navigation and the Compass, as they did the Art of Printing and Artillery; we should consult the learned Men amongst them to be assured of it. But for the other *Asiatics*, I boldly assert, they are beholden to us for this wonderful Instrument which they had from Europe by the Hands of the *Arabs*, a long time before the *Portuguese* Conquests: For, first, their Compasses are exactly like ours, and they buy them up of the *Europeans* as much as they can, scarce daring to meddle with their Needles themselves. Secondly, it is certain the old Navigators only coasted it, which I impute to the Want of this Instrument to guide them, and induce them in the wide Ocean. We cannot pretend to say they were afraid of venturing far from home; for the *Arabs*, the first Navigators in the World in my Opinion, at least for the Eastern Seas, have, Time out of Mind, sailed from the Bottom of the *Red-Sea* all along the Coast of *Africa*, down to the Tropick of *Capricorn*, which is a Space of fifty Degrees; and the *Chinese* have always traded with the Inhabitants of the Islands of *Java* and *Sumatra*, which is also a very considerable Voyage. So many Islands uninhabited, and at the same time productive, so many Lands unknown to the People I speak of are a Proof that the old Navigators had not the Art of sailing on the wide Sea. I have nothing but Argument and Conjecture to offer touching this Matter, having never met with any body in *Perfua*, or the *Indies*, who inform me when the Compass was first known among them, though I made Enquiry of the most learned

"Men in each Country. I have failed from the *Indies* to *Perfia* in Indian Ships, when no *European* has been on Board but myself: The Pilots were all *Indians*, and they used the Forestaff and Quadrant for their Observations. These Instruments they have from us, and made by ours, not in the least varying therefrom, except that the Characters are *Arabic*; and by the way I observed, that the *Arabs* are the most skilful Navigators of all the *Asiatic* and *Africans*; but neither they nor the *Indians* make use of Charts, and indeed they do not much want them; some they have, but they are copied from ours, for they are quite ignorant of Perspective."

13. After the copious Detail we have given of the Progress of the Commerce of the Ancients in the East, we shall conclude this Section with a very succinct Comparison between their Endeavours and Successes in this Respect, and the Labours in the same way of the Moderns. In the first place then we have made it highly probable, that even in the most flourishing State of their Trade, their actual Discoveries did not reach farther to the East than the Peninsula of *Malacca*; for as to the *Sinus Magnus*, they could know nothing of it but by Hear-say, unless they had known all the rest of the *Indies*. On the Continent again the *Sinns*, which were the *Siamese*, were the last People they knew on that Side. In regard to the Northern *Indies*, they knew very little with any sort of Certainty beyond the *Emilian* Mountains; and most evident it is, even from their best Writers, that they had not so much as Reports of the Nations inhabiting beyond the Mountains of *Imaus*. But we have discovered Eastward the Country of *Cochin-China*, and all the Countries dependant upon it, the Kingdom of *Tonkin*, the vast Empire of *China*, all the Islands of the *Sonaa*, the *Moluccas*, the *Old* and *New Philippines*, and the Country of *New Guinea*, so that considered in this Light, our Discoveries exceed theirs by twenty Degrees of Longitude. Towards the North again, besides what has been discovered by Land, the *Dutch* have most certainly proceeded as high as forty-five Degrees failing to the North-east of *Japan*, so that without exaggerating the Part of *Asia* made known to us by our *East-India* Voyages, is equal to all the rest of *Asia* that was known to the Ancients. It is not therefore at all strange, that our *India* Trade should so much exceed theirs, though carried on at so much greater Distance.

In the next place, it may be observed, that though the Trade to the *Indies* was never carried to Perfection by the *Egyptians*, *Tyrians*, or *Romans*, yet it was known to them, and made the Subject of their Books for a long Course of Ages, since from the first Kingdom of *Tyre* to the Reign of *Constantine the Great* includes above eight hundred Years, whereas all our Discoveries of the *East-Indies* were made within two Centuries after a Passage was found thither by the *Cape of Good Hope*, so that in this respect the Industry of the Ancients is very far surpassed by that of the Moderns.

The third Observation I shall make is with regard to the Difference between a Land Force and a Naval Power. We have seen how many fruitless Attempts were made by the *Affrian* and *Perfian* Monarchs to extend their Conquests towards the East; and we have likewise seen of how short a Continuance the Conquests were of *Alexander the Great*, and his Successors, together with the Attempts made by the *Romans*, after they had reduced *Egypt* to a Province, and were Masters of a great Part of *Asia*, which, all of them, are nothing in Comparison of the Empire established by the *Portuguese*, or rather the Comparison falls as far short as the Power of the little Kingdom of *Portugal*, when thrown into the Balance with that of the Empire of *Rome*; and the Establishments of the *English* and *Dutch* in those Parts; but more especially of the latter plainly demonstrate, that with respect to the Advantages derived from Conquests, a Maritime Power is infinitely superior to the Strength even of the most extended Empires.

The *Romans* had in this respect in all Appearance the highest Advantages; they were Masters of the Country to the very Mouth of the *Arabian* Gulph on one Side, and had a very large Tract of Country on the other. The Terror of their Name was so great, that they had hardly any Opposition to fear by Land or Sea; and if one Expedition had failed, they might very soon have repaired the

Loss sustained in it, and have been in a Condition to have undertaken another. Yet we see nothing of this happened; and it was not above twice or thrice thought of, and then to no great Purpose. *Augustus* had formed a Design of reducing the Peninsula of *Arabia*, to which he was excited by many Reasons; such as that the Inhabitants of the Coast between the *Arabian* and *Perfian* Gulphs were in Possession of the whole Trade of the East; there were some of the Nations on the Coast opposite to *Egypt* that were extremely addicted to Piracy, and greatly disturbed the Navigation of the *Romans*, which probably happened from their having lighter Vessels, and such as sailed better, so that if at any time they met with Ships of greater Force, they were able to leave them, and make their Escapes; the Situation of the Country also might probably be a strong Inducement to the attempting this Conquest, because it seemed to promise the intire Possession of the Oriental Commerce without Interruption. But we have seen how that Expedition, undertaken with so great Precaution, and with such a Force as was never employed in the East by any modern Potentate, was intirely defeated. The Emperors *Flavius* and *Titus Vespasian*, had also some Thoughts of pushing their Conquests on this Side; but History does not inform us, that they ever took any effectual Steps towards putting those Delights in Execution. *Trajan* made the last Attempt upon *Arabia* from the *Perfian* Side, with a potent and victorious Army; and this with no other View, than to have made himself Master of the Wealth which the *Arabians* had amassed by their extensive Commerce; but he likewise failed, and from a too quick Sense of his Disappointment, broke his Heart.

Let us now consider what Prospect the *Portuguese* had of reaching and making Conquests in the *Indies*. Instead of crossing from the Mouth of the *Arabian* Gulph to the Coast of *Malabar*, which is a Voyage only of a few Days they were to sail round the whole Continent of *Africa*, then a Coast in a great measure unknown; and at the same time the adjacent Seas were remarkable for their being almost constantly subject to Storms and Tempests, inasmuch, that when the utmost Cape was first discovered, the Discoverer called it the *Tempestuous Cape*; but the King of *Portugal* foreseeing the Advantages that would result from this Navigation, changed that Name for *The Cape of Good Hope*, and with a few Ships, and a very small Force, attempted and settled not only a Commerce with the *Indies*, but raised a very considerable Empire there in spite of all the Opposition that could be given him. This manifestly shews not only the Superiority of the Moderns over the Ancients in Point of Navigation, but likewise that the most distant Voyages are best suited to the raising a Maritime Power, that is to say, a Power by Sea that is permanent, and not raised and overthrown suddenly, as the Maritime Powers among the Ancients frequently were. It also effectually demonstrates, that it is not a mighty but a well-conducted Force that is proper for establishing distant Conquests; and that where a Nation is once possessed of a considerable Fleet, there is no Country at such a Distance as to be out of her Reach, neither are her Settlements in any Danger of being destroyed, while they are worth keeping, and while the Government at home is sufficiently attentive to their Preservation; so that the Circumstances which seem at first Sight the most discouraging in regard to the attaining Foreign Power and Maritime Force, are, in reality, those which most contribute to the Establishment of it; and to the preserving it when established by securing a constant Supply of all that is necessary for that Purpose.

It is by long Voyages, only made with Danger and Uncertainty, that People require the Means of making long Voyages with Ease and Safety; the Perils they escape once they know how to avoid again; they become acquainted by degrees, and by Experience, with the Nature of Things which never could have been reached by the Penetration even of the sharpest Understanding; and by thus becoming acquainted with the Laws, or rather with the Course of Nature, they gain insensibly a kind of Superiority over Nature; so that in some Sense the very Winds and Seas may be said to obey them. When the *Portuguese* first undertook their *Indian* Expedition, they neither had good Ships, nor knew how to build them. It was

not therefore in Virtue of their great naval Force, that they became Masters of these Countries, but it was their Desire of becoming Masters of them, that put them upon raising one capable of achieving it.

It is very remarkable, that the first Place in the *Indies* at which they arrived, was *Malabar*, a Country which, as we have shewn, was known to the Ancients, and that too for a long Tract of Time, but so imperfectly that they were not so much as able to give us a tolerable Description of it. Whereas in the Space of fifty Years, or less, the *Portuguese* were Lords not only of that, but of all the adjacent Countries, raised and deposed Princes as they thought fit, and disposed of Kingdoms at their Pleasure. The great Island of *Ceylon*, which, as we have proved, was the *Taprobana* of the Ancients, of which, after so many Voyages to the *Indies*, they have given us such lame Accounts, was not only perfectly discovered within the Space of Time before mentioned, but in the Hands of the *Portuguese*, who imposed a Tribute upon the Inhabitants, though all the Force they had then in the *Indies*, was not equal to a thousandth Part of their Number.

These Reflections will lead the intelligent Reader into many more upon this Subject, and enable him to comprehend perfectly the Difference between the Attempts made by the Ancients, and the Exploits of the Moderns in this Part of the World, which, at present, is all our Business; and having thus travelled through the darkest and most perplexed Part of our Subject on which we were obliged to enlarge ourselves, in order to be perfectly understood, and to satisfy the Reader, that though every Thing within this Period of Time, was confused and embarrassed enough; yet it was far from being so utterly unintelligible, as it has been hitherto represented; we may have Leave to be more concise for the future, in respect to those Things that are better known, and with regard to which therefore long Digressions are unnecessary.

In order to connect the ancient and modern History of the Commerce between *Europe* and the *East-Indies*, it is requisite that we should give a short Account of the Inter-

course between the Subjects of the *Greek Empire* and the People of the *Indies*; for the Reader must naturally apprehend that after the imperial Seat was transferred from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, *Egypt* remaining still a Province no less useful to the latter than the former, this Commerce which had hitherto been in a manner annexed to the Possession of *Egypt*, must have been not only preserved, but encouraged and extended.

He will likewise, no doubt, be glad to see the Changes that happened in it, the new Routes that were opened to and from the *Indies*, by which the Commodities of those Countries came by so many different Channels into *Europe*, and which by the Riches they derived to the several Nations that intermeddled with this Commerce, excited the Spirit of Discovery which has since laid open that Trade directly to all the modern maritime Powers, and made their Establishments in the *Indies*, the most solid Proofs of their having a just Right to that Title. These, God willing, we shall dispatch within the Compass of two short Sections, and then we shall enter on the Travels to the *Indies*, which first acquainted the northern and western Parts of the World, with the Interior of those Countries, the Nature of their Inhabitants, the Constitution of their Governments, and the History of the most remarkable Events which had fallen out in them.

A Sort of Travels that, as they appeared strange and surprising in the Times in which they were first published, so when exhibited simply and plainly as their Authors wrote them, and without the whimsical Additions by which they were disfigured in our old Translations, they cannot fail of being thought equally curious and instructive even at this Day, the rather because we love to trace Things to their Beginnings, and to see what strange Impressions the Sight of Countries, People, and Manners so different from their own, made upon the Minds of those who first visited those remote Regions, and that too in an Age not altogether so free from Superstition and Prejudice as this in which we live.

SECTION XVI.

A concise History of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Constantinopolitan Empire, together with the Commerce of its Subjects in the East; as also a brief Detail of the Rise of the Arabian Empire, the Recovery of the Indian Commerce in Egypt, and the reviving the Trade of Alexandria.

1. A Description of the City of Constantinople, and a short View of the many Advantages derived to it from its commodious Situation.
2. The great Care taken by the Successors of Constantine for the Support of maritime Power.
3. The great naval Strength of that Empire, and the Disposition of its Fleets.
4. The Ruin of the Silk-Trade under the Emperor Justinian.
5. Silk-worms first brought to Europe, and a compendious History of that Manufacture to the present Times.
6. A large Account of the several Indian Commodities that were brought to Constantinople.
7. A concise View of the State of that Empire, from the Reign of Justinian to that of Heraclius.
8. The Victories of Heraclius over the Persians, and the Embassies sent him from the Indies.
9. The Rise and Progress of the Arabian Empire, to the Time of the Conquest of Egypt.
10. The Foundation of Grand Cairo, and the Revival of the Indian Trade in Egypt.
11. The History of the Arabian Commerce continued, with the Revival of that of Alexandria.
12. The State of Constantinople, to the Time of its being taken by the Turks.
13. Observations and Remarks upon the foregoing History.

THE best Writers of Antiquity differ very much as to the Reasons which induced *Constantine the Great*, to remove the Seat of Empire from *Rome* to the new City, which he called by his own Name. Some ascribe it to his Care of the Eastern Provinces, and others to his being sensible that the *Romans* had lost it. Whatever his Reasons were, most certainly the Majesty of old *Rome* could not have been translated to a City, but that I for I upon this, which the Emperor *Constantine* called new *Rome*. Its old Name was *Byzantium*, and it had long though a great Variety of Names, but *Constantine*, who first thought of re-

building *Troy*, cast his Eyes upon it, and immediately discerned that no Place was so fit to become the Metropolis of the *Roman Empire*, and Mistress of the World. It stands on a Point of Land on the ancient *Bosphorus of Thrace*, where there is a narrow Strait which serves to divide *Europe* and *Asia*, and, at the same time, forms a Communication between the *White* and the *Black-Sea*.

The City stretches itself out in the Manner of an Amphitheatre, having on its Right-hand the *Archipelago*, and all the *Mediterranean*; and on the Left, the *Black-Sea* up to the *Palus Meotides*; so that it has all *Asia* in Front,

Front, and all *Europe* behind. It is in Virtue of this Situation that this City is very justly stiled the Key both of the Mediterranean and black Sea. The Emperor, its Founder, took all imaginable Care to render it the most magnificent Place in all the World, to adorn it with Churches, Palaces, and other publick Buildings; and to provide for its Security, by all the Arts of Fortification practised in those Days. But still the Conveniency of its Situation seems to have had a greater Share in rendering it populous, and in preventing succeeding Emperors from thinking either of going back to *Rome*, or of chusing any other Place of Residence, than all the Pains taken by *Constantine* to render it equally stately and commodious.

The spacious Fields of *Thrace* that lay immediately behind it, furnished Corn in Abundance, and that Part of *Asia* which was over-against it, was, for many Ages, the best peopled, and the best cultivated Country in the World. The Markets were always full of Flesh and Fowl, at the cheapest Rates; and for Fish it had, and has still a greater Abundance than any other City in the Universe, inasmuch that twenty Boats have been laden with one Net. The Inhabitants were supplied with Wines of the richest Growths, in the greatest Plenty, so that in ancient Times, they were reproached with being continually at the Bottle; and, even to this Day, the *Greeks* lie under the same Imputation; though the *Turks* being restrained by their Religion, are less addicted to this Vice, though not wholly exempt from it neither. As to Timber, *Constantinople* is so plentifully supplied from the Woods which extend from *Propontis* quite to *Calchis*, in a Tract of more than forty Days Journey, that in the Space of so many Ages as she has already stood, she has never felt the least Inconvenience, notwithstanding she has supplied all the neighbouring Parts with what was requisite for building Ships and Houses, and even *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and *Africa*, have likewise received Materials from her Stores.

But the greatest Beauty, the greatest Advantage, the most distinguishing Felicity of this imperial City is, her Port, by Nature, the most lovely in the World, being six Miles in Compas, a full Mile over, and every where so deep that Ships may lie with their Heads ashore, without Danger. This Harbour is not more safe and spacious than convenient; for when the Winds are N. N. E. or N. W. so that no Ships can come in from the Mediterranean, they bring in those from the black Sea; and when they were about to the opposite Points of S. S. W. or S. E. they bring up the Vessels from the Mediterranean; so that considered in this Light, *Constantinople* seems designed by Nature to be the Centre of Commerce for *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*.

2. It was very probably the Sense which they had of these prodigious Advantages that induced the Emperors, for a long Series of Time, to bend a great Part of their Endeavours to the Encouragement of Merchants and Mariners. The Emperor *Constantius*, for Example, exempted them from all Charges and Contributions to which the other Subjects of the Empire were liable; and this in so ample a Manner that no pretended Cases of Necessity could affect them. Succeeding Emperors distinguished between Merchants and Mariners, subjecting the former to Duties and Impositions, but exempting the latter, and extending their Privileges to a very great Degree. The Reason of this was, because that Merchants reaped all the Profits of Commerce to all the Hazards and Dangers of which the Mariners alone were exposed. As the Emperors had frequent Occasion to fit out Fleets for the publick Service, and as the manning of these might have been very prejudicial to Commerce, a Law was provided which remedied this Inconvenience, and that in so singular a Manner, that it deserves to be particularly taken Notice of.

There were certain Lands, in the Nature of Fiefs, granted for this Service; that is to say, the Owners possessed them together with the Privileges incident to Mariners, upon express Condition, that in Consideration of these Estates, they should furnish according to their respective Values, a certain Number of Seamen, whenever the publick Service required them. Thus the Burthen was laid upon

Lands, and not upon Persons; and as the Circumstances of People might change, and this Duty of providing Seamen, become inconvenient, or even impracticable; for the original Possessors of such Estates, the Law provided that they might be at Liberty to dispose of them to such as might be more capable of complying with the Terms upon which they were held.

By this Method the *Greek* Emperors were able to fit out very great Fleets in case of Necessity, as appears by that of the Emperor *Leo*, in the Middle of the fifth Century, which was intended against the *Vandals*, and consisted of eleven hundred Sail, which, however, were all destroyed on the Coast of *Africa* by the Treason of him who commanded them. This alone is a strong Proof of the great maritime Power of the *Constantinopolitan* Empire, while it flourished; but we have a much more signal Proof in the Establishments made by these Emperors for the several Fleets appointed for the Defence and Support of their Empire, which Establishments appear very clearly from the several Bodies of their Laws still remaining, and which prove, beyond all Contradiction, that so long as this Empire continued in a flourishing Condition, the utmost Care was taken for the Encouragement and Protection of Commerce, by a right Application of that maritime Force we have before described.

3. The Province of *Egypt* was of no less Importance to the *Greek*, than to the *Roman* Empire; and the utmost Care was taken to regulate the annual Fleets from that Province, so that the City of *Constantinople* might be regularly supplied with whatever Provisions she had Occasion for from thence, and have likewise the most valuable Returns that were made from the *Indian* Commerce by the way of the *Red-Sea*. It was by this means that immense Riches were regularly drawn from thence, and the best Part of the Profits of that advantageous Trade constantly conveyed to the Imperial Residence, as appears by a Multitude of Laws yet extant in relation to the Fleet of *Alexandria*, on Board of which those Treasures were carried to *Constantinople*. The next stationed Fleet was that of *Africa*, which was chiefly designed for the Benefit of *Old Rome*; for all the Commerce of *Alexandria* being diverted to *Constantinople*, that Supply of Provisions, for which hitherto *Rome* had depended upon the Fleet of *Egypt*, was now to be received by this of *Africa*; and for a long Course of Years this Expedient answered the End very well.

The third Fleet was that of the East, the principal Station of which was at *Seleucia*, a City of *Syria*, seated on the River *Orontes*; and this Fleet seems to have been divided into several Squadrons, and from the many Laws made about it, appears to have been of very great Importance. It was chiefly by the Help of this Fleet that the Commerce of *Persia* and the *Higher Asia* was carried on, which was very rich, and included some Branches of that of the *Indies*. Great Care was taken in the regulating this Trade, to prevent the Empire from suffering by the sending of *Persian* Spies, in the Garb of Merchants, into the *Roman* Provinces. The Places therefore to which the *Persian* Merchants might repair, were pointed out, and settled by Law; as also the Seasons at which Fairs were to be held, and the Time they were to last, by which Contrivance a Door was opened for conveying all the Trade of *Asia* into this Channel; for when the Goods purchased at different Places were brought by the respective Fleets attending the Provinces in which those Fairs were held to *Seleucia*, they were there embarked on Board the Grand Fleet for *Constantinople*.

Besides these there was another Fleet in the *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Black Sea*, which brought annually vast Quantities of Corn to *Constantinople*, together with abundance of rich Commodities, and amongst them some from the *Indies*, which were brought thither by a Rout, that will be explained in the next Section. This Fleet served likewise to awe the several barbarous Nations inhabiting the Coasts of that Sea, and thereby contributed exceedingly to the Tranquillity of the Empire. It is very probable from the Laws that we find in the Code of the Emperor *Justinian*, that besides these great Fleets, every maritime Province of the Empire had its peculiar Squadron stationed at a certain Port, which every Year carried the Revenues of the Province to *Constantinople*. There were likewise vast Numbers of flat-

bot-

bottomed Vessels maintained at the publick Expence on all the great Rivers that passed through the Empire for the transporting Troops, and other requisite Services, as occasion required.

Whoever considers this Distribution of things attentively, will easily discern that there never was a Government in the World, the Peace and Prosperity of which depended more immediately on the right Management of Maritime Affairs, than that of this Empire. But as it was very extensive, and as an equal Care was necessary for the preserving Order in every Part of it, we need not wonder, that in Process of Time many Errors crept in, and a Multitude of Laws were made necessary for remedying the Inconveniencies they produced, till by degrees the new Regulations clashing with the old ones, occasioned greater Mischiefs than all the rest, and joined to a Depravity of Manners among their Governors, and the Invasions from barbarous Nations, to which they were continually exposed, brought on their Ruin of an Empire, which was grown too bulky to be well managed.

4. It is very certain, and we shall quickly have an Opportunity of making it evident, that so long as the *Greek* Empire was in a safe and flourishing Condition, the Subjects thereof had a general Correspondence in the East, and carried on a considerable Commerce to the *Indies* by different Canals. It would take up too much Room to state a Multitude of Facts from the *Byzantine* Historians, which might establish this Assertion; but that we may not leave this Part of our History less perfect than the rest, it seems reasonable to report some few Instances which may answer this Purpose, and that too in a narrow Compass. The learned Historian *Procopius*, who has preserved a Multitude of curious Passages in respect to the Reign of the Emperor *Justinian*, in which he flourished, has among the rest two very singular Facts that fall in exactly with our Design.

He tells us, that this Emperor, who began his Reign *A.D.* 528, and who had found a way to grant Monopolies of almost every sort of Commodity, except Silks, took the following Method of getting that likewise into his Hands. It seems, this Manufacture was carried on no where but in the Cities of *Berytus* and *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, and Silks were of a sudden grown to a most extravagant Price, which was said to arise from the Covetousness of the *Persian* Monarch, who had imposed a heavy Duty upon Silks, which the *Roman* Merchants were obliged to pay for all they purchased in his Dominions; the Emperor finding this considered as a great Hardship, published an Edict, by which he pretended to settle the Price of Silk at eight Crowns of Gold for a Pound, and threatened with Confiscation of their Goods such as should presume to sell it dearer.

This ruined the Merchants who dealt in that Commodity, who found themselves obliged by this Law to sell Silk for less than it cost them; and therefore they quitted Trade, and disposed privately of all the Silk they had to Persons they could confide in. The Empress *Theodora*, having Intelligence of this, caused all their Goods to be confiscated, and imposed a large Fine on them besides. By this Contrivance all the Silk in the Empire fell into her Hands; and by the Assistance of one *Peter Berjamez*, who was her Instrument, she sold it out publicly at the Rate of six Crowns an Ounce for that of an ordinary Dye; and the superlative Colours were sold at different Rates up to twenty-four Crowns an Ounce, all the Manufacturers working for them. By this iniquitous Practice the Emperor and Empress got immense Wealth, and *Berjamez* their Agent much more; but in the mean time the Merchants of *Constantinople* were ruined and undone, the Manufacturers at *Berytus* and *Tyre* reduced to absolute Beggary, and Numbers of industrious Persons forced to leave their Wives and Families in order to seek Employment in *Perfia*.

This is a very curious Passage, inasmuch as it shews us the State of the Silk Trade at that Time, the Places in which Silk was wrought up, and the Value of that Commodity. But the second Article we shall borrow from that Historian is still more curious, because it shews how the Price of Silk was reduced, not only throughout the *Greek* Empire, but throughout all *Europe*. Before we come to this, however, it is requisite to observe, that even in the midst of this Extortion there had been a Time when Silk was much dearer. For under the Reign of the Emperor

Aurelian Silk had been sold for its Weight in Gold; that is to say, a Pound of one was weighed against a Pound of the other; but as these Gold Crowns, or Aurei, as they are called in old Historians, were made by dividing a Pound of Gold into one hundred Parts, it is plain, that the Emperor's Agent sold Silk of common Colour for seventy-two Aurei, and Silk undyed perhaps cheaper. We may conceive from hence the Hardships that the Merchants were laid under by their being obliged to sell it for twelve Aurei, which considering that they imported it from *Perfia*, and the *Perfians* at that time probably from *India*, it must have come to them at a much dearer Rate.

5. This excessive Price of Silk, whatever temporary Mischiefs it might produce, had a very good Effect in the main; for the Emperor perceiving that his Subjects were chiefly tied to a continual Trade with *Perfia* for the sake of this Commodity, discovered a great Desire to see them freed from this Inconvenience; upon which two *Indian* Monks, or rather two Monks that had travelled to the *Indies*, went to the Emperor, and told him, that they could very easily settle that Manufacture amongst his Subjects, so as that they might never be under the Necessity of dealing with any Strangers, much less with the *Perfians*, for that Commodity. This Silk, said they, which is so precious here, is in *Serinda*, the most populous and most civilized Country in the *Indies*, where we have spent many Years, spun by certain little Worms, which Insinuate their receive from Nature. As for these Worms, it is impossible to transport them; but their Eggs may be brought from thence without any Difficulty, and hatched here by giving them a certain Degree of Heat.

Such were the Proposals made by the Monks to *Justinian*, who readily clofed with them, making them great Promises, in case they were able to bring this Matter to bear, which without much Difficulty they did; for returning to the *Indies*, they brought from thence a considerable Quantity of the Eggs, nourishing the Worms when they came out with the Leaves of Mulberries; and thus, says my Author *Procopius*, was the Art of making Silk introduced into the *Greek* Empire.

This Transaction fell out *A.D.* 550, but it was a long time before it spread itself much beyond the Bounds of the *Greek* Empire; for we find, that *A.D.* 1130, *Roger* King of *Sicily*, having conquered a Part of *Greece*, brought over into his own Country the Art of managing Silk-Worms, which was quickly transferred from thence to *Calabria*, and other Parts of *Italy*, where it flourished for some Ages, before it was transferred to the Southern Parts of *France*, which the great Historian *Mezeray* tells us, happened under the Reign of *Francis* the First, in which, however, he is mistaken; for *Lewis* XI. *A.D.* 1470, introduced it into his Dominions, and sent for Persons skilful in the Art of managing Silk, not only from *Genoa*, *Venice*, and *Flowerence*, but also from *Greece*; and by his Letters Patent, dated in the Year 1480, granted them great Privileges. But the Price of this Commodity was still kept up at a great Height.

Our King *Henry VIII.* who was a very magnificent Prince, wore commonly Woollen Hose, unless by Chance he had a Pair of Silk from *Spain*. His Son *Edward VI.* had a Pair of Silk Stockings presented him by Sir *Thomas Gresham*, which Present of his was much taken Notice of. Queen *Elizabeth*, in the third Year of her Reign, had a Pair of black knit Silk Stockings given her by Mrs. *Montague*, and the never wore Worsted afterwards. In the Year 1600, Mr. *William Lee*, a Native of *Nottingham*, and educated in *St. John's* College at *Cambridge*, invented the Art of Frame-work Knitting, which has been since much improved. Having thus traced the Silk Manufacture from the *Indies* hither, we will now return to the proper Subject of this Section, and endeavour to make good what we have before asserted, that the *Indian* Commerce did not suffer by this Change of the Seat of Empire.

6. It appears clearly from hence, that under the *Greek* Emperors, Voyages to the *Indies* were become more common than in former times; but we could scarce have believed that so many different kinds of *Indian* Commodities, and almost from every Part of *India*, were common at *Constantinople*, if it were not verified to us by the publick Laws of the Empire.

Empire, collected into a Body by the Emperor *Justinian*; from whence it appears, that there were several Duties imposed upon a Multitude of Goods brought from the *Indies*, such as Spices of different kinds; for instance, Cinnamon, which came from the Island of *Ceylon*, but not in any great Quantity; for it was always very dear, the *Xilo Cinnamonum* was no other than the Wood of the Cinnamon Tree, on which there was also a Duty; but it does not appear of what Use it was, or whence it grew into Esteem; perhaps it was used in the same manner that we do other Woods, in Decoctions. *Cassia*, described at large by several ancient Authors, from whom it appears to have been a sort of milder Cinnamon; this likewise comes from *Malabar* and *Ceylon*. We learn from some very judicious Writers, and who are well acquainted with the Manner of collecting Spices in the *Indies*, that the *Cassia Lignea* is, in truth, nothing more than the thick Bark of the true Cinnamon Tree, which has very little Flavour, by which they mean that this is the Spice known to the Ancients by that Name; but the Modern *Cassia* is another thing, and somewhat of a higher Flavour.

Pepper of several kinds, such as long Pepper, white Pepper, and black Pepper, all of them from the *Indies*. *Pliny* is very angry that this Spice should be so much admired; for, as he observes, other things are either pleasant to the Sight, the Smell, or the Taste, whereas there is nothing in Pepper agreeable to any of these Senses; and yet, says he, what grows wild, and is of no Value in the *Indies*, is with us sold by Weight, like Gold or Silver, for no other Reason, adds he, but because it comes from *India*. In his Time the long Pepper was worth about nine or ten Shillings a Pound of our Money, white Pepper was of half that Value, and black about half a Crown a Pound; and it seems to have been as dear at *Constantinople*. Ginger, of which *Pliny* tells us, that many in his Time thought it the Root of the Pepper Tree; but he assures us, that was a vulgar Mistake, for that in Reality, it was the Root of a little Herb, which grew commonly in the Meadows of *Arabia*, and in the Country of the *Troglodites*. This Spice is likewise described by *Dioscorides*, who agrees very well with *Pliny*. But after all, Ginger does not grow, either in the Manner, or in the Countries they mention. It is, indeed, a kind of Lilly, the Flower of which is red mixed with green. It grows in the most remote Parts of the *Indies*, and over a great Part of *China*; but since it has been transplanted into the *West-Indies*, we have the best Part of our Ginger from thence. The *Chinese* esteem it very much, especially as a wet Sweet-meat, and transport a great deal of it to *Batavia*, where it is generally eat after Meals to assist Digestion. It did not bear a very high Price among the Ancients; for in the Time of *Pliny* it was not above three Shillings a Pound; and at *Constantinople* it was not worth so much. It may not be amiss to observe, that in those Days they adulterated their Spices very dexterously; from whence it is evident, that they were much in use, and consequently they must have been brought from the *Indies* in considerable Quantities.

Precious Stones of all Sorts, such as Diamonds from different Parts of the *Indies*; Pearls from the Coast of *Persia* and *Ceylon*; Emeralds, which were always held by the Ancients for Oriental Stones, though there is great Reason to doubt the Truth of that Fact; but, however, they had good Cause to believe it, because they were brought to them from the East, however they came thither. Another precious Stone, called *Ceraunium*, because it was supposed to be found in Places where Thunder had fallen. *Pliny* mentions it, and indeed gives us a long Account of it, but such a one as does not help us at all in finding out what Stone he means. He says, it is white, like Chrysol, that it derives Light from the Sun and Moon, and has a sort of Fire in it which seems to change its Place as the Stone is turned this Way or that, and that this Jewel comes from that Part of the *Indies* which borders upon *Persia*. *Tertullian* mentions it among the Ornaments worn by Women, and assures us, that it had a glittering Appearance as if there had been Fire in it. We may venture to assert, that either this Stone is not known to us, or is a kind of Opal; for, except that, I know of no Stone that in any respect agrees with this Description.

The Hyacinth or Jacinth, which was brought from *Calicut*, or *Cambaye*; it received its Name from its Resemblance to the Flower so called, and must therefore have been of a purple Colour, inclining to a blue. The Jacinth known to us, are of different Colours; but none of them resemble the Stone known to the Ancients; for ours are either of a Flame-Colour, of an amber Cast, almost white, or of a pale Red. It is therefore probable, that the Jacinths of the Ancients were a kind of Sapphire. They were very much valued for graving, and were held to have many Virtues, which in reality were never yet to be found in any Stone.

Beryls, which *Pliny* says approach nearly to the Colour of an Emerald, and which owe most of their Beauty to their being cut hexangularly, and he distinguishes many kinds of them; some that had a yellow Cast, others of a blueish Colour, and some mixed with white. He assures us, that the *Indians* valued these more than any other Stones, especially when they were long, for then they bored and wore them without setting; and had also a Method of putting a gold Wire through them, which made them appear extremely beautiful at a Distance. One might write a large Dissertation upon this single Stone, since there are many very learned Naturalists that believe what we call the Beryl was the Diamond of the Ancients. Certain it is, that the Beryls we have from the *Indies*, do not at all resemble the foregoing Description, except that they are sometimes found very long and large, but rather of a greenish Colour than a blue. They are mostly to be met with in *Cambaye*, *Malabar*, or *Pegu*; but the finest and largest of which sometimes Cups and other small Vessels are made, come from the Island of *Ceylon*. There is, indeed, a Stone which some take to be a kind of Beryl, but which is better known by the Name of *Aqua Marina*, or *Aigue Marine*, from its Resemblance in Colour to the Water of the Sea. Of these some are very hard, and of such Beauty, that many Jewelers have been imposed upon by them, and have taken them for Diamonds.

Saphires, about which we are more at a Loss than about any other Stone whatever; but this seems to be certain, that whatever the Sapphire of the Ancients was, it had no Sort of Resemblance to that Stone known to us by the same Name; for it appears that the Saphires of the Ancients were not transparent, so that possibly they might be a kind of *Lapis Lazuli*. It is not, however, impossible that the Ancients might be acquainted with the true Sapphire; tho', if they were, they mention it by some other Name, and my Reason for supposing they might know it, is, that our Sapphire comes from *Calicut*, *Cananor*, and the Island of *Ceylon*, from whence they had most of their precious Stones, and especially such as were coloured. We might add to these, many other kinds of precious Stones, of which, at this Day, we know no more than the Names: But that we are afraid of fatiguing the Reader, and therefore we shall only mention one Remark on this Subject, and that is, with regard to the Doubts and Difficulties that attend it. It seems to be a very strange Thing, that we should be more at a Loss about the Jewels mentioned in old Authors than almost about any other Thing; but when we consider what *Pliny* tells us, that the *Indians* were very dextrous in making false Jewels of all Colours; and when we observe that he mentions some true Stones, which, losing their Lustre, recovered it again by being put into Vinegar, in which Salt of Nitre had been dissolved. I say, when we consider, and lay these Circumstances together, with the Addition of their Descriptions, it may very well beget a Doubt in us, whether many of the precious Stones mentioned by the Ancients, might not be Compositions; but whatever they were, they came from the *Indies*, and this is another Proof, that even in the most early Times, the *Indians* were much better skilled in these Matters than any other Nation.

We likewise find amongst the rest of the *Indian* Commodities charged with Duties, all Sorts of Silk and Cotton Manufactures, which they brought as we do from those Countries, and probably for the same Reason, because they found that Method cheaper than bringing the Commodity

city and working it up at home. Ivory was also brought from thence as well as from *Africa*, and great Quantity of Skins and Furs which are distinguished under the two Heads of *Babylonian* and *Partbian*; and they likewise brought many wild Beasts, such as Lions, Bears, Leopards, Panthers, and some Birds. As to Metals, we find none mentioned except Iron or Steel, under the Title of *Ferrum Indicum*; and this, we are told by *Pliny*, came from the Country of the *Seres*, and was esteemed the very best in the World; and next to it was the *Partbian* Iron, but whether it came wrought or unwrought does not very clearly appear, but the former is the most probable. That they might, under the Reigns of the *Greek* Emperors, have this fine Iron or Steel from *China*, where that Commodity is still met with in the greatest Perfection; I will not deny but that it came from thence in the Time of *Pliny*, is not easy to comprehend, and therefore I am apt to believe that they received it from the *Siamese*, who might inform them that they had it from the *Seres*.

We find Cotton also, and a Sort of Mohair amongst the Commodities that were brought from the *Indies*; and though the true Purple was to be had in *Europe*, yet it seems that of the *Indies* was most admired, and in the greatest Esteem, otherwise it cannot be imagined that they would have taken the Pains to have brought it from Countries at so great a Distance. It would take up too much Time, should we endeavour to trace out the different Ways by which all these *Indian* Commodities were brought to *Constantinople*. It is sufficient for our Purpose that they were brought thither, since this clearly shews that the Subjects of the *Greek* Empire had a considerable Trade to the *Indies*.

We might alledge, to prove this still more largely the Testimony of *Amianus*, *Mercellinus*, and several of the *Byzantine* Historians, which however would lead us into abundance of critical Disputes, and therefore we shall wave their Authorities, especially since the Account already given of the *Indian* Monks, or Monks who had travelled to the *Indies*, for with respect to our Subject, it is much the same Thing which they were, is as clear a Testimony on this Head as we could wish. It is also very certain, and the Reader will meet with the clearest Proof of it in a succeeding Section, that by this Time, or very soon after, the *Syrians* had not only reached *China*, but were even established there, and formed a Christian Church, the Members of which were very numerous in all the Provinces of that extensive Empire; neither can it be imagined that, upon this Establishment, they should immediately relinquish all Correspondence with their Countrymen; though this might, and indeed really did happen in Procees of Time, and for Reasons that will appear hereafter.

7. We have very different Characters given us of the Emperor *Justinian* by different Writers, according as their Humours led them; but upon the whole, it is very certain that he was one of the best Princes this Empire ever had, took the greatest Pains to settle and support the Government, to regulate the Laws, and to leave every thing in such a Condition that succeeding Princes might be able to govern without Trouble, by adhering to the Rules which he had laid down.

He deceased in the eighty-third Year of his Age, *A. D.* 565, and was succeeded by his Nephew *Justin II.* in whose Time the Empire was so shaken by domestick Confusions, and towards the latter End of his Reign invaded by the *Persians* on the one Side, and by the *Avars* on the other, that the Weight of Government became absolutely insupportable, insomuch that he fell distracted. *Theodosius* had thereupon the Administration of the Empire committed to his Care, with the Title of *Cesar*; and after the Death of *Justin*, he succeeded him in the Empire, which he governed with great Magnanimity, and had such Success against the *Persians*, as reduced their Power very low.

He was succeeded, *A. D.* 582, by *Mauricius*, who married his Daughter *Augusta*, and in the Beginning of his Reign, was very prosperous, repelled the Invasion of the *Persians*, and when that Kingdom fell into Confusion, and their King *Chosroes* expelled, he received that Mo-

narch into his Dominions, and treated him with great Generosity and Kindness; he likewise raised a great Army to restore him, which he also performed very happily; and by this Means the Commerce between the *Greeks* and the *Persians* was renewed, to the great Advantage of both Empires. The Close of this Emperor's Reign was not at all answerable to its Beginning; for the *Avars*, under the Command of their King *Chobanus*, invaded the Empire; and notwithstanding all the Precautions the Emperor could take to prevent the Progress of their Arms, ravaged all *Thrace*, and were on the Point of besieging *Constantinople*; but in this however they were prevented by a Plague, which swept off most of their Army, upon which their King, who had twelve thousand of *Mauricius's* Subjects Prisoners, offered to ransom them for Half a Crown a piece, which not being granted, he put them all to Death. This so much incensed the People of *Constantinople*, that they rebelled, and called the Emperor a cruel, and greedy Tyrant. He, on the other hand, was afflicted with this unhappy Accident, that he begged the Prayers of all religious People, that this Offence might be pardoned, or that he might receive his Punishment for it in this World. In this he soon had his Wish; for *Phocas*, who from a common Soldier, came to be General of his Army, rebelled against him, was proclaimed Emperor by the Army, and pursued *Mauricius* to *Chalcedon*, where he put him with his Wife and Children to Death, which *Mauricius* suffered with great Patience, uttering these Words, *Thou art just, O Lord, and thy Judgment is righteous*. These Events fell out in the Year 602.

This *Phocas*, as he attained the Empire by Treason and Murder, so he governed with all the Circumstances of Cruelty and Barbarity that could render a Tyrant odious; for being sensible at first that his Title was bad, he endeavoured to secure himself in the Possession of the Empire, by destroying, without Mercy, all who were any way related to the Imperial Family, or who were so distinguished by their Virtues, or their Employments, as to give him any Umbrage; and this leading him to shed the Blood of a Multitude of the Nobility, raised a general Abhorrence of his Government over all the Empire. But, besides these domestick Troubles, *Phocas*, almost from the Beginning of his Reign, was pressed by a formidable Foreign Enemy. This was *Chosroes* King of *Persia*, who, in Gratitude for the Kindness shewn him by the Emperor *Mauricius*, was no sooner informed of his Murder, than he invaded the Provinces of the *Greek* Empire bordering upon his Dominions; and this War, as it grievously distressed a great Part of the Empire, served to increase the Hatred of the People against the Monster who had occasioned it. As Misfortune of this kind seldom come alone, and as it is natural for ambitious Neighbours to take all Advantages over a declining Government, so while the Affairs of *Phocas* were in this Condition, the *Avars*, *Slavonians*, and other barbarous Nations, broke into and ravaged his Dominions. He, in the mean time, instead of reforming, continued his Cruelty and Lewdness, till he was surprized in his Palace by *Placidus*, whose Wife he had ravished, and delivered to the Son of *Heraclius*, one of his Generals, who had taken Arms against him. *Heraclius*, after upbraiding *Phocas* with his Crimes, cut off his Feet, Hands, and Privities; and at last beheaded him. Such was the End of this barbarous and blood-thirsty Tyrant, who, notwithstanding, was flattered by the Churchmen of his Time; crowned by the Patriarch of *Constantinople* while the Emperor *Mauricius* was still living, and owned by the *Roman* Pontiff, on whom he bestowed the Title of Universal Bishop.

8. The general Corruption of the People, and a Succession either of Tyrants or weak Princes, had so infected the *Greek* Empire, that when *Heraclius* ascended the Throne, which was *A. D.* 610, he found it scarce possible to make the necessary Provisions for the Security of the State; and therefore, when he was assisted by *Chosroes* King of *Persia*, he did not behave with that Constancy that might have been expected from a Man of his great Courage, for, instead of arming to oppose them, he endeavoured to purchase Peace; but when this was found impracticable, he compromised Matters with the *Avars*, who were Enemies no less formidable than the *Persians*.

and addressed himself to the War, though his Treasury was so exhausted, that he was forced to coin the Church Plate. While he was engaged in this War, the *Avars* broke the Peace, and advanced even to the Gates of *Constantinople*, which they besieged, but without Success. *Heraclius* soon after concluded the *Perfian* War with much Honour to himself, after it had lasted six Years.

It was one of the most fatal of which we find any mention in History; for it exhausted the Strength, and in its Consequences proved the Ruin of both Empires; for while the *Perfians* were victorious at first, they over-ran all *Egypt*, plundered the People without Mercy, interrupted their Commerce, and destroyed their Magazines. When the *Greeks* in their Turn had the better of the *Perfians*, they revenged these Wrongs so effectually, that they entirely broke the Force and Spirits of the *Perfians*, which scarce proved a greater Misfortune to that Nation than to the *Romans* themselves; for if the *Perfians* had not been in so weak a Condition, the *Saracens* would never have been able to have over-run their Country in the manner they did, and which afterwards afforded them an Opportunity of reducing the most valuable Provinces of the *Greek* Empire.

It is very remarkable, that upon the first News of the Victories which *Heraclius* gained over the *Perfians*, one of the principal Monarchs of the *Indies* sent to compliment him upon that Occasion, and made him a Present of a considerable Quantity of fine Pearl, and precious Stones, and some Years afterwards repeated this Civility much to the Emperor's Satisfaction. This is a very singular Circumstance, and shews that there must have been some previous Correspondence between these Princes; but it was one of the last Instances of Friendship which passed between these States; for before the Decease of this Emperor, all the Provinces from which any Correspondence could be carried on with the *Indies*, were torn from the *Greeks*; and as this is a Circumstance which very nearly concerns our Subject, it is requisite, for the better understanding it, that we should enter into a more particular Account of this remarkable Event.

9. *Mohammed*, the Author of a new Religion, and of a new Empire, set up for a Prophet about two Years before *Heraclius* began to reign; but the *Hegira*, or Flight from *Meca*, which is the *Bira* of the *Mohammedans*, and which happened when *Mohammed* was fifty-four Years old, is fixed, according to the best Historians, to July 6, A. D. 612. *Mohammed* survived this ten Years, and though at his first assuming the Sovereignty, he had no more than thirty Subjects; yet before his Death he had laid the Foundation of a very powerful Monarchy. He was succeeded by his Father-in-law *Abdallah*, surnamed *Abubekre*, by which Name only he is mentioned in most Histories. The Meaning of it in *Arabic* is, *The Father of the Virgin*; and he was so called, because his Daughter *Asiba* was the only one of *Mohammed's* Wives whom he married while a Virgin.

This *Abubekre* was the first *Khaliff*, which is another *Arabic* Word that signifies a *Vicar*, or *Substitute*, and a *Successor*, and the *Khaliffs* were esteemed both with respect to *Mohammed*. In the second Year of his Reign he invaded *Perfia*; and in the third and last he sent *Khaled*, one of his ablest Commanders, with an Army of 36,000 Men to invade the *Greek* Empire, which he performed with Success, and defeated a great Army which *Heraclius* sent against him.

Omar succeeded *Abubekre* in the thirteenth of the *Hegira*; in the first Year of his Reign he became Master of *Damascus*, and in the second he reduced all *Syria*, having forced *Heraclius*, who came in Person to its Relief, to retire precipitately. The next Year he made himself Master of *Jerusalem*, and all the Country of *Palestine*, while one of his Lieutenants intirely subdued *Perfia*, and put an End to that ancient Kingdom in the Person of *Jezaegerd*, who was the last of their Princes.

After this Conquest the *Saracens*, as they were then called, demanded Tribute of *Egypt*; and *Cyrus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, knowing the distressed Condition of the Empire, and fearing the Consequences of a War, consented to pay an annual Tribute of 200,000 Aurei, with which for two Years the *Saracens* were contented, and very probably would have been so for a long Space of Time, if the Em-

peror *Heraclius* had not taken this in ill Part, and treated it as a fleecing of his Subjects to enrich the Infidels. He bestowed therefore the Government of *Egypt* on an *Armenian*, whose Name was *Manuel*, with the Title of *Profectus Augustalis*, who, when the Tribute was demanded next answered, that they had formerly a Priest, but now a Soldier, to deal with. *Omar* thereupon sent *Auron* his General with a potent Army into that Country, where, when it was too late, *Heraclius* would have renewed the Treaty made by *Cyrus*, and would willingly have paid the former Tribute. But *Auron*, in the Space of two Years, conquered the best Part of the Country, and laid Siege to *Alexandria*. While he lay before the Place, which held out fourteen Months, the Emperor *Heraclius* died, and being succeeded by his Son, who was a Minor, the *Saracens* at their Leisure prosecuted the Conquest of *Egypt*, and soon after annexed thereto all the adjacent Countries.

Omar the second *Khaliff* reigned but ten Years and a half, and in that Space of Time subdued *Syria*, *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Perfia*, *Egypt*, and Part of *Africa*; that is to say, as far as *Tripoli* in *Barbary*. By this Blow the *Romans*, as they stiled themselves, or *Greeks*, as they were stiled by others, lost all their Eastern Provinces, and the Trade to the *Indies* intirely, which for the present suffered an absolute Interruption, the *Arabs* being at that time intirely addicted to War; and though they were avaritious enough, had no great Notion of Commerce. It is scarce to be conceived how great an Alteration the Rise of this new Empire made in the Face of Affairs, and what prodigious Desolation ensued before these Conquerors came to be softened to such a Degree, as to cultivate the Arts of Peace, and to endeavour, by the Rules of Policy, to establish and maintain the mighty Empire they had acquired, the greatest indeed and most extensive that the World had ever seen, reaching Westward as far as *Spain*, and Eastward to the very Frontiers of the *Indies*. Our Subject obliges us to examine the Progress of their Power in *Egypt*, because it not only opened once again the Trade through the *Red-Sea*, but also that of *Europe*, by the same Canal to the *East-Indies*.

10. That Impetuosity and Violence which enabled the *Saracens* to make themselves Masters in so short a time of such vast Dominions, was not like to suffer them to continue long under one Head, which, however, was undoubtedly the Design of *Mohammed* their Founder. We have not room to enter here into all the Reasons of that Division which happened among the *Arab* Princes, and therefore shall content ourselves with one, which was the great Distance of their Provinces, that naturally gave an Opportunity to such as were intrusted with the Government of them to set up for themselves.

We have already shewn how all that Part of *Africa*, which had been under the Dominion of the *Romans*, fell into their Hands; and we shall next observe, that *Abulcassim* *Mohammed Ben Abdallah*, being in Possession of Part of *Africa*, set up for himself in the Year of the *Hegira* 296, and took the Title not of *Khaliff*, but of *Mabad*, which signifies Director, or Chief Priest. He fixed the Seat of his Government at *Cairo*, which is a Name the *Arabs* bestowed on the ancient City of *Cyrene*, or rather a new City built on the Ruins of the old one. He left the Government to his Son *Cajem*, who removed the Seat of Empire to *Mabad*, a new City which his Father had erected; and his Grandson *Abou Temim Maad*, better known by his Surname *Moez Ledinillab*, who succeeded in the Year of the *Hegira* 341, prosecuted the Design which his Ancestors had entertained of making himself Master of *Egypt*.

With this View he sent his General *Gianbar*, who was a *Greek* by Birth, to invade that Country, of which he made himself intirely Master; and in the Year of the *Hegira* 358, laid the Foundation of a new City, which *Moez Ledinillab* resolved should be the Capital of his Dominions. As the *Arabs* were exceedingly addicted to Astrology, particular Care was taken that the first Stone of this City should be laid, when the Planet *Mars* was in the Ascendant; and as this Planet is by them called *Caber*, the new City was called *Caberah*, or *Al Caberah*, that is, the Victorious; and is the same which the *Europeans* call *Cairo*, or *Grand Cairo*. I have been the more careful in marking the Date of this City's Foundation, which agrees with the Year of

our Lord 968, because many, otherwise accurate Writers, have been led into Mistakes about it; particularly the learned Bishop *Huet*, who in the forty-eighth Chapter of his History of the Commerce of the Ancients, says, it was built A. D. 795; and in the fifty-eighth Chapter of the same Work, tells us, it was built A. D. 984.

As soon as *Moré Ladinillab* was informed that this City was finished, he removed, with all his Treasure, from his old Capital, and made his Entry into *Cairo* in the Year of the *Hegira* 362, and there took the Title of *Khaliff*. His Successors were stiled *Khaliffs of Egypt*, to distinguish them from the *Khaliffs of Bagdad*, who were esteemed the true Successors of *Mohammed*. This City was very conveniently situated on the *Nile*, and became in Time no less considerable for its Commerce, than for its being the Seat of Empire: And it was by this Means that the old Trade, by the Way of the *Red-Sea*, was once more restored to *Egypt*, which flourished exceedingly under this new Race of Princes, as appears by the Revenue which it produced to its *Khaliff*, and which, as *Elmacinus* tells us, amounted to no less than three hundred Millions of Crowns of Gold.

The *Khaliffs of Egypt* were nine in Number, and the last of them was *Albad*, who was deposed by *Saladin*, General of *Nouredin*, Sultan of *Damascus*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 567, A. D. 1171. *Saladin* entering the Palace of the *Khaliff*, who died immediately after he was deposed, found there prodigious Riches, and amongst the rest a noble Proof of the Commerce of the *Indies*, which was the finest Ruby in the World, perfectly fine and bright, and weighing very near an Ounce and a half. This prodigious Wealth, and the having a great Army absolutely at his Devotion, tempted him to set up for himself; and having made himself Master of *Egypt*, he soon after extended his Dominions over all the Countries of *Damascus*, *Palästine*, and *Syria*. He left, at his Death, his Kingdom of *Egypt* to his second Son *Ostman*, who died in the Year of the *Hegira* 595, and was succeeded by his Brother, who was soon deprived by his Uncle *Malek Al Ael*, whose Grandson *Malek Al Salek*, succeeded in the Year of the *Hegira* 647. He enlarged the City of *Cairo*, and fortified it with a strong Wall, and was victorious over *St. Lewis of France*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 648. But this Prince was however the last of his House; for not long after, the *Mamluks*, or *Mamelucs*, as they are generally called, who were a kind of mercenary Soldiers, revolted from him, and forced him to take Shelter in a wooden Tower, which hung over the *Nile*. To this Tower the Mutineers set Fire, and thereby compelled the unfortunate Monarch to jump into the *Nile*, where he was drowned.

By this Accident *Egypt* once again changed its Masters; for these *Mamelucs* became Sovereigns of the Country, and chose their General, whose Name was *Ibek*, Sultan, who thereupon took the Name of *Almalek Al Aziz*. He was the first Prince of the Dynasty of these *Mamelucs*, which were distinguished by the Name of *Babarites*, or *Marines*; for these People were, generally speaking, either young *Turks* or *Tartars*, sold into *Egypt* by the Merchants, from whom again they were bought by the Sultan, educated at his Expence, and employed to defend the maritime Places in the Kingdom. The plain Reason of this Institution was, because the native *Egyptians* were found so weak and effeminate, from a long Course of Slavery that, they were unfit for Arms; and perhaps this is the Case of all Nations, when in the State of the *Egyptians*, that is to say, when they have no Property to fight for, are neither to be the better for Victory, nor can be worse by any Defeat. These Foundlings made excellent Soldiers; for, having no Relations or Friends, but amongst their own Corps, they turned all their Thoughts to the excelling in their Profession, as they placed all their Hopes in acquiring the principal Posts in their Militia. This extraordinary Event fell out in the Year of the *Hegira* 648, A. D. 1250. They elected, on the Death of a Prince, another out of their own Body, and held the Kingdom without Interruption till the Year of the *Hegira* 744, when they were deprived of it exactly in the same Manner in which had they acquired it.

For, as they found it necessary to keep up a numerous standing Army, because, though they made but a Part of the Sultan's Troops, yet it was impossible for them to trust either the *Arabs* or the *Egyptians*; they therefore had Recourse to the purchasing all the Children they could meet with, but particularly the *Circassians*, which inhabit a Part of the Coast of the *Black-Sea*, and have, in all Ages, had a barbarous Custom of making Merchandise of their Children; and for the better procuring of these Children, the *Mamelucs* entered into a Treaty with the *Greek Emperors*, for sending an annual Fleet into the *Black-Sea*. These Children they trained up in their own Discipline; but by an unaccountable Blunder in Politicks, never incorporated them into their own Corps, but disposed of them in Garrisons in the Heart of their Country, in in a fort of Fortresses, which they called *Borge*; and from thence this new Corps of *Mamelucs* took the Name of *Borgites*; and growing more numerous than the old Corps, deprived *Kelaun*, who was the last Sultan of the first Dynasty of the Empire, and transferred it to themselves.

It is of this second Dynasty of the *Mamelucs*, of which most Authors are to be understood when they speak of the *Mamelucs* as the Children of Christians, for such the *Circassians* were. These *Borgites* remained Masters of *Egypt* to the Year of the *Hegira* 923, A. D. 1517, when their last Prince *Thomam Bey*, was defeated by *Selim* the first Emperor of the *Turks*, who caused him to be hanged over one of the Gates of *Grand Cairo*; and to the *Turkish* Empire, *Egypt* has been a Province ever since. It was under these *Mamelucs* that the *East-India* Trade was, in a great measure, restored to its old Channel; that is to say, all Sorts of *Indian* Commodities were conveyed by the *Red-Sea* to the Coasts of *Egypt*; from thence to *Grand Cairo*, and so by the *Nile* to *Alexandria*, where a great Part of them was purchased by the *Europeans*; and it was by this Commerce that *Egypt* was so rich in their Time, that the Predecessor of *Thomam Bey* gave, at his Accession to the Throne, by Way of Largess to his Soldiers, ten Millions of Ducats at once. Having thus, as briefly as possible, run through the History of *Egypt*, it will be requisite to enter more particularly into the Commerce of the *Arabians* in the East, without which, the subsequent Part of the Work could not be perfectly understood; and this likewise, we shall do with all imaginable Brevity, in order to preserve a due Proportion between this Section and the rest, as well as that necessary Connection between the several Parts of this History; so that the different Turn which this Trade to the *Indies* hath taken, may the more evidently appear. A Task difficult to accomplish in so narrow a Compass, and the more so, because we travel through an unbeaten Road, and are obliged to change our Guides almost at every Stage.

11. One would naturally imagine, from the foregoing Accounts of the *Arabians* and *Mohammedans* in general, that they were not the People in the World best disposed for cultivating Trade, and settling themselves in different Parts of the World with a View to Commerce; yet it will appear plainly in the Course of this Work, that they were actually dispersed into the most distant Countries in the *Indies*, nay, and through *China* itself, without the Assistance of Force, and where they could not have been led by the Spirit of Ambition, for which we have seen them hitherto distinguished. It is therefore necessary that we should give the Reader a fair Account of this Matter, and make him acquainted with the Means by which they spread themselves in so extraordinary a Manner, became sole Masters of the *Indian* Commerce, even in the *Indies* themselves, and thereby drew it into such Countries as were under their Dominions; from whence it was carried out to other Parts of the World, but still in such a Manner, that the best Part of the prodigious Profits arising from that Trade, centered in them. In order to this, and that the whole may be brought into as little Room as possible, we shall, upon this Head observe, that, from their own History it is clear, the *Arabs* formed their Settlements four several Ways; by Conquest, by Discovery, by Trade, and by Mission: By the first they possessed themselves of all the Provinces, which made *Sin*

vast Empire; by the second, they got Footing in *Africa*, down to *Cape Corientes*, among the poor unarmed *Cafres*, who had it not in their Power to prevent them from fixing on what Parts they saw good. Their Colonies of *Magadoxo*, *Brava*, and *Quiloa*, were somewhat in the Nature of ours in these latter Times, but not so difficult to maintain, because of the Proximity of the *Red-Sea*, whence the *Arabs* had all Sorts of Assistance. By the two other, they feated themselves in all other Parts, but more especially by Commerce.

These Voyages were not in those Days so safe and so frequent, and therefore the Merchants were under a Necessity of making a long Stay at the principal Ports, where they took Wives; their Religion allowing Plurality. These new Families brought on others, and the Princes being sensible it was greatly for their Advantage to draw the Trade of *Persia*, *Arabia*, and at the same Time of *Egypt* and *Europe* by the *Red-Sea*, into their own Ports, these Merchants met every where with the kindest Usage they could wish. The idolatrous Princes, confirmed in their old Superstitions, were not at all scrupulous about Differences in Religion, but admitted all indifferently; so they readily allowed their Subjects to embrace *Mohammedism*, which they preferred to the rest, because of the Hopes these *Arabs* gave them of Protection from the Sultans, whose Power was known in the remotest Parts of the East. Even Princes themselves made Profession of *Mohammedism* in troublesome Times, that the *Moors* might join them; for, in latter Days, they were so multiplied, that they peopled whole Cities, or, at least a Part of the most considerable. Thus this Religion which has nothing very inconvenient in it, did, by little and little, obtain in many Parts; and at length received an Accession of Power, when some of its Professors being raised to the first Posts in the Courts of *Cambraya* and *Guzzarat*, invited a greater Number of those *Asiatic Turks* called *Rumis*, and even seized on some Posts, as *Malic Aziz*, who raised a considerable Settlement at *Diu*, from whence he a long Time infested the *Portuguese*.

By Trade and Religion, the *Arabs* got Footing in some Parts of *Malabar*; and by the same Means they came to be very considerable upon *Malacca*. They first went thither as Merchants, and some of them fixing their Abode, gained many of the Idolaters over to *Mohammedism*. From *Malacca* they sailed round to the *Moluccas*, and having prevailed on the Kings of *Tidore* and *Ternate*, together with several others to join with them in Religion, they reaped great Benefits from these Princes, whom the Concerns of Trade, and the Protection these *Moors* gave them room to hope, confirmed in *Mohammedism*. According to the *Portuguese* Writers, they had not been long settled in the *Moluccas*, before this Discovery of the *Indies*. Thus, in a very short Space of Time, and without the Assistance of any considerable maritime Force, the *Arabs* did more than the *Greeks* and *Romans* in the Course of so many Ages; and it is highly probable, they would have pushed Matters still farther on this Side, if they had not been hindered by the falling of the *Portuguese* into this Part of the World, which put an immediate Stop to their Progress.

They found, however, Means to make the most of their good Fortune, and to become the Carriers of *Europe* with respect to the Commerce of the East; and this too in such a manner, that they shut out all others from navigating those Seas, and thereby drew an immense Profit to themselves. For the *Indians* brought by Land to *Cabul* and some other Places, and by Sea to *Basora* and *Siraf*, all the Commodities of the *Indies* and *China*. Furs were brought into *Syria* by the Provinces of *Aderbejan*, by *Curdistan*, and other Parts more northerly; great Quantities of the same they also had from the *Barbary Coast*, and by the Way of the *Red-Sea*, from whence a Trade was carried on with them all over *Egypt*. From the same Places they had Gold-dust; Gold also they had from the Mines of *Sofala*, brought to them by the *Negrees*, who traded with *Egypt* by the Way of the *Desart*, or from Port to Port quite to the *Red-Sea*, from *Ceylon* and the *Indies*, they by their Trade with the *Chinese* and

Indian Merchants, had Silk, rich Stuffs, and many other Manufactures, Drugs and Spices.

With this Stock of Goods they drove a very considerable Commerce by the way of *Cabrerab*, or *Cairo*, with the *Venetians*, the *Genoese*, the *Catalans*, and the *Greeks*, which was easily done by reviving the old Mart of *Alexandria*; which Port, though it was far from recovering its former Magnificence, became once more famous in the World, by becoming what it formerly was, the Centre of Commerce between the Eastern Parts of the World and the West. This shews the great Consequence of a right Situation, and is a new Proof of the Wisdom and Penetration of *Alexander the Great*, who foresaw, that whatever became of his Empire, the new City which he erected, and which he honoured with his Name, would continue to make a considerable Figure, as long as Trade was capable of giving Credit to any Place. It is true, that the Revolutions which happened in the Government of *Egypt*, after it fell under the Dominion of the *Mohammedans*, and of which we have already given a succinct Account, frequently affected this City to a very great Degree; but still the Excellence of her Port, and the many Conveniences that resulted from the Commerce carried on thereby to the Masters of *Egypt*, whoever they were, preserved her from total Destruction, though in the Hands of the most barbarous Nations; for the Desire of Wealth is so natural to Mankind, that it softens the most rugged Natures, and disposes them for the sake of Interest to a kind of counterfeit Humanity.

But it was the *Portuguese*, who by the Discovery of the Passage to the *Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, that gave the last Blow to this Commerce, and finally extinguished the Glory of *Alexandria*; which, as we have shewn, depended upon their Sovereigns preserving the Monopoly of the *Indian Trade*.

It was for this Reason that the *Venetians* assisted privately the *Mohammedans* in their Endeavours to prevent the *Portuguese* from settling in the *Indies*; from whence we may discern, that Interest operates more strongly than Religion, Neighbourhood, or indeed any other Principle whatever. The *Portuguese* were *Chrystians*, *Europeans*, and good Allies to the State of *Venice*; the *Mohammedans* were none of these, but their Interest and Trade was the same; and whatever affected the Commerce of the one, must necessarily be detrimental to that of the other. In short, the Dispute was, whether the Possessors of *Egypt*, and the *Venetians*, should divide between them the Profits of the *Indian Commerce*, or whether it should remain entirely to the *Portuguese*; and there is no Reason to wonder, that when this was the Question, a State depending so much upon Commerce as that of *Venice* did, should set all Considerations aside in order to attend more closely to her Interest.

It is not, however, to be understood from hence, that the *Indian Commerce*, by the way of *Egypt*, is even at this Day entirely destroyed, or that the *Venetians* have no farther Concern therein; neither of which is, strictly speaking, true; but that this Commerce is nothing now to what it was, either with respect to the *Egyptians*, or the *Venetians*, is daily declining, and must decline more and more, the Passage by the *Red-Sea*, the Country of *Egypt*, and the Commerce of the Port of *Alexandria*, having now lost those distinguishing Advantages which for so many Ages they possessed, and which enabled them to recover as they did, after such intolerable Devastations as they were exposed to.

We may easily satisfy ourselves as to the Truth of this, by comparing the Revenues of *Egypt*, when in the Hands of the *Arabians*, with what they now produce, to the *Turk*: The former amounted to three hundred Millions of Crowns, and the People were not at all oppressed; the latter are fixed at three Millions, and the People are beggared by the raising that Sum. We may add to this, that formerly there were in *Egypt*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, three thousand Cities, whereas now there are not above three hundred considerable Towns, and none of these can boast any thing of their ancient Splendor. It is now time for us to return to the *Greek Empire*, and to shew in as few Words as possible how it sunk into Ruin.

12. *Constantine* the Son of *Heracius* succeeded his Father; but in the fourth Month of his Reign he was poisoned by his Mother-in-law *Martina*, a Woman of great Parts,

Parts, and of bewitching Speech. She raised her own Son to the Throne; but the Government being in Confusion, and all things going to Wreck, the Senate cut out the Empress's Tongue to prevent her deluding the People any more with her Eloquence; and cut off his Nose, lest he should gain the People's Affection by his Beauty. *Constantine*, the Grandchild of the old Emperor, was then raised to the Throne, and reigned twenty-seven Years; his Son *Constantine* succeeded him, under whom *Constantinople* was besieged by the *Saracens*; but they were obliged, however, to raise it, and he had afterwards great Success against them. His Son *Justinian* was still more fortunate, but withal so perfidious, that when he had made a Peace with them upon good Terms, he broke it when he thought it for his Advantage, which exposed him to Harass abroad, and Contempt at home, so that he was deposed and banished; but was afterwards restored, by the Assistance of the *Bulgarians*, and behaved with great Cruelty, after he recovered his Dominions. He even invaded the Territories of that Prince, who had protected and restored him, by whom his Army was totally defeated; and now being grown odious to every body, his Subjects rebelled against him, and cut off his and his Sons Heads.

The two succeeding Emperors were deposed, and *Theodosius* abdicated the Empire of his own Accord; and then *Leo* the Third became Emperor, who was the Son of a Shoemaker, in whose Time the *Saracens* again blocked up the City of *Constantinople* for three Years, but were at last obliged to retire: He was succeeded *A.D.* 741, by his Son *Constantine Copronymus*, who was very successful against the *Saracens*, and held the Empire thirty-four Years, and then left the Throne to his Son *Leo IV.* who was likewise a great Prince, and defended his Dominions with equal Courage and Success. He ruled the Empire only five Years, and might have established both the Reputation of his Government, and the Succession of his Family, if it had not been for the over-bearing Temper of his Empress *Irene*, who after his Death first governed in Conjunction with her Son *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, and afterwards murdering him and all the Royal Family, reigned for some time alone, till in *A.D.* 802, she was deposed, and shut up in a Monastery.

Charlemagne having now assumed the Title of Emperor of the West, it sunk the Reputation of the Greek Monarchs exceedingly; and the succeeding Emperors being most of them unfortunate, and many of them unworthy, there fell out nothing but Tyrannies, Rebellions, Depositions, Murders, and such-like Confusions, during the Space of between three and four hundred Years, till the Holy War broke out, when through the Madness of the Western Princes the Emperors of the East might, if they had managed prudently, have recovered their former Glory; but they behaved unsteadily, basely, and perfidiously, during the whole War; and besides, they were perpetually plagued with Rebellions and Revolutions, in which the *Latins*, for their own sakes, taking part, set up *Alexis Angelus*, whom the *Greeks* murdered; which threw all that Part of the World into the utmost Confusion, so that the Christian Princes, instead of prosecuting their Wars against the *Turks*, turned their Arms upon the *Greeks*, who in the midst of these Misfortunes could not agree amongst themselves, but divided their Empire into two under *Alexis Comnenus*, who made *Trebisond* a Town in *Natolia* on the *Euxine* Sea, his Capital; and *Theodoreus Lascaris*, who made *Albanople* the Seat of his Government, while the *Latins* seized the greatest Part of the Empire, because the *Greeks* did not reimburse their Charge for restoring young *Alexis*. By this means the Greek Empire was divided into three Parts, and the *Latins* set up *Baldwin* Count of *Flanders* to be Emperor at *Constantinople*.

This great Event happened about the Year 1200, and the *Latin* Emperors, which were five in Number, remained possessed of *Constantinople* for sixty Years; and then it was recovered by the Greek Emperor *Michael Paleologus*, who, though a bad Prince, enlarged his Dominions, and defended himself bravely against all his Enemies; and after a Reign of twenty-three Years, left the Empire to his Son *Andronicus II.* who ruled it forty-five Years with various Fortune, till in his old Age his Grandson *Andronicus III.* by

the Assistance of the *Genoese*, dethroned him, and shut him up in a Monastery. It was under the Reign of this latter *Andronicus* that the *Turks* became very formidable, and threatened to compleat that Ruin which the *Saracens* had begun, to which they were encouraged by the loose Administration of this Emperor and his Successors.

John Cantacuzenus being left Guardian to *Andronicus's* two Sons, *John* and *Mannuel*, usurped the Throne in 1338. In the Beginning of his Reign he was chased from *Constantinople*, where the People had crowned *John* the Son of *Andronicus*, which occasioned a long War; *Cantacuzenus* made a League with the *Turks*, subdued *Lydia*, *Cappadocia*, and other Provinces, with the Help of the *Venitians*; but *John Paleologus*, by the Help of the *Genoese*, defeated him by Sea and Land; after which he retired to a Monastery on Mount *Albos*, with his Son *Matthæus*, whom he had associated into the Empire; and his Empress retired to a Nunnery. During his Retirement he wrote the History of his own Reign in four Books, which is reckoned one of the finest Pieces written by any of the modern *Greeks*.

John VI. of the Family of *Paleologus*, succeeded in 1354. He was successful in his War against the *Bulgarians*, and afterwards made a League with the *Turks*; but was deposed by the Sultan *Aurazab I.* who took several Places from him, and made *Adrianople* the Seat of the *Turkish* Empire in 1362. *Andronicus* Son to *John*, confined against his Father, for which he was imprisoned, and had his Eyes put out; but making his Escape to *Aurazab*, he by his Assistance, and that of the *Genoese*, dethroned his Father, and imprisoned him and his Uncle *Emanuel*, who making his Escape to *Bajazet* the Sultan of the *Turks*, and offering to hold the Empire of him, dethroned his Nephew in the third Year of his Reign; yet afterwards the *Turks* broke with him, and besieged *Constantinople*, which obliged him to go about to the chief Courts of Europe for Relief. He stayed two Years at *Paris*, where, hearing that *Tamerlane* had defeated *Bajazet* Emperor of the *Turks*, and obliged him to raise the Siege, he returned to *Constantinople*; but being still unsuccessful, he resigned the Empire to his Son *John*, and retired into a Monastery, where he died.

His Son *John VII.* succeeded in 418. During his Reign the *Turks* took *Thessalonica*, and became Masters of most of the Greek Empire, except *Constantinople*. This obliged *John* to have Recourse to the *Latins* for Assistance, and to wish for an Union of the Greek and *Latin* Churches. It was with this View that he came to *Ferrara*, where the Pope had summoned a Council; and there he had great Promises made him of Support against the *Turks*; and returning from thence to *Constantinople*, he died about six Years afterwards.

Constantine XV. succeeded his Brother in 1445. He had signalized himself in the War of *Poloponnesus*, and for his great Strength was furnished the Dragon. Pope *Nicholas V.* sent a Cardinal to renew the Agreement, wherein he succeeded, on promise of assisting him; but the *Latins* being slow in sending their Supplies, Sultan *Mahomet II.* ravaged *Greece*, besieged *Constantinople* by Sea and Land, and carried it after fifty-eight Days. The Emperor *Constantine* did all that was possible to defend the Place; but being neglected by the *Latins*, and not supplied with Money by the Citizens, the *Turks* prevailed, and himself, after taking Leave of his Officers, went to defend the Breach, where he was killed, fighting valiantly; and being known by his Armour, the *Turks* cut off his Head, and carried it on a Lance through the City. This happened on the 28th of May 1453. The *Turkish* Emperor destroyed afterwards all the Imperial Family, and having totally overturned the Greek Monarchy, established the Seat of the *Turkish* Empire at *Constantinople*, where it has ever since remained.

If we consider the extensive Dominions, the vast Power, and the wise Form of Government, originally established in this Eastern Empire; one cannot help wondering that it should be overturned, and extinguished in such a manner. But, on the other hand, if we reflect on the Luxury, Corruption, and tyrannical Abuse of Power, that so manifestly appeared in the Administration of almost all the Emperors after *Justinian*, and consider at the same time the malicious and seditious Disposition of their Subjects, we may be rather inclined

inclined to wonder how, under such Circumstances, this Empire could subsist so long.

On the whole, there is no room to doubt, that the Ruin of the *Greek* Power was not owing so much to the Force of its barbarous Enemies, as to the Weakness of its Government, and the dissolute Manners of the People. The excellent Situation of its Provinces, and their happy Communication with the Capital of the Empire, rendered the *Greeks*, in times of Peace, incredibly rich, as appears from what the Historian *Zonaras* informs us, with respect to the Treasure of the Emperor *Basilus*, who reigned in the middle of the ninth Century; and who, besides vast Heaps of Silver, was possessed of two hundred thousand Talents in Gold, which at the lowest Estimation amounts to upwards of thirty-eight Millions of our Money.

As the Empire diminished, its Trade and Riches must sink of course; but even long after this, they were so considerable, that a Traveller, who will be hereafter mentioned, reports in the thirteenth Century, that the Customs and Excise of *Constantinople* amounted to twenty thousand Crowns a Day, at the very time that it was destroyed; and when the People refused to furnish the Emperor with Money to defend the City and themselves, they were so immensely rich, that the Fleet, which was laden with the Plunder, was scarce able to keep the Sea, the Ships being so overcharged with their Riches.

All this sufficiently shews what prodigious Wealth had accrued to them by their Commerce. To say the Truth, it was this Abundance that proved the Ruin of the *Greeks*; for what between the vast Riches that flowed in upon them from all Parts of the World, for to the very last their City was the Centre of the Trade of *Europe*, and the mighty Plenty they had of all sorts of Provisions and rich Wines in their own Neighbourhood; they grew so insolent and ungovernable, that the ill use of their Prosperity rendered the Preservation of it impossible.

The *Venitians* and the *Genoese* aggrandized themselves by the Fall of the *Greeks*, and preserved for a long time the Fragments of that Empire of which they made themselves Masters. By this means, likewise, the *Europeans* became better acquainted with the Eastern Nations, found it less Difficult in visiting their Countries; so that by degrees a Desire of penetrating by Land into the most remote Part of the East, and which had scarce been thought on in former Ages, came to diffuse itself through all *Europe*; the Power of the *Turks* likewise excited great Jealousies in the Christian Princes, who were their Neighbours, and the Wars that these occasioned, afforded new Opportunities of looking into the State of these distant Countries, by those who remained long Prisoners amongst them, so that though at first Sight it may seem a Paradox, yet we may with Reason affirm, that the Ruin of the Eastern Empire by the *Mohammedans*, contributed not a little to the Establishment of that Empire which the several Nations of *Europe* now possess in the East.

This Observation is of greater Consequence than may at first Sight appear; for whoever looks into almost all the great Events that have fallen out in the several Ages of the World, will very plainly perceive that they have been brought about by the most unlikely Means. The sudden Rise of the *Saracen* Empire threatened all *Europe* with an Inundation of barbarous Tyranny; but the Humour of undertaking the Holy War, as it was called, for the Recovery of the City of *Jerusalem* from the Infidels, proved the most effectual means of preventing that Misfortune, by occupying the *Mohammedans* in the Defence of the Countries which they had already acquired, at the same time that it excited such a martial Spirit in almost all the Nations of *Europe*, as rendered them capable of sustaining that Shock, by which otherwise they must have been overpowered.

One may carry this Reflection still farther, if we advert to that maritime Power which has been raised in *Europe*, by the Discovery of the *East* and *West-Indies*, and which has visibly set Bounds to the Ambition of all the *Mohammedan* Princes, who, notwithstanding the vast Dominions they possess, and the prodigious Armies they are able to raise, are, notwithstanding, very apprehensive of the Power of the Christians by Sea, who are indeed able to make them extremely uneasy upon any Quarrel, notwithstanding their

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seeming Superiority. This sufficiently shews the Solidity of that Maxim, that whoever is Master at Sea, must be likewise Master on Land, or which is the same thing, have the Power of controuling such as esteem themselves Masters. These Remarks arise naturally from the Subject, and therefore claim the Attention of every Reader, especially in a Country like ours, which has always affected the Dominion of the Sea, and never can be deprived of it but by want of Attention.

13. We have now run through the History of the Commerce between the Western Parts of the World and the *East-Indies* from the earliest Accounts, and this without ever losing the Connection, or leaving the Subject untraced through any Period of Time. The Discussion of this Point has indeed taken up a great deal of Time, and of Room; but in return, it has furnished us with a great deal of useful Knowledge; for the Reader will easily perceive, that in pursuing this Topic, we have been led into a kind of Universal History of Commerce, a thing of far greater Consequence, and infinitely more instructive than the tacking together an incoherent Collection of Voyages, which, however, has been the Scheme of almost all former Writers, who perceiving their Error too late, have endeavoured to mend it by Prefaces, Dissertations, and Extracts from ancient Writers; whereas by pursuing a right Method, and being content to take the Pains of bringing what is scattered, through a Diversity of Authors, into its proper Order, we have furnished the Reader with the Means of understanding this Subject perfectly, and of being able to pronounce, with Certainty, how and by whom this advantageous Commerce was managed at any Time given.

We have indeed insisted somewhat largely on the History of the several Empires, which we were obliged to mention in the Course of this Work; but besides, that in doing this, we have relieved the Reader from the Fatigue of reading a dry Narration of Facts, unenlivened by Circumstances, it will be found that we have mentioned nothing that does not contribute to the better apprehending the principal Subject, and to the rendering the following Voyages and Travels perfectly intelligible, which never could have been done any other way. A particular Writer, who sits down to give the World an Account of what he has seen abroad in a certain Number of Years, never proposes, and indeed it cannot be expected, he should propose delivering a general History of the Countries and Kingdoms through which he passed; and yet without a competent Knowledge of these, his Accounts can never be thoroughly understood. But when we undertook to give not only a Series of the best and most authentick Pieces of this kind, but also to furnish the World with a History of the Discovery and Settlement of the *East-Indies*. It was requisite to provide against all these Inconveniencies, which induced us to be more copious in these Sections than otherwise we should have been, that the Reader may come prepared in such a manner for the Perusal of the rest of this Work, as not to be interrupted at every Turn with critical Remarks, which always distract and confound the Narrations with which they are intermixed.

It is with the same View, that after so large a Detail of the Progress of this Commerce in the Hands of its principal Possessors, we have added yet another Section to explain the several Routs, by which, when the principal Channel of this Trade was interrupted, it was still in some measure preserved and carried on.

This will be found extremely useful for two very important Purposes; for in the first place, it will explain the Means by which so many different Nations came one way or other to have a Share in the Commerce of the *Indies*, and by what Accidents they have been deprived of that Share; how far it is, and how far it is not, possible to retrieve the Methods of carrying on this Trade, which have been formerly in use, or to supply them by striking out new Routs. Secondly, in giving us great Light into the Means by which so many Strangers found their way into, and settled themselves in the *Indies*, as were met with there by the most ancient Travellers, whose Writings have reached our Times, and whose Accounts might have been suspected, if from the Knowledge of these Routs the Probability of all that they relate did not manifestly appear.

We may likewise add, that in the Description of these several Routs to and from the *Indies*, we shall have frequent Occasion to examine and compare the Industry of the Ancients and Moderns; from whence it will fully appear, that the latter owe their Superiority over the former, rather to their Discoveries in Sciences, and the lucky Improvement of Lights derived by various Accidents, than to any Elevation of genius or extraordinary Degree of Virtue or Application. It is true, we might have found means to have inferred many, or indeed, most of these Accounts in the foregoing Part of our Work; but then it would have led us into long and frequent Digressions, which would have obscured the principal Subjects of our several Sections, and

at the same time would have rendered the Account of these Routs much more perplexed; whereas by their following one another in a certain Order, the Reader will the more easily apprehend them, and by comparing of them with each other, will form a better Notion of their Conveniences and Inconveniences, will enter more easily into the Circumstances attending the Rise, and bringing on the Disuse of them; and in a word, will, with Facility and Pleasure, conquer, in a short Space of Time, those Difficulties, which, if they had occurred to him in the Perusal of Voyages or Travels, would either have hindered his Progress, or have cost him much Time and Pains to have got over them.

SECTION XVII.

An Account of the several Passages to the Indies both by Sea and Land, that have been attempted, discovered, or practised by the Ancients.

1. Of the North-east and North-west Passages, and the Improbability of their being at all known to the Ancients, notwithstanding what some Authors have asserted on this Subject.
2. Of the Passage by Land from Russia to China, and the Probability of its being anciently practised.
3. Of the Rout by Samarcand and the Caspian Sea, and of Pompey's Project for securing the Commerce of the Indies by that Rout to the Romans.
4. Of the old Rout by Bogar, and of the Alterations that have happened since some of the great Rivers in Tartary.
5. Of the Passage through the Country of the Arians, as described by Ammianus Marcellinus.
6. Of another Rout from the Indies, through the Country of the Sacae or Saces, described by the same Author.
7. Of the Rout by Cabul, and of the great Caravan commonly carried on that way between Persia and the Indies.
8. Of the great Rout by Candahar, how far it was known to the Ancients, and how much it has been improved since.
9. Of the Passage to the Indies, through the Country of the Siner Thine, and of the Mistakes of the Ancients on that Subject.
10. Of former Routs to the Indies, and particularly that by Palmyra.
11. Of the several Passages discovered or improved since the Mohammedans became Masters of Egypt.
12. Of the Commerce carried on by the Goods at Caffa in Crim Tartary.
13. Remarks and Observations tending to the farther Explanation of this Subject.

THE first Rout to the *Indies* which we shall mention is, that by the North-East, through those that are styled the Streights of *Waygatz*. A Passage often attempted for Reasons that will be hereafter shown in their proper Place, but never hitherto performed; though, doubtless, of all others the shortest Passage to that Country, at least from this Part of the World. This Rout is supposed to lie through that which is generally called the *Icy-Sea*, steering North-East, along the Coasts of *Lapland*, *Muscovy*, and *Grand Tartary*, till you enter the *Indian Ocean* by the Streights of *Uries*, and so fall on the Coast of *Japan* and *Cina*. That the Ancients never had any Notion of such a Passage is very certain, because they were not at all acquainted with the Navigation of the northern Seas till the Time of *Augustus*; and even then, the utmost Limits of their Discoveries was the *Cimbrie Chersonese*, which is the Country now called *Jutland*; and indeed, considering their maritime Skill, this was a very considerable Discovery. The Reason that we take Notice of this Passage, in the first place is, on Account of a matter of Fact which has never been disputed, and which some modern Writers consider as an infallible Proof, that such a Passage is not only possible, but practicable.

The Fact is this; About the Year before Christ 57, a small Vessel, having several *Indian* Merchants on board, was shipwreck'd on the Coast of *Germany*, and all the Persons who escaped that Misfortune were entertained by the King of the *Suevi*, who presented them to *Mercellus Celer*, then the Roman Proconsul in *Gaul*. The Writers before-mentioned, are very positive that these *Indians* came from *Japan*, or the Land of *Jedso*, through the Streights of *Waygatz*, and so into the northern Ocean, from whence they infer, that, with due Industry and Application, we might be able to discover a Passage the same Way.

But in answer to this it has been said, that these *Indians* might have fallen upon the Coast of *Germany* by another Way, which, like the former, hath never yet been pra-

tised, but differs from it in this, that it is beyond all question practicable; and if ever it should be brought into use, might divert a great Part of the *Indian* Commerce from the southern and western Parts of *Europe* into those which lie most towards the North. This Passage then is thus laid down. These *Indians* are supposed to have embarked on the River *Oxus*, and so to have passed through the *Caspian-Sea*; thence up the River *Volga*, and so into the *Devin*, which, falling into the *Baltic*, might well enough have brought them to the Coast on which they are supposed to have been shipwreck'd. It is however very improbable, that such a Thing should have happened, because it supposes these *Indians* to have been perfectly acquainted with the Navigation of Rivers, which it is much more likely they never heard of, and it is very possible are unacquainted with to much as their Names to this very Day.

It is one Thing to describe a Passage to a distant Country, and to recommend it to be made, and quite another Thing to insist that such a Trade has been actually made; if therefore any Writer shall insist on the Possibility of carrying on a Commerce to *India* by the Canal last mentioned, it ought to be given to him, that the Thing is feasible, and might turn much to the Advantage of the *Russian Empire*, especially at this Juncture, when it is almost entirely in the Power of the *Skah Nadir* to establish such a Commerce, as being possessed of the greatest Part of the Country between the *Caspian-Sea* and the Frontiers of *India*. But whoever would endeavour to persuade us that in those early Ages, when Geography was so little understood as then in the East or in the North, and Men were so timorous in navigating even known Seas, that the Inhabitants of the remotest *Indies* should attempt, not only to sail through the *Caspian-Sea*, for that is not so improbable; but to enter the *Volga*, and pretend to seek a Passage that Way into the *Baltick*, is to bid us lay aside common Sense and Experience, in order to take up with Improbabilities and Fictions.

* *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. 67* He there asserts them possibly to be *Indians*, and to have passed from *India* thither.

But it may be said, you have already admitted the Fact. You own that it is not to be disputed, that these *Indians* were thrown upon the Coast of *Germany*, and presented by the King of the *Suevi* to the Proconsul of *Gaul*, why then should you deny their coming either of these Ways, when it does not appear there was any other Way for them to come, at least by Sea; and that they did come by Sea cannot be contested, because you admit they were shipwrecked? All this is true, but with Bishop *Huet*, and other learned Men, I very much doubt whether these People were *Indians*; because, it is very certain, the Ancients very frequently bestowed that Appellation upon very remote Nations, merely because they were very remote. It is therefore much more probable that these People who were thus cast on shore on the Coast of *Germany*, were *Norwegians*, or *Scythians*, which are the same People that we now stile *Laplanders*; or, it may be, they were *Islanders*, if we so far credit the Northern Histories, as to suppose that Island was so early inhabited. This, I say, is infinitely more credible than that they were *Indian* strictly and properly speaking; and that this is more credible, appears from hence, that Accidents of the like Nature have happened in *Scotland*, and else where; that is to say, some of these People have been driven on shore in their little Fishing-boats; and when an Accident of this Sort happened in those early Times, before the northern Parts of the World were so well known as they are at present, it is no great Wonder that such People should be taken for *Indians*.

While we are upon this Subject, I cannot help hinting a Conjecture of my own, which is, that if they must needs be *Indians*, it is much more likely that they were *West-Indians*, and that they came into the *Baltick* through *Hudson's Bay*. Yet I do not lay this down as either certain or probable, but mention it only as a Thing more agreeable to modern Discoveries, than the former Notion of their coming from the *East-Indies*; but with regard to the Fact itself, I am firmly of Opinion that they were *Norwegians*, and that for these Reasons; there were many of them, and they were on board a kind of Bark or Vessel of some Burthen; whereas the *Finns* and *Laplanders* are not known to make use of any other than small Boats, which one Man can manage.

The same Reasons may be applied to another Fact of the same Nature, since it is affirmed, that under the Reign of the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, A. D. 1160, certain *Indians* were again cast upon the Coast of *Germany*; but there is no more Proof that these were really *Indians* than the former; for, in both Cases, it is acknowledged, that they were a strange People, whose Language was not understood, which might be true if they were *Norwegians*, but most certainly is no kind of Evidence, that they came either from the *East* or from the *West-Indies*, or through the North-East or North-West Passage.

I must not however omit, that according to *Pliny*, they had some Suspicion that the first mentioned *Indian*, and the same has been hinted with respect to the last, came on the Coast of *Germany* by surmounting the Continent of *Africa*; that is to say, by the Rout of the *Cape of Good Hope*, which is however a Thing absolutely incredible, since it cannot be imagined, the *Indians* ever victualled their Ships for a Voyage of such a Length; neither is it to be believed, that if so much as one of their Vessels had reached *Europe*, and returned, we should have had some Account of this from them as well as of other Points of their History, which are well enough preserved in some Places. But it is Time to quit a Subject on which we can say little that is either useful or entertaining, and therefore we shall pass on to another Rout to the *Indies*.

2. This was by Land, from *Russia* to *China*, a Thing now commonly known, since the History of the Embassy sent by the *Czar* in the Year 1659, when his Minister passed to the North of the Kingdom of *Boutan*, and

through the Defarts of *Great Tartary*. There is no Reason to believe that there is any thing new in this Passage, or that it had not been as much frequented of old as in the present Times; for as we have heretofore shewn, it was in the most early Ages of the World, that the *Chinese* and *Indian* Empires were in their most flourishing Condition, and carried on the most extensive Commerce; whence I conceive it highly probable, that they made use of Caravans on this Side, in the same Manner as they do now; and it is not impossible that, by the Passage of these Caravans through the *Northern Indies*, the Ancients came to hear of the *Seres*, since it is very certain that the Country in which they placed them, is not very far distant from the Rout these Caravans must have taken.

That there must have been some Passage on the North, appears also from hence, that the Ancients were so fully persuaded that the *Indian* Ocean communicated with the *Caspian-Sea*, a Thing that could never have come into their Heads, if they had not been informed that there was some kind of Commerce carried on between the northern Parts of *Europe* and the *Indies*; and it is not easy to conceive how any Commerce of that Kind should be carried on, unless by the Rout which we have mentioned, which was always practicable, and which therefore there is no Improbability in supposing it was formerly practised. The only formidable Objection that can be made to this is, the Fierceness and Barbarity of the Nations inhabiting between *China* and *Russia*; and therefore this Objection deserves some Consideration.

In the first Place then, I observe, that the Ancients had no distinct Account of these People at all, and therefore whatever they have advanced, ought to make no Impression to the Disadvantage of these Nations. In the next Place, I must put the Reader in mind, that what they have told us of the *Seres*, does not appear to agree with the *Chinese* History; and though I am very far from asserting that we ought to give an implicit Credit to all that is advanced in that History, yet, I think there is nothing absurd, in supposing that the *Indians* or the *Chinese* might be as knowing and as industrious in Commerce, as we know with Certainty, the *Chaldeans* and the *Ismaelites* were, in Times much earlier than those in which we conceive this Commerce to have been in use.

Human Nature is every where the same, and it appears even from the Reports of the *Greek* Historians, that the *Indians*, from the earliest Accounts they had of them, were as civilized, and as well governed a People as any in the World, which certainly adds some Credit to the *Chinese* History; whether we believe that the *Indians* derived any Part of their Knowledge from the *Chinese*, or which is a Notion more probable in itself, and much better supported by Authority, that the *Chinese* were indebted for the best Part of their Improvements to the Lights they received from the *Indians*. The first Account we had of the *Tartars*, represented them as a Race of stupid and ignorant *Barbarians*; but their own Histories now quite the contrary, and carry in them this intrinsic Evidence of their own Veracity, that they must have been such a People as their Histories represent them; because, had it been otherwise, those Histories could not have been written.

To speak my own Opinion freely and fairly, we are but too apt to treat People that have lived at a great Distance of Time, as we do those that live at a great Distance in point of Place; that is to say, we measure their Wisdom and Civility by their Remoteness from our own Country, and even our own Time, which is particularly hard upon the Eastern Nations, since both Reason and Experience teach us, that as they were first settled, their Governments first formed, and Laws first introduced among them, there is the highest Probability that Knowledge of every kind came earlier to Maturity amongst them than amongst other Nations, though afterwards their Countries might be over-run, their Governments subverted, and

¹ There have been several *Greenlanders*, in their little Bonts, taken up on the Coasts of the *Orkney* and *Cathness*.

² *Ibid.* lib. i. cap. 10. He too asserts they were *Indians*.

³ It is very plain, that *Pliny* means this Passage, for he labours in this Chapter to prove that the Continent of *Africa* had been often furrowed, and asserts in Proof of it, that the Wrecks of *Jonah's* Vessels had been found in the *Indian* Seas; which, tho it proves nothing as to the Matter of Fact, yet it shews clearly that the Ancients had a Notion that such a Passage was practicable.

⁴ We have considered this Subject at large in the fifteenth Section.

⁵ Consult the genealogical History of the *Tartars*, written by a *Tartar* Prince, and of which we have a very good Translation in *English*.

⁶ *Lopez Gomara* in *Hist.*

there

in their Manners much altered by the Interruption of other Nations, yet were truly barbarous with respect to them; that is to say, differed widely from them in point of Laws and Customs, and establishing themselves by Force of Arms, disturbed that Order they found, and were a long Time before they established any regular Constitution in its Place.

3. We shall apprehend this Matter better, if we consider the next Rout to China, which was by *Samarcand*, the Capital of the Country, called *Transoxiana*; that is, the Country beyond the River *Oxus*. It was by this River, which runs at no great Distance from *Samarcand*, that a Trade was carried on to the North, by sailing down that River into the *Caspian-Sea*, and so to the Mouth of the *Volga*. Bishop *Huet* hath very justly observed, that, by this Rout, there was no great Difficulty in passing from *China* to *Spain*, without ever entering the Ocean. For, as he remarks, if after entering the *Volga*, and sailing up that River as high as the Country of the *Cassacks*, the Merchants and Merchandise went by Land no greater Journey than six German Leagues, they might then sail down the *Tanais*, and so into the *Black-Sea*; and passing the Straights of *Constantinople*, proceed by the Mediterranean to *Gibraltar*.

Sirabo^a has pointed us out another Rout by the *Caspian-Sea*, still shorter than that of the *Volga*, which is by turning towards *Albania*, and so entering the River *Cyru*, and sailing up as far as it is navigable; and then proceeding by Land directly to the *Black-Sea*. But tho', as he observes, this might be a shorter Way, yet certainly it was not so commodious, or at this Time so practicable; however the Account he has given of it, is a plain Indication, that all these Things had been very well considered by the Ancients.

But *Pliny*^b carries the Matter much farther; for he tells us on the Authority of *Varro*, that *Pompey the Great*, during the War that he carried on against *Mithridates*, had actually a Design of opening a Commerce this Way. He was, says he, informed, that it was but seven Days Journey from the Frontiers of *India* through the Country of the *Bactrians* to the River *Icarus*, which falls into the *Oxus*; so that the Merchandise of *India* might be this Way transported into the *Caspian-Sea*, and from thence carried up the River *Cyru*, to within five Days Journey of *Phasis* in *Pontus*, which five Days Journey, might be very easily performed over Land^c. *Solinus*^d, indeed, speaks of the Vessels passing this Way, but that is a Mistake; he must have meant the Merchandise. It is impossible to mention this Rout to and from the *Indies*, without observing, that it was the nearest and most convenient that could be to *Constantinople*; and there seems to be no Reason to doubt, that it was made use of, especially when the Inhabitants of the *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Black-Sea*, were Subjects to the *Greek Emperors*, or in times of Peace; and by this means it might probably happen, that the Commerce of the *Indies* was preserved after the Eastern Provinces of the Empire were lost, because it was a long time after that before this Road was in any danger of being disturbed by the Excursions of the *Arabs*.

This would have become still an easier and better Method of carrying on this Trade; perhaps we should not err much in saying the easiest, and best of all, if the Project, which *Pliny* tells us, on no less Authority than that of the Emperor *Claudius*^e, was formed by *Seleucus Nicator*, had been carried into Execution, either by him, or by the *Greek Emperors*, who had a much better Opportunity of doing it, which was by cutting a Canal from the *Chimærian Bosphorus* to the *Caspian-Sea*, which would have shortened the Passage extremely, and would besides have enabled the Merchants to have conveyed their Goods by Water all the Way.

The Scheme itself is truly great, and was originally that of *Alexander*, who, as we observed in the Account we gave of that great Conqueror's Designs, ordered the *Caspian-Sea*

to be perfectly surveyed, with this very View of finding some Communication with the *Pontus Euxinus*, that he might thereby open a Passage from the *Indies* to his hereditary Dominions of *Macedon*^f. One would imagine, that this might have been more in the Power of the Grand Signior; but as the *Turks* have no great Genius for Trade, we need not wonder that it has been hitherto neglected; but if ever the *Shah Nadir* should compass his Design of penetrating as far as the *Black-Sea*, there is good Reason to believe that he would revive this Project, as well on account of his known Attention to whatever regards Commerce, as because he would then be intirely Master of the Country through which this Trade must be carried on.

4. The City of *Bogor* stands not far from *Samarcand*, and is much nearer to the River *Oxus*; it was formerly a Place of very great Trade, and is still resorted to by abundance of Merchants from *Cathay*, or *Great Tartary*, *China*, and the *Indies*, on this and on the other Side the *Ganges*; as also by the *Persians* and *Muscovites*, who there furnish themselves with all the rich Commodities of the East, so that it still passes for a very great Mart in that Part of the World^g.

Our Countryman *Antibon Jenkinson*, who was actually there in 1558, assures us, that in his Time the River *Oxus* did not fall into the *Caspian-Sea*, as of old, but emptied itself into another River called *Ardocke*, which, he says, runs towards the North; and after running a thousand Miles underground, rises again, and falls into the Lake of *Kitbay*. This is a Fact which he expressly affirms in one Place; but in another, he gives the following Account of the Matter. "On the 26th of November we departed from the Town of *Urgence*, and having travelled by the River *Oxus* one hundred Miles, we passed over another great River called *Ardocke*, where we paid a certain petty Custom. This River *Ardocke* is great, and very swift; and falling out of the aforesaid *Oxus*, it passes about a thousand Miles to the Northward, and then continues itself in the Ground; and passing under the same about five hundred Miles, issues out again, and falls into the Lake of *Kitbay*, as I have before declared^h."

He had forgot, it seems, what he had before declared; for there he says in so many Words, that it passes under the Ground above one thousand Miles; but, as what he relates in both Places, must be from Hearsay, it is the less to be regarded. As to what he records of his own Knowledge, it deserves Notice, because he has the Reputation of being an Author of great Fidelity. He assures us then, that all the Country thereabouts is watered by Canals drawn from the River *Oxus*, which, in his Judgment, is a great Detriment to that River; and the Cause that it does so fall into the *Caspian-Sea*, as it did in Times past. He adds, that in a short time all that Country is like to be destroyed, and to become a Wilderness for want of Water, when the River *Oxus* shall fail. He likewise gives us an Account of the City of *Bogor*, as it was in his Time.

He says, that it is seated in a low Country, not far from the River *Oxus*, which is there navigable, and is surrounded with a high Wall of Earth; the City is divided into three Parts, two of which belong to the King, and the Inhabitants, and the third to the Foreign Merchants; all of the same Trade living in the same Place. This City is very large, and the Houses, for the most Part, of Earth; but there are also many of them, and all the Temples and public Buildings of Stone, sumptuously built, and very richly gilt, especially their Bagniosⁱ, which, in the Opinion of this Writer, exceed any in the World. The King had a Tenth of all Wares that were sold; but what is more to our Purpose, he gives us a very copious Account of these Wares, and of the Trade carried on there in his Time.

There is, says he, yearly, a great Resort of Merchants from *Persia*, *Balk*, *Russia*, and in times past from *Cathay*, when there was a Passage; the *Indians* bring white Cottons for Turbants; but for Gold, Silver, Precious Stones, and Spices, they bring none; but all that sort of Trade is car-

^a *Histoire du Commerce, &c. de la Navigation des Anciens*, cap. 56.

he discourses largely on this Subject, and acquaints us with abundance of curious Particulars that relate to it; and which demonstrate the Affinity of the *Arerents*, in contriving to secure the Monopoly of this Commerce to the *Indies*.

^b *Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 11.*

^c *Ibid. lib. vi. c. 11.*

^d *Ibid.*

^e *Ibid.*

^f *Ibid.*

^g *Ibid.*

^h *Ibid.*

ⁱ *Ibid.*

^j *Ibid.*

^k *Ibid.*

^l *Ibid.*

^m *Ibid.*

ⁿ *Ibid.*

^o *Ibid.*

^p *Ibid.*

^q *Ibid.*

^r *Ibid.*

^s *Ibid.*

^t *Ibid.*

^u *Ibid.*

^v *Ibid.*

^w *Ibid.*

^x *Ibid.*

^y *Ibid.*

^z *Ibid.*

^{aa} *Ibid.*

^{ab} *Ibid.*

^{ac} *Ibid.*

^{ad} *Ibid.*

^{ae} *Ibid.*

^{af} *Ibid.*

^{ag} *Ibid.*

^{ah} *Ibid.*

^{ai} *Ibid.*

^{aj} *Ibid.*

^{ak} *Ibid.*

^{al} *Ibid.*

^{am} *Ibid.*

^{an} *Ibid.*

^{ao} *Ibid.*

^{ap} *Ibid.*

^{aq} *Ibid.*

^{ar} *Ibid.*

^{as} *Ibid.*

^{at} *Ibid.*

^{au} *Ibid.*

^{av} *Ibid.*

^{aw} *Ibid.*

^{ax} *Ibid.*

^{ay} *Ibid.*

^{az} *Ibid.*

^{ba} *Ibid.*

^{bb} *Ibid.*

^{bc} *Ibid.*

^{bd} *Ibid.*

^{be} *Ibid.*

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^{cc} *Ibid.*

^{cd} *Ibid.*

^{ce} *Ibid.*

^{cf} *Ibid.*

^{cg} *Ibid.*

^{ch} *Ibid.*

^{ci} *Ibid.*

^{cj} *Ibid.*

^{ck} *Ibid.*

^{cl} *Ibid.*

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^{ec} *Ibid.*

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^{ek} *Ibid.*

^{el} *Ibid.*

^{em} *Ibid.*

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^{eo} *Ibid.*

^{ep} *Ibid.*

^{eq} *Ibid.*

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^{fa} *Ibid.*

^{fb} *Ibid.*

^{fc} *Ibid.*

^{fd} *Ibid.*

^{fe} *Ibid.*

^{ff} *Ibid.*

^{fg} *Ibid.*

^{fh} *Ibid.*

^{fi} *Ibid.*

^{fj} *Ibid.*

^{fk} *Ibid.*

^{fl} *Ibid.*

^{fm} *Ibid.*

^{fn} *Ibid.*

^{fo} *Ibid.*

^{fp} *Ibid.*

^{fq} *Ibid.*

^{fr} *Ibid.*

^{fs} *Ibid.*

^{ft} *Ibid.*

^{fu} *Ibid.*

^{fv} *Ibid.*

^{fw} *Ibid.*

^{fx} *Ibid.*

^{fy} *Ibid.*

^{fz} *Ibid.*

^{ga} *Ibid.*

^{gb} *Ibid.*

^{gc} *Ibid.*

^{gd} *Ibid.*

^{ge} *Ibid.*

ried on by the *Portuguese* on the Ocean. The *Indians* carry back with them wrought Silks, red Hides, Slaves, Horses, and other Things. The *Indians* he saw there came from the Country of *Bengal*, and beyond it; the *Persians* brought Woollen Cloth, Linnen Cloth, several sorts of Silks, and carried back red Hides, other *Russian* Commodities, and Slaves. As for the Cloth, he tells us, he found, upon Enquiry, they brought it from *Aleppo*. The *Russians* dealt in red Hides, Sheep-Skins, Woollen Cloth, Wooden-ware, Bridles, Saddles, and other such-like Goods, which they exchanged for Cotton and Silk Manufactures. He farther tells us, that the Caravans which came from *Casby* in time of Peace, and when the Ways were open, brought Musk, Rhubarb, Sattins, Damasks, and other rich Commodities; but by reason of the Wars, there had been no Caravans in three Years; and when they did come, he tells us, their Journey took up nine Months. He left the City of *Bogor* on the 8th of *March* 1559, in a Caravan, consisting of six hundred Camels, and arrived on the 23d of *April* following on the Coast of the *Caspian-Sea*.

It is clear from what this Writer delivers, that the Accounts we have of the ancient Commerce in these Parts, and particularly by the Way of *Bogor*, is exactly agreeable to Truth; and there is no doubt, that the Splendor of this City, the fine Houses, Temples, and other publick Edifices, were owing to the Wealth which this Commerce produced; and it is no less plain, that in times of Peace, and when the *Persian* Empire, upon which the Kingdom of *Bogor* or *Bucharia* depends, is thoroughly settled, this Commerce may be revived to very great Advantage.

5. There is another Rout which could not differ much from that before described, mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, which he says lay through the Country of the *Arians*, situated, with regard to the *Oxus*, between the North and the West; and which Rout likewise led to the *Caspian-Sea*. According to the Description he has given us, there was a River, called *Arius*, which ran through that Country, and which was navigable. He farther says, that the Navigation through this Country to the *Caspian-Sea*, did not exceed a hundred Leagues. According to all the ancient Maps, and even according to *Ptolemy's* Tables, there is no navigable River to be found in this Part of the Country, except the *Oxus*, into which there might run some little Rivulet from the Country of the *Arians*; and indeed *Sirabo* mentions such a Rivulet by the Name of *Zariasse*. One might be tempted to think, from the Similitude of Names, that this River might be the same that *Jenkinson* mentions, and which he calls *Ardoche*; but that it is evident, from his Account, that even this River does not run into the *Caspian-Sea*; so that no Navigation could be carried on this Way in the Manner that *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions. But we ought likewise to consider, that it is very clear from *Jenkinson's* Account, that the Rivers in this Country have suffered much Alteration since the Time that *Ammianus* wrote; and we must likewise consider, that he wrote entirely from the Information of others, and not from his own Knowledge; so that, very probably, he may be somewhat mistaken in this Matter, at least in some of the Circumstances. And this Rout, through the Country of the *Arians*, might be carried on by Land, and by the Help of Caravans, as *Jenkinson* assures us it was in his Time. After all, there does not seem to be any good Reason for distinguishing this from the former Passage, since, in all Likelihood, the *Indian* Commodities that were thus transported, were carried no farther than either *Bogor* or *Samarcand*, and passed from thence down to the *Caspian-Sea*.

6. We are indebted to the same ancient Author for the Account of another Road from the Country of the *Seres*, which lay through that of the *Sace*, a very fierce and barbarous People, as all the Writers of Antiquity agree that mention them. *Ptolemy*, in the Account he has left us in this Country, mentions two Rivers, the one called *Araxates*, and the other *Dymas*, which, he says, running near each other, sometimes over-flow the adjacent Country, and cause a great Tract of marshy and fenny Ground,

which from its lying near the River *Oxus*, is called the *Oxian Marshes*.

This Passage is very perplexed and obscure, and seems to give us an Idea of the *Oxus* very different from that which *Jenkinson* had of it when he travelled thither in the last Century. In order to reconcile these Differences, and to give as full and fair an Account as is possible of this River, which, upon the whole appears to have been the grand Canal in ancient Times of the Commerce of the East, we shall give such a Description of it as is to be met with in the best modern Accounts of these Parts.

The River *Amu* is now called *Amu*. It rises in the high Mountains on the Frontiers of the *Lesser Bucharia*, which separate the Dominions of the Great Mogul from the Country of *Great Tartary*, in the Latitude, as near as can be discovered of 29° 30' N. This River passes thro' the Country of *Grand Bucharia*, running from East to West, and about forty Leagues from its Mouth divides itself into two Branches. That which runs to the left continues its Course westward, till it falls into the *Caspian-Sea*, in the Country of *Afharabat*, which belongs to the *Persian* Empire, in the Latitude of 38° 20' N. As for the Right-hand Branch, which formerly passed by the City of *Urgence*, it fell likewise into the *Caspian-Sea*, about twelve Leagues more to the North than the other Branch; but at present it has changed its Course, and running North-West, falls into another River called *Khesel*, not far from the little Town of *Tuk*. The old Channel, which passed by the City of *Urgence*, is absolutely dry, and all the Country thereabouts is become a Desert, as our old *English* Traveller fore-saw it would for want of Water.

This Account is taken from the Discoveries made in these Parts, by the order of the late Czar; and if it may be depended upon, as indeed I see no Reason why it should not, it frees us from all the Difficulties that arise from the former Description, and enables us to account for the wide Difference between the ancient and modern Relations of the Commerce in these Parts. As for the other Branch of the *Amu*, or *Oxus*, which continues its Course to the *Caspian-Sea*, it is still a large navigable River; the Country about it extremely fertile and pleasant, producing the largest and finest Melons in the World, and other excellent Fruits, which are carried not only into *Persia* and *India*, but also into *Russia*.

7. The next Rout, declining still a little to the South, is that of *Cabul*, or *Caboul*, which derives its Name from a City of the same Name, seated in the Latitude of 34° North, on the Frontiers of *Great Bucharia*, on the South-side of the Mountains, which divide the Territories of the Mogul from that Part of *Great Tartary*. This City of *Cabul*, is the Capital of a little Province, called from thence *Cabulistan*; it is one of the finest Cities in that Part of the World, large, rich, and very populous. As it is considered as the Key of the Great Mogul's Dominions, great Care is taken to keep its Fortifications in constant Repair, and a numerous Garrison is maintained for its Security. This City is very ancient, and has been always famous, as it still is, for being the great Mart or Centre of Commerce between *India*, *Persia*, and *Great Bucharia*.

The *Uzbek Tartars* drive there a great Trade in Slaves, as also in Horses, of which it is said, that not fewer than sixty thousand are sold there every Year. It stands on a little River which falls into the *Indus*, and thereby affords a short and speedy Passage for all the rich Commodities in the Country behind it, which, when brought to *Cabul*, are there exchanged for Slaves and Horses, and are conveyed from thence by Merchants of different Countries into other Parts of the World. The Neighbourhood of this City, is one of the pleasantest and most fertile Regions that can be imagined; the Climate temperate and wholesome, well watered, producing Fruits of all Kinds in equal Plenty and Perfection. The Inhabitants are most of them *Indian Pagans*, though the Officers of the Mogul and most of the Garrison are *Mohammedans*.

8. A little farther to the South, lies the greatest and most frequented Road to the *Indies*, by the City and Pro-

^a *Amm. Marcell. lib. xxiii. cap. 6.*

^b *Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxiii. cap. 6. Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii. Strabo, lib. xi. Ptolem. lib. vi.*

^c 13. *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. 17.*

^d *Histoire Generale des Tartars. p. 57.*

^e The Facts mentioned in this Paragraph

vince of *Candabar*, which has been for many Ages the Centre of Commerce between *Persia* and the *Indies*. The City of *Candabar* is seated in $33^{\circ} 10'$ N. and is by Nature one of the strongest Places in the East. There is great Reason to believe from the Comparison of our modern Maps with the old Tables of *Ptolemy*, that this City is either raised out of the Ruins, or built very near the Place where *Alexandria* stood, and is a new Proof of the Wisdom of *Alexander* the Great, in the Choice of a proper Situation for the Colonies he intended to have erected in this Part of the World. Some learned Men have thought that the modern, as well as the ancient Name of this Place, is derived from that of this great Conqueror, who is called in the East *Isander*; but there seems to be more Reason to believe that it derives its present Appellation from the *Candarians*, an ancient People that were formerly the Inhabitants of the adjacent Country *.

This City and Province has been exposed to many Revolutions. It was long an independent Principality, preserved in that Condition, not so much by the Strength of the Place, and the Power of its Princes, though both were in past Times very great, as by its advantageous Situation on the Frontiers of the two great Empires of *Persia* and the *Indies*, which secured it a powerful Protector on one Side whenever it was attacked on the other. It has been since however, sometimes in the Hands of the Mogul, sometimes in those of the *Persian*, where it is now like to remain. It is not very large, but extremely well built and well peopled; and the Caravans from *Spahan* and *Agra* pass constantly through it, and even continue there for some Time for the Convenience of Merchants of all Nations, who resort thither to exchange the Commodities of their own Countries for those of the East.

It is highly probable that this Commerce was in a very flourishing Condition, under the *Persian* Kings contemporary with the first Emperors of *Constantinople*, and that by the regular Returns of Caravans from the *Indies*, the *Persians* were furnished with vast Quantities of the Commodities of *India*, which they afterwards carried into their frontier Provinces, in order to dispose of them at the Fairs in which they traded with the *Greeks*. The Settlements of the *Europeans* in the *Indies* have certainly lessened this Commerce by *Candabar*, as well as all the inland Trade of those Parts. But, as we shall see hereafter, it is for all that very considerable, and must always continue so, from the natural Convenience of the Place, which renders it the Staple of *Persian* as well as *Indian* Commodities.

9. There is yet another Rout more to the South than any of those we have mentioned, viz. through the Country of the *Sina*, or *Tbina*, whom we have mentioned before, and have shewn them to be the *Siamese*. We have this Account from the Author of that Peripus of the *Red-Sea*, which goes under the Name of *Arrian*, and a very dark Account it is, though not altogether unworthy of Notice. The City of *Tbina* lies, as he tells us, on the Sea-side in the southern Part of the Country, and from thence silk and cotton Manufactures are carried by Land through the Country of *Babaria* to *Barygaza*, and from thence to *Limyrca* by the *Ganges*. There cannot be any thing wilder, or more absurd than this Story; for, according to *Ptolemy's* Tables, there is a Distance of 32° of Latitude, between the Country of *Babaria* and *Barygaza*, and 25° of Longitude between *Limyrca* and the *Ganges* *.

One need not, however, much wonder at these Mistakes, when, in the same Description, we find this Author placing this City of *Tbina* very near the Pole, which is so extravagant an Error, as plainly betrays his Want of Skill in Geography. He proceeds to inform us, that this City is exceedingly difficult of Access, so that few People go to it; and yet he talks of its Vicinity to *Pontus* and the *Caspian Sea*, which renders all he says absolutely unintelligible. He informs us farther, that there came annually to the Frontiers of the Country of the *Sina*, a People whom he calls *Sajasas*, and whom he describes as a Sort of Savages, of a low Stature, broad-faced, and with flat Noses,

between whom, and the *Sina*, a very considerable Commerce was carried on.

The very learned Bishop *Hurt* †, professes himself at a Loss to know what to make of these People. I must confess, that there cannot well be any thing more dark or confused than this Story; but, for my own part, I believe that the Text is corrupted, and that the Meaning of the Passage may possibly be this, that there was anciently a Trade carried on over land between the *Yarvans*, for such I conceive these People to have been from his Description and the *Siamese*; but whether I am right in my Conjecture or not, I must leave the ingenious Reader to determine. This, however is certain, that if I have guessed right, it will make some Sense of this Passage, of which hitherto the best Commentators have been able to make no Sense at all.

There is another ancient Writer who mentions this City in the following Terms: There lies, says he, in that Part of *India*, which is beyond the *Ganges*, the *Golden Chersonese*, beyond which is the *Sinus Magnus*, then the Country of the *Sina*, whose Capital is called *Tbina*, which stands on the Frontiers of the Country known and unknown *. That is, in plain English, this City of *Tbina* was the very last Place in the *Indies* of which the Ancients had any Knowledge.

Taking this therefore altogether, it amounts, I think, to this; that there was anciently a very great inland Commerce throughout the *Indies*, from the Countries that lay farthest to the North, to those which lay in the remotest Parts of the South and East: Which is very agreeable to what I have before laid down, that notwithstanding the Reports of their Barbarity, which arose wholly from their being unknown, the ancient *Indians* were much addicted to Commerce; which, by the Help of their Rivers and Caravans passing from River to River, they carried on in a manner the most extensive; of which, the *Alexandrines*, by their Commerce on the Sea Coast, came to have some Knowledge, and from their natural Prejudice, reported Things in this dark and confused manner.

10. We have now gone through most of the Routs to and from the *Indies*, which are mentioned in ancient Authors, excepting such as were performed both by Land and Sea; of which it will be necessary to say somewhat, tho' we shall not dwell long upon them, because we shall have Occasion to mention them in the subsequent Sections. After the Time of *Alexander*, there was always a very considerable Trade carried on, at least in Times of Peace, through *Persia* to the *Indies*, by the Help of regular Caravans, which there is great Reason to believe, went annually from the Banks of the *Tygris* to those of the *Indus*. But in Process of Time, a great Part of this Journey was saved, and the *Indian* Commodities being shipped at *Maziris*, *Barygaza* or at *Patala*, were carried by Sea through the *Persian* Gulph, and then up the River *Euphrates*, within in a very small Distance of *Palmyra*, to which City they seem to have been transported by Land; where they were laid up in most stately Magazines, till, as Occasion served, they were transported thence to *Antioch*, and so over all *Europe* *.

We have already mentioned the Rise and Ruin of that famous City, and shall here only observe, that it is highly probable that the Commerce of this Place fell off by Degrees, and not all at once, as most Writers seem to imagine; for Want perhaps of the Histories of those Countries after the *Roman* Empire began to decline. It certainly required a long Course of Time to establish so large, so well-built and rich a City; and therefore it is by no means credible, that it should be deserted and abandoned all at once. There are, to say the Truth, some Passages in Oriental Historians, which would incline one to believe, that it was still a City of considerable Figure and Trade under the *Khaliffs*; and therefore, I think, it may be concluded, that its Total Destruction was owing to the Trade to the *Indies* taking another Course, especially after the Foundation of *Bagdad*; as also to the Wars, to which the adjacent Countries have been continually exposed for so many Years

* *Ptolem. Asia Tab. vii.*

† *Histoire du Commerce des Anciens*, p. 399.

* *Arrian. Peripl. Maris Eritrei* p. 16. 17.

† *Histoire du Commerce des Anciens*, p. 431.

* *Marcian. Heracleot. Peripl. Maris Euxini*, p. 14.

* See the History of *Palmyra*, p. 33, 65.

last part, first between the *Arabs* and the *Tartars*, and since between the *Persians* and the *Turks*.

Yet still the old Rout is, in some Measure, preserved by the Caravans that pass from *Persia* to *Aleppo*, which shews of how great Consequence it is, to have the Rout of an advantageous Commerce once laid down through any Country: For though, through the Alterations and Revolutions to which all Places are, in some measure, liable, it may be for some Time interrupted or disused, yet sooner or later it is again revived, tho' perhaps not exactly in the old manner, yet so near it, that the Inhabitants are seldom totally deprived of the Benefits resulting from it.

It has been of late apprehended, that the present Monarch of *Persia*, *Kouli Khan*, has it in View to ruin this Commerce entirely, as prejudicial to his Subjects, or rather detrimental to his Plan of Power, which is to draw the Commerce Northward, and make himself sole Master of the Trade to the *Indies* through his Dominions. But there is good Reason to doubt, whether this be not a Scheme too large for him to execute in his Life-time; and whether his Successors may not be brought to alter it, and to put things again upon their old Foot: Yet thus much is certain, that if this Monarch and his Successors should ever compass this Design, and divert the whole Trade of their Dominions to the *Caspian-Sea*, it will have its Effects with Respect to *Aleppo* and the other Towns on that Coast, and that in the same Manner, and to as high a Degree, as the Discovery of the Passage to the *Indies* has had on the Port of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.

11. As the *Arabian* Empire took Rise in the Peninsula of *Arabia*, so as soon as the Princes of that new Power had any Leisure to form a Scheme of Politicks, they began to frame a Design of attracting the *Indian* Trade from the Country of *Persia* where it then centered, as near as possible to the Place of their own Residence. It was with this View, that *Omar* the Second Khaliff, in the 15th Year of the Hegira, A. D. 636, caused the City of *Bassora*, or *Balfora*, to be built a little above the Entrance into the *Persian* Gulph.

There never was perhaps a City more happily erected, or which sooner came to answer the End for which it was erected than this. The Khaliffs did not indeed make it the Place of their Residence, and if they had, it is highly probable it would have been rather disadvantageous than serviceable to it. But they always sent thither a Person of Distinction as Governor, and made it the grand Port of their Dominions. It became by this Means, and by the Privileges allowed to all Merchants that settled there, exceedingly rich and very populous; and that too in a surprising short Space of Time.

It was for several Ages, a Place of the greatest Course, and of the greatest Trade in the known World. The richest Commodities in the East, but more especially Spices, Precious Stones, Drugs, Silk and Cotton Manufactures were brought hither, and dispersed from hence by Caravans, till such Times as the *Portuguese* became Masters of the City and Island of *Ormuz* on the Coast of *Persia*, which, for a long Time sunk the Commerce of *Bassora*. But after the *Shah Abbas*, with the Assistance of the *English*, made himself Master of that Island, and raised the famous Emporium of *Bander Abbasi*, or *Gambroon*, on the opposite Coast of *Persia*, the Trade of *Bassora* began to revive, and has been ever since considered as beyond Comparison, the greatest Mart of this Part of the World; as ingrossing all the Trade of the *Persian* Gulph.

It was, as we have already shewn, originally in the Hands of the *Arabs*, the *Persians* became afterwards its Masters: But since the Year 1668 it has belonged to the *Turks*.

At the same Time that the Khaliffs secured to their Subjects all the Trade on this Side, by opening so convenient a Port as that of *Bassora*, they took no less Care of the *Arabian* Gulph, and of the Trade carried on thereby; for they directed a Canal to be cut from *Cairo* to *Suez*, which is still visible, though at present choaked up with Sand; and partly by Shipping, partly by Caravans, esta-

blished such a Trade there, as very near equalled that carried on in the Days of the *Romans*. Thus the Reader sees that, for a long Tract of Time, the whole Trade of the *Indies* was in the Hands of the *Mohammedans*, and carried on by them with all the Caution and Success imaginable.

It is true, that this is now in a great measure in the Hands of the *Europeans*, who are established in all the Ports in this Part of the World, and carry on a prodigious Trade in their own Bottoms. But, notwithstanding this, perhaps we yet owe the Trade of the *Indies* more to the Weakness of the *Turkish* Policy, than to any other Cause whatever; for, notwithstanding our Superiority in Maritime Skill and Maritime Force, if the *Turks* were a People in any degree addicted to Trade, they might still drive a great Part of that to the *Indies* by the old Rout through the *Red-Sea*, in spite of all our Power and of all our Settlements.

This will appear clearly to the Reader, if he considers that *Surat* is so well situated, that it might be very easily made the Centre of all the Commerce of the *Indies*. From *Surat* to *Suez* is not above a Month or five Weeks Sail; and from *Suez* to *Cairo* is a Journey of no more than three Days; from *Cairo* to *Alexandria* Goods may be conveyed in the same Space of Time; and from *Alexandria* to *Marseilles* is a Voyage only of a Fortnight or three Weeks. So that taking this altogether, it appears far from being an Impossibility for a Person to go from *Marseilles* to *Surat* in the Space of two Months, or ten Weeks. It may indeed be objected, that the Voyage from *Suez* to *Surat*, and consequently that from *Surat* to *Suez*, depends on the *Monsoons*; but, notwithstanding this, if proper Magazines were erected at both Ports, and Fleets went regularly between them at Spring and Fall, an immense Quantity of *Indian* Goods might be this Way brought into *Europe* much fresher, and in much better Condition than they are at present.

This is a Project the *French* have often had in their Heads; and if ever they should prevail with the *Ottoman* Port to concur with them in carrying it into Execution, there is no answering for its Consequences. It must be owned, that an Attempt of this sort might in the Beginning meet with many Obstacles; but if once the *Turks* tasted the Sweets of this Commerce, or were tempted by the Offer of a large Sum of Money to be paid annually at *Constantinople*, as an Equivalent for the Duties with which Goods coming this way into *Europe* might be charged, it is not easy to say how far this might operate; for how indolent and negligent soever they may be with regard to Trade and Navigation, yet there is no Nation in the World more avaricious than they, or more ready to do any thing to which they are prompted for Money.

12. The last Rout we shall mention, is one not very ancient, and which nevertheless is now, in a manner, absolutely forgot. The *Genoese* had it formerly in their Hands: And is no other than the Port of *Cassa*, in *Crim Tartary*. This Country was anciently called the *Cerberusius Taurica*; and this City is very often mentioned by old Writers under the Name of *Tchudesia*. It was taken from the *Genoese*, who, while they possessed it, were Masters of the Trade of the *Black-Sea*, by *Mohammed* the Great, A.D. 1475. It was then in a very flourishing Condition, and was one of the best-built and richest Places of its Size in *Europe*.

It stands at the Foot of a small Hill upon the Sea-Shore, North and South, with long Walls stretching on both Sides down to the Sea; so that from the Port, which is very large, very safe and very commodious, it makes a very agreeable Appearance: There is a Castle on the South Side, in which the *Turkish* *Bashaw* resides, with his Garrison. The Number of Houses in the Place are about 4000; of which, 800 belong to Christians, the rest to *Turks* and *Tartars*, but the former are Masters here, and it is the only Place the Grand Seigneur has in *Tartary*.

After the *Genoese* were driven from hence, they carried on for a long time a very advantageous Trade with the Inhabitants, who, by the way of the *Caspian-Sea*, found means

* See the Article *Balbeck* in *Herbelot*.

* *Elmakin*. *Hist. Saracen*. p. 191.

* *Celihar. Geograph. Antiq.* Vol. I. p. 409.

* All this Commerce has been carried one Way, though not constantly in the Hands of one People. I take most of these Particulars from the Description of *Egypt*, compiled from the Papers of M. *Mallet*, the *French* Consul.

means to enter into a considerable Trade in Spices, Drugs, Cotton, Silk, and other *Indian* Commodities. At last the *Turks* grew jealous of the Intercourse of the *Genoese* in these Parts, and absolutely excluded them, as well as all other Nations, from trading to, or even entering into the *Black Sea*. Yet this did not immediately put an End to the Commerce between this Place and *Genoa*; for the *Tartars* preserved so strong a Sense of the Advantages derived from this Commerce, that for some time they prosecuted it in their own Vessels, and carried the Spices and other *Indian* Goods which they received by Caravans from *Moscow*, and which had been brought thither from the opposite Side of the *Caspian-Sea* to *Genoa*; but the *Turks*, equally jealous of this, as they had been of the former Correspondence, soon put an end to this Commerce likewise, and thereby secured themselves from the Fears of seeing a Christian Fleet in those Seas.

Yet *Caffa* still remains a Place of very great Trade, and the Staple of the *Black-Sea*, inasmuch that Sir John Chardin* tells us, he saw in the space of forty Days no less than four hundred Ships sail in and out of this Port. The *Venetians*, in hopes perhaps of reviving, in some measure, the old Trade, procured, at a great Expence in the Year 1672, Leave from the *Port* to send annually a Cargo of their Manufactures on board a small Squadron of their own into the *Black-Sea*; but this Trade did not last long, for the *Turks* insinuated so many Dangers would arise from permitting this Commerce, that in a Year's time the Licence was retracted; and thus ended all Attempts for retrieving the Commerce of the *Indies* by this Rout. In process of time, however, it is not at all incredible that it may be restored; for since the *Russians* are Masters of *Azoff*, and have a considerable Number of trading Vessels in those Seas, it is not impossible that some such Revolution may happen, as will let the Navigation of the *Black-Sea* entirely open, and thereby restore to the *Europeans* in general, but more especially to the *Italian* States, a Commerce highly profitable in itself, and capable of great Improvements.

13. We have now entirely done with the ancient History of this Commerce, and shall add only a very few Observations on this, as on the former Sections, and those with no other view, than to convince the Reader of the Importance of this History, and to shew what an Effect it has had, and is ever like to have, in favour of those who are possessed of it.

Every one of the four great Empires, which, in past Ages, have had the supreme Dominion, and the History of which still makes so great a part of that Learning which is most valued, had each of them a large Share, and many of them the entire Monopoly of the Trade to the *Indies*.

The Accounts we have of the *Assyrian* Empire, are very short, as well as very obscure; and yet the Attempt made by *Semiramis* to conquer the *Indies*, is the most considerable Event of which, with respect to that Monarchy, we have any Account. The *Persians*, as we have shewn at large, owed a great part of their Wealth to this Commerce, as it was carried on by Land, while their constant Allies, the *Tyrians*, derived from it much of their Maritime Power, which was almost all the *Persians* had to depend upon by Sea. The Prospect of ingrossing it was the principal Object which *Alexander the Great* had in View, which afterwards occupied the Thoughts of his principal Commanders, and which was, at length, in a great measure accomplished by the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*. The *Romans* acquired it, together with the Dominions of those Princes, and held it as long as they retained any Power answerable to their ancient Reputation. The *Arabians* became Masters of it in consequence of their rapid Victories, and it has since proved the great Source of Maritime Power in the *West*.

This seems to be a very full and convincing Answer to the Objection that has been made, as if the Trade to the

Indies was in itself prejudicial to the *Europeans*. For how is it possible to conceive there can be any Truth in this, when we plainly see that Riches and Empire constantly attended it, and have been as constantly lost, together with this Trade. This too will the more strongly appear, when we reflect on the Rise and on the Decline of the *Italian* Republicks, which, as they owed their Fame and their Riches, the flourishing State of their Affairs at home, and their great Power by Sea, to the Share they had in this Commerce, so together with that they lost both, and have made a Figure since by Dist chiefly on the Remains of that Wealth and Strength which that Commerce procured them.

It is a Point also extremely worthy of Notice, that all the Routs known to, and practised by, the Ancients, are still in some measure preserved; so that almost all the different Nations in *Europe*, have still, some Way or other, Views upon this Trade. In the North, *Sweden* and *Denmark* carry it on by Sea, with some Pains and Difficulty indeed, but, at the same time, with considerable Profit. The *Russians* have three Ways of coming at the *Indies*; the first is, by sailing North-about from *Archangel* to *Japan*, which though never hitherto accomplished, they still believed practicable; and if ever that Rout should be brought into Practice, it will be by them; which however could not be done without changing, in a great measure, the Face of Affairs in *Europe*, since the Wealth of the *Indies*, joined to the Force of the *Muscovite* Empire, might raise such a Power in the North, as could not but produce extraordinary Consequences. The second is, by Caravans from *Moscow* to *China* directly; and the third, by the *Caspian-Sea*, joined to the Caravans that are continually passing through the *Greater* and *Lesser Bucaria*. Such of the *German* Hanse Towns as still preserve any Power by Sea, such as *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, and *Hamburg*, keep up a constant Correspondence with *Venice* and *Andania*. *Great-Britain*, *Holland*, and *France*, have Settlements in the *East-Indies*, and trade thither by the *Cape of Good-Hope*. The *Spaniards* supply their Empire in the *West-Indies* with the Commodities of the *East-Indies*, from the *Philippines*; but it does not appear that they bring much of the Merchandize of those Parts into *Europe*. The *Portuguese* have yet in their Hands the Remains of those vast Dominions which they once possessed, and consequently have still a Share in this Commerce. The *Venetians* drive yet a very considerable Trade at *Alexandria*, in Spices, Drugs, Perfumes, Cotton, and Silk Manufactures from the *Indies*.

It is easy to discern from this general Account of the past and present State of this important Commerce, that it still engrosses the Attention of all the Mercantile World, that Projects are continually forming to enlarge it in Countries where it is already settled, and to transfer it into those where at present it is not exercised: And how far any of these Projects are, or may be practicable, the Reader will best judge from what has been laid down concerning the several Routs thither in this Section, which we shall conclude with this Remark, That the Oriental Nations have, generally speaking, adhered closely to their own Maxims, and have never once been tempted, by the many Visits made them by the different Nations of *Europe*, to fit out any Fleet, or even to send so much as a single Ship beyond the *Cape of Good-Hope*; though, with respect to their Commerce by Land, as the *Indian* Merchants formerly travelled to great Distances in Caravans, they do the same at present; for though Custom be every where a Law, yet among the Eastern Nations it remains most inviolate; and, as the Reader will observe from the subsequent Travels, what was practised Ages ago, is still the Usage in those Parts, or at least Variations have been introduced by Force, and cannot therefore be imputed in any degree to the Genius of the People.

* Sir John Chardin's Travels to Persia.

SECTION XVIII.

*An Account of the Travels of two Mohammedans through India and China, in the ninth Century.*Translated from the *Arabick* by the Abbé RENAUDOT.

1. *A concise Account of the original Editor of these Voyages, and of the Works which rendered him famous.*
2. *The Antiquity of these Relations, and of the Manuscript from which they were translated.*
3. *Of the Sea of Herkend, and of the Islands therein.*
4. *Of the Island of Serandib, or Ceylon; the Riches it contains, and the Manners of its Inhabitants.*
5. *Of several other Islands, particularly those of Andaman, the Inhabitants of which eat human Flesh.*
6. *Of an Island in which are Silver Mines, and other extraordinary Things in these Seas.*
7. *Of the Trade of China, and of the Respect shewn there to the Mohammedans.*
8. *A very clear and distinct Account of the Navigation to China, which is probably the first Account of it that was ever published.*
9. *Of an Island in which there are no Women seen.*
10. *Of the Port of Canfu in China, and of the Irregularity of the Tides there.*
11. *Of many remarkable Things observed in the Countries touched at in this Voyage to China.*
12. *The Customs and Manners of the Chinese in Civil and Religious Affairs.*
13. *An Account of the four great Kings, viz. the Khaliff, the Emperor of China, the Emperor of the Greeks, and the Balhara of the Indies.*
14. *A succinct Account of several other Kingdoms in the Indies.*
15. *The Account of China resumed, the Number of the Cities in that Empire, and the extraordinary Discipline maintained in them.*
16. *Of the Burials of the Chinese, and of their domestick Affairs.*
17. *Of the Power of the Vice-Roys, and of the Emperor of China.*
18. *Of the publick Revenues of the Chinese Empire.*
19. *Of the Passes requisite for travelling through that Country.*
20. *Of the Administration of Justice in China.*
21. *Their Laws with regard to Bankrupts.*
22. *Other wise Regulations practised in that Country.*
23. *Miscellaneous Customs among the Chinese.*
24. *Of the Methods practised for discovering Truth in Trials in the Indies.*
25. *Some other extraordinary Customs among the Indians.*
26. *The Vices of the Chinese, and the Punishment of bad Governors among them.*
27. *Several Laws in India and China.*
28. *Strange Customs that prevail among the Inhabitants of both Countries.*
29. *A Comparison between India and China.*
30. *Of other Countries bordering upon China.*
31. *The Preface of the second Author in Confirmation of what the former had delivered.*
32. *The History of a great Revolution in China, by the Rebellion of one Baichu.*
33. *The Emperor of China restored, and the Declension of that Empire.*
34. *Of various Punishments in use among the Chinese.*
35. *A curious Account of the Maintenance of publick Women in China.*
36. *Of various Regulations in the Chinese Empire.*
37. *Of the Excellence of the Chinese Painters.*
38. *The History of Eben Wahab, an Arab, who made a Voyage into Persia.*
39. *His Conference with the Emperor.*
40. *Some very singular Passages in relation to the Knowledge of the Emperor, with regard to the Religions in other Countries.*
41. *Conclusion of the Arab's Conference with the Emperor of China.*
42. *Other Circumstances from that Traveller's Relation.*
43. *Of the Communication between the Ocean and the Mediterranean.*
44. *Of the Province of Zapage, and of the Commodities it produces.*
45. *A remarkable Story of an ancient Prince of this Country.*
46. *The War between the King of Komar and the King of Zapage.*
47. *The Conclusion of that War.*
48. *Of the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or Transmigration of Souls, with a remarkable Story on that Subject.*
49. *A most singular Act of Justice done by the Emperor of China, on behalf of an Arabian Merchant, against his Favourite.*
50. *The great Care taken with respect to the Administration of justice in China.*
51. *Of the Situation of the Province of Chorrassan.*
52. *Of the Animal that produces Musk; the Reason why the Musk of Thibet is better than that of China, and of the several Sorts of that Perfume.*
53. *Of certain Customs in China that resemble those of the Arabs.*
54. *The Custom of the Indians to burn themselves on particular Occasions, and of their great Constancy in Acts of this Nature.*
55. *An incredible Story of the desperate Courage of a certain Indian.*
56. *Other Instances of the same Nature.*
57. *Of the immense Riches of Serandib, or Ceylon, and of the Laws of that Country.*
58. *Of the flagrant Vices, and excessive Debauchery of those People.*
59. *Of the rainy Season in the Indies.*
60. *Of the Indian Brachmans and Penitents.*
61. *Monstrous Errors proceeding from religious Mistakes.*
62. *Ships built, rigg'd, and laden from a Plantation of Cocoa Trees.*
63. *Of the Country of the Zinges, or Negroes, with an Account of those People.*
64. *Of the Island of Socotra, and its Productions.*
65. *Of the different Seas omitted in the former Relation.*
66. *Of the Riches of the Indian Ocean.*
67. *Of the Formation of Pearl, according to the Notion of the Arabs.*
68. *A very singular Story on the foregoing Subject.*
69. *Some farther Particulars as to the Customs of the Indians.*
70. *The Use of this Section with regard to the History of the Indies in the ninth Century.*
71. *Additional Remarks and Observations.*

THE most natural, easy, and certain Method of attaining a perfect Knowledge of the Discoveries made in the *East-Indies*, is unquestionably that of reading the best Voyages and Travels into those Parts, in the Order of Time in which they were made; for by this means they illustrate each other, and serve as a kind of Commentaries, deliver the History of Places and Persons with the least possible Confusion, and show us at once the different State of the Countries mentioned in them in different Periods of Time, and the Advances that

were made in perfecting the Knowledge of those Countries by such as undertook to go thither, and to report what they had seen and heard, for the Information of others and of Posterity. Of all the Travellers into these Parts of the World, whose Writings are still preserved, those which are contained in this Section, are beyond all doubt the most ancient, and in that respect, as well as in many others, extremely curious. To render these as clear and as intelligible as is possible to our Readers, we shall first give some Memoirs of that eminent *French* Critick

was to be made publick, and shall next give us some Account from the Materials he has afforded us, of the Nature of their Works, which themselves, which peculiarly recommend them, the Reason which induce us to believe they are genuine, and the Account which on that account is due to them.

It was *Euphros Renaulot* who delivered these venerable Manuscripts of Antiquity from the Obscurity in which they had been buried for Ages, and sent them abroad in the French Language, with some very valuable Notes and Dissertations of his own. He was a Person whose Family had been distinguished for their Learning through several Descents. His Grandfather *Theophrastus Renaulot*, established the French Gazette in the Year 1631, under the Patronage of Cardinal Richieu. His Father was first Physician to the Dauphin, Son to *Levis XIV.* This Gentleman addicted himself chiefly to the Study of Divinity and the Oriental Languages, which might have raised him to some eminent Station in the Church, if, from his great Modesty and unaffected Love of Privacy, he had not studiously declined it. He was very early taken notice of at Court, where the Politeness of his Manners recommended him as strongly to the principal Ministers, as the Severity of his Studies endeared him to most of the learned Men of his Time.

In the Year 1689, he was chosen a Member of the French Academy, and in 1691 became a Member of that of Inscriptions, and of the *Belles Lettres*. He accompanied Cardinal *Nosilles* to Rome in 1700, and was with him in the Conclave in which *Clement XI.* was raised to the Papal Throne, by whom the Abbé *Renaulot* was so much esteemed, that he kept him at Rome seven or eight Months after the Cardinal's Departure, and forced upon him a Benefice, which he had the Modesty to refuse, though his Circumstances were not such as made it unnecessary to him.

In his Return to France, the Grand Duke of Tuscany kept him a whole Month at Florence, where he had an Apartment in the Palace; and during his Stay there, was received into the famous Academy of *la Crusca*; after which the Grand Duke loaded him with Presents, and sent him to *Marseilles* in his own Vessels.

He published, after his Return to France, many learned Works, and particularly in the Year 1713, *The History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, from St. Mark to the Close of the thirteenth Century*, with an Appendix, containing the History of the *Mohammedans* in Egypt, from their own Writers; which gained him great Reputation. In 1716 he published, in two Volumes in Quarto, *The History of the Oriental Liturgies*, which was also much esteemed. And in the Year 1718, he sent abroad these Voyages and Travels, which were likewise received with universal Applause. Besides these, he published many other learned Treatises; and having for many Years weakened his Constitution by an assiduous Application to his Studies, he died on the 1st of September 1720, of a severe Fit of the Cholick, in the 74th Year of his Age, with the Reputation of being one of the most learned Men, and one of the exactest Critics of his Time.

2. As to the first of these Voyages, we know not by whom it was written, the Beginning of it being imperfect; but it appears clearly that it was written in the Year of the Hegira 237, A.D. 851. The latter, which is no more than a Commentary or Discourse upon the former, appears to have been the

Work of *Abu Zaid an Hufjan of Siraf*, who penned it about the Year of the Hegira 303, A.D. 915. It appears therefore, that both of them are, at least, two Centuries older than any Accounts than had been published before. They were translated from an original Manuscript in the Library of the Count de *Seignelay*, the Age of which was ascertained by the Character in which it is written. But there is still a plainer Proof of its being penned in the Year of the Hegira 619, A.D. 1173, because there are at the End of it, some Observations in the same Hand, relating to the Extent of the Walls and Fortifications of the City of *Damascus*, under the Reign of the famous Sultan *Nureddin*, and of other Cities under his Dominion; in which the Writer speaks of him as still living; and therefore, as that Monarch died the same Year, this Manuscript is clearly between five and six hundred Years old.

It is also very apparent, that there is nothing in either of these Works, that can create the least Suspicion, that they are later than these Dates speak them; but, on the contrary, all the Facts mentioned in them, which are capable of being examined and compared with other Histories, afford the clearest Testimonies of their being genuine and authentick. The great Value of these Relations arises from their giving us a large Account of *China*, above four hundred Years earlier than the Travels of *Marco Polo*, who, till these Accounts were published, was always esteemed the first Author we had on that Subject.

There are Abundance of very curious and remarkable Passages in both these Writers, that inform us of Customs and Events not mentioned any where else; and, though it be true, that some of these appear to be fabulous; yet it is no less true, that the greatest Part of them are confirmed and justified by the best Writers in succeeding Ages. But without spending Time to little Purpose, in remarking on what will be obvious to the Reader himself in the Perusal of these Pieces, we shall proceed to the Relations themselves. Observing only, that the first of them begins abruptly on Account of there being a Page or two wanting in the Original Manuscript; which very probably contained the Name and Country of its Author, and the Occasion of his Voyage; the Loss of which there is great Reason to regret.

3. The third of the Seas we have to mention, is that of *Herkend*. Between this Sea and that of *Delareux*, are many Islands, to the Number, as they say, of nineteen Hundred; which divide those two Seas from each other, and are governed by a Queen. Among these Islands they find Ambergrease in Lumps of extraordinary Bigness, as also in lesser Pieces, which resemble Plants torn up. This Amber is produced at the bottom of the Sea, as Plants upon Earth; and when the Sea is tempestuous, the Violence of the Waves tears it up from the bottom, and waives it to the Shore in the Form of a Mushroom or Truffle. These Islands are full of that kind of Palm-tree which bears the Cocoa-nut, and are from one to four Leagues distant from each other, all inhabited. The Wealth of the Inhabitants consists in Shells, of which even the Queen's Treasury is full. They say there are no Workmen more expert than these Islanders, and that of the Fibres of the Cocoa-nut, they make Shirts all of a piece, as also Vests or Tunics. Of the same Tree they build Ships and Houses, and they are skilful in all other Workmanship. Their Shells they have from the Sea at such times when they rise up to the Surface, when the In-

* *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Tom. V. p. 384.
returned from his Voyage, A. D. 1295.

* See M. Renaulot's Preface to these Relations.

* *Plinius*

* By the Sea of *Herkend*, in all probability, our Author means the Sea about the *Maldives*; which, according to the Eastern Geographers, divides that Part of the Indian Ocean from the Sea of *Delareux*, which is the Gulf called by the Ancients *Sinu Magnus*. The Eastern Writers frequently speak of the seven Seas, which seems to be rather a proverbial Phrase, than a geographical Delimitation. These Seas, without comprehending the Ocean, which they call *Bah Mohit*, are the Sea of *China*, the Sea of *India*, the Sea of *Perfia*, the Sea of *Kishuma* or the *Red Sea*, as called from a Town which is thought to be the *Chefna* of the Ancients; the Sea of *Kam*, or of *Greec*, which is the *Mediterranean*; the Sea called *Caspian*, or the *Caspian*; and the Sea of *Perfia*, or the *Parus Euxinus*; but these are not all the Names they give them, for the Sea of *Indu* is also called the *Green Sea*; that of *Perfia*, the Sea of *Babiana*; and other Names they have for particular Parts of these Seas.

* It is no wonder that the *Arabs* had but a very imperfect Knowledge of these Islands, since we are not very well informed about them in our Days. The Reader may probably think that our Author has multiplied them, from the Number he speaks of; but the Truth is, that he is told under this Name, for the most accurate Writers we have, assure us that there are twelve thousand of them; and this is said to be the Signification of their Name in the *Malabar* Tongue, viz. *Male Devis*, i. e. a thousand Islands; that round Number being put for the true Number of them, is what it will. We shall hereafter give the Reader a full Account of these Islands, and therefore shall insist no longer on them here.

* The late Account we have had of the *Maldives*, do not justify this Particular, if the Intent of the Author was to inform us that these Islands were always governed by a Woman. It might perhaps be so in his Time, where, by Accident, one Woman might have succeeded another, as Queen *E. Mahib* and Queen *Mary* here.

habitants throw Branches of the Cocoa-nut Tree into the Sea, and the Shells stick to them. They call them *Kapje* in their Language.

4. Beyond these Islands, in the Sea of *Herkend*, is *Serendib*, or *Ceylon*, the chief of all those Islands, which are called *Dohjat*. It is all compassed by the Sea, and on its Coast they fish for Pearl. In this Country there is a Mountain called *Rabon*, to the Top of which it is thought *Adam* ascended, and there left the Print of his Foot in a Rock, which is seventy Cubits in Length; and they say that *Adam*, at the same time, stood with his other Foot in the Sea. About this Mountain are Mines of Rubies, Opals, and Amethysts. This Island, which is of great Extent, has two Kings; and here are found Lignum, Aloes, Gold, precious Stones, and Pearls, which are fished for on the Coast; as also a kind of large Shells, which they use instead of Trumpets, and are much valued.

In the same Sea, towards the *Serendib*, there are other Isles, but not so many in Number, tho' of vast Extent, and unknown. One of these Islands, called *Rami*, is under several Princes, in which there is great Plenty of Gold. The Inhabitants here have Cocoa-nut Trees, which supply them with Food, and therewith also they paint their Bodies, and oil themselves.

The Custom of the Country is, that no one may marry till he has slain an Enemy in Battle, and brought off his Head. If he has killed two, he claims two Wives; and if he has slain fifty, he may marry fifty Wives. This Custom proceeds from the Number of Enemies which surround them; so that he amongst them who kills the greatest Number, is the most considered. These Islands of *Rami* abound with Elephants, Redwood, and Trees called *Charzan*, and the Inhabitants eat human Flesh.

5. These Islands separate the Sea of *Herkend* for the Sea of *Shelabet*, and beyond them are others called *Nijabul*, which are pretty well peopled; both the Men and the Women there go naked, except that the Women conceal their private Parts with the Leaves of Trees. When Shipping is among these Islands, the Inhabitants come off in Embarkations, and bring with them Amber-greece and Cocoa-nuts, which they truck for Iron; for they want no Cloathing, being free from the Inconveniences either of Heat or Cold. Beyond these two Islands lies the Sea of *Andaman*: The People on this Coast eat human Flesh quite raw; their Complexion is black, their Hair frizled, their Countenance and Eyes frightful, their Feet are very large, and almost a Cubit in Length, and they go quite naked. They have no sort of Barks or other Vessels; if they had, they would seize and devour all the Passengers they could lay hands on. When Ships have been kept back by contrary Winds, they are often in these Seas obliged to drop Anchor on this barbarous Coast for the sake of Water, when they have expended their Stock; and upon these Occasions they commonly lose the same of their Men.

6. Beyond this there is a mountainous and yet inhabited Island, where it is said, there are Mines of Silver, but as it does not lie in the usual Track of Shipping, many have sought for it in vain, though remarkable for a very lofty Mountain, which is called *Kasbat*. It once happened, that a Ship sailing in this Latitude had Sight of the Mountain, and shaped her Course for it, and falling in with the Land, sent a Boat on Shore, with Hands to cut Wood: The Men kindled a Fire and saw Silver run from it, which plainly indicated there was a Mine of this Metal in that Place; they shipped therefore as much of the Earth, or

Ore as they thought fit; but as they were proceeding on their Voyage they met with such a Storm, that to lighten their Ship, they were under a Necessity of throwing all their Ore over board.

Since that Time the Mountain has been carefully sought, but it has never since been seen. To conclude, there are many such Islands in the Sea, more in Number than can be set down, some inaccessible by Seamen, and some unknown to them. In these Seas it often happens, that a whitish Cloud at once spreads over a Ship, and lets down a long thin Tongue or Spout, quite to the Surface of the Water, which then is turned round as by a Whirlwind; and if a Vessel happens to be in the Way, she is immediately swallowed up thereby. But as length this Cloud mounts up again, and discharges itself in a prodigious Rain, it is not known whether the Water is sucked up by the Clouds, or how this comes to pass. All these Seas are subject to great Storms, which makes them boil up like Water over a Fire. Then it is that the Surf dashes Ships against the Islands, and breaks them to Pieces with unspeakable Violence; and then also is it that Fifth of all Sizes are thrown dead ashore upon the Rocks. The Wind, which commonly blows upon the Sea of *Herkend*, is from another Quarter, viz. from the N. W. but this Sea is also subject to as violent Agitations as those just mentioned, and then Amber-greece is torn up from the Bottom, and particularly where it is very deep; and the deeper it is, the more valuable the Amber-greece.

It is likewise observed, with respect to this Sea, that when it is thus tossed by the tempestuous Winds, it sparkles like Fire, and that it is infested by a certain Kind of Fish called *Loc-ham*, which frequently preys upon Men. This is probably no other than the Shark, which is common enough on all the Coasts of the *Indies*. Here there is a Part of the Mantle lost, wherein the Author treated of the Trade to *China*, as it stood in his Time, and of the Causes which had brought it into a declining Condition. He then proceeds thus:

7. Amongst others, the Fires that frequently happen at *Canfu* are not the least. *Canfu* is the Port of all the Ships of the *Arabs*, who trade in *China*, and there are there very frequent, because the Houses are built with nothing but Wood, or else with split Cane; besides, Ships are often lost in going and coming, or they are plundered, or obliged to make too long a Stay in Harbours, or to sell their Goods out of the Country subject to the *Arabs*, and there make up their Cargo. In short, Ships are under a Necessity of waiting a considerable Time in refitting, not to speak of any other Causes of Delay.

Soliman, the Merchant, relates, that at *Canfu*, which is the principal Scale of Merchants, there is a *Mohammedan* appointed Judge over those of his Religion, by the Authority of the Emperor of *China*; and that he is Judge of all the *Mohammedans* who resort to those Parts. Upon festival Days he performs the publick Service with the *Mohammedans*, and pronounces the Sermon or *Kotbat*, which he concludes in the usual Form, with Prayers for the Sultan of Moslems (or Muslemen). The Merchants of *Irak*, i. e. *Persia*, who trade hither, are no way dissatisfied with his Conduct or Administration in this Post, because his Decisions are just and equitable, and conformable to the *Koran*.

8. As for the Places whence Ships depart, and those they touch at, many Persons affirm, that the Navigation is performed in the following Order; most of the *Chinese* Ships take in their Cargo at *Siraff*, where also they ship

¹ This, as we have shewn elsewhere, is the *Taprobana* of the Ancients; and I think scarce any Island has been called by more Names than those, which have been bestowed on this; but whereas in the ancient Work of *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, it is called *Sialendiba*, it is very easy to account for this, and to shew that it is only a *Greek* Termination given to the true Name; for *bis* is often put for *s*, and consequently *Sialendiba* is the same with *Sialendive*; that is, *Sialen Island*; whence the modern Name, as we usually write it, viz. the Island of *Ceylon*.

² In some of the *Arabian* Geographers, these are called the Islands of *Rami*; we shall give the Reader some Account of them in a subsequent Voyage.

³ It is most certain, that upon a strict Enquiry, most of these Stories of *Man-eaters* have been found to be Fables void of all Foundation; but it must be allowed, in regard to our Author's Account, that what he says has never yet been disproved; for the very latest Accounts we have of the *Indes*, give these People the same Character that he does.

⁴ As to this *Soliman* the Merchant, it is very probable, that some Account was given of him in the Page that is lost; but as to the *Mohammedan* Consul, it is a very extraordinary Fact, and deserves particular Notice, because it plainly shews, that the *Mohammedans* had for some Time carried on a regular and settled Trade to *China*, which is what from other Accounts we could never have suspected.

⁵ It is a very difficult Thing to distinguish, at this Distance of Time, the Rout laid down by our Author, chiefly by reason of the Changes of Name, of which we have particularly an Instance in this great Port of *Siraff*, not to be met with in any of our Maps, of which however we have before Mention made in other *Arabian* Writers, who say, that it lay sixty Leagues from *Shiraz*, that it stood in the Gulph of *Persia*, and that when necessary, the Trade thereof was transported to the Island of *Ormuz*.

their Goods which come from *Basra*, or *Bassora*, *Oman*, and other Ports; and this they do because, in this Sea there are frequent Storms and shoal Water in many Places. From *Basra* to *Siraff* is an hundred and twenty Leagues; and when Ships have loaded at this last Place, they there water also; and from thence make sail for a Place called *Masfat*, which is in the Extremity of the Province of *Oman*, about two hundred Leagues from *Siraff*. On the East-coast of this Sea, between *Siraf* and *Masfat*, is a Place called *Nafis Bani al Safak*, and an Island called *Eln Kabwan*; and in this Sea are Rocks called *Oman*, and a narrow Streight called *Derdar*, between two Rocks, where Vessels do venture; but the *Chinese* Ships dare not. There are also two Rocks called *Kafir* and *Hware*, which scarce appear above the Water's Edge: After they are clear of these Rocks they steer for a Place called *Sbitu Oman*, and at *Masfat* take in Water, which is drawn out of Wells; and here also they are supplied with Cattle of the Province of *Oman*: From thence Ships take their Departure for the *Indies*, and first they touch at *Kaukammali*: And from *Masfat* to this Place it is a Month's Sail with a fair Wind.

This is a frontier Place, and the chief Arsenal in the Province of the same Name: And here the *Chinese* Ships put in and are in Safety; fresh Water is to be had here, and the *Chinese* pay a thousand Drams for Duties, but others pay only from one Dinar to ten Dinars. From *Masfat* to *Kaukammali* it is a Month's Sail; and then having watered at this Place, they begin to enter the Sea of *Herkend*, and having sailed through it, touch at a Place called *Lajabulus*, where the Inhabitants understand not the *Arabic*, or any other Language in use with Merchants. They wear no Cloaths, are white and weak in their Feet.

9. It is said their Women are not to be seen; and that the Men leaving the Island in Canoes, hollowed out of one Piece, go in Quest of them, and carry them Cocoa-nuts, Canes, Mousa, and Palm-wine. This Liquor is white, and, if drank fresh, has the Taste of the Cocoa-nut, and sweet like Honey; if kept somewhat longer, it becomes as strong as wine; but if it is kept for several Days it turns to Vinegar. They give it in Exchange for Iron; and in like Manner they truck the little Quantity of Amber, which is thrown on their Coasts for Bits of Iron. The Bargain is driven by Motions of the Hand. But they are very quick, and are apt to carry off Iron from the Merchants, and leave them nothing in Return.

From hence Ships steer towards *Calabor*, the Name of a Kingdom, on the Coast to the Right-hand beyond the *Indies*. *Bar* signifies a Coast in the Language of the Country; and this depends on the Kingdom of *Zabage*. The Inhabitants are dressed in those Sorts of striped Garments, which the *Arabs* call *Fauta*; and they commonly wear but one at a time, which is equally observed by Persons of every Degree. At this Place they commonly take in Water, which is filled from Wells fed by Springs, and which they like better than what is drawn out of Cisterns, and *Tanks*. *Calabor* is about a Month's Voyage from a Place called *Kaukam*, which is almost upon the Skirts of the Sea of *Herkend*. In ten Days after this, Ships reach *Betuma*; from whence, in ten Days more, they come up with *Kadrang*.

It is to be observed, that in all the Islands and Peninsulas of the *Indies*, they find Water when they dig for it. In this last mentioned Place there is a very lofty Mountain, which is peopled by none but Slaves and Fugitives, from thence in ten Days they arrive at *Senef*. Here is fresh Water, and hence comes the Aromatic Wood we call *Indal Senji*. Here is a King; the Inhabitants are

black, and wear two striped Garments. Having watered at this Place, it is ten Days Passage to *Sanderfulat*, an Island where is fresh Water; then they steer through the Sea of *Sanji*, and so to the Gates of *China*; for so they call certain Rocks and Shoals in that Sea, forming a narrow Streight, through which Ships pass. It requires a Month to sail from *Sanderfulat* to *China*; and it takes up eight whole Days to steer clear of these Rocks.

10. When a Ship has got through these Gates, she, with the Tide of Flood, goes into a fresh Water Gulph, and drops Anchor in the chief Port of *China*, which is that of *Ganfa*; and here they have fresh Water both from Springs and Rivers, as they have also in most of the other Cities of *China*. The City is adorned with large Squares, and supplied with every thing necessary for Defence against an Enemy, and in most of the other Provinces there are Cities of Strength, fortified in the same Manner.

In this Port it ebbs and flows* twice in twenty-four Hours; but with this difference, that whereas from *Egyp* to the Island called *Bani Kabeuan*, it flows when the Moon is at full, and ebbs when the rises and when the is; from near *Bani Kabeuan* quite to the Coast of *China*, it is Flood when the Moon rises, and when the is towards her Height it is Ebb: And so, on the contrary, when the sets at a Flowing Water, and when the is quite hidden under the Horizon, the Tide falls.

11. They say, that in the Island of *Malan*, which is between *Srendib* and *Cala*, on the Eastern Shores of the *Indies*, there are Negroes quite naked, and that, when they meet with a Stranger, they hang him with his Head downward, and slice him into Pieces, which they eat quite raw. These Negroes have no King, and feed upon Fish, Mousa, Cocoa-nuts and Sugar-Canes; they have Lakes and some Lakes in the Country. They report also, that in some Parts of this Sea, there is a smallish kind of Fish, which lies upon the Water, and which they call the *Sa-Louust*; and that in another Part there is a Fish, which leaving the Sea, gets up to the Cocoa-nut Tree, and having drained them of their Juice, takes to the Sea again: To all which, they add, that in this Sea there is a sort of Fish like a Lobster, which petrifies as soon as they out of its Element; they pulverize it, and it is good for several Dificalies of the Eyes.

They say also, that near *Zabage* there is a Mountain, called the *Mountain of Fire*, which no one can approach; that in the Day-time it lends forth a thick Smoke, and at the Night it throws out Flames. At the Foot of this Mountain, there are two Springs of fresh Water, the one hot, and the other cold.

12. The *Chinese* are dressed in Silk both Winter and Summer, and this kind of Dress is common to the rest of the Peasants. In Winter they wear Drawers of a particular Make, which fall down to their Feet: Others they put on two, three, four, five or more, if they are, one over another, and are very careful to be covered quite down to their Feet, because of the Damps, which are very great, and of which they are very apprehensive. In Summer, they only wear a single Garment of Silk or some such Dress, but have no Turbans.

Their common Food is Rice, which they often mix with a Broth, like what the *Arabs* make of Meat and Milk, which they pour upon the Rice. Their Kings eat Wheat Bread, and all sorts of Animals, not excepting Snakes, and some others. They have several sorts of Fruits, Apples, Lemons, Quinces, Mousats, Sugar-Canes, Citrus, Fig Grapes, Cucumbers of two sorts, Trees which produce a Substance like Meal, Walnuts, Almonds, Filberts, Pistachios, Plumbs, Apricots, Services and Cocoa-nuts.

* We shall have an Opportunity of explaining this strange Story, which is confirmed by *Marcus Polo*, and *Nicolas de Conti*, when we come to the Travels of the former, who assures us, that there were two Islands; one entirely inhabited by Men, the other by Women, and that the people were Christians.

† It is very probable, or rather certain, from the Account given by our Author, that this must be the Port of *Canton*, as the *Indies* call it. There is a Circumstance that *Brady* confirms it; and a Circumstance which flows, at the same Time, that the *Arabs* were not long ago in the same Matters as they are generally imagined.

‡ It must be allowed, that there are a great number of very odd Accounts in these Relations; but it must be owned, at the same Time, that there are very few of them which have been disproved. What follows about petrified Crabs or Lobsters, is a full Proof that the Port here spoken of is *Canton*; for Father *Martini* tells us the same Thing; adding, that these Crabs are found only on that Part of the Coast of *China*, which is called the Island of *Ha-man*; and that the *Portuguese* use the Powder of these petrified Crabs, as an absorbent in Fevers. The *Chinese* also reported by Father *Martini*.

they have no Store of Palms, they have only a few about some private Houses.

Their Drink is a kind of Wine made of Rice; they have no other Wine in the Country, nor is there any brought to them: They know not what it is, nor do they drink of it. They have Vinegar also, and a kind of Comfit like what the *Arabs* call *Natef*, and some others.

They are not very nice in point of Cleanliness, and wash not with Water when they eat Nature, but only wipe themselves with Paper; they eat of dead Animals, and practise many other Things like the *Muslims*; and in truth, the Religion of the one and the other is much the same. The *Chinese* Women appear uncovered, and adorn their Heads with small Ivory Combs, of which they wear sometimes a Score together; the Men are covered with Caps of a particular Make. The Law they observe with regard to Thieves is to put them to Death as soon as they are caught.

Our Author seems here to interrupt his Narration, and to take occasion from what he has before reported (and which, in the main, is confirmed by later Writers) to compare the Customs of the *Indians* and *Chinese*, intermixing his Discourse also with other Matters.

13. The *Indians* and *Chinese* agree, that there are four great or principal Kings in the World; they all allow the King of the *Arabs* to be the first, and to be, beyond Dispute, the most Powerful of Kings, the most wealthy and the most excellent every way; because he is the Prince and Head of a great Religion, and because no other surpasses him.

The Emperor of *China* reckons himself next after the King of the *Arabs*, and after him the King of the *Greeks*, and lastly the *Balbara*, King of *Mohammadi al Mun*, or of those who have their Ears bored.

This *Balbara* is the most illustrious Prince in all the *Indies*; and all the other Kings there, though each is Master and independent in his Kingdom, acknowledge thus far his Pre-eminence. When he sends Embassadors to them they receive them with extraordinary Honours, because of the Respect they bear him. This King makes magnificent Presents after the Manner of the *Arabs*, and has Horses and Elephants in great Numbers, and great Treasures in Money. He has of those Pieces of Silver called *Tavararian Drams*, which weigh half a Dram more than the *Arabian Dram*. They are coined with the Die of the Prince, and bear the Year of his Reign from the last of the Reign of his Predecessor.

They compute not their Years from the Era of *Mohammed*, as the *Arabs* do, but only by the Years of their Kings. Most of these Princes live a long Time, and many of them have reigned above fifty Years, and those of the Country believe, that the Length of their Lives and of their Reigns is granted them in Recompence for their Kindness to the *Arabs*. In truth, there are no Princes more heartily affectionate to the *Arabs*, and their Subjects profess the same Friendship for us.

Balbara is not a proper Name, but an Appellative common to all these Kings, as was *Cassius* and some others. The Country under the Dominion of this Prince begins on the Coast of the Province called *Kamkam*, and reaches by Land to the Confines of *China*. He is surrounded by the Dominions of many Kings, who are at War with him, and yet he never marches against them.

14. One of these Kings is the King of *Harez*, who has very numerous Forces, and is stronger in Horse than all other Princes of the *Indies*, but is an Enemy to the *Arabs*; though he at the same Time, contests their King to be the greatest of Kings, nor is there a Prince in the *Indies*, who has a greater Aversion to the *Mohammedan*

Faith. His Dominions are on a Promontory, where are much Riches, many Camels and other Cattle. The Inhabitants here traffick for Silver, which they watch for, and they lay there are Mines of the same on the Continent. There is no Talk of Robbers in this Country, any more than in the rest of the *Indies*.

On one Side of this Kingdom lies that of *Tafek*, which is not of very great Extent. This King has the finest white Women in all the *Indies*; but he is awed by the Kings about him, his Army being but small. He has a great Affection for the *Arabs*, as well as the *Balbara*.

These Kingdoms border upon the Lands of a King called *Rami*, who is at War with the King of *Harez*, and with the *Balbara* also. This Prince is not much considered either for his Birth, or the Antiquity of his Kingdom; but his Forces are more numerous than those of the *Balbara*, and even than those of the Kings of *Harez* and *Tafek*. They say, that when he takes the Field, he appears at the Head of fifty thousand Elephants, and that he commonly marches in the Winter Season; because the Elephants, not being able to bear Thirt, he can move at no other Time. They add likewise, that in his Army, there are commonly from ten to fifteen thousand Tents. In this same Country they make Cotton Garments in such extraordinary Perfection, that no where else are the like to be seen: These Garments are for the most Part round, and wove to that Degree of Fineness, that they may be drawn through a Ring of a moderate Size. Shells are current in this Country, and serve for small Money, notwithstanding that they have Gold and Silver, Wood Axes, and Sable-skins, of which they make the Furniture for Saddles and Houplings.

In this same Country is the famous *Karkandan*, that is, the (*Rhinoceros*, or) Unicorn, who has but one Horn upon his Forehead, and thereon a round Spot, with the Representation of a Man. The whole Horn is black, except the Spot in the Middle, which is white. The Unicorn is much smaller than the Elephant; from the Neck downwards he pretty much resembles the Buffalo, his Strength is very extraordinary, for he excels therein all other Creatures, his Hoof is not cloven, and from his Foot to his Shoulder is all of a Piece. The Elephant flies from the Unicorn, whose Lowing is like that of an Ox, with something of the Cry of the Camel; his Flesh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it; there are great Numbers of this Creature in the Fens of this Kingdom, as also in all the other Provinces of the *Indies*; but the Horns of these are most esteemed; and upon them are generally seen the Figures of Men, Peacocks, Fishes, and other Resemblances. The *Chinese* adorn their Girdles with these sorts of Figures, so that some of their Girdles are worth two or three thousand Pieces of Gold in *China*, and sometimes more, the Price augmenting with the Beauty of the Figure: All the things we have here enumerated are to be purchased in the Kingdom of *Rabmi* for Shells, which are the current Money of the Country.

After this Kingdom there is another, which is an inland State distant from the Coast, and called *Kacbbin*; the Inhabitants are white, and bore their Ears; they have Camels, and their Country is for the most part desert, and full of Mountains; farther upon the Coast there is a small Kingdom called *Hirange*, which is very poor; but it has a Bay, where the Sea throws up great Quantities of Ambergrease; they have also Elephants Teeth, and Pepper; but the Inhabitants eat it green, because of the Smallness of the Quantity they gather. Beyond these Kingdoms here mentioned, there are others of Number unknown, and among the rest that of *Mujet*; the Inhabitants are white, and dress after the *Chinese* Mode; their Country is full of Mountains, with white Tops, and of very great Extent; here are very great

* It is very highly probable, that this *Balbara*, or Monarch of the Nation which have their Ears bored, which is plainly the *Indians*, was no other than the *Samorin*, or Emperor of *Calicut*, who, according to the Reports of the most ancient *Portuguese* Historians, was acknowledged as a King of Emperor in the *Indies*, six hundred Years before they discovered the Passage to them by the Cape of Good Hope.

† This is another good Reason, why the Monarch here mentioned should be taken for the Emperor of *Calicut*, since he likewise was not called by his proper Name, but by such an Appellative as this; and it would obtain an Etymology of these Words, that could be depended upon, 'tis very likely that *Balbara* and *Samorin* would be found to mean the same Thing.

‡ We have already given to large an Account of the *Rhinoceros*, that we shall not trouble the Reader with any thing on that Subject here, but content ourselves with observing, that it is evident, this Writer makes the Unicorn and the *Rhinoceros* the same Creature, agreeable to what we have advanced else where.

Quantities of Musk, esteemed the most exquisite in the World. They have War with all the neighbouring Kingdoms.

The Kingdom of *Mabed** is beyond that of *Mujet*, therein are many Cities, and the Inhabitants have a great Resemblance to the *Chinese*, even more than those of *Mujet*; for they have Officers or Eunuchs, like those who govern the Cities amongst the *Chinese*; the Country of *Mabed* is bordering upon *China*, and is at Peace with the Emperor, but not subject to him. The *Mabed* sends every Year Embassadors and Presents to the Emperor of *China*, who on his part sends Embassadors and Presents to them. Their Country is of great Extent; and when the Embassadors of *Mabed* enter *China*, they are carefully watched, and never once allowed to survey the Country, for fear they should form Designs of conquering it, which would be no difficult Task for them, because of their great Numbers, and because they are divided from *China* only by Mountains and Rocks.

15. They say, that in the Kingdom of *China* there are above two hundred Cities, with Jurisdiction over others, and have each a Governor, and an Eunuch, or Lieutenant. *Canfu* is one of these Cities, being the Port for all Shipping, and presiding over twenty Towns. A Town is dignified with the Title of City, when it is allowed some of those great *Chinese* Trumpets, which are fashioned after this Manner: They are three or four Cubits in Length, and as much about as can be grasped with both Hands; but they grow narrower towards the End, which is fitted to the Mouth; on the Outside they are coloured with *Chinese* Ink, and may be heard a Mile off. Each City has four Gates, at each of which are five of these Trumpets, which the *Chinese* sound at certain Hours of the Day, and of the Night. There are also in each City ten Drums, which they beat at the same time; and this they do as a publick Token of their Obedience to the Emperor; as also to signify the Hour of the Day, and of the Night, to which End they have also Dials and Clocks with Weights.

They coin a great deal of Copper Money, like what the *Arabs* call *Falus*: They have Treasures like other Kings; but they only have this sort of small Money, which is current all over the Country; for though they have Gold, Silver, Pearls, Silk, and rich Stuffs in great abundance, they consider them only as Moveables and Merchandise, and the Copper-pieces are the only current Coin; from foreign Parts they have Ivory, Frankincense, Copper in Pigs, Tortoise-shells, and Unicorns Horns, which we have mentioned, and with which they adorn their Girdles. Of their own Stock, they have abundance of Beasts of Burthen, Horses, Asses, and Dromedaries; but they have no *Arabian* Horses.

They have an excellent kind of Earth, wherewith they make a Ware of equal Fineness with Glass, and equally transparent. When Merchants arrive here, the *Chinese* seize on their Cargoes, and convey them to Ware-houses, where they remain six Months, and till the last Merchant-man be arrived, then they take three in Ten, or thirty per Cent. of each Commodity, and return the rest to the Merchant. If the Emperor hath a Mind for any particular Thing his Officers have a Right to take it, preferably to any other Persons whatsoever, paying for it to the utmost Value. They dispatch this Business immediately, and without the least Injustice; they commonly take Camphire, which they pay for after the rate of fifty *Fakuges* per Man, and the *Fakuge* is worth a thousand *Falus*, or Pieces of Copper. When it happens that the Emperor does not take Camphire, it sells for half as much again.

16. The *Chinese* do not bury their dead till the Day Twelve-month of their Decease. Till the Expiration of this Term, they keep them in Coffins; for having previously dried them with Quick-lime, that they may keep, they place them in some Part of their Houses. The Bodies of their Kings are embalmed with Aloes and Cam-

phire. They mourn for three whole Years; and whoever should not do so, would be chastised with the Bamboo, a Punishment both Men and Women are liable to; at the same time they are reproached, *What then, thou art not concerned at the Death of thy Parent?*

They bury their Dead in deep Pits, much like those in use among the *Arabs*: Till this is done, they constantly set Victuals before the Corps; and as it is in the Evening that they thus exhibit Meat and Drink to their Dead, at the next Morning they find nothing left, they imagine that they have consumed all, and say: *The Deceased has eaten.* They cease not from bewailing their Dead, nor from setting Meat and Drink before them as long as they are kept in the House, insomuch that their Expences upon those Occasions, and in thus paying their last Duties to their departed Relations, are so exorbitant as often to ruin them, and consume their Wealth and Estates. Formerly they, with the dead Bodies of their Kings, or others of the Royal Blood, buried very rich Apparel, and those Sorts of Girdles which we have observed cost so much; but this Custom is now out of Date, because it has happened that the Bodies of some have been dug up by Thieves, for the Sake of what was buried with them.

The *Chinese*, poor and rich, great and small, learn to read and write; the Titles of their Kings or Governors, are varied according to the Dignity and Rank of the Cities under them. Those of the smaller Cities are called *Tufing*; and this Word signifies the Governor of a Town; those of the greater Cities, as *Canfu*, for Example, are styled *Difa*; and the Eunuch, or Lieutenant, is styled *Tukam*. These Eunuchs are selected from the Inhabitants of the Cities. There is also a supreme Judge, and him they call *Lahima-makzan*; other Names they have for other Officers, which we know not how properly to express.

17. A Man is not raised to the Dignity of a Prince, or Governor of a City, till he has attained his fortieth Year; for then, say they, he hath Experience. When one of these Princes, or Vice-Kings keeps his Court in a City, he is seated upon a Tribunal, and receives the Petitions or Complaints of the People. Behind this Tribunal there is an Officer called *Lieu*, who keeps standing, and according to the Order he receives from the Prince, delivers his Answer on the Petition, for they never answer otherwise than in Writing, or admit of any Applications, but what are committed to Paper. Before the Parties present their Petitions to the Prince, they get them examined by an Officer, who, if he discovers any Fault, sends them back again; for no Man may draw up these Writings which are to be presented to the Prince, except a Clerk versed in Business; and at the Bottom of each Writing they put, *Written by such a One, the Son of such a One*: And if, in this Case, there happen any Blunder or Mistake, the Clerk is hanged.

The Prince never fears himself on his Tribunal till he has eaten and drank, for fear he should be mistaken in some Thing; and each of these Princes or Governors has his Subsistence from the publick Treasury of the City he commands. The Emperor of *China*, who is above all these Princes or petty Kings, never appears in publick but once in ten Months, fancying, that if he shewed himself oftener to the People, they would lose the Veneration they have for him; for he holds it as a Maxim, that Principals cannot subsist but by Force, and that the People know not what Justice is; and that thus Constraint and Violence must be used to maintain amongst them the Majesty of Empire.

18. They have no Duty imposed upon their Lands, but are subject to a Poll-tax, which is levied upon Men only, and that, according to their Condition and Capacity. When any *Arabs*, or other Strangers, are in this Country, the *Chinese* tax them according to their Substance. When any Death makes Necessaries dear, then the King opens his Store-houses, and sells all Sorts of Provisions much

* It would be an endless thing to fatigue the Reader with Conjectures about these Countries, the Names of which are totally unknown to us; but that all we can say of them with Certainty is, that they lie between Cape Comorin and *China*.

† The Account of the Conduct of the *Chinese* towards the Merchants, corresponds so well with, both with ancient and modern Relations, that there is no room for us to doubt, either of the Truth of them, or of it, and cannot but illustrate, and at the same time confirm in the Opinion of our Readers, many Things asserted in our Observations on the same subject.

‡ The kind of Trade mentioned in this Account, is that which is carried on by a Caravan, and is not that which is carried on by a single Merchant, as is the Trade of the *Arabs*; and it is probable to conjecture, that the Account of this Trade, which was written by the *Chinese*, should be Master of their Facts, none of which are known in European History.

cheaper than they are to be had at Market: And hence no Dearth is of any long Continuance among the *Chinese*. The Sums that are gathered from this Capitation-tax, are laid up in the publick Treasury; and I believe, that from this Tax fifty thousand Dinars are paid every Day into the Treasury of *Cansu* alone, although this City is not one of the largest in *China*.

The Emperor reserves likewise to himself, the Revenues which arise from the Salt-mines, and from a certain Herb which they drink with hot Water, and of which great Quantities are sold in all the Cities of *China*, to the Amount of great Sums; they call it *Tieba*, that is Tea, and it is a Shrub, more bushy than the Pomegranate-tree, and of a more pleasant Smell, but has a kind of Bitterness with it. Their Way is to boil Water, which they pour upon this Leaf; and this Drink cures all sorts of Diseases. Whatever Sums come into the Treasury, arise from the Pole-tax, the Duties upon Salt, and the Tax upon this Leaf*.

19. In each City there is a small Bell hung to the Wall above the Prince's or Governor's Head; and this Bell may be rung by a String, which reaches about three Miles, and crosses the High-way, to the End that People may get at it; when the String is pulled, the Bell strikes over the Governor's Head, and strait he commands that the Person who thus demands Justice, be brought before him; and accordingly the Complainant sets forth his Case in Person; and the same Practice is in use throughout all the other Provinces.

If a Man has a Mind to travel from one Place to another, he must take two Passes with him, the one from the Governor, the other from the Eunuch or Lieutenant. The Governor's Pass permits him to set out on his Journey, and takes Notice of the Name of the Traveller, and of those also of his Company, the Age and Family of the one and the other; for every Body in *China*, whether a Native, or an *Arab*, or any other Foreigner, is obliged to declare all he knows of himself, nor can he possibly be excused.

The Eunuch, or Lieutenant's Pass, specifies the Quantity of Goods or Money, which the Traveller and those with him, take along with them; and this is done for the Information of the frontier Places, where these two Passes are examined; for whenever a Traveller arrives at any of them, it is registered, That such a one, the Son of such a one, of such a Family, passed through this Place on such a Day, in such a Month, in such a Year, and in such Company; and by this Means they prevent any one from carrying of the Money or Effects of other Persons, or their being lost: So that if any thing has been carried off unjustly, or the Traveller dies on the Road, they immediately know what is become of the Thing, and they are either restored to the Claimant, or to his Heirs*.

20. The *Chinese* administer Justice with great Strictness in all their Tribunals. When any Person commences a Suit against another, he sets down his Claim in Writing, and the Defendant writes down his Defence, which he signs, and holds between his Fingers. These two Writings are delivered in together; and being examined, Sentence is delivered in Writing, and each Party has his Papers returned to him; but first they give back to the Defendant his Writing, that he may acknowledge it.

When one Party denies what the other affirms, he is ordered to return his Writing; and if the Defendant thinks he may do it safely, and accordingly delivers his Papers a second time, they also call for that of the Plaintiff, and then they say to him who denies what the other affirms, Make it appear that your Antagonist has no Right to demand of you what is in Debate; but take Notice, if he makes out what you deny, you shall undergo twenty Strokes of the Bamboo upon the Backside, and pay a Fine

of twenty *Fakuges*, which make about two hundred *Dinars*. Now this Punishment is such, as the Criminal could not sur vive; it is so grievous, that no Person in all *China* may, of his own Authority, inflict it upon another, upon pain of Death, and Confiscation of his Goods; and so no body is ever so hardy as to expose himself to so certain a Danger; wherefore Justice is well administered to every one. They require no Witness, nor do they put the Parties upon Oath.

21. When any Man becomes a Bankrupt in this Country, they throw him into Prison in the Governor's Palace, and he is immediately put upon the Declaration of his Effects. After he has been a Month in Prison, he is released by the Governor's Order, and Proclamation is made, That such a one, the Son of such a one, has consumed the Substance of such a one; and that if he has any Effects in the Hands of any Person, in any Shape whatsoever, it must be made known in the Term of a Month. In the mean time the Bankrupt is bambood on the Backside if Discovery is made of any Effects of his; and at the same time is upbraided with having been a Month in Prison eating and drinking, tho' he had wherewithal to satisfy his Creditors. He is chastised in the same manner, whether he makes any Declaration of his Effects or not. They reproach him, that he has made it his study to get by Fraud the Substance of private Persons into his Hands, and embezzle it; and that he ought not so to defraud those he had Dealings with, by stripping them of their Property. But after all, if they cannot discover him to have been guilty of any Fraud, and if it is proved to the Magistrate, that the Man has nothing in the World, the Creditors are called in, and receive a Part of their Debt out of the Treasury of the *Baghun*. This is the ordinary Title of the Emperors of *China*, and signifies the Son of Heaven; but we commonly pronounce it after a different Manner, and call him *Maghun*. Then it is publicly forbidden to buy of, or sell to this Man, upon pain of Death, that he may not defraud any of his Creditors by concealing their Money. If Discovery be made that he hath any Sums in the Hands of another, and if the Person he intrusts makes no Declaration within the Time limited, he is bambood to death, and nothing is said to the Proprietor or Bankrupt. The Sums that they discover are divided among the Creditors, and the Debtor or Bankrupt must never more concern himself with Trade*.

22. The *Chinese* have a Stone which is ten Cubits high, erected in the publick Squares of their Cities, and on this Stone are engraved the Names of all Sorts of Medicines, with the exact Price of each; and when the Poor stand in need of any Relief from Physick, they go to the Treasury, where they receive the Price each Medicine is rated at. There is in *China* no Tax upon Land; they only levy so much *per Head*, according to the Wealth and Possessions of the Subject. When a Male Child is born, his Name is immediately enter'd in the King's Books; and when this Child has attained his eighteenth Year, he begins to pay for his Head; but they demand it not of the Man who has seen his eightieth Year; on the contrary, he receives a Gratification by way of Pension from the publick Treasury; and in doing this, the *Chinese* say, That they make this Provision for him in his old Days, in Acknowledgment for what they received of him when he was young.

23. There are Schools in every Town for teaching the poor Children to write and read, and the Masters are maintained at the publick Charge. The Women wear nothing on their Heads but their Hair, whereas the Men are covered. In *China* there is a certain Town called *Tayu*, which has a Castle advantageously seated on a Hill, and all the Fortresses in the Kingdom are called by the same Name. The *Chinese* are generally handsome, of

* It appears from hence, that the Custom of drinking Tea in *China*, is much more ancient than we have generally imagined it, for it must have prevailed long before our Traveller went into this Country, otherwise a Tax upon it would have been ineffectual. It may not be amiss, to observe that the Remarks of the Author are equally natural and judicious; for he insists chiefly on those Things in which the *Chinese* differed most from the *Europeans*, as that they did not circumcise, were not very exact in washing, and made no Conscience of eating Blood.

The Reader will remember, that this was a settled Regulation among the ancient *Indians*, so that it is very probable, that the *Chinese* derived a great Part of their Policy from the *Indians*.

The Fact is likewise confirmed by later Travellers; and though there seems to be a great Deal of Severity in it, yet it is well adapted to the Government of the *Chinese*, who would not fail to become Bankrupts frequently, if they were allowed to trade afterwards; and perhaps the introducing this Law into our Country, in case of a second or third Bankruptcy, might be found very effectual.

comely Skin, fair, and by no means addicted to Excess of Wine; their Hair is blacker than the Hair of any other Nation in the World; and the *Chinese* Women wear it curled.

24. In the *Indies*, when a Man accuses another of a Crime punishable with Death, the Custom is to alk the Accused if he is willing to go through the Trial by Fire; and if he answers in the Affirmative, they heat a Piece of Iron till it is red-hot. This done, they bid him stretch forth his Hand, and upon it they put seven Leaves of a certain Tree, and upon these Leaves they put the red-hot Iron, and in this Condition he walks backward and forward for some time, and then throws off the Iron. Immediately after this, they put his Hand into a Leathern Bag, which they seal with the Prince's Signet; and if at the End of three Days he appears, and declares he has suffered no Hurt, they order him to take out his Hand; when, if no Sign of Fire is visible, they declare him innocent, and delivered from the Punishment which threatened him, and his Accuser is condemned to pay a *Man of Gold* as a Fine to the Prince.

Sometimes they boil Water in a Chaldron, till it is so hot that no one can touch it; then they throw an Iron Ring into it, and command the Person accused to thrust his Hand down, and bring up the Ring. I saw one who did this, and received no manner of Hurt. The Accuser is in this Case also to pay a *Man of Gold*.

25. When a King dies in this Island of *Serendib*, they lay his Body on an open Chariot, in such a manner, that his Head hangs backwards till it almost touches the Ground, and his Hair is upon the Earth; and this Chariot is followed by a Woman with a Broom in her Hand, therewith to sweep Dust on the Face of the Deceased, while she cries out with a loud Voice, "O Man behold your King, who was yesterday your Master, but now the Empire he exercised over you is vanished and gone; he is reduced to the State you behold, having left the World, and the Arbitrer of Death hath withdrawn his Soul: Reckon therefore no more upon the uncertain Hopes of Life."

This Proclamation, or some other like it, they continue for three Days; after which, the dead Body of the King is embalmed with *Sandal Wood*, *Camphire* and *Saffron*, and is then burned, and the Ashes are scattered abroad to the Wind. It is a universal Custom all over the *Indies*, to burn the Bodies of the Dead. The Island of *Serendib* is the last of the Islands of the *Indies*. When they burn a King, it is usual for his Wives to jump into the Fire, and to burn with him; but this they are not constrained to do, if they are not willing.

In the *Indies* there are Men, who profess to live in the Woods and Mountains, and to despise what other Men most value. These abstain from every thing but such wild Herbs and Fruits as spring in the Woods, and put an Iron Buckle upon their natural Parts, that they may not be able to have any Commerce with Women. Some of them are quite naked, or have only a Leopard's Skin thrown over them, and in this Pight, keep standing with their Faces towards the Sun. I formerly saw one in the Posture I have described, and returning to the *Indies* about sixteen Years afterwards, I found him in the very same Attitude, and was astonished he had not lost his Eye-sight by the Heat of the Sun.

In all these Kingdoms, the Sovereign Power resides in the Royal Family, and never departs from it; and the next Heirs of this Family succeed each other. In like manner, there are Families of learned Men, of Physicians, and of all the Artificers concerned in Architecture, and none of these are mixed with a Family of a Profession

different from their own. The several States of the *Indies* are not subject to one King; but each Province has its own King. The *Balkara* is nevertheless in the *Indies* as King of Kings. The *Chinese* are fond of Gaming, and all Manner of Diversions; on the contrary, the *Indians* condemn them, and have no Pleasure in them. They drink no Wine, nor make any Use of Vinegar, because it is made of Wine; and yet they abstain not therefrom as a religious Duty, but for another Reason. They say, that if a King is given to Wine, he ought not to be deemed a King: For, continue they, as there are frequent Wars with the neighbouring States, how should a Drunkard manage the Affairs of his Kingdom?

26. The Wars, in which they engage with neighbouring Princes, are not usually undertaken with a View to possess themselves of their Dominions; and I never heard of any but the People bordering upon the Pepper Country, that have seized on the Possessions of their Neighbours after Victory. When a Prince makes himself Master of some other Principality, he confers the Government thereof upon some Person of the Royal Family of the conquered Country; and thus he keeps it in Subjection to himself, from a Persuasion that the Natives would never agree to be otherwise governed. When any one of the Princes or Governors of Cities within the Dominions of the Emperor of *China* is guilty of a Crime, he is put to Death, and eaten; and in general, it may be said, that the *Chinese* eat all those that are put to Death. When the *Indians* and *Chinese* are about to marry, the Parties come to an Agreement; then Presents are made, and, at last, the Marriage is celebrated with the Sound of many sorts of Instruments and Drums. The Presents they send consist of Money, and in this every one does what he can afford.

27. If a Man in the *Indies* runs away with a Woman, and abuses her Body, they kill both him and the Woman, unless it be proved that he was forced; then the Man only is punished with Death: But if the Woman consented to the evil Deed, they are both punished with Death. Theft is always punished capitally, as well in the *Indies* as in *China*, whether the Theft be considerable or inconsiderable; and particularly in the *Indies*, where, if a Theft has stolen but the Value of a small Piece of Money, or a thing of greater Worth, they take a long, sharp, and sharp Stake, which they apply to his Flank, and thrust it through till it comes out at his Neck. The *Chinese* are addicted to the abominable Vice of Sobriety, and the filthy Practice of it they number amongst the different things they perform in Honour of their gods.

The *Chinese* Buildings are of Wood, with Stone, Plaster, Brick and Mortar. The *Chinese* and *Indians* are not satisfied with one Wife, but both Nations marry as many as they please. Rice is the common Food of the *Indians*, who eat no Wheat; whereas the *Chinese* eat of Rice and Wheat indifferently. Circumcision is not practised either by the *Indians* or *Chinese*. The *Chinese* worship Idols, pray to them, and fall down before them; and they have Books which explain the Articles of their Religion. The *Indians* suffer their Beards to grow, and I have seen one of them with a Beard three Cubits long; they wear Whiskers; but the *Chinese*, for the most part, have no Beard, and have all smooth. The *Indians*, upon the Death of a Relation, shave both Head and Face. When any Man in the *Indies* is cast into Prison, they allow him neither Victuals nor Drink for seven Days together, and this with them answers the End of other Tortures to extract from the Criminal a Confession of the Truth. The *Chinese* have Judgas besides the Governors, who decide in Causes between Subject and Subject, and the same they have in the *Indies*. Both in *China* and in the *Indies* there are Law

* The Manner of finding out the Truth by appealing to God in so extraordinary a Manner, was in use in most Countries. *Sophocles* related as practised by the Ancients. The *Cretes* or *Crete* out of *Motambique*, if they are accused of any capital Crime, lick Iron to prove their Innocence. The *Indians* of *Calicut* decide their Differences in the same Manner. If a Man is accused of Theft, he and the Accuser are bound to separate; the Judge a Pint of Oil is heated till it almost boils, and then the Party accused dips in three of his Fingers, which are immediately immersed in the oil upon the third Day, when, if it appears red, he suffers Death; and if not, the same Sentence falls upon the Accuser. The more probable, hence this was once the common Law of our own Country, as the Reader will perceive by consulting any of our *Classical* Authors.

† The *Arabs*, the *Indians*, *Chinese*, and most of the Oriental Writers, have transcribed this Passage verbatim, from whence it is preserved in the *Chinese* and *Indians* Accounts. The Reader may remember, that the Accounts given by the Ancients of the *Indians* are the most correct of any that have been given of them.

‡ The *Chinese* and *Indians* Accounts of the *Indies* are confirmed by all the Travellers that have written of them. The *Chinese* and *Indians* Accounts are confirmed by all the Travellers that have written of them.

pards and Wolves, but no Lions. Highway Robbers are punished with Death.

29. Both the *Chinese* and the *Indians* imagine the Idols they worship speak to them and give them answers. Neither the one nor the other kill their Meat by cutting the Throat, as the *Mohammedans*, but by beating them on the Mouth till they die. They wash not with Well-water; the *Chinese* wipe themselves with Paper, whereas the *Indians* wash every Day before they eat.

The *Indians* touch not their Wives while their Disease is upon them, but turn them out of their Houses, and avoid them; the *Chinese* behave in quite a contrary Manner. The *Indians* wash not only the Mouth, but the whole Body also before they eat, which the *Chinese* observe not. The Country of the *Indies* is larger in Extent than that of *China*, and exceeds it by one half; the Number of Kingdoms is greater in the *Indies* than in *China*, but *China* is the more populous of the two.

It is not usual to see Palm-trees either in the *Indies* or in *China*, but they have also other Sorts of Fruits and Trees, which we have not. The *Indians* have no Grapes, and the *Chinese* have not many, but both abound in other Fruits; though the Pomegranate thrives more plentifully in *India* than in *China*.

The *Chinese* have no Sciences, and their Religion and most of their Laws are derived from the *Indians*; nay, they are of Opinion that the *Indians* taught them the Worship of Idols, and consider them as a very religious Nation; both the one and the other believe the *Metempsychosis*; but they differ in many Points touching the Precepts of their Religion. *Physick* and *Philosophy* are cultivated among the *Indians*, and the *Chinese* have some Skill in *Medicine*; but it almost wholly consists in the Art of applying hot Irons or Cauteries. They have also some Smattering of *Astronomy*, but therein also the *Indians* surpass the *Chinese*. I know not that there is so much as one of either Nation that has embraced *Mohammedism*, or speaks *Arabic*. The *Indians* have but few Horses, and there are more in *China*; but the *Chinese* have no Elephants, and cannot endure to have them in their Country, for they abhor them. The *Indian* Dominions furnish a great Number of Soldiers, who are not paid by the King, but when they are rendezvoused for War, take the Field entirely at their own Expence, and are no Charge to the King; whereas the *Chinese* allow their Forces much the same Pay with the *Arabs*.

China is a pleasant and fruitful Country; most of the *Indian* Provinces have no Cities, whereas in *China* there are many in Number, great in Extent, and well fortified: The Climate of *China* is more wholesome, and the Country itself is less fenny. The Air there is also much better, and there is scarce a blind Person to be seen, or any one subject to the Diseases of the Eyes; and the same Advantages are enjoyed by several Provinces of the *Indies*: The Rivers of the two Countries are large, and surpass our greatest Rivers; much Rain falls in both these Countries. In the *Indies* are many desert Tracks, but *China* is inhabited and peopled throughout its whole Extent. The *Chinese* are handsomer than the *Indians*, and come nearer to the *Arabs*, not only in Countenance but in Dress, in their Way of riding, in their Manners, and in their Ceremonies: They wear long Garments and Girdles, in form of Belts. The *Indians* wear two short Vests; and the Men, as well as the Women, wear golden Bracelets, adorned with precious Stones.

30. Beyond the Continent of *China*, there is a Country called *Tagazgaz*, from the Name of a Nation of the *Turks*, who there inhabit, and also the Country of *Tibet*, which is bordering on the Country of the *Turks*. The Islands of *Sila* are inhabited by white People, who send Presents to the Emperor of *China*, and who are persuaded, that if they did not send him Presents, the Rain of Heaven would not fall upon their

Country. None of our People have been there to inform us concerning them: They have white Falcons.

As we are now arrived to the End of this Work, it may not be amiss, to offer here some Remarks that may tend to enlighten the foregoing Discourse, and prepare us at the same time for that which is to come. We are informed that the Date of this Narration was of the *Hegira* 237, *A. D.* 851, which Circumstance, though preferred to us in the ensuing Discourse, was very probably contained in the first Leaf of this, which is wanting in the Manuscript. But though it was written then, yet it seems highly probable, that our Author's first Journey to the *Indies* was, at least, twenty Years before; because he observes, that he made a second Journey there sixteen Years afterwards; and we may very well allow four Years for the Time spent in the first Journey, and the Space that might intervene between his Return and his composing this Treatise. According to this Calculation, his first Voyage to the *Indies* was in the Year of the *Hegira* 217, *A. D.* 833, and his second *An. Heg.* 235, *A. D.* 849.

As to the Occasion of his Voyages, there is nothing occurs in this Account that can give us the least Light into it; however, it seems most probable, that he underwent these Fatigues on the score of Commerce; for it can hardly be supposed, that a Man would have made so long a Journey a second Time purely out of Curiosity, and to satisfy the Desire of being better acquainted with these People, which had been excited by his former Intercourse with them. There is not much to be observed with respect to the Form of this Treatise, or the Style in which it is written; and yet something there is worth mentioning with respect to each of them. We cannot, indeed, boast much of the Regularity of his Method; and yet it would be unjust to condemn it entirely, because, for want of having the Introduction to it, we cannot determine exactly what was his Plan, and consequently cannot say how far he came up to, or fell short of it; one Thing I think is manifest, which is, that the Scope of his Undertaking is a Comparison between the *Indians* and the *Chinese*; at least he falls into this immediately after he has described the usual Navigation from *Siraff* to *China*; and considered in this Light, his Treatise appears regular enough. As to his Style, it is extremely simple and plain, and has nothing of that swelling hyperbolic Eloquence which is generally observed in oriental Writers; upon which, I beg leave to remark, that with regard to the *Arabs*, as well as other Nations, this was a Vice that prevailed in later Times, after Poetry and Rhetoric had been more cultivated than they were in the first Ages of their Empire, which has been the Case in most other Nations.

One cannot possibly doubt, that this Piece was extremely well received when it first came abroad, and that it had maintained its Reputation for a considerable Space of Time, appears from the second Treatise, which we are about to give the Reader. It seems, that when the Affairs of *China* were better known, some Prince, or other Person of Distinction, desired the Author of the following Pages to look over that Discourse, and to inform him, how far the Facts contained therein, had been confirmed or contradicted, by succeeding Relations. What Time this happened, we cannot, with any Certainty say, from the Comparison of the two Pieces, or from the Lights given us by the learned and accurate Critick who published them. The Manuscript which the Abbé *Renaudot* made use of, was apparently older than the Year of the *Hegira* 569, which answers to the Year of Christ 1173; but the Discourse must certainly have been written long before that Time. In our Notes we have shewn that *Eben-Wabab* travelled into *China*, *A. H.* 285, *A. D.* 898; and the Author of this last Treatise informs us, that he had conversed with this Man after his Return, and had from him the Facts which he has inserted in his Discourse; so that the Book itself must have been two Centuries older

* Of this Doctrine we have already spoken in our Account of the Philosophy of the *Brachmans*; and in our Notes on the subsequent Treatise, we shall take Occasion to shew when it was first embraced in *China*, and with what Modifications it is still taught there.

We shall take another Opportunity of acquainting the Reader with the History of the ancient *Turks*, and shall only observe here, that the Nations here mentioned are to be considered as dwelling in their native Region, before they became famous by their Irruption into *Persia*, which is the Country every where meant in this and in the subsequent Treatise by the Name of *Irak*, and before they became *Mohammedans*; which is the more necessary, because from the present State of Things it is very natural to connect the Ideas which we have of the modern *Turks*, with these Accounts of their Ancestors.

than the Manuscript from which the Abbé *Renaudot* published it, and might probably be written 60 or 70 Years after the foregoing Treatise. These are all the Lights which, from an assiduous Study of these valuable Fragments of Antiquity, we have been able to give the Reader, and therefore we shall detain him no longer from the Piece itself, which in the Original bears the following Title.

The Discourse of Abu Zeid al Hafan of Siraf, concerning the Voyage to the Indies and China.

31. Having very carefully examined the Book I was directed to peruse, that I might confirm what the Author relates, when he agrees with what I have heard concerning the Affairs of the Sea, the Kingdoms on the Coast, and the State of the Countries; and that I might add upon this Head, what I have elsewhere collected concerning them, which is not to be found in this Book, I find it was written in the Year of the Hegira CCXXXVII. and that the Accounts the Author gives in regard to Things at Sea, were in his Time very true, and agreeable to what I have understood from Merchants, who from *Irak* sailed through those Seas. I find also, that all the Author writes is agreeable to Truth, excepting some few Passages.

Speaking of the Custom of setting Meat before the Dead, which he attributes to the *Chinese*, he says, when they have served up the Meat over Night, and find nothing in the Morning, they cry, The Deceased hath eaten. We had been told the same, and believed it, till we met with a Man of undoubted Credit, who being asked concerning this Custom, he answered, that the Fact was not so, and that this Notion was groundless, as well as what is vulgarly said of the idolatrous Nations, that they imagine their Idols speak to them.

He told us also, that since those Days the Affairs of *China* were quite another Face; and since much is related to shew the Reason why the Voyages to *China* are interrupted, and how the Country has been ruined, many Customs abolished, and the Empire divided, I will here declare the Causes I know of this Revolution.

32. The great Troubles which have embroiled the Affairs of this Empire, which have put a Stop to the Justice and Righteousness there formerly practised, and which have in fine interrupted the ordinary Navigation from *Siraf* to *China*, flowed from this Source: An Officer who was considerable for his Employment, though not of the Royal Family, revolted sometime ago; this Man's Name was *Baibai*, and he began with committing Hostilities in the Country, marching his Armies into many Places, to the great Loss of the Inhabitants, till, winning a Party over to him by his Liberalities, he got together a Multitude of Vagabonds and abandoned People, whom he formed into a considerable Body of Troops.

His Army thus strengthened, and himself in a Condition to undertake any thing, he discovered his Design of subduing the Empire, and marched strait to *Cansu*, one of the most noted Cities in *China*, and at that Time the Port for all the *Arabian* Merchants. This City stands upon a great River some Days Distance from the Entrance, so that the Water there is fresh. But the Citizens shutting their Gates against him, he resolved to besiege the Place, and the Siege lasted a great while. This was transacted in the Year of the Hegira CCLXIV. and of Christ 877.

* The Account here given by our Author, very plainly proves, that the Trade to *China* was considered in his Time as very uncertain, and of great Consequence, inasmuch that whatever affected the Peace of that Country, was looked upon as a Thing of common Concernment to the East. But till these Travels were published, who could have imagined this? Who would have suspected that the Affairs of *China* were so well known to the *Arabs*? And therefore when these Things are maturely weighed, who can doubt that we had Reason to observe, that a very probable, that long before this, the Empires of *China* and the *Indies* were in the most flourishing Condition, as well in point of Trade, Commerce, and domestic Oeconomy.

† It is a very difficult thing to pretend to settle the Chronology of the *Chinese* Empire; and the very learned Editor of these Travels, confessed he is not able to give any satisfactory Account of this Revolution. It so falls out, however, that Father *de Halde*, in his History of *China*, published, has enabled us to set this Matter right, or at least very nearly right. He informs us, that in the Reign of the Emperor *Hiang Tsung*, in the eighteenth of the Dynasty of *Tang*, the Affairs of *China* fell into very great Disorder, from the heavy Taxes laid upon the People, and the Family, caused by the Inundation of Rivers, and infinite Number of *Chinese* happened that destroyed their Harvests. While these were the Causes, there happened several Revolts in the Provinces, which encouraged a certain Rebel, whose Name was *Huan Tsung*, to undertake the Conquest of the Malecontents, and that with such Success, as to drive the Emperor from the Imperial City, of which he made himself Master, and afterwards defeated, and the Emperor returned. It must be owned, that there is about twenty Year Difference between the Year mentioned by our Author, and the Date of this Revolution, assigned by Father *de Halde*. I shall not now take upon me to decide where the Miscalculation lies; but that the Reader will be of the same Opinion with me, in concluding this to be the Revolution mentioned in the Text.

‡ All the Oriental Writers agree in giving a different Account of the Cause of the Empire of *Manchu* the Great, from that which is given by the *Greeks*; and that the Nation of theirs was ancient, appears from what we are told by the Author of the History of *China*, who says,

At last he became Master of the City, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword. There are Persons fully acquainted with the Affairs of *China*, who assure us, that besides the *Chinese* who were massacred upon this Occasion, there perished one hundred and twenty thousand *Mahomedans*, *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Parsees* who were there on account of Traffick. The Number of the Professors of these four Religions, who thus perished, is exactly known, because the *Chinese* are exceedingly nice in the Accounts they keep of them.

He also cut down the Mulberry-trees, and almost all the Trees of other Kinds: But we speak of the Mulberry in particular, because the *Chinese* cultivate it carefully, for the sake of its Leaf, on which their Silkworms subsist. This Devastation is the Cause why Silk has failed, and that the Trade which used to be driven therein through all the Countries under the *Arabs*, is quite at a Stand. Having sacked and destroyed *Cansu*, he possessed himself of many other Cities, which he attacked one after another, the Emperor of *China* not having it in his Power to stop his Progress. He advanced then to the capital City, called *Cumdan*; and the Emperor left this, his royal Seat, making a precipitate Retreat to the City of *Hamai*, on the Frontiers, towards the Province of *Tibet*.

The Rebel, puffed up by these great Successes, and perceiving himself Master of the Countries, fell upon the other Cities, which he demolished, having first slain most of the Inhabitants, with a View, in this general Butchery, to involve all the several Branches of the Royal Blood, that none might survive to dispute the Empire with him. We had the News of these Revolutions, and of the total Ruin of *China*, which still continues.

Thus were Affairs situated, and the Rebel stood unconquered by any Disadvantage that might abate his Authority.

33. At last the Emperor of *China* wrote to the King of *Tagazgaz* in *Turkestan*, with whom, besides the Names of his Dominions, he was, in some Degree, allied by Marriage; and, at the same time, sent an Embassy to him, to implore his Assistance for reducing this Rebel. Upon this, the King of *Tagazgaz* dispatched his Son, at the Head of a very numerous Army, to fight this Oppressor; and, after many Battles, and almost continual Skirmishes, he utterly defeated him. It was never known what became of the Rebel: Some believe he fell in Battle, while others thought he ended his Days in another Manner.

The Emperor of *China* returned then to *Cumdan*, and although he was extremely weakened, and much distressed because of the Embezzlement of his Treasures, and the Loss of his Captains and best Troops, and because of all the late Calamities, he nevertheless made himself Master of all the Provinces which had been conquered from him. However, he never laid Hands on the Goods of his Subjects, but satisfied himself with what was yet left in his Coffers, and the small Remainers of publick Money, his Condition indispensably obliged him to take up with what his Subjects would give him, and to require nothing from them but Obedience to his Mandates, forbearing to squeeze Money from them, because the King's Government had exhausted them already.

Thus *China* became almost like the Empire of *Assyria* after the Deceat and Death of *Darius*, when he divided the Provinces he took from the *Persians* among so many Chiefs, who erected themselves into petty Kings; for now each of these *Chinese* Princes joined with

I.



A Chinese Prostitute, riding in Publick, with a Man going before, who makes known her Price.



A View of a large Street in one of y^e Trading Cities of China, showing how their Signs are placed & Shops disposed.

some other to wage War against a third, without consulting the Emperor; and when the strongest had subdued the weakest, and was become Master of his Province, all was wasted and unmercifully plundered, and the Subjects of the vanquished Prince were unnaturally devoured, a Cruelty allowed by the Laws of their Religion, which even permit human Flesh to be exposed to Sale in the publick Markets.

There arose, as was natural from these Confusions, many unjust Dealings with the Merchants who traded thither, which having gathered the Force of a Precedent, there was no Grievance, no Treatment so bad, but they exercised upon the *Arabs*, and the Masters of Ships; they extorted from the Merchants what was uncouth, they seized upon their Effects, and behaved towards them in a manner directly opposite to ancient Usages, and for these things has God punished them, by withdrawing his Blessing from them in every Respect; and particularly by causing the Navigation to be forsaken, and the Merchants to return in Crouds to *Siraf* and *Oman*; agreeable to the all-ruling Will of the Almighty Master, whose Name be blessed!

34. The Author in his Book notes some Customs and Laws of the *Chinese*, but mentions not the Punishments inflicted on married Persons, when convicted of Adultery; this Crime as well as Homicide and Theft is punished with Death, and they execute the Criminal in this Manner; they bind both the Hands together, and then force them backwards over the Head, till they rest upon the Neck; they then fasten the Right-Foot to the Right-Hand, and the Left-Foot to the Left-Hand, so that both Hands and Feet are strongly bound behind the Back; and thus bundled up, it is impossible for the Criminal to stir, nor wants he any Body to hold him. This Torture disjoins the Neck, makes the Joints start out of their Sockets and dislocates the Thighs; in short, the Patient is in so miserable a Condition, that were he to continue there but a few Hours, there would be no need of any thing else to make an End of him: But when they have bound him as we have said, they give him so many Strokes with a Bamboo, which they always use upon the like Occasions, and which alone were sufficient to kill the Criminal, and leave off when he is at the very last Gasps of Life, abandoning the Body to the People, who eat it.

35. There are Women in *China* who refuse to marry, and chuse rather to live a dissolute Life of perpetual Debauchery. The Custom is for these Women to present themselves in full Audience before the commanding Officer of the Garrison in the City, and declare their Aversion to Marriage, and their Desire to enter into the State of publick Women; they then desire to be register'd in the usual Form amongst these Prostitutes, and the Form is this; they write down the Name of the Woman, her Family, the Number of her Jewels, the several Particulars of her Attire, and the Place of her Abode; thus she is admitted a publick Woman: After this, they put about her Neck a String, at which hangs a Copper Ring with the King's Signet, and deliver to her a Writing which certifies that she is received into the List of common Prostitutes, and entitles her to a yearly Pension of so many *Falus*, to be paid her out of the publick Treasury, and threatens with Death the Person who should take her to Wife. They every Year give publick Notice of what is to be observed with regard to those Women, and turn out those who have worn out their Charms. In the Evening these Women walk abroad in Dresses of different Colours, without any Veil, and prostitute themselves to all new Comers that love Debauchery; but the *Chinese* themselves send for them to their Houses, whence they depart not till the next Morning.

36. The *Chinese* coin no Money, besides the little Pieces of Copper, like those we call *Falus*, nor will they allow Gold or Silver to be coined into Specie, like the Dinars and Dracms that are current with us; for, say they, if a Thief goes, with an evil Intent, into the House of an *Arab*, where is Gold and Silver Coin, he may carry off ten thousand Pieces of Gold, and almost as many Pieces of Silver, and not be much burdened therewith, and so be the Ruin of the Man who should suffer this Loss: Whereas, if a Thief has the same Design on the House of a *Chinese* Artificer, he cannot at most take away above ten thousand *Falus*, or Pieces of Copper, which do not make above ten Meticals or Dinars of Gold. These Pieces of Copper are alloy'd with something of a different kind, and are of the Size of a Dram, or Piece of Silver called *Bagli*; in the Middle they have a pretty large Hole to string them by: A thousand of them are worth a Metical of Gold, or a Dinar, and they string them by thousands, with a Knot between every hundred. All their Payments in general, are made with this Money, whether they buy or sell Lands, Furniture, Merchandize or any thing else. There are some of these Pieces at *Siraf* with *Chinese* Characters upon them.

I need say nothing as to the frequent Fires which happen in *China*, or the *Chinese* manner of Building. The City of *Canfu* is built in the manner he describes, that is, of Wood with Canes interwoven, just like our Works of Split-cane, they wash the whole over with a kind of Varnish, which they make of Hemp-seed, and this becomes as white as Milk; so that when the Walls are covered therewith they have a wonderful Gloss. They have no Stairs in their Houses, nor do they build with different Stories, but put every thing they have into Chefts, which run upon Wheels, and which in Case of Fire, they can easily draw from Place to Place without any Hindrance from Stairs, and so save their things presently.

As for the inferior Officers in the Cities, they commonly have the Directions of the Customs and the Keys of the Treasury: Some of these have been taken on the Frontiers and caltreated; others of them have been cut by their own Fathers, who have sent them as a Present to the Emperor. These Officers are at the Head of the principal Affairs of State, of the Emperor's private Affairs, and of his Treasures; and those particularly who are sent to *Canfu* are selected from this Body.

37. It is customary for them, as well as the Kings or Governors of all the Cities, to appear abroad from time to time, in solemn Procession; at such Times they are preceded by Men, who carry great Pieces of Wood like those the Christians of the *Levant* used instead of Bells: The Noise they make is heard a great Way, and as soon as it is heard no body stands in the Road of the Eunuch, or Prince: If a Man is at his Door, he goes into his House, and keeps his Door shut till the Prince or Eunuch of the City is gone by; so no Soul is to be seen in the Way; and this is enjoined, that they may be held in the greater Veneration, and to strike a Dread, that the People may not see them often, and that they may not grow so familiar as to speak to them.

The Eunuch, or Lieutenant, and the principal Officers, wear very magnificent Dresses of Silk, so fine that none of this Sort is brought into the Country subject to the *Arabs*, the *Chinese* keep it up at so high a Rate. One of the chief Merchants, whose Words cannot be called in question, relates, that he waited on an Eunuch, whom the Emperor had sent to *Canfu*, in order to purchase some things he wanted out of the Goods carried thither from the Country of the *Arabs*; and that upon his Breast he perceived a short Vest, which was under another silk Vest, and which seemed to be under two other Vests of the

related the Conquest of the *Persian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, adds the following remarkable Words, 1 *Maccab.* i. 5, 6. "And after these Things, he fell sick and perceived that he should die. Wherefore he called his Servants, such as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his Youth, and parted his Kingdom among them, while he was yet alive."

* As barbarous as this Custom may appear, and as seemingly inconsistent as it may be with the Politeness of the *Chinese*, yet it is very certain, that our Authors are not the only Writers that have mentioned it, as will appear hereafter, when we come to give the Reader the Travels of the famous *Marc Polo*, who asserts the very same thing.

* This Account of their publick Women is confirmed by a great Number of Writers ancient and modern, so that there appears to be no Reason for calling the Truth of it in Question. In the History of the *Dutch* Embassy to the Emperor of *China*, there is a Print of one of these Ladies, as she is conducted through the City on an Ass, attended by a Person, who cries her Price, as he would do that of any other Commodity.

* All these Facts are attested by later Writers, so that notwithstanding they seem at first Sight very strange and improbable, yet it will be own'd, there is as good Evidence for them as for any other Facts in the several Relations we have had of the Customs and Manners of these People.

same kind; that the Eunuch observing him to look steadfastly upon his Breast, said, "I see you keep your Eyes fixed upon my Stomach, what may be the Meaning of it?" The Merchant immediately cried out, *I am surprised at the Beauty of that little Vest, which appears under your other Garments.* The Eunuch laughed, and held out his Shirt-sleeve to him; Count, says he, how many Vests I have above it: He did so, and counted five, one on another; and the Waistcoat, or short Vest was underneath. These Garments are wove with raw Silk, which has never been washed or fulled; and what is worn by the Princes or Governors, is still more rich, and more exquisitely wrought.

The Chinese surpass all Nations in all Arts, and particularly in Painting; and they perform such perfect Work as others can but faintly imitate. When an Artificer has finished a fine Piece, he carries it to the Prince's Palace to demand the Reward he thinks he deserves for the Beauty of his Performance; and the Custom is, for the Prince to order him to leave his Work at the Palace-gate, where it stands a whole Year; if, during that Time, no Person finds a Fault therein, the Artificer is rewarded, and admitted into the Body of Artists; but if the least Fault be found, it is rejected, and the Workman sent away empty.

It happened once, as the Story goes, that one of these Painters drew an Ear of Corn, with a Bird perched on it, upon a Piece of Silk; and his Performance was so admirable, that all who beheld it were astonished. This Piece stood exposed to publick View, till one Day a crooked Fellow passing by the Palace, found fault with the Picture, and was immediately conducted to the Prince or Governor of the City, who at the same Time sent for the Painter. Then he asked this crooked Fellow, what Fault he had to find with this Piece; to which he answered, "Every body knows that a Bird never settles upon an Ear of Corn but it bends under him, whereas this Painter has represented his Ear bolt upright, though he has perched a Bird upon it; this is the Fault I have to find." The Objection was held just, and the Prince bestowed no Reward upon the Artist. They pretend by this, and such other Means, to excite their Workmen to Perfection, by engaging them to be extremely nice and circumspect in what they undertake, and to apply their whole Genius to what is to go out of their Hands.

38. There was formerly a Man of the Tribe of *Korkish*, whose Name was *Ebn Wabab*, descended of *Hebar* the Son of *Al Abdul*, and he dwelt at *Bafra*; this Man left *Bafra* when that City was sack'd, and came to *Siraf*, where he saw a Ship ready to sail for *China*. The Humour took him to go on board of this Ship, and in her he went to *China*, where in the Sequel he had the Curiosity to travel to the Emperor's Court; and leaving *Cansu*, he reached *Cumdam*, after a Journey of two Months; he staid a long time at the Emperor's Court, and presented several Petitions, wherein he signified that he was of the Family of the Prophet of the *Arabs*. Having waited a considerable while, the Emperor at last ordered him to be lodged in a House appointed for him, and to be supplied with every Thing he wanted. This done, the Emperor wrote to the Governor of *Cansu*, commanding him carefully to inform himself among the Merchants concerning the Relation this Man pretended to bear to the Prophet of the *Arabs*; and the Governor, by his Answers, confirming the Truth of what he had said, touching his Extraction, the Emperor gave him Audience, and made him rich Presents, wherewith he returned to *Irack*.

This Man, when we saw him, was much advanced in Years, but had his Senses perfectly, and told us, that

when he had his Audience, the Emperor asked him many Questions about the *Arabs*, and particularly how they had destroyed the Kingdom of the *Persians*. *Ebn Wabab* made Answer, that they did it by the Assistance of God; and because the *Persians* were immersed in Idolatry, adoring the Stars, the Sun and Moon, instead of worshipping the true God.

To this the Emperor replied, that the *Arabs* had conquered the most illustrious Kingdom of the whole Earth, the best cultivated, the most opulent, the most pregnant of fine Wits, and of the most extensive Fame. Then said he, *What Account do the People in your Parts make of the other Kings of the Earth?* To which the Arab replied, that he knew them not. Then said the Emperor to the Interpreter, "Tell him we esteem but five Kings; that he whose Kingdom is of widest Extent, is the Master of *Irak*, for he is in the midst of the World, and surrounded by the Territories of other Kings; and he is called the King of Kings. After him we reckon our Emperor here present, and we find that he is styled the King of Mankind, for no King is invested with a more absolute Authority over his Subjects, nor is there a People under the Sun more dutiful and submissive to their Sovereign, than the People of this Country. We therefore, in this respect, are the Kings of the human Race; after us the King of the *Turks*, whose Kingdom borders upon us, and him we call the King of Lions. Next is the King of the Elephants, who is the King of the *Indies*, whom we also call the King of Widows, because he derives his Origin from the *Indians*. And last of all the King of *Greece*, whom we stile the King of Men; for upon the Face of the Earth, there are no Men of better Manners, nor of comlier Preference, than his Subjects. These, added he, are the most illustrious of all Kings, nor are others to compare with them."

Then said *Ebn Wabab*, he ordered the Interpreter to ask me, "If I knew my Master and my Lord, meaning the Prophet (*Mokammed*), and if I had seen him?" I made Answer, "How should I have seen him who is with God?" He replied, "That is not what I mean, I ask you, what sort of a Man he was in his Person?" I replied, that he was very handsome." Then he called for a great Box, and opening it, he took out another contained therein, which he set before him, and said to the Interpreter, "Shew him his Master and his Lord;" and I saw in the Box, the Image of the Prophets; whereas I moved my Lips, praying to myself in Honour of their Memory.

The Emperor did not imagine I should know them again, and said to the Interpreter, "Ask him why he moves his Lips?" I answered, "I was praying in Memory of the Prophets;" *How do you know them*, said the Emperor? I replied, that I knew them by the Representation of their Histories; "There, said I, is *Noah* in the Ark, who was saved with those that were with him at the same Time," and I made the usual Salute to *Noah* and his Company. Then the Emperor laughed, and said, "Thou art not mistaken in the Name of *Noah*, and thou hast named him right; but as for the universal Deluge, it is what we know not. It is true, indeed, that a Flood covered Part of the Earth; but it reached not our Country, nor even the *Indies*." I made my Answer to this, and endeavoured to remove his Objections the best I could; and then said again to him, "There is *Moses* with his Rod, and the Children of *Israel*." He agreed with me, as to the small Extent of their Country, and the Manner how the ancient Inhabitants were destroyed by *Moses*. I then said to him, "He there, is *Jesus*, upon an Ass, and here are his Apostles

^a There is nothing very surprising in this Account, for the very same Method had been in Use among the *Greeks* long before, and has been since practised in *Italy* and elsewhere: and without doubt, it is the true Method of coming at the just Knowledge of the Value of such Performances; and therefore something of this sort is annually practised at *Paris*.

^b It seems a little strange, that the learned *Abbi Renaudet* did not endeavour to settle the Time when this Arabian Traveller went to *China*, especially when there is a Circumstance which seems to fix it, viz. the plundering of *Bafra*, upon which it is said he took a Resolution of going to *Siraf*. In order to supply this Defect, I have consulted *Abul-Pharajus*, who informs us, that A. H. 285, which answers to A. D. 898, there was one *Abu-Nasr*, who revolted against the Khalif, and ruined *Bafra*, which occasioned the wailling and fortifying that City, which cost fourteen thousand Pieces of Gold. The Khalif then reigning was *Al-Mohaded*, in whose Time *Elmacinus* informs us, things were in great Confusion; and he likewise takes notice of this Rebellion. The Date agrees very well with the rest of this History, and particularly with the Account given by the Man of the Relations which induced him to quit his Country in his Conference with the Emperor of *China*.

"with him." *He, said the Emperor, was not long upon Earth, seeing that all he did was transacted within the Space of somewhat better than thirty Months.*"

After this the *Ebn Wabab* saw the Histories of the other Prophets presented in the same Manner we have already declared; and he fancied that what was written in great Characters, under each Figure, might be the Names of the Prophets, the Countries whence they were, and the Subjects of their Prophecies. Then said the same *Ebn Wabab*, I saw the Image of *Mohammed* riding upon a Camel, and his Companions about him on their Camels, with Shoes of the *Arabian* Mode on their Feet, and leathern Girdles about their Loins. At this I wept, and the Emperor commanded the Interpreter to ask me, why I wept? I answered, *There is our Prophet and our Lord, who is also my Cousin.* He said I was right, and added, that he and his People, had subdued the finest of all Kingdoms; but that he had not the Satisfaction of enjoying his Conquests, though his Successors had.

I afterwards saw a great Number of other Prophets, some of them stretching forth their Right-hand, and with their three Fingers bent down between the Thumb and the Fore-finger, just like those who hold up the Hand to make oath; others were standing, and pointed to the Heavens with their Finger, and others were in different Postures. The Interpreter took them to be the Figures of their Prophets, and those of the *Indians*. The Emperor then asked me many Questions concerning the Khaliffs, their usual Dress, and concerning many Precepts and Injunctions of the *Mohammedan* Religion, and I answered him the best I could.

41. After this, he said, "What is your Opinion concerning the Age of the World?" I made Answer, that Opinions varied upon that head; that some were for six thousand Years, and others would not allow so many; and that others reckoned it at a still higher Rate; but that it was, at least, as old as I had said. At this the Emperor and his first Minister, who was near him, broke out into Laughter, and the Emperor made many Objections to what I had advanced. At last, said he, "What does your Prophet teach upon this Subject; does he say as you do?" My Memory failed me, and I assured him that he did.

Hereupon I observed I had displeased him, and his Displeasure appeared plainly in his Countenance. Then he ordered the Interpreter to speak to me in the following Terms. "Take heed of what you say, for Kings never speak but to be informed of the Truth of what they would know. What did you mean by giving the Emperor to understand, that there are among you various Opinions concerning the Age of the World? If so it be! you are also divided upon the Things your Prophet has said at the same Time that no Diversity of Opinions are to be admitted on what the Prophets have pronounced, all which must be revered as sure and infallible; take heed then how you talk at such a Rate any more!"

To this he subjoined many other Things, which, thro' Length of Time, have escaped my Remembrance. At last he asked me; "How is it that thou hast forsaken thy King, to whom thou art nearer, not only by the Place of thy abode, but by Blood also, than thou art to us?" In Return to which, I informed him of the Revolutions which had happened at *Bassora*, and how I came to *Siraf*, where I saw a Ship ready to sail for *China*; and that having heard of the Glory of his Empire, and its Abundance in all Necessaries, Curiosity excited me to a Desire of coming into his Country, that I might behold it with mine own

Eyes; that I should soon depart for my own Country, and the Kingdom of my Cousin, and that I would make a faithful Report of what I had seen of the Magnificence of the Empire of *China*, and the vast Extent of the Provinces it contains, and that I would make a grateful Acknowledgment of the kind Usage I there met with, which seemed to please him very much. He then made me rich Presents, and ordered that I should be conducted to *Canfu* upon Post-horses. He wrote also to the Governor of the City, commanding him to treat me with much Honour, and to furnish me with the like Recommendations to the other Governors of the Provinces, that they might entertain me till the Time of my Departure. I was thus treated every where during my Stay, plentifully supplied with all Necessaries of Life, and honoured with many Presents till the Time of my Departure from *China*.

42. We asked *Ebn Wabab* many Questions concerning the City of *Cumdan*, where the Emperor keeps his Court; he told us that the City was very large and extremely populous, that it was divided into two Parts by a very long and very broad Street; that the Emperor, his chief Ministers, the Soldiery, the supreme Judge, the Eunuchs, and all belonging to the Imperial Household lived in that Part of the City which is on the Right-hand eastward, that the People had no manner of Communication with them; and that they were not admitted into the Places watered by Canals from different Rivers, the Borders of which were planted with Trees, and adorned with magnificent Palaces. The Part on the Left-hand westward, is inhabited by the ordinary People and the Merchants, where are also great Squares, and Markets for all the Necessaries of Life. At Break of Day, the Officers of the King's Household, with the inferior Servants, the Purveyors, and the Domesticicks of the Grandees of the Court, come some on Foot, others on Horseback, into that Division of the City, where are the publick Markets, and the Habitations of such as deal in all Sorts of Goods, where they buy whatever they want, and return not again to the same Place till their Occasions call them thither next Morning. It is by the same Traveller related, that this City has a very pleasant Situation in the Midst of a most fertile Soil, watered by several Rivers, hardly deficient in any thing except Palm-trees, which grow not there.

43. In our times Discovery has been made of a thing quite new and unknown to those who lived before us. No body imagined that the great Sea, which extends from the *Indies* to *China*, had any Communication with the Sea of *Syria*, nor could any one apprehend the Possibility of any such thing. Now behold what has come to pass in our Days, according to what we have heard. In the Sea of *Rum*, or the *Mediterranean*, they found the Wreck of an *Arabian* Ship, which had been shattered by Tempests; for all her Men perishing, and the being dashed to Pieces by the Waves, the Remains of her were driven by Wind and Weather into the Sea of *Cheozars*, and from thence to the Canal of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and at last were thrown on the Shore of *Syria*.

This renders it evident, that the Sea surrounds all the Country of *China* and *Sila*, the uttermost Parts of *Turkestan*, and the Country of the *Cheozars*; and that then it enters at the *Straits* till it washes the Shore of *Syria*. The Proof of this is deduced from the Constitution of the Ship we are speaking of; for none but the Ships of *Siraf* are so put together, that the Planks are not nailed or bolted, but joined together in an extraordinary manner, as if they were sewn. Whereas the Planking of all Ships of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and of the Coast of *Syria*, are nailed, and not joined together in that Way.

This plainly shews, that the *Chings* were formerly well acquainted with the History of other Nations, and affords us good Grounds to believe that their Records must have been destroyed in some subsequent Revolution; for, otherwise, it is impossible to account for their Ignorance in Matters of this Nature in succeeding Times.

This is one of the most curious Passages in this Treatise, inasmuch as it plainly proves, that the *Arabians* had the same Notions in Geography with the *Greeks*, or, to speak with greater Propriety, had their Notions of Geography from them. Our Author, says plainly, that, according to his Judgment, the *Indian* Ocean washed the Coast of *Great Tartary*, and so fell into the *Caspian-Sea*, by which Passage, he supposes, that this Ship was driven from the *Indian-Sea* into the *Mediterranean*. The Conjecture was wrong; but there is still something in it very bold, and well imagined, and drawn from the Bottom something of Truth too; for though it was impossible that this Ship should come into the *Mediterranean* in the Manner our Author imagines, yet it is not impossible but it might have come through the North-east Passage, agreeable to the first Part of his Supposition; and if by the Sea of *Cheozars*, we understand that of *Muscovy*, he would be quite right.

Very much doubt, whether the Construction of this Vessel, as our Author describes it, be sufficient Evidence of its coming from the *Indies*. It is very possible, that it might have been a Boat belonging to the Inhabitants of *Greenland*, or of some other Country bordering upon *Hudjon's-Bay*; since, it is very certain, that there are such Vessels in those Parts, and it is not at all impossible that this might have come from thence. I do not pretend, however, absolutely to contradict him, but only to shew that the Argument he uses is not conclusive, though I think, as Things then stood, he had sufficient Grounds to believe it was conclusive.

We have also heard it reported, that Ambergreene has been found in the Sea of Syria, which seems hard to believe, and was unknown to former times. If this be as is said, it is impossible that Amber should have been thrown up in the Sea of Syria, but by the Sea of *Aden*, and of *Kelzum*, which has Communication with the Seas where Amber is found: And because God has put a Separation between these Seas, if this Story be true, it must necessarily have been, that this Amber was driven first from the *Indian-Sea* into the others, and so from the one to the other, it at last came into the Sea of Syria^a.

44. We will now begin to speak of the Province of *Zapage*, which is opposite to *China*, and distant from thence a full Month's Sail by Sea, or less, if the Wind be fair. The King of this Country is styled *Mebrage*, and they say his Dominions are nine hundred Leagues in Circumference, and that this King is Master of many Islands which he round about. Thus altogether this Kingdom is above a thousand Leagues in Extent; among those Islands there is one called *Servena*, which is said to be four hundred Leagues in Circuit; and another called *Roimi*, which is eight hundred Leagues in Compass, and produces Redwood, Camphire, and many other Commodities. In this same Kingdom is the Island of *Gala*, which is the mid Passage between *China* and the Country of the *Arabs*.

This Island, they say, is fourscore Leagues in Circumference; and hither they bring all sorts of Merchandize, Wood-Aloes, of several sorts, Camphire, Sandal Wood, Ivory, the Wood called Cabalu, Ebony, Redwood, all sorts of Spice, and many other things too tedious to enumerate. At present the Commerce is carried on between this Island and that of *Oman*. The *Mebrage* is the Sovereign over all these Islands; and that in which he makes his Abode is extremely fertile, and so very populous, that the Towns almost crowd one upon another. A Person of great Probity relates, that when the Cocks crow at their accustomed Hours, just as with us when at roost, upon Trees, they answer each other a hundred Leagues round, and more, because of the Proximity of the Villages which almost touch each other; and he adds, that no part of it is uninhabited, nor any of its Land uncultivated. Those who travel in this Country may stop at every Step, and find Shelter from the Beams of the Noon-day Sun; and if they are tired, they may repose themselves every Day at Noon, go which way they will.

45. Yet what follows from the Testimony of several Persons is, the most remarkable Particular we have heard concerning the Island of *Zapage*. There was formerly a King, or, as he is there called, *Mebrage*: His Palace is still to be seen on a River as broad as the Tygris at *Bagdad*, or at *Bassora*. The Sea intercepts the Course of its Waters, and drives them back again with the Flood; and during the Ebb, it streams out fresh Water a good way into the Sea. This River is let into a small Pond close to the King's Palace, and every Morning the Officer, who has Charge of his Household, brings an Ingot of Gold wrought in a particular manner, which is thrown into the Pond in the Presence of the King. The Tide rising, covers it with the rest, and quite conceals them from Sight. But low Water discovers them, and they appear plain by the Beams of the Sun. The King comes to view them as often as he repairs to an Apartment of State, which looks upon this Pond. This Custom is very scrupulously observed; and thus they every Day throw an Ingot of Gold into this Pond as long as the King lives, not touching them upon any Account, but regarding this as a sacred Treasure.

When the King dies, his Successor causes them all to be taken out, and not one of them is ever missing. They count them, and melt them down; and this done, the Sums arising out of this great Quantity of Gold are distributed to those of the Royal Household, Men, Women, and Children, to the superior and inferior Officers, each in pro-

portion to the Rank he bears; and the Surplus is given away to the poor and infirm. Then they reckon up the Number of Ingots, and what they weigh, and say such a *Mebrage* reigned for many Years; for he left so many Ingots of Gold in the Pond of the Kings, and they were distributed after his Death to the People. It is accounted a Felicity with them to have reigned a long while, and to have thus multiplied the Number of those Ingots given away at their Death.

46. Their ancient History relates, that one of the Kings of *Komar* would have waged War with him in this Island. This Country of *Komar* is the same from whence they bring the Wood-Aloes called *Hud al Komari*, nor is there any Kingdom more populous in proportion than that of *Komar*. The Inhabitants are all very courageous, and the boundless Commerce with Women, and the Use of Wine are forbidden among them; nor have they any Wine in their Country. This Kingdom was at Peace with that of *Zapage*, where reigned the *Mebrage*. They are divided from each other by a Passage of ten or twenty Days Sail, with a very easy Gale. They say, that in former Days there was a very young and high-spirited Prince in this Island of *Komar*. This King was one Day in his Palace, which looks upon a River much like the *Euphrates* at the Entrance, and but a Day's Journey from the Sea; his prime Ministers were with him, and in the Discourse they had together, notice was taken of the Kingdom of the *Mebrage*, and its Glory, how well it was peopled and cultivated, and the Crowd of Islands which depended thereupon.

Then said the King of *Komar* to his Minister, I am seized with a Desire which I earnestly wish to see accomplished. The Minister, who was a wife and a prudent Man, and no Stranger to the Levity of his Master, answered, My Lord, what is your Desire? I could wish, replied the King, to see in a Dish the Head of the *Mebrage* of *Zapage*. The Minister, well aware it was Jealousy that inspired him with this impetuous Fury, rejoined, My Lord, I wish you would not disturb your Mind with such Thoughts, since nothing ever fell out between those People and us, to furnish Matter of Complaint, they never offended us by Word or Deed, or ever did us the least Injury; besides, they are divided from us, and have no manner of Communication with our Country; nor do they discover any Inclination of making a Conquest of this Kingdom. No one therefore ought to hearken to such Discourse, or make a Word of Answer upon this Head. The King was enraged at this Reply, and said not a Word thereto, but without any Regard had to the good Advice of his first Minister, he opened the same thing to the principal Officers of State, and to such of his Courtiers as he thought proper.

47. This Matter being rumoured about, at length reached the Ears of the *Mebrage*. He, who then reigned, was a wife and an active Prince, of consummate Experience, and in the Flower of his Age. He called for his first Minister, and having acquainted him with what he had heard, said to him, it is by no means proper to publish the Behaviour of this giddy Prince, or to betray how little we esteem him, because of his Youth and slender Experience; nor is it expedient to divulge what he said against me; for such Speeches cannot but be prejudicial to the Dignity of a King. Having thus enjoined his Minister to conceal what had passed between them, he commanded him to prepare a thousand Ships of no extraordinary Size, and to equip them with all things necessary, Arms and Ammunition, and to man them with as many of his best Forces as they could transport. Then he gave out, that he would make a Voyage through the neighbouring Islands under his Dominion, to divert himself. He wrote also to all the tributary Princes of those Islands to acquaint them, that he designed them a Visit; and this being a publick Talk, each of those Kings prepared for the Reception of the *Mebrage*.

^a It is most evident from our Author's way of reasoning, that he had no Notion of any Passage by the *Cape of Good Hope*; for if he had, he would most certainly have taken this Opportunity of insinuating it. At the same time, however, I leave it to the Reader's Consideration, whether this vessel, supposing it to have been built in the *East-Indies*, might not have come this way into the *Mediterranean*, more probably than by the North-East Passage. It is likewise clear from what our Author has delivered, that the *Arabians* knew no more of *Japara*, which they called *Sila*, than they learned from the *Chinese*, since by the Testimony of the oldest of our Authors, no *Arab* had yet set Foot there in the Year of our *Hera* 1270 A. D. 844.

When every Thing was in readiness as he had ordered, he went on Board his Ships, and with a powerful Army sailed over to the Kingdom of *Komar*. The King and those belonging to his Court were effeminate Creatures, who all the Day long did nothing but view their Faces, and rub their Teeth with Mirrors and Toothpicks in their Hands, or if they moved, had them carried after them by Slaves. So the King of *Komar* discovered nothing of the *Mébrage's* Purpose, till he appeared in the Mouth of the River, on which stood the Palace of the King of *Komar*, and till he had landed his Troops, who immediately invested the Capital, and there took him. The King was taken in his Palace, and all that belonged to him fled without fighting.

Then the *Mébrage* caused Proclamation to be made, that he granted entire Security of Life and Effects to all the Inhabitants of the Country, and seating himself on the Throne of the King of *Komar* now a Captive, he ordered him to be brought into his Presence, together with his first Minister. Then addressing himself to the King of *Komar*, he said, Who was it filled your Head with a Project unequal to your Strength, and absolutely impossible for you to compass? What would you have done if you had gained your Point? This Prince who had nothing to say for himself, made no Answer. Then, continued the *Mébrage*, if you had enjoyed the Pleasure you wished, of seeing my Head in a Dish before you, you would have spoiled my Kingdom, and retained it after you had committed all sorts of Violence. I will not so behave with regard to you, but yet I will execute upon you what you wished concerning me, and then will I return into my Kingdom, without touching any Thing in your Dominions, and without carrying away ought of great Value or small, desirous only that you may be recorded an Example, for the Instruction of those who shall come after you, that none may exceed the Bounds of his Power, that each may be contented with his own, and that those you have disturbed may be restored to perfect Security.

This said, he ordered them to strike off his Head, and then turning to the Minister he said, You have done all a good Minister could do; I know you offered good Advice to your Master; and that he hearkened not unto you. Consider who may best succeed this Fool for the Good of the Kingdom, and set him immediately upon the Throne. This done, the *Mébrage* departed for his own Territories, and neither did he or any of his, lay Hands on the least Thing in the Kingdom of *Komar*. When he arrived in his own Kingdom, he sat down upon the Throne, and being in the Palace which looked upon the Pond before-mentioned, he caused the Head of the King of *Komar* to be put into a Basin and set before him, and calling in the Chiefs of his Kingdom, he acquainted them with all he had done, and with the Reasons which had induced him to the Expedition we have related, and they approved the Deed with Acclamations and Prayers for his Prosperity. Then he ordered the Head of the King of *Komar* to be washed and embalmed, and put it into a Coffer, and sent it back to the King of *Komar*, who had been elected in the Room of him he had put to Death; at the same Time writing a Letter to this new Prince in the following Terms: What inclined us to do what we did to your Predecessor, and your Lord, was, his known Malevolence towards us; and that we might set an Example to his Equals, we have been so happy as to treat him as he would have treated us. But we think it convenient to send his Head back to you, having had no Design of detaining it, or of arrogating any Glory to ourselves, from the Advantage we obtained over him. The News of this Action being re-

ported to the Kings of the *Indies* and of *China*, it added to the Respect they before had for the *Mébrage*, and from that Time it has been a Custom with the Kings of *Komar*, every Morning they rise to turn towards the Country of *Zapage*, to prostrate themselves on the Ground, and to make the most profound Inclinations in Honour of the *Mébrage*.

48. All the Kings of the *Indies* and of *China* believe the Metempsychosis or Transmigration of Souls, and make it an Article of their Religion. A Person of Credit relates, That one of these Princes being newly recovered of the Small-pox, and beholding himself in a Glass, was deeply troubled to see how sadly his Face was disfigured, and that turning himself towards one of the five Sons of his Brother, he said to him, sure it never happened to any Man as to me, to remain in his Body after such a Change! But this Body is only a Vessel puff'd up with Wind, and when the Soul leaves it, she passes instantly into another. Go mount you upon the Throne, for I am about to separate my Body from my Soul, until I return into another Body: At the same Time he called for a sharp and keen *Gangiar*, with which he commanded his Nephew to cut off his Head, which the other did, and he was afterwards burnt, as is the Custom of the Country. Our Author here quits his Subject somewhat abruptly, in order to return again to the Country of *China* and the Manners of its Inhabitants. The Reason of this is not at first Sight very evident, but if we consider that he follows the former Writer, we shall very easily discern that this was the true Cause of his making so sudden a Transition. What he had before said was in Consequence of the Facts delivered by the first Author in regard to the *Indies*, and having discussed these it was natural for him to follow that Author in what he says of *China* and the *Chinese*, and indeed it must be allowed, that notwithstanding these small Interruptions, there are scarce any Books of Travels of so ancient a Date, written in a clearer or better Method than these.

49. The *Chinese* were wonderfully regular in all Things relating to Government, before the last Revolution destroyed and reduced them to the State they are in at present. There was a certain Merchant, a Native of *Chorassan*, who coming into *Irak*, there dealt to a considerable Amount, and having bought up a Quantity of Goods went to *China*. This Man was extremely selfish and of incredible Avarice; it happened that the Emperor of *China* had sent one of his Eunuchs to *Cansu*, the City of all the *Arabian* Traders, there to purchase what he wanted, and was to be had on Board of the Ship that was arrived. This Eunuch was one of those who had the largest Share in his Master's good Opinion and Confidence, and was Keeper of his Treasure and of all that he esteemed precious.

A Dispute arose between this Eunuch and the before-mentioned Merchant, about some Pieces of Ivory and other Goods, and it ran so high that the Merchant refused to deal with him. But this Affair making a great Noise, the Eunuch pushed it so far, that he forced from him the Choice of his Goods, despising whatever the other could say to him. The Merchant withdrawing himself, went privately to *Cumdan* where the Emperor resides, and which is two Months Journey from *Cansu*, and being arrived he went to the String of the Bell mentioned in the former Book. The Custom was, that whoever pulled it was thereupon sent ten Days Journey from thence, into a kind of Banishment; it was ordered also that he should be committed to Prison, there to remain for two whole Months; which expired, the Vice-King or Governor of the Province released him, and said you have involved yourself in an

* This is a very pleasant Story, and well related: but with respect to the Country in which it happened, I think it very difficult to say any Thing with Certainty, and yet this does not at all lessen the Credibility of the Fact. It is not impossible however, that this History might relate to some of the Islands which are now called *Philippines*; or perhaps some of the Islands in the Straits of *Sonda*. I pretend to determine nothing in such doubtful Points, but leave the Reader to decide for himself, according to the Lights given him by the Author, who appears to have written with great Caution and Fidelity.

† This Doctrine of the Metempsychosis is generally held amongst the *Chinese*. Their Histories say, that one *Xekia*, or *Shikia*, an *Indian* Philosopher, who lived about a thousand Years before Christ, was the first that taught this Doctrine of Transmigration; and our Authors add, that the *Chinese* had it from the *Indians*. It overran *China* in the Year of Christ 65, and the Chiefs of this Sect have to this Day their Abode on or near the Mountain *Tientsan* in the Province of *Cheking*. This *Xekia*, according to the *Chinese* Tradition in *Nawarrine*, has been born eight thousand Times over, the last Time in the Form of a white Elephant. It is he that was called *Fober* after his Apotheosis. The Sect of *Xekia*, as we are told by Father *Martini*, hold the Metempsychosis; but this Sect is divided into two Branches, the one believing the exterior Metempsychosis, or that the Souls of Men pass after Death into other Bodies, and these worship Idols, and abstain from every Thing that has Life, while the other Sect has Faith in an interior Metempsychosis, which is the principal Foundation of their Morality, which consists in suppressing the Passions, which are as so many different Animals proceeding from Man; but neither the one nor the other expect Rewards or dread Punishments in the World to come.

Affair which may turn to your utter Ruin, and to the Loss of your Life if you speak not the real Truth; forasmuch as the Emperor hath appointed Ministers and Governors to distribute Justice to you and to all Strangers, nor is there any one of them that would not right you, if when you appear before the Emperor your Wrongs are not such as may entitle you to have recourse to him, it will most certainly cost you your Life, to the End that every Man who would presume to do as you have done, may be deterred from the same. Withdraw therefore immediately, and be gone about your Business. Now if the Party endeavoured to fly, he was chastised with fifty Strokes of the Bamboo, and was then sent back to the Country whence he came; but if he persisted in his Demand of Redress, he was admitted to an Audience of the Emperor.

The *Chorassanian* strenuously persisted in his Demand of Justice, and of Leave to be admitted to the Emperor, which was at Length granted him. The Interpreter asking him his Business, he related what had befallen him with the Emperor's Officer, and how he had forced from him a Part of his Effects. This Thing was soon divulged and noised about at *Canfu*: In the mean Time the Emperor commanded the Merchant to be cast into Prison, and that Care should be there taken that he wanted not for either Victuals or Drink.

At the same Time he ordered his Prime Minister to write to the Governor of *Canfu*, charging him to inform himself concerning the Complaints of this Merchant, and to examine into the Grounds thereof; at the same Time also three principal Officers received the same Order. These Officers are called of the Right, of the Left, and of the Middle, according to their Rank, have the Command of the Emperor's Forces under the Prime Minister. He trusts them with the Guard of his Person, and when he takes the Field for some military Enterprize, or on any other Account, each of them, according to his Rank, marches near him: These three Officers wrote each apart what they had upon the strictest Enquiry discovered of the Matter, and assured the Emperor that the Merchant's Complaint was just and well founded.

These first Informations were followed and confirmed by many more sent to the Emperor from divers Parts, and the Eunuch was cited to appear. He no sooner arrived, than the Emperor seized on all his Effects, and deprived him of his Office as Treasurer, and then said to him, Death ought to be thy Doom for giving this Man who is come from *Chorassan*, on the Frontiers of my Kingdom, Cause of Complaint against me. He hath been in the Country of the *Arabs*, whence he came into the Kingdoms of the *Indies*; and at last to my City, seeking his Advantage by Trade, and thou wouldst have had him return cross these Kingdoms, and have said to all the People in his Way, I have been abused in *China*, where they have stripped me of my Substance. I grant thee thy Life in Consideration of thy former Services in the Rank thou holdest in my House, but I will confer on thee a Command among the Dead, forasmuch as thou hast not been able to acquit thyself of thy Duty in that thou holdest over the Living, and he ordered him to be sent to the Tombs of the Kings to have the Custody of them, and there to remain for ' Life.

50. One Thing most worthy Admiration in *China* before the late Commotions, was the good Order they observed in the Administration of Justice, and the Majesty of their Tribunals; to fill them, they made Choice of such Men as were perfectly versed in their Laws, and such constantly were never at a Loss, when they were to pass Judgment, Men of Sincerity, zealous in the Cause of Justice upon every Occasion, not to be biased by what

the Great could offer to embroil a Dispute, so that Justice was always administered to him who had Right on his Side.

In a Word, they made Choice of upright Men, of Men who neither oppressed the Poor, or accepted Presents from the Rich. When they designed to promote any Man to the Office of Principal Judge, they previously sent him to all the chief Cities of the Empire, in each of which he staid a Month or two. During this Space it was his Business most minutely to enquire into the Affairs of the People, into all that passed in the City; and into the various Customs. He informed himself of all such as deserved to be believed upon their Testimony, and this Knowledge was of Use to him in the Sequel as Occasion required. After he had gone through all the Cities in the Manner aforesaid, and made a Stay of some Time in the most considerable of them, he repaired to the Imperial Court, where he was invested with the Dignity of Supreme Judge.

To him therefore the Emperor referred the Nomination of all the other Judges, and by him were they appointed, after he had acquainted the Emperor with those, who in his whole Dominions were most worthy of exercising Jurisdiction, each in his own City, or in others; for he knew who were commendable for their Understanding, and so no one was raised who possessed not adequate Endowments, or who bore not Testimony according to the Truth, when he was interrogated. The Emperor allows none of his Judges to write to him upon any Affair, when he is informed that he has done Injustice, and even deprives them of their Office. The supreme Judge causes Proclamation every Day to be made before his Gate by his Officers, and in his Name they cry out, If any Man hath been wronged by the Vice King, or Governor, who is not to be seen of the People, or by any one of his Relations, or Officers, or by any one of the Body of the People, I will do him ample Justice, so soon as the Offender is put into my Hands, and that I have Charge of him. This Proclamation is twice repeated.

It is an ancient Custom with them never to degrade a Vice King, or Governor of a City, but by virtue of Letters issued out of the Council or Divan of Kings; and this is commonly executed for some flagrant Malversation, or when Judgment is suspended or delayed: But when the Governor avoids these two things, it is seldom he is disturbed with Letters of Revocation, which are never drawn up but on a legal Account. The Polls of Judicature are conferred on none but Persons of Probity, and Lovers of Justice, and so good Order is maintained in the Kingdom.

51. The Province of *Chorassan* is almost on the borders of *China*. From *China* to *Segd*, it is of about two Months Journey through impracticable Deserts, and through a Country all covered with Sand, where no Water is to be found. It is not refreshed by any River, nor is there any Habitation in this Province; and for this Reason it is that the *Chorassanians* can make no Irruptions into *China*. That Part of this Empire which lies farthest Westward, is the Province of *Medu*, which borders upon *Tibet*, so that on this Side the two Nations are at War with each other.

Among those of our Time who have travelled into *China*, we were acquainted with one, who told us, he had seen a Man that had a Vessel with Musk in it on his Back, and had travelled on Foot from *Samarc*, and to *Cashgar*, the Port for all Merchants from *Siraf*. He had by Land travelled thro' all the Cities of *China* one after another, without might easily do, because the Provinces of *China* and *Tibet* where the Creature that affords Musk is met with, are contiguous. The *Chinese* carry off as many of these Creatures as they can; and those of *Tibet*, on their Part, do the same.

It is a very extraordinary Act of Justice in the *Chinese* Emperor, and very agreeable to the Mixtures of that Empire, in which they are so much concerned, of doing Things of this Nature, especially where Strangers are concerned for two Reasons. The first is, because it is a natural Inclination to create an high Idea of the Equity of their Judgments, a Thing very agreeable to the natural Vanities of mankind, and the second is, that it may serve to make even the greatest and most powerful Persons as *Chinese*, aware of counting themselves subject to Justice.

It is not to be omitted to say something of it here, because it will occur in the subsequent Part of the Work. I have attended to the great Kingdom of *Yanag*, which, according to the best Accounts that I have met with, is situated between the Empire of *China* and the Kingdom of *Tan*, or of *Brama*, on the South. The Dominions of the Great Mogul on the West, and the Kingdom of *India* on the East, the Kingdom of *Tan* on the North. This Kingdom is divided into two Parts; that which lies to the North is called *Tan*, and that which lies to the South is called *Tan*. Both taken together, make the Patrimony of that Emperor. The Great Mogul, who is the Pope, is a Prince of the *Tatars* that are not *Mohammedans*; but whether they are or not, is a Point that admits of much Dispute, and shall therefore be discussed in another Place.

But the Musk of *Tibet* is far preferable to that of *China* for two Reasons; first, in *Tibet* this Creature feeds on Aromatic Pastures, while in *China* he has nothing to furnish him but what is common; secondly, the Inhabitants of *Tibet* preserve their Bladders or Cods of Musk in the pure natural State, while the *Chinese* adulterate all that come into their Hands. They dip them also into the Sea, or else expose them to the Dew; and having kept them some time, they take off the outward Membrane, and then clothe them up; and this Musk passes in the Country of the *Arabs* for Musk of *Tibet*, because of its Excellence.

The most exquisite of all the sorts of Musk is what the Roebucks that yield it leave behind them when they rub themselves against the Rocks on the Mountains, for the Humour whence it is generated, falling down towards the Navel of the Creature, it there gathers into a Quantity of turbid Blood exactly like Biles, and such-like Tumours; when this Swelling is ripe, the Creature, sensible of a painful Itching, seeks out for Stones, and rubs himself against the same, till he opens his Sore, and the Contents run out. Now, as soon as this Matter falls from the Creature, it coagulates, the Wound closes, and the same kind of Humour gathers to a Head again as before.

In *Tibet* there are Men who make it their Business to collect this Musk, and are very ready in knowing it; and having found it, they carefully collect it, and put it up in Bladders, and it is carried to their Kings. This Musk is most exquisite, when it has ripened in the Bladder of the Creature which bears it. It surpasses all others in Goodness, just as Fruit is better when it is gathered ripe from the Tree, than when it is pulled green.

There is still another way of getting Musk; they inflame the Creature in Toils, and shoot him with Arrows; but it often happens, that the Hunters cut the Tumours of the Creature before the Musk is elaborated; and in this Case it has at first an ill Scent, that prevails till the Matter is thickened, which sometimes does not happen in a great while; but so soon as it coagulates, it turns to Musk. This Musk is a Creature like our Roebuck, his Skin and Colour the same, with slender Legs, a split Horn smooth, but somewhat bending withal; on each Side he has two small white Teeth, which are trait, and rise above his Muzzle, each half a Finger, or somewhat less in Length, and in their Form not unlike the Teeth of the Elephant; and this is the Mark which distinguishes this Creature from other Roebucks.

53. The Emperors of *China* write to the Kings or Governors of Cities, to the Eunuchs, or Lieutenants, and their Letters are conveyed by Post-horses, with a cut Tail, disposed almost like the Posts among the *Arabs*, in such Order as every body knows.

Besides what we have here related concerning the *Chinese* Customs, it is usual for the Princes, and even the People, to make Water standing. Persons of Dignity, as the Vice Kings, and the principal Officers, have gilded Canes a Cubit long, which are bored through; and these they use as often as they make Water, standing upright all the time, and by this means the Tube carries the Water to a good Distance from them. They are of Opinion, that all Haits in the Kidneys, the Strangury, and even the Stone, are caused by making Water in a sitting Posture; and that the Reins cannot free themselves absolutely of these Humours, but by standing to evacuate; and that thus this Posture contributes exceedingly to the Preservation of Health. They suffer their Hair to grow, for the Men

will not round the Head of a Child when he comes into the World, as the *Arabs* do, for they say it causes a considerable Alteration in the Brain, and that their Senses are very sensibly impaired thereby. They suffer the Head then to be all covered with Hair, which they carefully comb.

As for their Marriages, they observe the Degrees of Consanguinity after this Manner: They are divided among themselves into Families and Tribes, like the *Arabs*, and some other Nations; and they know each other by the Difference of their Descents. No Man ever marries in his own Tribe, just as the Children of *Thummim* among the *Arabs* take not to Wife a Daughter of the same Race of *Thummim*; and a Man of one Family espouses not a Woman of the same. But for example, a Man of the Family of *Robayat*, marries into that of *Modzar*; and in like manner a *Modzar* marries with a *Robayat*; they are of Opinion, that such Alliances add to the Nobility of the Children, by increasing their Alliances, and rendering their Families more powerful.

Here our Author makes, as it were, another Break in his Work, in order to pass once more to the *Indians*, and their Customs. In speaking of the Method pursued by the first Author, we observed, that the main Design of his Work was, by comparing the Manners of the *Indians* with those of the *Chinese*, to render them both better known to, and more fully understood by his Countrymen. His Commentator therefore, with great Propriety, follows the same Track; and as he had consulted both Books and Travellers to illustrate what had been said of *China*, we shall find him as diligent in what regards *India*.

54. In the Kingdom of the *Balbara*, and in all the other Kingdoms of the *Indies*, there are certain Persons who burn themselves. This Custom proceeds from their Notion of a Metempsychosis or Transmigration, which they firmly believe as a Truth never to be disputed. There are Kings, who upon their Accession, observe the following Ceremony: They dress a great Quantity of Rice, and pour it upon Leaves of the Mousa in Sight of the King; then three or four hundred Persons come of their own Accord without the least Constraint on the Part of the King, and present themselves before him; after he has eaten some of this Rice, he gives a little of it to some of them as fast as they come up to him one after another, and they eat it in his Presence. By eating of this Rice, they all engage to burn themselves on the Day the King dies, or is slain; and they punctually fulfil their Promise, throwing themselves into the Fire from the first to the last, so that not one of them is left behind.

When a Man is determined to burn himself, he first goes to the King's Palace to ask Leave so to do, and having obtained it, he goes round the publick Squares of the City, and proceeding afterwards to the Place where the Pile is heaped up with dry Wood, while round about it stand many Persons who feed the Fire, so that it is very violent, and blazes prodigiously. At last the Person comes preceded by a Number of Instruments, and moves round the Place in the midst of his Friends and Relations; during which some put upon his Head a Garland of Straw, or dry Herbs, which they fill with burning Coals, whereto they pour Sanderac, which catches Fire as strongly as Naphtha; nevertheless, he continues the Procession, although the Crown of his Head be all on Fire, and the Stench of his burnt Flesh be smelt, not so much as changing Countenance in the least, or betraying the smallest Sense of Pain:

* We have formerly mentioned the Animal which produces Musk, the Manner in which it is prepared, and the Value of that rich Perfume. At present we shall only remark, that the best Writers, Ancient and Modern, agree perfectly with our Author in Opinion, that the richest and highest scented Musk is that of *Tibet*, or, as others call it, *Tumgus*; and this because of the Aromatic Pastures in that Land, such as are so where else to be found. This true and pure Musk comes next in degree of Purity, if so we may term it, with what was brought to *Cebul*, and the other trading Towns on the *Indies* by Merchants, who carried it from *China* by Land, and disposed of it throughout the East. That the *Chinese* Musk is worst of all, I only borrow the *Chinese* Adherence in several ways, but also because what is produced naturally in that Kingdom is not comparable to what is in *Tibet*. All this is confirmed by the Testimony of the learned *Coblenz* and Father *Martin Texeira* a Jesuit, the Musk that does not come from *China* is always the best; and that the reason is, because the *Chinese* cannot find in their Hearts to let that or any thing else that passes through their Hands escape undisturbed. At present the Kingdoms of *Blanton* is the greatest Mart for Musk; and thence it is, that the *Indian* Merchants fetch the best sort of this Perfume, whether in the Wood, or out of it.

† This was a very old Custom in other Parts of the World, as appears from what *Cæsar* tells us of the Ambacti amongst the *Gauls*. In the *Tobari* Nation generally prevailed; for in the Island of *Ceylon* the King had always about him certain Noblemen, who killed themselves faithful to the King in this World, and in the next, and whose Custom it was to burn themselves when he died. *Barbaja* observes the same thing, in respect to the King's Court of *Indian* Soldiers, who always perished with their Chief. In the Kingdom of *Tonguin*, when the King died, many of his Nobles chose to be buried with him. In answer, all the *Portuguese* Writers confirm this, and give us many Instances in Support of it. The term they use in their Writings, to express this Act of devoting themselves in a such a manner to a Monarch, is *Fazer se immolar*.

At last he comes to the Pile, throws himself into it, and is soon reduced to Ashes*.

55. A certain Person, to whom we give intire Credit, says, he be held one of these *Indians* burn himself, and avers, that when he came near to the Pile, he drew out a Cangiar, and with it ripp'd down his Breast to the Rim of his Belly; and that this done, he with his left Hand pulled out a Flap of his Liver, and with the Cangiar cut a Piece of it, which he gave to one of his Brothers, talking all the time, and discovering an invincible Contempt of Death, and a wonderful Patience under his Torments, till at last he leaped into the Fire in his Passage to Hell.

56. The Person who affirmed this added, that in the Mountains of this Country there are *Indians*, who in Opinions and Manners differ but little from those we call *Kanibians* and *Jelidians*, and who are addicted to all manner of Superstition and Vice; there is a great Emulation between these Mountaineers and the People on the Coast, the latter continually going up to the Mountains to dare the Inhabitants there to do as they do, and the Mountaineers on their Part as frequently coming down to the Coast with Defiances of the same Nature.

57. Among others, there once came down a Man on this Errand, and having gathered a Number of the Inhabitants of the Coast about him, who came as well out of Curiosity to see the Sight, as with Intent to imitate him, he told them to do what he was about to perform, or if they despaired of doing it, to acknowledge themselves overcome. He sat himself down then in a Place planted with Canes, and directed them to bend one of them down to the Ground. These Canes are like our Sugar Canes, bend like them, and have a very large Stem; when they are pulled down they lie along, but when let go they rise again with prodigious Violence. One of the largest of these he caused to be bowed down to his Height, and fastened his Hair strongly thereto, when taking in his Hand his Cangiar, which sparkled like Fire, he said to those about him, I am going to cut off my Head with this Cangiar. As soon as it is severed from my Body, let go the Cane, and when it flies up with my Head, I will laugh, and you shall hear me. The People of the Coast had not Courage enough to imitate him. The Person who related these Things to us did it without Emotion or Wonder; and in our times these Facts are very generally known, for this Part of the *Indies* is in the Neighbourhood of the Country of the *Arabs*, and we hear from thence every Day.

58. It is a customary Thing also for Men and Women of the *Indian* Blood, to desire those of their Family to throw them into the Fire, or drown them when they are grown old, or perceive themselves sink under the Weight of their Years, firmly believing that they are to return in other Bodies. They burn their dead. It has often Times happened in the Isle of *Sarandib*, where there is a Mine of precious Stones in a Mountain, a Pearl Fishery, and other rare and extraordinary Things, that an *Indian* would come into the Bazar, or Market-place, with his Kris, as they call a kind of Cangiar they wear, made after a very particular Manner, and seize on the most wealthy Merchant there present, and holding his Kris to his Throat, leading him by the Vest out of the City in the Midst of a Throng of People, while not a Soul of them dared attempt his Rescue; for if any Attempt of this kind was made, the *Indian* was sure to kill the Merchant, and make away with himself: When he had got him out of the City, he obliged him to redeem himself with a Sum of Money. This Outrage continuing, the Kings ordained that such *Indians* should be seized; but when they came to execute this Order, the *Indian* killed the Merchant first, and then himself: The same Misfortune befel many other Merchants; and after this Manner a Number both of *Arabs* and *Indians*

perished: The Merchants therefore sought after other Means to secure themselves, and the *Indians* were no longer apprehended.

58. In the Mountain of *Sarandib* they find precious Stones of various Colours, red, green, and yellow, most of which are at certain Times forced out of Caverns and other Recesses by Rains and Torrents. In these Places the King has his Officers to keep an Eye over those who pick them up: Many Times also they are dug out of Mines in the same Manner as Metals; and they sometimes find precious Stones in the Oar, which must be broken to get at them.

The King of this Island makes Laws, which are the Fundamentals of the Religion and Government of the Country; here are Doctors and Assemblies of learned Men, like those of the *Hadithis* among the *Arabs*. The *Indians* repair to these Assemblies, and write down what they hear of the Lives of their Prophets, and the various Expositions of their Laws. Here is a very great Idol of the finest Gold, but concerning the Weight thereof Travellers are not agreed. Here also are Temples, where great Sums of Money are expended in Incense.

In this same Island there is a very great Multitude of *Jews*, as well as of many other Sects, even *Tauans*, or *Manichees*, the King permitting the free Exercise of every Religion. At the End of this Island are Valleys of great Length and Breadth, which extend quite to the Sea. Here Travellers stay two Months and more in that called *Gao Sarandib*, allured by the Beauty of the Country, chequered with Groves and Plains, Water and Meads, and blessed with a wholesome Air. This Valley opens upon the Sea called *Harkand*, and is transcendently pleasant. You there buy a Sheep for half a Dram, and for the same you purchase as much of their Drink as may suffice many Persons. This Drink is made of Palm-honey, boiled and prepared with *Tari* (*Toddii*) or Juice which runs from the Tree.

59. Gaming is the usual Diversions of the Inhabitants here; they play at Draughts, and their other principal Pastime is fighting of Cocks, which are very large in this Country, and better provided with Spurs than Cocks commonly are; and, besides this, the *Indians* arm them with Blades of Iron in the Form of Cangars. Upon these Combats they bet Gold, Silver, Lands, Firms, which are won by the Owner of the Cock that wins. They play also at Draughts, and venture great Sums upon this Game, but with such Fury, that those who have not wherewithal, Debauchees and desperate People, often play away the Ends of their Fingers.

While they are at play, they have a Fire by them, and thereon a Pot of Walnut or Seafame-oil (they have no Oil of Olives) and they place a little, but very sharp Hatchet between them; when one of them has won a Game, the other lays his Hand upon a Stone, and the Winner cuts off the End of the Loser's Finger with the Hatchet, and the Patient dips the injured Part into the boiling Oil to cauterise the Wound, and yet they do not shake off this evil Habit of gaming; on the contrary, they sometimes persist in it so obstinately and so long, that before they part, they have all their Fingers mutilated. Some of them will take a Wick, and soaking it in Oil, apply it to some Member, set Fire to it, and let it burn, so that the Scent of the burnt Flesh is smelt by those who play with them, while the Parties themselves decay not the least Sense of Pain.

There is much Debauchery in this Country, as well among the Women as among the Men, for they are under no Restraint. It runs so high, that sometimes a foreign Merchant, just arrived from Sea, shall lend for the Daughter of a King of the Country, and she shall come to him to the sitting Grounds, with her Father's

*There are many modern Authors who attest every Circumstance mentioned in this Account; but it must be acknowledged, few besides Women bet themselves; and that the *Brahmins*, who were wont to behave with so much Coelestity on such Occasions, are now content to die in the same way as other Men; and even the Women, generally speaking, are far enough from that Spirit of Heroism for which they were so famous in former Ages. They burn themselves, indeed, with the dead Bodies of their Husbands, as in Times past, but not with so good a Will; nor would they do it, but that the Custom of their Country, and the Power their Relations have over them, oblige them to it.

†It appears, that this Island, which is that of *Ceylon*, has been in all Ages famous for its immense Wealth and Riches. As to the Idol there, Author mentions, it is not impossible that the Priests of this Country might practise the same Art, which has been used at *Siam*, where they have a monstrous Idol of Clay and Bricks, very artificially gilt, which was for many Ages supposed to be pure Gold; though it must be allowed, that there are few Countries where such a golden Image might be looked for, with greater Probability, than in this Island, the People having been always remarkable for their Wealth and their Superstition.

Content and Privacy; wherefore the *Mohammedan* Doctors of *Shraf* strictly warn young People not to go that Way.

60. In the *Indies* there are heavy Rains, which the People of the Country call *Jesara*; they last three whole Months during Summer, incessantly, Night and Day, and scarce does the Winter stop them. The *Indians*, to the best of their Abilities, prepare themselves against these Rains some Time before they fall; and no sooner do they come on, than they shut themselves up in their Houses, made of Wood and Cane, interwoven, and thatched with Leaves; they stir not out during all this Time, and no Soul is seen abroad, no, not even the Artificers, who now do their Work at home; and during this Season, they are subject to several Sorts of Ulcers in the Soles of their Feet, caused by the Damps. The Rains are the Life of the *Indians*; were they to fail, they would be reduced to the utmost Want, for their Fields, sown with Rice, are watered only by Rains, and are rendered fruitful thereby; for if great Store of Water lie upon the Rice-grounds, they need no other Help either from Industry or Art; but when the Rains are plentifully poured down, the Rice flourishes abundantly, and even becomes much better in kind. It never rains in this Country in the Winter.

61. The *Indians* have devout Men, or Doctors, known by the Name of *Bramins*. They have Poets also, who compose Verses, fluffed with Flattery in Praise of their Kings. They have also Astrologers, Philosophers, Soothsayers, and Men who observe the Flight of Birds; and others who pretend to the Calculation of Nativities, particularly at *Kanuge*, a great City in the Kingdom of *Guzerat*.

In the *Indies* there are certain Men called *Bicar*°, who go all their Life-time naked, and suffer their Hair to grow till it hides their hinder Parts, and the rest of their Body. They suffer also their Nails to grow so that they become pointed, and sharp as Swords; nor do they ever cut them, but leave them to break and fall off as it happens; and this they observe as a religious Duty: Each of them has a String about his Neck, to which hangs an earthen Porringer, and when they are pressed by Hunger, they stop at the Door of some *Indian* House, and those within immediately, and with much Satisfaction, bring out Rice to them, believing there is great Merit in so doing, while they eat out of the Porringer and withdraw, never returning to make the same Request, if not urged thereto by downright Want.

62. The *Indians* have many Laws, and religious Precepts, by which they imagine they please God; of such as these it is written in the *Koran*, *The Wicked are mighty in Pride*. One Part of their Devotion consists in building of *Kans*, or Inns upon the Highways, for the Accommodation of Travellers, where also they set up a sort of Pedlars, of whom the Passengers may purchase whatever they may happen to want.

They there also settle publick Women, such as are in the *Indies*, who expose themselves to Travellers; all which the *Indians* number among their meritorious Deeds. But they have besides these in the *Indies*, publick Women called *Women of the Idol*, the Origin of whose Institution is this; when a Woman has laid herself under a Vow, that she may have Children, if it happens that she brings forth a handsome Daughter, she carries the Child to the *Bod*, (so they call the Idol they worship) and there leaves her. When the Girl has attained a proper Age, she takes an Apartment in this publick Place, and spreads a Curtain before the Door, and waits the Arrival of Strangers, as well *Indians*, or Men of other Sects, to whom this Debauchery is made lawful; she prostitutes herself at a certain Rate, and delivers her Gains into the Hands of the Idol's Priest, to be by him disposed of for the Use and Support of the Temple. We praise the Almighty and Glorious God, who hath chosen us to be free of the Sins which defile the Man involved in Infidelity!

Not very far from *Almooja*, there is a famous Idol called *Mikian*, whither they resort in Pilgrimage from the remotest Parts, even from Distances of several Months Journey: Some of the Pilgrims bring with them some of the Odoriferous Wood *Had. al Camurri*, so called from the City of *Camurri*; where they have an excellent Wood-Aloe, which they offer to this Idol, delivering it to the Priest of the Temple that he may burn it before his God. Some of this Wood is worth two Hundred *Dinars* the *Man*°, and is commonly marked with a Seal to distinguish it from another Sort of the same Wood, but of less Value: It is usual for Merchants to buy it of the Idolatrous Priests.

63. There are likewise among the *Indians* certain Men, who make Profession of Piety, and whose Devotion consists in seeking after unknown Islands, or such as are newly discovered, there to plant Cocoa-nut-trees, and to sink Wells of Water for the Use of Ships that sail to those Parts. There are People at *Oman*, who cross over to the Islands that produce Cocoa-nuts, carrying with them Carpenter's Tools, and having filled as much Wood as they want, they let it dry, and then strip off the Leaves, and with the Bark of the Tree they spin a Yarn, wherewith they sew the Planks together, and so build a Ship; of the same Wood they cut and round away a Malt; of the Leaves they weave their Sails, and the Bark they work into Cordage: Having thus completed their Vessel, they load her with Cocoa-nuts, which they bring and sell at *Oman*. Thus it is, that from this Tree alone, so many Articles are derived, as suffice not only to build and rig out a Vessel, but to load her also when she is completed, and in a Trim fit to Sail.

64. The Country of the *Zinges* or *Negroes*, is of vast Extent; they there commonly sow Millet which is the chief Food of the *Negroes*. Sugar Cane also they have, and other Sorts of Trees, but their Sugar is very black. These

* This is very agreeable to that Severity of Manners, for which the *Mohammedans* were remarkable in these early Ages; and it shews how careful they were to preserve the Morals of the younger sort of People uncorrupted. It was upon the same Principle that the old *Spartans* did not admit of any Commerce at all, as desiring rather to be known to Posterity by the Fame of their Virtues than of their Wealth; and being more assiduous to transmit to their Descendants Freedom, and the Power of maintaining it, than fine Palaces; and that Ability of living luxuriously, which ends sooner or later in abject Poverty.

The Reader has been so fully informed of the State of the *Brachmans* among the ancient *Indians*, and of the Communities, formed by them for the promotion of Science, that there is no Need of insinuating long upon this Settlement of the *Bramins*, which, without doubt, was a Remnant of some ancient Society in the same Place. Some of the *Arabian* Geographers assure us, that this City of the *Kanuge* lies between two Branches of the River *Indus*, in the Latitude of 20°, and in the Longitude of 131°. Other Eastern Writers inform us, that *Kanuge* is also a Royal City, the King of which was called *Kanug*, according to the common Custom of the *Indians*. It is very difficult to say when or how, this Kingdom and University was ruined; present it is very clear, that there is no such Establishment as in the Text is mentioned.

There are no other than the aforesaid *Bramins*, or *Indian* Pilgrims, or Penitents, mentioned by most Travellers, who relate very extraordinary Things with respect to the Austerity of their Manners, and the Severity of their Penances, as the Reader will see in the subsequent Part of this Work.

There are many Foundations of this sort in the *Indies*, as well as in *Turky*, *Perfia*, and *Mouulistan*; not to mention the many Hospitals in the *Indies* for sick Animals. The most curious, that the Charity of the *Indians* of *Cebu*, consists in digging of Pits, or sinking of Wells, and in erecting a Number of small Receptacles on the Highways, for the Accommodation of Travellers.

This infamous Practice of old finding in the East. *Herodotus* has a Story of this kind of the Women, who prostituted themselves in honour of *Mithras*, who by the Analogy of the *Chaldees* must be *Venus*; and the Temples or Tabernacles of these Women were much like those described by our Author. In *Marco Polo* we read, that the People of the Province of *Catinda*, did the same Thing, exposing their Women in honour of their Idols. *Marco Polo* speaks of a *Pagod* near *Cambaya*, whither most of the Courtiers of the *Indies* repair to make their Offerings, and adds, that old Women, who have scraped together a Sum of Money, buy young female Slaves, whom they train up to wanton Songs and Dances, and all the Affluence of their intemperate Calling; and that when the Girls have attained their eleventh or twelfth Year, their Mistress conducts them to this *Pagod*, under a Notion that it is a Happiness for them to be offered and delivered up to the Idol.

As this kind of Money is very oft mentioned, both in the former Treatise, and in this, it may not be amiss to say something of its Value: The *Dinar* is of very fine Gold, and according to the Proportion which that Metal bears now to Silver, that Coin ought to be reckoned at about nine *Sols*; from whence it follows, that nine of these Pieces of Copper-Money, called by the *Arabs* *Falus*, were worth about One penny.

The *Pall* is very singular, but the Facts contained therein are incontestably true: The Cocoa-tree furnishes every thing necessary for building and rigging such Ships as are used in the *Indies*, and for a Cargo of considerable Value when built. The Body of the Tree furnishes Plank, Masts, and Rigging.

There is another sort, which swims in great Lumps upon the Surface of the Sea, almost like the Body of an Ox, or a little less, and weigh a great deal. When a certain Fifth of the Whale-kind, called *Tal*, sees these floating Lumps, he swallows the same, and is killed thereby: Then they see the Whale floating upon the Surface, and instantly the Men who are accustomed to this kind of Fishery, and know when these Whales have swallowed Amber, go out to him in their Boats, and darting him with Iron Harpoons, they tow him to Shore, where they split him down the Back and take out the Amber; what they find about the Belly of the Creature is commonly spoiled with the Wet, and contracts an unpleasant Scent.

You may buy the Bones of this Fifth of the Druggists of *Bagdad* and *Bassora*. The Amber which has not been infected by the Ordure in the Belly of the Whale, is perfectly good: It is a useful Thing to make Stools of the *Vertebrae* of the Back Bone of this Whale, called *Tal*. They say, that in a Village ten Leagues from *Siraf*, called *Tain*, there are old Houses neatly enough built, the Lintils of whose Doors are of the Rib of this Whale. I have heard a Person say, that formerly one was thrown upon the Coast not very far from *Siraf*, and that going to view him, he saw People getting upon the Back of this Creature with Ladders, and that the Fishermen exposed him to the Sun, sliced away his Flesh, and having digged a Pit, gathered up the Grease which was melted by the Sun, and that having drained off all the Oil, they sold it to the Masters of Ships. This Oil mixed up with another kind of Stuff, in use with Seamen, serves for calking of Ships to secure the Seams of the Planking, and to stop up Leaks. This Whale Oil is a valuable Commodity, and produces great Sums of Money.

67. Our Author proposing next to speak of Pearls, breaks out first, according to the Custom of the *Arabs*, into the following pious Soliloquy, which I would not omit, because it is a kind of Characteristick in their Manner of Writing, and may enable the Reader to account for such Apophthegms in other Pieces of this Nature. Let us before we speak of PEARLS and the Manner of their Formation, magnify the Great GOD, who in Wisdom has created all Things out of Earth, and so fashioned living Creatures, as that they produce their like. Wherefore for these Things which we know, and for many more which we know not, all Glory be unto the Almighty, and all Reverence paid unto his most holy and tremendous Name.

Pearls begin to be formed of a Substance at first somewhat like the Plant called *Anjedana*, being in Size the same, in Colour and Figure pretty much alike, small, thin, and tender, just like the Leaves of this Plant; at first it swims feebly on the Surface and sticks to the Sides of Ships under Water, where in Time it hardens, grows, and gets covered with a Shell. When these Oysters become heavy, they fall down to the Bottom of the Sea, where they subsist after a Manner to us unknown. They appear no other than a Piece of red Flesh, like the Tongue towards the Root, without Bones, Sinews, or Veins.

But there are various Opinions touching the Production of Pearls, for some say when it rains the Oysters rise up to the Surface, and that gaping, the Drops of Water they catch turn to Pearls. Others hold, they are generated in the Oysters themselves, which is most likely, and is confirmed by Experience; for most that are found in

Oysters are fixed, and move not. When they are loose the Merchants call them Seed Pearl: God alone knoweth how this Matter is.

68. Now this is the most wonderful Thing we have heard concerning the Subistence of Oysters. A certain *Arab* came formerly to *Bassora*, and brought with him a Pearl worth a great Sum of Money; he shewed it to a Druggist of his Acquaintance, and, ignorant of the Value thereof, asked him what he thought of it? The Merchant telling him it was a Pearl, the *Arab* asked him what he thought it might be worth, and he valued it at a hundred Pieces of Silver. The *Arab* much astonished at his Words, asked if any Person would be willing to give him what he had said it was worth: Upon which the Merchant counted him out a hundred Drams, and with this Money the *Arab* purchased Corn to carry back into his own Country. The Merchant on the other Hand brought the Pearl to *Bagdad*, and sold it at a very high Rate, which enabled him afterwards to deal very considerably. This same Merchant declared that he had examined the *Arab* touching the Origin of Pearls, and that he delivered himself to the following Effect: "I was going along, said he, by *Saman* in the District of *Babrein*, not very far distant from the Sea, and upon the Sand I saw a dead Fox, with something at his Muzzle that held him fast. I drew near and saw a white glittering Shell, in which I found the Pearl I took. Hence he gathered, that the Oyster was upon the Shore, driven thither by Tempest, which very often happens. The Fox passing by and leering at the Meat of the Oyster, as the Shell stood open, jumped thereon, and thrust in his Snout to seize the Fifth, which in its Defence closing, locked him fast, as has been said; for it is a Property of theirs never to let go their Hold of any thing, except forcibly opened by an Iron Instrument at their Edges."

This is the Oyster that breeds Pearls, which it as carefully keeps as a Mother her Child: when therefore it was sensible of the Fox, it withdrew as to avoid an Enemy, and the Fox feeling himself squeezed, beat the Ground on each Hand till it was stifled and so died. The *Arab* found the Pearl, and God would have it that he should apply himself to the Merchant, a very happy Thing for him.

69. The Kings of the *Indies* wear Ear-rings of Stones set in precious Gold. They wear also Collars of great Price, adorned with precious Stones of different Colours, but especially Green and Red; yet Pearls are what they most esteem, and their Value surpasses that of all other Jewels; they at present hoard them up in their Treasures with their most precious Things. The Grandees of their Court, the great Officers and Captains wear the like Jewels in their Collars; they dress in a half Vest, and carry an Umbrella of Peacocks Feathers to shade them from the Sun, and are surrounded by those of their Train.

There are certain *Indians* who never eat two out of the same Dish or upon the same Table, and would esteem it a very great Sin if they should. When they come to *Siraf*, and are invited by any of the considerable Merchants who are in that City, they must though they are a hundred in Number, each have a separate Dish, and without the least Communication with the rest. The Kings and Persons of high Quality have fresh Tables made for them every Day, together with little Dishes and Plates wove of the *Cocoon* Tree, in which they eat what is prepa-

* The Abbé *Renaudet* in his Notes upon this Treatise, speaks very slightly of this story, and seems to think it fabulous. There is however no fort of Cause for this Supposition: Since this sort of Whale is very often found in the *W. I. Indian Sea*, and especially on the Coast of *Bermudas*, and vast Quantities of Ambergrace are taken out of its Guts. It is also very certain, that tho' the best of this Perfume is found in the *Indian Seas*; yet Ambergrace has been frequently found on the Shore even of our own Islands, as well as in some other Parts of *Europe*, and in *America* it is very common.

† I must confess this Story seems to me by far the meanest Part in the whole Work, and all the Remarks upon Pearls are very low and trifling: But at the same Time it must be allowed, that we know very little more about them, than either the Ancients or the *Arabs*. What seems to be most probable is, that Pearls are not the natural Produce of any Oysters; by which I mean, that they are an irregular and accidental Production, occasioned by some Infirmary or Disease in the Fish. I am led to this Notion from two Reasons. The first is, that when Animal Substances begin to corrupt, they commonly thicken, which perhaps may be the Effect of some intestine Motion; the other, that Pearl Oysters are not eatable, but tough, tasteless, and very unwholesome.

‡ The Princes and the chief Inhabitants of these Countries, were by this Time better acquainted with the Nature and Value of all sorts of precious Stones than formerly they had been, and of these they had of all kinds from the Mines in the Island of *Ceylon*. It is remarkable that the *Arabs* have but one Word to signify coloured Stones, which is *Yacut*, or *Jacut*, which strictly speaking signifies a *Jacinth*; but to vary this, and to render it expressive of Rubies, Emeralds, and Saphires, they add the Name of the Colour to the Stone. It will be proper to make two Remarks upon this Subject before we leave it: The first is, that our Author is perfectly in the right in his Observation, that Pearls are more esteemed in *India* than many other Parts of the World, and that they are more valued there in Proportion, than any other kind of Jewels. Our second Observation is, as to the carrying Emeralds thither from *Egypt*, which is a very plain Proof of the Truth of what we have often asserted, viz. that these Stones are not usually speaking Oriental, though they may, and indeed do very often come to us from the East.

their Subsistence; and their Meal once over, they sow the Table, the Dishes and Plates into the Water, together with the Fragments they have left. Thus at every Meal they have a new Service. To the *Indies* they formerly carried the Dinars, called *Sindiat*, or Gold Pieces of the *Sind* and the *Dinar*, which there passed for three of ours and even more. Thither also are carried Emeralds from *Egypt*, which are set for Rings.

70. These two authentick Pieces are of very great Use in filling up this Period of *Indian* History, of which, till they appeared, we had no Memoirs at all. It is plain enough from the Account given us by the first Author, that Voyages from *Siraff* to *China* were not very frequent, till about his Time, for otherwise he would not have described that Navigation so particularly. But it appears no less clearly from the second Treatise, that these long Voyages were grown into much greater Use between the Time the first Voyage was made, and this Commentary upon it was drawn up, for otherwise the second Writer would have been but indifferently furnished with Materials, whereas we find that he stood in no sort of Want of them, but was able to mention the Voyages and Travels of four or five different Persons into *China* and the *Indies*, exclusive of the Author, whose Voyage gave Occasion to this Discourse.

The most remarkable of these was *Eben Wakab*, whose Adventures are equally singular and instructive, since from them it is very evident that the *Chinese* Emperor, to whose Service he was admitted, had, as we observed, very per-

intelligence as to the *Jewish*, *Christian*, and *Mohammedan* Religions, and as to the History of their Founders and Propagators. We might indeed suspect the Truth of this, if there were not some other Circumstances in this Discourse which render them not only probable but certain. I mean the Destruction of the Capital of *China* at that Time, which our Author calls the City of *Cumdan*, and which without Doubt was no other than *Nankin*, and *Canton*, in which so many Thousand *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Mohammedans* were slain: a clear Demonstration that Multitudes of all these Religions had been long before settled in that Empire, and consequently the *Chinese* Monarch had it fully in his Power to be well acquainted with all the Particulars beforementioned.

Neither does this Fact stand entirely upon the Credit of this Treatise, since an ancient Monument has been discovered in *China*, which plainly proves that Christians from *Syria* were settled there in ancient Times, though none were to be found when the first Travellers from *Europe* went thither, which is as strong a Confirmation of the Truth of what our Author relates, as in the Nature of Things can possibly be expected. The Missionaries also that were first sent to *China* found there visible Marks of Christianity, though they found no Christians. The *Jews* have been settled in that Empire for Time immemorial, and many of them for the Sake of Riches and Profit have abjured their own Religion, and embraced the Opinions of the *Chinese*, which is also an unquestionable Argument of the Truth of these Relations.

We may add to this the Conformity between the Accounts given by our Travellers and the best *Chinese* Histories, which never could have happened, if the former had not been in every Respect agreeable to Truth.

It is not only supported by our Knowledge of many of the Customs of these People, who remain to this Day the same with those reported in these Relations, but they are also supported by the many *Chinese* Writers, and Christian Missionaries, who take Notice of such obsolete Customs, and inform us when they were laid aside or began to grow

into Disuse. On the whole therefore we may safely affirm, that these Treatises are free from all just Grounds of Suspicion, and ought to be regarded as the earliest and best Accounts we have of this Empire and its Inhabitants.

They are considered in this Light, of very great Use in many Respects, but more especially in correcting those Errors that have been introduced by Authors who depended more upon their own Conjectures than on any Light they received from Experience, endeavouring to impute upon their Readers, their Notions of Things as Facts of undoubted Credit, of which it may not be amiss to give a few Instances. Our Author is the oldest, and indeed almost the only *Arabian* Writer that mentions the *Chinese* Drink, so universally used in our Days all over *Europe*, and known by the Name of *Tea*. He says, that it is an Herb or Shrub, more bushy than the *Pomegranate-tree*, and of a more pleasant Scent, but somewhat bitter to the Taste. That the *Chinese* boil Water and pour it in scalding hot upon this Leaf, and that this Infusion preserves them from all Distempers. This, to be sure, is an imperfect Description; but it is plain enough to evince, that nothing can be meant but the Plant we know by the Name of *Tea*; the same with the *Tea Cay*, or *Sini* of the Orientals.

The Tree which bears this Leaf is but small, and ought to be reckoned among Shrubs. It has a pleasant kind of violet Scent, is bitter to the Taste, and it is common for them who are fond of it, to imagine it both good, and preserveth their Health. It is certain then, that Father *Trigaut* is mistaken, when he imagines it to be of late Date amongst the *Chinese*, because there, as he says, any Character in their Tongue to signify the Drink; for by the Testimony of the oldest of our Authors, who does not speak of it as any new Thing, but as an Herb very much in Vogue with them; nay, to that Degree, that the Emperor thought fit to lay a Duty upon it; it appears, that the *Chinese* have been a Mistle above eight hundred Years. Nor is it possible to suppose with *Peyot*, that it grew a long Time wild, and uncultivated, or that the *Chinese*, or *Japones*, have been lately acquainted with its Virtue, and the Manner of preparing it, which, he says, he was told by some *Portuguese* Commander, who had been a long Time in the Country.

Father *Martin*, who has written more of *China* than almost any other Person, says, that *Tea* grows in *Kiangnan*, or *Nankin*, where the best of it is. It is, he says, a small Leaf, perfectly like that of the *Myrtles*, or *Sumac* of the Carriers. It grows wild, but is domestic, and cultivated, nor is it a Tree, but a Shrub, which spreads out in little Branches, with a Black berry much like that of the *Sumac*, except that the berries incline more to a Yellow than the latter. It is in flower in Summer, when it emits no great Scent; but upon our a Berry, which is first green, and afterwards red. In the Spring it is when they gather the Leaf, and their *Tea*, for then it is most fresh and tender. The Preparation of these Leaves consists in gathering them, drying them by a small Fire, rolling them upon China Mattres, and packing them upon Tin Canisters, for the sake of preserving them, and the Commerce of transporting them. Such is the Account given by a learned and accurate Writer, whose Work is universally esteemed after to many later Accounts of *China*.

But as it is natural to suppose that every Man will Judge of what regards his own Province, I permit myself, that my Readers will not be displeased at my inserting here a very curious Passage from the Writings

* This ancient Monument was first mentioned by the famous Jesuit *Kircher*, who made many Mistakes about it, and from thence there grew a Tradition to the Missionaries, which however upon Enquiry has been since clearly made out, and from thence it is evident, that the *Chinese* have known Christian Religion as a *Religion*, that is upwards of a Hundred Years before the Missionary at *Canton*, mentioned by the late *Travellers*. We have no certain Account of the Christian Church in the Fifth Century, and when the *Portuguese* came hit to *Canton*, the *Chinese* were not yet converted to Christianity, but it is probable that the Religion was then settled there, otherwise than for Want of Pastors.

† It is not that the *Chinese* now differently Writers have represented the Shrub that bears this Herb; for some say it is a Tree, and others a Shrub. But the Credit, perhaps, is another Report current among the *Dutch*, as if they to the *Chinese* gave for their *Tea*, and which has been received as an undoubted Truth by the *Vulgar*. It is not that the *Chinese* would do so great Favour and Candour, who did not love to contradict others, or that the *Chinese* were so much more than the *Dutch*. His *Chinese* shows an admirable Performance, in which he has explained a great many of the most difficult Words of a Multitude of *Chinese* relating to the History of *China*, which, till the Publication of this Book, was almost unknown to the Europeans.

the celebrated Doctor *Kempfer*, wherein he gives us a very entertaining Account of the Manner in which the Virtues of Tea were first discovered; neither is this at all foreign to my Subject, since it is an additional Proof of the Veracity of our Author, and clearly points out the Time when this Plant came first into Use among the *Chinese*, and, at the same time, fully refutes the Objection that had been raised from this Herb's not having a proper Character assigned it by the learned.

"This Herb, says he, which the *Japanese* call *Tsaja*, has as yet no Character assigned it by the *Literati*, but there are several in use, some expressing only the Sound of the Word, and others allusive to its Virtues. Among the latter, that is to be accounted, which gives it the Likeness of the Eye-lids of *Darma*, a holy Man, much famed among them. There is something very witty in this Allusion, and the Explanation of it deserves the greater Notice, because it very plainly points out the Time when this Herb first came into Use. Thus then the Story is told.

"This *Darma* was the third Son of an *Indian* King, whose Name was *Kojawoo*, and was the Head of a religious Order instituted by a famous *Indian* Saint, called *Sjaka*, who flourished in the Year before Christ 1028, and to whom this *Darma* was the twenty-eighth Successor in a regular Order. It so fell out, that in A. D. 419, he was driven into *China*, where he applied himself entirely to the teaching of Mankind the Knowledge of God, and, as he called it, of the only true Religion, and the sole Means of acquiring Happiness. He was not content to enlighten the World only by his Doctrine, but studied to do it still more by his Example, striving by the Purity of his Life, the afflicting his Body, and the bringing all his Passions under perfect Subjection, to secure the Assistance of the Divine Grace. He eat nothing but the wild Herbs of the Field, and which is esteemed the very Perfection of Holiness in Man, spent his Nights without Sleep in the Contemplation of the Supreme Being; for he considered it as the highest Degree of Piety to forego Ease and Rest, that his Thoughts might be wholly employed in meditating upon God.

"It fell out, that after many Years watching, he was so overcome, as to fall fast asleep: His Vow thus violated, he was so afflicted when he awaked, that partly to expiate his Crime, and partly to secure himself from falling again into what he esteemed to great a Weakness, he cut off his Eye-lids, as the Instruments of his Offence, and threw them in a Fit of holy Zeal upon the Ground. The next Day coming to the Place where he had inflicted this Punishment upon himself, he saw, with Amazement, a most wonderful Transformation, for he beheld each of his Eye-lids had taken Root, and had sprung up into the Shrub called TEA, which thenceforth the World had never seen, or at least Mankind were unacquainted with its Virtues.

"By taking the Leaves of this Herb, but whether the chewing them, or prepared by Infusion, I cannot say, he found a wonderful Cheartfulness of Mind, and a Disposition perfectly suited to his divine Meditations. As he recommended the Use of this Herb to his Disciples, and as the Benefits derived therefrom were every where published, the Custom of drinking Tea grew quickly into Use among all sorts of People; and the

"mighty Virtues of this wonderful Herb became universally known and admired. Hence it is, that as thenceforth no certain Character has been assigned for expressing the Herb Tea, and its Virtues, the Custom of distinguishing it by the Figure of *Darma's* Eye-lids has grown into Practice." So much says my Author for the Name of this Plant. The Story is plainly fabulous and extravagant; but like the Extravagancies of the East, full of Fire, and of that sort of enthusiastic Eloquence which conveys Ideas with such Force as prevents their Impressions from ever wearing out of the Mind.

We learn likewise from the first of our Travellers, that at the Time he visited their Country the *Chinese* were perfectly well versed in the Art of Pottery, and made a kind of Porcelain, as fine, as beautiful, and almost as transparent as Glass. It is certain, that for many Ages after this we had very dark and confused Accounts of this Matter; and the Stories we are told in almost all the Accounts we have of *China* upon this Subject have apparently the Air of Fables, and look as if they were impoted upon their Authors by the *Chinese*, on purpose to conceal from them the Truth. It is a Point now universally agreed, that the Porcelain formerly made in this Country was infinitely better than what has come from thence of late Years; but the *Chinese* themselves carry this much farther, and maintain, that the old *China* we so much admire is very far inferior to what was made in these early Ages.

Doctor *Kempfer* tells us from the *Chinese* Historians, that this most excellent Porcelain was made in a certain Island not far from *Formosa*, or at least of the Earth found in that Island, which for the same Crimes in its Inhabitants, has long ago shared the Fate of *Sedom*, and lies now buried in the Sea. Yet it seems it is not sunk so deep, but that their Fishermen and Divers frequently bring up Vessels of this old Porcelain, which are sold at a most extravagant Price in *China* and *Japan*, from a Persuasion that they not only keep Tea better, but even heighten its Qualities, and restore its Flavour when lost by long keeping in other Vessels.

I do not pretend to make myself answerable for the Truth of these Facts, but I mention them only to shew, that in the Opinion of these People, who are undoubtedly the best Judges of their own Manufactures, the Porcelain made at the Time our Author speaks of was really superior in Quality to any that has been made since. But if it should be demanded, whether any Proof can be had of the Truth of this Fact, exclusive of what our Author delivers, I answer, there is. For in a Manuscript preserved in the *French* King's Library, the Credit of which cannot be doubted among the Articles of a noble Present sent *Nouredin* by *Saladin*, soon after he became Master of *Egypt*, mention is made of a Service of *China-Ware*, consisting of forty Pieces of several kinds. It is very true, that this Present was not sent till the Year of the *Hegira* 567, which answers to the Year of our Lord 1171, which is some Ages after the Time in which our Author wrote; but then it is to be considered, that this *China-Ware* had been long before brought to *Egypt*; and if it had not been much superior in Beauty to what was brought from the same Country, even at that Time, when the Trade to *Bassora* was in a flourishing Condition, it would not have been thought worthy the Acceptance of so great a Prince; and therefore when thoroughly considered, this Objection proves, at least in its necessary Consequences, a Confirmation of the Fact.

Journal de l'Asie, p. 6-8. We shall have an Opportunity of inserting this learned Writer's Travels to *Japan*, in the second Volume of this Work, and the Passage here cited is from another Work of his, which is excellent in its Kind, notwithstanding what some such *French* Critics have imagined to the contrary.

Travels of Charles de Maurepas, in his History of *Japan*, blames Doctor *Kempfer* for inserting this Story, which he calls a ridiculous Fable; but I beg leave to say, that he had not well considered the Intention of the Parable, the Genius of the Eastern Nations, or the Eastern Languages; for, if he had, he would probably have been of another Opinion. There is a wide Difference between Fables in Religion and Fables in Natural Philosophy, especially when they are known to be such, and introduced with no other View than to convey useful Knowledge in an easy, familiar, and effectual Manner, all which were variously contained in the framing of this Story or Parable, which declares the Virtues of this Herb, by whom discovered, and when brought into Use.

Journal de l'Asie, p. 101. Our learned Author tells us, that the *Japanese* Name of this fine Porcelain is *Maatsubo*, and that the Island in which it was made was *Maatsubo*. He assures us, that these Vessels are of different sizes, and consequently of different Prices; the smallest are sold for twenty to one hundred *Thails*; but the largest and finest, which are generally bought for the Use of the Emperor of *Japan*, cost three, four, five, and six hundred *Thails*, of which there is about three in a Pound Sterling. This is very moderate in comparison of what we are told by *Marco Polo* in his Travels, p. 175, where he says, that the *Japanese* have Tea-pots that cost them between six and seven thousand *Thails*. There seem to be two Mistakes in this; the first is as to the Vessel, which was not a Tea-pot, but a Tea-canister; the second, as to the Sum, which was not Pounds, but *Thails*.

The Title of this *French* Manuscript is *Makrizi*, which was probably the surname of its Author; but as to the particular Subject of the Book I can say nothing, the Passage I have mentioned from it being reported by the *Abbé Renaudot* in his *Notes* on our Author, p. 101.

I have dwelt the longer upon these Influences, and have taken the more Pains to support and confirm the Truth of them, because I am persuaded that an innate Credit is due to the Matters of Fact asserted by both of our Authors, and that consequently we may absolutely depend upon what they have delivered as to the State of *China*, and the *Indies*, within this Period of Time; that is to say, from A. D. 833, to 950, or thereabouts. This being clearly established, let us see what will follow from it. In the first place, it is most evident, that these Eastern Countries were in a very happy and flourishing Condition, were governed by their own Princes, and knew not, generally speaking, what it was to suffer by such sudden and violent Revolutions as have since happened in those Parts. It must, however, be at the same time observed, that though their State was far better than it is now, yet both our Authors agree that it was beginning to decline, that the Dignity of their Princes began to sink, the Severity of their Discipline to relax, and the Manners of their People to become much more corrupt than they had been.

In the next place, it is very evident, that in *China*, a Country still more remote than the *Indies*, the People were in this Period very well acquainted with the Condition of their Neighbours, to whom they must also have been tolerably well known; and yet within the Space of two hundred Years, the Face of Things were so intirely changed, that the *Chinese* lost almost all Knowledge of us in *Europe*, and we of them, as from the subsequent Part of this Chapter will clearly appear.

Lastly, we ought to conclude from the Consideration of these Facts from the State of things in *China* and the *Indies*, and especially from the Superiority of their Manufactures, that this Empire was in every respect in a much better Situation than in succeeding times; that is to say, was better governed, more populous, the Industry of the People better conducted, and their Foreign Commerce far more extensive than in the Ages immediately preceding the Discovery of the Passage thither from *Europe* by the *Cape of Good Hope*. The fixing all this firmly in the Reader's Mind, will contribute to his apprehending rightly all that follows, and will prevent his running into the opposite Vice of Incredulity, to avoid being thought credulous.

He will not be amazed when he hears of potent Princes that governed in the *Indies*, or in *Céina*, many hundred Years before we knew any thing with Certainty of those Countries; he will not be astonished at the Extent of their Territories, or what is reported of their prodigious Revenues; he will not be at a Loss to account for the different Condition of Places, when first visited by the *Europeans*, from that reported either by their own Histories, or Traditions. On the contrary, he will plainly perceive, by comparing the Facts laid down in the several Sections of this Work, that all this is not only probable, but certain; and that the Notions which some great Critics have advanced to the contrary, were not so much founded in greater Learning, or superior Abilities, as in strong Prejudices in favour of their own Countries, and in high Concepts of their own Abilities.

In Things of this Nature, all abstracted Reasoning ought to be laid aside, and we ought to draw our Conclusions from Facts only. If the *Indians* stopped the Progress of the *African*, *Persian*, *Greek* and *Parthian* Empires, this is a strong, or to speak fairly, an invincible Argument to prove, that their Government was then in its full Vigour. If we see the *Indians* now for the most part a broken, dispersed, dejected, and despised People, preserving, however, still in their Manners and Customs, visible Marks of

that Policy ascribed to them by the *Greek* and *Roman*, as well as the *Arabian* Writers, we ought to conclude, that this Difference has been owing to mighty Revolutions in these Parts; after the History of which we must enquire, and not pretend to take up with the Assurances given us by fanciful Men, that these People were never in a better Condition.

I do not however pretend by this to establish by any means the Opinions entertained by some very great Men as to the Learning of the *Chinese* with regard to which our Travellers speak very freely, and I think there is Reason to believe very truly, affirming, that in regard to the Sciences the *Chinese* had very little Knowledge, that is, in Comparison of the *Arabs*, who at the time the List of our Authors wrote were very skillful in most Sciences; and though their famous Commander *Musa*, who conquered *Spain*, was the first that delivered it in the Form of a Maxim, yet it is very probable, that the *Arabs* had long before his Time those Sentiments of the Progress of Science which he so happily expressed. *Wikkom*, said he, *ascending from above, settled in the Heads of the Greeks, in the Hands of the Chinese, and on the Tongues of the Arabs*. It plainly appears from hence, that what they most admired in *China* was the Industry of its Inhabitants, which was chiefly the Effect of their wise Government, derived to them, as is indeed every thing of Consequence they knew, seems to have been from the *Indies*¹. All therefore that from the Authority of our Authors I infer is, that the political State of *China* was at least as perfect anciently as it is at present in all its Branches; and not that they were better acquainted with Sciences than they are now.

71. The Reader, I persuade myself, is by this time of the same Opinion with myself as to the Value of these ancient Writers, and would be very well pleased to proceed with as good Guides during the rest of his Journey, which is, however, more than I can promise; but thus far I dare undertake, that he shall have as good Guides as are to be procured, and that the next Stage is the worst in the whole Road. There is, however, a Necessity of going through it; for it is with Learning as it is in Travelling, there is no knowing of Things with Certainty by Reports. If we would be thoroughly satisfied, we must use our own Eyes; and to obtain a complete View of the *Indies*, we must be content to read Voyages and Travels in their natural Order. It is plain from what these Authors tell us, that the *Indies* in their Time were not much altered from what they were in the Days of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; whereas when the *Portuguese* came thither, they were in quite another Condition; we must therefore learn how this came to pass. The thing is difficult indeed, but it must be done, for otherwise we have hitherto been doing nothing; and to leave a large Gap in our History in order to hurry on to modern Voyages, is to prefer Amusement to Instruction, which is certainly what neither I nor the Reader aims at; and therefore I flatter myself that he will be very well pleased with the Revival of the Voyages and Travels that follow, and which have never hitherto appeared in an *English* Dress at all suitable to their Merit².

Hackluyt, our most ancient Collector, whose Pains can never be too much commended, gave such as came to his Hands in the best manner he could, and was therefore very commendable in that respect. *Purchas*, who followed him, complains, however, with Reason, that these ancient Writers were strangely disfigured, and therefore he thought it necessary to revise and republish them, for which also he deserves Praise; and there is no doubt he might have succeeded much better than he has done, if he had not fol-

¹ The Progress of Science from the *Indies* to *China*, and from thence to *Japan*, is very natural and agreeable to ancient History; but it does not all follow from thence, that the *Indians* received their Learning from the *Egyptians*. It is far more probable, that they had it from the *Assyrians*, for Mankind spread originally from that Country, as *Meyer* informs us, and as all ancient History plainly proves. From *Chaldea* to the *Indies* the first Colonies might have easily proceeded by Land, whereas their own Writers allow, that the first Attempts by the *Egyptians* towards the Coast of *India* were by Fleet, fitted out by the *Red Sea*.

² We have every full Proof of the Truth of this Observation from what *Purchas* lays in his *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 65. of *M. Polo*, where he has these Words:

"I found this Book translated by Master *Hackluyt* out of the *Latin*. But where the Blind lead the Blind, both fall. As here the corrupt *Latin* out of the *Chinese* yield an unimproved *Latin* in *English*. *Ramus*, Secretary to the Decemviri the means the Council of Ten in *Venice*, found a *Latin* Book, and published the same; whence you have the Work in a manner new, so renewed, that I have found the Proverb true, *non est bene pullum in ovis* House, and to build it anew, than to repair it, as I also should have done had I known that which in the *Latin* House is *Latin* is *Latin* (that is, a sort of *Lin*) compared to *Ramus*'s Gold, and he which hath the *Latin* hath but *Mario Polo*'s Carcase, or a few much; but a few Bones, yes, sometimes Bones rather than Bones, things diverse, averie, adverse, perverted in manner, disjointed in matter, as a Belief. I have seen some Authors maimed, but never any so mangled, and so mingled, to pretend, and so absent, as this vulgar *Latin* of *Mario Polo*; not to like himself as the three *Poles* were at their Return to *Venice*, where none knew them, as in the *Dikourie* ye shall find, &c."

lowed the Humour of the Age in which he wrote, and affected, as he has done, to give a quaint and fanciful Turn to all that he translated, instead of keeping close to his Authors. This was chiefly owing to a Notion that then prevailed, that there were many Improbabilities and Absurdities in their Writings; which, however, the Diligence of succeeding Times hath, in a great measure, discovered to have been a groundless and injurious Charge arising sometimes from their having very bad Copies of the Authors they used, at other Times from the Ignorance of those who undertook to translate them either in the Languages in which they were wrote, or as to the Subjects which were handled in them.

It deserves also to be considered, that the first Voyages into any remote Country must lie under great Disadvantages, because they report Things absolutely unknown before, and which, for that Reason, appear monstrous and incredible; whereas, in Process of Time, and after various Persons have visited the same Place, the Publick begins to grow familiar with their Relations; and having received repeated Testimonies as to the Truth of strange Facts, renounce the Prejudices that were conceived against them at the Beginning. It is for this Reason that many learned Men abroad, but particularly *Ramusio in Italy*, and *Bergeron in France*, have taken so much Pains to examine, correct, and set forth in a most perfect Manner, many of these old Writers; which after the Care they have taken about them, appear to so great Advantage, that they scarce seem to be the same that were known to us formerly in so wretched a Condition.

But if such Treatises are liable to a bad Reception at their first Appearance, their Credit increases with Possibility, and there is very good Reason for recurring to the first Voyages, as we do to the first Editions of Books to see how Things stood at the Beginning. Such Writers are, generally speaking, the most curious and the most exact; for being extremely struck with every thing they see and hear, they are more vigilant in their Searches, and more particular in their Relations, than those that follow them, such taking it for granted, that what is common in remote Countries has been already reported by others, and will not give themselves the Trouble of fitting down any thing that is not marvelous or extraordinary. We ought not, likewise, to forget that such Travellers as are sent to visit distant Countries, or who go thither purely out of Curiosity, and from a Desire of seeing what others have not seen before, are much more likely to record exactly whatever they meet with, than such as go afterwards into these Countries purely on the Score of Trade; and on their Return, perhaps, are persuaded to oblige the World with an Account of what they have met with, compiled at a considerable Distance of Time, and consequently very liable to Mistakes and other Imperfections.

We may add to all this, that the first Sort of Authors are, generally speaking, Men of better Capacities, and more capable of setting forth their Discoveries than the latter; so that on the whole, if we mean to be thoroughly acquainted with Things, and with all the Circumstances relating to them, we shall read such original Writers with much greater Pleasure than those Collections which have appeared in later Times, and which are frequently no way comparable to them, either for the Importance of Facts, or the Accuracy with which they are related.

It fell out in the East, as it fell out before in the West; that is to say, the northern Nations poured in upon them as a Deluge, and bore down all before them. It was this foundation of the *Tartars* which overturned, and, in a great measure, effaced the whole Policy of the East; so that in the thirteenth Century, the Empire established by the Great *Tartar* Monarch *Jenghiz-kan*, extended as far as *China* on the one Side, and into *Europe* on the other. His Successors augmented his Dominions, and that in such a Manner as to reach as far as the *Nile* one Way, and to the *Danube* and *Vistula* on the other. Such an Extent of Dominion must appear to a considerate Reader, a more formidable Empire than any yet spoken of; and the short Space of Time in which it was raised, must render it still

more amazing: To say the Truth, all the great Monarchies in this Part of the World, large and powerful as they are, ought, strictly speaking, to be considered as Fragments only of this enormous Sovereignty, and as the Remains and Ruins of this prodigious Structure. All the *Tartar* Principalities in *Europe* and *Asia*, the noble Empire of *China*, with so much of *Tartary* as belongs to it, the wide Dominions of the Great Mogul, some of the Kingdoms established in the *Indian* Islands, the Kingdom of *Persia* as it stands at present, together with the best Part of the Grand Seigneur's Territories, fall under this Description, and were once but so many Parts of the *Tartar* Empire, and we may from thence easily discern how much it imports us to have a competent Knowledge of the Rise, Progress, and Declension of this over-grown Power.

But that this, however expedient, however necessary, might not break in too much on the Series of our Voyages, I have taken Care to select a few out of the many ancient Travels that may answer both Ends; that is to say, may preserve the Chain of our Narrations, according to the natural Order of Time, and also fulfil what is requisite with respect to explaining the History of these People, so as to bring the whole into a reasonable Compass, without depriving the Reader of any thing that is necessary for his Information, or curtailing the Authors that are given him, so, as to put it out of his Power to judge of the Value of each, or to know what the Writer himself relates, and what has been inserted by his Editors.

The first of these shall be the earliest Traveller next to our *Arabs*; I mean the famous *Jewish* Writer *Benjamin of Tudela*, in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, who travelled through a great Part of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, in the twelfth Century, in which we have not one Voyage besides; and though his chief Design, as plainly enough appears, was to aggrandize his own Nation, however dispersed over the Face of the Earth, and to keep up the Hopes of his Brethren, by representing them as a numerous, wealthy, and flourishing People, notwithstanding their Dispersion: Yet, in doing this, he has collected so many curious Circumstances with regard to the Eastern Nations, and interspersed his Travels with such a Variety of historical Passages to be met with no where else, that whatever Faults may be found with him, he will be always thought an Author worthy of Notice; though, to avoid Prolixity, we have inserted only so much of his Work in the next Section, as has relation to the Subject of which we are treating. It will from thence however, appear, that what is suggested by *Purchas*, the only Author that has attempted to publish him in our Language, as to the Impossibility of making his Treatise clear and intelligible, is not over-well founded, but that with due Care and diligent Attention, his Travels might be published entire, in such a Manner as to satisfy the most critical and inquisitive Reader.

The next of these ancient Travellers shall be *William Rubruquis*, a Monk sent by the French King *St. Lewis*, to the then *Khan* of the *Tartars*, whose History of his Journey through several Countries then in a Manner entirely, and even now, but very imperfectly known, is addressed to that Prince, and written with a Spirit of Humility and Modesty, and with such plain Evidence of their Author's Veracity, as very fully justifies the Esteem that has been always had of his Work. The third is *Marco Polo*, the *Venetian*, who travelled as well as *Rubruquis* in the thirteenth Century, whose Work has stood the Test of Time and the severest Criticks, and risen by slow Degrees, from the least into the highest Credit. There are indeed very few Books that have born so many Editions, or have had so much Pains taken about them; and indeed hardly any have deserved it better, since purged from the Errors that had crept into the old Copies, and into the several Translations made into different Languages, it appears to be as well disposed, as well written, as curious, as entertaining, and as correct a Performance as any of its kind: And yet to avoid the Trouble of comparing so many Copies and Translations, it has been wholly omitted in our modern Collections, though the perusing it is in a Manner abso-

The Quotation in the preceding Note from *Purchas*, will fully prove the Truth of this to the intelligent Reader.

lately necessary, to the understanding the subsequent Voyages to the *East-Indies*.

The last of these old Writers taken into our Collection, shall be Sir John Mandeville our Countryman, who, notwithstanding all the Objections made to his Relation, deserves much better Usage than he has met with. This great Traveller flourished in the fourteenth Century, and spent no less than thirty-three Years in Travelling through the *Levant*, *Syria*, *Tartary*, *India*, *Casbey*, *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Ethiopia*, and other Countries. He composed the History of these Travels in *Latin*, *French*, and *English*, and yet we have never hitherto had his Work set in such a Light as might bear reading with Pleasure. I had almost said, and it would be no more than Truth with Patience, and at the same Time it has been respected and well esteemed Abroad. There are indeed Abundance of strange Stories and incredible Passages in his Work, which we do not pretend to justify or impose upon the Reader, but there are others worth knowing, and to be met with no where else.

The Trouble which necessarily attends freeing these Au-

thors from the Rubbish under which they have been buried, and recovering so much of their personal History as is requisite to give Light and Life, Spirit and Intelligence to their several Labours, has been not a little; but when one considers how pious an Act it is to vindicate the Memory of great Men deceased, who thought no Pains too great for the Service of Posterity; and how ready the present Age is to encourage all Attempts of this kind, a Man goes through his Task with Pleasure. It is our Happiness to live in Times more enlightened, in which all the Sciences are better understood than when those Authors lived and wrote; but the Contemplation of our Advantages ought to dispose us to a charitable Condescension, and a Disposition to excuse Infirmitates, not so properly as them as in the Ages in which they flourished, and from which therefore they could not be exempt, especially when we reflect, that to their Attempts we owe the Satisfaction that has succeeded, and that without the Struggles made by them we must have been in the same Region of Darkness still.

SECTION XIX.

The Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, the Son of Jonas of Tudela, through Europe, Asia, and Africa, from Spain to China, from the Year of our Lord 1160 to 1173.

From the Latin Versions of Benedict Arias Montanus, and Constantine l'Empereur, compared with other Translations into different Languages.

1. A succinct Account of Benjamin of Tudela, the several Editions and Translations of his Work, and the Reputation it has acquired.
2. The Objections that have been made to the Credit of our Author, and the true State of that Question.
3. The Manner in which we propose to give the Substance of these Travels to the Reader.
4. The Description of the City of Constantinople, the Court of the Greek Emperor, and the things remarkable there, in the Words of Benjamin of Tudela.
5. A succinct Account of his Travels from Constantinople to Balaria, or Bassora.
6. His Journey from thence to the Frontiers of Persia, to the City of Aria; and his Account of the Tomb of the Prophet Daniel.
7. The History of the celebrated David El Roi, a Native of Aria, who set up for the Messiah, induced the Jews to revolt from the King of Persia; the Miracles said to be performed by him, and of his deplorable End.
8. The Rout from Aria, and the Mountains of Haphton to the Mountains of Nilbon and the River Oxus, by Hamadan and Isfahan.
9. Description of the Mountains of Nilbon, or Nilbor, inhabited by the Tribes of Dan, Zebulon, Asher, and Nephthali. The History of the War between the Coppered Turks and the Persians, together with an Account of Rabbi Moses.
10. Return to Chuzestan. Description of the Island of Nekrokis, of the Pearl Fishery, of several Countreys in the Indies, of the diabolical Practices of the Natives, and finally of the River Sui, or the Sea of China.
11. Rout from Gingala into Ethiopia, and from thence to Grand Cairo.
12. A large Description of the City of Mitzraim, or Grand Cairo, the State of the Jews in that Country, the overflowing of the Nile, of the famous Column for measuring the Rise of that River, the Fertility of the Countrey of Egypt, the Mouths of the River Nile, and the Situation of the ancient City of Memphis.
13. An Account of many other Cities in Egypt, a large Description of Alexandria, and the principal Things therein, with the State of its Commerce at the Time of our Author's being there.
14. A concise Account of his Return into Europe, and going back into his native Country of Spain.
15. Remarks and Observations on the foregoing Travels.

THERE are few Authors better known to the learned World than our Benjamin, called from the Place of his Birth Benjamin of Tudela, a very pleasant Town in Navarre, on the Confines of the Kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. The Jews, who boast very much of our Author's Work, inform us, that he was the Son of Rabbi Jonas, who was settled at Tudela; but they do not acquaint us with the Year in which our Author was born, of what Profession he was, or what induced him to travel. In short, all that at this Distance of Time can be discovered on the Subject, amounts to no more than this, that he began his Travels, *A. D.* 1160, and that he ended them in 1173, which was the very Year in which he died.

These Travels of his have been always in great Credit amongst his own Countrymen, who never cite them but with the greatest Applause; neither have there been wanting several very learned Christians, who have been of the same Opinion, to which probably it may be owing, that from *A. D.* 1534, when it was first printed at Constan-

tinople, we have had of this Book no less than sixteen different Editions, and some of them by the ablest Critics.

The first Version of it that appeared in *Latin* was in 1575, by Benedict Arias Montanus, a Man of great Learning, and high Reputation, who in his Preface paid great Compliments to the Spanish Nation on account of the Discoveries made by them in the most distant Parts of the World.

This, however, did not hinder Constantine l'Empereur from making another Translation in 1633, with the *Hebrew* Text in the Margin, and the Addition of very learned Notes; notwithstanding which, many great Critics have testified an earnest Desire to see another and still corrected Version, since to say the Truth, there are some apparent Errors in this as well as in the former Translation, occasioned, as I conceive, chiefly by the Mistakes that have been made by Transcribers in the Text, where we have many Names of Countries, Cities, and Princes, that never were heard of in any other Author; and therefore are without

Reason believed to have come by some such Mistake into this, the rather, because on comparing several Editions, some of these Errors have been detected and amended, which affords us room to hope that some time or other so judicious a Critick may arise, as will be able to correct them all, and give us this Author in his genuine Purity.

2. But, notwithstanding the great Reputation of our Author, some very considerable Writers, and those too extremely well versed in Hebrew Learning, have attacked this Work of his with much Vivacity. *M. Wagenfiel* for instance, who wrote a very learned Defence of the Christian Religion against the Cavils and Aspersions of the *Jews*, is pleased to say of this Writer, that whenever he meets with any thing that makes for the Honour of his Nation, he is not only careful to report it in its full Extent, but even ventures sometimes to exceed the Truth.

The famous *Hottinger* deals as freely, or rather more so, with *Benjamin*; his Voyage, says he, is pulled up with *Jewish* Pride, and the sole Aim of it is to deceive and mislead the Ignorant into an Opinion, that obscure and unknown Places are full of the Glory of the *Jews*. He adds farther, that there are many Fables and Contradictions in the Book, and still more Stories that are reported upon very slender Grounds: Yet after all, he concludes, that our Author has many things in him that are not to be found elsewhere.

The very learned *Spanheim* gives the true Character of the Work in a few Words: It is, says he, pretty highly seasoned with Fables; but there are many good Things in it for all that. This is precisely the Case, the *Jews* and such as are fond Admirers of *Rabbinick* Learning have cried it up much beyond its real Merit; and others again have, for a particular Reason, run it down beyond all Measure; nay, they have questioned whether our Author ever travelled at all, and would persuade us that he made this Book without stirring out of *Spain*; but they would have done well to have shewn us how he came by the Material, which I think a much harder Task than to answer all their Objections.

His Countrymen, it seems, frequently quote this Book of *Benjamin's*, to shew, that the *Jews* are not yet totally deprived of Power, but that there is still a kind of Sovereignty exercised by some of their Nation over their Brethren in certain Countries of the East, which being supposed to contradict the famous Prophecy relating to the coming of Christ, these Criticks will have to be a Fable. But if *Benjamin* had never wrote, the *Jews* would be able to prove the Truth of this in stronger Terms than it is asserted by him, and yet without overthrowing the Application of that Prophecy to *Jesus Christ*; and therefore this is no Reason to me for depreciating the Work at all. He has certainly exaggerated some Things, and mistaken many more. What then, we find in him many things curious and entertaining, which we can find no where else?

3. Our Author in his first Chapter gives us an Account of his Travels by Land from *Sarragossa* to *Marseilles*. In his second Chapter, he tells us that he embarked for *Genoa*, and proceeded from thence to *Rome*, of which he gives us a Description. He went from that City through the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Otranto*, and sailed from thence to the Island of *Corfu*, and then passed by Land through

Greece to *Constantinople*, and in his Passage traversed the Country of *Walachia*. This takes up his fourth Chapter, but as there is nothing very extraordinary in this Part of his Work, and as we have no Room to spare, I thought it better to omit these Chapters than to abridge them, because I must have given the Sense of the Author in my own Words, which would not have put it in the Reader's Power to form any Judgment of the Writer's Style or Manner of Writing. In his fifth Chapter he gives a long Account of the City of *Constantinople*, of the Court of the *Greek* Emperor, and of the State that Things were in at the Time of his being there, with many other curious Particulars, and therefore I have given this Chapter at large, accompanied with such explanatory Notes as were requisite, that I might afford the Reader a proper Specimen of this Performance, without trespassing too much on his Time or my own.

4. "From thence we travelled three Days Journey to *Athens*, seated upon the S. a-Shore, and travelling five Days Journey more among the Mountains, one comes to *Constantinople*, an exceeding great City, and the Head of the Kingdom of *Juganites*, or those called *Greeks*. This is the principal Seat of the Emperor *Emanuel*, whose Command twelve Kings obey; for every one whereof there are several Palaces at *Constantinople*, and they have also Fortresses and Governments, and unto these the whole Land is subject. The Principal and Chiefest is called *Aspripus*, the second *Mega Domestickiz*, the third *Dominot*, the fourth *Makeducus*, the fifth *Ik-nomus Megli*, and the rest have Names like unto these. The Compass of the City of *Constantinople* containeth eighteen Miles, one half of it standeth upon the Sea, but the other half on the Continent, and it is seated upon two Arms of the Sea, into one of which the Sea flows out of *Raffia*, but into the other from *Spain*, and it is frequented by many Traders from the Provinces and Countries of *Babylon*, *Sennar*, *Media*, *Perfia*, and all the Kingdom of *Egypt* and Land of *Canaan*, and the Kingdoms of *Russia*, *Hungary*, and *Pfania*, *Buria*, *Lombardy*, and *Spain*.

"The City itself is excessively populous, unto which Merchants resort out of all Countries, travelling thither both by Sea and Land. It hath none to compare with it in the World, except *Bagdat*, that mighty City of the *Ismaelites*. Here is the most famous Temple of *St. Sophia*, and the Patriarch of the *Grecians* dwelleth here, nor do they agree in Doctrine with the Pope of *Rome*. There are in it also as many Altars in Number as Days in the Year; but it hath an exceeding great Treasure almost beyond all Estimation, by the Offerings and Riches yearly brought from divers Countries, Islands, Castles, Forts, and Places, so that the Wealth of no Temple in the whole World can be compared with the Riches thereof; and in the Midst of the Temple there are Pillars of Gold and Silver, huge Candlesticks, Lanthorns, Lamps and other Ornaments of these precious Metals, more than any Man is able to reckon. Next adjoining to the Walls of the Temple, there is a Place built for the Emperor's Diversion, called *Hippodromus*, where yearly upon the Birth-day of *Jesus of Nazareth*, great Spectacles are publicly presented, and

* *Not. ad Lipmanni Carmen Nizachon in Tel. ign. Sat. pag. 374.* This Writer is induced to censure our Author, for the Reasons I have afterwards aligned, that is, because he thinks what *Benjamin* has advanced derogatory from the famous Prophecy in the 49th Chapter of *Genesi*.

* *H. B. Eccl. Sect. XII. p. 241.*

* *Introd. ad H. B. Eccl. Part II. Secul. XII. Sect. XIV. p. 370.*

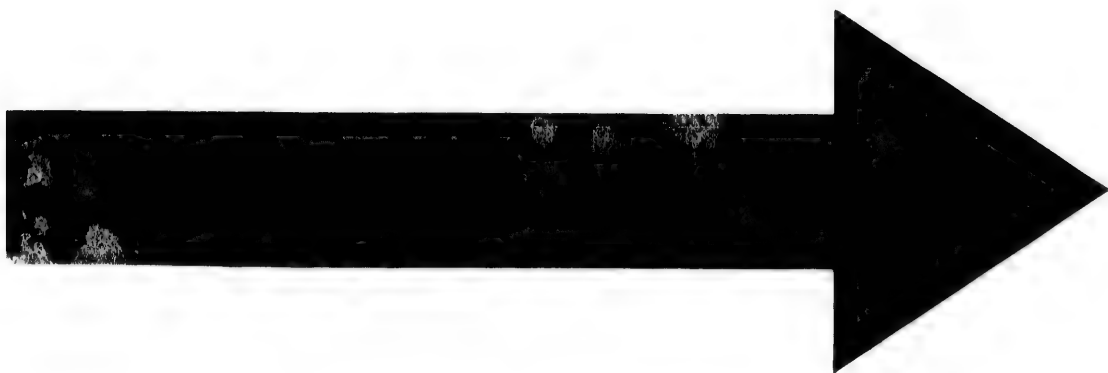
* It appears evidently from the *Koran*, that there were Principalities of the *Jews* in *Arabia* at the Time that *Mohammed* set up for a Prophet, which is certainly as strong as any thing advanced by our Author, and is, notwithstanding, a Fact that cannot be disputed.

* The Manner and Style of this Voyage is a proper Specimen of all the *Jewish* Writers, who use exactly the same Terms in their Narrations; and by affecting to keep close to the Names of Nations and Cities mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, render their own Writings very perplexed and obscure.

* This Term is made Use of by the *Jews* to signify the *Greeks*, because they conceive them to be the Descendants of *Javan*; it is their Manner of Writing, and we must be contented with it. It is true we might have given all this a modern Dreis, but then it would have been no longer the Travels of *Benjamin* of *Tudea*, which was what we promised.

* This Emperor *Emanuel* is *Manuel Comnenus*, who ascended the Imperial Throne A. D. 1145, and died in 1180. He was famous for his Treachery to the Christian Princes engaged in the Holy War, but it is very certain that the Time of his Reign agrees exactly with the Time of our Author's visiting the City of *Constantinople*.

* There cannot well be any thing more confused than this Passage of our Author is at first sight, and yet it is not impossible to make tolerable good Sense of it. *Benjamin* thought that *Manuel* was an Emperor, his Ministers and Governors of Provinces ought to be considered as equal in State and Dignity to Kings. There is no Doubt great Difficulty in transcribing *Greek* Words by *Hebrew* Characters, especially where a Person is not fully Master of both Languages, which was certainly the Case of our Author, and perhaps the Errors of the Work have been heightened as well as multiplied by such as have copied it. *Aspripus* in the Text very probably means *Prospitus*, or Prime Minister. *Mega Domestickiz*, is plainly the Corruption of *Μεγα Δομestικος*, or Great Chamberlain. *Dominot* stands for *Dominus*. *Makeducus* is put for *μακεδωνος*, or Great Duke, and the last is intended for *Οικονομος*, or Lord High Steward.



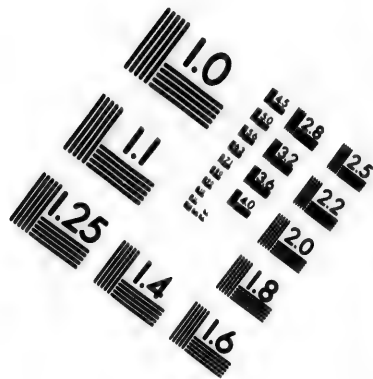
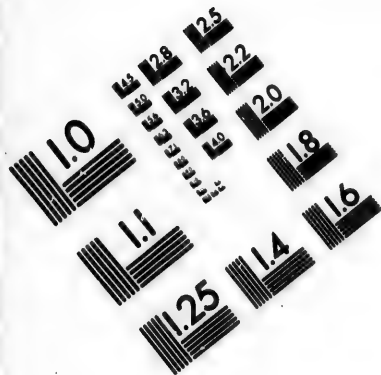
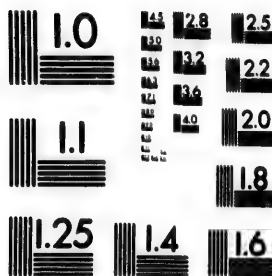


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"there all Sorts of Men in all manner of Habits of the whole World, appear before the King and Queen. Lions also, and Bears, Leopards and wild Asses, are brought forth into the Place where these Spectacles are to be seen, that they may fight together, and Birds also alter the same manner: And my Opinion is that in no Country of the World such Princely Sports are to be seen.

"But this King *Emanuel*, besides that Palace left him by his Ancestors, hath built him another upon the Sea Shore, which they call *Bilberna*, the Pillars and Walls whereof he hath overlaid with beaten Gold and Silver, whereon he hath engraved all the Wars made by him and his Ancestors; and he hath prepared a Throne there for himself of Gold and precious Stones, and hath adorned it with a golden Crown hanging on high by Gold Chains; the Composure whereof is equal with the Throne itself, so enrich'd with precious Stones and Pearls, that the Price whereof no Man is able to value; of so great a Lustre, that without the Assistance of Light they shine, and may be seen in the Night.

"Moreover there are such valuable Things in the same Place, as were incredible if told; and Tributes yearly brought into that Palace, wherewith the Towers are filled with scarlet and purple Garments, and Gold; so that the like Example of building and Riches, can no where else be found in the World. And, it is affirmed, that the Revenue only of this City itself, gathered from the Markets, Haven, and Tribute of Merchants, amounted to Twenty Thousand Crowns a Day. Furthermore, the *Grecians* themselves, Inhabitants of the Country, are exceeding rich in Gold, and have abundance of precious Stones, and are dressed in most sumptuous Apparel, their Garments being made of Crimson intermingled with Gold, or embroidered with Needle-work, and are all carried upon Horses, as if they were the Children of Kings. The Country itself being very large, abounds with all Sorts of Fruits, and hath great Plenty of Corn, Flesh, and Wine; nor is there a finer Spot in the whole World to be found. They are also learned, and skilful in the Discipline of the *Grecians*; but giving themselves wholly to Pleasure, they eat and drink every one under his own Vine and under his own Fig-tree. Of all the Nations which they call *Barbarians*, they have Soldiers to fight with the *Soldan* King of the Children of *Thebaria*, who are commonly called *Turks*, because they themselves, through Idleness and Luxury, are become quite unfit for the Wars, and seem unto me more like Women than Men, through their excessive Love of Pleasure¹.

"But no *Jews* dwell within the City, for they are excluded from thence by an Arm of the Sea of *Sophia*; they are not so much as permitted to come into the City but by Boats, and that for the sake of Commerce; and here are about two thousand *Jews Rabbanites*, besides five hundred *Koraites* on the other Side. There is a Wall to separate them from the *Rabbanites*, that are the Disciples of wise Men: And among whom *Abtalion* the Great, and *R. Abdias*, and *Aaron Cuspis*, and *Joseph Storginus*, and *Eliakim* the Governor, have the chief Authority. Amongst these some are Artificers of silken Garments; but there are many Merchants, and those too very rich. No *Jew* is there permitted to be carried on Horse-back, except *Solomon* the *Egyptian*, the King's Physician, through whose Interest the *Jews* are comforted and ealed in their Captivity, which they feel to be grievous; for all the *Jews* are very much hated by the *Grecians*, without making any Difference between the good and evil: But they are worst used

"by the Tanners, who, while they dress their Skins, pour out the filthy Water into the Streets before their Doors. They are in general oppressed with a grievous Yoke, and are insulted and beaten in the Streets, enduring from every Hand abundance of Injuries. But among the *Jews* themselves, some are rich, as I have said, and good Men, and merciful, and observe the Commandments, who patiently endure the Misery of Captivity. The Place wherein they dwell is called *Pera*."

5. Our Author continued his Journey from *Constantinople* to the City of *Tyre*, from thence to *Jerusalem*, and from thence through the *Holy Land*, of which he gives a very particular Description, to the City of *Damascus*; and from thence to *Balbec*, which is in the Neighbourhood of the ancient *Palmyra*, which he calls by its old Name of *Tadmor*, and assures us, that there were in it, when he passed through, two thousand *Jews*. He gives us next a copious Account of the City of *Bagdad*, of the Court of the *Khaliff*, and of the Condition of the *Jews* in that City. Then he carries us into the Country of *Thema*, where he places a whole Nation of *Jews*, about which there have been great Disputes; and some would have us believe, that the whole is a Forgery. However that Matter be, as it in no way relates to my Subject, I did not think it requisite to trouble the Reader therewith, especially as there are Stories enough of the same kind in the rest of the Book. In his fifteenth Chapter, he acquaints us, that he proceeded to *Botzra* on the River *Tigris*, which is plainly *Balsora*, or *Bajzora*, a Place frequently mentioned in the preceding Part of this Work; and from thence he continued his Journey through *Perfia*, as I shall acquaint the Reader in his own Words².

6. The River *Samoura* is esteemed the Limits of the Kingdom of *Perfia*, and near it stands a City of the same Name, wherein dwell fifteen hundred *Jews*. There is the Sepulchre of *Esdra*, the Scribe and Priest, who died at this Place in his Return from *Jerusalem* to the Court of *Artaxerxes*. Our People have built before this Sepulchre a great Synagogue; and on the other Side the *Ismaelites*, i. e. the *Arabians*, or *Mohammedans*, have built a Mosque; so great is their Esteem for *Esdra*, and their Respect for the *Israelites*. It is on this Score also, that the *Ismaelites* resort thither to pray.

"It is four Miles from hence to *Chuzesthan*, which is the same with *Elam*, that great City of old; but it is now in some measure ruined and uninhabited. At one End, but in the midst of Ruins, is *Susa*, a Castle, and formerly the Palace of *Abasuerus*; some Remains of which are yet standing. There are here seven thousand *Jews* and fourteen Synagogues, before one of which stands the Tomb of *Daniel*. The River *Tigris* runs through the City, over which there is a Bridge. All the *Jews* that live on one Side are very rich, have Shops extremely well filled, and carry on a great Commerce. Those on the other Side the River are all poor, having neither Market, Shops, Gardens, nor Orchards. The Sense of their Condition threw them once into an Insurrection, from a Notion that all the Glory and Riches of those on the other Side the River, sprung from no other Cause than their having the Sepulchre of the Prophet *Daniel* on their Side.

"They demanded therefore that his Tomb should be transferred to their Side; but the others vehemently opposing this, a War began, of which both Sides growing weary, it was agreed, that the Coffin of *Daniel* should remain one Year on one Side the River, and the next Year on the other. This Treaty was observed till such

¹ However sharp or severe this Character of the People at *Constantinople* may seem, yet it is beyond all question very just and well founded, fully supports what we have delivered upon this Subject in the sixteenth Section, and is at once a Mark of Veracity in these Travels, and of the Author's Capacity in judging of what he saw.

² Our Author's Travels, with the Remarks necessary to explain them, would, if delivered entire, take up a great many Sheets; and for this Reason it is, and that we may keep the Subject as much within Bounds as possible, that we take this Method of acquainting the Reader with the Contents of his Work.

³ Our Author is a little out here in his Geography, for the River *Tigris* does not come near this City; the River he means was anciently called *Euphrates*, and in the modern Maps we find it described under the Name of *Caron*. It is, in all Probability, the same as before mentioned, which some Critics will have to be a River of our Author's making; but the Truth of the Matter is, that the River *Caron* takes its Rise near a Town called *Samura*, from whence he might hear it called the River of *Samura*; and such an Error, considering the Times in which he lived, is not very considerable.

"time as *Sanigar Shah*, Son to the great *Shah of Persia*, who rules over forty-five Princes, cancelled it. He is called in *Arabic* Sultan *Pharr-Al-Chahir*, which is as much as to say, Great Emperor of *Persia*. His Empire extends from the Mouth of the River *Samosra* to the City of *Samarcand*, and to the River of *Gozan*, the Province of *Gijhor*, including the Cities of the *Mades*, the Mountains of *Haphien*, and so to the Province of *Thiber*; in the Forests of which Country are found the Animals that produce Musk. His Empire is four Months and four Days Journey in Extent."

"When therefore this great Monarch *Sanigar King of Persia* came to *Elam*, and saw them transporting the Coffin of *Daniel* from one Side of the River to the other, with a great Croud of *Jews* and *Ismaelites* upon the Bridge, he demanded what they were doing, and the Reason of their doing it; and being informed of what has been before related, he decided the Point thus. It is by no means decent, said he, that the Remains of *Daniel* should be treated in this manner; measure therefore to a Place that is at an equal Distance from both Sides, and there let the Coffin of *Daniel* be suspended in a Glass Case, fastened to the Middle of the Bridge by Chains of Iron, and let there be a spacious Edifice built in the same Place in the Form of a Synagogue, open to all People, whether *Jews*, or of other Nations that incline to come thither to say their Prayers*. As a still stronger Mark of his Esteem, that Emperor likewise forbade, by an express Edict, that any Man should take Fish out of the River for one Mile below, and another above, for the Reverence and Honour of *Daniel*."

From hence to *Robad-bar* are three Day's Journey, where dwell twenty thousand *Israelites*, among whom there are very many Disciples of the Wise-men, and also some of them very rich; but these live under the Power and Authority of a strange Prince. In two Day's Journey from thence you come to the River *Vanth*, where are four thousand *Jews*, or thereabouts; but four Day's Journey from the River lieth the Country *Molbat*, the Inhabitants whereof believe not the Doctrine of the *Ismaelites*, but they dwell in very strong Mountains, and they obey an Elder, whose Seat is in the Country *Alcheshin*; and among these there are four Colleges of the *Israelites*, and they go forth to the Wars with them; nor are they subject to the Dominion of the King of *Persia*; but live in high Mountains, from whence descending, they invade the bordering Countries, and drive away Booties, and return again, fearing no Man; but the *Jews*, who dwell among them, are the Disciples of the wise Men, and obey the Head of the Captivity of *Babylon*.

You travel five Day's Journey from hence to *Omaria*, where are five-and-twenty thousand *Israelites*; and it is the Beginning of the Synagogues of the Inhabitants of the Mountains of *Haphien*, which are known to be more than an hundred in Number; and in these Places the Country of *Media* beginneth; and these are of the first Captivity carried away by King *Solomon*; but they speak the *Chaldean* Language, and among them are the Disciples of the wise Men, and the chief City *Omaria*, pertaining to the Kingdom of *Persia*, within one Day's Journey; but they are under the Dominion of the King of *Persia*, to whom they

pay Tribute; and the Tribute appointed in all the Kingdoms of the *Ismaelites*, is for Males above fifteen Years old, one Golden Amir, which is in Value one *Spanish* Morabine Piece of Gold and an half, or half a Crown of our Money.

7. It is now twelve Years since a certain Man named *David Elroi* arose in the City of *Omaria*, who was the Disciple of *Chafsdai*, the Head of the Captivity, and of *Jacob* the honourable Head of the Assembly of *Levi*, in the Metropolitan City of *Bagdat*; he became very learned in the Law of *Moses*, and in the Books of Doctrine, and also in all Wisdom; in the Language of the *Ismaelites*, and in the Books of the Magicians and Inchanters; he therefore took it in his Head that he would raise Arms against the King of *Persia*, and gather together the *Jews* who dwell in the Mountains of *Haphien* would war against the whole World, and go to *Jerusalem* and win it by Assault; and that he might persuade the *Jews* thereto, he shewed them lying and deceitful Signs, affirming that he was sent from God to *Jerusalem*, and to free them from the Yoke of the Nations, so that with many of the *Jews* he procured Credit unto himself, and was owned by them for their Messiah*.

The King of *Persia* hearing the Report of this Insurrection, sent for him to talk with him, to whom he went without any Fear; and it being demanded whether he was the King of the *Jews*, he boldly answered, that he was; and he was thereupon apprehended and cast into the Goal, in which State Prisoners are kept all their Lives. This Prison is in the City *Dabasran*, nigh the great River *Gozan*. After three Days a Council of the Princes and Ministers being called by the King, in which they consulted as to this Insurrection of the *Jews*, *David* was present there, being escaped out of Prison, no Man knowing thereof. When the King saw him, he demanded, *Who hath brought thee hither, or delivered thee out of Prison?* "Mine own Wife," answered he, for I am not afraid of thee, or thy "Servants." Then the King cried out to those about him, *Seize him! lay Hands on him!* To whom the Princes and Servants answered, that his Voice was heard by all, but he was seen by none†.

The King wondering at his Wisdom, was astonished. *David* then cried out aloud, *Lo, I take my Way*; and he began to go before, the King following him, and all the Nobility and their Servants followed the King. When they came to the Bank of the River, *David* spreading abroad his Handkerchief upon the Waters, passed over dry, and at that time was seen of all. They endeavoured to pursue and take him with little Boats, which they attempted in vain; and thence concluded, that no Inchanter in the World might be compared to him. As for *David*, he travelled that Day ten Day's Journey, coming to *Omaria*; through the Virtue of the ineffable Name‡, he declared what had befallen unto him to their great Amazement.

But the King of the *Persians* sending Messengers unto *Bagdat*, informed the Great Khaliff of the *Ismaelites* of this Matter, and requested that he would cause *David Elroi* to be restrained from such Enterprizes, by the Head of the Captivity, and the chief Rulers of the Assemblies, otherwise he threatened total Destruction to all the *Jews* living in the Kingdom of *Persia*. All the Synagogues of the Kingdom of *Persia* falling thereupon into great Fear of the

* This pompous Account of an Emperor commanding over forty-five Kings is very suitable to the Genius of a *Jewish* Traveller; but the Difficulty is to find out who he is of whom all this is said. We read in *Elmacinus* of a Prince of this Name, who was the Son of a King of *Persia*, and flourished about this Time; and therefore it is very probable, that this Decision is to be ascribed to him in the Life-time of his Father, though *Benjamin* seems to attribute it to the *Shah*, or Emperor himself.

† This Circumstance is not in itself very considerable; but in so large a Collection as this, it was necessary to have a Writer so much talked of as our Author, and the Reader cannot think his Time thrown away in acquiring by this Instance the Power of judging of such a Performance; for, as I observed before, the *Jewish* Authors all write alike.

‡ This Story, as extravagant as it seems, is really a Matter of Fact, and as such is recorded by two *Jewish* Historians, viz. *R. Salomo Ben Virga*, *R. David Gans*, who place it in *A.D.* 1135, which, as some Critics have observed, does not agree with the Date assigned by our Author, who says, it happened twelve Years before he was there. This, however, is no great Mistake, even if we should admit that it is our Author's Mistake, tho' for my part I should suppose it as easy for the other Writers to err in this particular. The whole, however, may perhaps be solved, by supposing that *Benjamin* copied the Account that he has given us from some History of this Impostor written twelve Years after this Insurrection. However it be, the Thing is of no great Moment, any more than the Difference between the Name mentioned by our Author, and that of *David El David*, which is used in the other Histories.

§ There are some little Variations in the Manner in which these Facts are told by the other Historians; but they are of no great Consequence, and therefore I shall not trouble the Reader with them, neither should I have mentioned these Writers at all, but to convince the Reader, that this is not a Tale invented by *Benjamin*, as he might otherwise very readily imagine.

¶ Both the *Latin* Translators have mislaid the Sense as to this Name, which the *Jews* call ineffable, because they are persuaded that the true Pronunciation of the Name of God is lost, or unknown; and they pretend, that whoever has the Secret of pronouncing it right, is able thereby to work Miracles. They likewise assert, that by this Means our Saviour wrought his; and though this be a very idle Conceit, yet it is worth the knowing, because it shows plainly, that the *Jews* do not pretend to deny the Matters of Fact, but are grossly to have Recourse to this Fiction, in order to justify their Incredulity.

Matter, sent Letters therefore unto the Heads of the Captivity, and to the Heads of all the Assemblies in *Bagdat* to this Purpose: *Why should we die before your Eyes, as well we as all the Universities subject unto this Kingdom! Refrain this Man, we beseech you, lest innocent Blood be shed.* Therefore the Head of the Captivity, and the chief Rulers of the Assemblies, wrote Letters unto *David El Roi* to the following Effect: *We give you hereby to understand, that the Time of our Delivery is not yet come, and that our Signs, which ought to precede that Deliverance, are not yet seen, and a Man is not made strong through Pride; wherefore we enjoin you to abstain wholly from such Enterprizes and Attempts, otherwise ye shall be excommunicated, and cut off from all Israel.*

They also by Messengers advertized *Zacchai Hanassi*, who was in the Country of *Assur*, and *Joseph*, surnamed the *Ser*, *Burban Alpeleb* living there, that *David Elroi* might be restrained by Letters written from them, which was diligently pursued by them, but all in vain; for he would not forsake that wicked way, but persisted till a certain King of the *Tegarmim* called *Zinaldin*, subject to the King of *Persia*, sent ten thousand Pieces of Gold unto the Father-in-Law of *David Elroi*, and persuaded him to end these Troubles, by privately killing his Son-in-Law, which, when he had undertaken to perform, he thrust *David* through with a Sword in his Bed as he slept; and this was the End of all his Subtily and Delusions*. But even when he was dead, the Anger of the King of *Persia* was not appeased towards those People of the Mountains, and other *Jews* subject to him, and settled in his Dominion; and therefore they desired once more Help from the Head of the Captivity, who going to the King himself, appeased him by mild and wise Speeches; and having presented him with one hundred Talents of Gold, he so mollified him, that there was ever afterwards great Quietness through the whole Country.

8. From these Mountains before described, you travel ten Days Journey to *Hamadan*, the principal City of the Country of *Media*, in which City there are about fifty thousand *Jews*; and in that City over-against one of the Synagogues are the Sepulchres of *Mordecai* and *Ester*. *Dabreshan* is four Days Journey distant from hence, where four thousand *Jews* dwell, nigh unto the River *Gozan*; but from thence you travel seven Days Journey to *Ispahan*, a very great City, the Capital of this Country, and twelve Miles in Compass, wherein there are about twelve thousand *Israelites*, over whom *Shattum* is appointed by the Head of the Captivity, as also over all the rest of the *Israelites* who dwell in the Cities of *Persia*. After four Days Journey you come to *Siapbaz**, the most ancient in this Country, called *Persidis* of old, from whence the Name was given to the whole Province, in which there are almost ten thousand *Jews*.

From *Siapbaz*, in seven Days Journey you come to the City *Ginab*, seated nigh the River *Gozan*, to which there resort Merchants of all Nations and Languages, and where are about eight thousand *Jews*. The farthest City of this Kingdom is the famous *Samarcand*; and five Days Journey from *Ginab*, where are fifty thousand *Israelites*, over whom *Obdias* ruleth; and among them are many wife and rich Men. In four Days Journey from hence you come to *Tibet*, a capital City of the Province of the same Name, in the Forests of which are the Animals found that produce Musk.

9. About twenty-eight Days Journey from thence lie the Mountains of *Nijhor*, which are situated near the River

Gozan; and some of the *Jews* that inhabit *Persia* affirm, that in the Cities of *Nijhor* dwell the four Tribes of *Israel*, carried away in the first Captivity by *Salmansar* the King of the *Assyrians*, viz. *Dan*, *Zebulon*, *Asher*, and *Neftali*; as it is written, *And he carried them away into Letbalah and Haber, the Mountains of Gozan, and the Mountains of Media*. Their Country is extended twenty Days Journey in Length, with many Cities and Castles inhabited, all mountainous, the River *Gozan* running on the one Side; but the Inhabitants are absolutely free, and are ruled by a certain Governor, whose Name was at this Time *Joseph Amaria*, a *Levite*, and among them are the Disciples of *Wife Men*: They sow and reap, and are at War with the Children of *Chus*, who dwell in the Deserts. They are in League with the *Copperball Turks*, Worshippers of the Winds, a People who lead their Lives in the Deserts, neither eat Bread nor drink Wine, but feed on the raw Flesh of Beasts, as well clean as unclean; and these either new killed, and yet trembling with Life-Blood, or dried in the Air, but unboiled. They devour also the Limbs torn from Beasts yet alive. They seem to want Noses; but instead thereof, they have two Holes in their Faces, through which they breathe. They are Friends to the *Israelites*†.

It happened about fifteen Years since, that invading the Country of *Persia* with a great Army, they vanquished the metropolitan City *Rei*; and having made a mighty Slaughter afterwards, utterly wasted it, and spoiled the Houses and Fields, and carried away a prodigious Plunder, returning through the Deserts, a Calamity which for many Ages was never felt in *Persia*. The King of *Persia*, vehemently enraged, said, In the Days of my Ancestors, no Army never came out of this Desert, therefore will I go in Pursuit of them and destroy them from the Earth. He assembled accordingly an Army for War, and seeking some Guide to whom the Places of that Nation were known, a certain Man offered himself, who affirmed, that he was of that Nation, and knew their Dwellings; but being asked what Provision was necessary for the Army, he answered Bread and Water for fifteen Days, which you must spend in passing through the Deserts. When they had marched these fifteen Days, the Army found themselves destitute of Subsistence for Men or Beasts, without seeing any thing of the Place whither they intended to go, or the least Signs of an inhabited Country. The Guide said by way of Excuse, I have lost my Way; and the King thereupon losing all Patience, ordered him to be put to Death, commanding at the same time by Proclamation, that whoever had any Provisions in his Army, should bring them forth, and divide them with his Companions*.

They then eat up all that they had, even to the Beasts that carried their Baggage; and in this distressed Condition they prosecuted their March for thirteen Days more, till at last they arrived at the Mountains of *Nijhor*, inhabited by the *Jews*. The *Persians* encamped themselves among the Gardens and Orchards by the Side of Canals drawn from the River *Gozan*. As it was then the Season of ripe Fruits, they eat what they thought fit, and made free with all they found, no body coming out to oppose them: But at a Distance they discovered among the Mountains several Hamlets, and some Forts, that looked like Places of Strength. The King of *Persia* being informed of all this, sent two of his Servants to discover

* The Authors we have before cited, tell us the same Story as to the Death of this Impostor, but with a Circumstance that *Benjamin* has omitted, which is, that the *Jews* themselves were obliged to raise the Ten thousand Pieces of Gold that were given as a Bribe to the Father-in-Law of *David*, for killing him when he was asleep.

† All the Translators and Commentators on our Author, have been at a Loss to conceive what Place he could mean by this; and yet I think the Difficulty is not quite so great as they represent it; for to me it appears very plain, that this City was *Schiraz*, which answers exactly his Description. As for Confusion in Names, I have already assigned the Cause of it, which was his expressing, in Hebrew Characters, Words that these Characters could not express, and in expressing which Words he was entirely governed by their Sound.

‡ This, without doubt, is a very odd Description of these People; and yet it is not very far wide of the Truth, for modern Travellers assure us, that the *Kalmuk Tartars* have Notes so flat that they are scarce to be distinguished but by the rising of the Nostrils; and as to their Manners, our Author is not much out of the Way. The City he speaks of as ruined by the People, was the great City of *Rey*, which makes such a Figure in all the Eastern Histories; the same that in the Book of *Tobit* is called *Rhages*, and of which we shall give an ample Account in the next Volume.

§ This Expedition is among the Singularities which render these Travels valuable; for I do not know that there is any Account of it to be met with elsewhere; and our Author tells us very honestly how he came by it; neither do I think that the Dexterity with which his Countrymen the *Jews* made their Court to both Parties, is a Circumstance that in the Opinion of such as are acquainted with that Nation, will render it at all improbable.

what Nation it was that had settled in these Mountains, and directed them for this Purpose to pass the River either by Boats, if they found any, or if not, by swimming.

Their Men had not proceeded far in their Journey before they met with a Bridge that was very well built, and had a good Barrier; and on the other Side of the Bridge they saw a very large City: They immediately called out, and the Town's People coming to the Gate, demanded who they were, and to whom they belonged; but as they understood not each others Language, they were forced to wait till an Interpreter was called, who understood the *Persian* Tongue; he having put the same Question, they answered, We are Servants to the King of *Persia*, and we come to know who you are, and who is your Lord. The Townsmen replied, We are *Jews*, and not subject to any King or Prince of the *Gentiles*, but we have a Prince of our own. The *Persians* then informed themselves as to the *Copperal Turks*, and the *Jews* told them, that they were their Allies, and that whoever were their Enemies, they must regard as Enemies to themselves. These two Men returning to the Camp, and having reported to the King what they had discovered, he was very much at a Loss how to proceed. The *Jews* on the next Day collected their Forces, and the Day following offered them Battle.

The King declined fighting, and addressed himself to the *Jewish* Chiefs in the following Words; I do not come to make War against you, but only against the *Copperal Turks* my Enemies: But if you proceed to commit Hostilities against me, I will revenge myself by putting to death all the *Jews* in my Kingdom; for I know, that as Things stand here, you will be too hard for me: But let me advise you to prefer Peace to War: Suffer me to proceed in my Expedition against the *Copperal Turks* my Enemies, and supply me and my Army, for ready Money, with what we want. The *Jews* having considered this Proposition among themselves, resolved, out of regard to their Brethren, to yield to the King of *Persia's* Proposal. The King therefore being admitted with all his Army into their Country, spent fifteen Days there, being honourably entertained among them.

But in the mean time, the *Jews* declared the whole Matter by Messengers and Letters unto their Confederates. The *Turks* thereupon gathering their Forces together, expected the Enemy at the Passage of the Mountains, and in a convenient Place for that Purpose, they attacked, and gave the *Persians* so mighty an Overthrow, that the King's Army being ruined, they compelled him to return into his own Country with a very small Number.

But it happened that a *Jew* of this Province, named *Moses*, being seduced by a certain *Persian* Horseman, followed the King of *Persia*, and when they came into *Persia*, he was made a Slave by the same Horseman. But when at a Time of publick Diversion, they exercised their Bows in the Presence of the King, this *Moses* appeared the most excellent Archer in *Persia*; he was thereupon examined by an Interpreter, and openly declared to the King the manner of his being seduced, and his Condition, whereon he was presently enfranchised, clothed with purple and silk Garments, and enriched with Royal Gifts; and was offered likewise, if he would embrace their Religion, great Riches, and the Government of the King's House; which, when he courteously denied to do, he was placed by the King with *R. Sballom*, the Prince of the Synagogue at *Spaban*, whose Daughter also he married by Consent of the Father. This very *Moses* it was, who told me all that I have related.

10. When I departed out of these Countries, I returned into *Chusehan*, through which the River *Tygris* runs, falling from thence into *Hodu*, or the *Indian-Sea*; and in it,

its Passage thither encompasses the Island *Nekrotis**, near the Mouth thereof, which Island is in Extent six Days Journey. There is in it only one Canal of fresh Water, and they drink no other than what is gathered from the Showers, which is the Reason that Land is neither sowed nor tilled; and yet it is very famous through the Commerce of the *Indians* and *Islands* seated in the *Indian-Sea*, and Merchants of the Country of *Senaar*, *Arabia the Happy*, and *Persia*, bringing thither all sorts of silk and purple Manufactures, Hemp, Cotton, Flax, and *Indian-Cloth*; Wheat, Barley, Miller, and Rice in great Plenty, which they barter and sell among themselves: But the *Indian* Merchants bring also exceeding great Plenty of Spices thither, and the Natives act as Factors and Interpreters; and by this they live: But in that Place there are not above five hundred *Jews*. Sailing thence with a prosperous Wind in ten Days, I was brought to *Katibpha*, where are five thousand *Jews*.

In these Places Pearls are found, made by the wonderful Artifice of Nature; for on the four and twentieth Day of the Month *Nisan*, a certain Dew falleth into the Waters, which being sucked in by the Oysters, they immediately sink to the Bottom of the Sea: Afterwards, about the Middle of the Month of *Tifri*, Men descend to the Bottom of the Sea, and by the Help of Cords, these Men bringing up the Oysters in great Quantities from thence, open and take out of them the Pearls.

In seven Days Journey from thence I came to *Oulam*, which is the Entrance of their Kingdom, who worship the Sun, and are prone to the Study of Astrology, being the Children of *Cbus*. They are Men of a dark Complexion, sincere Tempers, and of very great Fidelity in all Respects. They have among them this Custom, that such as come to them from remote Countries, when received into the Haven, have their Names set down in Writing by three Secretaries, who carry their Lists to the King, and afterwards bring the Merchants themselves, whole Merchandise being received into his Protection, the King directs them to be landed, and left on the Shore, where they remain without any Watch to keep them. There is also a Magistrate, unto whom all Things that are lost, or casually removed, are constantly brought, and of him they are easily received by the Owner, so that certain Tokens be shewed whereby the lost Thing may be made known; and this strict Fidelity, and honest Dealing, is common through all the Kingdom.

In this Country, from *Easter* to the Beginning of the succeeding Year, the Sun shines with outrageous Heat; and therefore, from the third Hour of the Day until the Evening, all Men remain shut up in their Houses. But about that Time Lamps being lighted, and set in Order throughout all the Streets and Markets, they work and exercise their respective Arts and Callings all the Night; for, as I said, they cannot do it in the Day-time, by reason of the exceeding Heat. It is in this Country that Pepper grows upon Trees planted by the Inhabitants in the Fields belonging to every City, and their proper Gardens are particularly assigned and known. The Shrub itself is small, and brings forth a white Seed, which being gathered, is put into Basins steeped in hot Water, and is set forth in the Sun, that it may be dried and hardened, acquiring thereby a black Colour. Cinnamon and Ginger are likewise found there, as well as many other kind of Spices.

The Inhabitants of this Country do not bury their Dead, but having embalmed their Bodies with divers sorts of Drugs and Spices, they place them in Niches, and cover them with Nets set in order according to their several Families; but their Flesh drieth with the Bones, and when grown stiff, they seem as if they were alive, and every one knows their

* There is no Passage in the Travels of Benjamin more perplexed than this Description of the Island of *Nekrotis*, about which all his Commentators are divided in their Sentiments. That which hitherto has been thought most probable, is that he means the Island of *Ormas*, which, without doubt, was once a Place of great Trade, and was always desitute of Water. It is however more credible, that he means the City and Country of *Baffora*, because he places it at the Mouth of the River *Tygris*, makes it the Centre of the *Indian* Commerce, and mentions precisely the Commodities, of which that City was the Staple.

* This Description has also gravaled many of the Commentators. The Word used in the *Hebrew* is *Edulia*; and from the Description there is no sort of doubt, that our Author meant Pearls. The account he has given of their Formation, how wild and extravagant soever it may appear, is however that which is embraced by the most learned of his Countrymen. Their Opinion, in few Words, is this they hold, that at a certain Season of the Year, there is an oily, spirituous, and briny Substance, floats on the Surface of the Sea, which being swallowed by the Oysters, or rather sucked in, as our Author expresses it, turns afterwards to a Pearl. Thus far, without doubt, they have Truth on their Side, that such a Substance is sometimes seen floating on this and other Seas, the Drops of which, at first Sight, resemble liquid Pearl.

Ancestors from many Descents. But as to their Religion, or rather Superstition, they worship the Sun, and have many and great Altars built along the Coast about half a Mile without the City. Early in the Morning therefore they go in Crowds to pay their Devotion to the Sun; to whom upon all the Altars there are Spheres consecrated, made by Magic, resembling the Circle of the Sun; and when the Sun rises, those Orbs seem to be inflamed, and turn round with a great Noise. They have every one a Censer in their Hands, as well Women as Men, and all together offer Incense to the Sun; such and so great is their Folly. But among these People the *Jews*, who are settled, at the most amount to a thousand Families in all; they are of as black a Colour as the Inhabitants themselves, yet are nevertheless good honest Men, and strict Observers of the Commandments of the Law of *Moses*; and are not altogether unskilful in the Books of Doctrine and Customs commonly called the *Talmud*.

From this Country in two and twenty Days I sailed unto the Islands *Ginrag*, the Inhabitants of which worship the Fire, and are called *Doghüm*, among whom twenty-three thousand *Jews* are settled. The *Doghüm* have Priests in every Place to officiate in their Temples; and these Priests are the most skilful Sorcerers and Inchanters in the whole World. Before every Temple there is a large Pit, in which a mighty Fire is lighted every Day, which they call *Albous*, and they make their Children pass through his Fire to purge them, and also cast their Dead into the midst of this Fire to be there burned: Nay, there are some of the Nobility who solemnly devote themselves to be consumed in this Fire alive.

When a Man, who has taken this Resolution, declares such his intended Devotion to his Acquaintance and Kindred, they presently salute him in these Words: Blessed art thou, and it shall be well with thee. On the Day the Vow is to be performed, having first given an Entertainment, he is carried, if rich, on Horse-back; but if he be poor, he is brought on Foot, accompanied with a Multitude of his Friends and others unto the Brink of the Pit, from whence beginning his Career, he leaps into the Fire, at which all his Friends and Kindred rejoice exceedingly, and with all sorts of Musick and Dancing, celebrate the Feast, until he be wholly consumed. But the strangest Part of the Story is to come; for three Days after two of the Chief Priests going unto his House, command the whole Family to prepare for the Reception of their Father, who is coming to visit them the same Day, and declare to them what they are to do on this Occasion: They call to them certain Persons to be Witnesses out of the City, and bring something resembling the Deceased, of whom the Wife and Children demandeth how it fareth with him in the other World, to whom he answers, I came unto my Companions, by whom I am not received until I discharge my Duty to my Friends and Kindred. He then distributes his Goods to his Children, and orders all the Debts to be paid to his Creditors, and whatever is owing to him to be demanded, the Witnesses setting down in Writing all his Instructions, of whom, notwithstanding, he is not seen; and then saying he will go his way again, he vanisheth. By these Arts, (in which there is nothing but Juggling and Collusion) the Priests govern all.

* It appears from this Account, that these People were *Perfians*, neither is there any thing in what he relates that is not very easily reconcilable to the Truth; for all Writers that pretend to give us any Account of the Religion of the ancient *Perfians* agree, that they did not bury their Dead, but left them exposed to the Elements, from this Principle, that the living Man being a Compound of all the Elements, it was but reasonable, after he was dead, that each Element should recover its own.

* This is another *Jewish* Notion agreeable to their Ignorance in those Days, which made them ascribe every thing they did not perfectly understand to Witchcraft. As to these Spheres they were really very wonderful things, being so contrived as to shew the Rising and Setting of the Sun, and the Motions of the heavenly Bodies. They were made and kept by the Magi, who made use of them to strike the Vulgar with Astonishment, and to instruct their Disciples in the science of Astronomy.

* This is pretty evident from the Manner in which *Benjamin* tells this Story, that he suspected the Priests imposed upon the People, as without doubt they did. The Witnesses were *Perfians* in the Confederacy, and the Terror of the Family was probably so great, and their Prejudice so strong, that with tolerable Management this Scene might be carried through, and little or nothing of the Fraud be discovered. Besides, whoever had attempted to disclose the Cheat, would have been considered as an impious Person, and a declared Enemy to the Religion of his Country. It would be no difficult Matter to shew from the Absurdities that have passed upon other Nations the Possibility of transacting an Imposture of this kind, as the intelligent Reader will easily conceive.

* Our Author has added a Story here concerning the Gryphons, so very ridiculous, and of such an Extent, that I could not prevail upon myself to insert it. It is plain enough from his Account, that he does not pretend to have travelled into *China*, but barely to relate what he had heard of it. The Extent of his Travels seems to have been *Cape Comorin*, or some of the Countries near it, from whence he took Shipping for the opposite Coast of *Africa*.

* There is no doubt to be made from what *Benjamin* relates, that he followed the old Opinion, according to which *Erethia* was looked upon as part of the *Indies*; and with regard to what he tells us of the *Jews* being settled in the Mountains there, it is fully justified both by the ancient and modern Accounts of that Country, as is also the following Circumstances in relation to the Passage of Caravans through the Desert, and the Accidents to which they are sometimes subject in passing through them. The Reason to ascribe the Slavery of the Negroes to the Curse pronounced by *Neh* on *Ham* and his Posterity, is very agreeable to the Divinity and Spirit of the *Jews*.

In the Space of forty Days one may travel from hence by Land to the Frontiers of *Tain*, that is, to the Borders of *China*, which is the very Extremity of the East. Some hold that this Country is washed by the *Nigaba*, or congealed Sea, which is liable to prodigious Storms, by which when Mariners are surprized, they are cast frequently into such Straights, that not being able to get out, they are, after expending all their Provisions, miserably starved to Death.

At first Sight there is nothing in this Passage that will seem very extraordinary to the Reader, and yet after a little Reflection it will appear of considerable Use. This congealed Sea is no other than the icy or frozen Sea on the Coast of *Tartary* and *Russia* to the North of *China*, and through which the North-east Passage, so often sought to little Purpose, is supposed to lie. It appears clearly from hence, that before this Time some Attempts had been made on that Side, and that several Ships had been frozen, and their Crews perished; whence the Oriental Name of *Nigaba*, or congealed Sea, which *Benjamin* gives it. It must be confessed, that our Author has a very romantic Way of expressing even the plainest Facts; but at the same time we ought to consider, that this was not only the Vice of all the Writers of his Country, but of the Age in general in which he flourished, so that he is the more excusable; and at the same time the Reader will be so just as to remember, that we do not insert his Travels as the best, but as the only Travels we have in this Period of Time, which must acquiesce in the Judgment of the Impartial from all Objections that might be otherwise made from the Contents of this Performance. But to proceed.

11. It is three Day's Journey to *Gingala*, where there are about a thousand *Israelites*: From thence in seven Days you fall to *Conlan*, where there are none of our Countrymen. It is from thence twelve Day's Journey to *Zahid*, where there are some few *Jews*. It is from thence eight Day's Journey to the *Indies* on the opposite Coast (by which our Author means *Esthopia*). In this Country there are very high Mountains inhabited by Multitudes of *Israelites*, who are not under the Yoke of the *Gentiles*, but have here great Cities, and strong Fortresses. They descend from thence in Parties into the flat Countries of *Abyssinia*, which are under the Dominion of the *Edomites*, (which is the Name the *Jews* bestow upon all *Christians*) where having acquired as much as they can by Plunder, they return with their Booty into the Mountains, where they are absolutely safe from all Pursuits. Many of these *Jews* travel on the score of Commerce into *Perfia* and *Egypt*.

It is from thence to the Land of *Afsan* twenty Day's Journey through the Deserts of *Saba*, which lie on the River *Phisus*, which comes from the County of *Qus*; the Inhabitants of which are subject to a Prince, who is called *Shab-Absch*, i. e. the King of *Abyssinia*. Part of the Inhabitants of this Country live like Beasts, they feed only on the Grass and Herbs that grow along the River-side, are quite naked, and as if their Miseries had deprived them of common Sense, they propagate their kind with their Sisters, and nearest Relations, without the least Shame or Scruple. The Climate of this Country is exceedingly hot. When the People of *Afsan* make their Expeditions into these Parts

for the sake of Plunder, and what they can carry away; they constantly take with them Bread, Rice, dried Raisins, and Figs. These they throw in large Quantities among the half-famished Blacks, whom, while they scramble for them like Dogs, they seize and carry away Prisoners, and sell them in Egypt, and other Countries. These are the Negroes, or Black Slaves, the Posterity of Ham. It is twelve Days Journey from *Affon* to *Chelvan*, in which there are about three hundred Jews.

From *Chelvan* they go in Caravans fifty Days Journey through the Desert called *Al Tschabra*, or *Zaara*, to the Province called *Zulla*, which is *Havalah*, in the Land of *Gana*, i. e. *Guinea*. In these Deserts there are vast Mountains of Sand, which being carried by the Force of violent Tempests, sometimes overwhelm whole Caravans, and bury under them all the Passengers. Such of the Merchants as escape this perilous Journey bring with them from that Country, Iron, Copper, Salt, and all sorts of Fruits and Pulse; and they likewise bring Gold and Precious Stones. This Country is part of the Land of *Chus*, and lies to the West of *Abyssinia*. It is thirteen Days Journey from *Chelvan* to the City of *Kous*, which is the first in the Land of *Egypt*; where there are settled about thirty thousand Jews. At the Distance of five Days Journey is *Pbium*, anciently called *Pithom*. In the Neighbourhood of this City are still to be seen the Ruins of those ancient Structures that were built by our Ancestors during their Captivity in *Egypt*.

12. Four Days Journey from thence stands the great City of *Misraim*, or *Cairo*, situated on the Banks of the River *Nile*, in which there are settled about two thousand Jews, who have in this City two fair Synagogues, one belonging to the Jews of *Palestine* and *Syria*, the other to those of the Country of *Babylon*. These two Sorts of Jews differ only in the Division of the Law into Sections; for the *Babylonians* every Week read one Paracha after the Manner which is common throughout all *Spain*; and therefore once every Year they finish the Law: But the *Israelites* of *Syria* divide every Paracha into three Sedarim, or smaller Sections, and so they read over the Law only once in three Years; and both these after a solemn Manner twice in the Year join in their Prayers together, viz. upon the Day of the rejoicing of the Law, and on the festival Day of the Law given. Over all these *Nasabim* hath the chief Authority, being the greatest of the Nobility, and Head of the Assembly, who rules all the Synagogues in *Egypt*, and appoints Masters and Elders.

He is also the Minister of the great King, who resides in the Palace of *Zaan*, (which is a City of *Egypt*, wherein *Al* the Son of *Abitaleb* was once Commander of the *Faishul*) whose Subjects are stiled *Rebels* by the other *Arabs*, because they refuse Obedience to the *Abissidian* Khaliff, whose Seat is *Bagdat*. There is an irreconcilable Enmity between these Princes: This Monarch appears in publick twice in the Year, viz. at the Time of their Feast of *Easter*, and when the River *Nile* overflows.

The Royal City itself is encompassed and fortified with Walls, but *Misraim* is without Walls, surrounded by the River *Nile* on the one Side. This is a very large City, furnished with many Market-places and publick Buildings; and here are many rich Jews. The Country itself is never troubled with Rain, Ice, or Snow, but is often afflicted with outrageous Heat. It is watered by the *Nile*, which once every Year swelling in the Month *Elul* covers and overflows all the Land for fifteen Days Journey, the Waters continuing to rise in the Months of *Elul* and *Tisri*, and

making the Earth fruitful: And the Policy and Diligence of the old *Egyptians* was such, that in an Island which the River makes here, a Pillar was by them erected of fine Marble and excellent Workmanship, raised twelve Cubits above the Surface of the River. When therefore the Waters overflow and cover that Column, the Inhabitants are fully satisfied that the whole Extent of their Country for fifteen Days Journey is entirely overspread. If the Water rise but half the Height of the Pillar, they gather from thence that their Country is but half watered. There is a Man stands by the Pillar, and every Day at Noon proclaims in all Parts of the City the Height of the Water in this Form, *Be thankful to God, the River is risen so many Cubits*.

If the Water rises to the Top of the Column, it is a Sign that the Year will be fertile throughout all *Egypt*. At this Season whoever has any Land, hires Workmen to cut a Trench through his Ground, into which as the Water rises, the Fish are carried, and are left therein; when the River sinks then the Owners of the Lands take them out, and either spend them in their Families, or sell them to such as salt and export them. These Fish are exceedingly large and fat, and the very best People in the Country make use of the Oil drawn from them to burn in their Lamps. If it falls out, as it frequently does, that People eat too much of these Fish, they have nothing more to do than to drink largely of the Water of the *Nile*, which immediately removes that Inconvenience. It has been an old Question, and a great Diversity of Opinions there has been concerning the overflowing of the *Nile*, but the *Egyptians* suppose, that at the Time when this River overflows, heavy Rains fall in the higher Countries, that is in the Land of *Hababs*, which we call *Havila*; at the Time the River does not overflow, nothing is sown in *Egypt*, and hereupon Sterility and Famine follow.

But usually the Fields are sowed in the Month of *September*, the *Nile* being then retired into its Channel; but Barley is reaped in the Month of *February*, and Wheat the next Month after; and in the same Month Cherries are ripe, as are also Almonds and Cucumbers, Gourds, Peasecocks and Beans, Lentils, &c. and divers kinds of Pot-Herbs, as Purslain, Asparagus and Lettice, Corianders, Succory, Coleworts and Grapes; but the Gardens and Orchards throughout *Egypt* are watered, and Trenches filled with the Waters of the River.

This great River after passing through the City *Misraim* or *Cairo*, is divided into four Heads, one whereof runneth by *Damiata*, sometime called *Capbtor*, nigh unto which it falleth into the Sea. The second runneth down into the City *Rasir*, not far from *Alexandria*, and there dischargeth itself into the Sea. The third passeth by *Ammon*, a very great City on the Borders of *Egypt*, nigh which Heads of the River many Cities, Castles and Towns are seated on either Side, and People may travel to them all either by Boat or Land. No Country in the whole World can be compared to this for the Multitude of Inhabitants, and all the Country of *Egypt* is plain, fruitful, and well stored with good Things. *Old Misraim* is two Leagues distant from the *New Misraim*, but it is wasted and desolate: Yet there are many Ruins of the Walls and Houses, and not a few Monuments there of the Treasures and Store-houses of *Joseph* yet to be seen. In the same Place there is an artificial Pillar built by Art Magic, like which there is none in all the Land. Without the Compass of the City stands a Synagogue, which bears the Name of *Moses* our Teacher, of ancient Date; to preserve the Ruins that yet remain, a certain

* There is not a Passage in all our Author's Work which has been more contested than this with regard to the Khaliff then reigning in *Egypt*; and some have gone so far as to produce it as a direct Proof of his never having travelled at all: But I cannot help saying, that though the Critics have a Right to amend what is amiss in the Copies of any Author which they publish, yet I cannot conceive they have any Authority at all to impose their own Sense upon a Passage, and then produce it to the Prejudice of the Author, whose Credit they would destroy. We shall then hereafter, that in the present Case, there is no Ground for such a Suggestion; but that what our Author has delivered may be well reconciled to the Current of History, without any Alteration whatever.

* In the subsequent Part of this Work, we shall have more than once Occasion to mention most of the Circumstances that our Author hath recorded, and to compare the Reports of later Travellers with his. The Reason of this Note is, to take Notice of a Particular which our Author has omitted, and which however the Reader may be glad to know. It is this, *The Nile* is of so great Consequence to the *Egyptians*, that they have always had a very superstitious Regard to it, inasmuch that they fancied the rise and fall of this River, not only portended the Fertility or Scarceness of the succeeding Year, but likewise great Revolutions of State. It is certain that it did not overflow in the tenth Year of the Reign of *Cleopatra*, which might seem to predict the Conquest of that Country by the *Romans*, that soon after followed; but then the same Accident happened in the Time of *Trojan*, when nothing remarkable followed it. Besides, we read of no Scarcity in *Egypt* before the Conquest of it by the *Arabs*, or the Destruction of the Khaliffs of the Family of *Ali*, which was brought about by *Saladin*; so that this ought to be considered as an absurd and ridiculous Opinion, as most of these Notions are.

old Minister, a Disciple of the wise Men is there maintained, who from his Office is siled *Sebech Abounizar*, or *The Father of the Watch*. The Ruins of Old Misraim take up a Space of about three Miles.

13. The Land of *Gessen* is no more than eight Leagues from hence, and therein stands *Besir Salbis*, a great City, in which there are three thousand Jews. From hence you travel half a Day's Journey to *Ishael Lein Al Sames*, which was anciently called *Ramefes*, where now are only the Ruins of a City, in which many Works are seen built by our Fathers, and among these certain huge Edifices like Towers made of Brick. From thence you make one whole Day's Journey to *Al-Bug*, where are two hundred Jews, and from hence in half a Day's Journey you come to *Manzipba*, where are two hundred Jews, from which City *Ramira* is four Leagues distant, and in it there are seven hundred Jews, from whence it is five Days Journey to *Lambbala*, where are five hundred *Israelites*.

Two Days Journey more bring you to *Alexandria*, a City called after the Name of *Alexander the Macedonian*, at whose Command we read it was built and strongly fortified, and adorned with Walls admirably finished, Houses uniformly built, and stately Palaces: Without the City a great and beautiful Building is yet to be seen, which is reported to have been the College of *Aristotle*, the Master of *Alexander*, wherein there are almost twenty Schools, which were frequented in former Times by the learned Men of the whole World, who assembled there to learn the Philosophy of *Aristotle*; and his Academy had stately Portico's of Marble Pillars*. The City itself is excellently built, as well from the Pavement of the Ground, as with Vaults and Arches under Ground, through the hidden Passages whereof Men may come into the Market-places and not be seen; of which some are a whole Mile in length, as from the Gate *Rosid* unto the Gate leading to the Sea, from which Gate a Way was made and paved unto the very Haven of the City of *Alexandria*, which is extended one Mile within the Sea.

In this Place a very high Tower was built, which the Inhabitants call *Hemgarah*, but the *Arabians* Magar *Alexandria*, that is, the *Pbars* of *Alexandria*; on the Top of which Tower it is reported that *Alexander* set a curious Mirror, in which all warlike Ships sailing either out of *Gracia* or from the West unto *Egypt*, might be seen above the Space of five hundred Leagues off†. This continued for a long Time after the Death of *Alexander*. It fell out however that a Ship coming hither under the Command of a certain Greek Captain, who had a great Knowledge in the Sciences, came and cast Anchor in that Port, and having made Presents to the King of Gold, Silver, and very rich Silks, he thereby obtained his Favour. While he lay in the Port, he took Abundance of Pains to ingratiate himself with the Officer, who had the Charge of this Watch-Tower and Mirror, and having frequently entertained him on Board his Ship, contracted with him at last such an Intimacy, that he was permitted to go into and stay in the Tower as long as he thought fit. One Day having feasted the Captain and his Men very magnificently, he dosed them at last so plentifully with strong Wine, that they all fell fast asleep. Having thus carried his Point, the Captain and his Crew first broke the Mirror to Pieces, and then weighed Anchor and sailed away in the Night.

Since that Time the *Edomites*, i. e. the Christians, have infested the Coasts of *Egypt* with their Ships of War and Privateers, and have deprived the Sovereigns of this Country of the two great Islands of *Crete* and *Cyprus*, which remain at this Day under the Power of the *Greeks*,

from whom the present Possessors of *Egypt* have not been able to recover them. This Watch-Tower is still used as a Beacon for the Service of such Ships as are bound to *Alexandria*; for they are able to discern it at the Distance of one hundred Miles by Day or Night, in Consequence of a vast Fire which is kept continually burning therein for that Purpose.

This Country enjoys a large Share of Trade, and is frequented by almost all Nations for the sake of Commerce. The Port of *Alexandria* swarms with Vessels from all Parts of *Idumea*, i. e. *Christendom*, viz. from *Valencia*, *Tuscany*, *Lombardy*, *Apulia*, *Malta* and *Sicily*, others come from the most Northern, and some Inland Parts of *Europe*, as from *Cracow*, *Cordova*, *Spain*, *Russia*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *England*, *Flanders*, *Aristi*, *Normandy*, *France*, *Poitou*, *Angiers*, *Gascony*, *Aragon* and *Navarra*. There come also from the Western Empire of the *Ismaelites*, viz. from *Andaluzia*, *Algarve*, *Africa*, and even *Arabia*, besides what come by the Indian Ocean from *Havila* and *Abyssinia*, and the rest of *Ethiopia*, not omitting the *Greeks* and *Turks*. Thither are brought the richest Merchandizes of the *Judies*, and all sorts of Perfumes and Spices which are bought by Christian Merchants.

The City is extremely populous on account of its extensive Trade; and for the greater Conveniency in the carrying on their Dealings, every Nation has its Factory by itself. There is near the Sea-side a Marble Tomb, on which are engraven the Figures of all sorts of Birds and of Beasts, with an Inscription in Characters so old, that none now are able to read them; whence it is believed, with some Colour of Truth, that it belongs to an old King who governed that Country before the Deluge. The Length of this Sepulchre is fifteen, and the Breadth of it six Spans. To conclude, there is in *Alexandria* about three thousand Jews.

14. It is not necessary to give at large the Remainder of our Jew's Travels, and therefore I shall acquaint the Reader in few Words, That having made a Tour from *Damietta* in *Egypt* to Mount *Sinai*, he returned back to the first mentioned Place, and thence sailed to *Misina* in the Island of *Sicily*, from whence he went by Land to *Palermo*, and crossing the Sea to *Italy*, continued his Journey to *Rome* and *Lucca*.

He afterwards crossed the *Alps*, and passed through a great Part of *Germany*, from whence he takes occasion to mention what Multitudes of Jews were settled in the several great Cities of that extensive Empire. He insists at large on their Wealth, their Generosity, and above all, their Hospitality to their distressed Brethren, and gives us a very particular Detail of the Manner in which they receive them. He assures us, that at their Feasts they encourage each other to persist in hoping for the blessed Advent of their Messiah, when the Tribes of *Israel* shall be gathered together, and under his Conduct be led back into their own Land. Until this long expected Time shall come, the *Israelites*, he says, hold it their Duty to persevere in their Obedience to the Law of *Moses*, to lament with Tears the Destruction of *Jerusalem* and *Sion*, to beseech the Almighty to pity them in their Affliction, and to restore them in his appointed Time.

He asserts, that his Countrymen are not only settled in all the Provinces of the Empire, but also through all the Northern Countries to the very Extremity of *Russia*, which he describes as a Country so excessively cold in Winter, that the Inhabitants are not able to stir out of Doors. He tells us next, that the Kingdom of *France*, which, he says, is called by their Rabbins the Land of *Tzorpha*, is likewise

* Our Author had this Notion of the School of *Aristotle* from the *Mohammedans*, so that whether it be wrong or right, he is not answerable for it. But with regard to the Fact it is certain, that it was not *Alexander* but *Ptolemy* that erected this famous School, in which however it is as certain that the Philosophy of *Aristotle* was taught, and in which the most famous of his Commentators flourished.

† It must be confessed that this Fact is absolutely false, since as the Reader has been before informed, the Pharos of *Alexandria* was built by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and not by *Alexander the Great*. As to this Mirror, it is mentioned by some other Writers as well as our *Benjamin*, but it is manifestly a Fable, and a Fable ridiculous in all its Circumstances. It is however of Use sometimes to know such Fables, and therefore I have preserved it.

‡ It is very clear from hence as well as from a Multitude of other Circumstances, that our Author chiefly intended in this Work to celebrate his own Nation, to preserve an Account of the different Places in which they were settled, and to do all in his Power to keep up their Spirits under their Captivity, by putting them in Mind of the coming of the Messiah. I must confess, I consider this in a different Light from most of the Critics, for I do not conceive that a Man's loving his Countrymen ought to prejudice him in the Opinion of his Readers, and though it may possibly beget some Doubts as to the Fidelity of his Relations with regard to the Jews, yet I do not see how this can with Justice be extended to the other Parts of his Book.

full of the Disciples of the wise Men, that is, of the Jewish Doctors, who study the Law Day and Night, and are extremely kind and charitable to their distressed Brethren. He concludes with an earnest Prayer to God, to remember his Promise to the Children of Israel, and to return and assemble them from all Nations, through which in his Wrath he has dispersed them.

In the several Places he mentions, he reckons up in the whole 394687 Jews, from which, if we subtract 740 Caraites, 1000 Samaritans, and 2000 other Schismatics, there will remain 390947, to which, if we add 350000 free Israelites, whom he found in the Kingdoms of Thema and Chabar, they will swell the Account of the Rabbinites he met with in his Travels to 740947, which, when duly considered, will not, perhaps, appear very improbable. Thus we have brought to a Conclusion the Travels of Benjamin de Tudela, which had never appeared so fully as we have given them in the English Language.

15. We have in the Introduction to this Section given so large an Account of our Author, of his Performance, and the Reason of our inserting it, that we have not much to add here. That there may be, and indeed that there are many Mistakes in these Travels, is not to be denied, neither can we help confessing, that the Author was a very credulous Man, and far enough from deserving the high Character bestowed upon him by the Jews, who represent him as a Person skilled in all Sciences, and refer us to this Performance of his as a Proof of it. But granting that he did not merit these Praises, yet there is something surely due to him for the Lights he has communicated to the World. It is from him, as from an impartial Person, that we learn the true State of Affairs at Constantinople within the Compass of this Period, the immense Wealth and Luxury of its Inhabitants, and their extensive Commerce throughout the whole East.

His Travels from that City to Bassora shew plainly, that the Communication was open, since otherwise it would have been impossible for a private Traveller to have proceeded through the whole Kingdom of Persia in the Manner he did. Some Objections have been made to his Account of the Jews settled in the Mountains of Nisbor, which from his Relation appear to have been upon the Borders of the Kingdom of Tibet; yet if we reflect upon what our Arabian Travellers have told us of the Number of Jews settled in the Empire of China before this Time, and remember that the Emperor Heraclius had long before driven them out of all the Greek Empire, we shall see many Reasons to think this Account of his probable enough. It is true, that R. Moses and our Author may be suspected of magnifying these Settlements, and of making this Colony of Jews more considerable than it really was; but that we should regard the whole as a Fiction, I must confess I see no just Grounds. It is very likely, though Benjamin does not say it, that he received from the same Person what he relates of China, and of the icy Sea to the North of that Country, which shews there had been a considerable Commerce carried on that Way, though Benjamin could give but a dark Account of it.

We are indebted to him likewise for a Piece of History, which for any thing I know is not to be met with elsewhere, I mean the Settlement of the Persians, who were the old Persians or Worshippers of Fire, in several Islands of the East-Indies, of which we shall make some Use in another Place. The Account he has given us of Esiopia, and of the Jewish Colonies in that Country, is so consistent with the ancient and modern History of that Empire, that there is not the least Reason to doubt the Truth of it, or of what he says as to the Passage of the Caravans through the Deserts. It is evident from thence, that there was by this Means a large Commerce carried on between this Country and Egypt, in Slaves, Gold, Ivory, and perhaps also in some

Indian Commodities; and it is likewise clear, that there was a great Trade between that Country and the opposite Coast of Arabia. If our Author had travelled as a Merchant, he might very possibly have given us many more curious Particulars on this Subject; but as he did not, we must be content with those he has delivered occasionally, and as they struck him in his Passage.

There are great Exceptions taken at his short Account of the Government of Egypt, when he was in it; and some of his Translators have inclined to give him up in this Particular, though without any great Reason. It is plain enough from the rest of his Work, that he did not set up for a great Politician, or pretend to describe the Constitutions of the States through which he passed, but only to mention in general what he understood of such Matters. It is also certain, that without changing his Words, we may give a clear and satisfactory Account of this Matter, which amounts to no more than this: That the then Masters of Egypt, though they were Mohammedans, were yet treated as Hereticks, or Rebels, on account of their disowning the Khaliff at Bagdat, and that on this Account there was an inveterate Hatred between the Subjects of the Khaliff of Babylon, and the Mohammedans in Egypt, as to which there can be no doubt at all.

The single Difficulty in this Case is our Author's calling the Commander of the Faithful in Egypt Ali the Son of Abitalab; from whence it is inferred, that he makes him the Monarch then reigning, which would have been a most notorious Absurdity. But the Truth of the Matter is, our Author says no such thing: He only mentions Ali the Son of Abitalab as having been once Commander of the Faithful in Egypt; and the Reason of his mentioning it is very plain, viz. in order to account for the Difference between the Mohammedans in Asia and Egypt, and the latter being styled Rebels by the former on account of their taking the Part of this Ali.

But the greatest Difficulties that occur in our Author's Work, some of which, it must be owned, are not to be got over, arise from his using scriptural Names for the Countries and Places through which he passed; and these, according to the Notions of the Rabbins, for want of being thoroughly acquainted with which, it is impossible for any Translator to be perfectly sure as to his Meaning. But if we should be somewhat mistaken in the Names of the several Countries from which Ships came to Alexandria, yet we must be right in the main; and the Reader may rest satisfied from thence, that at the Time of our Author's being there, the Port of Alexandria was the Centre of Commerce between Christendom and the Indies. All the Fables that he relates about the magical Mirror there cannot prejudice this Truth; for though our Author might be, as to be sure he was, a very indifferent Historian, a bad Mathematician, and a credulous Writer, yet he could not be mistaken about Things he saw, or be induced to set down the Names of Nations never heard of at Alexandria. Besides, he is remarkably accurate in this Account; and the List he has given us is more methodical than any other Passage in his Book, which seems to have been owing to his making an Enquiry at Alexandria, as to the several Foreign Lodges or Factories established there.

On the whole, as these Travels plainly demonstrate that it was both possible and practicable for a Person to travel in the midst of the twelfth Century from Spain thro' Italy and Greece into the remote Parts of Asia, and to return from thence through Esiopia and Egypt into Europe, it was requisite; that in a Collection of this kind, such a Performance should not be omitted; and if not omitted, it ought surely to appear in the best Dress we could possibly give it, which must be an Apology to the Reader for our having taken so much Pains therewith, and having dwelt upon it so long.

SECTION XX.

The remarkable Travels of William de Rubruquis a Monk, sent by Louis IX. King of France, commonly filed St. Louis, Ambassador into different Parts of the East, particularly into Tartary and China, A. D. 1253, containing abundance of curious Particulars relating to those Countries.

Written by the Ambassador, and addressed to his Royal Master King Louis.

1. A succinct Account of the Empire of the Tartars, and particularly of the Princes to whom our Author was sent.
2. The Character of Louis IX. of France, and a short History of his Expedition into Syria and Egypt.
3. The Occasion and Design of his Embassy, together with the Character of our Author.
4. His dedicatory Epistle to the King his Master.
5. An Account of his Journey to Constantinople.
6. His Arrival at Soldaia, the first Town in Tartary.
7. An Account of the Habitations of the Tartars.
8. Of their Beds, Idols, and superstitious Ceremonies.
9. Of their Drinking and Merry-makings.
10. Of their Food and Manner of Eating.
11. Of a particular kind of Drink used by them, called Colmos.
12. Of the Animals in their Country, their Rabbits, and their Manner of hunting.
13. Of the Manner in which the Men shave themselves, and of the Ornaments of their Women.
14. Of the Employments of the female Tartars, of their Way of Life, and of their Marriages.
15. The Manner of administering Justice among them, and of the Ceremonies used at their Funerals.
16. The Author resumes the Account of his Voyage, and acquaints us with the Ingratitude and Brutality of the Tartars.
17. Of the Court of Zagatay, and of their Adventures there.
18. Of the Alans, who came to visit them there at the Feast of Whitsuntide.
19. An Account of a Saracen who desired to be baptized, and of certain People that seem to be Lepers.
20. Of the great Hardships and Difficulties they went through in these Travels, and of the Burials of the Comanians.
21. Of the Country in which they found Sartach and his Subjects.
22. Of the Court of Sartach, and of its Splendor and Magnificence.
23. They are ordered to repair to Baatu, the Father of Sartach.
24. The Respect paid by Sartach, Mangu-Khan, and Ken-Khan, to Christians, and of the Rise and Progress of the Tartar Empire.
25. Of the Russians, Hungarians, Alans, and of the Caspian-Sea.
26. Of the Court of Baatu, and of their Reception there.
27. Their Journey from thence to the Court of Mangu-Khan.
28. Of the River Jagag, and of the Countries and People on that Side.
29. Of the Hunger, Thirst, and other Inconveniences by them sustained in this Journey.
30. Of the Death of Ban, and of the Germans settled in that Country.
31. Of the strange Mixture of Religions in this Country, viz. Nestorians, Mohammedans, and Idolaters.
32. Of their Temples, Idols, and of their Manner of worshipping their false Gods.
33. Of several Nations in those Parts, and of those whose Custom it is to devour their Parents.
34. Of what happened to them at Caillac in their Passage from thence to the Country of the Naymans.
35. A Description of that Country, with an Account of the Death of Ken-Khan the Prince, his Consort, and their eldest Son.
36. Their Arrival at the Court of Mangu-Khan.
37. An Account of their meeting there with one Sergius, a Nestorian Monk.
38. A Description of their Audience, and what happened thereat.
39. They meet with a Woman of Lorraine, and a Goldsmith of Paris settled in these Countries.
40. An Account of several other Christians they met with there.
41. Of a grand Feast given by Mangu-Khan, and of the Ceremonies of the Nestorians.
42. Of the Fast observed by those People, and of a grand Procession made to the Palace of the Khan.
43. An Account of a great Cure performed on a Lady by the Monk Sergius.
44. Description of the Country under the Dominion of the Khan, and of the Customs and Manners of his Subjects.
45. Of the second Fast of the Nestorians, which falls out in our Lent.
46. Of a noble Piece of Workmanship performed by the French Goldsmith, and of the Palace of the Khan at Caracurum.
47. Of several religious Ceremonies of the Nestorians.
48. Of the Sickness of the French Goldsmith, and of Jonas the Priest.
49. A Description of the City of Caracurum, and of Mangu-Khan's sending his Brethren to make War against several Nations.
50. How our Author was several Times examined, and of several Conferences and Disputes he had with the Idolaters.
51. Of our Author's being called before the Khan at Whitsontide, and of the Confession of Faith made by the Tartars.
52. Of the Sorcerers and Conjurers in this Country, and of the wicked Lives they lead.
53. The Letters written by the Khan to the King of France, by our Author, and the Resolution taken by his Companion to remain in Tartary.
54. Of our Author's Departure from Caracurum for the Court of Baatu, and from thence for the City of Saray.
55. Of the Road from Saray by the Mountains of Alania, of the Lescies, Derbent, and other Places.
56. The Remainder of their Journey to the River Araxes, the City of Waxnam, the Country of Sahenna, and other Places.
57. Of their Passage over the Euphrates, the Castle of Samuth, the Author's Arrival at Cyprus, Antioch, and Tripoli.
58. His Letter from thence to the King his Master, and other Particulars.
59. Remarks and Observations upon this Section.

IT seems to be a Problem hitherto undiscussed, how it came to pass, that for the Space of so many Ages, the Inhabitants of the northern Parts of the World lay so still and quiet, that History scarce gives us any Account of them; and then of a sudden burst out on all Sides, and over-run, as it were, the greatest Part of the known World. At first Sight it should seem from hence, that these northern Countries were first peopled; for otherwise it may appear difficult to account for their being so much more populous than any of the rest. A little

Attention however, will clear this Point, and shew us plainly, that instead of contradicting, it is the strongest Proof that can be of the World's being originally peopled from the Country of *Chaldea*. For, whoever considers what an immense Tract of Land lies to the North of that original Seat of Mankind, will easily discern the Reason why it required a longer Space to peopple it thoroughly than the rest of the World; and yet, at the same Time, if he reflects on the Accounts given us by ancient Authors, of the Manners of the *Scythians*, he will easily perceive that they

they retained the old Simplicity of living much longer than any other People, and were therefore celebrated by *Homer* and *Hippocrates*, as the justest and most innocent of Mankind. But, in Process of Time, even these vast Countries became over-peopled; and then being pressed by each other, these barbarous Nations, as they were stilled by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, broke out into an Inundation, and swept all before them.

At present our Concern is with those who broke out last; I mean the *Tartars*, who are generally said to have derived their Name from a River so called; but that is a Mistake. The original Name of this numerous Nation was *Turks*, which they derived from *Turk*, the eldest Son of *Japhet*. But *Alaxan-Khan*, one of their ancient Princes, leaving his Dominions to his Sons, which were Twins, the one called *Tatar*, and the other *Mogul*; this gave Rise to the Distinction of those two Nations, which hath ever since prevailed.

The great Conqueror *Jenghiz-Khan*, who in our old Writers is generally called *Zengis*, united both under his Dominion. He was born, *A. D.* 1164, and was raised to the Command of his own small Tribe, at the Age of thirteen. He by Degrees first established his Power in his own Country, then attacked and conquered the northern Parts of *China*, but was never heard of in *Europe* till about the Year 1218, when he entered the *Great Barbaria*; he extended his Conquests afterwards over a great Part of *Asia*, and died in the Year 1227, at the Age of sixty-five, and after having held the Dignity of *Khan* twenty-five Years. His eldest Son *Zuzi* died six Months after him, and was succeeded by his eldest Son *Batu* or *Beatus*, as our Author calls him, who had a great Part of *Tartary* for his Share. *Zagatai*, Son to *Jenghiz-Khan* had that Country which the Ancients call *Transoxiana*, which has been since called *Turkistan*, or the Country of the *Usbeks*; but by the *Tartars* to this Day *Zagatai*, *Tuli*, another Son of this Conqueror, had for his Share *Cassania*, *Persia*, and the *Indies*, and *Olai*, all the rest with the Title of *Khan*. This Prince began his Reign in 1218, and died in 1241. So much as to the State of *Tartary*.

2. The Christian Princes had been very often put upon the Recovery of the *Holy-Land* by the Popes and *Louis IX.* King of *France*, called from thence *St. Louis*, took the Cross, and engaged himself by a Vow, to endeavour the Recovery of the City and Kingdom of *Jerusalem* from the *Infidels*. It was with this View that he embarked at *Marseilles*, August 23d, 1248, accompanied by his Queen and two Brothers. He sailed from thence to the Island of *Cyprus*, where he spent the Winter in preparing for the War. There he received Embassadors from the *Khan* of the *Tartars*, with an Account that he had embraced Christianity, and was disposed to attack the *Infidels* on one Side, while his Majesty carried on the War on the other. This was an Affair of very great Importance to the King of *France*, who treated the Embassadors with great Respect, and promised to send an Embassador, to conclude an Alliance with the Emperor their Master.

He was hindered however in the Prosecution of this Design, by the unlucky Accidents of the War; for having invaded *Egypt* at first with great Success, he was afterwards, in the Year 1250, taken Prisoner in the Battle of *Majorra*, and remained for a long time in the Hands of the *Infidels*, who treated him very ill, but at last let him at *Liberty*, upon his surrendering the City of *Damietta*, and paying them a Ransom of 400,000 *Livres*. This cruel Reverse of Fortune did not hinder the King from pursuing his Design: He passed immediately over into *Syria*, where he put the Affairs of the Christians into as good a Condition as it was possible, and would very probably have accomplished all that he proposed, if the Death of his Mother, whom he had left Regent of *France*, had not obliged him to return home, which he did in the Year 1254, and reigned very gloriously for many Years, and then undertook a second Expedition in the same Cause, of which we shall hereafter give some Account.

3. At present our Business is to observe, that while this Monarch was in *Syria*, and there concerted Measures for reducing the Power of the *Mohammedans*, he made Choice

of our Author *Friar William Rubruquis* for his Embassador to the *Khan* of the *Tartars*, and that for these three Reasons; first, because he had engaged himself, while in *Cyprus*, to send such an Embassy. Secondly, because the Assistance of so powerful a Prince, was a Matter of great Consequence to all *Christendom*. And, thirdly, that he might obtain a distinct and authentic Account of the Policy, Strength, and Interest of a Nation which, in the Space of fifty Years, had obtained an Empire of such an Extent as hitherto the World had never seen.

The Reasons which induced him to make Choice of our Author, were many; but we shall content ourselves with mentioning only a few. His Condition, as a religious Man, made him a fit Minister to a Prince lately converted to the Christian Faith: It dispensed likewise with his having any Train of Attendance with which such an Embassy could not be incumbered; and it put it more into his Power to enquire into all Things that his Master desired to know, than if he had gone with all that Pomp which is usually annexed to a publick Character. But, above all, he depended on the Abilities of the Man, who was looked upon as a Person of admirable Parts, and great Diligence, and whose unaffected Piety and Probity were not to be disputed. After his Return from this Embassy, he compiled this Account, which we now present to the Reader, and sent it to the King. It has been always esteemed the fullest and clearest, as well as the most faithful and exact Description of the *Tartars* that ever was published, and therefore we have given it entire, and in the Author's own Words, together with his Dedication, which follows.

4. To the most Excellent and most Christian Lord Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France; Brother William de Rubruquis, of the Order of Friars Minors, wishes Health, and that he may ever triumph in JESUS CHRIST.

"It is written in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, that the
"wise Man shall pass through Countries inhabited by
"foreign Nations, and that he shall have his Share in all
"Things Good and Evil: I have done all this, Sire,
"and God grant that I have done it as a wise Man,
"and not as a Fool; for many there are which do
"those Things which wise Men do, but not wisely,
"and much I fear that I am of that Number. How-
"ever that Matter may be, you were pleased to com-
"mand me, at the Time of my Departure, that I
"should write to you all I saw, and whatever I could
"discover among the *Tartars*. You were likewise
"pleased to add, that I should not be afraid of writ-
"ing long Letters. I am now about to perform what
"your Majesty then gave me in Charge; yet not with-
"out great Fear and Apprehension that the Simplicities
"of my Thoughts, and the Homeliness of my Style,
"may seem unworthy of being addressed unto your
"Sovereign Majesty."

5. May it please you then, Sire, to understand, that departing from *Constantinople*, on the seventh of May, *A. D.* 1253, we entered into the Sea of *Pontus*, now the *Black-Sea*, which the *Bulgarians* call the *Great-Sea*, and which, as I was informed by Merchants who have long traded there, extends in Length from East to West one thousand Miles; and is, as it were, divided into two Parts. About the Middle there are two Provinces, the one on the South, which is called *Sinople*, from a Fortress and Port of the same Name, which belongs to the Sultan of the *Turks*: The other towards the North, which the western Christians call *Gazaria*, now *Crimea* or *Crim Tartary*; but the *Greeks* who dwell therein *Cassaria*, which I take to be the same as *Casaria*. In this Province there are two Promontories, or Capes, which run out into the Sea towards the South, and the Country of *Sinople*; the Distance may be about three hundred Miles between *Sinople* and *Cassaria*; so that these Points may be about seven hundred Miles from *Constantinople*, as well towards the South as towards the East, in which Quarter lies *Iberia*, which is a Province of the Country of *Georgia* or *Georgiana*.

We came then into the Country of *Gazaria*, which is in the Shape of a Triangle, having on the most Western Point a City called *Kerjova*, where St. *Clement* Bishop of *Ancyra* suffered Martyrdom, and passing in View of this City we had Sight of an Island in which there is a Church said to have been built by Angels. In the Middle, which is also the most Southern Part, stands the City of *Soldaia*, which is directly over-against *Sinople*, to which all the Merchants coming from *Turky* resort in their Passage to Northern Countries, as do likewise such as come from *Russia* with Intent to go to *Turky*.

Their last bring *Ermine* and other rich Furs, the former deal in Cotton, Cloth, Silks of all sorts and Spices. Towards the East Part of this Country stands a City called *Matriga*, at the Mouth of the River *Tanais*, or the great River *Dan*, where it falls into the Sea of *Pontus*, being there about twelve Miles over. This River before it falls into the Sea, makes of itself a kind of Sea, which is near seven hundred Miles in extent, but so shallow, that no Ships of Burthen can sail therein. The Merchants of *Constantinople* however, when they arrive at the City of *Matriga*, lend their Barks up the River *Tanais* to purchase dried Fish, such as Sturgeons, Theofes, Barbies, and many other sorts of Fish. The Province of *Gazaria* beforementioned, has the Sea on three Sides, viz. On the West, where stands the City of *Kerjova*, on the South, where lies the City of *Soldaia*, or *Cassa*, where we landed, and on the East, where is the City of *Matriga*, at the Mouth of the River *Tanais*.

Beyond this Country lies *Zicbia*, that is the Country about *Azoph*, which is not subject to the *Tartars*; to the East of which lies the Countries of the *Suevians* and *Iberians*, which likewise do not pay Obedience to the *Tartars*. Towards the South again stands the City of *Trebizond*, which belongs to its own Prince, whose Name is *Guido*, and he is defended of the Race of the Emperors of *Constantinople*, but is for all that subject to the *Tartars*. The City of *Sinople* stands next belonging to the Sultan of *Turky*, who is at present their Vassal likewise.

Beyond his Dominion lies the Country of *Vassacijs*, the Son of whose King is called *Affar*, after his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, and he is not under their Subjection. All the Country from the Mouth of the *Tanais* Westward as far as the *Danube*, is at present under their Dominion, and even beyond the *Danube* towards *Constantinople*, all *Walachia*, which is also called the Country of *Affanus*, and the *Lesser Bulgaria*, as far as *Solunia*, pays Tribute to them: And besides this Tribute, they have of late Years imposed a new Burthen on the Inhabitants; for they exact from every Family an Aze and a considerable Quantity of Corn.

This Introduction of our Author's is in itself very clear, and by adding the modern Names of Places, it is hoped it will be perfectly intelligible to every Reader.

The Author intended it to explain the Situation and Condition of those Countries at the Time he wrote, which was the more necessary, because great Alterations had been occasioned by the repeated Irruptions of the *Tartars*. In regard therefore to the Situation of Commerce at this Time, as well as the perfect comprehending his Rout to the Camps of the *Tartar* Princes, this explanatory Discourse was very expedient; and as this Writer begins very methodically, so his whole Work is conducted with such Order and Eloquence, as is not usual in the Writers of those Times. His Style is agreeable to his Matter, plain and expressive, without any Flourishes, or the least Desire of heightening the Wonders which he relates: On the contrary, he every where endeavours to avoid heightening Things beyond Credit, and delivers himself with such visible Sincerity, as gives an intrinsic Value to his Work, that no Length of Time can ever take away. This in all Probability was in some Measure owing to his Attention to the Instructions given him by his Master, who was a Prince of great Abilities, had himself travelled into the East, and was consequently a better Judge of these Particulars than most other Princes, either of that or any other Age. It was for the same Reason probably, that our Author thought proper, as the Reader will see, to insert his Account of the *Tartars*, their Habitations, Cus-

toms, Manners, Laws, Government, and whatever else was necessary to give a just Idea of these People, before he proceeds to his Negotiations with them, which is a clear Proof that this Treatise was not composed in a Hurry, or written as Occasion offered while he was actually on his Travels, but after his return out of *Tartary*, when he had Time to recollect himself, to compare and digest the Notes he had taken during his Stay in that Country, and to bring every Thing into its proper Place. So that we have no Occasion to interrupt his Discourse with Remarks or Corrections, but are able to leave his Work as it stands to the Perusal of the ingenious Reader, who will find therein abundant Proofs of what we have here advanced.

6. We arrived, continues he, at *Soldaia* the twenty-first of May, and several Merchants of *Constantinople* who arrived before us, reported that Ambassadors were coming thither from the Holy Land, who were to travel to *Sartack*. I had however publicly given out on *Palm-Sunday*, in the Church of *Santa Sophia*, That I was not your Ambassador or the Ambassador of any other Prince, but that I travelled to those Princes to preach the Gospel to them according to the Rule of our Order; and being arrived, the said Merchants admonished me to be very cautious in what I spoke, because they having reported me to be an Ambassador, if I should say the contrary, I could not have free Passage granted unto me. Then I spoke to the Lieutenants of the Cities, because the Governors themselves were gone to pay Tribute unto *Baia*, and were not as yet returned. "We heard of your Lord *Sartack* in the Holy Land that he was become a Christian, of which the Christians were exceedingly glad, and especially the most Christian King of *France*, who is there now in Pilgrimage, and fighteth against the *Saracens* to redeem the Holy Places out of their Hands. I am determined therefore to go to *Sartack*, and to deliver unto him the Letter of my Lord the King of *France*, wherein he admonisheth him concerning the Welfare of all *Christendom*."

On this they received us with Joy, and gave us Entertainment in the Cathedral Church, the Bishop of which Church had been with *Sartack*, who told me many good Things concerning him, which afterwards I found untrue. They then gave us our Choice, whether we would have Carts and Oxen, or a Number of Horses to transport our Baggage, and the Merchants of *Constantinople* advised me not to take Carts of the Citizens of *Soldaia*, but to buy covered Carts of my own (such as the *Russians* carry their Skins in) and to put all our Baggage into them, because if I should use Horses, I must be constrained at every Rate to take down my Things and to lift them up; and beside that, I should ride a more gentle Pace in the Carts. Wherefore yielding unto their evil Council, I spent in travelling to *Sartack* two Months, which I could have done in one, if I had gone on Horse-back. I brought with me from *Constantinople* pleasant Fruits, *Muskatell* Wine, and delicate Biscuit Bread, to present unto the Governors of *Soldaia*, that I might obtain free Passage, because they look favourable upon no Man who comes with an empty Hand.

All these Things I packed in one of my Carts, and the Governors being absent when we came, I still carried them on, for they told me if I could bring them to *Sartack*, that they would be most acceptable unto him. We took our Journey therefore about the beginning of *June*, with four covered Carts of our own, and with two other which we borrowed of them, wherein we carried our Bedding to rest on in the Night, and they allowed us five Horses to ride upon, there being just five Persons in Company; I, *Friedrich* *Bartholomew* of *Cremona*, and *Gosio* the Bearer of these Presents, the Interpreter, and *Nicolas* my Servant, whom I bought at *Constantinople* with some of the Alms bestowed upon me. They allowed us besides two Men which drove our Carts, and looked after our Oxen and Horses. There are high Promontories on the Sea-shore, from *Kerjova* unto the Mouth of *Tanais*. Also there are forty Castles at *Kerjova* and *Soldaia*, in every one of which almost they use different Languages, amongst whom there were many *Gais* who spoke the *Dutch* Tongue.

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A TARTAR CAMP IN MOTION.

The Tartars have never any fixed or settled Habitations, but move up and down the vast Plains they possess, according to the different Seasons of the Year, travelling Northwards in the Summer, for the sake of fruitful Pasture, and in the Winter, towards the South, to avoid the extremity of the Cold Weather. *See*



THE CEREMONY OF BLESSING THE HORSES.

The Tartars are for nothing more remarkable, than their extraordinary, & indeed extravagant Affection for their Horses, which induces them from their Principle of Indifference to all Religions, to procure this Blessing of their Horses, to be performed, by the Priests of all the Faiths amongst them.

Beyond these Mountains towards the North, there is a most beautiful Wood growing on a plain pleasant Country, full of Springs and Rivulets. Beyond the Wood, there is a mighty Plain five Days Journey, unto the very Extremity of the Province Northward; and there is a narrow Isthmus, a Neck of Land, having the Seas on the East and West Sides, which enter the Land so far, that there is a Canal made from one Sea unto the other. On this Plain before the *Tartars* the *Comanians* inhabited, who compelled the abovementioned Cities and Castles to pay Tribute unto them: But when the *Tartars* came upon them, the Multitude of *Comanians* fled all of them to the Sea-shore, being in such extremest Famine, that they which were alive were constrained to eat up those which were dead, and, as a Merchant reported to me who saw it with his own Eyes, living Men devoured and tore with their Teeth the raw Flesh of the Dead, as Dogs would gnaw Carrion.

Towards the Borders of the said Province there are a great many Lakes, upon the Banks whereof are Salt-Pits, the Water of which so soon as it entereth into the Lake becomes hard Salt like Ice; and out of these Salt-Pits *Baatu* and *Sartach* have great Revenues, for they repair thither out of all *Russia* for Salt, and for each Cart Load they give two Webs of Cotton, amounting to the Value of half an Yperpera. There come also many Ships for Salt, which pay Tribute every one according to their Burthen. The third Day after we were departed out of these Precincts of *Soldatia*, we found the *Tartars*, amongst whom being entered, methought I was come into a new World, whose Life and Manners I will describe unto your Highness as well as I can.

7. They have no settled Habitation, neither know they to Day where they shall lodge to Morrow. They have all *Scythia* to themselves, which stretcheth from the River *Danube*, to the utmost extent of the East. Each of their Captains, according to the Number of his People, knows the Bounds of his Pastures, and where he ought to feed his Cattle Winter and Summer, Spring and Autumn; for in the Winter they remove into warm Regions Southward, and in the Summer they go up into the cold Regions Northward. In Winter when Snow lies upon the Ground, they feed their Cattle in Pastures where there is no Water, because then they use Snow instead of Water. Their Houses in which they sleep, they raise upon a round Foundation of Wickers, artificially wrought and compacted together, the Roof consisting of Wickers also meeting above in one little Roundell, out of which there rises upwards a Neck like a Chimney, which they cover with white Felt, and often they lay Mortar or white Earth upon the Felt with the Powder of Bones, that it may shine and look white: Sometimes also they cover their Houses with black Felt. This Cupola of their House they adorn with Variety of Pictures.

Before the Door they hang a Felt curiously painted over, for they spend all their coloured Felt in painting Vines, Trees, Birds, and Beasts thereupon. These Houses they make so large, that they contain thirty Foot in Breadth; for measuring once the Breadth between the Wheel-ruts of one of their Carts or Wains, I found it to be twenty Feet over, and when the House was upon the Cart, it stretched over the Wheels on each Side five Feet at least. I told two and twenty Oxen in one Draught drawing an House upon a Cart, eleven in one Row according to the Breadth of the Cart, and eleven more on the other Side. The Axle-tree of the Cart was of an huge Bigness, like the Mast of a Ship, and a Fellow stood in the Door of the House upon the Forefall of the Cart driving the Oxen. They likewise make certain four square Baskets of slender Twigs as big as great Chests, and afterwards from one Side to another they frame an hollow Lid or Cover of such like Twigs, and make a Door in it before. Then they cover the said Chest or House with black Felt rubbed over with Tallow or Sheep's Milk, to keep the Rain from soaking through, which they likewise adorn with Painting or white Feathers. Into these Chests they put their whole Household Stuff, or Treasure, and bind them upon other Carts, which are drawn by Camels, that they may pass through Rivers, neither do they ever take down these Chests from their Carts. When they

take down their Dwelling-Houses, they turn the Doors always to the South, and next they place the Carts laden with the Chests here and there within a Stone's Cast of the House, in such manner that the House standeth between two Ranks of Carts, as it were between two Walls.

The Women make themselves most beautiful Carts, which I am not able to describe unto your Majesty but by Pictures only; I would willingly have painted all Things for you, had my Skill been great enough in that Art. A rich *Tartar* hath a hundred or two such Carts with Chests. *Baatu* hath sixteen Wives, every one of which hath one great House, besides other little Houses, which they place behind the great one, being as it were Chambers for their Women to dwell in, and to each of the Houses belong two hundred Carts. When they take their Houses off the Carts, the principal Wife placeth her Court on the West, and so all the rest in Order; so that the last Wife's House is on the East Frontier, and the Court of each Wife is distant from another about a Stone's Cast.

Hence it is, that the Court of a rich *Tartar* will appear like a very large Village, few Men being to be seen therein; one Woman will guide twenty or thirty Carts at once, for their Country is very flat, and they fasten the Carts with Camels or Oxen one behind another; a Wench sits in the foremost Cart driving the Oxen, and all the rest of themselves follow a like Pace: When they come to a Place which is a bad Passage, they loose them and guide them one by one, for they go a slow Pace, and not much faster than an Ox can walk.

8. When they have taken down their Houses from their Carts, and turned the Doors Southward, they place the Bed of the Master of the House at the North Part thereof; the Womens Place is always on the East, that is, on the left Hand of the Master of the House, when sitting upon his Bed with his Face to the South; but the Mens Place is to the West, that is, at the right Hand of their Master. Men, when they enter into the House, never hang their Quivers on the Womens Side. Over the Master's Head there is an Image made of Felt, which they call the Master's Brother, and another over the Head of the Mistress, which they call her Brother, fastened to the Wall, and a Bow between both of them. There is a little lean Idol, which is, as it were, the Guardian of the whole House. The Mistress of the House places at the Feet of her Bed, on the right Hand, the Skin of a Kid, stuffed with Wool, and near that a little Image, looking towards the Apartment of the Woman. Next the Door, on the Womens Side, there is another Image, with a Cow's Udder, which is the Guardian of the Women that milk the Cattle, for that is the constant Employment of their Women. On the other Side of the Door next the Men, is another Image, with the Udder of a Mare, for the Guardian of those who milk the Mares.

When they meet to make merry they sprinkle part of their Drink upon the Image which is over the Master's Head, and afterwards upon the other Images in their Order; then a Servant goes out of the House with a Cup full of Drink, sprinkling it thrice towards the South, and bowing his Knee every time; and this is done in Honour of the Fire. He performs the same Ceremony towards the East in Honour of the Air; and then to the West in Honour of the Water; and lastly, to the North in Behalf of the Dead. When the Master holds a Cup in his Hand to drink, before he tastes he pours a Part of it upon the Ground: If he drinks sitting on Horse-back, he pours out part upon the Neck or Mane of the Horse before he drinks. After the Servant has paid his Reverence to the four Quarters of the World, he returns to the House, and two other Servants stand ready with two Cups, and two Basons, to carry Drink to their Master and his Wife, who sit together upon a Bed. If he has more Wives than one, the with whom he slept the Night before, sits by his Side the next Day, and all his other Wives must that Day resort to her House to drink, and there the Court is for that Day; the Gifts also which are presented that Day are laid up in the Chests of that Wife. One Piece of Ceremony is constant in all Houses, viz. a Bench, on which stands a Vessel of Milk, or of other Drink, and Cups for drinking it.

9. They make in Winter an excellent Drink of Rice, and of Honey, strong, well-tasted, and high coloured, like Wine;

Wine; they have also Wine brought to them from other Countries. In the Summer Time they care not for any Drink but Cosmos. This Liquor stands always at the Entrance of the Door, and next to it a Fidler. I saw there no such Violins as ours; but many other musical Instruments, which are not used with us. When the Master of the House begins to drink, one of his Servants crieth out with a loud Voice, Ha! and the Musician plays upon his Fiddle.

When they make a solemn Feast, they all of them clap their Hands, and dance to the Noise of Musick, the Men before their Master, and the Women before their Mistresses; and when the Master has drunk, then his Servants cry, Ha! as before, and the Fidler stops; then they drink all round both Men and Women, and sometimes they carouse, especially for a Victory, till they are drunk. When they invite a Man to drink, they pull him by the Ears to the Vessel, and so lug and draw him strongly to stretch out his Throat, clapping their Hands, and dancing before him.

When they would do Honour to any Person at their solemn Feasting and Rejoicing, one of the Company takes a full Cup, and two others stand, one on his right Hand, and the other on his left, and so they three come singing to the Man, who is to have the Cup presented him, still singing and dancing before him; and when he stretches his Hand to receive the Cup, they leap suddenly back, returning again as they did before; and so having deluded him three or four Times by drawing back the Cup, until he is eager and very desirous to drink, then they give him the Cup, singing and dancing, and stamping with their Feet, until he hath done drinking.

10. In respect to their Food, give me leave to inform your Highness, that without Difference or Distinction they eat all their Beasts that die of Age or Sickness; and amongst so many Drovers, there must some Cattle die in Summer. However, so long as their Cosmos, that is, their Mares Milk lasts, they care not much for any Food; and if they chance to have an Ox or an Horse die, they dry the Flesh, cutting it into thin Slices, and hanging it up against the Sun and the Wind, it is presently dried without Salt, and without ill Savour or Corruption. They make better Puddings of their Horses than of their Hogs, which they eat as soon as made, the rest of the Flesh they reserve till Winter. They make of their Ox Skins great Bags, which they dry in the Smoak; of the hinder Part of their Horse Hides they make very fine Sandals. They give fifty or an hundred Men the Flesh of one Ram to eat; for they mince it in a Bowl with Salt and Water, having no other Sauce, and then with the Point of a Knife, or little Fork, which resembles such as we use to take roasted Pears and Apples out of Wine, they reach unto every one of the Company a Morcel or two, according to the Number of Guests. The Master of the House, before the Ram's Flesh is distributed, first takes of it what he pleases; if he giveth unto any of the Company a particular Service, the Receiver thereof must eat it alone, and not impart unto any other, or if he is not able to eat it up all, he carries it with him, and delivers it to his Boy, if he be present, to keep it; if not, he puts it up into his Saptarget, that is to say, his Satchel, or Snappack, which they carry about with them for such Purposes, and wherein they lay up their Bones, when they have not time to pick them thoroughly, that they may scrape them at Leisure, and so nothing be lost.

11. Their common Drink Cosmos, which is Mares Milk, is prepared after this Manner; they fasten a long Line to two Posts, standing in the Ground, and to the same Line they tie the young Foals of those Mares which they intend to milk, then come the Mares to stand by the Foals, suffering themselves to be milked; and if any of them be rude, then one takes her Foal and puts it under her, letting it suck a little while, and presently carrying it away again, there comes another Man to milk the Mare. When they have got a good Quantity of this Milk together, while it is new, they pour it into a great Bag, and they beat the Bag with a Piece of Wood made for that Purpose, having a Knot at the lower End like a Man's Head, which is hollow within, and so soon as they beat it, it begins to boil like new Wine, and to be sour, and of a sharp Taste; and they beat it in that manner till Butter comes, then they

taste it, and being indifferently sharp, they drink it, for it bites ones Tongue like the Raspberry Wine. After a Man hath taken a Draught, it leaves a Taste behind it like that of Almond Milk, going down very pleasantly, and intoxicating weak Brains, for it is very heady and powerful.

As for their Caracosmos, that is to say, Black Cosmos, which is for great Lords to drink, they make it thus; first, they beat the Milk so long till the thickest Part thereof descend down to the Bottom like the Lees of White Wine, and that which is thin and pure remains above like Whey, or White Must, the Lees and Dregs being very white, are given to Servants, and will make them sleep exceedingly. That which is thin and clear their Masters drink; and indeed it is a wonderful sweet and wholesome Liquor. *Bastu* hath thirty Farms within a Days Journey of his abiding Place, every one of which serves him daily with Caracosmos of an hundred Mares Milk, and so all of them together every Day with the Milk of three thousand Mares, besides white Milk, which the rest of his Subjects bring: For, as the Husbandmen of Syria pay the third Part of their Fruits, and carry it unto the Courts of their Lords, so do they their Mares Milk every third Day.

Out of their Cows Milk they first churn Butter, boiling which Butter unto a perfect Decoction, they put it into Rams Skins, which they reserve for that Purpose; neither do they salt their Butter, and yet by this boiling it never putrifies, and they keep it for Winter; the Churn Milk, which remains of the Butter, they let alone till it be as four as possible; then they boil it, and in boiling it is turned all into Curds, which Curds they dry in the Sun, making them as hard as the Drofs of Iron; and this kind of Food also they preserve in Satchels against Winter. In that Season when Milk fails them, they put the Curds beforementioned, which they call Gray-ut into a Bladder, and pouring hot Water upon them, they beat it till they have dissolved them, and it is thereby made exceeding four; and this they drink instead of Milk, for it seems a Rule with them never to drink fair Water by itself.

12. The great Lords of this Nation have all of them Farms in the South Part of their Country, from whence their Tenants bring them Millet and Meal against Winter. The poorer sort provide themselves with such Necessaries, by the Exchange of Rams, and other Beast Skins. As for their Slaves, they are forced to be content with Water, and that thick and bad enough. The only sort of Animals from which I have known them abstain, are Mice and Rats. There is, however, a little Animal which they call Segur, which in the Winter Time lie and sleep twenty or thirty of them together in Caves for six Months, where the *Tartars* find them out, and esteem them excellent eating; and indeed they are very tender and fat. They have likewise great Plenty of a sort of Rabbits with long Tails, the outside Hair of which is black and white; other small Creatures they have, on which they freely feed. I saw no Deer there, and but a few Hares, but a great Number of Roers.

I saw wild Asses in great Abundance, which are like Mules: I saw also another kind of Beast called Atack, resembling, in its Body, a Ram with crooked Horns, and are of such Bigness, that I could scarce lift up a Pair of them with one Hand; and of these Horns they make drinking Cups. They have Falcons, and other Hawks in great Numbers, which they carry upon their right Hands, and they put always about their Falcon's Necks a String of Leather, which hangs down to the midst of their Gorges; by which String, when they cast them off the Felt at the Game with the left Hand, they bow the Heads and Breasts of the Hawks to prevent their being tossed up and down in the Wind, or their soaring too high. Being expert in this Art, they gain a great Part of their Provision by Hunting and Hawking. In regard to their Attire, it may please your Majesty to know, that out of *Cataya*, and other Regions of the East, out of *Persia* also, and other Countries to the South, are brought to them Manufactures of Silks, Cloth of Gold, and Cotton Cloth, which they wear in time of Summer; but out of *Russia*, *Mosell*, *Bulgaria*, *Hungaria*, and out of *Kersis*, all which are Northern Regions, and full of Woods, and also out of many other Countries of the North, which are subject unto them, the Inhabitants bring them

them many rich and costly Skins of divers sorts, such as I never saw, wherewith they are clothed in Winter, and against which Season they make themselves two Gowns, one with the Fur inward to their Skin, and another with the Fur outward, to defend them from Wind and Snow, which for the most part are made of Wolves Skins, or Foxes Skins.

When they sit in the House they have a finer Gown to wear: The poorer sort make their Gowns of Dogs or of Cats Skins. When they go to hunt wild Beasts they meet in a great Company, and surrounding the Place where they are sure to find Game, by little and little they approach on all Sides, till they have got all the wild Beasts into the midst in a Circle, and then they discharge their Arrows at them. They make themselves Breeches of Skins. The rich *Tartars* sometimes fur their Gowns with Silk Shag, which is exceeding soft, light, and warm: The poorer sort line their Cloaths with Cotton, or Cloth, which is made of the finest Wool they can pick out; and of the coarser Part of the Wool they make Felt to cover their Houses, and their Chests, and for their Bedding; also of the same Wool, being mixed with One-third Part of Horse-hair, they make all their Cordage. They make of this Felt likewise Covering for their Stools, and Caps to defend their Heads from the Weather; for all which they spend a great Quantity of their Wool.

13. The Men shave a four-square Spot upon the Crowns of their Heads, and from the two Corners, they shave, as it were, two Seams down to their Temples. They shave also their Temples, and the hinder Part of their Head, to the Nape of the Neck. They likewise shave the Fore-part down to their Foreheads, and upon their Foreheads they leave a Lock of Hair, reaching down to their Eyebrows; on the two hinder Corners of their Heads they have two Locks also, which they twine and braid into Knots, and so bind and knit them one under each Ear. The Garments of their Women differ not from the Mens, except that they are somewhat longer. But the Day after a Woman is married she shaves from the midst of her Head down to her Forehead, and wears a wide Garment like the Veil of a Nun; but larger and longer in all Parts than a Nun's Veil, being open before, and they girt them under the right Side. The *Tartars* differ from the *Turks*, because the *Turks* fasten their Garments to their Bodies on the left Side; but the *Tartars* always on the right Side.

They have always an Ornament for their Heads, which they call *Botta*, which is made of the Bark of a Tree, or of some such Substance as they can find, which by the Thickness and Roundness thereof, cannot be held but in both Hands together; and it hath a square sharp Spire rising from the Top thereof, being almost two Foot in Length, and shaped like a Pinacle. This *Botta* they cover all over with a Piece of rich Silk, and it is hollow within; and upon the midst of this same Spire they place a Bunch of Quills, or slender Canes, a Foot and a half long, or more, and the Bunch on the Top thereof they beautify with Peacocks Feathers; and round about they stick the Feathers of a Mallard's Tail, and adorn it with precious Stones. Also great Ladies wear this kind of Ornament upon their Heads, binding it strongly to a kind of Hat, or Coif, which hath a Hole in the Crown, fit for the Spire to come through; and under this Ornament they comb the Hair of their Heads, which they gather up round together, from the hinder Part thereof to the Crown, and so lap them up in a Knot or Bundle within the *Botta*, which afterwards they bind strongly under their Throats.

It is on this Account, that when a great Company of such Ladies ride together, and are seen at a Distance, they look like Soldiers with Helmets on their Heads, carrying their Lances upright, for the *Botta* appears like an Helmet with a Lance over it. All their Women sit on Horseback like Men, and they bind their Veils or Gowns about their Waists with a Sky-coloured or Silk Scarf, and with another Scarf they gird it about their Breasts; and they also bind a Piece of white Silk like a Muffler, or Mask, under their Eyes, reaching down to their Breasts. These Ladies are, generally speaking, exceeding fat; and the less they are, the handsomer they are esteemed. They daub over their Face with Grease too most frightfully, and they

never keep their Beds on account of their bringing forth Children.

14. As to the Employments of their Women, they drive Carts, lay their Houses upon Carts, and take them down again, milk Cattle, make Butter and Griat, dress Skins, and sew them, which they usually do with Thread made of Sinews; for they divide Sinews into slender Threads, and then twine them into one large one. They make Sandals and Socks, and other kind of Apparel; but they never wash any Cloaths, for they say that God is then angry, and that dreadful Thunder will ensue, if washed Garments be hung out to dry. Nay, they beat such as wash, and take their Garments from them. They are wonderfully afraid of Thunder; for in the Time of Thunder they force all Strangers out of their Houses, and then wrapping themselves in black Felt, lie hid therein till the Thunder be over. They never wash their Dishes, or Bowls; yet when the Flesh is boiled they wash their Platter, wherein it must be put, with scalding hot Broth out of the Pot, and then pour the Broth into the Pot again. They make Felt also, and cover the Houses therewith.

The Duties of the Men are to make Bows and Arrows, Stirrups, Bridles and Saddles, to build Houses and Carts, to keep Horses, to milk Mares, to churn Cosmos and Mares Milk, and to make Bags to put it in; they keep Camels also, and lay Burthens upon them. As for Sheep and Goats, they mind and milk them, both Men and Women. With Sheeps Milk thickened and salted they dress and tan their Hides. When they wash their Hands and their Heads they fill their Mouths full of Water, and spouting it into their Hands by little and little, they sprinkle their Hair, and wash their Heads therewith. As to their Marriages, your Highness is to understand, that no Man can have a Wife among them till he hath bought her; therefore sometimes their Maids are very stale before they are married, for their Parents always keep them till they can sell them. They abstain from the first and second Degrees of Consanguinity inviolably as we do; but they have no Regard to the Degrees of Affinity, for they will marry together, or by Succession, two Sisters, or their Widows never marry a second time, for this Reason, because they believe that all who have served them in this Life, shall do them Service also in the Life to come. Whereupon they are persuaded, that every Widow after Death shall return to her own Husband; and hence arises an abominable and filthy Custom amongst them, namely, that the Son marrieth sometimes all his Father's Wives, except his own Mother; for the Court, or House of the Father or Mother, falleth by Inheritance always to the youngest Son, whereupon he is to provide for all his Father's Wives, because they are part of his Inheritance, as well as his Father's Possessions; and then, if he will, he useth them for his own Wives, for he thinks it no Injury or Disparagement to himself, tho' they return unto his Father after Death. Therefore when any Man hath bargained with another for a Maid, the Father of the Damel makes him a Feast; in the mean time she flies away some of her Kinsfolks to hide herself. Then her Father says to the Bridegroom, my Daughter is yours, take her wherefoever you can find her. Then he and his Friends seek her till they find her, and having found her, he takes her by Force, and carries her to his own House.

15. In regard to their Laws, or their Execution of Justice, your Majesty is to be advertised, that when two Men fight, no third Man dare intrude himself to part them: The Father dare not help his own Son; but he that happens to have the worst, must appeal to the Court of his Lord, and whoever else offereth him any Violence after Appeal, is put to death; but he must be taken presently without Delay. They punish no Man with Death, unless he be taken in the Commission of the Fact, or else confess the same: But being accused, they put him to extreme Torture to make him confess the Truth. They punish Murder with Death, and even Fornication with any other besides his own Women. By his own, I mean his Wife or his Maid-Servant; for every Man may use his Slave as he pleases. Heinous Theft also, or Felony, they punish with Death. For a light Theft, as for stealing of a Ram, the Criminal not apprehended in the Fact, but otherwise de-

tested, is cruelly beaten; and if the Executioner lays on an hundred Strokes, he must have an hundred Rods, for such as are beaten upon Sentence given in Court. Frauds likewise of every kind they punish with Death. Sacrilegious Persons they use in like manner, (of which kind of Malefactors your Majesty shall be more fully informed hereafter) because they esteem such to be Witches. When a Man dies they lament and howl most pitifully over him, and the Mourners are free from paying any Tribute for one whole Year after: Also whoever is present in the House, where one of Man's Estate lies dead, he must not enter into the Court of *Mangu-Khan*, till one whole Year be expired. If it was a Child deceased, he must not enter into the Court till the next Month after. Near the Grave of the Party deceased, they always leave one Cottage. If any of their Nobles, being of the Stock of *Zingis*, their first Lord dies, the Place of his Burial is not known. About these Places where they inter their Nobles, there is a Family left to keep the Sepulchre: I could not learn that they used to hide Treasures in the Graves of their Dead.

The *Comanians* build a stately Tomb over their Dead, and erect the Image of the dead Man thereupon, with his Face towards the East, holding a Drinking-cup in his Hand before his Navel. They erect also upon the Monument of rich Men Pyramids; and in some Places I saw high Towers made of Brick; in other Places Pyramids made of Stone, though there are no Stones to be found thereabouts. I saw one newly buried, in Honour of whom they hung up sixteen Horse-hides unto each Quarter of the World, four between certain high Posts; and they set beside his Grave *Cosmos* for him to drink, and Flesh to eat; and yet they said that he was baptized. We beheld other kind of Sepulchres also toward the East, viz. large Floors of Pavements, made of Stones, some round and some square, and then four long Stones pitched upright about the Pavement towards the four Corners of the World. When any Man is sick, he lieth in his Bed and causeth a Sign to be set up on his House, to signify that there lies a sick Person, that no Man may enter into the House; for none are admitted there to sick Persons but a Servant only. When any one is sick in their great Courts, they appoint Watchmen to stand round about the Court, who will not suffer any Person to enter the Precincts thereof; for such is their Superstition, that they are afraid that evil Spirits or Witches should come together with the Parties that enter in.

16. On my Arrival among these barbarous People, I thought, as I before observed, that I was come into a new World, for they came flocking about us on Horse-back, after they had made us wait for them in the Shade under the Black Carts. The first Question they asked was, whether we had ever been with them heretofore or not: And on our answering that we had not, they began impudently to beg our Victuals from us: We gave them some of our Biscuit and Wine, which we had brought with us from the Town of *Seldaiia*; and having drank off one Flaggon of our Wine, they demanded another, telling us, that a Man does not go into the House with one Foot; we gave them no more however, excusing ourselves that we had but little. Then they asked us whence we came, and whither we were bound; I answered them in these Words; that we had heard concerning their Prince *Sartach*, that he was become a Christian, and that unto him our Determination was to travel, having your Majesty's Letters to deliver unto him. They were very inquisitive to know whether I came of mine own Accord, or whether I was sent. I answered, that no Man compelled me to come, neither had I come unless I had been willing; and that therefore I was come according to my own Will, and to the Will of my Superior. I took the utmost Care never to say that I was your Majesty's Ambassador. Then they asked what I had in my Carts, whether it were Gold, Silver, or rich Garments to carry to *Sartach*. I answered, that *Sartach* should see what we had brought when we were come unto him, that they had nothing to do to ask such Questions; but rather ought to conduct me unto their Captain, and that he, if he thought proper, should cause me to be directed to *Sartach*, if not, that I would return; for there was in the same Province one of *Baatur's*

Kinmen, called *Zagatai*, to whom the Emperor of *Constantinople* had written Letters to suffer me to pass through his Territories.

With this Answer of ours, they were satisfied, giving us Horses and Oxen, and two Men to conduct us. But before they would allow us those Necessaries, they made us wait a long while, begging our Bread for their Brats, wondering at all Things they saw about our Servants, as their Knives, Gloves, Purfes, and Points, and desiring to have them. I excused myself, saying, we had a long Way to travel, and that we could not deprive ourselves of Things necessary to finish so long a Journey. Then they said I was a niggardly Scoundrel. It is true, they took nothing by Force from me, but they will beg all they see very importunately; and if a Man bestows any thing upon them it is but lost, for they are thankless Wretches. They esteem themselves Lords, and think that nothing should be denied them by any Man: If a Man gives them nothing, and afterwards stands in Need of their Service, they will do nothing for him. They gave us of their Cons milk to drink after the Butter was churned out of it, which was very sour, which they call *Afram*; so we departed from them: And indeed it seemed to me that we were escaped out of the Hands of Devils. The next Day we were introduced to their Captain. From the Time when we departed from *Seldaiia*, till we arrived at the Court of *Sartach*, which was the Space of two Months, we never lay in House or Tent, but always under the Canopy of Heaven, and in the open Air, or under our Carts; neither saw we any Village, or heard of any Building where any Village had been; but the Graves of the *Comanians* we saw in great abundance. The same Evening our Guide, which had conducted us, gave us some *Cosmos*: After I had drank thereof, I sweated extremely, which was owing, I believe, to the Novelty of it, because I never drank of it before; notwithstanding I thought it was very pleasant and well tasted.

17. We met the Day following with the Carts of *Zagatai*, laden with Houses; and I really thought that a great City came to meet me. I wondered at the Multitude of Drovers of Oxen, and Horses, and Drovers of Sheep; I could see but a few Men that guided all these: Upon which I enquired how many Men he had under him, and they told me that he had not above five hundred in all, and that the one half of this Number were paid, as they lay in another Lodging. Then the servant which was our Guide, told me that I must present somewhat to *Zagatai*; and so he caused us to stay, going themselves before to give Notice of our coming. By this Time it was past Three, and they unladed their Houses near a River; and there came unto us his Interpreter, who being informed by us that we were never there before, demanded some of our Victuals, and we granted his Request. He also required of us some Garment, for a Reward, because he was to interpret our Message to his Master: We excused ourselves as well as we could. Then he asked us what we would present to his Lord, and we took a Flaggon of Wine, and filled a Basket with Biscuit, and a Silver with Apples, and other Fruits; but he was not contented therewith, because we brought him not some rich Garment.

We were, however, admitted into his Presence with Fear and Bashfulness. He sat upon his Bed holding a musical Instrument in his Hand, and his Wife sat by him, who, in my Opinion, had cut and pared her Nose between the Eyes, that she might seem to be more flat-nosed; for she had left herself no Nose at all in that Place, having anointed the very Scar with black Ointment, as she also did her Eye-brows; which Sight seemed to us most ugly. Then I repeated to him the same Words which I had spoken in other Places; for we were directed in this Circumstance by some that had been amongst the *Tartars*, that we should never vary in our Tale. I besought him that he would vouchsafe to accept this small Gift at our Hands, excusing myself that I was a Monk, and that it was against our Profession to possess Gold, Silver, or precious Garments, and therefore that I had not any such Thing to give him, unless he would receive some Part of our Victuals instead of a Blessing. He caused thereupon our

Present to be received, and immediately distributed the same amongst his Men, who were met together for that Purpose, to drink and make merry. I delivered also to him the Emperor of *Constantinople's* Letters, eight Days after the Feast of Ascension, and he sent them to *Soldata* to have them interpreted there; for they were written in Greek, and he had none about him that was skilled in the Greek Tongue.

He asked us if we would drink any *Cosmos*, that is to say *Mare's* Milk, for those that are Christians among them, as the *Russians*, *Grecians*, and *Alans*, who keep their own Law very strictly, will not drink thereof, for they account themselves no Christians after they have once drank of it, and their Priests reconcile them unto the Church as if they had renounced the Christian Faith. I answered, that we had as yet sufficient of our own to drink, and that when it failed us we must be constrained to drink such as should be given us: He enquired also what was contained in the Letters which your Majesty sent to *Sariach*. I answered, that they were sealed up, and that there was nothing contained in them but friendly Words. And he asked what Words we would deliver unto *Sariach*? I answered, the Words of Christian Faith. He asked again what those Words were? For he was very desirous to hear them. Then I expounded unto him as well as I could by my Interpreter, who was a very forry one, the Apostle's Creed, which after he had heard he shook his Head. Then he assigned us two Men to attend upon us, and our Horses and our Oxen, and he caused us to ride in his Company, till the Messenger he had sent for the Translation of the Emperor's Letters arrived; so we travelled in his Company till the Day after *Whitsunday*.

18. There came to us on *Whitsun-Eve*, some of the People called *Alans*, who are the Christians of the Greek Church, using Greek Books, and were Priests, but they are not Schismatics as the *Grecians* are, since without exception of Persons they honour all Christians; and they brought unto us boiled Flesh, requesting us to eat of their Meat, and to pray for one of their Company who was dead. I answered, because it was the Eve of so great a Feast, we would not eat any Flesh; and I expounded to them the Solemnity of the Feast, for they were ignorant of all Things relating to the Christian Religion, except the Name of Christ.

They and many other Christians, both *Russians* and *Hungarians*, demanded of us whether they might be fared or no, because they were constrained to drink *Cosmos*, and to eat the dead Carcasses of Things slain by the Infidels, which even the *Greeks* and *Russian* Priests also esteemed as Things strangled or offered to Idols, because they were ignorant of the Times of Fasting, neither could they have observed them if they had known them. I instructed them as well as I could, and strengthened them in the Faith; as for the Flesh which they had brought, we reserved it till the Feast-day, for there is nothing sold among the *Tartars* for Gold and Silver, but for Cloth and Garments, of which we had none. When our Servants offered them any of their Coin, called by them *Yperpera*, they rubbed it with their Fingers and put it to their Noses, to try by the Smell whether it were Copper or no. They did not allow for our Food any Subsistence but Cow's Milk only, which was very four: One Thing most necessary was greatly wanting to us, for the Water was so foul and muddy by reason of their Horses, that it was not fit to be drank; so that had it not been for some Biscuit, which by the Goodness of God was still left us, we had undoubtedly perished.

19. On the Feast of *Pentecost* there came to us a *Mohammedan*, to whom, as he talked with us, we expounded the Christian Faith, who (being informed of God's Goodness to Mankind in the Incarnation of our Saviour Christ, the Resurrection of the Dead and the Judgment to come, and that Baptism was a washing away of Sins) said that he would be baptized; but when we prepared to baptize him, he suddenly mounted on Horseback, saying, that he would go Home and consult with his Wife: And the next Day he told us that he durst not receive Baptism, because then he should drink no more *Cosmos*; for the Christians of that Place affirm, that no true Christians ought to drink

it, and that without it he could not live in that Defart; from which Opinion I could not for my Life remove him. It is scarce credible, how many are restrained from becoming Christians from this Opinion, broached and confirmed among them by the *Russians*, of whom there are a great many settled here. The same Day *Zagatai* gave us one Man to conduct us to *Sariach*, and to guide us to the next Stage, which was five Days Journey for Oxen to travel. They gave us also a Goat for Victuals, and a great many Bladders of Cow's Milk, and but a little *Cosmos*, because they love it so much themselves; and so taking our Journey directly towards the North, I thought we had passed through one of Hell-Gates.

The Servants who conducted us began to play the bold Thieves, seeing us take little heed to ourselves; at length having lost much by their Thievery, Suffering taught us Wisdom. When we came to the Extremity of that Province, which is fortified with a Ditch from one Sea unto another, without which was their Place of Lodging, into which so soon as we had entered, it appeared to us as if all the Inhabitants were infected with Leprosy, for certain base Fellows were placed there to receive Tribute of such as took Salt out of the Salt-Pits. From that Place they told us we must travel fifteen Days Journey before we should find any other Place; with them we drank *Cosmos*, and gave to them a Basket full of Fruits and of Biscuit, and they gave unto us eight Oxen and one Goat to maintain us in such a Journey, and I know not how many Bladders of Milk; and so changing our Oxen we proceeded for ten Days, arriving then at another Stage, neither found we any Water all that Way, but only in some Ditches made in the Vallies and in two Rivers. From the Time also that we departed out of the Province of *Gassaria*, we travelled directly Eastward, having the Sea on the South-side of us, and a vast Defart on the North, which Defart in some Places reaches twenty Days Journey in Breadth, without Tree, Mountain, or so much as a Stone therein, and is a most excellent Pasture. Here the *Comanians*, which were called *Captbad*, were wont to feed their Cattle, and were the same the *Germans* stiled *Walani*, and the Province itself *Walania*. But *Isidore* calleth all the Tract of Land stretching from the River of *Tanais* to the Lake of *Meotis*, and so far as the *Danube*, the Country of the *Alani*. And the same Country extends in Length from the *Danube* to *Tanais* (which divides *Asia* from *Europe*) for the Space of two Month's Journey, and it was all inhabited by the *Comanians*, called *Captbai*, and beyond *Tanais* as far as the River of *Edil* or *Volga*, the Space between which two Rivers is a long Journey to be travelled in ten Days. To the North of the same Province lieth *Russia*, which is full of Wood in all Places, and stretches from *Poland* and *Hungary* to the River of *Tanais*, and it likewise hath been wasted by the *Tartars*, and is still wasted by them.

20. The *Tartars* have more Esteem for the *Saracens* than the *Russians*, because the latter are Christians, and when they are able to give them no more, they drive them and their Children, like Flocks of Sheep, into the Wilderness, constraining them to keep their Cattle there. Beyond *Russia* lieth the Country of *Prussia*, which the *Teutonick* Knights of the Order of *St. Mary's* Hospital of *Jerusalem* have of late wholly subdued, and indeed they might easily win *Russia* if they would attempt it vigorously; for if the *Tartars* should once know that the great Priest, for that is the Name they give to the Pope, had caused the Ensign of the Cross to be displayed against them, they would fly into the Defarts. But to proceed;

We went towards the Eastward, seeing nothing but the Sky and the Earth, and sometimes the Sea on our right Hand, called the Sea of *Tanais*, and the Sepulchres of the *Comanians*, which appeared unto us two Leagues off, in which their Custom was to bury their Dead altogether. While we were travelling through the Defart it went reasonably well with us, but I cannot sufficiently express the Irksomeness of their Place of Abode, for our Guide would have us go to every Captain with a Present, which was an Expence our Circumstances would not bear, for we were eight Persons spending our own Provision, for the *Tartar* Servants would all of them eat of our Victuals,

The Flesh which they gave us was not sufficient for us, neither could we find any Thing to be bought for our Money: And as we sat under our Carts in the cool Shadow, on Account of the extreme Heat, they would importunately and shamefully intrude themselves into our Company, so that they would even tread upon us to see what we had; such Slovens they were, that they would lay their Tails in our Presence while they were yet talking with us: Many other Things they committed, which were most tedious and loathsome unto us.

But above all, it grieved me to the very Heart, that when I would have spoken what might tend to their Edification, my foolish Interpreter would say, you should not make me become a Preacher now; I tell you I cannot, I will not rehearse any such Words: And true it was which he said, for I perceived afterwards, when I begun to have a little Knowledge in the Language, that when I spoke one Thing he would say quite another; that is, whatsoever came next to his wide Tongue's End. Then seeing the Danger I might incur in speaking by such an Interpreter, I resolved rather to hold my Peace, and thus we travelled with great Fatigue from Place to Place, till a few Days before the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen, we arrived at the Banks of the mighty River *Tanais*, which divides *Asia* from *Europe*, even as the River Nile of *Egypt* separates *Asia* from *Africa*. At the Place where we arrived, *Baatu* and *Sariatb* had caused Cottages to be built upon the Eastern Bank of the River, for a Company of *Russians* to dwell in, that they might transport Ambassadors and Merchants in Ferry-Boats over that Part of the River; where first they ferried us over, and then our Carts, putting one Wheel into one, and the other into the other Lighter, first binding both the Lighters together, and so they rowed them over.

In this Place our Guide play'd the fool strangely, for he imagining that the *Russians* dwelling in the Cottage should have provided us Horses, sent home the Beasts we brought with us, in another Cart, that they might return to their own Masters. But when we demanded some Beasts of them, they answered, that they had a Privilege from *Baatu*, whereby they were bound to no other Service but to ferry Goers and Comers; and that they received great Sums from Merchants even for that. We stayed there by the River-side three Days. The first Day they gave us a great fresh Turbot: The second Day they bestowed Rye-bread and a little Flesh upon us, which the Purveyor of the Village had taken up at every House for us: And the third Day dried Fish, which they have there in abundance. The River was as broad in that Place as the River *Sein* is at *Paris*; and before we came there, we passed over many fine Waters all full of Fish, and yet the barbarous and rude *Tartars* know not how to take them; neither do they make any Reckoning of any Fish, except it be so great that they may eat the Flesh of it as they do the Flesh of a Ram.

This River is the Limit of the East Part of *Russia*; it riseth out of the Fens of *Maotis*, which Fens extend quite to the North-ocean. It runs southward, and forms a Sea of seven hundred Miles in Extent before it falls into the *Pontus Euxinus*, or the *Black-Sea*; and all the Rivers we passed over ran into the same. This River has also great store of Wood growing on the West Side thereof. The *Tartars* remove no farther towards the North: For about the first of *August*, they begin to return back to the South; and therefore there is another Cottage somewhat lower, where Passengers are ferried over in Winter-time. And in this Place we were driven to great Extremity, because we could get neither Horses nor Oxen for Money; at length, after I had declared unto them, that my coming was for the common Good of all Christians, they sent us Oxen and Men, but we ourselves were forced to travel on foot. At this Time they were reaping their Rye; as for Wheat, it grows not well in that Soil: They have Millet in great abundance.

The *Russian* Women dress their Heads like our Women: They embroider their Gowns on the Out-side, from their Feet unto the Knees, with party-coloured or grey Stuff. The *Russian* Men wear Caps like the *Dutchmen*; also they wear upon their Heads certain sharp and high-crowned Hats made of Felt, much like a Sugar-loaf.

We travelled thence three Days together without finding any People; and when ourselves and our Oxen were exceeding weary and faint, not knowing how far it would be to any *Tartars*, on a sudden there came two Horses running towards us, which we caught with great Joy: Our Guide and our Interpreter mounted upon their Backs to see how far off they could discri any People; and upon the fourth Day of our Journey, having found some Inhabitants, we rejoiced like Seamen, who had escaped out of a dangerous Tempest, and had newly recovered the Haven. Then having taken fresh Horses and Oxen, we passed on from Stage to Stage, till at last, the second of *August*, we arrived at the Habitation of *Sariatb*, the *Tartar* Prince.

21. All the Country lying beyond *Tanais* is a very beautiful and pleasant Region, abounding with Rivers and Woods. Towards the North Part thereof there are large Forests inhabited by two sorts of People, one of them is called *Moxel*, being mere Pagans, and without Law; they have neither Towns nor Cities, but only Cottages in the Woods. Their Lord, and a great Part of themselves, were put to the Sword in *Germany*; whereupon they highly commend the brave Courage of the *Almians*, hoping as yet to be delivered out of the Bondage of the *Tartars* by their Means. If any Merchant come among them, he must provide Things necessary for him with whom he is first entertained all the time of his Abode among them. If any lieth with another Man's Wife, her Husband, unless he be an Eye-witness thereof, doth not regard it, for they are not jealous of their Wives. They have abundance of Hogs, and great Store of Honey and Wax, and various sorts of rich and costly Skins, and Plenty of Falcons.

The other People are called *Merclas*, which the *Latins* call *Mordui*, and they are *Mohammedans*. Beyond them is the River of *Etilia*, or *Volga*, which is the greatest River that ever I saw, and it issues from the North Part of *Bulgaria the Greater*; and so trending along Southward, discharges itself into a certain Lake, containing in Circuit the Space of four Months Travel, of which I shall speak hereafter. The two Rivers aforementioned, *Tanais* and *Etilia*, otherwise called *Volga* in the Northern Regions, thro' which we travelled, are not distant above ten Days Journey; but Southward they are divided a great Space one from another, for *Tanais* descendeth into the Sea of *Pontus*. *Etilia* maketh the foreaid Sea or Lake, with the Help of many other Rivers which fall into it out of *Perfia*, and we had to the South of us very high Mountains; upon the Side thereof towards the said Defart, the People called *Cargis*, and the *Alani* or *Aras* inhabit, who are as yet Christians, and make War against the *Tartars*. Beyond them, next unto the Sea or Lake of *Etilia*, there are certain *Mohammedans* called *Legi*, who are in Subjection to the *Tartars*. Beyond this is *Peria-Ferrea*, or the Iron Gate, concerning the Situation of which your Majesty shall be further informed towards the End of this Treatise, for I travelled in my Return by the very Place between these two Rivers; in the Regions through which we passed the *Comanians* formerly inhabited before they were over-run by the *Tartars*.

22. We found *Sariatb* lying within three Days Journey of the River *Etilia*, whose Court seemed to us to be very great, for he himself had six Wives, and his eldest Son also had three Wives, every one of which Women hath a great House, and each of them above two hundred Carts. Our Guide went unto a certain *Neslorian* named *Coiat*, who is a Man of great Authority in *Sariatb* Court; he made us go a long way to one *Janna*, for so they call him who has the Office of entertaining Ambassadors. In the Evening *Coiat* commanded us to come unto him. Then our Guide began to enquire what we would present him with, and was exceedingly offended when he saw we had nothing ready to present. We stood before him, and he sat majestically, having Musick and Dancing in his Presence. Then I spoke unto him in the Words before recited, telling him for what Purpose I was come unto his Lord, and requesting so much Favour at his Hands as to bring our Letters unto the Sight of his Lord. I excused myself also, that I was a Monk, not having, nor receiving, nor using any Gold or Silver, or other precious thing, save our Books, and the Garments in which, as Priests, we served God; and this was the

Cause why I brought no Present to him, or to his Lord; for having abandoned my own Goods, it could not be expected I should become a Carrier for other Men. To all which he answered very courteously, that being a Monk, in so doing I did well, for so I should observe my Vow; neither stood he in need of ought we had, but rather was ready to bestow on us such things as we stood in need of; and having so said, he caused us to sit down, and to drink of his Milk, and presently after he requested us to say our Devotions for him, and we did so.

He enquired also who was the greatest Prince among the *Franks*, i.e. the Western Christians? and I said the Emperor, if he could enjoy his own Dominions in Quiet. No, replied he, but the King of *France*, for he had heard of your Highness by Lord *Baldwin of Hainault*. I found there also one of the Knights Templars, who had been in *Cyprus*, and had made Report of all things which he saw there. Then we returned to our Lodgings, and the next Morning we sent him a Flaggon of Muladel Wine (which had kept very well in so long a Journey) and a Box full of Biscuit, which was most acceptable unto him, and he detained our Servants for that Evening, and they were well entertained at his Tents. The next Morning he commanded me to come to Court, and to bring the King's Letters, and my Vestments and Books with me, because his Lord was desirous to see them, which we did accordingly, lading one Cart with our Books and Vestments, and another with Biscuit, Wine, and Fruits; then he caused all our Books and Vestments to be spread abroad, and there stood round about us many *Tartars*, *Christians*, and *Saracens*, on Horseback; at the Sight of which he demanded, whether I would bestow all those things upon his Lord or no? Which saying made me tremble, and threw me into an excessive Fright. Diffembling our Grief as well as we could, we gave him the following Answer: Sir, Our humble Request is, that our Lord, your Master, would vouchsafe to accept our Bread, Wine, and Fruits, not as a Present, because it is too mean, but as a Benediction, lest we should come with an empty Hand before him, and he shall see the Letters of my Sovereign Lord the King, and by them he shall understand for what Cause we are come unto him, and then both ourselves and all that we have are at his Pleasure, but for our Vestments they are holy, and it is unlawful for any but Priests to touch them.

Then he commanded us to dress ourselves in the Garments, that we might go before his Lord, and we did so. Then putting on our most precious Ornaments, I took in my Arms a very fair Cushion, and the Bible which your Majesty gave me, and a most beautiful Plalter, which the Queen was pleased to bestow upon me, wherein there were very fine Pictures. My Associate took a Missal and a Cross, and the Clerk having put on his Surplice, took a Censor in his Hand, and so we came to the Presence of his Lord, and they lifted up the Felt hanging before his Door, that he might behold us.

Then they caused the Clerk and the Interpreter thrice to bow the Knee; but of us they required no such Submission, and they diligently admonished us to take care that in going in, and in coming out, we touched not the Threshold of the House, and requested us to sing a Benediction for him. At length we entered singing *Salve Regina*; and in the Entrance of the Door stood a Bench with Cosmos, and Drinking-cups thereon, and all his Wives were there assembled; also the Moguls, or, as they pronounce, *Moals*, or rich *Tartars*, thrust in, and pressed hard on us. Then *Coiat* carried to his Lord the Censor, with Incense, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his Hand; afterwards he carried the Plalter unto him, which he looked earnestly upon, and his Wife also that sat by him; after that he carried the Bible; then *Sartach* asked, if the Gospel were contained therein? Yes, said I, and all the Holy Scriptures besides.

He took the Cross also in his Hand, and asked, as to the Image, whether it were the Image of Christ or no? I said it was. The *Nestorians* and the *Armenians* never make the Figure of Christ upon their Crosses. Wherefore, either they seem not to think well of this Passion, or else they are ashamed of it. Then he caused them that stood about us to stand aside, that he might more fully behold our Ornaments.

NUM. XXXIX.

Afterwards I delivered unto him your Majesty's Letters, with the Translation thereof in the *Arabick* and *Syriack* Languages, for I caused them to be translated at *Acon* into the Character and Dialect of both the said Tongues. There were certain *Armenian* Priests, who were versed in the *Turkish* and *Arabian* Languages, and the Knight before mentioned also of the Order of the Temple had Knowledge in the *Syriack*, *Turkish*, and *Arabian* Tongues. Then we departed, and put off our Vestments, and there came unto us some Secretaries of the Court, together with the *Coiat*, and caused our Letters to be interpreted, which Letters being heard, he caused our Bread, Wine, and Fruits, to be received; and he permitted us also to carry our Vestments and Books unto our own Lodging.

23. We had the next Morning betimes a Visit from a certain Priest, who was Brother to *Coiat*, requesting to have our Box of Christm, because *Sartach*, as he said, was desirous to see it, and so we gave it him. In the Evening *Coiat* sent for us, saying, my Lord, your King, wrote kind Words unto my Lord and Master *Sartach*. There are, however, certain Matters of Difficulty in them, concerning which he dare not determine without the Advice of his Father, and therefore you must depart unto him, leaving behind you the two Carts which you brought hither yesterday with Vestments and Books in my Custody, because my Lord is desirous to take a more diligent View of them. I presently suspecting what Mischief might ensue from his Covetousness, made him Answer; Sir, We will not only leave those with you, but the two other Carts also, which we have in your Possession. You shall not, said he, leave those behind you; but for the two Carts first named, we will satisfy your Request: I said, that this could not conveniently be done, but we must leave all with him. Then he asked, whether we meant to remain in the Land? I answered, if you have read, and understand the Letters of my Lord the King, you know that we are so determined; then he replied, that he ought to be patient, and so we departed from him that Evening.

The next Morning he sent a *Nestorian* Priest for the Carts, and we caused all the four Carts to be delivered; then came the beforementioned Brother of *Coiat* to meet us, and separated those things, which we had brought the Day before to the Court from the rest, viz. the Books and Vestments, and took them away with him. *Coiat* had, however, commanded, that we should carry these Vestments with us, which we wore in the Presence of *Sartach*, that we might put them on before *Baatu*, if he should require it; but the Priest took them from us by Violence, using these Words: You brought them to *Sartach*, and would you carry them to *Baatu*? And when I would have shewn him the Reason, he answered, Come, don't be too talkative, but go your way. Then I saw there was no Remedy but Patience, for we could have no Access unto *Sartach* himself, neither was there any that would do us Justice. I was afraid also of the Interpreter, that he had spoken other things than I directed him; for his Will was good, that we should have given away all that we had. There was yet one Comfort left to me, for when I once perceived their covetous Intent, I conveyed from among our Books the Bible, and the Sentences, and other Books, which I valued most. I durst not, however, take away the Psalter of my sovereign Lady the Queen, because it was too well known, on account of the golden Pictures therein: So we returned with the two other Carts to our Lodging; then came he that was appointed to be our Guide to the Court of *Baatu*, bidding us provide for our Journey in all haste; to whom I said, that I would in no case have the Carts go with me, which he declared unto *Coiat*.

Then *Coiat* commanded that we should leave them, and our Servant with him, and we did as he directed, and so travelled directly Eastwards towards *Baatu*; the third Day we came to *Etilia*, or *Volga*, the Stream of which when I beheld I wondered from what Region of the North such huge and mighty Waters should descend. Before we were departed from *Sartach*, *Coiat*, with many other Scribes of the Court, said unto us, Do not make Report that our Lord is a Christian, but a *Meal*, because the Name of a Christian seemeth to them to be the Name of some Nation; and so great is their Pride, that though they believe, perhaps,

some things concerning Christ, yet they will not be called Christians, being desirous that their own Name, that is to say, *Mogul Moal*, should be exalted above all other Names: Neither will they be called by the Name of *Tartars*, for the *Tartars* were another Nation, as I was informed by them.

24. At the Time that the *Franks* made themselves Masters of the City of *Antioch*, which was about the Year 1097, there reigned in these Northern Parts a Prince whose Name was *Kon-Khan*, or *Ken-Khan*. *Kon* or *Ken* was his proper Name, and *Khan* his Stile of Power or Dignity; for it is to be understood, that the Word *Khan* strictly taken, signifies a Diviner, a Man skilled in sublime Sciences, or one who can foretell future Events; and from thence it is transferred to their Princes, as if they held them to be endowed with all these great Qualities. The *Turks*, at the Time of that Siege, demanded Succours of *Kon-Khan* against the Christians, as coming themselves originally out of these Countries. This *Kon-Khan* was stiled likewise *Khan*, or Prince of *Cara-Catbay*, which is as much as to say, the *Black Catbay*; for *Cara* in their Language signifies black, and *Catbay* is the Name of a certain Country, which, however, is to be distinguished from that *Catbay* which lies farther towards the East, and is a maritime Country, of which I shall speak hereafter.

As for this *Cara-Catbay*, it lies behind certain Mountains, over which I passed, as also through a plain Country, in which dwelt formerly a certain great *Nestorian* Priest, who was the Sovereign of a Nation called *Naymans*, and who were all Christians of the *Nestorian* Sect. This *Kon-Khan* being dead, the *Nestorian* Priest before mentioned took upon him the Stile and Office of a King, and thence the *Nestorians* called him the King *Prestre John*, i. e. *John* the Priest, and published mighty things concerning him, and much beyond the Truth; for it is the Custom of the *Nestorians* coming from this Country to magnify every little thing into a great Matter, just as they spread a Report that *Sartaeb* was become a Christian, and that *Mangu-Khan*, and *Ken-Khan*, had also embraced our Religion only because they were indulgent to those of our Profession, tho' nothing is more certain than that none of them are Christians. So likewise there went abroad a great Report concerning this King and Priest *John*; notwithstanding which, when I travelled through his Territories, there was no body that knew any thing of him, but a few *Nestorians*. In his Pastures or Territories dwelt *Ken-Khan*, at whose Court Friar *Andrew* was, and I myself passed by at my Return. This *John* had a Brother who was powerful also, and a Shepherd like himself called *Unc*, and he inhabited beyond the Mountains of *Cara-Catbay*, distant from his Brother *John* the Space of three Weeks Journey. He was Lord of a certain Village called *Cara-Carum*, having People also for his Subjects named *Pri*, or *Merkit*, who were Christians of the Sect of *Nestorius*; but their Lord abandoning the Worship of Christ, embraced Idolatry, retaining with him Priests of the said Idols, who all of them are Worshipers of Devils and are Sorcerers themselves.

Beyond his Pastures, about ten or fifteen Days Journey, are the Pastures of *Moal*, who were a poor and beggarly Nation, without Governor, and without Law, except their Soothsayings, and their Divinations, unto which detestable Studies all in those Parts apply their Minds. Near unto *Moal* were other poor People called *Tartars*. The aforesaid King *John* died without Issue Male, his Brother *Unc* thereby was greatly enriched, and took himself the Stile of *Khan*, and his Cattle and Herds ranged to the Borders of *Moal*. About the same time there was one *Zingis* a Farrier among the People of *Moal*; this *Zingis* stole as many Cattle from the *Khan* as he could possibly, so that the Shepherds of *Unc* complained unto their Lord; upon which he raised an Army, and marched up into the Country of *Moal* to seek for *Zingis*: But *Zingis* fled amongst the *Tartars*, and hid himself among them; and *Unc* having taken some Spoils both from *Moal*, and also from the *Tartars*, returned home; then *Zingis* addressed himself to the *Tartars*, and to the People of *Moal*, "Behold, Brethren, said he, because we are destitute of a Governor and Captain, you see how our Neighbour oppresses us;" on which the *Tartars* and *Moals* appointed him to be their Captain.

Then having secretly gathered together an Army, he broke in suddenly upon *Unc*, and overcame him, and *Unc* fled into *Catbay*. At the same Time his Daughter was taken, which *Zingis* married unto one of his Sons, by whom she conceived and brought forth the *Great Khan*, which now reigneth, called *Mangu-Khan*. Then *Zingis* sent the *Tartars* before him in all Places where he came; and thereupon was their Name published and spread abroad; for in all Places the People call out, *The Tartars come, the Tartars come*. Yet through continual Wars, they are now all of them in a manner consumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the *Moals* endeavour what they can to extinguish the Name of the *Tartars*, that they may exalt their own. The Country wherein they first inhabited, and where the Court of *Zingis-Khan* yet remaineth, is called *Mancherah*. But because *Tartaria* is the Region out of which they have obtained their conquests, they esteem that the Seat of their Kingdom; and there also, for the most part, do they elect their *Great Khan*.

25. In respect to this *Sartaeb*, whether he believes in CHRIST or no, I know not; this I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian: On the contrary, he seems to me to deride and scoff at Christians. His Country is in the Way of the *Christians*, viz. of the *Russians*, the *Wallachians*, the *Bulgarians*, the *Soldaians*, the *Kerbis*, and the *Alans*, who all of them pass by him as they are going to the Court of his Father *Batu* to carry Gifts; and therefore he is more in Friendship with them. If the *Saracens* hower come and bring greater Gifts than they, they are dispatched sooner. He hath about him certain *Nestorian* Priests, who tell their Beads and sing their Devotions. There is also another under *Batu*, called *Berta*, who feeds his Cattle towards the Iron-gate or *Derben*, where lieth the Passage of all the *Saracens* which come out of *Perfia* and out of *Turky*, to go unto *Batu*, and passing by they make him Presents, and he professeth himself to be a *Saracen*, and will not permit Swines Flesh to be eaten in his Dominions. At the Time of our Return, *Batu* commanded him to remove himself from that Place, and to inhabit upon the East Side of *Volga*, for he was not willing that the *Saracens* Embassadors should pass by the said *Berta*, because he saw it was not for his Profit.

For the Space of four Days, while we remained in the Court of *Sartaeb*, we had not any Victuals allowed us, except once a little Cosmos; and in our Journey between him and his Father, we travelled in great Fear; for certain *Russians*, *Hungarians*, and *Alans*, being Servants to the *Tartars* (of whom they have great Multitudes among them) assemble themselves twenty or thirty in a Company, and secretly in the Night conveying themselves from Home, they take Bows and Arrows with them, and whosoever they find in the Night Season, they put him to Death, hiding themselves in the Day-time; and having tired their Horses, they go in the Night to a Company of other Horses feeding in some Pasture, and change them for new, taking with them also one or two Horses besides, to eat them when they stand in Need. Our Guide therefore was much afraid, lest we should have met with such Companions.

In this Journey we had perished through Famine, had we not carried some of our Biscuit with us: At length we came to the vast River at *Etilia*, or the *Volga*, which is four Times greater than the River of *Scin*, and of a wonderful Depth, falling into that which of late they call the *Hircanian-Sea*, according to the Name of a certain Country in *Perfia*, lying on the Shore thereof. *Isidore* calleth it however the *Caspian-Sea*, for it hath the *Caspian-Mountains* and the Land of *Perfia* situate on the South Side thereof, and the Mountains of *Mafbet*; that is to say, of the People called *Alfissini*, towards the East, which Mountains are joined unto the *Caspian-Mountains*; but on the North Side thereof, lieth the same Defart, wherein the *Tartars* now inhabit; in which heretofore there dwelt a Nation called *Changle*; and on that Side it receives the *Etilia*, which River rises in Summer-time like the River *Nile* in *Egypt*. On the West Part thereof it hath the Mountains of *Alan*, and *Lefgi*, and *Derben*, or the Iron-gate, and the Mountains of *Georgia*. This

Sea therefore is encompassed on three Sides, with Mountains; but on the North Side hath a fine flat Country. Friar *Andrew*, in his Journey, travelled round about two Sides thereof, namely the South and the East Sides, and I myself about the other two; that is to say, the North Side, in going from *Baatu* to *Mangu-Khan*, and in returning likewise; and on the West Side, in coming home from *Baatu* into *Syria*. A Man may travel round about it in four Months; and it is not true which *Ishore* reports, that this Sea is a Bay or Gulph coming out of the Ocean, for in no Part it communicates the Ocean, but is invironed on all Sides with the Land.

26. All the Regions extending from the West Shore of this Sea, where *Alexander's* Iron-gate, otherwise called the City of *Darbent*, is situate, and from the Mountains *Alan*, all along by the Fences of *Maotia*, unto which the River of *Tanais* falls, and so to the North Ocean was of old called *Albania*, of which Country *Ishore* reporteth, that there are in it Dogs of such huge Stature, and so fierce, that they are able, in Fight, to match Bulls, and to master Lions, which is true, as I was assured by several, who told me, that towards the North Ocean they make their Dogs draw in Carts like Oxen, on account of their Bigness and Strength. On that Part of *Etulia* where we arrived, there is a new Station built, wherein they have placed *Tartars* and *Russians* together to ferry over and transport Messengers going and coming to and from the Court of *Baatu*, for *Baatu* keeps his Court upon the farther Side towards the East; neither ascendeth he in Summer-time more northward than the Place where we arrived, but was even then descending to the South. From *January* to *August*, he, and all other *Tartars* ascend by the Banks of Rivers towards cold and northerly Regions, and in *August* they begin to return back again.

We passed down the Stream therefore in a Bark from the above-mentioned Station unto his Court, from the same Place unto a Village of *Bulgaria* the Greater, standing towards the North; it is five Days Journey. I wonder how the Devil carried the Religion of *Mohammed* thither; for, from *Darbent*, which is upon the extreme Borders of *Persia*, it is above thirty Days Journey to pass over the Desert, and so ascend to the Bank of *Etulia* into the Country of *Bulgaria*, in all which Way there is no City, only certain Cottages near unto that Place where *Etulia* falleth into the Sea. These *Bulgarians* are more wicked *Mohammedans* than any other Nations whatever. When I beheld the Court of *Baatu*, I was astonished at the first Sight thereof, for his Houses or Tents are as though they had been some mighty City stretching out a great Way in Length, the People ranging up and down about it for the Space of some three or four Leagues; and even as the People of *Israel* knew every Man on what Side the Tabernacle to pitch his Tent, so every one of them knoweth very well toward which Side of the Court he ought to place his House when he takes it from off the Cart. The Court is called therefore in their Language *Horda*, which signifies the Midst, because the Governor, or chief Captain among them, dwells always in the Midst of his People, except only that directly towards the South no inferior Person places himself, because, towards that Region the Court-gates are set open; but to the Right-hand and the Left-hand they place themselves as far as they will, according to the Convenience of Places, so that they erect not their Houses directly opposite against the Court. At our Arrival we were conducted to a *Mohammedan*, who provided no Victuals for us at all. The Day following, we were brought to the Court, and *Baatu* caused a large Tent to be erected, because his House or Tent could not contain so many Men and Women as were assembled. Our Guide admonished us not to speak till *Baatu* had given us Commandment so to do, and that then we should speak our Minds briefly.

Then *Baatu* demanded whether your Majesty had sent Ambassadors unto him or no? I answered, that your Majesty had sent Messengers to *Kan-Khan*, and that you would not have sent Messengers or Letters to *Sartach*, had not your Highness been persuaded that they were become Christians, because you sent not unto them out of any Fear, but only for Congratulation and Courtesy-sake, in

regard that you heard they were converted to Christianity. Then led he us unto his Pavilion, and we were charged not to touch the Cords of the Tent, about which they are as suspicious as about the Threshold of the House. There we stood in our Habits bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and strange Spectacle in their Eyes. Indeed Friar *John Du Plano Carpini* had been there before my Coming; but because he was the Pope's Ambassador, he changed his Habit, that he might not be contemned. Then we were brought into the Midst of the Tent, neither required they of us to do any Reverence, by bowing our Knees as they used to do of other Messengers; we stood therefore before him for the Space wherein a Man might have rehearsed the Psalm *Miserere mei Deus*, and there was a great Silence kept by all.

Baatu himself sat upon a Seat long and broad, like a Bed gilt all over, with three Stairs to ascend, and one of his Ladies sat beside him. The Men there assembled sat down scattering, some on the Right-hand of the said Lady, and some on the Left. These Places on the one Side, which the Women filled not up (for there were only the Wives of *Baatu*) were supplied by the Men. Also at the very Entrance of the Tent stood a Bench furnished with Cushions, and with stately Cups of Silver and Gold, richly set with precious Stones. *Baatu* beheld us earnestly, and we him, and he seemed to resemble in Personage Monsieur *John de Beaumont*, whose Soul resteth in Peace; for like him, he had a fresh ruddy Countenance.

At length, he commanded us to speak. Then our Guide gave us Direction that we should bow our Knees and speak; on which I bowed one Knee, then he signified that I should kneel upon both my Knees; I did so, being loth to contend about such Circumstances; and again he commanded me to speak. Then I thinking of a Prayer unto GOD, because I kneeled on both my Knees, began to pray in these Words; "Sir, we beseech the Lord, from whom all good Things do proceed, and who hath given you these earthly Benefits, that it would please him hereafter to make you Partaker of his heavenly Blessings, because the former, without these, are but vain and unprofitable: And, indeed, further be it known unto you of a certain, that you shall not obtain the Joys of Heaven, unless you become a Christian; for God saith, *Whoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned.*"

At this he modestly smiled, but the other *Moads* began to clap their Hands and to deride us, and my silly Interpreter, of whom especially I should have received Comfort in Time of Need, was himself abashed, and utterly out of Countenance. Then after Silence made, I said to him; "I came to your Son, because we heard that he was become a Christian, and I brought to him Letters on the Behalf of my Sovereign Lord the King of France, and your Son sent me hither unto you; the Cause of my coming therefore is best known unto yourself." Then he caused me to rise up, and he enquired your Majesty's Name, my Name, and the Name of my Associate and Interpreter, and caused them all to be put down in Writing. He demanded also (because he had been informed that you was departed out of your own Countries with an Army) against whom you waged War? I answered against the *Saracens*, who had defiled the House of GOD at *Jerusalem*. He asked also whether your Highness had ever before that Time sent any Ambassador unto him or no? To you, Sir, said I, never.

Then he caused us to sit down, and gave us of his Milk to drink, which they account to be a great Favour, especially when any Man is admitted to drink Cosmos with him in his own House; and as I sat looking down on the Ground, he commanded me to lift up my Countenance, being desirous yet to take a more diligent View of us, or else perhaps for a kind of superstitious Observation; for they esteem it a Sign of ill Luck, or a Prognostication of Evil unto them, when any Man sits in their Presence holding down his Head as if he were sad, especially when he leans his Cheek or Chin upon his Hand. Then we departed, and immediately after came our Guide to us, and conducting us to our Lodging, said unto me; "Your Ma-

"After the King, requesteth that you may remain in this Kingdom, which Request *Baatu* cannot grant, without the Knowledge and Consent of *Mangu-Khan*; wherefore you and your Interpreter must, of Necessity, go to *Mangu-Khan*; but, nevertheless, your Associate and the other Man, shall return unto the Court of *Sartach*, and stay there for you till you come back." Then began my Interpreter to lament, esteeming himself but a dead Man; my Associate also protested he would sooner lose his Head than withdraw out of my Company: I myself said, that without my Associate I could not go, and that we stood in Need of two Servants at least, because if one should chance to fall sick we would not be without another.

Upon this, returning unto the Court, he told this to *Baatu*, and *Baatu* answered, let the two Priests and the Interpreter go together, but let the Clerk return to *Sartach*; and coming again unto us, he told us so; and when I would have spoken for the Clerk to have had him with us, he said, no more Words, for *Baatu* is resolved that so it shall be, and therefore I dare not go to the Court any more. *Gofet*, the Clerk, had the Remainder of the Alms-Money bestowed upon him, twenty-six *Yperperas*, and no more, ten whereof he kept for himself and the Lad, and sixteen he gave unto the Interpreter for us; and thus were we parted with Tears, he returning unto the Court of *Sartach*, and ourselves remaining still in the same Place.

27. On the Eve of the Feast of *Assumption* our Clerk arrived at the Court of *Sartach*, and the next Day after the *Nestorian* Priests were adorned with our Vestments, in the Presence of the said *Sartach*. Then we ourselves were conducted unto another Host, who was appointed to provide us House-room, Victuals, and Horses; but because we had not any thing to bestow upon him, he did all things untowardly for us: Then we rode on forward with *Baatu*, descending along by the Bank of *Etília*, or *Volga*, for the Space of five Weeks together. Sometimes my Associate was so extremely hungry, that he would tell me in a manner weeping, that it tired with him as though he had never eaten any thing in all his Life before. There is a Fair or Market following the Court of *Baatu* at all times; but it was so far distant from us, that we could not have Recourse thereto, for we were constrained to walk on Foot for want of Horses. At length certain *Hungarians*, a sort of Clergymen, found us out, and one of them could as yet sing many Songs without Book, and was accounted of other *Hungarians* as a Priest, and was sent for unto the Funerals of his deceased Countrymen.

There was another of them also pretty well instructed in his Grammar, for he could understand the Meaning of any thing that we spoke, but could not answer us. These *Hungarians* were a great Help to us, giving us Cosmos to drink, and sometimes Flesh to eat also, who when they requested to have some Books of us, and I had not any to give them (for indeed we had none except a Bible, and a Breviary) it grieved me exceedingly, and I said to them bring me some Ink and Paper, and I will write for you so long as we shall remain here; and they did so, and I copied out to them the Hours of the blessed Virgin, and the Office of the Dead. One Day there was a *Comanian* that accompanied us, that saluted us, saying *Salve Domine*; wondering thereat, and saluting him again, I demanded of him who had taught him that kind of Salutation? He said, that he was baptized in *Hungary* by our Friars, and that of them he learned it: He said moreover, that *Baatu* had enquired many things of him concerning us, and that he told him the State of our Order. Afterwards I saw *Baatu* riding with his Company, and all his Subjects that were Masters of Families riding with him, and in my Estimation there were more than five hundred Persons in all.

At length, about the End of *Holy-rod*, there came a certain rich *Mosul* unto us, whose Father was a Millanary, which is a great Office among them, and told us, I am the Man that must conduct you to *Mangu-Khan*, and we have thither a Journey of four Months to travel, and there is the extreme Cold in those Parts, that Stones and Trees burst at it: Therefore I wish you would advise with yourselves whether you be able to endure it or no? I answered, by God's Help I hope we shall be able to go thro'

that which other Men can endure. Then he said, if you cannot endure it, I will forsake you by the way, and answered, it were not just Dealings for you so to do, for we go not thither upon any Business of our own, but by reason that we are sent thither by our Lord; wherefore since we are committed to your Charge, you ought in no wise to forsake us. Then he said, all shall be well. He caused us to shew him our Garments, and whatsoever he deemed to be less needful for us, he bid us leave behind in the Custody of our Host. On the Morrow they brought unto each of us a furred Gown made all of Ram's Skins, with the Wool still upon them, and Breeches of the same, Boots according to their Fashion, Shoes made of Felt, and Hoods also made of Skins after their Manner. The second Day after *Holy-rod* we began to set forward on our Journey, having three Guides to direct us, and we rode continually Eastward till the Feast of *All-Saints* throughout all that Region, and beyond also, were the People *Changles* Inhabitants, who were descended from the *Romans*. On the North Side of us we had *Bulgaria the Greater*, and on the South the *Caspian Sea*.

28. When we had travelled twelve Days Journey from *Etília* we found a mighty River called *Jagaz*, which River issuing out of the North from the Land of *Pascatir*, or of the *Hungarians* which is all one, and they are all of them Shepherds, not having any Cities; and their Country bordereth upon *Bulgaria the Greater* on the West Frontier; from the North-East Part of the Country there is no City at all. Out of the said Region of *Pascatir* proceeded the *Hunnes* of old, who afterwards were called *Hungarians*. Next unto it is *Bulgaria the Greater*. *Isidore* reporteth concerning the People of this Nation, that with swift Horses they traversed the impregnable Walls and Bounds of *Alexander*, which together with the Rocks of *Caucasus*, serve to restrain those barbarous and blood-thirsty People from invading the Regions of the South, inasmuch as they had Tribute paid unto them as far as *Egypt*, and that they wasted all Countries, even unto *France*. If so they were more mighty than the *Tartars* as yet are; and unto them the *Blacians* and the *Bulgarians*, and the *Vandals*, joined themselves; for out of *Bulgaria the Greater* came those *Bulgarians*. As for them who inhabited beyond *Danubius*, near unto *Constantinople*, and not far from *Pascatir*, are called *Ilac*, which (saving the Pronunciation) is all one with black, for the *Tartars* cannot pronounce the Letter *B*: From whom also descend the People which inhabit the Land of *Hajaz*, for they are called *Ilac* (both these and the other) in the Language of the *Russians*, the *Polonians*, and the *Belmenians*.

The *Slavonians* spoke one Language with the *Vandals*, all which confederated with the *Hunnes*; and now, for the most part, they unite themselves to the *Tartars*, whom GOD hath raised up from the utmost Parts of the Earth, according to that which the Lord saith; *I will provoke them to Envy by a People which is no People, and by a foolish Nation will I anger them*. This Prophecy is fulfilled, according to the literal Sense thereof, upon all Nations, which observe not the Law of GOD. All this which I have written concerning the Land of *Pascatir*, was told me by certain Friars, who travelled thither before ever the *Tartars* came; and, from that Time, they were subdued unto their Neighbours the *Bulgarians*, being *Saracens*; for which Reason many of them proved *Saracens* also.

Other Matters concerning these People may be known out of History; for it is manifest, that those Provinces beyond *Constantinople*, which are now called *Bulgaria*, *Valachia*, and *Slavonia*, were of old Provinces belonging to the *Greeks*; also *Hungary* was heretofore called *Pannonia*, and we were riding over the Land of *Changle* from the Feast of *Holy-rod*, until the Feast of *All-Saints*, travelling almost every Day, according to my Account, as far as it is to *Paris* or *Orleans*, and sometimes farther, according as we were provided with Post-Horses; for some Days we had Change of Horses twice or thrice in a Day, sometimes we were two or three Days together, not finding any Post-Horses, and then we were constrained not to ride so fast. On twenty or thirty Horses we had always the worst, because we were Strangers, for every one took their Choice of the best Horses before us. They provided me always a strong Horse, and

I was corpulent and heavy; but whether he went a gentle Pace or no I durst not make any Question, neither durst I complain, although he trotted very hard; for every Man must here be contented with his Lot as it falls. We were often exceedingly troubled, because our Horses tired before we could come at any People, and then we were constrained to whip our Horses, and to lay our Garments on other Horses, and sometimes two of us to ride upon one Horse.

29. Of Hunger and Thirst, Cold and Weariness, there was no End, for they gave us no Flesh-meat, but in the Evening. In the Morning they used to give us a little Drink, or some boiled Millet; in the Evening they bestowed Flesh upon us, as a Shoulder and Breast of Ram's Mutton, and every Man a Quantity of Broth to drink. When we had sufficient of the Flesh Broth we were well refreshed, and it seemed to me most pleasant, and most nourishing Drink. Every Saturday I remained fasting until Night, without eating or drinking, and when Night came I was constrained, to my great Grief and Sorrow, to eat Flesh: Sometimes we were compelled to eat Flesh half foulden, or almost raw, for want of Fuel to boil it, especially when we lay in the Fields, or were benighted before we came to our Journey's End, because we then could not conveniently gather together the Dung of Horses and Oxen, for other Fuel we found but feldom, except, perhaps, a few Thorns in some Places. Upon the Banks of some Rivers there are Woods growing here and there, but they are very rare: In the Beginning our Guide highly disdained us, and it was tedious unto him to conduct such base Fellows. Afterwards, when he began to know us somewhat better, he directed us on our Way by the Courts of rich *Muls*, and we were requested to pray for them: Wherefore had I carried a good Interpreter with me, I should have had Opportunities to have done much good.

The beforementioned *Zingis*, who was the first great Khan or Emperor of the *Tartars*, had four Sons, of whom proceeded by natural Descent many Children, every one of which doth at this Day enjoy great Possessions, and they are daily multiplied and dispersed over that huge and vast Desert, which is in Dimensions like the Ocean. Our Guide therefore directed us, as we were going on our Journey, to many of their Habitations, and they marvelled exceedingly, that we would not receive either Gold or Silver, or precious and costly Garments at their Hands. They enquired also concerning the Great Pope, whether he was of so lasting an Age as they had heard; for there had gone a Report among them, that he was five hundred Years old. They enquired also after our Countries, whether there was abundance of Sheep, Oxen, and Horses, or no? Concerning the Ocean they could not conceive of it, because it was without Limits or Banks. Upon the Eve of the Feast of *All Saints* we altered our Course, which hitherto pointed East, because the People were now descended very much South, and we went on our Journey by certain Mountains directly Southward for the Space of eight Days together. In the Desert I saw many Asses, which they call *Colan*, being rather Mules; these did our Guides and his Companions chafe very eagerly, though they did but lose their Labour, for the Beasts were too swift for them.

Upon the seventh Day there appeared to the South of us very high Mountains, and we entered into a Place, which was well watered, and fresh as a Garden, and found Land tilled and manured. The eighth Day after the Feast of *All Saints* we arrived at a Town of the *Saracens* named *Kenbat*, the Governor whereof met our Guide at the Town's End, with Ale and Cups; for it is their Custom at all Towns and Villages subject to them to meet the Messengers of *Baatu*, and *Mangu-Khan*, with Meat and Drink; at this Time of the Year they went upon the Ice in that Country, and before the Feast of Saint *Michael* they had Frost in the Desert. I enquired the Name of this Province, but being now in a strange Territory, they could not tell me the Name thereof, but only the Name of a small City in the same Province; and that there descended a great River down from the Mountains, which watered the whole Region, according as the Inhabitants would give it Passage, by making divers Channels and Slices, neither did the River discharge itself into any Sea, but was swallowed up by a Gulph into the Bowels of the Earth, and it caused many

Fens or Lakes: Also I saw many Vines, and drank of the Wine made from them.

30. The Day following we came unto another Cottage near the Mountains, and I enquired what Mountains they were, which I understood to be the Mountains of *Caucasus*, which are stretched forth and continued on both Sides to the Sea from the West unto the East; and on the West they are bordering to the *Caspian* Sea, into which the River *Volga* discharges its Streams. I enquired also of the City of *Talas*, wherein were certain *Germans*, Servants unto one *Buri*, of whom Friar *Andrew* makes mention, concerning whom also I enquired very diligently in the Courts of *Sartach* and *Baatu*. I could get no Intelligence of them, but only that their Lords and Master *Ban* was put to Death upon the Occasion following. This *Ban* was not settled in good and fertile Pastures; and upon a certain Day being drunk, he spoke thus to his Men, *Am not I of the Stock and Kindred of Zingis Khan as well as Baatu?* (for indeed he was very nearly related to *Baatu*) *Why then do I not pass and repass upon the Bank of Euila, to feed my Cattle there as freely as Baatu himself doth?* which Speech of his was reported unto *Baatu*; whereupon *Baatu* wrote to his Servants to bring their Lord bound unto him, and they did so.

Then *Baatu* demanded of him whether he had spoken any such Words? and he confessed that he had. But because it is the Manner of the *Tartars* to pardon drunken Men, he excused himself by saying, *that he was drunk at the Time*. How durst you, said *Baatu*, once name me in thy Drunkenness? and having said this, he caused his Head to be chopped off.

Concerning the aforesaid *Germans*, I could not learn any thing till I was come to the Court of *Mangu-Khan*, and there I was informed that *Mangu-Khan* had removed them out of the Jurisdiction of *Baatu* for the Space of a Month's Journey from *Talas* Eastward to a certain Village called *Bolac*, where they are set to dig Gold, and to make Armour, so that I could neither go nor come by them. I passed very near the said City in going, that is, within three Days Journey; but I was ignorant that I did so, neither could I have turned out of my way, if I had known so much. From the aforesaid Cottage, we went directly Eastward by the Mountains, and from that time we travelled among the People of *Mangu-Khan*, who in all Places sang and danced before our Guide, because he was the Messenger of *Baatu*; for this Courteously they do to each other, namely, the People of *Mangu-Khan* receiving the Messengers of *Baatu*, and so likewise the People of *Baatu* entertaining the People of *Mangu-Khan*, notwithstanding the People of *Baatu* are more surly, and shew not so much Courteously to the Subjects of *Mangu-Khan*, as in their Turn they do to them.

A few Days after we entered upon those Mountains, where the *Cara-Cathayans* were wont to inhabit, and there we found a mighty River, inasmuch that we were constrained to embark ourselves, and to sail over it. Afterwards we came into a Valley, where I saw a Castle destroyed, the Walls whereof were only of Mud, and in that Place the Ground was tilled also; and there we found a certain Village named *Equius*, wherein were *Mohammedans* speaking the *Persian* Language; but they dwelt a great way off *Persia*. The Day following, having passed over the great Mountains Southward, we entered into a most beautiful Plain, having high Mountains on our right Hand, and on the left Hand of us a certain Sea or Lake, fifteen Days Journey in Circuit. All the Plain is most commodiously watered by Trenches distilling from the said Mountains; all which fall into the Lake in Summer Time. We returned by the North Side of the Lake, and there were great Mountains on that Side also. Upon this Plain there used to be formerly many Villages; but for the most Part they were all wasted in regard of the fertile Pastures, that the *Tartars* might feed their Cattle there.

We found one great City there named *Cailac*, which was a Market, and great Numbers of Merchants frequented it. In this City we remained fifteen Days, staying for a certain Scribe or Secretary of *Baatu*, who ought to have accompanied our Guide for the dispatching of certain Affairs in the Court of *Mangu*. All this Country was wont to be

called *Organnum*, and the People thereof had their proper Language, and their peculiar kind of writing: But it was now inhabited by the People called *Contomani*. The *Nestorians* likewise in those Parts use the very same kind of Language and Writing; they are called *Organni*, because they were wont to be most skilful in playing upon Organs, as was reported unto me. Here did I first see Worshipers of Idols, concerning whom, let me observe to your Majesty, that there be many Sects of them in these Eastern Countries.

31. The first sort of these Idolaters are called *Jugures*, whose Country borders upon the Land of *Organnum*, within the said Mountains Eastward, and in all their Cities *Nestorians* inhabit, and they are dispersed likewise towards *Perfia* in the Cities of the *Saracens*. The Citizens of the aforesaid City of *Cailac* had three Idol Temples, and I entered into two of them, and beheld their foolish Superstitions. In the first I found a Man, having a Cross painted with Ink upon his Hand; whereupon I supposed him to be a Christian, for he answered like a Christian unto all Questions which I demanded of him; and I asked him, Why therefore have you not the Cross with the Image of Jesus Christ thereupon? and he answered, we have no such Custom.

I thereupon conjectured, that they were indeed Christians, but that for lack of Instruction they omitted the aforesaid Ceremony; for I saw there behind a certain Chest, which was unto them instead of an Altar, whereon they set Candles and Oblations, an Image having Wings like unto the Image of *St. Michael*, and other Images also, holding their Fingers as if they would bless some body. That Evening I could not find any thing else, for the *Saracens* only invite Men thither, but will not have them speak of their Religion, and therefore when I enquired of the *Saracens* concerning such Ceremonies, they were offended thereat.

On the next Day after was the New Moon, and the *Saracens* Feast of Passover, and changing my Inn or Lodging the same Day, I took my Abode near another Idol Temple; for the Citizens of the said City of *Cailac* courteously invite, and lovingly entertain, all Messengers, every Man of them according to his Ability and Station; and entering into the Temple, I found the Priests of the said Idols there, for always at the New Moons they set open their Temples, and the Priests adorn themselves, and offer up the Peoples Oblations of Bread and Fruits. First, therefore, I will describe to you those Rites and Ceremonies which are common unto all their Idol Temples, and then the Superstitions of the aforesaid *Jugures*, which are, as it were, a Sect distinguished from the rest. They all of them worship towards the North, clapping their Hands together, and prostrating themselves on their Knees on the Earth, holding also their Foreheads in their Hands: Whereupon the *Nestorians* in those Parts will in no case join their Hands together in the Time of Prayer, but they pray, displaying their Hands before their Breasts.

They extend their Temples in Length East and West, and on the North Side they build a Chamber in the Manner of a Vestry, for themselves to go into, or sometimes it is otherwise. If it be a Four-square Temple, in the midst of the Temple towards the North Side thereof, they take in one Chamber in that Place where the Choir should stand, and in the said Chamber they place a Chest long and broad like a Table, and behind the said Chest towards the South, stands their principal Idol, which I saw at *Caracorum*, and it was as big as the Idol of *Saint Christopher*; also a certain *Nestorian* Priest, which had been in *Calbay*, said, that in that Country there is an Idol of such Bigness, that it may be seen two Days Journey before a Man came at it; and so they place other Idols round about the principal Idol, being all of them finely gilt over with pure Gold, and upon the Chest, which is in a manner a Table, they set Candles and Oblations. The Doors of their Temple are always open towards the South, contrary to the Custom of *Saracens*: They have also great Bells like us, and that is the Cause, as I think, why the Christians of the East will in no case use great Bells, notwithstanding they are common among the *Russians* and *Grecians* of *Gasaria*.

32. All their Priests had their Heads and Beards shaven

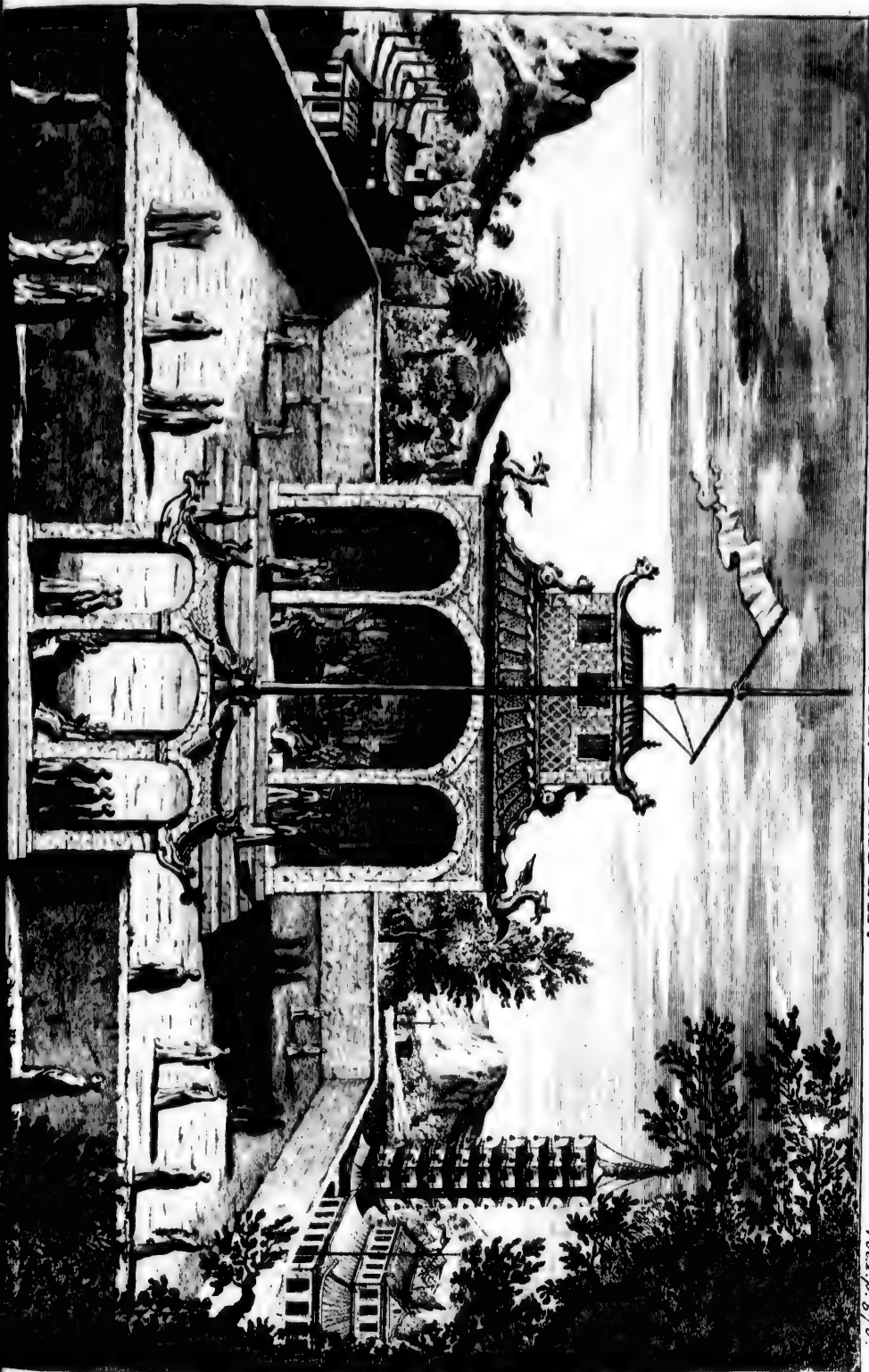
quite over, and they are clad in saffron-coloured Garments, and being once shaven, they lead an unmarried Life from that Time forward, and they live an hundred or two hundred of them together in one Cloister. Upon these Days, when they enter into their Temples, they place two long Forms therein, and so sitting upon the said Forms, like Singing-men in a Choir, one half of them directly over-against the other, they have certain Books in their Hand, which sometimes they lay down by them upon the Forms, and their Heads are bare so long as they remain in the Temple, and there they read softly to themselves, not uttering any Voice at all. On my coming in among them at the Time of their superstitious Devotions, and finding them all sitting mute in a manner, I attempted several Ways to provoke them unto Speech, and yet could not by any Means possibly. They have with them also, whithersoever they go, a certain String with an hundred or two hundred Nut-shells thereupon, much like to our Beads which we carry about with us; and they do always utter these Words, *Ou mam baltari*, *God, thou knowest*, as one of them expounded it unto me. And so often do they expect a Reward at God's Hands as they pronounce these Words in Remembrance of God.

Round about their Temple they always make a fair Court like a Church-yard, which they environ with a good Wall, and upon the South Part thereof, they build a great Portico, wherein they sit and confer together: And upon the Top of the said Portico, they pitch a long Pole upright, exalting it if they can, above all the Buildings in the Town; and by the View of the same Pole, People may know that there stands a Temple of the Idols. These Rites and Ceremonies are common to all Idolaters in those Parts. Once I made a Visit to this Idol-temple, and found certain Priests sitting in the outward Portico, and those which I saw seemed, by their shaven Beards, as if they had been our Countrymen. They wore certain Ornaments upon their Heads like Mitres, made of Paper. The Priests of the *Jugures* above-mentioned, use those Ornaments where-ever they go. They go always in their saffron-coloured Jackets, which are very straight laced or buttoned, from the Bosom downwards, after the *French* Fashion; and they have a Cloak upon their Left-shoulder descending under their Right-arm, like a Deacon carrying the Collector's Box in time of *Lent*. Their Letters or Writings, the *Tartars* use as well as they. They begin to write at the Top of their Paper, drawing their Lines right down, and so they read and multiply their Lines from the Left-hand to the Right. They use certain little Papers and uncouth Characters in their magical Practices, and their Temples are full of such short Scrolls hanging round about them.

Mangu-Khan hath sent Letters unto your Majesty, written in the Language of the *Mouls* or *Tartars*; but in the Characters these *Jugures*, they burn the Dead, according to the ancient Custom, and lay up their Ashes on the Top of a Pyramid. After I had sat a while with these Priests, and entered into their Temple, and seen many of their Images both great and small, I demanded of them, *What they believed concerning God?* They answered, *We believe that there is only one God*; Whether do you believe that he is a Spirit or some bodily Substante? They said, *We believe that he is a Spirit*. Then said I, do you believe that God ever took Man's Nature upon him? They answered, *No*. Again, I said, since you believe that he is a Spirit, to what end do you make so many bodily Images to represent him, since also you believe that he was not made Man? Why do you rather represent him by the Image of a Man than of any other Creature? Then they answered, *We frame not these Images to represent God; but when any rich Man amongst us, or his Son, or his Wife, or any of his Friends die, he causeth the Image of the dead Person to be made, and to be placed here, and we, in Remembrance of him, do Reverence thereunto*. I replied then, Do you these Things only for Friendship and out of Flattery to Men? *No*, said they, but out of regard to their Memories.

Then they demanded of me, in Scorn and Disdain, where is God? To whom I answered, Where is your Soul? They said in our Bodies: Then said I, is it not in every Part of our Body, ruling and guiding the whole Body, and yet, notwithstanding, it is not perceived? E. v. a

A VIEW OF A PAGAN TEMPLE.



Even so God is every where, and rules all Things, and yet he is invincible, being Understanding and Wisdom itself. I was very desirous to have had some farther Conference with them, but on account that my Interpreter was weary and not able to express my Meaning, I was constrained to keep Silence. The *Moals*, or *Tartars*, are in this regard of their Sect, that is to say, they believe there is but one God, yet they make Images of Felt, in remembrance of their deceased Friends, covering them with five most rich and costly Garments, and putting them into one or two Carts, which Carts no Man dare touch; and these are in the Custody of their Soothsayers, who are their Priests, concerning whom I will give your Highness an Account more at large hereafter.

Their Soothsayers, or Diviners, always attend upon the Court of *Mangu*, and of other great Persons; as for the poorer, or meaner Sort, they have them not, except such only as are of the Kindred of *Zingis*; and when they are to remove, or take any Journey, the said Diviners go before them, as the cloudy Pillar went before the Children of *Israel*, and they appoint Ground where the Tents must be pitched; and first of all, they take down their own Houses, and after them the whole Court does the like. Also on their festival Days, or new Moons, they take out these Images, and place them in order circle-wise within the House; then come the *Moals* or *Tartars* into the same House, bowing themselves before the Images, and worship them. It is not lawful for any Stranger to enter the House. And, on a certain Time, I myself would have gone in, but was very rudely turned out, and obliged to remove, so that I never after attempted to pry any further into this matter.

33. But it is my Opinion, that these *Jugurs* who live among the Christians and *Saracens*, by frequent Disputes with them, have been brought to believe that there is but one God; and they dwell in certain Cities, which were brought into Subjection to *Zingis-Khan*, and he gave his Daughter in Marriage unto their King: Also the City of *Caracorum* itself, is in a manner within their Territories; and the whole Country of King, or Presbyter *John*, and of his Brother *Unc*, lieth near to their Dominions, except that they inhabit in certain Pastures Northward, and the said *Jugurs* between the Mountains towards the South.

The *Moals* received their Letters or Characters from them; and they are the *Tartars* principal Scribes, and all the *Nestorians* almost can read their Letters. Next unto them, between the aforesaid Mountains Eastwards, inhabiteth the Nation *Tangut*, who are most valiant People, and took *Zingis* in Battle; but after the Conclusion of a Peace he was set at Liberty by them, and afterwards subdued them. These People of *Tangut* have Oxen of great Strength, with Tails like Horses, and with long, sharp Hair upon the Backs and Bellies. Their Legs are larger than those of other Oxen, and they are exceeding fierce; these Oxen draw the Houses of the *Moals*, and their Horns are slender, long, straight, and very sharp-pointed, inasmuch that the Owners are obliged to cut off the Ends of them. A Cow will not suffer herself to be coupled to one of them, unless they whistle or sing unto her. They have also the Qualities of a Buffalo, for if they see a Person clothed in Red, they run upon him immediately to kill him.

Next to this Nation are the People of *Tibet*; Men, who had formerly a Custom to eat the Bodies of their deceased Parents, that they might make no other Sepulchre for them than their own Bowels. But of late they have left off this Custom, because thereby they became odious to all other Nations; notwithstanding which, at this Day, they make fine Cups of the Skulls of their Parents, to this end, that when they drink out of them, they may, in the midst of all their Jollities and Delights, call their dead Parents to Remembrance: This was told me by one that saw it. The said People of *Tibet* have vast Plenty of Gold in their Land; whosoever therefore wants Gold digs till he hath found some, and then taking so much thereof as will serve his Turn, he lays up the Remainder in the Earth, because, if he should put it into his Chest, or Storehouse, he is of Opinion that God would withhold from him all other Gold.

I saw some of these People, being very deformed Creatures. In *Tangut* I saw lusty, tall Men, but brown and swarthy in Colour. The *Jugurs* are of a middle Stature, like *Frenchmen*. The Language of the *Jugurs*, is the Original and Root of the *Turkish* and *Comanian* Languages. Next to *Tibet* are the People of *Langa* and *Solanga*, whose Embassadors I saw in the *Tartars* Court; and they brought ten great Carts with them, every one of which was drawn by six Oxen. They are little brown Men, like *Spaniards*. These People wear Jackets, like the upper Vestment of a Deacon, saving that the Sleeves are somewhat straighter, and they have Mitres upon their Heads like Bishops; but the Fore-part of their Mitre is not so hollow within as the hinder Part, neither is it sharp-pointed, nor cornered at the Top; but there hang down certain square Laps, compacted of a kind of Straw, which is made rough through extreme Heat, and is so trimmed, that it glittereth in the Sun-beams like a Glass, or an Helmet well burnished. On their Brows they have long Bands of the same Manufacture fastened to their Mitres, which hover in the Wind as if two long Horns grew out of their Heads; and when the Wind tosses them up and down too much, they tie them over the middle of their Mitre, from one Temple to another, and so they lie across their Heads. Their principal Embassador to the *Tartars*'s Court, had a Table of Elephants Teeth about him, of a Cubit in Length, and a Handful in Breadth, very smooth, and whensoever he spoke to the Emperor himself, or to any other great Personage, he always looked on that Table as if he had found therein those Things which he spake; neither did he cast his Eyes to the Right-hand or to the Left of those with whom he talked.

Beyond them, as I was certainly informed, there are other People called *Muc*, having Villages, but no one Man of them appropriates any Cattle to himself, notwithstanding there are many Flocks and Drovers of Cattle in their Country, and nobody appointed to keep them; but when any of them want a Beast, he goes up upon a Hill, and there makes a Shout, and all the Cattle which are within hearing of the Noise, come flocking about him, and suffer themselves to be taken as if they were tame. And when any Messenger, or Stranger, cometh into their Country, they shut him up in an House, allowing him Things necessary, till his Business be dispatched; for if any Stranger should travel through that Country, the Cattle would fly away at the very Scent of him, and so become wild. Beyond *Muc* is the grand *Cathaya*, the Inhabitants of which, as I suppose, were of old called *Seres*, for from them are brought most excellent Stuffs and Silks; and this People are called *Seres* of a certain Town in the same Country. I was credibly informed, that in the said Country, there is a Town having Walls of Silver, and Bulwarks of Gold. There are many Provinces in that Land, the greater Part of which are not as yet subdued by the *Tartars*, and the Sea lieth between them and *India*. These *Cathayans* are Men of little Stature, speaking much through the Nose.

This is a general Remark, that all the People of the East have small Eyes. They are excellent Workmen in every Art, and their Physicians are well skill'd in the Virtue of Herbs, and judge very exactly of the Pulse, but know not any thing concerning Urine. Some of them I saw, for there are many at *Caracorum*, and they always bring up their Children in the same Trade of their Father, and therefore they pay so much Tribute; for they give the *Moals*, or *Moguls*, every Day, one thousand five hundred Cassino's, or Jascots (Jascot is a Piece of Silver weighing ten Marks) that is to say, every Day, fifty thousand Marks, besides Silks, and a certain Quantity of Victuals, and other Services which they do them. All these Nations are between the Mountains of *Caucasus*, on the North Side of those Mountains to the East Sea, on the South Part of *Scythia*, which the Shepherds of *Moal* inhabit, all are Tributary unto them, and all given to Idolatry, and report many Fables of a Multitude of Gods, and certain deified Men, and make a Pedigree of the Gods, as our Poets do.

The *Nestorians* are intermix'd with them as Strangers, so are the *Saracens* as far as *Cathay*. The *Nestorians* inhabit fifteen Cities of *Cathay*, and have a Bishop there in

a City called *Sagin*; but if you proceed further, they are meer Idolaters: The Priests of the Idols of those Nations have all broad yellow Hoods. There are also among them certain Hermits, living in the Woods and Mountains, of an austere and strange Life. The *Nestorians* there know nothing, for they say their Service, and have Holy Books in the *Syrian* Tongue, which they know not; so that they sing, as our Monks do, who are ignorant of Grammar; and hence it cometh that they are wholly corrupted. They are great Usurers and Drunkards, and some of them also who live amongst the *Tartars*, have many Wives in the same manner as the *Tartars* have.

When they enter into the Church, they wash their lower Parts, as the *Saracens* do; they eat no Flesh on *Friday*, and hold their Feasts on that Day, after the manner of the *Saracens*. The Bishops come seldom into the Countries, perhaps once in fifty Years; then they cause all their little Children to be made Priests, even in the Cradle, so that all their Men almost are Priests, and after this, they marry Wives, which is directly against the Decrees of the Fathers. They are also Bigamists, for their Priests themselves, when their Wife is dead, marry another. They are all *Simonists*, for they give no Holy Thing freely. They are very careful of their Wives and Children, wherefore they apply themselves to Gain, and not to the spreading of the Faith; whence it comes to pass, while some of them bring up the Nobilities Children of *Meal*, altho' they teach them the Gospel, and the Articles of the Faith, yet by their evil Life and Covetousness, they drive them further from Christianity, because the Life of the *Meals*, or *Moguls*, and *Tuimians*, who are down-right Idolaters, is more just and upright than theirs.

34. We departed from the City *Calais* on Saint *Andrew's* Day, and within three Leagues found a Village of *Nestorians*. Entering into the Church, we sang *Salve Regina*, &c. with Joy, because it was long since we had seen a Church. Departing thence, in three Days we came to the Entrance of that Province, not far from the Sea beforementioned, which seemed to us as tempestuous as the Ocean, and therein we saw a great Island. My Companions drew near the Shore, and wet a linnen Cloth therein, to taste the Water, which was somewhat salt, but however might be drunk. There was a Valley over-against it, between the great Mountains South and East, and between the Hills was another salt Lake or Sea; and there ran a River through that Valley from the other Sea into this, and there came such a continual Wind through the Valley, that Men pass through the Road with great Danger, fearing the Wind should carry them into the Sea.

Therefore we left the Valley, and went towards the North, to the hilly Countries, cover'd with deep Snow, which then lay upon the Earth, so that upon Saint *Nicholas's* Day we began to hasten our Journey, and because we found no People but the *Jani*, or Men appointed from Day's Journey to Day's Journey, to conduct the Messengers; for in many Places in the hilly Countries, the Way is narrow, and there are but few Fields; so that between Day and Night we met with two *Jani*, and therefore of two Days Journey we made one, and travelled more by Night than by Day: It was extremely cold there, so that they lent us their Goat-Skins, turning the Hair outward. On the seventh of *December* in the Evening, we passed by a certain Place, between very terrible Rocks, and our Guide sent unto me, intreating me to pray to God, which I did. Then we sang with loud Voice, *Credo in Deum*, &c. and by the Grace of God, we passed through unhurt.

After that, they began to intreat me that I would write them Papers, and I told them I would teach them Words which they should carry in their Hearts, whereby their Souls and Bodies should be saved; but when I sought to teach them, I wanted an Interpreter, yet I wrote them the Creed and Lord's-Prayer, saying, "Here is written whatfoever a Man ought to believe concerning God; here also is that Prayer wherein we beg of God whatfoever is needful for a Man; now therefore believe firmly what is written here, although you cannot understand it, and ask God to do that for you which is contained in this written Prayer, because with his own Mouth he taught it his Friend and I hope he will save you." I could

not do any thing else, because it was dangerous to speak by such an Interpreter, nay, almost impossible, because he was ignorant.

35. After this, we entered into the Country where the Court of *Kon Khan* was, which was formerly called the Country of *Naymans*, who were the peculiar Subjects of *Pogres*, that is, *Presbyter John*, but I saw not that Court till my Return; yet here I shall briefly mention what befel his Son and Wives. *Kon Khan* being dead, *Baatu* desired that *Mangu* should be *Khan*, but I could not well understand in what manner happened the Death of *Khan*. Friar *Andrew* said, that he died by a certain Medicine given him, and it was suspected that *Baatu* caused it to be administered: Yet I heard otherwise, for he summoned *Baatu* to come and do him Homage, and *Baatu* took his Journey with great Pomp and Splendor, but he and his Servants were much afraid, and he sent one of his Brothers before, called *Stichin*, who, when he came to *Kox*, and ought to have presented him with his Cup, high Words arose between them, inasmuch that they slew one another. The Widow of *Stichin* kept us a whole Day, that we might go to her Houle, and blest her, or pray for her.

Kon being dead, *Mangu* was chosen by the Consent of *Baatu*, and was then chosen while Friar *Andrew* was there. *Kon* had among others a Brother called *Siremon*, who by the Council of *Kon's* Wife, and her Vassals, went with a great Train towards *Mangu*, as if he went to do him Homage, and yet in reality he purposed to kill him, and destroy his whole Court; and when he was near *Mangu*, and within one or two Days Journey, one of his Waggoners happened to break in the Way; while the Waggoner endeavoured to mend it, came one of the Servants of *Mangu* who helped him; he was so inquisitive of their Journey, that the Waggoner revealed unto him what *Siremon* purposed to do. Then turning out of the Way, as it he lightly regarded it, he went unto the Herd of Horses, and took the best Horse he could, and polling Night and Day, came speedily to the Court of *Mangu*, reporting what he had heard.

The Plot being thus discovered, *Mangu* quickly assembled all his Forces, caused four Lines of armed Men to compass his Court, that none might go in or out, and sent the rest against *Siremon*, who took him, and brought him to the Court, with all his Followers, who, when *Mangu* laid the Matter to his Charge, contended it immediately. Then he and his eldest Son *Kon Khan* were slain, and three hundred of the Nobility of the *Tartars* with them. The noble Women also were sent for, who were all beaten with burning Firebrands, to make them confess, and having confessed, were put to Death. His youngest Son *Kox*, who was not capable of entering into the Conspiracy, was left alive, and his Father's Palace was left him with all belonging unto it, and we paid by it in our Return, nor durst my Guide turn in unto it, either going nor coming: For, the Lady of the Nations sat there in Mourning, and there was none to comfort her.

36. We now went up again into the high Countries, steering always towards the North. At length, on Saint *Stephen's* Day, we entered into a great Plain, where there was not so much as a Mole-hill; and the next Day, on the Feast of Saint *John* the Evangelist, we came unto the Palace of that great Lord: But when we were near it, that is to say, within five Days Journey, our Host where we lay, would have directed us much about, so that we should have travelled more than fifteen Days; and this was the Reason, as I understood, that we might go by *Onum Kirule*, their proper Country where the Court of *Zingii Khan* is. Others said, that he did it for this Purpose, that he might make the Way longer, and might shew their Power the more, for so they are wont to deal with Men coming from Countries not subject to them; and our Guide obtained with great Difficulty, that we might go the right Way, for they held us debating this from the Morning till Three o'Clock.

By the Way also the Secretary told me, that it was contained in the Letters which *Baatu* sent to *Mangu Khan*, that we required an Army and Aid of *Sartach* against the *Saracens*. Then I began to wonder much, and to be greatly troubled, for I knew the Contents of the Letters, and

and that no mention of any Army was made therein, only you advised him to be a Friend to all Christians, and that he should exalt the Cross, and bear Enmity to all the Enemies of the Cross; and because also the Interpreters were Armenians, of the greater Armenia, who greatly hated the Saracens, lest perhaps they had interpreted any thing in evil Part, to make the Saracens more odious and hateful at their Pleasure. I therefore held my Peace, not speaking a Word for them, or against them; for I feared to gainsay the Words of Baatu, lest I should incur some false Accusation, and without reasonable Cause.

We came therefore the Day after into the said Court. Our Guide had a great House appointed him, and we three a little Cottage, wherein we could scarce lay our Baggage, make our Beds, and have a little Fire. Many came to visit our Guide, and brought him drink made of Rice, in long strait-mouthed Bottles, in which I could discern no Difference from the best Wine, except that it had not the Scent of Wine. We were called soon after, and most strictly examined upon what Business we came; "I answered, that we having heard Sartach was a Christian, we came therefore unto him. The King our Master sent him a Packet by us, he sent us to Baatu his Father, and his Father sent us hither, he should have written the Cause." Whereupon they demanded, whether we would make Peace with them? I answered, "He had sent Letters unto Sartach as a Christian; and if he had known he were not a Christian, he would never have sent him Letters. That as to a Treaty of Peace, there was no Ground for it, since he has done you no wrong; if he had not done any, why should you war upon him or his People? He willingly (as a just Man) would reform himself and desire Peace. If ye without Cause will make War with him or his Nation, we hope that God (who is just) will help them." At this they wondered, always repeating, *why came ye not to make Peace*. For they are now so puffed-up with Pride, that they think the whole World should desire to make Peace with them; whereas, if I might be suffered, I would preach War against them to the utmost of my Power. But I would not plainly deliver the Cause of my Coming, lest I should speak any thing against that which Baatu commanded: I told them therefore the sole Cause of my coming thither was, because he sent me.

The Day following we were brought to the Court, and I thought I could go barefoot, as I did in our Country, and therefore I laid aside my Shoes; but such as come to the Court, alight far from the House, where the great Khan is, as it were a Bow-shot off, where the Horses remain, and a Boy to keep them. When we alighted there, and our Guide went with us to the House, a Hungarian Boy was present there, who knew our Order; and when the Men came about us, and stared at us as Monsters, especially because we were barefooted, and demanded whether we did not need our Feet, because they supposed we should be Cold have lost them, that Hungarian told them the Reason, shewing them the Rules and Practice of our Order. Then the chief Secretary, who was a Nestorian, and a Christian, by whose Council and advice almost all is done, came to us to see us, looked earnestly upon us, and called the Hungarian, of whom he asked many Questions. Then we were directed to return to our Lodging.

37. When we returned, at the End of the Court, towards the East, as far from the Court as a Cross-bow could shoot at twice, I saw a House, upon which there was a little Cross, at which I rejoiced much, supposing there was some Christian there, and I went in boldly, and found an Altar there, very well furnished; for there, in a golden Cloth, were the Images of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and Saint John Baptist, and two Angels; the Lineaments of their Bodies and Garments distinguished with Pearl, and a great silver Cross with precious Stones in the Corners, and the Middle thereof, and many other Embroiderings, and a Lamp burning with Oil before the Altar, having eight Lights; and there sat an Armenian Monk, somewhat black and lean, clad with a rough hairy Coat to the Mid-leg having upon it a black Cloak of Bristles, furred with spotted Skins, girt with Iron under his Hair-cloth.

NUMB. 39.

Presently after we entered in; before we saluted the Monk, falling flat upon the Ground, we sang *Ave Regina Calorum*, &c. and he rising, prayed with us; then saluting him, we sat by him, having a little Fire before him in a Pan; therefore we told him the Cause of our coming, and he began to comfort us, saying, that we should boldly speak, because we were the Messengers of God, who is greater than all Men. Afterwards he told us of his Coming, saying, he came thither a Month before us, and that he was a Hermit of the Territories of Jerusalem, and that the Lord appeared unto him three Times, commanding him to go to the Prince of the Tartars; and when he deferred to go the third Time, God threatened him, and over-threw him upon the Ground, saying, he should die, unless he went; and that he told Mangu-Khan, that if he would become a Christian, the whole World should be obedient to him. Then I answered, "Brother, I will willingly persuade him to become a Christian; I will promise him also that the French and the Pope will much rejoice thereat, and account him a Brother and a Friend; but I will never promise that they shall become his Servants, and pay him Tribute, as these other Nations, because in so doing, I should speak against my Conscience." On which he held his Peace. We afterwards went together to our Lodging, which I found a cold Habitation.

We had eaten nothing that Day; so we boiled a little Flesh and Millet, of which we made Broth for our Suppers. Our Guide and his Companions were drunk at the Court, and little Care was had of us. At that Time the Messengers of Vessace were there, hard by us, which we knew not, and the Men of the Court made us rise in great Haste at the Dawning of the Day. I went barefoot with them a little way unto the House of the said Messengers, and they demanded of them whether they knew us. Then that Grecian Soldier calling our Order, and my Companion to remembrance, because he had seen him in the Court of Vessace, with Friar Thomas, our Minister, and all his Fellows, gave great Testimony of us. Then they demanded whether we had Peace or War with Vessace? We have, said I, neither War nor Peace; and they demanded how that might be? Because, said I, their Countries are far from each other, and meddle not together. Then the Ambassador of Vessace said, we had Peace, giving me a Caution; so I held my Tongue. That Morning my Toes Ends were frozen so, that I could no longer go barefoot; for in these Countries, the Cold is extremest sharp, and from the Time when it beginneth to freeze, it never ceases till May? Nay, in the Month of May, it froze every Morning, but in the Day-time it thawed, thro' the Heat of the Sun; but in Winter it never thaws, but the Ice continues with every Wind. And if there were any Wind there in Winter, as there is with us, nothing could live there; but it is always mild Weather till April, and then the Winds rise; and at that Time when we were there (about Easter) the Cold rising with the Wind, killed Multitudes of living Creatures.

In the Winter little Snow fell there; but about Easter, which was in the latter End of April, there fell so great a Snow, that all the Streets of Caracorum were full; so that they were forced to carry it out with their Carts. Then they first brought us (from the Court) Ram-skin Coats, and Breeches of the same, and Shoes, which my Companion and Interpreter received; but I thought I had no need of them, because I supposed my furr'd Garment, which I brought from Baatu, was sufficient for me. On the 5th of January, we were brought to the Court, and there came Nestorian Priests to me, whom I knew not to be Christians, demanding which Way we worshipped? I said, to the East; and this they demanded, because we had shaven our Beards, by the Advice of our Guide, that we might appear before the Khan, according to the Fashion of our Country, whereupon they thought we had been Tiumians, or Idolaters: They made us also expound out of the Bible. Then they demanded what Reverence we would pay to the Khan, whether after our own Fashion or theirs? To whom I made answer, "We are Priests dedicated to the Service of God; Noblemen in our Country will not suf-

"fer Priests to bow their Knees before them for the Honour of GOD: Nevertheless we will humble ourselves to all Men for the Lord's sake. We came from a far Country, if ye please we will first sing Praises unto GOD, who hath brought us safe hither from afar, and afterwards we will do whatsoever pleaseth this Lord, with this Exception, that he command us nothing which may be against the Worship and Honour of GOD." Then they entering into the House, delivered what we had said; so their Lord was contented, and they set us before the Entrance of the House, lifting up the Felt which hung before the Gate, and because it was Christmas we began to sing, *A Solis ortus cardine*, &c.

38. When we had sung this Hymn, they searched our Bosoms to see we had no Knives about us. They made our Interpreter ungird himself, and leave his Girdle and his Knife without, in the Custody of a Door-keeper. When we came in, there stood in the Entrance a Bench with Cosmos, by which they made our Interpreter stand, and caused us to sit upon a Form before the Ladies; the whole House was hung with Cloth of Gold, and on a Hearth, in the Middle of the House, there was a Fire made of Thorns and Wormwood Roots (which grow there very big) and Ox Dung. The Khan sat upon a Bed covered with a spotted Skin, or Fur, bright and shining like a Seal's Skin: He was a flat nosed Man, of a middle Stature, about the Age of five and forty, and a little pretty young Woman his Wife sat by him, and one of his Daughters, whose Name was *Cerina*, a hard-favoured young Woman, with other Children that were younger, sat next unto them upon a Bed; for that was the House of a certain Christian Lady he loved, by whom he had this Daughter, and he married the young Wife afterwards; yet the Daughter was Mistress of all that Court which was her Mother's.

Then he made them ask us what we would drink, whether Wine, or Caracina, that is, Drink made of Rice, or Caracofmus, that is, clear Cow's Milk, or Ball, that is, Mead made of Honey; for they use these four kinds of Liquor in the Winter? Then I answered, Sir, we are not Men who take Pleasure in Drink, what pleaseth you shall content us. Then he commanded Drink of Rice to be given us, clear and good as White-wine; whereof I tasted a little for Reverence of him, and our Interpreter, to our Misfortune, stood by the Butlers who gave him much Drink, so that he was quickly drunk; then the Khan caused Falcons and other Birds to be brought unto him, which he took upon his Fist, and looked upon them, and after a long time he commanded us to speak. We were then to bow the Knee; and he had his Interpreter, a certain *Nestorian*, whom I knew not to be a Christian; and we had our Interpreter, such a one as he was, who by this Time was drunk. Then I said, "We first give Thanks and Praise to GOD, who hath brought us from so remote Parts of the World to see *Mangu-Khan*, to whom GOD hath given so great Power upon Earth; and we beseech our Lord, by whose Command we live and die, that he would grant him a long and a prosperous Life," (for this they desire, that Men pray for their Lives) then I told him, "Sir, We have heard of *Sartach*, that he was a Christian, and the Christians who heard it, but especially the *French* King, rejoiced; wherefore we come unto him, and our Lord and King hath sent him Letters by us, wherein were Words of Peace, and amongst other things he testified of us whose Servants we are, and entreated him to suffer us to abide in his Country; for it is our Office to teach Men to live according to the Law of GOD, and he sent us to *Baatu* his Father, and *Baatu* hath sent us hither unto you; you are they to whom GOD hath given great Dominions upon Earth, we therefore intreat your Highness to give us leave to continue in your Country to do the Service of GOD for you, your Wives, and Children. We have neither Gold, nor Silver, nor Precious Stones, to present unto you, but ourselves, whom we present to serve and pray unto GOD for you: At least give us leave to continue while the Cold be past. My Companion is so weak, that he cannot by any means travel on Horseback without Hazard of his Life," for my Companion begged me and adjured me to crave leave to stay. Then he began to answer, Even as the Sun spreads

his Beams every where, so our Power and *Baatu's* shines itself every where, so that we have no need of your Silver and Gold.

Hitherto I understood my Interpreter, but further I could not perceive any perfect Sentence, whereby I easily found he was drunk, and *Mangu-Khan* himself was drunk too, at least I thought so; yet he was displeased that we came first to *Sartach*, before we came to him. Then seeing the Defect of my Interpreter, I held my Peace, this only excepted; I intreated his Highness not to be displeased for that which I spoke of Gold and Silver, because I spoke it, not that he had need of such things, or desired them, but because we would willingly honour him with spiritual things. Then he made us rise, and sit down again, and after some few Words, and paying our Duty to him, we went out, and his Secretaries, and that Interpreter of his (who had the bringing up of one of his Daughters) went with us. They began to be very inquisitive concerning the Kingdom of *France*, whether there were many Rams, Oxen, and Horses there, as if presently they should enter and take all? And oftentimes I was fane to bridle myself much in dissimbling Anger and Indignation. I answered, however, there are many good things there which ye shall see if you happen to come thither. Then they appointed us one who should have Care of us, and we went to the Monk; and when we came out again ready to go to our Lodging, the Interpreter came to us, saying, *Mangu-Khan* hath Compassion on you, and gives you two Months Time to stay, then the extrem Cold will be past; and he offers to send you ten Days Journey, where is a good City called *Caracorum*, if you will go thither he will cause necessary Things to be given you, but if ye will stay here ye may have Necessaries; yet it will be a troublesome thing for you to follow the Court.

I said the Lord preserve *Mangu-Khan*, and grant him a good and long Life. We have found this Monk here, who we think to be a holy Man, and that by the good Pleasure of GOD he came into these Parts; wherefore we would willingly stay with him, and we will pray together for the Life of *Khan*. Then he held his Peace, and departed, and we went to our House, which we found very cold, and without any Fuel, as yet fasting, though it was Night. Then he to whom we were recommended, provided us Fuel, and a little Meat. Our Guide was now to return to *Baatu*, who desired a Carpet of us, which we left in the Court of *Baatu*, which we gave him, and he peaceably departed; so kissing our right Hand, and confessing his Fault, if he suffered us to endure Hunger and Thirst upon the Way, we pardoned him, craving Pardon of him and his whole Family, if we had given them any evil Example.

39. A certain Woman of *Metz* in *Lorraine*, called *Pelets*, found us, who made us good Cheer, according to her Power, who belonged to the Court of that Lady who was a Christian, of whom I spoke before, who told us of her strange Poverty which she endured before she came to the Court; but now she was well to live, for she had a young Husband, a *Rutenian* (by whom she had three very fair Children) who was skilful in Building, which amongst them is an excellent Art. She told us farther, that at *Caracorum* there was a certain Goldsmith called *William*, born at *Paris*, whose Surname was *Bouchier*, and his Father's Name *Lorraine Bouchier*, and she believed he hath a Brother yet living upon the Great Bridge, called *Roger Bouchier*; and she told me that he had a certain young Man which he brought up, whom he accounted as his Son, who was an excellent Interpreter; but *Mangu-Khan* delivered to the aforesaid Goldsmith three hundred Jaseots, that is, three thousand Marks, and fifty Workmen, to make a Piece of Work, so that she feared he could not send his Son to me; for she heard some say in that Court, the Men which came from your Country are good Men, and *Mangu-Khan* would willingly speak unto them, but their Interpreter is good for nothing; therefore she was careful for an Interpreter.

Then I wrote unto the Goldsmith, certifying him of my coming hither, and requesting him, that if he could he would send me his Son, and he wrote me Answer, that he could not that Moon; but the next his Work should be perfected, and then he would send him unto me. We stayed

stayed therefore with other Embassadors, and it is otherwise with Embassadors in *Baatu's* Court than in the Court of *Mangu-Khan*; for in the Court of *Baatu* there is one *Jani* on the East Side, who receiveth all such as come from the West, and so of other Countries of the World; but in the Court of *Mangu* they are all together under one *Jani*, and they may see and visit one another. In *Baatu's* Court they know not one another, or whether a Man be a Messenger or no, because they know not one another's Lodging, nor see one another, but in the Court; and when one is called by Accident, another is not, for they go not to Court unless they be sent for. We found there a certain Christian in *Damascus*, who said he came in the Behalf of the Soldan of *Mons Regalis*, and of *Crax*, who desired to become Friend and Tributary to the *Tartars*.

40. The Year before I came thither there was a certain Clerk of *Acon*, or *Ptolemais* in *Syria*, who called himself *Raimund*, but his true Name was *Theodolus*, and he took his Journey from *Cyprus* with Friar *Andrew*, and went with him into *Persia*, and procured certain Instruments of *Americus* then in *Persia*, who remained after Friar *Andrew*. Friar *Andrew* returning, he went forward with his Instruments, and came to *Mangu-Khan*, and being demanded upon what Account he came, said, "That he was with a certain holy Bishop, to whom the Lord sent Letters from Heaven, written in Golden Characters, and commanded him to send them to the Emperor of the *Tartars*, because he should be Lord of the whole Earth, and that he should persuade Men to make Peace with him." Then *Mangu* said unto him, if thou hadst brought these Letters, which come from Heaven, and the Letters of thy Lord, thou hadst been welcome. He answered, that he brought Letters, but they were with other things of his on a wild and pampered Gekling, which escaping, fled from him through the Woods and Mountains, so that he had lost all.

Then *Mangu* demanded the Name of the Bishop; he said he was called *Odo* of *Damascus*, and informed him also of *Master William*, who was Clerk of the Lord Legat. The *Khan* demanded, in whose Kingdom it was? To whom he made Answer, that it was under a certain King of the *Franks*, called *Moles*; for he had heard of that that happened at *Massora*, and he would have said, that they were of your Servants. He also told the *Khan*, that the *Saracens* were between the *Franks* and him, who hindered his way; but if the way had been open, he would have sent Embassadors, and willingly have made Peace with him. Then *Mangu-Khan* asked him, if he would bring his Messengers to that King, and that Bishop? He told him he would, and also to the Pope.

Then *Mangu* caused an exceeding strong Bow to be made, which two Men could scarce bend, and two Arrows of Silver, whose Heads were full of Holes, which sang, when they are shot, like a Whistle; and he chose a *Moal*, whom he should send with the said *Theodolus*, and to whom he said, "Thou shalt go to the King of the *Franks*, to whom this Man shall bring thee, and present him with these on my Behalf; and if he will have Peace with us, we will win the Country from the *Saracens*, even home to him, and will grant him the rest of the Country unto the West; if otherwise, bring back the Bow and Arrow unto us, and tell him we shoot far and strongly with such Bows." Then he caused *Theodolus* to go forth, whose Interpreter *Master William's* Son was, and in his Hearing, he said unto the *Moal*, "Thou shalt go with this Man, mark well the Ways, the Countries, and their Castles, Men and Mountains". For this Reason the young Man blamed *Theodolus*, saying, he had done ill in conducting the Messengers of the *Tartars* with him, for they went for no other Cause but to spy.

He answered, that he would set them on the Sea, that they should not know which Way to return. *Mangu* gave also unto *Moal* his golden Bull or Tablet, to wit, a Plate of Gold of an Hand Breadth and half a Cubit long, wherein his Orders are engraven: Whofo carrieth that, may command what he will, and it is done without Delay. So then *Theodolus* came to *Vesfacius*, determining to pass over to the Pope, that he might deceive the Pope, as he had deceived *Mangu-Khan*. Then *Vesfacius* demanded of him, whether he had Letters to the Pope, because he was a

Messenger, and should conduct the Messengers of the *Tartars*; but not being able to shew the Letters, he took him and spoiled him of all that he had got, and cast him in Prison, and the *Moal* fell sick and died there.

But *Vesfacius* sent back the golden Tablet to *Mangu-Khan* by the Servants of the *Moal*, whom I met at *Affron* in the Entrance into *Turky*, who told me what had happened to *Theodolus*. Such Sharpers run through the World, whom the *Tartars* kill when they can take them. Now the Epiphany was at hand; and that *Armenian* Monk, *Sergius* by Name, told me that he should baptize *Mangu-Khan* upon that Holy Day. I entreated him to labour, by all means, that I might be present, that I might bear Witness that I saw it; and he promised me he would.

41. When this festival Day came, the Monk called me, not, but at six of the Clock I was sent for to Court, and I saw the Monk with the Priests returning from the Court with his Cross, and the Priests with the Censer, and the Gospel for that Day. *Mangu-Khan* made a Feast, and his Custom is, that on such Days as his Soothsayers appoint him, or the *Nestorian* Priests make Holy Days, he held his Court; and on these Days the Christians come first, with their Furniture, and pray for him and bless his Cup; then they departing, the *Saracen* Priests come and do the like: Next after them come the idolatrous Priests, and do the same. The Monk told me, that he only believes the Christians, yet will have all to pray for him; but in this he lied, for he believes none; yet all follow his Court as Flies do Honey. He giveth to all, and all Men think they are his Familiars, and all prophesy Prosperity to him. Then we sat before the Court a long Space, and they brought us Flesh to eat; to whom I made answer, that we would not eat there, but if they would provide us Meat, they should provide it for us at our House; to which they answered, Get Home to your House, you were invited here for nothing else but to eat: Therefore we returned to the Monk, who blushed at the Lie he had told me, and therefore would not speak a Word of the Matter; yet some of the *Nestorians* affirmed, that he was baptized; to whom I said, that I would never believe it, nor report it to others, seeing I saw it not.

We came at last to our old and empty House, where they provided us Bedding and Coverlets; they brought us also Fuel, and gave us three the Carcass of one little lean Ram, as Meat for six Days, and every Day a little Platterfull of Millet, and lent us a Caldron, and a Trivet to boil our Flesh, which being boiled, we boiled our Millet in the Broth of the Flesh. This was our Meat, and it had well sufficed us, if they had suffered us to eat in Peace; but there were so many starved Fellows, who were not provided with Meat, that as soon as they saw us dress ours, they thrust in upon us, and would eat with us. The Cold began then to prevail, and *Mangu-Khan* sent us three Fur-coats with the Hair outwards, which we thankfully received: They demanded also how we were provided with necessary Food; to whom I answered, that little Meat sufficed us, but we have not an House wherein to pray for *Mangu-Khan*; for our Cottage was so little, that we could scarce stand upright in it, nor open our Books for Smoak after the Fire was lighted. Of this they gave him an Account, and he sent to the Monk, to know if he would be pleased with our Company, who gladly answered that he would. From that Time we were provided with a better House, and we went down with the Monk before the Court, where none lodged but we and their Soothsayers; but they lodged nearer before the Palace of the greatest Lady, and we at the farthest End towards the East, before the Palace of the least Lady; and that was on the Thirtieth of *January*.

On the next Morning, all the *Nestorian* Priests came together before Day at the Chapel, and smote upon a Broad instead of ringing a Bell, and sang Matins solemnly, and put on their Ornaments, preparing the Censer and the Incense; and while they were waiting thus, behold, in the Morning the principal Wife *Cotata-Caten* by Name (*Caten* is of the same Import as Lady, and *Cotata* is her proper Name) came into the Chapel with many other Ladies, and with her eldest Son called *Batu*, and other Children, and they cast themselves down upon the Earth, ducking

After the Manner of the *Nestorians*; and after this, they touched all the Images with their Right-hands, always kissing their Hands after they had touched; and after that they gave their Right-hands to all that stood by them in the Church, for this is the Custom of the *Nestorians* when they come into the Church; then the Priests sang many Things, giving the Lady Incense in her Hand, and she put it upon the Fire; then they perfumed her: After this, when the Day was clear, she began to put off the Ornament off her Head, which is called *Bacca*, and I saw her bare Head; then she commanded us to go forth, and as I went out I saw a Silver Basin brought, whether they baptized her or no I know not; but I know they celebrate not Mass in a Tent, but in a standing Church; and at the Feast of *Easter* I saw them baptize and consecrate a Fount with great Solemnity, which now they did not.

While we went into our House, *Mangu-Khan* himself came and went into the Church or Oratory, and a golden Bed was brought, on which he sat by his Queen, over-against the Altar; then we were sent for, who knew not then that *Mangu* was come, and the Door-keeper searched us, lest we should have Knives about us; but coming into the Oratory, having a Bible and a Breviary in my Bosom, I first bowed down to the Altar, and after to *Mangu-Khan*, and so passing by we stood between the Monk and the Altar; then they made us sing a Psalm after our Manner and chaunt it; but we sang *Veni sancte Spiritus*, &c. and *Khan* caused our Books to be brought unto him, the Bible and the Breviary, and diligently enquired concerning the Images, what they signified; the *Nestorians* answered him at their Pleasure, because our Interpreter came not in with us; and when I was first before him, I had the Bible in my Bosom, which he commanded to be brought unto him, and he looked earnestly on it; then he departed, and his Lady remained there, and distributed Gifts to all the Christians there; she gave the Monk a Jaleot, and to the Arch-Deacon of the Priests another; she caused a Nassic to be spread before us, that is, a Piece of Cloth as broad as a Coverlid of a Bed, very large, and a Buckram, which, when I would not receive, they sent them to my Interpreter, who had them to himself. He brought the Nassic to *Cyprus*, which he sold for eighteen Sultanines of *Cyprus*, but it was much the worse for the Carriage. Then Drink was brought us, viz. Drink made of Rice and Red-wine, like a Wine of *Rockelle*, and Colinos; then the Lady holding the Cup full in her Hand, desired a Blessing upon her Knees, and all the Priests sang with a loud Voice, and she drank it up, and I and my Companion were obliged to sing.

Another Time, when all of them were almost drunk, there was brought the Carcass of one Ram, which was presently devoured, and after that great Fishes, which are like our Carp, without Salt or Bread, whereof I eat a little, so they passed the Day till the Evening; and when the Lady herself was drunk, she took her Chariot, the Priests singing, and went her Way. The next Sunday, which was the Twenty-third of *January*, the *Khan's* Son came (whose Mother was a Christian) and did the like, but not with so great Solemnity, for he gave no Gifts, but made the Priests drink, and gave them parched Millet to eat. Before the first Sunday in *Levi*, the *Nestorians* fast three Days, which they call the Fast of *Jonas*, when he preached to the *Ninevites*. And the *Armenians* fast five Days, which they call the Fast of *St. Lorkis*, who is the greatest Saint among them. The *Nestorians* begin their Fast on *Tuesday*, and end it on *Thursday*; so that on *Friday* they eat Flesh: And all that Time I saw the Chancellor, who is there called *Bulgai*, give them small Pieces of Flesh upon the *Friday*; and they blessed the Flesh with great Solemnity, as the Pascal Lamb is blessed, but he eat none with them; and this I learned of the *French* Goldsmith, who was his very familiar Friend.

The Monk sent to *Mangu* to fast that Week, which he did; so that on the *Easter* of the *Armenians* we went in Procession to the House of the *Mangu*, and the Monk and we too went in with the Priests before him; and while we went in, one of the Servants went out, carrying out the Shoulder Bones of Rams burnt as black as Coals. I wondered at this greatly, as not knowing what it should mean; but after I

had enquired, I understood, that the *Khan* never does any thing before he has consulted these Bones, which kind of Divination is thus performed: When the *Khan* undertakes any thing, or rather before he undertakes it, he causes three of these Bones to be brought to him unburnt, and holding them, he considers in his Mind the thing he consults about, and whether he shall do it or not, and then delivers the Bones to be burnt; and there are always two little Rooms by the House where he lies, where these Bones are burnt, which are diligently sought for every Day thro' all the Lefkar or Camp of the *Tartars*. When they are burnt black, they bring them to him; then he looks upon them, whether the Bones, by the Heat of the Fire, be cleft Lengthways, for then he may do it; but if the Bones are cracked athwart, or round Pieces fly out of them, then he doth it not, for the Bones are always cleft in the Fire, or the thin Skin which covers the Bone; and if one be cleft downright, he proceeds in his Design be it what it will.

When therefore we went in before him, having a Caution to avoid touching the Threshold, the *Nestorian* Priests brought him Incense, and he put it upon the Censor, and they perfumed him, then they sung, blessing his Cup; after them the Monk pronounced his Blessing, and we blessed last: And when he saw us holding up the Bible towards our Breasts, he caused it to be brought to him that he might see it, which he earnestly looked upon; then after he had drunk, and the chief Priest had waited on his Cup, they gave the Priests Drink, but we went out; but my Companion staying last, when we were gone, turned his Face to the *Khan*, bowing himself to him, and then hastily following us, he stumbled at the Threshold of the House, while we went in Haste towards the House of *Baltu*, the *Khan's* eldest Son. They that observed the Threshold seized my Companion and made him stay, calling one, and commanding him to be carried to the *Bulgai*, who is the Chancellor, or Secretary of the Court, who judgeth those that are arraigned of Life and Death, but I knew it not; yet, when I looked back, and did not see him coming, I thought they kept him to give him some lighter Garments, for he was weak, and so laden with Felt-Garments that he could scarce go.

Then they called our Interpreter, and made him sit with him, but we went to the *Khan's* eldest Son's House, who had two Wives, and was lodged at the right Side of his Father's Court; who, as soon as he saw us coming, leaping from his Bed whereon he sat, cast himself upon the Earth, smiting his Forehead against the Ground, where kissing the Cross, and then arising, caused it to be laid upon a new Cloth, in an high Place by him, very honourably: He hath a Schoolmaster, a *Nestorian* Priest called *David*, a Drunkard, who instructs him. Then he made us sit, and gave the Priests Drink, and he also drank, receiving the Blessing from them; then we went to the Court of the second Lady, which was called *Calia*, who followed Idolaters, whom we found lying sick a-bed; then the Monk made her rise out of her Bed, and worship the Cross, bowing her Knees thrice, and bowing towards the Ground, he standing with the Cross at the West Side of the House, and she on the East; this being done, they changed Places, and the Monk went with the Cross unto the East, and she unto the West, and he boldly commanded her, that she was so weak that she could scarce stand upon her Feet, that she should cast herself down thrice, and worship the Cross, towards the East, after the Manner of the Christians, which she did, and he taught her to make the Sign of the Cross upon her Forehead, after she laid down upon her Bed; and praying for her, we went unto the third House, where a Christian Lady used to be, who being dead, a young Woman succeeded her, who, together with the Daughter of her Lord, joyfully received us; and all that whole House reverently worshipped the Cross, and he laid it upon a velvet Cloth, in an high Place, and the ordered Meat to be brought, which being set before the Lady, she caused it to be distributed to the Priests; but I and the Monk were very weary of the Meat and Drink, for the Meat being eaten, and much Drink drunk, we were to go to the young Lady *Cerina*, who lodged behind that great House, which was her Mother's, who, at the coming-in of the Cross, cast herself down upon the Earth, and wor-

shipped it very devoutly, because she had been taught so to do, and she set it in a high Place, upon a Piece of Silk, and all those Cloths whereon the Cross was set, were given to the Monks.

A certain *Armenian* brought his Cross, who came with the Monk, as he said, from *Jerusalem*, and it was of Silver, weighing about some four Marks, and it had four precious Stones in the Corners, and one in the Middle. It had not the Image of our Saviour, and he had presented it to *Mangu-Khan*, and *Mangu* demanded of him what he desired? To whom he answered, that he was the Son of an *Armenian* Priest, whose Church the *Saracens* had destroyed, and craved his Help for the Building again that Church. Then he asked him for how much it might be built again? He answered, for two hundred Jascots, that is, for two thousand Marks; and he commanded Letters to be given him, to him, who received the Tribute in *Persia* and *Armenia* the Greater, that they should pay him the said Sum in Silver. This Cross the Monk carried with him every where, and the Priests seeing the Gain he made thereof, began to envy him. We were therefore in the House of the young Lady, and she gave the Priests much Drink; from hence we went up into the fourth House, which was the last, for he used not to come often unto that Lady, and her House was very old, and herself not over gracious; but after *Easter*, the *Khan* made her a new House, and new Chariots. She likewise, as well as the Second, knew little or nothing of Christianity, but followed Soothsayers and Idolaters; yet at our coming in, she worshipped the Cross as the Monk and the Priest taught her. There also the Priests drank again, and from this Place we returned to our Oratory, which was not far from thence, the Priests accompanying us with great Howling and Outcries in their Drunkenness, which is not considered there as blameable, either in Man or Woman. A little after, my Companion was brought home, and the Monk sharply rebuked him, because he touched the Threshold. The next Day *Bulgai* came (who was a Justice) and diligently enquired whether any had warned us to take Heed of touching the Threshold; and I answered, Sir, We had not our Interpreter with us, and if they did, how could we understand? Then he pardoned him, but would never after suffer him to come into any of the Houses of *Mangu-Khan*.

43. Sometime afterwards, it happened that the Lady *Cota* was sick, almost to Death, and the Divination by Lot of the Idolaters, did her no good at all; then *Mangu* sent unto the Monk, demanding of him what might be done for her, and the Monk indiscreetly answered, that if she were not cured, he should cut off his Head. Having made that Answer, the Monk called us, declaring the Matter unto us with Tears, intreating us to watch with him that Night in Prayer, which we did; and he had a certain Root, which is called *Rhubarb*, and he beat it almost to Powder, and put it in Water, with a little Crucifix which he had, whereon the Image of our Saviour was advanced, whereof he reported, that by it he knew whether the Sick would recover or die; for if they should escape, it stuck to the Breast of the Sick, as if it were glued; if otherwise, it stuck not at all; and I still thought that *Rhubarb* had been some holy Relick, which he had brought from the Holy Land of *Jerusalem*. And he gave all sick Persons of that Water to drink, so that it could not be, but their Bowels should be griped with so bitter a Potion; which Alteration in their Bowels they accounted a Miracle. Then I told him, he should prepare some of that Holy Water which is made in the Church of *Rome*, which hath great Virtue to expel Devils, because I understood she was vexed of a Devil; and at his Request, we made him some Holy Water, and he mingled *Rhubarb*, and put his Crucifix all the Night long in the Water to temper it. I said, moreover, that if he were a Priest, that the Order of Priesthood had great Power to expel Devils; and he said, it was very true, and yet he lied, because he had no Order, nor knew any one Letter; but was a Weaver, as I understood after, in his Country, when I returned.

The next Morning therefore, I and the Monk, and two *Nestorian* Priests, went unto the Lady, and she was in a little House, behind her greater House. When we came in, she sat in her Bed, and worshipped the Cross, and sat

it honourably by her, upon a Cloth of Silk, and drank of the Blessed Water with *Rhubarb*, and washed her Breast; and the Monk requested me to read a Gospel over her; so I read the Passion of our Lord according to *John*; at length she was cheered, and felt herself better, and she caused four Jascots to be brought, which she first laid at the Feet of the Cross, and after gave them to the Monk, and reached me one, which I would not receive; then the Monk stretched forth his Hand, took it, and gave each of the Priests one; so that at that Time she gave forty Marks. Then she caused Wine to be brought, and gave it the Priests to drink, and I was forced to drink thrice from her Hand, in Honour of the Trinity: She began also to teach me the Language, jesting with me, because I was silent, as not having any Interpreter.

The next Day again *Mangu-Khan*, hearing that we came that Way, made us come into him, because he understood, that the Lady was somewhat better; and we found him with a few Servants, taking a sort of Meat made of Pulse, for comforting the Head, and the burnt Shoulder-blades of a Ram lay before him, and he took the Cross in his Hand, but that he worshipped it, I saw not; he looked upon it indeed, and asked some Questions, but I know not what. Then the Monk craved Leave to carry the Cross aloft, upon a Lance, because I had spoken to the Monk before concerning this, and *Mangu* answered, carry it as you think best; then paying our Duty to him, we went unto the Lady, and we found her strong and cheerful, and she still drank of the Holy Water, and we read the Passion over her, and those miserable Priests never taught her the Faith, nor advised her to be baptized; but I sat there mute, not able to speak any thing, yet she still taught me the Language, the Priests found no fault with any kind of Sorcery; for there I saw four Swords half drawn out of the Sheath, one at the Head of the Lady's Bed, another at the Feet, and two other, on either Side of the Door one. I saw also there one silver Chalice of our Chalices, which very probably was taken out of some Church in *Hungary*, and it hung against the Walls full of Ashes, and upon those Ashes there was a black Stone, and concerning such things, the Priests never teach them that they are evil; nay, they themselves do teach such things. We visited her three Days, so that she was restored to perfect Health; after that, the Monk made a Banner full of Crosses, and got a Cane as long as a Lance, and we carried the Cross aloft.

I honoured him as my Bishop, because he could speak the Language, yet he did many things that did not please me; for he caused a Chair, which may be folded, to be made for him, such as Bishops used to have, and Gloves, and a Cap of Peacocks Feathers, and upon it a little Cross of Gold; I was well pleased with the Cross. He had scabbed Feet, which he endeavoured to palliate with Ointments, and was very presumptuous in Speech; the *Nestorians* also repeated certain Verses of the Psalter upon two Rods, which were joined together, being held by two Men. The Monk was present at such Things, and many other Vanities appeared in him, which displeased me, yet we joined ourselves to his Society for the Honour of the Cross, for we carried the Cross advanced through all the Tents singing, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, &c. Whereupon the *Mohammedans* were much dejected.

44. From the Time we came to the Court of *Mangu-Khan* he rode but two Journeys towards the South, and from that time he began to return towards the North, which was towards *Caracorum*; whereon I noted all the Way a ring of which *Matter Balakwin* of *Hannonia* had spoken to me at *Constantinople*, that he had seen this only wonderful, that he always ascended in going, and never descended; for all Rivers came from the East to the West, either directly or indirectly, bending towards the South, or the North, and I enquired of the Priests which came from *Cathaya*, who testified the same. From the Place where I found *Mangu-Khan* to *Cathaya* were twenty Days Journey, going towards the South and East to *Oman Kerule*, which is the proper Country of *Moall*, where the Court of *Zingis* is, were ten Days Journey right East; and in those Parts of the East there was no City, yet there were People which are called *Su-Moall*, that is to say, *Moall* of the Waters,

for *Su* is Water. These People live upon Fish and Hunting, having neither Flocks nor Herds. Towards the North likewise there is no City, but a poor People feeding Cattle, who are called *Kirkis*; the *Orangin* are also there, who bind smooth felled Bones under their Feet, and thrust themselves forward upon the congealed Snow and Ice with such Swiftness, that they take Birds and Beasts; and many other poor People there are on the North-side, so far as they may spread themselves for the Cold; and they join on the West with the Country of *Pascatir*, which is *Hungary the Greater*, whereof I have spoken before. The Bound or Summit of the North Corner is not known, for the Extremity of the Cold; for in that Place there are continual Mountains of Snow.

I was inquisitive of the Monsters, or monstrous Men, whereof *Ipsidorus* and *Solinus* make report; they told me they never saw any such, and I therefore doubt whether it be true or no. All these Nations are poor, yet they must serve in some Trade, for it was the Commandment of *Zingis*, that none should be free from Service, till he were so old, that he could labour no longer by any means. Once I remember a certain Priest of *Catbaya* sat with me clothed in a red coloured Cloth, and I demanded of him whence he had such a Colour, and he told me, that in the East Parts of *Catbaya* there were high craggy Rocks, wherein certain Creatures dwell, having in all Parts the Shape of Men; but that they bow not the Knees, but leap instead of walking, which are not above one Cubit long, and their whole Body is covered with Hair, who have their Abode in Caves, which no Man can come unto, and they who hunt them, go to them, and carry strong Drink with them, and make Pits in the Rocks like Wells, which they fill with that strong Drink; for *Catbaya* hitherto has had no Wine, tho' now they begin to plant Vineyards; but the strong Liquor beforementioned is made of Rice. The Hunters hide themselves, and then their Creatures come out of their Holes and taste the Drink, and cry, *Chin-Chin*; on this they come together in great Multitudes, and drink till they are made drunk, so that they sleep there. Then the Hunters come and bind them Hand and Feet, while they are sleeping, and afterwards open the Veins in their Neck, and draw forth three or four Drops of Blood from every one, and let them go free, and that Blood, as he told me, is the most precious Purple.

He told us also as a Truth, (which, however, I do not believe) that there is a Province beyond *Catbaya*, into which, at whatever Age a Man enters, he continueth in the same Age wherein he entered. *Catbaya* is on the Ocean, and the Goldsmith so often mentioned, told me, that there arrived Messengers from a certain People which are called *Tants* and *Manfe*, who inhabit Islands, the Sea of which is frozen in the Winter, so that the *Tartars* may invade them, who offered two thousand Tuemen or Jalcots yearly, so they would let them live in Peace. Tuemen is a Piece of Money containing ten Marks. The common Money of *Cataya* is Paper made like Palteboard, the Breadth and Length of an Hand, upon which they imprint Lines like the Seal of *Mongu*; they write with a Pencil, like that with which Painters paint, and in one Figure they make many Letters comprehending one Word. The People of *Tibet* write as we do, and they have Characters very like ours. They of *Tangut* write from the right Hand to the left, as the *Arabs* do, and multiply the Lines ascending upwards; the *Jugures*, as I said before, from above to the Bottom of the Line. The common Money of the *Rutenians* are little spotted and grided Skins. When we came with the Monk, he charitably admonished us to abstain from Flesh, and that our Servants should eat Flesh with his Servants; but he would promise us Meal, and Oil, or Butter, which we did, though it much grieved my Companion by reason of his Weakness; wherefore our Food was Miller and Butter, or Paste boiled in Water, with Butter, or four Milk, and unleavened Bread baked on Ox-dung, or Horse-dung.

45. When our *Quinquagesima* came, which is the *Lent* Time of all the People of the East, the great Lady *Cota*, with all her Company, fasted that Week, who came every Day to our Oratory, and gave Meat to the Priests, and other Christians, of whom a great Multitude flocked thither the first Week to hear their Duty, and she gave me and

my Companion each a Coat and Breeches of grey Samin, furred with coarse Hair, because my Companion complained much of the Weight of his Skins, which I received for his sake, excusing myself nevertheless, that I would not wear such Cloaths; I gave to my Interpreter what belonged to me. Then the Porters of the Court seeing that such a Multitude came daily to the Church, which was within the Bounds of the Keepers of the Court; they sent one of their Attendants to the Monk, to let him know, that they would not have such a Multitude come within the Precincts of the Court; to this the Monk roughly answered, that he would know whether they commanded this from *Mangu-Khan*, and he added certain Speeches, as if he would accuse them to *Mangu-Khan*; but they preventing him, accused him before *Mangu*, that he was too full of Words, and that he gathered together too great a Multitude to hear him speak.

Afterwards being called to the Court, we came in before the *Khan* himself, who having the burnt Shoulder-blade of a Ram in his Hand, looked upon it, as it were, reading it, began to reprove the Monk severely, telling him, that seeing he was a holy Man, he should pray unto God, and asked why he spoke so much with Men? but I stood behind with my Head bare. Then the *Khan* said to him, Why dost thou not put off thy Cap when thou comest before me, as that *Frank* doth? and commanded me to be called nearer: Then the Monk became much abashed, put off his Cap contrary to the Custom of the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, and when *Khan* himself had spoken sharply to him, we went out; the Monk then delivered me the Cross to bear to the Oratory, because he could not carry it for Shame. After a few Days he was reconciled to him, promising that he would go to the Pope, and that he would bring all the Nations of the West to his Obedience. Whereupon he returning to the Oratory, after that Conference had with the *Khan*, began to enquire of me touching the Pope, if I believed he would see him, if he came unto him in the Behalf of *Mangu*, and if he would furnish him with Horses unto *Saint James* in *Galicia*. He demanded also of your Majesty, if I thought you would send your Son unto *Mangu*? Then I counselled him, that he should take heed that he did not promise Falshoods to *Mangu*, because the last Error would be worse than the first, and that God needeth not our Lies, or that we should speak deceitfully for him.

At that time there arose a certain Question between the Monk and a Priest, a learned Man, whose Father was an Archdeacon, and the other Priests accounted him an Archdeacon. For the Monk said, that Man was created before Paradise, and that the Scripture said so; then was I called to be an Arbitrator of the Question, but I being ignorant that they contended about this, answered, that Paradise was made upon *Tuesday*, when the other Trees were made, and that Man was made the sixth Day. Then the Monk began to say, did not the Devil bring Earth the first Day from the four Parts of the World, and making Clay, made the Body of Man therewith, and God inspired his Soul? Then hearing this Heresy of the Monk, and that he so publicly and shamefully recited it, I reprov'd him sharply, saying, he should put his Finger upon his Mouth, because he knew not the Scriptures, and that he should take heed what he said; and he began to scorn me, because I was ignorant of the Language.

I departed therefore from him, going to our House: it fell out afterwards, that he and the Priests went in Procession to the Court without calling me, because the Monk would no longer speak to me as he was wont; when therefore they came before *Mangu*, he earnestly demanded where I was, and why I came not with them? The Priests being afraid, excused themselves, but, returning, they told me the Words of *Mangu*, and murmured at the Monk. After this, the Monk was reconciled to me, and I to him, intreating him, that he would help me with his Language, and I would help him in the Holy Scripture: For a Brother that is helper of a Brother, is as a strong City. After the first Week of Fasting, the Lady called to come unto the Oratory, and to give Meat and Drink, which we were wont to have; for the Monk suffered it not to be brought, saying, that Mutton-fat, or Suet, was put in the Sauce; and she gave no Oil, but very seldom; so

that we had nothing but brown Bread and Paste, boiled in Water, tho' we had no Water but of dissolved Snow, or Ice, which was exceeding bad. My Companion began to be much grieved, so I acquainted David, the Schoolmaster of the Khan's eldest Son, with our Necessity, who made Report thereof to the Khan, and he commanded to give us Wine, Flower, and Oil.

Neither the *Nestorians* or *Armenians* eat Fish by any means in *Lent*; but the Monk had a Chest by him under the Altar, with Almonds and Raisins, and dried Prunes, and many other Fruits, which he eat all the Day, whenever he was alone. We eat once a Day, and that in great Affliction; for as soon as they knew that *Mangu* had given us Wine, most impudently they came in upon us like Dogs, both the *Nestorian* Priests, who were drunk all the Day in the Court, and the *Mouls* also, and the Servants of the Monk. The Monk also, when any came unto him to whom he would give Drink, he sent to us for Wine; so that the Wine caused us more Trouble than Comfort, because we could not deny it without Offence. If we gave, we wanted ourselves; nor durst we, that being spent, desire any more from the Court.

46. About the Middle of *Lent* the *French* Goldsmith's Son came, bringing with him a Silver Cross made after the *French* Fashion, having the Image of *Christ* all of Silver fastened upon it at the Top, which the Monks and Priests seeing, put it away. This Cross he was to present in the Behalf of his Master to *Bulgai*, who was the chief Secretary of the Court, which when I heard I was offended. The same young Man also declared to *Mangu-Khan*, that the Work, which he had commanded to be made, was finished, which Work I described unto you. *Mangu* hath at *Caracorum* a great Court hard by the Walls of the City, enclosed with a Brick Wall, as the Priors of Monks are enclosed with us. In that Court there is a great Palace, wherein he held his Feasts twice a Year, once in *Easter*, when he passeth that Way, and once in Summer, when he returneth; but the latter is the greater, because then all the Nobles meet together at his Court, and then he gives unto them Garments, and shews all his Magnificence. There are many other Houses there as large as our Farms, wherein his Victuals and Treasures are stored. In the Entrance of that great Place, because it was indecent to have Flaggons going about, as in a Tavern; *William* the Goldsmith made him a great Silver Tree, at the Root whereof were four Silver Lions, having one Pipe fending forth pure Cow's Milk; and the four Pipes were conveyed within the Tree unto the Top thereof, whose Top spread back again downward, and upon every one of them was a Golden Serpent, whose Tails twine about the Tree; and one of these Pipes run with Wine; another with *Caracumos*, that is, clarified Whey; another with Ball, that is, Drink made of Honey; another with Drink made of Rice, called *Tercina*; and every Drink had a Vessel prepared of Silver at the Foot of the Tree to receive it. Between these four Pipes, at the Top he made an Angel holding a Trumpet; and under the Tree he made an hollow Vault, wherein a Man might be hid, and a Pipe ascending up the Heart of the Tree unto the Angel. He first made Belows, but they gave not Wind enough. Without the Palace there is a Chamber, wherein the Liquors were laid, and there were Servants ready to pour it out when they heard the Angel sounding the Trumpet; and the Boughs of the Tree are of Silver, and so are the Leaves and Pears that are on it; when therefore they want Drink, the Butler commands the Angel to sound the Trumpet, he who is hid in the Vault, hearing, blows the Pipe strongly, which ascending to the Angel, he sets his Trumpet to his Mouth, and the Trumpet soundeth very shrill; then the Servants hearing, which are in the Chamber, pour Liquor into the proper Pipe, and the Pipes pour it from above, and they are received below into Vessels prepared for that Purpose. Then the Butlers draw them, and carry them through the Palace to Men and Women.

The Palace is like a Church, having the middle Isle and the two Sides beyond two Rows of Pillars, and three Gates on the South; before the middle Gate stands the Tree, and the *Khan* himself sits in the North Front on an high Place, that he may be seen of all; and there are two

Flights of Steps ascending to him; by one he that carries the Cup goes unto him, and by the other he comes down. The Space which is in the Middle, between the Tree and the Steps by which they ascend, is void; for there stands he that waits on his Cup, and the Messengers which bring Presents, the *Khan* sitting there above like a God. On the right Side, towards the West, are the Men, on the left Women; for the Palace stretched out in Length from North to South: on the Right-side are Places full of Seats, on which his Sons and Brethren sit; on the Left-side are the like, where his Wives and Daughters sit, one Woman only sits above by him, but not so high as he. When therefore he had heard that the Work was finished, he commanded the chief Workman to set it up in its Place and make it fit.

About *Passion Sunday*, he went before with his small Houles, leaving his greater Houles behind, and the Monk and we followed him; and he sent us another Bottle of Wine. The *Khan*, in his March, passed between the hilly Countries, where there was great Wind, and extreme cold, and there fell a great Snow; whereupon he sent about Midnight to the Monk and us, entreating us to pray unto God, that he would mitigate the Wind and Cold, because all the Beasts which were in the Train were in Jeopardy; especially because all that Time they were with Young, and ready to bring forth. Then the Monk sent him Incense, requiring him to put it upon the Coals, and offer it to God, which whether he did, I know not; but the Tempest ceased, which had continued two Days.

On *Palm-Sunday* we were near *Caracorum*, in the Dawning of the Day, we blessed the Willow-boughs, whereon, as yet, there appeared no Budd; and about Nine we entered the City, carrying the Cross aloft, with the Banner, passing through the Middle of the Street of the *Saracens*, where the Market and Fair are, to the Church, and the *Nestorians* met us in Procession; and entering into the Church, we found them prepared to celebrate the Mass; which being celebrated, they all communicated; and they asked we whether I would communicate? I answered, that I had drank before, and the Sacrament should not be received but fasting. Mass being said, it was Evening, and Master *William* the Goldsmith, brought us with Joy to his Inn to sup with him. He had a Wife who was the Daughter of *Mohammed* Parents, though born in *Hungary* herself, who could speak *French*, and the Language of *Comania*. We found also there one other Man, called *Bisfilius*, the Son of an *Englishman*, born in *Hungary*, who also was skilful in the same Languages. Supper being ended, they brought us to our Cottage, which the *Tartars* had appointed in a certain Plat of Ground near the Church, with the Oratory of the Monk.

On the next Morning the *Khan* himself entered into his Palace, and the Monk, and I, and the Priests, went to him; they suffered not my Companion to go, because he stumbled on the Threshold. I much deliberated with myself what I should do, whether I should go or no; and, fearing Offence, if I should depart from other Christians, and because it pleased him, and fearing lest that God might be hindered, which I hoped to obtain, I chose rather to go, though I saw their Actions full of Idolatry and Sorcery; nor did I any other Thing there but pray for the whole Church with a loud Voice, and also for the *Khan* himself, that GOD would direct him to the Way of eternal Salvation. We therefore went into the Court, which was very neat, for in the Summer Rivers are conveyed into every Place, whereby it is watered. After this we entered into the Palace full of Men and Women, and stood before the *Khan*, having the aforesaid Tree at our Backs, which, with the Vessels thereof, took up a great Part of the Palace. The Priests brought two little Loaves and Fruit in an earthen Dish, which they presented unto him, blessing them, and the Butler brought them to him, sitting above on a very high Place, and he presently began to eat one of the Loaves, and sent the other to his Son and a younger Brother of his, who was brought up by a *Nestorian*, and knew the Gospel, who also sent for my Bible that he might see it. After the Priests, the Monk said his Prayer, and I after the Monk; then he promised that the next Day he would come unto the Church, which is great enough

enough and fair, and all the Ceiling above was covered with Silk wrought with Gold: The next Day he departed, desiring the Priests to excuse him, that he durst not come to the Church, because he understood the Dead were carried thither: But we and the Monk remained at *Caramorum* and the other Priests of the Court, that we might celebrate *Easter* there.

47. The Feast of *Easter* was now drawing near, and we had not our Vestments; and I likewise considered the Manner how the *Nestorians* made the Sacramental Bread, and was much troubled what I should do, whether I should receive the Sacrament from them, or should celebrate in their Vestments and Chalice, and upon their Altar, or should altogether abstain from the Sacrament. There was a great Multitude of *Christians*; *Hungarians*, *Alans*, *Rutenians*, *Georgians*, and *Armenians*, all which had not seen the Sacrament since they were taken Prisoners, because the *Nestorians* would not admit them into their Church, unless they were baptized by them, as they said; yet they made no mention of that to us, and they offered their Sacrament freely to us, and made me stand in the Door of the Choir, that I might see their Manner of Consecration. On the Vigil of *Easter* I stood by the Fount, that I might see their Manner of baptizing. They say they have of the Ointment wherewith *Mary Magdalene* anointed the Feet of our *Lord*; and they pour in as much as they think fit of that Oil, with which they knead their Bread; for all the People of the East put fat in their Bread instead of Leaven, which Fat is Butter, or Suet out of a Sheep's Tail, or Oil.

They say also, they have of the Flour of which the Bread was made, which the *Lord* consecrated, and always add as much fresh as the Quantity of the Flour they lay aside; and they have a Chamber, hard by their Choir, and an Oven, where they bake the Bread, which they next consecrate with great Reverence. They therefore make one Loaf of an Hand's-breadth, with the before-mentioned Oil, which they first break into twelve Pieces, according to the Number of the Apostles, and after divide those Pieces according to the Multitude of the People, and the Priests give the Body of *CHRIST* to every one in his Hand; and then every one taketh it out of the Palm of his Hand with Reverence, and stretcheth his Hand to the Top of his Head. The *Christians* I mentioned before, and the Monks, very earnestly entreated us, for God's Sake, that we would celebrate. Then I made them be confessed by an Interpreter as I could, reckoning the ten Commandments, and the seven deadly Sins, and other Things, for which every Man ought to be penitent and confessed; all of them publicly excused themselves, concerning Theft, saying, that without Theft they could not live, because their Masters provided them neither Food nor Rayment. Then considering that they had taken away their Persons and their Substance without just Cause, I said unto them, that they might lawfully take Necessaries of the Goods of their Masters, and I was ready to maintain it to the Face of *Mangu-Khan*.

Some of them also were Soldiers, who excused themselves, that they must go to the Wars, or else they should be slain: I forbade them to go against the *Christians*, and that they should not hurt them, and that they should rather suffer themselves to be slain, for so they should become Martyrs. And I said, that if any would accuse me of this Doctrine before *Mangu-Khan*, I would be ready to preach the same in his hearings; for the *Nestorians* themselves of the Court were present when I taught this, of whom I was suspicious they might report ill of us. Then Master *William* the Goldsmith, caused an Iron to be made for us to make Hosts; and he had certain Vestments which he had made for himself, for he had some Knowledge in Learning, and officiated as a Clerk. He caused the Image of the Blessed Virgin *Mary* to be graven after the *French* Fashion, and engraved the History of the Gospel very fair; and made a silver Box to lay up the Body of *CHRIST*, and the Relicks in certain little Holes curiously wrought in the Side of the Box.

He made also a certain Oratory upon a Chariot, very fairly painted with Scripture Histories; I therefore took his Vestments and blessed them; and we made Hosts after

our manner very fair: And the *Nestorians* assigned me their Fount for Baptism. And their Patriarch sent them from *Baldach* a square Hide like a portable Altar, made with Chrism, which they use instead of consecrated Stone; therefore I celebrated on the Day of the *Lord's* Supper, in their silver Chalice and Dish, which were very great Vessels. I did the like also on *Easter-day*, and we communicated the People with the Blessing of God, as I hope; but they baptized in the Vigil of *Easter* more than three-score Persons very orderly. There was great Joy for this generally among all *Christians*.

48. After this, it happened that Master *William* the Goldsmith was grievously sick, and when he was upon recovery, the Monk visiting him, gave him *Rhubarb* to drink, so that he had almost killed him. Then visiting him when I found him so ill, I asked him what he had eat or drank? And he told me the Monk had given him the Potion, and he drunk two little Dishes full, thinking it had been Holy Water. Then I went to the Monk, and said to him, either go as an Apostle, doing Miracles indeed by Virtue of Prayer and the Holy Ghost, or as a Physician, according to the Art of Medicine; you give a strong Potion of Physick to drink to Men not prepared, as if it were an innocent Thing; for which you will incur a foul Scandal, if it come to the Knowledge of Men. From that Time he began to fear and to be weary of him.

It happened at that Time, that the Priest too was sick, who was as it were the Archdeacon of the rest, and his Friends sent for a certain *Sorcerer*, who was a Soothsayer, who said unto them, a certain lean Man, who neither eateth or drinketh, nor sleeps in a Bed, is angry with him; if he can obtain his Blessing, he may recover; then they understood it was the Monk, and about Midnight, the Priest's Wife, his Sister, and his Son came, intreating that he would come and bless him; they also raised us up to intercede with the Monk, who answered us upon this Occasion, Let him alone, because he, with three others, who likewise took evil Courses, consulted to go to the Court, to procure *Mangu-Khan*, that I and you, should be expelled from these Parts; for there arose a Contention among them, because *Mangu* and his Wives sent four Jascots, and Pieces of Silk, upon *Easter* Eve, to the Monk and Priests, to distribute among them, and the Monk had kept unto himself one Jascot for his Part, and of the other three one was counterfeit, for it was Copper. The Priests thought therefore that the Monk had kept too great a Share to himself, whence (it might be) that they had some Words among themselves, which were reported to the Monk.

When Day came, I went to the Priest, who had extream Pain in his Side, and spit Blood, whence I thought it was an Impolstume; then I advised him, that if he had any thing that was another's to restore it; he said he had nothing. I spoke unto him also of the Sacrament of Extream Unction; who answered, we have no such Custom, neither do our Priests know how to do it; I intreat you, that you would do it for me, as you know best. I advised him also, concerning Confession, which they frequent not; and he spake a little in the Ear of a certain Priest, one of his Companions. After this, he grew better, and intreated me to go for the Monk, so I went, but the Monk would not come at first; but when he heard he was somewhat better, he went with his Cross, and I also went, and carried the Body of *Christ*, which I had reserved upon *Easter* Day, at the Intreaty of Master *William*; then the Monk began to kick him with his Feet, and he most humbly embraced his Feet; then I said unto him, it is the Custom of the Church of *Rome*, that the Sick should receive the Body of *Christ*, as it is the best Provision for their Journey, and a Defence against all the Deceits of the Enemy; turning next to the sick Man, I said, Behold the Body of *Christ*, which I consecrated on *Easter* Day, you must be confessed, and desired it. Then said he, with a great Faith, I desire it with all my Heart; which when I had offered to him, he with great Affection, said, I believe that this is my Creator, and my Saviour, who gave me Life, and will restore it again unto me after Death in the general Resurrection; and so took the Body of *Christ* (from my Hand) made after the Manner of the

Church of *Rome*; the Monk then stayed with him and gave him, in my Absence, I know not what Potions.

The next Day he began to have the Pangs of Death upon him; then taking their Oil which they said was Holy, I anointed him according to the manner of the Church of *Rome*, as they entreated me. I had none of our Oil, because the Priests of *Sartaeb* kept it all. When we should have sung a *Dinge*, and I would have been present at his End, the Monk sent to me, bidding me depart, because, if I were present, I could not come into the House of *Mangu-Khan* for one whole Year; which, when I had told his Friends, they said it was true, and desired me to depart, lest I might be hindered in that Good which I might promote. As soon as he was dead, the Monk said unto me, *Never mind it, I have killed him with my Prayers; this Man only was learned, and opposed himself against us, the rest knew nothing: Henceforth Mangu-Khan himself, and they all will couch at our Feet.* Then he declared unto me the before-mentioned Answer of the Soothsayer; which, not believing it, I enquired of the Priests who were Friends of the Deceased, whether it were true or no, who said it was; but whether he was pre-instructed or not, that they knew not.

Afterwards I found that the Monk called the Soothsayer and his Wife into his Chapel, and caused Dust to be sifted for him to divine to him, for he had a certain *Rumian* Deacon who divined to him; which, when I understood, I was amazed at his Foolishness, and said to him, Brother, a Man full of the Holy Ghost, which teacheth all Things, should not demand Answers or Counsels from Soothsayers, seeing all such Things are forbidden, and they are excommunicated who follow such Things. Then he began to excuse himself, that it was not true that he fought after such Things; but I would not depart from him, because I was placed there by the Commandment of the *Khan* himself, nor could I remove without his special Command.

49. As to the City of *Caracorum*, your Highness may be pleased to know this; that, excluding the Palace of the *Khan* himself, it is not so good as the Castle of *St. Dennis*, and the Monastery of *St. Dennis* is worth ten Times that Palace, and more too. There are two Streets there, one of the *Saracens* or *Mohammedans*, where the Fairs are kept, and many Merchants resort thither, by reason of the Court which is always near, and for the Number of Embassadors. There is another of the *Cathaians*, who are all Artificers. Without those Streets there are great Palaces, which are the Courts of the *Secretaries*; there are there twelve kinds of Idolaters of divers Nations, two Mosques, where the Law of *Mohammed* is proclaimed, and one Church of the Christians at the End of the Town. The Town is inclosed with a Mud-wall, and hath four Gates; on the East Part Millet and other Grain is sold, which, as yet, is seldom brought thither; on the West Sheep and Goats, on the South Oxen and Waggoners are sold; and on the North Horses.

Following the Court, we came thither on the *Sunday* before the *Ascension*; the next Day after we were called before *Bulgai*, who is their Justice and chief Secretary; both the Monk and all his Family, and we and all the Messengers and Strangers likewise who frequented the House of the Monk, and we were called before *Bulgai* severally, first the Monk, and after us, and they began diligently to enquire whence we were, and for what Purpose we came, and what our Errand was? and this Enquiry was made because it was told *Mangu-Khan*, that four hundred Assassines or secret Murderers, were gone forth in divers Habits to kill him. About that Time the *Khan's* Lady was restored to Health, and she sent for the Monk, and he not willing to go, answered, she hath sent for Idolaters about her, let them cure her if they can, I will go no more.

Upon *Ascension* Eve, we were in all the House of *Mangu-Khan*: And I saw as often as he was to drink, they cast Cosmos to their Idols of Felt; then I said to the Monk, *What Fellowship hath Christ with Belial? What Part hath our Cross with those Idols?* *Mangu-Khan* hath eight Brethren, three by the Mother, and five by the Father. One of them, of his Mother's Side, he sent into the Country of *Assafines*, who are called by them *Mulibet*,

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and he commanded him to kill them all. Another went to *Paria*, and is now entered therein to go, as is thought, into *Turky*, from thence to send Armies to *Baldack* and *Pasfacius*. One of the others he sent into *Cathai* against some that rebelled: His youngest Brother of the same Venter, he kept himself, whose Name was *Arabucha*, who holds his Mother's Court, who was a Christian, whose Servant Master *William* is; for one of the Brother, the Father's Side took him in a certain City called *Agade*, where there was a *Norman* Bishop, of *Belleme* near *Rome*, with a Nephew of the Bishop's, whom I saw there at *Caracorum*, and he gave Master *William* to *Mangu's* Mother, because she was desirous to have him. But when he was dead, Master *William* came back again to *Arabucha*, with all Things else pertaining to the Court of his Mother; and from him he came to the Knowledge of *Mangu-Khan*, who on finishing of the aforelaid Work, gave unto Master *William* one hundred Jaseots, that is, a thousand Marks.

On the Eve of the *Ascension*, *Mangu-Khan* said, he would go to his Mother's Court and visit her, and the Monk said he would go with him, and gave his Blessing to his Mother, with which *Khan* was well contented. In the Evening of the Day of the *Ascension*, the aforelaid Lady was very ill, and the Chief of the Soothsayers sent to the Monk, commanding him that the Table should not be smitten. On the Morrow, when the whole Court removed, the Court of the Lady remained still, and when we came to the Place where the Court should stay, the Monk was commanded to depart farther from the Court than he was wont, which he did; then *Arabucha* met his Brother the *Khan*: So the Monk and we, seeing that he was to pass by us, met him with the Cross; and he calling us to mind, because sometimes he had been at our Oratory, stretching forth his Hand made a Cross unto us like a Bishop; then the Monk taking Horse followed him, bearing certain Fruits; but he alighted before his Brother's Court, waiting while he came from hunting: The Monk alighted there also, and offered him the Fruit, which he received; and hard by him sat two *Saracens* of the Nobility of the Court of *Khan*; but *Arabucha* understanding of the Contention between the Christians and the *Saracens*, enquired of the Monk if he knew these *Saracens*, and he answered, *I know they are Dogs, why have you them so near you?* But they replied, why, say they, do you Wrong to us, when we do none to you? To whom the Monk said, I speak the Truth, and ye and your *Mohammed*, are vile Dogs: Then they began to blaspheme *CHRIST*, but *Arabucha* forbade them, saying, speak not so blasphemously, for we know that the *Messiah* is *God*. That very Hour there arose a great Wind over all the Street, and after a while, there came a Rumour that the Lady was dead.

The next Morning the *Khan* returned towards the Court another Way; for this is a Rule amongst them, that they never return the same Way they come. While the Court remained here, none dare pass that Way (neither Horse-man nor Foot-man) where the Court stayed, so long as any Shew of the Fire made there remaineth. That Day certain *Saracens* kept Company with the Monk, upon the Way, provoking him, and disputing with him, and when he could not defend himself with Argument, and they made light of him, he would have lashed them with the Whip which he held in his Hand, and he went so far that his Words were reported at the Court, and we were commanded to depart to the same Place with other Messengers, and not to abide before the Court as we were wont. I hitherto always hoped the King of *Armenia* would come. There came some about *Easter* from *Bolac*, where those *Germans* are, for whose Sake chiefly I went thither, who told me, that the *Dutch* Priest should come to Court; therefore I moved no Questions to *Mangu* concerning our Stay or Departure; for at the Beginning, he gave us Leave to stay two Months, and now five Months were past. This was done about the End of *May*, and we had continued there all *February*, *March*, *April*, and *May*; but hearing no News of the King or the said Priest, and fearing lest we should return in the Winter, the Sharpness of which we had experienced, I caused it to be demanded of *Mangu-Khan*, what his Pleasure was concerning us, because we

would

would stay there, if so he pleased, or if we must return, it were easier for us to return in Summer, than in the Winter.

He presently sent to me, commanding that I should not go far off, because his Pleasure was to speak with me the next Day: To which I answered, if he would speak with me, he should send for Master *William's* Son, for my Interpreter was not sufficient, and he that brought this Message to me was a *Saracen*, who had been a Messenger to *Vassacius*, and blinded with Rewards, counselled *Vassacius* to send Embassadors to *Mangu-Khan*, and the mean while the Time passed, for *Vassacius* thought he would presently enter their Country, so he sent, and after he knew them, he little regarded them, nor made a Peace with them; neither did they yet enter his Country, nor will they be able so long as they dare defend themselves; nor did they ever take any Country by Force, but by Deceit; and because Men make Peace with them, under Colour of that Peace they circumvent them, and overthrow them. Then he began to be very inquisitive of the Pope, and of the King of the *Franks*, and of the Way to go to them; but the Monks hearing this, advised me secretly not to answer him, because he would procure that an Embassador should be sent. I therefore held my Peace, not willing to answer him; and he spoke to me I know not what injurious Words, for which the *Nestorian* Priests would have accused him, so that he had either been slain or beaten, but I would not agree to it.

So the very next Day they brought me to the Court, and the chief Secretaries of the Court came to me, one of them: *Maal*, who waiteth upon the *Khan's* Cup, and the rest *Saracens*, enquiring on the Behalf of the *Khan*, wherefore I came? Then I told him in the very same Words I did before, how I came to *Sartach*, and from *Sartach* to *Batu*, and how *Batu* sent me thither. Whereupon I said unto him, I have nothing to speak on the Behalf of any Man, unless I should speak the Words of God unto him, if he would hear them, for the *Khan* should best know what *Batu* hath written unto him. They stuck upon this, demanding what Words of God I would speak unto him; thinking I would prophesy unto him some prosperous thing as many use to do.

To whom I answered, if ye will that I speak the Words of God unto him, get me an Interpreter, who said we have sent for him, yet speak by this Interpreter as you may, we shall understand you well, and they urged me much to speak. Then I said, "This is the Word of God. To whom more is committed more is required at his Hands. Another also, to whom more is forgiven, he ought to love more. Out of these true Words of God; I said to the *Mangu* himself, that God hath given him much: For the Power and Riches which he hath, the Idols of the *Tuennians* hath not given him, but the Omnipotent God, who hath made Heaven and Earth, in whose Hands all Kingdoms are, and he translateth them from Nation to Nation for the Sins of Men, wherefore if he love him, it shall go well with him; if otherwise, let him know that God will require all these things at his Hands, even to the uttermost Farthing." Then said one of the *Saracens*, Is there any Man that loveth not God? I answered, "God faith, if any Man love me, he will keep my Commandments; therefore he that keepeth not the Commandments of God, loveth not God." Then said he, have ye been in Heaven, that ye might know the Commandments of God? "No, said I, but he hath given them from Heaven to holy Men, and at the last himself descended from Heaven, teaching us, and we have these things in the Scriptures, and we see by the Works of Men whether they keep them or no."

Whereupon he replied, Will ye then say that *Mangu-Khan* keeps not the Commandments of God, to whom I said your Interpreter will come as ye say? Then before *Mangu-Khan*, if it please him, I will recite the Commandments of God, and he shall be his own Judge, whether he keep them or not; so they departed and told him, that I said he was an Idolater, or a *Tuinnian*, and kept not the Commandments of God. The next Day he sent his Secretaries unto me, saying, our Lord sends us unto you, saying, ye are here *Christian Saracens*, and *Tuinnians*, and every of you faith his Law is better, and his Books are true:

Wherefore he would that ye all come together, and make Comparison that every one write his Words, that he may know the Truth. Then I said, "Blessed be God, that hath put this in the Heart of *Khan*; but our Scriptures faith, the Servant of God must not be contentious, but meek unto all. Wherefore I am ready without Strife and Contention to render an Account of the Faith and Hope of Christians to every one that shall require it." Then they wrote my Words, and brought them unto him.

Then the *Nestorians* were commanded to provide themselves, and write what they would speak, and the *Saracens* likewise, and the *Tuinnians* also. On the next Morning he sent the Secretaries again, saying, *Mangu-Khan* would know wherefore ye came to these Parts? To whom I said, he may know by the Letters of *Batu*; to this they answered, *Batu's* Letters are lost, and he hath forgotten what *Batu* hath wrote to him. Wherefore he would know of you.

At this somewhat emboldened, I said, "The Duty of Office of our Religion is to preach the Gospel unto all. Whereupon when I heard of the Fame of the People of *Maal*, I had a Desire to come unto them, and while I was thus minded we heard of *Sartach*, that he was a Christian; then I directed my Journey unto him, and my Sovereign Lord the King of the *Franks* sent him Letters containing good Words, and other Words besides which testify us unto him what Men we are, when he made Request that he would suffer us to remain with the People of *Maal*; then he sent us to *Batu*, and *Batu* to *Mangu-Khan*; whereupon we intreated, and yet intreat him to suffer us to stay." They wrote all, and made Relation thereof unto him. On the Morrow he sent to me again, saying, the *Khan* knoweth well enough that ye have no Message unto him, but ye came to pray for him as many other Priests do; but he demandeth whether ever any of your Embassadors were with him, or ours with you. Then I declared all unto them concerning *David* and *Friar Andrew*, so they putting all in Writing, reported the same to him.

Then he sent again unto me, saying, our Lord *Khan* faith ye have staid long here; his Pleasure is, that ye return unto your own Country, and he further demands, whether ye would conduct his Embassadors with you? To whom I made answer, that I durst not carry his Embassadors beyond his own Country, because there is a warlike Nation between us and you, and the Sea and Mountains, and I am a poor Monk, and therefore dare not take upon me to be his Guide. So they having set down all in Writing, returned, and reported it to the *Khan*. When *Whitson-Eve* came the *Nestorians* wrote Chronicles from the Creation of the World to the Passion of *Cérise*, and passing over the Passion, they spoke of the Resurrection of the Dead, and of the Ascension and of the coming of Judgment, wherein many things were to be reprehended, which I told them; and we likewise wrote the Symbol or Creed, *Credo unum Deum*. Then I demanded of them how they would proceed? They said they would first dispute with the *Saracens*; I showed them this was not the proper Method, for the *Saracens* in this agree with us, that they affirm there is but one God, and therefore you may have them to help you against the *Tuinnians*, so they were contented. Then I asked them, they knew how Idolatry had its first Original in the World, and they could not tell? I told them, and they said you shall clear these things to them, and then let us speak, for it is hard to speak by an Interpreter; to whom I said, for how you can behave yourselves against them, I will take the *Tuinnian's* Part, and you the Christians.

Suppose I am of that Sect that say there is no God, prove ye there is a God; for there is a Sect there which faith, that every Virtue, in what thing soever, is the God thereof, and that otherwise there is no God. Then the *Nestorians* knew not how to prove any thing, but only that which their Writing declareth: I said they believe not the Scriptures, if ye shew one, they will shew another. Then I directed them to let me first talk with them, because if I should be overcome, they might still have Liberty of Speech; whereas if they should be overcome, I should have no hearing: They agreed unto it.

We therefore gathered together at our Oratory, and *Mangu-Khan* sent three Writers to be Judges, one *Christian*, one *Saracen*, and one *Tuinian*, and it was first proclaimed, "This is the Commandment of *Mangu-Khan*, and none dare say that the Commandment of God is otherwise." He commandeth that none speak contentiously or injuriously Words to another, or make any Tumult, whereby this Business may be hindered, upon Pain of his Head." Then all were silent, and there was a great Assembly there, for every Party invited the wisest of their Nation, and many others came flocking thither. Then the Christians set me in the Middle of them, willing the *Tuiniens* to speak with me. Then they began to murmur against *Mangu-Khan*, because never any Khan attempted thus to search into their Secrets. Then they opposed one to me, who came from *Catabaya*, having his Interpreter, and I had Master *William's* Son. And he first said to me, Friend, if thou be brought to a Nuptial, who must seek a wife than yourself? But I held my Peace.

Then he demanded whereof I would dispute, either *how the World was made, or what becomes of the Souls after Death?* To whom I answered, "Friend, this should not be the beginning of our Speech. All things are of God, and he is the Fountain and Head of all, and therefore we ought to speak first of God, of whom ye think otherwise than ye ought to do, and *Mangu* desires to know who believes better?" Then the Arbitrators allowed this to be reasonable, they would willingly have begun with the following Questions; because they hold them for the strongest, for they are all of the Heresy of the *Manichees*, believing two Principles, the one bad, and the other good; and concerning Souls they all think they pass from Body to Body, inasmuch that one of the wisest of the *Nestorian* Priests demanded of me concerning the Souls of brute Beasts, whether they could fly to any Place where they should not be compelled to labour after Death? For Confirmation also thereof, as the Goldsmith told me a certain Child was brought from *Catabaya*, who by the Size of his Body appeared to be three Years old, yet was capable of any Reason, who affirmed of himself, that he had been three times in several Bodies, and knew Letters, and how to write.

I said to the aforesaid *Tuinian*, *We firmly believe with the Heart, and confess with the Mouth, that there is a God, and there is but one God, and one in perfect Unity, what believe you?* He said, Fools say there is but one God, but wise Men say there are many. Are not there great Lords in your Country, and here is a greater Lord, *Mangu-Khan*? Is it of the Gods, because in divers Countries there are divers? To whom I said, you make a bad Comparison of Men with God; for to every mighty Man in his own Country may be called a God. And when I would have dissolved the Similitude, he prevented me, enquiring what Manner of God is yours, whereof you speak? that he is but one. I answered, "Our God, beside whom there is no other, is Omnipotent, and therefore needeth not the Help of another. Nay, all we have need of his Help, it is not so with Men; no Man can do all things, and therefore there must be many Lords in the Earth, because no one can support all. Again, he knows all things, therefore he needs not a Counsellor: Nay, all Wisdom is from him; moreover he is perfectly good, and needeth not our Good. Nay, in him we live, move, and have our Being: Such is our God, and therefore you must not hold that there is any other." It is not so, said he. Nay, there is one highest in the Heavens, whose Generation we know not yet, and ten are under him, and under them there is one inferior, and in the Earth there are infinite. Then he would have added other Fables: So I asked him of that highest God, whether he thought him Omnipotent? or of any other God? and fearing to answer, he demanded, if your God be such as you say, why made he the half of things evil? It is false, said I, who maketh any Evil is no God, and all things whatsoever are good. At this Word all the *Tuiniens* marvelled, and set it down in Writing, as false, or impossible. Then he began to ask, Whence therefore cometh Evil? You ask amiss, said I; for first you should demand what Evil is before you ask whence it is. But to return unto the first Question, whether do you believe that any God is omnipotent? and after I will

answer you to whatsoever you demand. Then he sat a long time and would not answer, inasmuch that the Writers on the Behalf of the Khan were forced to command him to answer. At length he answered, that no God was Omnipotent. Then all the *Saracens* break out into a great Laughter. Silence being made, I said therefore none of your Gods can save you in all Dangers, because such a Chance may happen wherein he hath no Power. Again, no Man can serve two Masters. How then can you serve so many Lords in Heaven and in Earth? The Auditory decreed him to answer, but he held his Peace.

Then when I was about to alledge Reasons to prove the Truth of the Divine Essence, and the Trinity, in every Man's Hearing, the *Nestorians* of the Country said, that it was enough, because they meant to speak, so I gave them place; and when they would have disputed with the *Saracens*, they answered, we grant that your Law is true, and whatsoever is in the Gospel is Truth, wherefore we will not dispute with you in any thing, and they confessed, that they beg at the Hands of God in their Prayers, that they may die the Death of the Christians. There was there a certain old Priest of the Sect of *Jugeres*, who confesses One God, yet they make Idols, with whom they talk'd much, shewing all till the Coming of Christ to Judgment, declaring the Trinity to him, and the *Saracens* by Similitudes; all of them hearkened without any Contradiction, yet none of them said, I believe, and will become a Christian: The Conference ended, the *Nestorians* and *Saracens* sang together with a loud Voice, the *Tuiniens* holding their Peace, and after that, they all drank most plentifully.

51. On *Whitsunday*, *Mangu-Khan* called me before him, and the *Tuinian*, with whom I disputed; and before I went in, Master *William's* Son, my Interpreter, said to me, that we must return to our Country, and that I should speak nothing against it, because he understood it for a thing determined. When I came before him, I kneel'd, and the *Tuinian* by me, with his Interpreter. Then he said unto me, tell me the Truth, whether you said, when I sent my Writers unto you, that I was a *Tuinian*? Then I answered, My Lord, I said not so; but if it please Your Highness, I will tell you the Words I spake; then I recited what I had spoken, and he answered, I thought well you said not so, for it was a Word which you should not speak, but your Interpreter hath ill interpreted it. So he reached forth his Staff towards me whereon he leaned, saying, fear not. I smiling, said softly, if I had feared, I had not come hither; then he demanded of the Interpreter what I said? So he repeated my Words unto him: Afterwards he began to confess his Faith unto me.

"We, *Moosians*, said he, believe that there is but "One God, through whom we live and die, and we have "an upright Heart towards him;" then said I, God grant you this, for without this Gift it cannot be, and he demanded what I said, so the Interpreter told him; then he added further, *that God hath given to the Hand diverse Fingers, so he hath given many Ways to Men: God hath given the Scriptures to you, and the Christians keep them not; ye find it not in the Scriptures, that one of you shall dispraise another: Do you find it, said he?* No, said I; but I signified unto you from the Beginning, that I would not contend with any; I speak it not, said he, touching you. In like manner ye find it not that for Money a Man ought to decline from Justice. No, Sir, said I, and truly neither came I into these Parts to get Money, nay, I refused that which was given me; and there was a Scribe present there, who gave Testimony that I had refused a Jasoer, and certain Pieces of Silk. I speak it not, said he, for that, God hath given you the Scriptures, and ye keep them not; but he hath given us Soothsayers, and we do that which they bid us, and we live in Peace. He drank four times, as I think, before he disclosed these things; and while I hearkened attentively, whether he would confess any thing else concerning this Faith, he began to speak of my Return, saying, you have staid a long time here, my Pleasure is therefore that you return: You said, you durst not carry my Ambassadors with you, will you carry my Messenger, or my Letters? And from that time I could neither have Place nor Time to shew him the Catholic Faith,

Faith; for a Man cannot speak before him, save what he pleaseth, unless he were an Ambassador, but an Ambassador may speak what he will, and they always demand, whether he have any thing else to say.

But he suffered me to speak no more; but I must hear him, and answer as to Interrogatories. Then I answered, that if he would make me understand his Words, and that they were set down in Writing, I would willingly carry them to my Power. Then he asked me, if I would have Gold or Silver, or costly Garments? I answered, we receive no such things; but we have not wherewith to bear our Expenses, and without your Help, we cannot get out of your Country. Then said he, I will provide you all Necessaries throughout my Country, will you have any thing more? I answered, it sufficeth me. Then he demanded how far will you be brought? I said let our Pass bring me to the *Armenian* Country; if I were there, it were enough. He answered, I will cause you to be conveyed thither, and after look to yourself; and he added, there are two Eyes in one Head, and though they be two, yet there is one Object to both; and whither the one directeth the Sight, the other doth: You came from *Babai*, and therefore you must return by him. When he had thus said, I craved Leave to speak; speak on, said he; then said I, "Sir, we are not Men of War; we desire that they have Dominion of the World, who would most justly govern it according to the Will of God; our Office is to teach Men to live according to the Will of God; for this Purpose came we into these Parts, and would willingly have remained here, if it had pleased you; but seeing it is your Pleasure that we return, it must be so; I will return, and carry your Letters according to my Power, as ye have commanded. I would request your Magnificence, that when I have carried your Letters, it may be lawful for me to return to you, with your good liking, chiefly because you have poor Servants of yours at *Babai*, who are of our Language, and they want a Priest to teach them and their Children their Law, and I would willingly stay with them." To this he answered, Know you whether your Lords would lend you back to me? I answered, "Sir, I know not the Purpose of my Lords; but I have Licence from them to go whither I will, where it is needful to preach the Word of God; and it seems to me, as if it were very necessary in those Parts: Whereupon, whether they send Ambassadors or no, if it please you, I will return." Then he held his Peace, and sat a long Space, as it were in a Muse; and my Interpreter desired me to speak no more, and I carefully expected what he would answer.

At length, he said, you have a long Way to go, make yourself strong with Food, that you may come lusty into your Country, and he caused them to give me Drink; then I departed from his Presence, and returned not again. If I had been endowed with Power to do Wonders, as *Moses* did, peradventure he had humbled himself.

52. The Soothsayers therefore, as he confessed, are their Priests, and whatsoever they command to be done, is performed without Delay; whose Office I shall describe unto you, as I could learn of Master *William*, and others, who reported unto me things like to be true. They are many, and they have always one Head, or chief Priest, who always places his House before the great House of *Mangu-Khan*, within a Stone's Cast; under his Study are the Chariots which bear their Idols, the others are behind the Court, in Places appointed for them, and they who have any Confidence in that Art, come unto them from divers Parts of the World. Some of them are skilful in Astronomy, and especially the Chief of them, and they foretell to them the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon. And when they are to come to pass; all the People prepare them Food, so that they need not go out of the Door of their House; and when there is an Eclipse, they play upon their Timbrels and Organs, and make a great Noise, and set up loud Shouts. When the Eclipse is past, they give themselves to Feasting and Drinking, and make great Cheer. They foretell fortunate and unlucky Days for all Businesses; therefore they never levy an Army, or undertake War, without their Direction; and they had long since returned into *Hungary*, but that their Soothsayers will not

suffer them: They make all things that are sent to the Court, pass between Fires, and have a due Portion of them.

They also purgify the household Stuff of the Dead, drawing them between these Fires; for when any one dieth, all things whatsoever which appertain to him, are separated, and not mingled with other things of the Court, till all be purged by the Fire; so did I see it done to the Court of the Lady who died while we were there; whereupon there was a double Reason why Friar *Andrew* and his Fellows should go between the Fires, both because they brought Presents, and also for that they belonged to him who was dead, to wit, *Khan-Khan*; no such thing was required of me, because I brought nothing. If any living Creature, or any thing else, fall to the Ground while they thus make them pass between the Fires, that is theirs; they also on the ninth Day of the Moon of *May*, gather together all white Mares of the Herd and consecrate them. The Christian Priests also must come together with their Censors; then they cast new Cosmos upon the Ground, and make a great Feast that Day, because then they think they drink Cosmos first, as it is the Fashion, in some Places with us, as for Wine, on the Feast of Saint *Bartholomew*, or *Sabas*; and for Fruits, on the Feast of St. *James* and *Christopher*.

They also are invited when any Child is born, to foretell his Destiny. They are sent for also when any is sick, to use their Charms, and they tell whether it be a natural Infirmary, or by Sorcery; in regard to which, that good Woman of *Meiz* I mentioned before, told me a wonderful thing. On a certain time, very costly Furrs were presented, which were laid down at the Court of her Lady, who was a Christian, as I said before, and the Soothsayers drew them through between the Fires, and took more of them than was their Due, and a certain Woman under whose Custody the Treasure of her Lady was, accused them thereof unto her Lady, whereupon the Lady herself reproved them. It fell out after this, that this Lady herself began to be sick, and to suffer certain sudden Pains in divers Parts of her Body; the Soothsayers were called, and they sitting far off, commanded one of those Maidens to put her Hand upon the Place where the Grief was, and if she found any thing, she should snatch it away; then the ailing, did so, and she found a Piece of Felt in her Hand, or of some other thing: Then they commanded her to put it upon the Ground, which being laid down, it began to creep, as if it had been some living Creature; then they put it into the Water, and it was turned as it were into a Horse-leech; and they said some Witch hath hurt you thus with her Sorceries, and they accused her that had accused them of the Furrs, who was brought without the Tent into the Fields, and received the Ballinado seven Days together there, and was afterwards tormented with other Punishments, to make her confess; and in the mean time her Lady died, which she understanding, said unto them, I know my Lady is dead, kill me, that I may go after her, for I never did her hurt; and when she confessed nothing, *Mangu-Khan* commanded she should live.

Then the Sorcerers accused the Lady's Daughter's Nurse, of whom I spake before, who was a Christian, and her Husband was the chief among all the *Nestorian* Priests; so she was brought to Punishment, with a Maid of hers, to make her confess, and the Maid confessed, that her Mistress sent her to speak with a certain Horse to demand Answers. The Woman also herself confessed something she did, to be beloved by her Lady, that she might do her Good; but she did nothing that might hurt her. She was demanded also whether her Husband were privy to it; she excused him, for that he had burnt the Characters and Letters which she had made. Then she was put to Death, and *Mangu-Khan* sent the Priest her Husband to the Bishop, who was in *Cataya*, to be judged, altho' he was not found culpable.

In the mean time it fell out, that the principal Wife of *Mangu-Khan* brought forth a Son, and the Soothsayers were called to foretell the Destiny of the Child, who all prophesied Prosperity, and said, he should live long, and be a great Lord. After a few Days it happened that the Child died; then the Mother enraged, called the Soothsayers, saying, you said my Son should live, and he is dead. Then they said, Madam, behold, we see that Sor-

ceres; the Nurse of *Chorina*, who the other Day was put to Death, she hath killed your Son, and behold we see she carries him away. Now there remained one Son and a Daughter of that Woman, grown to full Age, in the Tents; and the Lady sent presently for them in a Rage, and caused the young Man to be slain by a Man, and the Maid by a Woman, in Revenge of her Son, whom the Soothsayers affirmed to be killed by their Mother. Not long after, *Mangu-Khan* dreamed of these Children, and demanded in the Morning what was become of them? His Servant was afraid to tell him, and he being troubled, the more demanded where they were, because they had appeared to him in a Vision by Night, then they told him; after which he, presently sending for his Wife, demanded whence she learned that a Woman should give Sentence of Death, without the Privy of her Husband? And he caused her to be shut up seven Days, commanding to give her no Meat, but the Man (who slew the young Man) he caused to be beheaded, and the Head to be hung about the Woman's Neck, who had killed the Maid, and ordered her to be cudgelled with burning Firebrands, through all the Tents, and after to be put to Death: He had also put his Wife to Death, but for the Children he had by her, and he went out of his Court, and returned not till after one Moon.

The Sorcerers also trouble the Air with their Charms, and when the Cold is so great naturally, that they cannot apply any Remedy, than they search out some in the Camp, whom they accuse, that the Cold comes through their Means, so they are put to Death without Inquiry or Delay. A little before I departed from thence, one of the Concubines was sick, and languished long, and they mumbled their Charms over a certain German Slave of hers, who slept three Days, who, when she came to herself, they demanded what she had seen, and she had seen many Perions, of all which she judged they should shortly die; and because she saw not her Mistress there, they judged she should not die of that Sickness. I saw the Maid, while her Head was yet aching, by reason of that Sleep. Some of them also call upon Devils, and gather them together (who will have Answers from the Devil) in the Night, unto their House; and they put boiled Flesh in the Midst, and that *Khan* who invoceth, beginneth to say his Charms, and having a Timbrel, smites it strongly against the Ground; at length he begins to rave, and causeth himself to be bound; then the Devil comes in the Dark, and gives him Flesh to eat, and makes him Answer. Once at such a time, (as Master *William* told me,) a certain Hungarian hid himself with them, and the Devil being upon the House, cried, that he could not come in, because a certain Christian was with them; he hearing this, fled with Hast, because they began to search for him. These things, and many other they do, which are too long for me to repeat.

53. After the Feast of Pentecost, they began to prepare their Letters, which they intend to send unto your Majesty; in the mean time, the *Khan* returned to *Caracorum*, and held a great Feast about the fifteenth of *June*, and he desired that all the Ambassadors should be present. The last Day he sent for us, but I went to Church to baptize three Children of a certain poor German, who we found there. Master *William* was chief Butler at that Feast, because he made the Tree which poured the Drink, and all the Poor and Rich sung and danced, and clapped their Hands before the *Khan*. Then he began to make an Oration unto them, saying, "I have sent my Brethren far off, and have sent them into Danger, into foreign Nations, now it shall appear what you will do, when I shall send you, that our Commonwealth may be enlarged." Every Day, in those four Days, he changed Garments, which he gave them, all of one Colour, every Day, from the Shoes to the Ornament of the Head. At that time I saw the Ambassador of the *Khans* of *Bagdad*, who caused himself to be carried upon a Horse-litter, between two Mules, to the Court, of whom some said that he made Peace with them, on Condition that they should give him ten thousand Horses for his Army; others said, that *Mangu* declared he would not make Peace with them, unless they would destroy all their Ammunition; and the Ambassa-

dor answered, when you will pluck off your Horse's hoofs, we will destroy our Ammunition.

I saw also there the Ambassadors of a *Soldan* of *India*, who brought with him eight Leopards, and ten Harehounds, taught to sit upon the Horse's Buttocks, as Leopards do. When I enquired of *India*, which Way it lay from that Place, they shewed me towards the West, and these Ambassadors travelled with me almost three Weeks together, always Westward. I saw also the Ambassador of the *Soldan* of *Turky*, who brought him rich Presents; and he answered, as I heard, he needed neither Gold nor Silver, but Men, wherefore he required of him an Army. On the Feast of *St. John*, he held a great Feast, and I caused one hundred and five Carts, and ninety Horses to be numbered, all laden with Cows-milk; and on the Feasts of the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, in like manner. At length, the Letters being dispatched which he sent to you, they called me and interpreted them, the Substance whereof I wrote, as I could understand them by my Interpreter, which is this: "The Commandment of the Eternal GOD is this: There is but one Eternal GOD in Heaven, upon Earth let there be but one Lord, *Zengis-Khan* Son of GOD and *Mangu-Tingji*, that is to say, the Sound of Iron. This is the Word which is spoken to you; whatsoever Meats we are, whatsoever *Namans*, whatsoever Markets, whatsoever *Musful-men*, wherefore Ears may hear, wherefore Horse may go, cause it to be heard and understood; that such as have heard my Commandment, and would not believe it, and would levy an Army against us; shall be as having Eyes and not seeing; and when they would hold any thing they shall be without Hands; and when they would walk they shall be without Feet. This is the Commandment of the Eternal GOD, by the Virtue of the Eternal GOD, by the great Monarch of the Meats, the Commandment of *Mangu-Khan* is given to the French King, King *Lodowick*, and all other Lords and Priests, and to the great World of the *Franks*, that they understand my Words, and the Commandment of the Eternal GOD, made to *Zengis-Khan*; neither but from *Zengis-Khan*, ever came this Commandment unto you. A certain Man called *David* came unto you as an Ambassador of the Meats, he was a Liar; and with him you sent your Ambassador to *Khen-Khan*. After *Khen-Khan* was dead, your Ambassador came to his Court; *Chormis*, his Wife, sent you Cloth, called *Nassick*. But to know Matters appertaining to War and Peace, and to settle the great World in Quiet, and to see to do good, that wicked Woman, more vile than a Dog, how could she know how to do it? Those two Monks which came from you unto *Sart-cb*, *Sartach* sent them to *Batu*; but *Batu*, because *Mangu-Khan* is the greatest over the World of the Meats, sent them unto us. But now, that the great World, and the Priests, and the Monks, might live in Peace and enjoy their Goods, that the Commandment of GOD might be heard among you, we would have sent our Ambassadors of Meats with your Priests; but they answered, that betwixt us and you there was a warlike Nation; and many bad Men and troublesome Ways, so as they were afraid they could not bring our Ambassadors safe unto you. But if we would deliver unto them our Letters, containing our Commandments to their King *Lodowick*, they would carry them. For this Cause we sent not our Ambassadors with them; but we have sent the Commandment of the Eternal GOD by your said Priests. It is the Commandment of the Eternal GOD which we have given you to understand; and when you shall hear and believe it, if you will, obey us; send your Ambassadors unto us, so shall we be satisfied whether you will have Peace with us or War. When by the Power of the Eternal GOD, the whole World shall be in Unity, Joy, and Peace, from the rising of the Sun unto the going down of the same, then shall it appear what we will do. But if ye shall see and hear the Commandment of the Eternal GOD, and will not hearken to it, or believe it, saying, our Country is far off, our Hills are strong, our Sea is great; and in this Confidence shall lead an Army against us to know what

"we

" we can do ; he that made that which was hard easy, and " that which was far off near, the Eternal GOD himself " knows that alone." And as they called us your Embassadors in the Letters, I said unto them, call us not Embassadors, for I said to the *Khan* that we were not the Embassadors of the King *Louis* : Then they went unto him and told him ; but when they returned, they said unto me, that he held it much for our good, and that he commanded them to write as I should direct them : Then I told them they should leave out the Name of Embassadors, and call us Monks and Priests. In the mean time, while those Things were doing, my Companion hearing that we must return by the Wilderness to *Baatu*, and that a Man of *Meal* should be our Guide, he ran, without my Knowledge to *Bulgai*, the chief Scribe, signifying to him by Signs, that he should die if he went that Way ; and when the Day came wherein we should have our Pass, *viz.* a Fortnight after the Feast of *St. John*, when we were called to the Court, the Scribe said unto my Companion, *Mangu's* Pleasure is, that your Companion return by *Baatu* ; and you say you are sick, and it appeareth so : *Mangu* therefore grants, if you will go with your Companion go, but let it be your own Fault, because, it is possible, you may remain with some *Jani* that will not provide for you, and it will be a Hindrance to your Companion ; but if you will stay here, we will provide Necessaries for you, till some Embassadors come, with whom you may return more easily, and by a Way where there are Villages.

The Friar answered, GOD grant the *Khan* a prosperous Life, I will stay : Then I said to my Companions, Brother, be advised what you do, I will not leave you. You leave not me, said he, but I leave you, because, if I go with you, I see the Death of my Body and Soul, because I have no Patience under intolerable Labour. Then they brought us three Garments, or Coats, and said unto us, ye will not receive Gold or Silver, and yet ye have stayed long here, and prayed for the *Khan* ; he entreats you, that, at the least, every one of you will receive a single Garment, that ye depart not empty from him. Then we were forced to receive them for Reverence of him, for they account it a very evil Thing when their Gifts are contemned. First he caused us to be asked what we would have ? and we always answered the same thing ; so that the Christians insulted over the Idolaters, who seek nothing but Gifts ; and they answered that we were Fools, because, if he would give them his whole Court, they would willingly take it, and would do wisely too ; receiving therefore the Garments, they entreated us to make our Prayers for the *Khan*, which we did, and afterwards we went to *Caracorum*.

But it happened, while we were with the Monks, far from the Court with other Embassadors, that the Monk caused the Table to be struck so hard, that *Mangu-Khan* heard it, and demanded what it was ; then they told him. Upon which he asked why he was removed so far from the Court ; they told him, because it was troublesome to bring him Horses and Oxen every Day to the Court ; and said further, that it were better that he should stay at *Caracorum*. Then the *Khan* sent unto him, saying, if he would go to *Caracorum*, and stay there near about the Church, he would give him all Things necessary : But the Monk answered, I came from the Holy Land of *Jerusalem* hither by the Command of GOD, and left that City, wherein are a thousand better Churches than that of *Caracorum* ; if he please that I stay here and pray for him as GOD commanded me, I will stay, if not I will return to the Place from whence I came. So that every Evening Oxen were brought him yoked to the Carts, and in the Morning he was brought to the Place where he used to be before the Court ; and a little before we departed thence, a certain *Nestorian* came, who seemed to be a wife Man : *Bulgai* the chief Secretary, placed him before the Court, to whom the *Khan* sent his Children that he should bid them.

54. We came therefore to *Caracorum*, and while we were in Master *William* the Goldsmith's House, my Guide came to me and brought me ten Jacots, five of which he left in Master *William's* Hands, commanding him to spend

them on the Behalf of the *Khan*, for the Friar's Use while he remained there ; he also left the other five in the Hands of my Interpreter, commanding him to spend them in the Way, for my Subsistence ; for Master *William* had given them such Instructions without our Knowledge. I presently changed one into small Money, and distributed it to the poor Christians which were there, for all their Eyes were fixed upon us. We spent another in buying things necessary for us, as Garments and other things, which we wanted. With the third my Interpreter himself bought some things, by which he gained somewhat. We spent the rest, because after we came into *Persia* sufficient Necessaries were no where given us, nor yet among the *Tartars*, amongst whom we seldom found any thing to be sold.

Master *William*, Your Majesty's Citizen and Subject, sends you a certain Girdle set with a precious Stone, which they used to wear against Thunder and Lightning, and most humbly salutes you, always commending you to God in his Prayers. We baptized there in all six Souls. When we departed from each other, it was with Tears, my Companion remaining with Master *William*, and I returning with my Interpreter, my Guide, and one Servant, who had Directions to take one Mutton in four Days for us four. We came therefore in two Months and ten Days from *Caracorum* to *Baatu*, and never saw a Town, nor so much as the Appearance of any House, but Graves, except one Village, wherein we did not so much as eat Bread, nor did we ever rest in these two Months and ten Days, save one Day, because we could not get Horses. We returned for the most part by the same kind of People, and yet through other Countries, for we went in the Winter, and returned in the Summer, and by the higher Parts of the North, except that fifteen Days Journey we were obliged to go, and return by a certain River between the Mountains, where there is no Lodging but by the River Side. We went two Days, and sometimes three, without taking any other Food but Cosmos. Once we were in great Danger, not being able to find any People, our Provision failing us, and our Horses tired.

When I had travelled twenty Days, I heard that the King of *Armenia* had passed by. In the End of *August* I met with *Sartach*, who went to *Mangu-Khan* with Flocks and Herds, and with his Wives and Children, yet the Bulk of his Families remained between *Tanis* and *Estila*. Near my Duty to him, saying, I would willingly stay in his Country, but *Mangu-Khan* would have me return and carry his Letters. He answered, that I must perform the Will of *Mangu-Khan*. Then I asked *Coiaz* for the Children ; He answered, they were in the Court of *Baatu*, carefully provided for. I also asked him for our Cloaths and Books again ? He answered, did ye not bring them to *Sartach* ? I said I brought them unto *Sartach*, but I did not give them to him as you know ; and I put him in mind what Answer I made when he demanded whether I would give them to *Sartach* ? Then he answered, you say Truth, and none can resist Truth. I left your Goods with my Father, who remaineth near *Sarai*, which is a new Town *Baatu* hath made upon *Estila* on the East Shore ; but our Priests have some of the Vestments. If any thing please you, said I, keep it, so my Books be restored.

Then he told me he would report my Words to *Sartach*. I must have Letters, said, I to your Father, to restore me all. But he was ready to be gone, and said unto me, the Train of the Ladies followeth us near at Hand, ye shall alight there, and I will send you *Sartach's* Answer by this Man. I was very careful he should not deceive me, yet I dare not contend with him : Late in the Evening the Man came unto me, and brought two Coats with him, which I thought had been all of Silk, and he said unto me, behold two Garments, the one *Sartach* hath sent unto you, and the other, if so it please you, you shall present to the King on his Behalf, to whom I answered, I wear no such Garments, I will present them both to my King in honour of your Lord. Then said he, do with them what you please : now it pleased me to send them both unto you, and I feed them to you by the Bearer of these Presents. He delivered me Letters also to the Father of *Coiaz* to restore me all which appertained unto me, because he had no need of any thing which was mine, so we came to the Court of *Baatu*.

the same Day I departed thence a Year before, viz. the second Day after the Exaltation of the blessed Croſs, and I found our young Men in Health, yet much afflicted with Poverty, as *Goffet* told me, and if the King of Armenia had not comforted them, and recommended them to *Sartach*, they had perished, for they thought I had been dead. The *Tartars* also demanded of them, if they could keep Oxen, or milk Mares, for if I had not returned, they had been brought into Servitude by those People.

After this *Baatu* ordered me to come to him, and made the Letters which *Mangu-Khan* sends unto you to be interpreted unto me; for so *Mangu* wrote unto him, that if it pleased him to add any thing, or leave out, or change, he should do it. Then said he, ye shall carry these Letters, and cause them to be understood. He demanded also what Way I would go, whether by Sea or Land? I said, the Sea was froze, because it was Winter, and I must go by Land, for I thought you had been still in Syria, so I directed my Journey towards Persia, for if I had thought you had passed into France, I would have gone into Hungary; for I should sooner have come into France, and by a more easy Way than tho' Syria; then we travelled a Month with him before we could obtain a Guide; at length they appointed me a certain *Jugure*, who understanding I would give him nothing, and that I would go forthwith into Armenia, caused Letters to be made to conduct me to the Soldan of Turkey, hoping he should receive Gifts of the Soldan, and that he should gain more that Way; then we took our Journey speedily fifteen Days before the Feast of *All Saints* towards Sarai, going directly Southward, descending near to *Etília*, which is there divided into three Arms, every one whereof is almost twice as big as the Branch of the River of Nile at *Damietta*.

It divides afterwards into four lesser Arms, so that we passed the River in seven Places by Boats. Upon the middle Branch is the Village called *Sumerkant*, without a Wall; but when the River overflows, it is compassed with Water. The *Tartars* were eight Years about it before they could take it, and the *Alani* and the *Saracens* were nine. There we found one *German* with his Wife, a very good Man, with whom *Goffet* stayed in the Winter; for *Sartach* lent him thither to ease his Court. About these Parts was *Baatu* on the one Side of the River, and *Sartach* on the other about *Cbristmas*, and they go no farther down; and when it happens that all the River is frozen, they pass over. Here is great Store of Grains, and there among the Caves, Thieves hide themselves till the Ice melt. *Coiac's* Father receiving *Sartach's* Letters, restored my Veltments unto me, except my Albs, and an Almic trimmed with fine Silk, a Stole, a Girdle, and a Tuahia, adorned with Golden Embroidery, and a Surplice. He restored also to me all the Silver Plate, except the Censor, and the little Box where the Chrism was, all which the Priest kept with *Sartach* had. He returned my Books, except our Lady's Plaster, which he kept with my Leave, because I could not deny it him; for he said *Sartach* took much Delight in it. He also requested me, that if it happened that I return unto those Parts again, I would bring them a Man that knew how to make Parchment, for he had built a great Church by the Command of *Sartach* upon the West Side of the River, as he said, and a new Town; yet I knew that *Sartach* meant no such Matter. Sarai and the Palace of *Baatu* are upon the East Side of the River, and the Valley through which the Arms of the River are spread abroad containeth more than seven Leagues in Breadth. There is great Store of Fish there, a Bible also in Verse, and a certain Book in the Arabian Language worth thirty Sultaines, and many other things I never recovered.

55. After our Departure from him on the Feast of *All Saints*, going towards the South until the Feast of *Saint Martin*, we came to the Mountains of the *Alani*, between *Baatu* and Sarai. In fifteen Days, we found no People but one of his Sons, who went before him with Falcons and his Falconers, who were many, at one little Village; from the Feast of *All Saints* for five Days we met not with so much as a Man, and we were in great Danger by reason of Thirst, one whole Day and a Night, finding no Water, till about Three of the Clock the next Day. The *Alani* in some Mountains yet hold out, so that of ten of the Subjects

of *Sartach* two must come and guard the narrow Passages of the Hills, lest they come forth of the Mountains, and carry away the Cattle in the Plain. Between the *Alani* and *Porta Ferrea*, which is two Days Journey from thence, where the Plain of the *Alani* beginneth, between the *Caspian* Sea and the Mountains, there are certain *Saracens*, called *Leſti*, inhabiting the Mountains, who likewise are free; so that those *Tartars* who dwell at the Foot of the Mountains of the *Alani* were obliged to give us twenty Men to bring us beyond the Iron Gate, or *Porta Ferrea*; and I was glad, because I hoped to see them armed, for I could never see their Armour, tho' I had been very desirous of seeing it; and when we came to this dangerous Passage of the whole twenty, there were but two who had Harbegerions, and I demanded of whom they had them? They said, they had them of the *Alani*, who are able Workmen in such things, and excellent Smiths. I think they have small Store of Armour, but Quivers and Bows, and Leather Jackets; I saw them presented with Iron Plates, and Iron Skull-caps out of Persia, and saw two also who presented themselves to *Mangu*, armed with Coats made of Hogs-skins, bent inward, of rough Leather, which were very clumsy and unwieldy.

Before we came to *Porta Ferrea*, we found one Castle of the *Alans*, which was *Mangu Khan's*, for he had subdued that Country. There we first found Vineyards and drunk Wine; the Day following we came to *Porta Ferrea*, or the Iron-Gate, which *Alexander* the Macedonian King made, and it is a City whose East End is upon the Sea Shore: And there is a little Plain between the Sea and the Mountains, through which the City extends in Length to the Top of the Mountain, which bordereth upon it on the West, so that there is no Way above for the Ruggedness of the Mountains, nor below for the Sea, but immediately through the midst of the City, where there is an Iron-Gate, from whence the City hath its Name. This City is more than a Mile long, and on the Top of a Hill is a strong Castle; and it is as much in Breadth as a Stone's Cast. It hath very strong Walls, without Trenches and Turrets, of large polished Stones. But the *Tartars* have destroyed the Tops of the Turrets and the Bulwarks of the Walls, laying the Turrets even with the Wall. Below that City, the Country was formerly like a Paradise. Two Days Journey from hence we found another City called *Samaron*, wherein there were many Jews, and when we passed it we saw Walls descending from the Mountains to the Sea; and leaving the Way by the Sea by those Walls, because it turns towards the East, we went up into the high Countries towards the South.

The next Day we passed through a certain Valley, wherein the Foundations of Walls appeared from one Mountain to another, and there was no Way through the Tops of the Mountains. These were in times past the Inclosures, or Walls erected by *Alexander* for restraining the fierce Nations, the Shepherds of the Wilderness, that they could not invade the inhabited Countries and Cities. There are also other Walls and Inclosures where Jews are. The next Day we came to ascertain great City called *Samath*, and after this we entered into a great Plain called *Moan*, thro' which the River *Cur* or *Cyrus* runs, from which the *Curgi* or *Curdi* have their Names, whom we call *Georgians*; and it runneth through the Middle of *Teffisi*, which is the Metropolis of the *Curgines*, and comes directly from the West, running to the East into the *Caspian* Sea, and in it are excellent Salmon. In that Plain we found *Tartars* again. Also by that Plain runs the River *Araxes*, which cometh from the Greater Armenia, from betwixt the South and West, from which it is called the Land of *Ararat*. Whereupon in the Book of the *Kings* it is said of the Sons of *Senacherib*, that having slain their Father, they fled into the Land of the *Armenians*. And in *Iſaiab* it is said, that they fled into the Land of *Ararat*. To the West then of that most beautiful Plain is *Curgina*. In that Plain the *Croſſimini* were settled formerly. And there is a great City in the Entrance of the Mountains called *Ganges*, which was their Metropolis, stopping the *Georgians*, that they could not come down into the Plain. Then we came to the Bridge of Boats, which was fastened together with a great Iron Chain, stretched forth cross the River, wherein *Cur* and the *Araxes* met together, but the *Cur* loseth its Name there.

56. We proceeded thence, till travelling up the *Araxes*, of which it is said, *Pontem, indignatus Araxes*; *Araxes*, distinguishes a Bridge, leaving *Persia* and the *Caspian Mountains* on the left Hand towards the South, having on the right Hand *Corgia* and the Great Sea towards the West. Going all the Way Southward, we passed through the Meadows of *Bacchu*, who is General of that Army which is there within the River *Araxes*; he has likewise made the *Curgi*, and *Turki*, and *Perfians*, subject to him. There is likewise another Governor in *Persia* at *Tauris* over the Tribute called *Argon*, both which *Mangu-Khan* hath called Home to give Place to his Brother, who is going into those Countries. The Country which I have described to you is not properly *Persia*, but was sometimes called *Hyrcania*. I was in *Bacchu's* House, and he gave us Wine to drink, and he himself drank *Cosmos*, which I would willingly have drank if he had given it me; yet it was the best new Wine, but *Cosmos* is more wholesome for a half starved Man as I was. We went up therefore by the River *Araxes* from the Eve of *St. Clement* until the second Sunday in *Lent*, till we came to the Head of the River, and beyond the Mountains where it riseth there is a good City called *Arjrum*, which belongs to the *Seldan* of *Turky*, and near therabouts *Euphrates* rises towards the North, at the Foot of the Mountains of *Corgia*, to whose Spring I had gone, but the Snow was so great that no Man could go out of the common Path, and on the other Side of the Mountains of *Caucasus* towards the South riseth the *Tygris*.

When we departed from *Bacchu* my Guide went to *Tauris* to speak with *Argon*, carrying my Interpreter with him; but *Bacchu* caused me to be brought to a certain City called *Naxuan*, which heretofore was the Head or Capital of a great Kingdom, and the greatest and fairest City in those Parts, but the *Tartars* have made it a Wilderness; and there were anciently eight hundred Churches of the *Armenians* there; now there are but two little ones, for the *Saracens* have destroyed them; in one of which I held the Feast of *Christmas* as I could with our Clerk, and the next Day following the Priest of the Church died, to whose Burial came a certain Bishop with twelve Monks from the high Countries, for all the Bishops of the *Armenians* are Monks, and of the *Greeks* likewise for the most Part. The Bishop told me that there was a Church near this Place where *St. Bartholomew*, and likewise *St. Judas Thaddæus* were martyred, but there was no Way open for Snow. He told me also that they had two Prophets, the first or chief *Meibodius* the Martyr, who was of their Country, and plainly prophesied of the *Ismaelites*, which Prophecy is fulfilled in the *Saracens*. The other Prophet is called *Acacrus*, who when he died, prophesied of a Nation of Archers that should come from the North, saying, "That they should conquer all the Countries of the East, and should spare the Kingdoms of the East, to assist them in obtaining the Kingdoms of the West; and they shall possess the Countries from North to South, and shall come to *Constantinople*, and shall take the Gate of *Constantinople*, and one of them who shall be called a wife Man, shall enter the City, and seeing the Churches and Rites of the *Franks*, shall cause himself to be baptized, and shall counsel the *Franks* how they may kill the Emperor of the *Tartars*, and there they shall be confounded. Hearing this, the *Franks* which shall be in the Middle of the Land, viz. at *Jerusalem*, shall set upon the *Tartars* who shall border upon them, and with the Help of our Nation, that is, the *Armenians*, shall pursue them; so that the *French King* shall place his Royal Throne at *Taurinum* in *Persia*, and then all the East Countries and all the unbelieving Nations shall be converted to the Faith of Christ; and there shall be so great Peace in the World, that the Living shall say to the Dead, Wo be unto you Wretches! that lived not until these Times." And I read this Prophecy brought to *Constantinople* by the *Armenians* which remain there, but I made light of it. Yet when I spake with the Bishop, calling it to Mind, I regarded it somewhat the more. But throughout all *Armenia* they as firmly believe this Prophecy as they do the Gospel.

He said to us also, even as the Souls in *Limbo* expect

the Coming of Christ for their Delivery, so do we look for your Coming, that we may be freed from this Slavery wherein we have so long lived. Near the City *Naxuan* there are Mountains on which they say the Ark of *Noah* rested; and there are two, one greater than the other, and *Araxes* running at the Foot of them; and there is a little Town there called *Comanum*, which is in their Language Eight, for they say it was so called of the eight *Perfians* which came forth of the Ark and built it. Many have attempted to climb the great Hills and could not, and the Bishop told me that a certain Monk being very much troubled thereat, an Angel appeared to him and brought him a Piece of the Wood of the Ark, bidding him to trouble himself no more. That Piece of Wood they had in their Church as he told me, neither is the Hill so high in Appearance but the Men might well get up it. A certain old Man gave me however this worthy Reason why no one should climb it. They call that Mountain *Mafus*, and as this Word is of the *Feminine Gender* in their Tongue, no Man, said he, must climb up *Mafus*, because it is the Mother of the World.

In the City of *Naxuan*, Friar *Bernard* a *Catalan*, of the Order of the Preaching Friars, found me, who lives in *Georgia*, with a certain Friar of the Sepulchre, who possesseth great Lands there, and he had learned somewhat of the *Tartar Language*; he formerly went with a certain *Hungarian* Friar, who returned with me to *Tessis*, with one Servant; but Friar *Bernard* remained at *Tauris*, with a certain Lay Friar, whose Language he understood not. We went out of the City of *Naxuan*, about the *Epiphany*, for we had stayed long there, by reason of the Snow; we came therefore in four Days to the Country of *Sabensja*, a *Curdish* Prince, heretofore mighty, but now Tributary to the *Tartars*, who destroy'd all his Ammunition, whose Father *Zacharias* possessed himself of the Country of *Armenians*, having delivered them from the Hands of the *Saracens*, and there are many fair Villages of true Christians, having Churches like the *Franks*; and every *Armenian* hath in his House, in an honourable Place, a wooden Hand, holding a Cross, and sets a burning Lamp before it; and that which we do with holy Water, sprinkling it to drive away wicked Spirits, they do with Frankincense; for every Evening they burn Frankincense, carrying it through all the Corners of the House, to rid them of all kind of Enemies. I eat with *Sabensja*, and he did me great Reverence, both he and his Wife, and his Son *Zachary*, a very comely and wise young Man, who demanded of me, whether if he should come to you, you would entertain him; for he is so uneasy under the Dominion of the *Tartars*, that tho' he hath a Plenty of all things, he had rather travel into a strange Country, than endure their violent Exactions. They said further, that they were true Sons of the Church of *Rome*, and if the Pope would send them any Aid, they would bring all the bordering Nations unto the Subjection of the Church of *Rome*.

From that Town of his, in fifteen Days, we entered the Country of the *Seldan* of *Turky*. On the first Sunday in *Lent*, and the first Castle we found, is called *Marsjagus*; all in the Castle were Christians, *Armenians*, *Corgians*, and *Greeks*: The *Saracens* only have the Dominion. There the Captain of the Castle said, he had received Commandment, that no Victuals should be given to any *Franks*, or to the Ambassador of the King of *Armenia*, or of *Vesitacus*; so that from the Place where we were the first Sunday in *Lent*, quite to *Cyprus*, whither I came, eight Days before the Feast of Saint John the Baptist, we were forced to buy our own Provision. He who was my Guide, procured me Horses, and took Money for the Victuals, and put it in his Purse. When he came into the Fields, seeing a Flock, away he went, and without more to do, took one Sheep, and gave it to his Family to eat, and wondered I would not take part of his Robbery. In the Purification, I was in a certain City called *Ami*, which was *Sabensja's*, whose Situation is strong; and there are an hundred *Armenian* Churches, and two Mosques of the *Saracens*: The *Tartars* place an Officer there.

At this Place five Preaching Friars met me, whereof four came from *Provence* in *France*, and the fifth joined himself to them in *Syria*. They had but one sick Boy, who

who could speak the *Turkish* Language, and a little *French*; and they had the Pope's Letters to *Sartach*, and to *Mangu-Khan*, and to *Buri*, such as your Highness gave me Letters of Request, that they would suffer them to continue in their Country, and preach the Word of God, &c. But when I told them what I had seen, and how they sent me back again, they directed their Journey to *Tiflis*, where there are Friars of their Order, to consult what they should do; I answered them, they might well pass by those Letters, if they would; but they should be well assured, to endure much Labour, and render an Account of their coming; for seeing they had no other Message but the Office of Preaching, they would care but little for them, and chiefly because they had no Interpreter: What they did after, I know not, and cannot therefore report.

58. On the second Sunday in Lent we came to the Head of *Araxes*, and passing beyond the Top of the Mountain, we came to *Euphrates*, by which we descended eight Days going to the West to a certain Castle called *Gamaib*; where *Euphrates* bends to the South towards *Halapia*. But we passing the River went through very high, mountainous Countries, and through the deepest Snow to the West. There was so great an Earthquake there that Year, that in one City called *Arsengan*, ten thousand Persons, according to their Register, perished, beside poor Men, of whom there was no Notice taken. Riding three Days together, we saw the gaping of the Earth, as it was cleft by the Earthquake, and the Heaps of Earth that came from the Mountains, and filled the Vallies, so that if but a little more of the Earth had been moved, that which *Isaiah* speaketh had been literally fulfilled, *Every Valley shall be filled, and every Mountain and little Hill shall be humbled*. We passed through the Valley where the *Soldan* of *Turky* was vanquished by the *Tartars*. It were too long to write how he was overcome; but a certain Servant of my Guide's who was with the *Tartars* said, that the *Tartars* were not above ten thousand in the whole; and a certain *Curd* of the *Soldans*, said that there were two hundred thousand with the *Soldan*, all Horse-men. In that Plain where the Battle was, there broke out a great Lake at the Time of the Earthquake; and it came into my Mind, that all the Earth opened her Mouth to receive yet more Blood of the *Saracens*. We were in *Sebastia* a Town of the Lesser *Armenia* in Easter Week; here we visited the Tombs of forty Martyrs; there the Church of *St. Blaise* standeth, but I could not go thither, because it was above in the Castle.

On the succeeding Sunday, we came to *Casaria* of *Capadocia*, where there is a Church of *St. Basil the Great*. About fifteen Days after, we came to *Iconium*, making small Journeys, and resting in many Places, because we could not readily procure Horses, and my Guide did this on purpose, taking upon him to solicit his own Business three Days in every Town, at which I was much dissatisfied, but durst not speak, because he might have sold or slain me and our Servants, and there was none to hinder it. I found many *Franks* at *Iconium*, and a certain Merchant called *Nicolas de Santo Syria*, who with a Companion of his, a *Venetian*, called *Boniface de Molandino*, carried all the Allum out of *Turky*, so that the *Soldan* could not sell any but to those two; and they made it so dear, that what was worth but fifteen *Bizantines*, is now sold for forty. My Guide presented me to *Soldan*; the *Soldan* said he would willingly cause me to be conveyed to the Sea of *Armenia*, or *Cilicia*, though the above-mentioned Merchant, knowing that the *Saracens* made little account of me, and that I was much burthened with the Company of my Guide, caused me to be conveyed to *Currama*, a Port belonging to the King of *Armenia*. I came thither before the *Ascension*, and stayed till the Day after *Pentecost*; then I heard that *Embassadors* came from the King to his Father; then I went speedily to the King's Father, to demand whether he had heard any News from his Son, and I found him set with all his Sons, one excepted, called *Barun Ufn*, who resided in a certain Castle, and he received News from his Son that he was returned, and that *Mangu-Khan* had much eased his Tribute, and had given him a Privilege that no *Embassador* should

come into his County; whereupon the old Man himself, with all his Sons, made a Banquet, and he caused me to be conveyed to the Sea, to the Haven called *Ajfan*; and thence I passed over into *Cyprus*; and at *Nicosia* I found our Provincial, who the same Day carried me with him to *Antiochia*, which is in a very weak State. We were there on the Feast of *St. Peter and Paul*, and from thence we came to *Tripolis*, where our Chapter was held on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

59. Our Provincial being determined that I should have my Residence in our Convent at *Acon*, would not suffer me to come to you; but commanding me to write unto you what I would by the Bearer of these Presents; and not daring to resist contrary to my Obedience, I did; according to my Power, and Understanding, craving Pardon of your Clemency, for my Superfluities, or Wants, or for any thing that shall be indiscreetly or foolishly spoken, as for a Man of little Understanding, not accustomed to write long Histories. The Peace of God which passeth all Understanding preserve your Heart and fortify your Mind. I would willingly see your Highness, and certain spiritual Friends, which I have in your Kingdom. Wherefore if it should not be contrary to your Majesty's liking, I would beseech you to write to our Provincial, that he would let me come unto you and return shortly again into the Holy Land. Concerning *Turky*, your Majesty shall understand, that the tenth Man there is not a *Mohammedan*, nay, they are all *Armenians* and *Greeks*, and Children rule over them; for the *Soldan*, who was conquered by the *Tartars*, had a lawful Wife of *Iberia*, by whom he had one feeble Son, concerning whom he charged that he should be the *Soldan*. He had another of a *Greek* Concubine, whom he committed to a certain great Admiral. The third he had by a *Turk*, to whom many *Turks* and *Turcomans* being gathered together, they purposed to have slain all the Sons of the Christians. They had determined also, as I understood, that after they had got the Victory, they would destroy all the Churches, and kill as many as would not become *Mohammedans*; but he was overcome in Battle, and many of his Men slain. He recruited his Army however, a second Time, and then was taken, and is still in Prison. *Pacister* the Son of the *Greek* Concubine, procured soon after that he might be *Soldan*, because the other was weak whom they sent to the *Tartars*; whereupon his Kindred on the Mother's Side, such as the *Iberians* and the *Curds*, were angry; so that, at present, a Child ruleth in *Turky*, having no Treasure, few Soldiers, and many Enemies. The Son of *Vesfacius* is weak, and at war with the Son of *Affau*, who likewise was a Child, and worn out with the Servitude of the *Tartars*. If therefore an Army of the Church should come to the Holy Land, it were a very easy Thing to subdue all these Countries, or to pass through them.

The King of *Hungary* hath not above thirty thousand Soldiers. From *Cologne* to *Constantinople*, are not above three-score Days Journey by Waggon; from *Constantinople* are not so many Days Journey to the Country of the King of *Armenia*. In old Time, valiant Men passed through those Countries and prospered; yet they had most valiant Opponents, whom God hath now destroyed out of the Earth, and we need not be in Danger of the Sea, or the Mercy of Sailors; and the Price which we should give for Freight were sufficient for Expenses by Land. I speak it confidently, if our Countrymen would go as the Kings of the *Tartars* go, and be contented with such Victuals, they might win the whole World. It seemeth not expedient, as I think, that any Friar should go to the *Tartars* any more, as I did, or as the Preaching Friars do; but if our Lord the Pope would send a Bishop in an honourable manner and answer their Follies, about which they have thrice writ to the *Franks*, once to Pope *Innocent* the Fourth, of sacred Memory, and twice to your Majesty, once by *David*, who deceived you, and now by me, he might speak unto them what he would; and also cause them to put these Things in Writing, for they hear whatsoever an *Embassador* will speak, and always demand if he will say any more, but he must have a good Interpreter; nay, many Interpreters, and be at large Expenses.

60. Such is the Relation of the Monk *Rubruquis*, who had the best Opportunity that any Man had to that Time, of looking into the Affairs of the *Tartars*, of examining their Force, of enquiring into the Form of their Government, and making himself perfectly acquainted with their Manners and Customs, of which he has given so large, so curious, and so accurate an Account. Before we proceed to our Remarks thereon, it may not be amiss to clear up a few Difficulties that occur in this Relation, and which, for want of being clearly resolved, may occasion some Doubts in the Mind of our inquisitive Reader; and this is the more necessary, because hitherto nothing of the kind has been done, at least in our Language; but the Relation has been left naked and unsupported to the Censure of the Peruser, without the least Notice taken of those Facts that must necessarily embarrass him, and in a great Measure affect the Credit of the Author. I am very sensible, that many of my Readers may be of Opinion, that I might spare myself some part of the Trouble I take in illustrating those old Writers; but I beg leave to observe once for all, that it is not either for their Interest or mine, that I should do so. If I had not been thoroughly satisfied that these Travels were the best in their kind, I should not have inserted them; but with respect to the World, this is not enough; for though I have it in my Power to give them what seems to me most proper for such a Collection, yet I owe it to them, and to myself, to make it as evident as it is possible, that I discharge this Trust as I ought, and that I give them nothing which is not truly worthy of their Perusal; and this can no otherwise be done, than by obviating every Difficulty that may possibly incline them to differ from me in Sentiment, and therefore I hope this will justify me in the Pains I am still to take with regard to this Author, who, as he was a Writer of great Candour and Sincerity, so he has mentioned many Particulars, which, tho' they were well known in his Time, and more especially to the Prince, to whom this Work was addressed; yet are so imperfectly known to us, that without a strict Search into the Histories of those Times, it is not easy to conceive, how they can be reconciled to the rest of his Narration.

We will state these plainly, and then the Truth of my Observation will be manifest. In the first Place, it seems extraordinary that the King of *France* should be so much deceived with respect to the Embassy that was sent him from the *Tartars*, which occasioned the whole of this Transaction; but with respect to this, it appears clearly from the Historians that have written the Reign of Saint *Louis*, that these Ambassadors came from a *Tartar* Prince called *Eralibay*, and brought with them Letters which are still extant, and which positively assert, that it was the Design of the *Khan*, to co-operate with the Christians, in order to reduce the Power of the *Mohammedans*. At the Head of this Embassy was one *David*, who is named in the Letters as one to whom the King of *France* might give entire Credit, to which his Majesty might be more inclined, because he had in his Company *Friar Andrew de Lentumal*, whom the Pope had formerly sent into *Tartary*, and who assured the King, that he had known *David* there in a Post of Distinction. This Ambassador it was, that positively asserted, that the *Khan* was become a Christian, and that there was no Difficulty in procuring a close Alliance between him and the Christians. Upon this, the King first sent *Friar Andrew* with a considerable Number of Persons in his Train, back with the *Tartar* Ambassadors, in the beginning of the Year 1250; but as to the Success of this Negotiation, we have no Account. There is another thing a little dark in our Author's Account, and that is with respect to his Character; for tho' it appears plainly, that he was sent by the King his Master with Letters to *Sartach*, yet he frequently tells us, that he did not affect to be thought an Ambassador, but desired rather to be considered as a Monk, who visited *Tartary* from his Zeal for the Christian Religion.

His Reason for acting thus, was to preserve the Honour of the King, from suffering thro' any ill Treatment that he might meet with, to which he was induced by many Reasons, but particularly by these two. In the first place, he was perfectly satisfied, that what had been reported as

to the Conversion of *Sartach*, was false; and next, because he was aware the *Tartars* were informed, that the King his Master had been beat in *Egypt*, and taken Prisoner there by the Infidels; whence he concluded, that he should not meet with a very good Reception. He therefore takes great Care to inform the King, that whatever Usage he resolved, could reflect no Dishonour upon his Majesty, because of the Precaution he had taken to assume no higher Character than that of a Monk, who came to preach the Christian Religion to the *Tartars*. But the Readers may very probably wonder why the *Tartar* Prince *Eralibay*, should take such a Step as this, in order to mislead so great a Monarch, and yet, if he adverts to the Account our Author has given of the Genius and Dispositions of the *Tartars*, he will easily perceive, that this was a Stroke of their Policy, and no very bad one. They had a Mind to be perfectly acquainted with a Design of the *Franks* their Forces, and the Manner in which they intended to carry on the War against the *Saracens*; nor could they fall upon a Way more proper than this for accomplishing their Ends. The Character afforded, by our Author, to the *Tartars*, is justified by all Writers, both ancient and modern; for their Policy with respect to foreign Countries, consists entirely in Cunning and Subtily; for not having the Advantages that other Nations have of free Commerce and constant Intercourse with the Inhabitants of distant Countries, they supply themselves with Intelligence by such Artifices as these. Some petty *Tartar* Prince takes upon him to send Ministers to foreign Courts, whose Business it is, under Colour of a Negotiation, to get the best Accounts they can of the Regions in which they reside, in order to serve their Countrymen whenever Occasion offers as Harbingers or Guides; and as they depend on these Arts in Time of Peace, so they place all their Confidence in War, in the Quickness of their Motion, and in that Rapidity with which they over-run even great Countries, before the Inhabitants have Time to take proper Measures for their Defence.

It was for these Reasons, and to save the Honour of the King his Master, that our Author denied that any Ambassadors had been sent to *Mengu-Khan*, for he considered *Friar Andrew* as sent only to the Prince, who wrote to the King his Master, and not to the great Khan, of whom it does not appear that the *French* had any just Ideas, all they were derived to them by this Relation. We may add to all this, that our Author was something diffident as to the Character which *David* assumed, by his giving us to understand, that in those Days there were a certain bad sort of People, who in these remote Parts of the World, made a Practice of giving themselves out for the Ministers of Princes they scarce knew, and made a Livelihood by such strange Exploits. He likewise seems to be fully satisfied, that the Eastern Christians in general were Men of great Vivacity, and so fertile in their Imagination, that every thing they saw or heard appeared to them in the Light of a Wonder, and as such they reported it wherever they came, to serve their own Purposes.

Upon these Principles he grounds the political Part of his Work, in which he seems to labour with all his Force to establish these two Maxims. The first, that it was not either safe or honourable to aim at making Alliances with the *Tartars*, who were in his Sentiments a fierce intractable sort of People, very proud of their extraordinary Successes, and who understood all Applications made to them, as proceeding from Fear. The second, that their Power was nothing near so great as it had been represented, so that there was far less Danger like to accrue from the regarding them as Enemies, than from treating with them as Friends, into which Notion he was led by observing, that their Discipline was not exact, that they were utterly unacquainted with the regular Art of War, and no way capable of carrying it on against such as stood upon their Guard, and were prepared to meet them in the Field with well-disciplined Armies. That which seems to be the least defensible Part of his Work, is his strong Attachment to the Pope, and his high Notions of his Power, both of which, however, are in some measure excusable, considering the Age in which he lived, and the Conduct of the Popes in those times, who took upon them to excommunicate and depose

depose the greatest Princes in Christendom, as the Case then was with the Emperor, or to send them into the most distant Parts of the World, under Pretences of Religion, as appears from the Expeditions undertaken by his Master King Louis, which were as unfortunate in their Event, as ill founded in their Principles.

But it is now Time to add a few Observations with respect to the Usefulness of this Work, as it stands in this Collection, and to shew how far the Travels of Rubruik contributed to make the Western Parts of the World acquainted with the Passages into the East, as well as with what was doing there, and the Force of the several Monarchs that were in Possession of those Countries at the Time he visited them.

61. The Travels of Rubruik are equally astonishing in whatever Light they are considered. Take them with respect to Length, and they extend to upwards of five thousand Miles one Way, and to near six thousand another. I mean from Constantinople in his going out, and to Acon or Ptolemais in his Return, which is such a Space of Ground as it will not be easy to find any Man that has traversed, and left us so distinct an Account of what he has seen. But if Travels are not so considerable from their Length as from the Nature of the Countries that are travelled through, then here again is a new Proof of the Value of this Performance, since it is certain no European, except John Carpini, ever travelled so far before, neither have we any Accounts of Travels of the same kind since, that, only excepted, which follows in the next Section, and from which we have received here in Europe the first certain Accounts of China, and the first Notice we had of there being in the World such a Country as Japan. We shall apprehend this Matter better, if we take a short View of the Countries through which our Monk passed by the Names they are known to us at present.

It is plain, that from Constantinople he sailed cross the Black-Sea to the Port of Caffa; from thence he travelled by Land all the rest of the Way, that is to say, first through Crim Tartary, then crossing the great Rivers, Tanais and Volga, he came into the Country of Bolgar, and to the Camp of Baatu, thence through the vast Country of the Calmucks, and so North-Eastward to the Court of Mangou-Khan, which, according to his Description, must have lain in the Latitude of fifty Degrees North, or somewhat more, and considerably higher than what is now called the Chinese Tartary. In his Return he passed thro' all the vast Desarts of Great Tartary, though the Country of the Moguls, and so by the Head of the Caspian Sea, and then along the West Side of it through the Countries of Georgia, Armenia, Curdistan, Diarbek, and so into Syria; all which Countries then were, and most of them are still, in the Hands of the Tartars, of whom he has given us such an Account as is not only very consistent with itself, and carries therein the strongest Marks of Veracity, but is very agreeable also to the best Accounts we have since received of those Countries.

As our Author was not acquainted with the Language of the Tartars, and did not remain long enough amongst them to acquire it in that Degree of Perfection which was necessary to read and to understand their Histories, we need not at all wonder at some small Errors that have escaped him in Points of no great Consequence. As for Instance, in what he tells us of Zingis-Khan, who he makes a Farrier, as other Writers have done a Blacksmith, I shall not trouble the Reader with Remarks on the right Spelling of this Word Zingis, which I have already given them as it ought to be spelt, and have since conformed to our Author's Manner of writing it, that the Reader might find less Difficulty in comparing this with other Books of the same kind. I say, I shall not insist on such Trifles, but shall content myself with observing, that Zingis, however spelt, is an Adjective, and signifies properly the glittering or shining of Steel; whence sprung the Notion, that this Prince was originally of some Trade in which Iron or Steel was employed, because all the Tartars represented him as a Man, who from low Beginnings had raised himself to universal Empire, and ascribed him at the same time from the Consideration of his having deprived them of their Freedom and Independency; but among the Tartars themselves, this Appellation was taken in an honourable Sense,

Zingis signifying with them illustrious, and Zingis-Khan signifies literally, the most illustrious Monarch.

As to the Religion of this Prince, it was undoubtedly that of his Country, concerning which we have a great deal in Rubruik agreeable to what he saw and heard, but not so clearly expressed, as that we should be able to say precisely what is the Faith of the Tartars. Our Author is certainly in the Wrong as to Presbyter John, of whom such a Noise has been made in the World, and about whom so little can still be said with any Certainty. What led him into the Mistake was this, Tujan was the Khan of the Naimans, defeated and killed by Zingis-Khan, and it was from the Likeness of his Name to John, that our Author took it for granted he was that John the Priest so well known to the World. But after all, the Presbyter John is still in being, and is no other than the grand Lama, or Supreme Pontiff of the Tartars, who resides, as we have before observed, in the Kingdom of Tangut, and is in the Opinion of the whole Tartar Nation, immortal. The Truth of the Matter is, that he is an Ecclesiastical Prince, whose Fame and Credit is very extensive, tho' his Power be very restrained. He resides in a Monastery surrounded by his Monks, who, whenever he dies, supply his Place from among themselves, and keep this Secret so religiously, that all the Tartars are as firmly persuaded that their grand Lama lives for ever, as that the Sun always shines. This serves to explain another Circumstance, that at first Sight might seem very idle and ridiculous to the Reader, I mean the Question put to Rubruik, whether the Pope was not four or five hundred Years old. It is very plain from hence, that they considered the Pope as the grand Lama of the West, and having heard the Romish Priests insist much on the Perpetuity of the Church, they referred all this to the Person of the Pope, and supposed this spiritual Monarch to be immortal like their own.

If I durst avow my own Sentiments plainly, I should say, that there is no better Evidence of the Idolatry of the Tartars, than of the Papists; and this without intending any high Reflection on the Members of the Romish Church, for both have Images or Idols, both seem to worship them, and yet both when charged with it absolutely deny the Fact. Our Author plainly owns, that Mangou-Khan told him expressly he worshipped but one God, and that the Tartar Priests, whom he charges very freely with Idolatry, disowned it themselves, and affirmed that they reverence their Images only, and did not worship them. But after all, it plainly appears, that they kept the Secret of their Religion so well, that our Author never so much as heard of the grand Lama, and consequently could know nothing at all of the Grounds of their Religion, which, to deal plainly with the Reader, remains full as great a Mystery to this Day.

It is a Point that the Tartars will never be brought to explain in any manner whatever; and after all the Pains that I have been able to take in order to obtain some sort of Certainty on this Head, I am able to say no more of it than this, that what Doctrines the Lamas or Priests teach publicly, are restrained to these three Points: I. That there is one God the Fountain of Being, the Creator of all things, the Ruler of all things, and the sole Object of Divine Worship. II. That all Men in general are his Creatures, and therefore ought to consider each other as Brethren descended from one common Parent, and alike entitled to all the Blessings he bestows, and that therefore it is great Impiety to abuse those Blessings, or to injure each other. III. That inasmuch as the common Reason of Mankind hath taught them to establish Property, it is necessary that it should be preserved, and that it is therefore the Duty of every Man to be content with his own, and to be just to his Neighbours. This Religion these Priests not only teach, but practise with irreproachable Exactness; and therefore Rubruik very fairly owns, that the Regularity of their Manners hindered the Progress of the Christian Religion, not because the Doctrines of the latter were at all inferior in Sanctity to those of the former, but because in point of Purity of Manners the Nestorians and other Christians were very deficient.

After setting this Subject in the best Light we are able, the Reader will not find it at all difficult to apprehend a thing

what extremely puzzled, not only our Author, but all who have wrote of the Affairs of the *Tartars*, and it is this; that they are absolutely indifferent as to other Religions, entertaining all with equal Respect, whether *Christians*, *Mohammedans*, or *Jews*, which proceeds from their finding the fundamental Principles of their own Religion taught by them all, and practised by none that come amongst them better than by themselves, or by their Priests.

We find in *Rubruquis*, some mention made of a Nation called *Albassins*, of whom it will be requisite to give the Reader some Account; they are the same that are mentioned by our ancient Historians, under the several Names of *Hassians*, *Assians*, *Assassins*, *Assanites*, and *Cassians*, and were in Truth as odd a Sort of People as ever existed: They possessed a Tract of Country which contained twelve Castles and Villages in the Neighbourhood of *Tyre*, were a mix'd Race of Men, and for a long time made no Profession of any Religion, but practised a loose Kind of *Mohammedism*, and were Tributaries, first to the Knights Templars, and then to the Christian Earls of *Tripoly*. In the eleventh Century, they would have declared themselves Christians, if they might have been released from that Tribute; but this was refused, and they grew thenceforward the most bitter Enemies the Christians had.

These People were governed by a Prince stiled by our old Historians, the old Man of the Mountain, who finding himself surrounded by States much more powerful than his own, devised a new and strange Way of making himself equally dreadful to his Neighbours and to Strangers. He gave out, that he only was the true Vicar of *Mohammed*, and that he had the Keys of Paradise in his Hands: To support which Notion, he caused a fine Garden to be laid out, in a Valley, near his Palace, adorned in every respect, so as to resemble the Paradise of that Prophet; he likewise provided a sort of Opiate, and whenever he saw a young Man of a daring and resolute Temper, he sent for him, and promised him the perpetual Enjoyment of all sensual Delights, if he would execute boldly whatever he commanded; and by way of earnest, having given him the Opiate to drink, caused him to be carried while asleep into his Garden, where, when he awoke, he found every thing he could wish for, and many beautiful Women to attend him; when he had remained there a certain time, the Opiate was again administered, and he was conveyed back when asleep, to the Palace, where the old Man of the Mountain promised him, that provided he fulfilled all his Commands during Life, he should dwell after Death perpetually in that Garden.

By this Artifice, he established an Order of Men ready to venture on whatever he commanded, and when any Prince made War upon him, he dispatched three or four of these young Villains to his Court, or Camp, with Instructions to murder him, which they never failed to perform. It was by their Hands that *Louis of Bavaria* was killed in the Year 1231, and in 1251, he dispatched four of them with the like Commission to the Court of *Louis IX.* but suddenly altering his Mind, he dispatched four more with counter Orders, who made such haste, that they arrived at the French Court before the former, and discovering themselves to King *Louis*, remained always near his Person, to preserve him from their Companions, whom they likewise discovered at their Arrival, and for this Service, the French Monarch sent them back to their Master, loaded with Presents. By this Means the old Man of the Mountain became terrible, even to the most powerful Monarchs; and from the Practice of his desperate Bravos, we have the Word *Assassins*, and the Phrase of *Assassination*, for Murders of this Nature. This Practice was continued to the Time of which an Author speaks, a little after which, the whole Nation was extirpated by the *Tartars*.

These are all the Facts mentioned in his Writings, that seem to stand in Need of Explanation, unless we except what he has delivered concerning the Witchcraft and Sorceries of the *Tartars*. As to these, we can only say, that they are still much addicted to such Superstitions, and are thereby exposed, as he has shewn us, to many Impostures, and abundance of Mischief that attend them. But in one Particular he is mistaken, which is in confounding the *Sorcerers* with the Lamas, or *Tartar* Priests, whereas they are quite different Persons. What he relates of the Divination by the Blade-bones, is confirmed by all other Travellers, and is a Sort of Folly practised by the *Laplanders* and other northern Nations. A Folly ridiculous and absurd indeed, but not more so than the other Arts of Divination, which have prevailed in politer Countries, and which are not perhaps wholly extinguished at this Day. What he says in relation to the sprinkling of Ashes on the Floor, relates to another superstitious Custom of the same kind, which gave Birth to that kind of Fortunetelling called *Geomancy*, which was transferred to *Europe*; and about which several Treatises have been written, and one particularly in our own Tongue, not many Years ago, which I mention to shew not only the Probability of what *Rubruquis* has related, but likewise to demonstrate, that the giving into such foolish Practices is not peculiar to such Nations as we esteem barbarous; though I shall readily allow, that it is a Mark of Stupidity and Barbarity where-ever it appears.

We have no certain Account how this Relation of *Rubruquis* was received by the King his Master, but in all Probability it was very agreeable to him, since, though that Prince, after his Return to France, took all imaginable Pains to set the Affairs of his Kingdom in Order, and to reform the Abuses that had crept into it during his Absence: Yet he still retained a strong Desire of repairing also the Disgrace he had sustained in his former Expedition, by renewing the War against the Infidels, which determined him to make another Expedition against them, and this, notwithstanding all the Opposition that could be made to it, he undertook in the Spring of the Year 1270. He transported on this Occasion a numerous Army into *Africa*, resolving to begin the Operations of the War with reducing the Kingdom and City of *Tunis*, to which he laid Siege. But before he had made any great Progress towards taking the Place, the Plague broke out in his Army, and the King being infected therewith, died on the Twenty-fifth of August the same Year.

The best French Historians, as well as those of other Nations, condemn these Kinds of Expeditions, as idle and romantick; and yet it cannot be denied, that if this Spirit of making War against the Infidels had not been raised at that Time, it is more than probable, that the *Mohammedans* would have over-run the best Part of *Europe*; whereas in consequence of this Spirit, they were driven out of *Portugal* and *Spain*, to which I must ever Leave to add, that the Travels of *Rubruquis*, and others into different Parts of the East, first inspired that Passion for Discoveries, which has since produced such mighty Effects. Before that Time, we knew little or nothing in this Part of the World of the Situation of distant Countries; and those who affected to be thought great Wits, laboured to discredit whatever was delivered in Relations of this Kind, which prevailed in some Places; and if it had prevailed in all, we had been, at this Day, as ignorant, as poor, and as much Slaves as our Ancestors were before that Spirit of Commerce arose, that has not only discovered both the *Indies*, but has taught Men of Courage, that the whole World is their Country; and that he who improves useful Knowledge, if not properly encouraged at home, will be a welcome Guest where-ever he goes.

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SECTION XXI.

The curious and remarkable Voyages and Travels of Marco Polo, a Gentleman of Venice, who in the Middle of the XIIIth Century, passed through a great Part of Asia, all the Dominions of the Tartars, and returned home by Sea through the Islands of the East-Indies.

Taken chiefly from the accurate Edition of *Ramusio*, compared with an original Manuscript in his Prussian Majesty's Library, and with most of the Translations hitherto published.

1. A succinct Introduction to this Work.
2. An Account of the Author from *Ramusio*, and other Writers.
3. The several Editions and principal Translations that have been published of these Travels.
4. An Account of the Objections that have been raised against them.
5. The Characters given of this Performance by several eminent Critics.
6. The Author's introductory Account, containing an Abridgment of his Travels to the Time of his Return to Venice.
7. A Description of Armenia the Lesser, of the Country of the Turks, of Armenia the Greater, of the Province of Zorzan, the Kingdom of Mosul, of the City of Baldach, or Bagdat, of the City of Tauris, with an Account of a remarkable Earthquake.
8. Of the Country of Persia, the City of Jaldi, the City of Cermam, of the Town of Camandu, and of the Country where Rhuarb grows.
9. Of several other Countries, and the principal Curiosities in them.
10. The History of the Assassins, and of the Manner in which their Prince was killed, together with the Description of many other Countries.
11. Of the City of Samarcand, the Town of Lop, and of the great Desert in its Neighbourhood, with other remarkable Passages.
12. Of the Province of Camul, and several other Countries to the City of Ezina, and another great Desert.
13. Of the City of Caracurum, and of the Tartars, with a complete History of that Nation, and of their Monarchs.
14. Of the vast Countries to the Northward of Tartary, and many other curious Particulars.
15. Of the great Power of Cublai Khan, of his Government, Family, Dominions, &c.
16. Of his Palace in the City of Cambalu, a particular Description of that City, and other remarkable Observations.
17. Of the Magnificence of the Court of the Grand Khan, and of the Manners and Customs of his Subjects.
18. A copious Account of the Countries between the Place of his Residence, and the Country of Thibet.
19. A large Description of the last mentioned Province, and of many others, with an Account of the Observations made by the Author in his Progress through them.
20. Of the Province of Mangi, and of the Manner in which it was reduced under the Power of the Tartars, together with an Account of the Provinces and Cities, afterwards reduced under their Dominion.
21. Of the noble City of Quinsai, and of the vast Revenues drawn from thence by the Emperor of the Tartars.
22. Of the Island of Zangari, and of the Attempts made by the Tartars to conquer it, and their Misfortune in them.
23. A large Account of various Countries, Provinces, Cities and Islands in the East-Indies.
24. Of the great Island of Ceylon, of the Kingdom of Malabar, and the State of other Countries visited by the Author.
25. Of the Kingdom of Murfili, the Diamond Mines there, and other Countries adjacent.
26. Of the Island of Madagascar, the Country of Ethiopia, and other Parts of Africa.
27. Of the Province of Aden, and of several Countries reputed to be inaccessible.
28. Many obscure Passages in this Performance explained.
29. Remarks and Observations.

IT is with ancient Writers, as with ancient Coins, such as will not be at sufficient Pains to examine them, not only despise them, but also such as admire them. Thus none are more governed by Prejudice than those who declaim against it, and none greater Bigots than such as are attached to their own Opinions, from a Notion that they think freely. Yet this Zeal for Freedom of Thought ought to be amended rather than discouraged, as being in itself commendable, though sometimes dangerous, by being misapplied. It may, and to say the Truth, to many it does seem a tedious and disagreeable Labour to look so far back as the first Springs and Dawnings of Knowledge, yet, however they may colour this with Pretences to refined Taste, it is in fact no better than an Excuse for Idleness, and a Dislike to the taking that Pains which is requisite to succeed in such Enquiries.

The Travels of *Marco Polo* are indeed very old, and are come into our Hands with considerable Defects, but they are very valuable for all that, and very well worthy of our Attention. He was the *Columbus* of the East-Indies, the first that gave a certain and distinct Account of the Sea beyond *China*, and of the free Passage thereby through all the Islands of the East-Indies, back into those Countries that were very well known. It is true, that a great Part of what he related, though delivered with much Solemnity, and confirmed by the strongest Asseverations, was much called in Question, and thought in some measure beyond all Belief. But subsequent Discoveries have banished this Incredulity, and what were once esteemed Fables have been

since found true Relations; and the Discourses of *Marco Polo*, that were rejected by the supercilious Wits of his own time have been raked out of the Dust of old Libraries, decyphered in a manner from the barbarous *Latin* of monkish Translators, and brought into the Form we now have them by the indefatigable Pains of the learned *Ramusio*.

A Man whose Countenance alone might be sufficient to give Credit to this, or any other Work, though from the Notes we have added, it will appear that there are intrinsic Marks of its Value in the Performance itself: Yet we owe to *Ramusio* the being able to discover these, and therefore to him we willingly ascribe all the Glory that results from the Vindication of this curious Piece, and the Honour of its illustrious Author. To the same excellent Person is due the Account we have received of several Particulars relating to the personal History of *Marco Polo* and his Family, of which in as few Words as possible we shall give the Reader a Relation; which, though not absolutely necessary, to the understanding the Book, will be found useful and entertaining.

2. Signior *Nicolo Polo*, the Father of our Author, and his Brother Signior *Maffio*, began their Travels from *Constantinople* in the Year 1250, and having proceeded to the Court of the Grand Khan of *Tartary*, resided there for many Years, and returned, as the Reader will see, to *Venice*, about the Year 1269, where they found the Wife of Signior *Nicolo* deceased, and her Son, of whom she was big at the Time of their Departure, a well accomplished Youth, of nineteen Years of Age. Him they carried back with them to the Court of the Khan, and after having spent

twenty-six Years more without any News being heard of them by their Friends at Venice, returned safely thither in the Year 1295. On their Arrival at their own House in St. John Chrysostom's Street, they found themselves in a strange Situation, being not only worn entirely out of the Memory of their Family and Acquaintance, but having lost in a manner the very Tokens of their Country, being become *Tartars* in their Speech as well as their Habit, and therefore under a Necessity of taking some extraordinary Steps to recover the Respect and Reverence due to them, by convincing the World that they were really noble *Venetians*, and the individual Persons who had been so long lost to their Country and Friends.

It was with this View that they gave a magnificent Entertainment to their Relations, at which they all three came forth in rich Suits of Crimson-satin, of which, when the Guests were seated, they stripped themselves, and gave them to the Servants; appearing next in Crimson-damask, these also they put off at the last Service, and bestowed likewise on the Servants, being then dressed in Crimson-velvet. When Dinner was over, and all who waited withdrawn, *Marco Polo* brought out their Coats of *Tartarian* Cloth or Felt, and out of their Foldings produced an incredible Quantity of rich Jewels, among which there were some well known to those present, and which indisputably proved these Strangers of the *Polo* Family. Seigneur *Muthio Polo* became a worthy Magistrate of *Venice*, and lived and died in Peace.

As for our Author Signior *Marco*, a few Months after his Return, the *Genoise* Admiral *Lampa Doris* coming with a Fleet of seventy Gallies to the Island of *Corfu*, they fitted out from Venice, under the Command of *Andrea Dandolo*, a great naval Force, in which he had the Command of a Galley, and was so unlucky as to be taken Prisoner and carried to *Genoa*, where he remained in spite of all the Offers that were made for his Ransom several Years; so that his Father despairing of his Return, and desirous that his own Offspring might inherit his Riches, married a second Time, and had three Children. In the Time of this Imprisonment all the young Nobility of *Genoa* resorted to our *Marco* to hear the Recital of his Voyages and Adventures, which gave them so great Satisfaction, that one of them prevailed upon him to lend for his Notes from Venice; and when thus assisted, wrote from his own Mouth the following History in *Latin*; from whence it was translated into *Italian*; and this *Italian* was again translated into *Latin*, and abridged; whence grew that prodigious Corruption so justly complained of in the first printed Copies. This Work of *Marco's* was supported by the Testimony of his Father, and by that of his Uncle on his Death-bed. At last *Marco* himself obtained his Liberty, returned to Venice, married, and had two Daughters, *Moretta* and *Fautina*, but had no male Issue. He died as he lived, beloved and admired by all who knew or conversed with him; for with the Advantages of Birth and Fortune he was humble, and made no other Use of his great Interest in the State than to do good.

3. We have already shewn, that this Work was originally written in *Latin*, and if not by the Author's Hand, at least from his Mouth; but after the *Italian* Version that was made of it, the Copies of the *Latin* Manuscript became extremely rare, inasmuch that the *Italian* Translation was taken for the Original. One *Francis Popin* a Monk, translated it into *Latin*, and abridged it at the Command of his Superiors; and it is a Copy of this Manuscript that is in the Library of the King of *Prussia*. It was printed at *Hessl* by the Care of the celebrated *Kemmerlin*, and afterwards in other Places. It was from one of these Copies that it was translated by *Hakluis*, of which *Purchas* so heavily, and, at the same Time, so justly complains. *Ramusio* took a great deal of Pains, as well in restoring the Sense and the Text of our Author, as in justifying his Character, and supporting the Credit of his Work by his learned Discourses. He was assisted therein by a Copy of the original *Latin* Manuscript, which was lent him by his Friend Seigneur *Chiffi*, without which it had been impossible for him to have brought it into so good Order as we now see it.

There has been, besides the Translations already mentioned, at least one in the *German* Language. It was

printed in *Portuguese* at *Lisbon* in 1502, and it has been several Times translated into *Dutch*. I have been the more particular in the Account of these Additions and Translations, because they differ very much from each other; so that the only Way to come at a complete View of the Author, is by collecting and comparing these a Work of infinite Pains and Labour, in which however we have the Assistance of *Andrew Muller* a learned *German* Critick, and of *Peter Bergeron* a *Frenchman*, who, next to *Ramusio*, was, of all others, the most capable of such an Undertaking, and has succeeded in it the best.

There was, however, one Thing wanting, which was the justifying the Dates, verifying the Facts, and explaining the obscure Names of Places which occur in these Travels; and this we have done, to the best of our Ability, in this Translation, so that the Reader may be satisfied that he has the Work of this ancient Writer as entire, and in as good Condition as it was in our Power to give it him.

4. There have been abundance of Objections raised against the Credit and Authority of this Writer, many of which, as they were founded on the Errors of Transcribers and Translators, are taken away by restoring our Author's genuine Sense; and therefore we need not mention them particularly; but there are others which deserve more Regard. It is said, that our Author mentioned some Countries and many Places that were never heard of before or since. A shrewd Objection this, inasmuch as it seems to represent all the Pains that has been taken about his Writings, as entirely thrown away. In answer to this, we must observe, that he wrote according to the Lights he received, and those Lights were chiefly from the *Tartars*; whence it might very well happen that the Names of Places mentioned by him should appear strange and uncouth in this Part of the World. But it so happens, that we have since received such Helps as enable us to get pretty well clear of this Difficulty; for though we have retained in the Text the Names used by our Author, yet we have afforded, from the Assistance given us by oriental Writers, such Explanations as remove, in every respect, these geographical Obscurities, so as to leave no sort of Doubt either as to the Capacity, or the Veracity of *Marco Polo*.

Another Charge against him is, that he does not agree with other Writers, or rather that other Writers do not agree with him; but when examined to the Bottom, this Charge will not be found to have any great Weight, as having chiefly arisen from the Mistakes made as to the true Sense of what this Writer delivered; so that very often, what was imputed as Ignorance to him, was, in Fact, no more than Temerity in those who pretended to find fault with them. The last, and indeed the greatest Objection is, that he has related many Things that are absurd, some that are incredible, and not a few that are impossible. Against this Charge we cannot pretend to vindicate him, though much may be said to excuse him. The Facts he tells us of his own Knowledge, are surprisingly verified by authentick and indisputable Evidence; and grant that he might be imposed upon in what he gives us on the Authority of others, we must be content, the rather because it is our Happiness to live in an Age when Men are liable to be cheated and misled; therefore this ought to make us the more ready to bear with Failings in one who wanted this Advantage, who lived in a Time of Darkness and Obscurity, when Credulity passed for Faith, and when consequently Errors of this sort were rather a Man's Misfortune than his Fault.

5. In spite however of all these Charges, there have been some great Men in all Ages, who have done Justice to our Author's Merit. Among these we may reckon the famous *Vassius*, in his Account of the *Latin* Historians, the great Geographer *Sebastian Munster*, the learned Naturalist *Conrad Gesner*, the accurate Historian *Leclercius*, the celebrated *Joseph Scaliger*, and many others. The learned *German* Critick, *William Schickard*, in his History of the Kings of *Perfia*, gives our Author this Character; "*Marco Polo*, the *Venetian*, says he, is a very good Writer, and those Things which he reports, and were heretofore thought incredible, are now verified daily by later Discoveries." But of all who have undertaken the Cause of our Author, none has done it with greater Capacity, with more Good-will, or better Success than

than Father *Martini*, to whom we owe the best Description of *China*, and who was consequently a better Judge than any other of the Merit or Demerit of this Work. He assures us, that there is not the least Reason to doubt the Truth of our Author's Relations on Account of the Obscurity of the Names of Places; for, says he, he wrote them after the *Tartar* Pronunciation, whereas later Writers study to imitate as well as they are able the Pronunciation of the *Chinese*.

I will add to these but one Testimony more, which is that of an Author, very able to have detected him, if he had caught him in Untruths, and who was far enough from being tender of Mens Reputations if he thought them to blame. The Author I mean is *Albanus Kircher*, who in his Account of *China*, confesses, that none of the old Authors have more fully, or more accurately described the remotest Countries of the East, than *Marco Polo* has done; yet he readily admits, that there are many things in him so very dark, that they may be in a manner still inexplicable; but then with great good Sense and Candour, he attributes this to the Author's want of Skill in Geography and Astronomy; and if we consider how young he was, when his Father carried him into *Tartary*, and how little Opportunity he had of acquiring that sort of Knowledge that was most necessary for preventing those Mistakes, we may easily concur in Opinion with so many eminent and learned Writers, that in Consideration of the many curious and useful Passages in his Writings, these Blemishes, especially as they were in a manner unavoidable, may very well be forgiven. After having thus cleared the Way, we will no longer detain the Reader from the Perusal of these Travels, which their Author has thus digested. He first gives a succinct Account of his Father's and Uncle's Peregrinations, and then of his own; after which, he enters into a more particular Description of the Countries and Places thro' which they passed, and relates also such remarkable things as he was informed of in the Course of his Voyages.

6. At the Time that *Baldwin* was Emperor of *Constantinople*, in the Year of our Lord 1250, two Gentlemen of the most illustrious Family of *Paolo* or *Polo*, at *Venice*, embark'd on board a Vessel freighted with various kinds of Merchandise, on their own Account; and having travers'd the *Mediterranean*, and the *Bosphorus*, they came with a fair Wind, and the Blessing of God, to *Constantinople*. There they continued for some Time, to repose themselves, and then crossing the *Pontus Euxinus*, arriv'd at a certain Port call'd *Soldadia*, from whence they went to the Court of a great *Tartar* Prince call'd *Barba*, to whom they shew'd the fine Jewels they had brought, and presented him with some of the most valuable. That Monarch was far from being ungrateful; he kindly accepted their Presents, and in return, gave them others of greater Value. They remain'd a full Year at his Court, and then dispos'd of all things for their Return to *Venice*. But before they had an Opportunity of departing, there broke out a War between this Prince *Barba* and another *Tartar* King, whose Name was *Alan*; and this Dispute being decided by a Battle, the Army of *Barba* was defeated. This unlucky Accident exceedingly embarrass'd the *Venitians*, who knew not what Measures to take, or how to get safely back into their own Country. At length, however, they took a Resolution of escaping, as well as they could, out of the Country where they were, and by several By-roads escap'd to a City call'd *Gulbanc*, seated on the River *Tygris*. They continued their Journey from hence, thro' a great Desert, where there were neither Inhabitants nor Villages, till at last they arriv'd at *Bachara*, a considerable City in the Confines of *Persia*. It was at the Time of their Arrival, the Residence of a Prince call'd *Barach*, in whose Court, meeting with a good Reception, and not knowing how otherwise to dispose of themselves, they remained three Years. At that Time, a certain Person of Distinction was sent Ambassador from the said Prince *Alan* to the great *Khan*, who is the superior Monarch of all the *Tartars*, residing in the remotest Countries of the Earth, betwixt the North-East and the East, call'd *Cublai*; *Khan* who coming to *Bachara*, and finding there these two Brethren, who were now

well versed in the *Tartarian* Language, he rejoiced exceedingly, and persuaded these Men to go with him to the great Emperor of the *Tartars*, knowing that he should gratify him in this, and that they also should be entertained with great Honour, and rewarded with large Gifts, especially seeing, through the Conference had with them, he perceived their pleasing Behaviour. These Men therefore, considering that they could not easily return home without Danger, consulting together, agreed to go with the said Ambassador, and accompany him to the Emperor of the *Tartars*, having certain other Christians in their Company, whom they brought with them from *Venice*, and departing towards the North-East and the North, were a whole Year in going to the said Court of the said King.

The Cause of their long Time spent in this Journey, was the Snows and Waters being much increased, so that they were forced in their Travel to stay the waiting of the Snow, and decreasing of the Floods. Being therefore brought before the Presence of the great *Khan*, they were most courteously received by him. He questioned them concerning many things; as of the Countries of the West, the Roman Emperor, and other Kings and Princes, how they carried themselves in Government, and in warlike Affairs; how Peace, Justice and Concord, continued among them; also what Manner of Life and Customs were observed among the *Latins*, and especially of the Pope, of the Christians, of the Church, and of the Religion of the Christian Faith; and *M. Nicolo*, and *M. Maffeo*, as wife Men, told him the Truth, always speaking well to him, and orderly, in the *Tartarian* Tongue; inasmuch that he often commanded they should be brought to his Presence, and they were very acceptable in his Sight; having well understood the Affairs of the *Latins*, and resting satisfied with their Answers.

The great *Khan* intending to send them his Ambassadors to the Pope, first consulted with his great Lords, and then calling to him the two Brethren, desired them to go to the Pope of the *Romans*, with one of his Barons called *Cogatal*, to pray him to send an hundred Men learned in the Christian Religion unto him, who might shew his wife Men, that the Faith of the Christians was to be preferred before all other Sects, and was the only Way of Salvation, and that the Gods of the *Tartars* were Devils, and that they, and others, the People of the East, were deceived in the Worship of their Gods. He gave them also in Charge, to bring in their return from *Jerusalem*, of the Oil of the Lamp which burneth before the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, towards whom he had great Devotion, and held him to be the true God; they therefore yielding due Reverence to the great *Khan*, promised that they would faithfully execute the Charge committed unto them, and present the Letters which they received from him, written in the *Tartarian* Tongue, according to his Command unto the Bishop of *Rome*.

He, according to the Custom of the Kingdom, commanded a golden Tablet to be given them, engraven and signed with the King's Mark, carrying which with them, throughout his whole Empire, instead of a Passport, they might be every where safely conveyed through dangerous Places, by the Governors of Provinces and Cities, and receive their Expences from them; and lastly, how long soever they would stay in any Place, whatsoever they needed, for them or theirs, should be furnished them. Taking their Leave therefore of the Emperor, they took their Journey, carrying the Letters and golden Tablet with them; and when they had rid twenty Days Journey, the Lord who was associated with them, began to fall grievously sick; whereupon consulting, and leaving him there they prosecuted their intended Journey, being every where courteously received, by reason of the Emperor's Tablet, yet in many Places they were compelled to stay, occasioned by the over-flowing of the Rivers, so that they spent three Years before they came unto the Port of the Country of the *Armenians*, named *Giazza*; from *Giazza* they went to *Acre*, about the Year of our Lord 1269, in the Month of *April*.

But having entred into the City of *Acre*, they heard that Pope *Clement* the Fourth was lately dead, and that no other was substituted in his Place, for which they were

not

not a little grieved. At that Time there was a certain Legate of the apostolic See at *Acre*, viz. Master *Tibaldo Visconti di Piacenza*, to whom they declared all they had in Commission from the great *Khan*, and he advised them to expect the Creation of a new Pope: In the mean Space therefore departing to *Venice* to visit their Friends, Master *Nicolo* found that his Wife was dead, whom at his Departure he had left with Child, but had left a Son named *Marco*, who was now nineteen Years of Age. This is that *Marco* who composed this Book, who will manifest therein all those things that he hath seen. The Election of the Pope of *Rome* was deferred two Years. They fearing the Discontent of the Emperor of the *Tartars*, who expected their Return, went back again to *Acre*, to the Legate, carrying with them *Marco* aforesaid, and having gone to *Jerusalem*, and fetched the Oil with the Legate's Letters, testifying their Fidelity to the Great *Khan*, and that a Pope was not yet chosen, they went again towards *Giazza*.

In the mean Time, Messengers came from the Cardinals to the Legate, declaring to him that he was chosen Pope, and he called himself *Gregory*. Hearing this, he presently sent Messengers to call back the *Venetians*, and admonishing them not to depart, prepared other Letters for them, which they should present to the Great *Khan* of the *Tartars*, with whom he also joined two preaching Friars, Men famous for their honest Conversation and Learning. The one was called Friar *Nicolo Davicenza*, the other Friar *Guilmo de Tripoli*: To these he gave Letters and Privileges, and Authority to ordain Priests and Bishops, and of Absolution in all Cases, as if himself were present, with Presents also of great Value, to present the great *Khan*, together with his Benediction. They came to *Giazza*, a Sea-Port in *Armenia*, and because *Bentickbas* and the Sultan of *Babylon*, leading a great Army, then invaded the *Armenians*, the two Friars above-mentioned began to be afraid of themselves, and delivering the Letters and Presents to Seigniors *Nicolo*, *Maffo*, and *Marco*, desiring to avoid the Danger of the Ways and Peril of Wars, remained with the Master of the Temple, and returned with him.

But the three *Venetians* exposing themselves to all Danger, with many Labours, and much Difficulty, travelled many Days always towards the North-East and North, till they, after three Years and a half, came to the Emperor of the *Tartar's* great City of *Clemenifu*; for in the Winter Time their Journey had often long Hindrances by reason of the Snow, and extreme Cold, with Inundations of Waters. However, King *Cublai* hearing of their coming, though they were yet very far off, sent Messengers forty Days Journey to meet them, who should conduct them, and furnish all Necessaries for their Journey. Going therefore to the King's Court, and being brought to his Presence, they fell down before him on their Faces, yielding the accustomed Reverence, of whom being courteously received, they were ordered to rise, and he commanded them to declare how they passed the many Dangers of the Ways, and what they had treated with the Bishop of *Rome*; then they related it distinctly and at large, and gave the Emperor the Pope's Letters and Presents, which they brought; at which the *Khan* wonderfully rejoicing, commended their faithful Cares. The Oil also brought from the Lord's Sepulchre, and offered unto him, he reverently received, commanded it should be honourably preserved, and asking of *Marco*, who he was? Master *Nicolo* answered, that he was his Majesty's Servant, and his Son; he entertained him with a friendly Countenance, and taught him to write among other his honourable Courtiers; whereupon he was much esteemed of all the Court, and in a little Space learned the Customs of all the *Tartars*, and four different Languages, being able to write and read them all.

The Great *Khan*, to make his Wisdom more apparent, committed an Ambassage unto him to be performed in a City called *Caracban*, unto which he could scarcely travel in six Months Space; but he carrying himself wisely in all things, discharged what he had in Commission with the Commendation and Favour of the Prince, and knowing the Emperor would be delighted with Novelties in the Places which he passed through, he diligently searched the Cu-

stoms and Manners of Men, and the Conditions of the Countries, making a Memorial of all that he knew and saw to divert the Great *Khan*; and in six and twenty Years, which he continued one of his Court, he was so acceptable to him, that he was continually sent through all his Realms and Seigniories for the Affairs of the Great *Khan*, and sometimes for his own, but by the *Khan's* Order; and this is the true Reason that the said Master *Marco* learned and saw so many Particulars relating to the East, which follow in order in these Memoirs; but these *Venetians* having stayed in that Court many Years, and grown very rich in Jewels of great Value, were inspired with Desire to visit their Country, fearing, that if the *Khan* (now old) should die, they should not be able to return. One Day Master *Nicolo*, seeing the *Khan* merry, craved License to depart in the Name of all the three; whereat he was moved, and asked, why they would put themselves on so dangerous a Journey, and if they wanted Riches; he would give them twice as much as they had, and out of pure Affection would not permit their Departure.

Yet not long after it happened, that a King of the *Indians*, named *Argen*, sent three of his Counsellors unto the Court of the Great *Cublai*, whose Names were *Ulatai*, *Apusia*, and *Coza*, to treat with him, that he would deliver him a Wife; for his Wife, named *Belgana*, being lately dead, begged this Favour of the King at the Point of Death, and left in her Will, that he should not marry a Wife of another Family than her own, which was of *Cathay*. King *Cublai* therefore yielding to his Request, caused to be sought out for them a fair young Maiden of seventeen Years of Age, named *Cogalin*, descended of the former Queen's Family, to be the Wife of *Argen*. Those Embassadors departing, rode eight Months the same Way they came, but found bloody Wars among the *Tartars*, that they were constrained to return, and acquaint the great *Khan* with their Proceedings. In the mean time Master *Marco* had returned from those Parts of *India*, where he had been employed with certain Ships, and declared to the *Khan* the Singularities of the Places, and the Security of those Seas, which reaching the Ears of the Embassadors, they conferred with the *Venetians*, and agreed, that they with the Queen should go to the Great *Khan*, and desire Leave to return by Sea, and to have the three *Lains*, Men skilled in Sea Affairs, with them, to the Country of King *Argen*. The Great *Khan* was much displeased with their Request, yet upon their Petition granted it, and caused *Nicolo*, *Maffo*, and *Marco* to come into his Presence, and after much Demonstration of his Love would have them promise to return to him after they had spent some time in *Chriftentom*, and in their own House; and he caused to be given them a Tablet of Gold, in which was written his Command for their Liberty and Security through all his Dominions, and that Expences should be given them and theirs, and a Guide or Convoy for safe Passage, ordering also that they should be his Embassadors to the Pope, the King of *France* and *Spain*, and other *Christian* Princes.

He caused fourteen Ships to be prepared, each having four Masts, and able to bear nine Sails in sailing, the Form of which is too long to be here related; four or five of them had from two hundred and fifty to two hundred and sixty Mariners in each of them. In these Ships the Embassadors, the Queen, with *Nicolo*, *Maffo*, and *Marco*, set sail, having first taken Leave of the Great *Khan*, who gave them many Rubies, and other Precious Stones, and their Expences for two Years. After three Months they came unto a certain Island called *Taya*, and from thence sailing through the *Indian* Sea, after eighteen Months they came into the Country of King *Argen*: Six hundred Men of the Manners, and others, and but one of the Women died in the Journey; but only *Coza* of the three Embassadors survived. When they came to the Country of King *Argen*, they found that he was dead, and that one *Chiacato* governed the Kingdom for his Son, who was under Age; they sent to acquaint him with their Business, who answered, that they should give her to *Casan* the King's Son, then in the Parts of *Arbor Secca*, in the Confines of *Perfit*, with sixty thousand Persons for the Guard of certain Passages against the Enemy. Having done so, *Nicolo*, *Maffo*, and *Marco*, returned to *Chiacato*, and staid there nine Months. After

After this, taking Leave, *Chiacato* gave them four Tables of Gold, each a Cubit long, and five Fingers broad, of the Weight of three or four Marks, in which were written, that in the Power of the eternal God the Name of the Great Khan should be honoured and praised many Years, and every one who should not obey should be put to Death, and his Goods confiscated. In them were further contained, that these three Embassadors should be honoured, and Service done them in all Lands and Countries as to his own Person, and that Horses, Convoys, Expences and Necessaries, should be given them; all which was so duly put in Execution, that sometimes they had two hundred Horses for their Safe-guard. In this their Travel, they heard that the Great Khan was dead, which took from them all Desire of returning thither.

They rode till they came to *Trebizond*, and from thence to *Constantinople*, and after to *Negropont*, and at last came with great Riches safe to *Venice*, A. D. 1295.

Here ends the Historical Introduction of our Author, which shews us how he came to be qualified for writing the following Description of the remotest Countries in the East. The Reader will naturally observe, that our Author wrote under very particular Circumstances, as having no other Knowledge than what he acquired amongst the *Tartars*, and therefore though the harsh and uncouth Names that occur in the subsequent Relation of his Travels may both disfigure and perplex them, yet they very plainly prove the Sincerity and Authority of our Author's Writings, since taking Things as he has stated them, it was simply impossible that he should have written them any otherwise than as they stand; for it was his hard Lot to travel with the *Tartars*, and to pen the History of his Travels in a Prison, so that their Imperfections ought not to be ascribed to the Man, but to his Circumstances.

7. There are two *Armenia's*, the Greater and the Less. In the Lesser *Armenia* the King resides, in a City called *Sehgit*, and in all his Country is observed Justice and good Government. The Kingdom itself hath many Cities, Fortresses, and Castles; the Soil also is fertile, and the Country abounds with every thing necessary, nor is there any want of Game, or Wild-Fowl; the Air indeed is not very good. The Gentlemen of *Armenia*, in times past, were stout Men, and good Soldiers, but are become now effeminate and nice, give themselves up to Drunkenness and Riot. There is a certain City in this Kingdom seated near the Sea, which is called *Giazza*, having an excellent Haven, whither Merchants resort from divers Countries, and even from *Venice* and *Genoa*, on account of several sorts of Merchandize brought thither, especially Spices of sundry kinds, and abundance of other valuable Goods brought thither out of the East Countries; for this Place is, as it were, the settled Mart of all the East.

In *Turcomania* are three sorts of Nations, viz. the *Turcomans*, or *Turkmen*, who observe the Law of *Mohammed*: They are Men illiterate, rude, and savage, inhabiting the Mountains, and inaccessible Places, where they can find Pastures, for they live only by their Cattle. There are good Horses in this Country, which are called *Turkish* Horses: Mules are also in that Country of great Estimation. The other Nations are *Grecians* and *Armenians*, who possess the Cities and Towns, and bestow their Labour on Merchandize and Arts. They make the best Carpets in the World, and they have many Cities, the chief whereof are *Cagno*, or *Iconium*, *Cesarea*, and *Sehaste*, where St. *Basil* suffered Martyrdom for Christ, and they acknowledged one of the Khans, Kings of the *Tartars* for their Lord.

Armenia the Greater, which is a very large Province tributary to the *Tartars*, and hath many Cities and Towns, the chief City whereof is called *Arzugia*, and the best Buckram in the World is made there, most wholesome hot Waters also spring there for the washing and curing of Mens Bodies, and the other more famous Cities next to the

Metropolis are *Argiron* and *Darziz*. In the Summer Time many *Tartars* resort there, with their Flocks and Herds drawn thither by the Fatness of their Pastures; and again in the Winter depart for a certain Time by reason of the abundance of Snow. The Ark of *Noah* remained in the Mountains of this *Armenia*.

This Country hath the Province of *Mosull* and *Meridin* bordering on the East; but on the North is *Zorzanis*, in the Confinnes of which a Fountain is found, from which a Liquor like Oil flows, and though unprofitable for the seasoning of Meat, yet is very fit for the supplying of Lamps, and to anoint other things; and this natural Oil flows constantly, and that in Plenty enough to lade Camels. In *Zorzanis* is a King called *David Melic*, or King *David*; one Part of the Province is subject unto him, the other pays Tribute to a Khan of the *Tartars*; the Woods there are of Box-trees. The Country extends to the two Seas, *Marmaggiore*, or the *Euxine*, and that of *Baccu*, or the *Caspian*, which containeth in Circuit 2800 Miles, and is like a Lake, having no Communication with other Seas. In it are many Islands, Cities, and Castles, some of which are inhabited by those that fled from the *Tartars* out of *Persia*.

The People of *Zorzanis* are Christians, observing the same Rites with other Christians. They keep their Hair short like the Western Clergy; the Inhabitants have many Cities, and their Country abounds with Silk, of which they make very fine Manufactures. *Mosul* is a Province in which there are many sorts of People, some called *Arabi*, are *Mohammedans*, others are *Christians*, some *Nestorians*, others *Jacobites*, and others *Armenians*; and they have a Patriarch called *Jacolet*, who ordains Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, and sends them through all Parts of *India*, and to *Cairo* and *Baldach*, or *Bagdat*, and where-ever *Christians* dwell, as is done by the Pope of *Rome*; and all the Stuffs of Gold and Silk called *Mulleims* are wrought in *Mosul*.

But in the Mountains of this Kingdom dwell the People called *Curdi*, of whom some are *Nestorians*, others *Jacobites*, and some Followers of *Mohammed*; they are wicked Men, and rob Merchants. Near to them is another Province called *Mus*, or *Meridin*, wherein grows great Quantities of Cotton, whereof they make Buckrams, and other Works; they are subject to the *Tartars*. *Baldach*, or *Bagdat*, is a great City, in which resided the Great Khaliff, that is, the Pope of all the *Saracens*; a River runs through it, from whence to the Sea is accounted seventeen Days Journey. They sail by a City called *Chisi*; but before they reach the Sea they come to *Balsora*, about which grow the best Dates in the World. In *Baldach*, or *Bagdat*, are many Manufactures of Gold and Silk. There are wrought Damasks and Velvets, with Figures of various Creatures: All the Pearls in Christendom come from thence. In that City is an University, where is studied the Law of *Mohammed*, Physick, Astronomy, and Geomancy. It is the chief City in those Parts.

When the *Tartars* began to extend their Conquests, there were four Brethren, the eldest of which, *Mangu*, reigned in *Sedia*. These purposing to subdue the World, went one to the East, another to the North, to the South a third, which was *Ulan*, and the other to the West. In the Year of our Lord 1250, *Ulan* having a great Army of one hundred thousand Horse, besides Foot, used Policy, and having hid a great Part of his Men, brought, by pretending Flight, the Khaliff into his Ambuscade, and took him and the City, in which he found infinite Store of Treasure, inasmuch that he was amazed. He sent for the Khaliff and reproved him, that in that War he had not provided himself with Soldiers for Defence, and commanded that he should be enclosed in that Tower where his Treasure was without other Sustenance.

This seemed a just Judgment from our Lord *Jesus Christ* on him; for in the Year 1255, seeking to convert the *Christians* to the *Mohammedan* Religion, and taking Advantage from that Place of the Gospel, *That he which*

* There is nothing obscure in this Description of *Armenia the Less*, and I added this Note only to put the Reader in Mind, that our Author drew that great Part of the Trade from *Europe* to the *Indies* was carried on this Way by the *Provians* and *Genoese*.

† *Zorzanis* is indeed a Name not to be met with in any other Author; but the Account given us by *Marco* is so clear and exact, that there can be no doubt about it.

‡ There is nothing gives so much Credit to our Author's Relation as these historical Facts, which are capable of being verified by other Authors. The Prince he mentions was *Halaku-Khan*, who was Brother to *Mangu-Khan*; he entered these Countries A. D. 1255, with an Army of *Tartars*, and in 1258, put an end to the Empire of the *Abbasidian* Khaliffs, by taking *Bagdat*, as our Author relates it.

but Faith, as the Grain of Mustard-seed, shall be able to remove Mountains. He summoned all the Christians, Nestorians, and Jacobites, and propounded to them in ten Days to remove a certain Mountain, or turn Mohammedans, or be slain, as not having one Man amongst them which had the least Faith. They therefore continued eight Days in Prayer; after which a certain Shoemaker, in consequence of a Revelation made to a certain Bishop, was fixed upon to perform it. This Shoemaker once tempted to Lust by Sight of a young Woman, in putting on her Shoe, zealously had fulfilled that of the Gospel, and literally had put out his right Eye. He now on the Day appointed with other Christians followed the Cross, and lifting his Hands to Heaven prayed to God to have Mercy on his People, and then with a loud Voice commanded the Mountain in the Name of the Holy Trinity to remove, which presently, with great Terror to the Khaliff and all his People, was effected, and that Day is since kept holy by fasting also on the Evening before it.

8. *Tauris* is a great City in the Province of *Hircania*, and is a most populous Place. The Inhabitants live by the Exercise of Arts and Merchandize, they make Stuffs of Gold and Silk; foreign Merchants residing there make very great Gain, but the Inhabitants are generally poor. They are a mixed People of *Nestorians*, *Armenians*, *Jacobites*, *Georgians*, *Persians*, and *Mohammedans*: These last are perfidious and treacherous, thinking all well gotten which they steal from Men of other Religions; and this Wickedness of the *Saracens* had converted many *Tartars* thereto. If the Christians kill them in their Robbery, they are reputed Martyrs. From *Tauris* into *Persia* are twelve Days Journey. In the Confiners is the Monastery of *Saint Barasam*, the Monks whereof are like *Carnelises*; they make Girdles which they lay on the Altar, and give to their Friends, who devoutly esteem them. *Persia* containeth eight Kingdoms, whereof the first is called *Caspian*, the second *Curdistan*, the third *Lor*, the fourth *Suffian*, the fifth *Spahan*, the sixth *Sbiras*, the seventh *Soucara*, the eighth *Timorshaim*, which is near *Arboreffico* towards the North. They have fine Hories here, whence they are sold into *India*; there are also very excellent Asses sold dearer than the Hories, because they eat little, carry much, and travel far. They have Camels, but not so swift. These are necessary in those Countries, which sometimes for a long way yield no Grass.

The People in those Countries are very wicked, covetous, Thieves and Murderers, professing the Faith of *Mohammed*. Merchants are every where slain by those Thieves, unless they travel in Caravans. There are excellent Artificers in the Cities, who make wonderful things in Gold, Silk, and Embroidery. The Countries abound with Silkworms, Wheat, Barley, Millet, and other kinds of Corn, and Plenty of Wine and Fruits; and though their Law forbid Wine, yet they have a Glost to correct or corrupt the Text, that if they boil it, then it changeth the Taste, and therefore the Name also of Wine, and may be drank. *Isfidi* is a great City in the Confiners of *Persia*, where there is great Trade; it hath also many Manufactures in Silk. *Chiaman* is a Kingdom in the Confiners of *Persia*, to the East, subject to the *Tartars*. In Veins of the Mountains Stones are found commonly called *Turquoises* and other Jewels. There also are made all sorts of Arms and Ammunition for War, and by the Women excellent Needleworks in Silks, with all sorts of Creatures very admirably wrought therein. There are the best Falcons in the World, very swift of Flight, red breasted, and under the Train less than those of other Countries. Proceeding further, you go through a great Plain, and having ended eight Days Journey, you come to a certain Descent. In the Plain are many Cattles and Towns, but in that steep Descent are many Trees, and those fruitful, but no Habitation, except a few Shepherds. This Country in Winter Time is intolerable cold. After this you come into a large open Plain, where a certain City is seated which is called *Camandu*, heretofore

large and populous, but now destroyed by the *Tartars*, and the Country is called *Reobarle*. There grow Pomegranates, Quinces, Peaches, and other Fruits, which grow not in our cold Countries. It hath also very great Oxen, and all white, thin haired, with thick, short, blunt Horns, with a Camel's Bunch on the Back, accustomed to bear great Burthens, and when the Pack-Saddles are set upon the Bunch, they bow the Knee like Camels, and having received the Burthen, rise again, being so taught. The Sheep of that Country are as big as Asses, having so long and broad Tails, that they weigh thirty Pounds Weight. They are very fair, and fat, and good Meat.

Moreover, in the Plain of this Country are many Cities and Towns, with high Walls of Earth to defend them from the *Caraens*, that is, *Mestizes*, that is, a mixed sort of People between *Indian* Women and *Tartars*. Ten thousand of which are commanded by one *Negodar* the Nephew of *Zagatbai*, who formerly ruled in *Turkestan*. This *Negodar*, hearing of the *Malabars* subject to *Seldan*, without his Uncle's Knowledge, went and took *Dely* with other Cities, and erected a new Signiory, and mixing with the *Indian* Women, raised these *Caraens*, which go up and down to rob and spoil in *Reobarle*, and other Countries. The Plain whereof I now speak is five Days Journey, extended towards the South; but at the End thereof the Way beginneth by little and little to defend for twenty Miles together, and the Road itself is very bad, and not without Danger, by reason of Thieves. At length you come to very good Plains, which extend themselves two Days Journey in Length, and the Place itself is called *Ormus*.

That Country abounds with Rivers and Palm-Trees; there is also Plenty of divers Fowls, especially Poppin-Jays, which are not like ours. From hence you come unto the Ocean, wherein an Island is seated called *Ormus*, to which many Merchants resort, bringing Spices, Pearls, precious Stones, Cloth of Gold and Silver, Elephants Teeth, and all other precious Things from *India*. That City is a great Mart, having Cities and Castles under it, and is Head of the Kingdom of *Cbermain*. The King is called *Ruchined Ben Achomach*, who yields Obedience to the King of *Cbermain*. He makes himself Heir, if any Merchant dies there. In Summer, by the reason of the Heat, they betake themselves to their Summer-Houses, built in the Waters; and from Nine till Noon, there blows a Wind with such extrem Heat from the Sands, that it swalloweth a Man's Breath, and stifeth him, which makes them lie in the Water. The King of *Cbermain* sent an Army of sixteen hundred Horie, and five thousand Foot, against the Lord of *Ormus*, for not paying his Tribute, which were all surprized, and stifed with that Wind. The Inhabitants of the Place eat no Bread made of Corn or Flesh, but feed upon Dates, salt Fish and Onions. They have not very stout Ships, for they do not fasten them with iron Nails, by reason the Wood is brittle, and would cleave; but with wooden Pins, with certain Shells made of the Threads of *Indian* Nuts. These Shells are drilled after the Manner of Leather, out of which Threads are cut, of which Threads exceeding strong Cords are made, which are able to endure the Force and Violence of the Waters, and are not easily corrupted thereby. These Ships have one Mast, one Sail, one Beam, and are covered but with one Deck. They are not calked with Pitch, but with the Oil and Fat of Fishes, and when they cross the Sea to *India*, carrying Hories and other Freight with them, they lose many Ships, because that Sea is very tempestuous, and the Ships are not strengthened with Iron. The Inhabitants of that Country are black, and have embraced the Law of *Mohammed*. It is the Custom of this Country, when any Master of a Family dies, that the Wife left behind him, should mourn for him four Years, once a Day. They have Women which profess the Practice of Mourning, and are therefore hired to mourn daily for their Dead. Returning from *Ormus* to

* In the several Copies of this Work, there are great Variations in the Names of these eight Parts, into which the Kingdom of *Persia* is divided. but as it is very apparent that they are Corruptions only of the Cities, and Provinces of that Kingdom, it is not necessary to trouble the Reader with a long Explanation of them.

* It is evident from this Account, that our Author extends the Name of *Ormus* to the Coast opposite to the Island so called, and as to the other Country he speaks of, it is plainly the Province of *Cbermain*.

Cbermain, is a fertile Plain, but the Bread made there cannot be eaten, but by such as are accustomed thereto, it is so bitter by reason of the Water put therein: Here are excellent hot Baths, which cure many Diseases.

9. From *Cbermain*, in three Days riding, you come to a Desert, which extends to *Cobinbam*, seven Days Journey from thence. In the first three Days, you have no Water save a few Ponds, and those salt and bitter, of a green Colour in shew, as if it were the Juice of Herbs; and whoever tasteth but a little thereof, cannot escape a Looseness; the like also happeneth if any taste the Salt made of the Water: It is therefore necessary, that Travellers carry some Water with them, if they would escape the Inconvenience of Thirst; the Beasts also which are compelled to drink that Water, escape not without scouring: In the fourth Day they find a fresh River under-ground; the three last Days are as the first. *Cobinbam* is a great City, inhabited by *Mohammedans*, where great Looking-glasses of Steel are made. Tutia, or Tutty also, which cureth the Eyes and Spodin, and that after this Manner. That Country hath Mines, out of which they dig Earth, which they boil, casting it into a Furnace, an iron Grate receiving the ascending Vapour from above, in which the conglutinated and clammy Vapour becometh Tutia, but the grosser Matter remaining in the Fire, is called Spodio. Leaving the City *Cobinbam*, you meet with another Desert, eight Days Journey in Length, and grievously barren; it hath not either Trees or Fruits, or Water, except what is very bitter, so that the very Beasts refuse to drink it, except they mix Meal therewith, and Travellers carry Water with them.

But having passed over this Desert, you come to the Kingdom of *Timocbaim*, in the North Confines of *Persia*, where are many Cities and strong Castles. There is a great Plain, in which a great Tree grows, called the Tree of the Sun, which the Christians call the dry Tree. This Tree is very thick, and hath Leaves which on the one Side are white, and on the other Side green. It produceth prickly husky Shells, like those of Chestnuts, but nothing in them. The Wood is solid and strong, in Colour yellow, like Box. There is no Tree within one hundred Miles, except on one side, on which are Trees, within ten Miles. In this Place the Inhabitants say, that *Alexander* the Great fought with *Darius*. The Cities are plentifully furnished with good things; the Air is temperate, the People are handsome, but especially Women, the most beautiful in my Judgment in the World.

10. Mulehet, in the *Saracen* Language, is as much as to say, a Place of Hereticks, and of this Place they call the Men Mulehetici, that is, Hereticks in their Law, as with us Patarines. As I have spoken of the Country, the Prince of it, who is called the old Man of the Mountain, shall be next spoken of, concerning whom *Marco* heard much from many. His Name was *Aloadine*, and he was a *Mohammedan*. He had, in a lovely Valley, betwixt two Mountains, which were very high and inaccessible, caused a pleasant Garden to be laid out, furnished with the best Trees and Fruits he could find, adorned with diverse Palaces and Houses of Pleasure, beautified with gilded Bowers, Pictures and Tapestries of Silk. Through this Place, by Pipes, to different Parts of these Palaces, run Wine, Milk, Honey and clear Water; in them he had placed beautiful Damfels, skilful in Songs and Instruments of Musick and Dancing, and to make Sports and Delights unto Men whatsoever they could imagine. They were also richly dressed in Gold and Silk, and were seen continually sporting in the Garden and Palaces. He made this Palace, because *Mohammed* had promised such a sensual Paradise to his devout Followers. No Man could enter it, for at the Mouth of the Valley was a strong Castle, and the Entrance was by a secret Passage. *Aloadine* had certain Youths, from twelve to twenty Years of Age, such as seemed of a bold and dauntless Disposition, whom he

instructed daily as to the Delights in *Mohammed's* Paradise, and how he could bring Men thither, and when he thought proper, he caused a certain Drink to be given to ten or twelve of them, which cast them into a dead Sleep, and then he caused them to be carried into several Chambers of the said Palaces, where they saw things as aforesaid; as soon as they awaked, each of them having those Damfels to supply them with Meats and excellent Wines, and yield all Varieties of Pleasures to them; inasmuch that the Fools thought themselves in Paradise indeed.

When they had enjoyed these Pleasures four or five Days, they were cast into a Sleep, and carried forth again, after which he caused them to be brought into his Presence, and questioned them where they had been? Who answered, by your Grace, in Paradise, and recounted before all what hath been before-mentioned. Then the old Man answered, this is the Commandment of our Prophet, that whosoever defends his Lord, he allows him to enter Paradise, and if thou wilt be obedient to me, thou shalt have this Grace; and having thus animated them, he was thought happy whom the old Man would command, though it cost him his Life; so that other Lords, and his Enemies, were slain by these Assassines, who exposed themselves to all Dangers, and contemned their Lives. Hereupon he was esteemed a Tyrant, feared in all those Parts, and had two Vicars, one in the Parts of *Damascus*, and another in *Cardistan*, which observed the same Order with young Men. He used also to rob all which passed that Way. *Ulan*, in the Year 1262, sent and besieged his Castle, which, after three Years Siege they took, slew him, and undermined his Paradise, not being able for want of Provisions to hold out longer.

Departing from the aforesaid Place, you come unto a Country pleasant enough, diversified by Hills, Plains, and excellent Pasture, in which are Fruits in great Plenty, the Soil being very fruitful: This continues six Days, and then you enter a Desert of forty or fifty Miles, without Water; after this you come to the City *Sapurzan*, where Plenty of Provisions are found, but especially Melons, the best in the World, sweet like Honey. Passing from hence we came to a certain City called *Batach*, which formerly was large and famous, having sumptuous marble Palaces, but now overthrown by the *Tartars*.

In this City they report, that *Alexander* took the Daughter of King *Darius* to Wife. To this City on the East and North-East continue the Confines of *Persia*; but if you go from hence and proceed between the East and the North-East, you cannot find any Habitation for two Days Journey, because the Inhabitants of the Place having endured many great Grievances by Thieves, are compelled to fly unto the Mountains, to Places of more Safety. Many Rivers are found there, and much Game. Lions also are found there; and because Travellers find no Food in that Journey, they carry as much Victuals with them as is necessary for two Days. The two Days Journey ended, we met with a Castle called *Thaican*, where is great Plenty of Corn, and very pleasant Fields; the Mountains also on the South are high, some of which are of white and hard Salt; and the Inhabitants for thirty Days Journey about fetch it from thence, being the best in the World, and so hard that they must break it with Iron Instruments, so much that the whole World might have a sufficient Quantity of Salt from thence. The other Mountains have Store of Almonds and Pistaches.

Going between the East and North-East from hence, the Country is fruitful; but the Inhabitants are Murderers, perfidious *Mohammedans*, and Drunkards. Their Wine is boiled and truly excellent. They go bare-headed, save that the Men bind up their Heads with a certain String of ten Handfuls long, but they make Cloathing of the Skins of the wild Beasts, such as Breeches and Shoes, and use no other Garments. After three Days Journey is the City *Seassom*, seated in a Plain, and there are many

¹ It is necessary to observe, that those People inhabited several mountainous Countries in the East, and had much the same Customs in all the Countries where they were settled. At the Close of the former Section, I gave some Account of this Nation, and shall only add here, that their Prince was called the old Man of the Mountains, because they generally made choice of the oldest Man amongst them for their Chief, who had his Residence on a Mountain, the strongest and best fortified in the Country. They pretended to be the Descendants of the Royal Family of *Arjact*, and from thence affected to be called *Arjactes*, from whence came the Word *Assassins*. The last of their Princes was called *Moadin*, and he and his Subjects were entirely destroyed by the before-mentioned *Kalaku-Khan*.

Castles in the Mountains round about it: A certain great River also flows through the Middle thereof. There are many Porcupines in that Country, which they hunt with Dogs, and they contracting themselves with great Fury, cast their prickly Quills at Men and Dogs, and wound them. That Nation hath a particular Language, and the Shepherds abide in the Mountains, having made Caves for their Habitations. You go hence three Days Journey without meeting any Inhabitants, to the Province of *Balaxiam*, which is inhabited by *Mohammedans*, who have a peculiar Language. Their Kings, who succeed each other hereditarily, are reported to have derived their Descent from *Alexander the Great*, and from the Daughter of *Darius*, and are called *Dulcarles*, that is to say, *Alexandrians*. There are found the *Ballaffas*, and other precious Stones, of great Value.

No Man, on pain of Death, dare either dig such Stones, or carry them out of the Country, but with the Licence and Consent of the King; for all those Stones are the King's, and he only lends them to whom he pleases, either as Presents, or in Payment of Tribute: He exchanges also many for Gold and Silver; and this he doth left the Stone, whereof there is so much Plenty, should become too common and cheap. Other Mountains also in this Province yield Stones, called *Lapis Lazuli*, whereof the best Azure is made, the like is not found in the World. These Mines also yield Silver, Brass, and Lead. The Country itself is very cold: There are many Horses, and those excellent large, strong, and swift, which have so hard and tough Hoofs, that they need no Iron-shoes, although they run through Rocks. It is said, that not many Years ago, there were Horses of the Race of *Alexander's Bucephalus* which had the same forehead Mark as he had, in the Possession only of the King's Uncle, who was killed for refusing the King to have of them; whereupon his Widow, in spite, destroyed the whole Race. There are also excellent Falcons. The Soil of this Country bears excellent Wheat and Barley without Husks, and Oil made of Nuts, and Mustard, which is like Flax-seed, but more savory than other Oil. There are straight Passages and difficult Places. The Men are good Archers and Huntsmen, clothed in Beasts Skins. The Hills are steep and high, large Plains, fine Rivers; and if any have an Ague, by living two or three Days on the Hills he recovers, which *Marco* experienced himself after a Year's Sickness. The Women, in the Skirts of their Garments put sixty or eighty Yards of Cotton; the burlier a Woman looks she is in their Eyes the handsomer.

The Province of *Bajcia* is ten Days Journey towards the South from the Country of *Balaxiam*, and the Country itself is very hot, which is the Reason the People are brown. They have a Language of their own, and wear gold and silver Ear-rings, with Pearls and other Stones, artificially wrought in them; they eat Fish and Rice, and are Idolaters, crafty and cruel. The Province of *Chefmuir* is seven Days Journey distant from *Bajcia*, the Inhabitants whereof have also their own Language, and are Idolaters, beyond all others, cunning Incanters, forcing their Idols to speak and darkening the Day. From hence you may go to the *Indian-Sea*. The Men and Women are brown, not wholly black, the Heat somewhat tempered. Their Food is Flesh and Rice, yet are they exceeding lean: There are many Cities and Towns in this Country; their King is tributary to none. There are certain Hermits in this Province who in Monasteries and Cells worship Idols, honouring their Gods with great Abstinence of Meat and Drink, and observe great Chastity, are very cautious not to offend their Idols, and live long; of these are many reputed Saints, and the People shew them great Reverence. The Men of this Province kill no living Creature, and shed no Blood; and if they eat Flesh it is necessary that the *Saracens*, who live amongst them, kill the Creature. Coral is here sold dearer than any where. We will leave the Way to *India* now, and return to *Balaxiam*, and direct our Way towards *Catbay*, betwixt the East and North-East. Beyond *Balaxiam* is a certain River whereon stand many Castles and Villages belonging to the King of *Balaxiam's* Brother; and after three Days Journey is the Province *Facban*, having in Length and Breadth three Days Jour-

ney, the Inhabitants whereof have a peculiar Language, and worship *Mohammed*. They are however stout Warriors and good Hunters, for the Country abounds with wild Beasts.

If you depart thence betwixt the North-East and the East, you must ascend for three whole Days together, until you come to an exceeding high Mountain, than which there is said to be none higher in the World. There also between two Mountains is a great Lake, and through a Plain runs a very fine River, near which are excellent Pastures, so that in them a lean Horse or an Ox may be fat in ten Days. There is also Plenty of wild Beasts, especially exceeding great wild Sheep, having Horns some of them fix Spans long, of which they make divers kinds of Vessels. The Plain contains twelve Days Journey in Length, and is called *Pamer*; nor is there any Habitation there, and Travellers must carry Victuals with them: No Bird also appears there, by reason of the Cold; and it is reported, that if Fire be kindled there it is not so bright nor so effectual to boil any thing as in other Places. From hence the Way leadeth forty Days Journey further between the East and the North-East, through the Mountains, Hills, and Valleys, in which many Rivers are found, but no Village or Herbs, and the Country itself is called *Palow*, and some Huts and Cottages of Men are seen on the Top of those high Mountains; but such as are savage and wicked Idolaters, who live by hunting, and are clothed by the Skins of the Beasts they kill. After this you come to the Province of *Caskar*, which is tributary to the Great Khan, and the People are *Mohammedans*. In it are Vines, pleasant Gardens, fruitful Trees, Cotton, Flax, and Hemp, and a fertile Soil. The Inhabitants have a particular Language, and are Merchants and Artificers, so covetous that they eat that which is bad, and drink worse. Some *Nestorian* Christians are found there, who also have their Churches. The Country extends itself five Days Journey.

11. *Samarcand* is a great and famous City in that Country, where are lovely Gardens, and a fertile Plain. It is subject to the Nephew of the Great Khan; in it the Christians dwell with the *Saracens*, whence little Agreement is betwixt them. It is reported, that on this Account a Miracle happened; the Brother of Great Khan, named *Zagatai*, who governed that Country about an hundred Years ago, being persuaded to become a Christian, the Christians, through his Favour, built a Church in Honour of *St. John Baptist*, with such Cunning that the whole Roof thereof was supported by one Pillar in the midst, under which was set a square Stone, which, by favour of their Lord, was taken from a Building of the *Saracens*. *Zagatai's* Son succeeded after his Death in the Kingdom, but not in the Faith, from whom the *Saracens* obtained that the Christians should be compelled to restore that Stone, and when they offered a sufficient Price, the *Saracens* refused to receive any other Composition than the Stone; whereupon the Pillar lifted up itself, that the *Saracens* might take away their Stone, and so continued.

Departing again from this City, you come into the Province *Cabaraban*, about five Days Journey in Length. This Province hath Plenty of Provisions, being subject to the Dominion of the Nephew of the Great Khan. The Inhabitants worship *Mohammed*, yet among them certain *Nestorian* Christians dwell. They are great Artificers, and have most of them swelled Legs, and a great Wen or Bunch in their Throat, by reason of the Waters which they drink. The Province *Cotam* follows between the East and the North-East. It is subject to the Dominion of the Nephew of the Great Khan, and hath many Cities and Towns. The chief City thereof is called *Cotam*. The Province extends eight Days Journey in Length. There is no Want there of any Thing needful to the Maintenance of Life. It hath Plenty of Cotton, Flax, Hemp, Corn and Wine; but the People are not warlike, yet good Artificers in various Manufactures and Merchandize. They acknowledge *Mohammed* for their Prophet.

Proceeding farther through the same Country, you come to the Province *Peim*, extending four Days Journey in Length; it is subject to the Great Khan, and hath

many Cities and Castles; the chief City thereof is called *Piem*, near which runs a River wherein precious Stones are found, such as *Jaspers* and *Chalcedons*. The Inhabitants of the Country follow the Law of *Mohammed*, and are Artificers and Merchants. There is a Custom in this Province, that when any married Man goeth into another Place and returneth not home in twenty Days, it becomes lawful for the Wife to marry another Husband; and the Men also, whensoever the Women go away for the same time, do the like. All those Provinces, *viz. Cafiba, Celem, Piem*, to the City of *Lop*, are in the Bounds of *Turkestan*.

Ciajian is subject to the *Tartars*; the Name of the Province and chief City is the same: It hath many Cities and Castles; many precious Stones are found there in the Rivers, especially *Jaspers* and *Chalcedones*, which Merchants carry quite to *Ousback* to sell and make great Gain. From *Piem* to this Province, and quite through it also is sandy Soil, with many bad Waters and few good. When an Army passes through this Province, all the Inhabitants thereof, with their Wives, Children, Cattle, and all their Household-stuff, fly two Days Journey into the Sands, where they know that good Waters are, and stay there, and carry their Corn thither also to hide it in the Sands, after Harvest, from the like Fears. The Wind doth so deface their Steps in the Sand, that their Enemies cannot find their Way. Departing from this Province, you are to travel five Days Journey through the Sands, where no other Water almost than that which is bitter is any where to be found, until you come to the City called *Lop*, which is a great City, from whence is the Entrance of a great Defart, called also the *Wilderness of Lop*, seated between the East and the North-East. The Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, subject to the Great Khan.

In the City of *Lop*, Merchants who desire to pass over the Defart, cause all Necessaries to be provided for them; and when Victuals begin to fail in the Defart, they kill their Asses and Camels, and eat them. They make it mostly their Choice to use Camels, because they are sustained with little Meat, and bear great Burthens. They must provide Victuals for a Month to cross it only, for to go thro' it Lengthways would require a Year's Time. They go through the Sands and barren Mountains, and daily find Water; yet it is sometimes so little that it will hardly suffice fifty or an hundred Men with their Beasts; and in three or four Places the Water is salt and bitter. The rest of the Road, for eight and twenty Days, is very good. In it there are not either Beasts or Birds; they say, that there dwell many Spirits in this Wilderness, which cause great and marvellous Illusions to Travellers, and make them perish; for if any stay behind and cannot see his Company, he shall be called by his Name, and so going out of the Way is lost. In the Night they hear as it were the Noise of a Company, which, taking to be theirs, they perish likewise. Concerts of musical Instruments are sometimes heard in the Air; likewise Drums and Noises of Armies. They go therefore close together, hang Bells on their Beasts Necks, and set Marks, if any stay.

Having passed over the Defart you come into the City *Sachien*, betwixt the East and North-East, subject to the Great Khan, in the Province of *Tangut*, where, amongst the Worshipers of *Mohammed*, a few *Nestorian* Christians are found; many Idolaters are also there, who have their proper Language. The Inhabitants of this City live not by Merchandize, but on the Fruits of the Earth. The City hath many Monasteries consecrated to divers Idols, in which many Sacrifices are offered with great Reverence: And when a Son is born to a Man, he presently commendeth him to some Idol, and in honour thereof nourisheth a Sheep that Year in his House, which he presenteth before it, together with his Son, the next Festival Day of that Idol, with many Ceremonies, and great Reverence. Afterwards the Flesh of the Sheep is boiled, and left so long before the Idol till their Prayers are finished, which they make for the Conservation of their Son, and

the Idol hath, as they suppose, sucked the Savour of the Meat; after which, all his Kindred being gathered together, eat the Flesh at home with great Devotion and Joy, but religiously keep the Bones in certain Vessels. The Priests have the Feet, Head, Inwards, Skin, and some Part of the Flesh, for their Share.

In celebrating the Funerals of such as were Men in Esteem, the dead Bodies are buried after this Manner; the Kindred send for the Astrologers, and tell them what Year, Month, Day and Hour he who died was born, who, having considered the Constellation, assigns the Day when he is to be buried; so that when the Planet suits not, they preserve the dead Body sometimes seven Days, and sometimes six Months, preparing a Chest for it at home, and joining the Sides together with such Art, that no noisome Smells issue forth. They also embalm the Body itself with Spices, and cover the Chest, fairly painted with embroidered Cloth; and every Day that the dead Corps is kept at home, at the Hour of Dinner a Table is spread near the Chest, Wine and Meat set thereon for the Space in which one might eat a Meal's Meat, supposing that the Soul of the Dead feedeth on the Savour thereof. The Astrologers sometimes forbid to carry it out of the chief Gate, pretending some disastrous Star, and cause them to carry it out another Way, and sometimes break the Wall which is opposite to that Place, which the Planet makes more lucky; for otherwise the Spirits departed would be offended, and hurt those of the House; and if any such Evil happen, they ascribe it to the Dead thus wronged. When the Body is carried through the City to be buried without, wooden Cottages are erected in the Way, with a Porch covered with Silk, in which they place the Body, and set before it Bread, Flesh, and delicate Meats, supposing the Spirit to be refreshed therewith, which is held to be constantly present at the burying of the Body; and when they come to the Place where the Body is to be buried, they diligently and curiously paint upon Papers made of the Bark of Trees the Images of Men and Women, Horses, Camels, Money and Garments, all the Instruments of the City founding, which are burned together with the dead Body; for they say, that dead Men shall have so many Men-servants, and Maid-servants, Cattle, and Money in another Life, as Pictures were burned with him, and shall perpetually live in that Honour and Riches.

12. The Province of *Camul* lieth in the wide Country of *Tangut*, subject to the Great Khan, having many Cities and Towns; the chief City is called *Camul*. This Province is bounded by two Defarts, *viz.* the Great Defart, of which we have spoken before, and another, that is less, of three Days Journey. It abounds with all things for the convenient Support of Life. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, have a peculiar Language, and seem to be born for no other Purpose but to apply themselves to sporting, singing, dancing, writing and reading, after their Fashion, playing on Instruments, and giving themselves unto Pleasure. When any Traveller passing by goes into any Man's House for Entertainment, the Master of the Family receives him with great Joy, and commands his Wife, and all the Family, that as long as he will abide with them, they obey him in all things. In the mean time he departs, and returns not so long as the Guest remains at his House; and during all this Space the Stranger lies with the Wife, Daughter, and the rest, as with his own Wives. The Women of the Country are beautiful, and ready to obey all these Commandments of their Husbands, who are so besotted with this Folly, that they think it a glorious thing for them, and believe it so acceptable to their Idols, that, through their Favour thus obtained, they prosper, and enjoy Plenty of all things. *Mangu-Khan* having heard of this Folly, commanded them not to observe this detestable Custom any longer, and accordingly they forbore it for about three Years, and then not seeing their wonted Fertility, and troubled with some domestic Crosses, they sent Embassadors to

¹ This Defart mentioned by our Author, still retains the same Name in the most modern Maps. His Description of this and other Wildernesses are very exact; and the Hardships he mentions in passing through them are not at all exaggerated. It is for this Reason that it is so extremely difficult to pass from any Part of the Dominions of the Great Mogul to *China*, without taking a prodigious Compass to avoid these Defarts. It is not above forty Years ago since a certain Rajah who had incurred the Mogul's Displeasure, attempted, with a Train of thirty Followers, to pass through these Defarts, in which they all perished by Hunger. ² This, except the Nobleman himself and four of his Attendants, who reached the Province of *Liberty*, where he and one of his Men died of the Fatigue a few Days after.

the Khan, and earnestly entreated that he would revoke so grievous an Edict, and not abolish that ancient Custom which they had received from their Ancestors. The Khan answered, Since you desire your Reproach and Shame, let it be granted you, go and do herein after your Wont. The Messengers returning with this Answer, brought great Joy to all the People; and this Custom is observed by the whole Nation to this Day.

After the Province of *Camul*, a Traveller entered the Province of *Chinchintalas*, which on the North is bounded by the Desert, and is sixteen Days Journey in Length, subject to the Great Khan. It hath large Cities, and many Castles; the People are divided into three Sects; some few acknowledge Christ, and these are *Nestorians*; others worship *Mohammed*; and the third sort adore Idols. In this Province there is a Mountain, wherein are Mines of Steel, and Andanium, and also, as was reported, Salamanders of the Wool of which Cloth was made, which if cast into the Fire, cannot be burned; but that Cloth is in reality made of Stone, in this manner, as one of my Companions, a *Turk*, named *Curifar*, a Man indued with singular Industry, informed me, who had the Charge of the Minerals in that Province. A certain Mineral is found in that Mountain, which yields Thread not unlike to Wool, and these being dried in the Sun, are bruited in a brazen Mortar, and afterwards washed, and whatsoever earthy Substance sticks to them, is taken away. Lastly, these Threads so cleaned, are spun like other Wool, and woven into Cloth, and when they would whiten those Cloths, they cast them into the Fire for an Hour, and then take them out unhurt whiter than Snow, after the same manner they cleanse them when they have taken any Spots; for no other washing is used to them, besides the Fire. But with regard to the Salamander, or the Serpent, which is reported to live in the Fire, I could find nothing of such a Creature in the East Countries. They say there is a certain Napkin at *Rome* woven of Salamander-Wool, wherein the Handkerchief of the Lord is kept wrapped up, which a certain King of the *Tartars* sent to the Bishop of *Rome*.*

After you are past this Province, you travel on betwixt the East and North-East, ten Days Journey, in which few Habitations or Things remarkable are found, and then you come to the Province *Succir*, in which are many Villages and Towns; the chief City is called *Succir*. In this Province, among many Idolaters, a few Christians are found; they are subject to the Great Khan. They do not addict themselves to Merchandize, but live on the Fruits of the Earth. The best Rhubarb is found in this Province in great Quantities, which is carried thence by Merchants to divers Parts of the World. Strangers dare not go to the Mountains where it grows, by reason of venomous Herbs, which if their Beasts should eat them, would lose their Hoofs; but those of that Country know and avoid them.

The general Name of this Province, and of the two following, is *Tangut*: *Campion* is a great City, the Principal in the Country of *Tangut*. In it are Christians, which have three great and fair Churches, *Mohammedans* and Idolaters. The Idolaters have many Monasteries, where they worship their Idols. Those Idols are made either of Stone, Wood, or Clay, some of which are inlaid with Gold, and very artificially wrought. Some are so great, that they contain ten Paces in Length, fastened to the Earth, as if they lay upright, near which little Idols are placed, which seem to give Reverence to the greater, and both are much worshipped. The religious Men seem to live more honestly than other Idolaters, abstaining from Whoredom, and other base things; yet Wantonness is not held there any grievous Sin, for they say, if a Woman lues to a Man, he may use her without Sin, but not if he lues first to her. They reckon the whole Compa of the Year by Moons. In the Moons they observe in some five, in others four or three Days, wherein they kill no Beast, or Bird, nor eat Flesh. The Laymen marry twenty or thirty Wives, or as many as they

are able to maintain; yet the first is accounted more worthy, and more legitimate. The Husband receives no Dowry from the Wife, but he himself assigns sufficient Dowry in Cattle, Servants, or Money, according to his Ability. If the Wife becomes hateful to the Husband, it is lawful for him to divorce her from him when he pleases. They take for Wives, without Scruple, their Kinswomen, or Mothers-in-Law. Our Author, together with his Father and Uncle, remained a Year in this City for the Dispatch of certain Affairs. From the City *Campion* you proceed twelve Days Journey to the City *Kizina*, bordering on a sandy Desert towards the North, being still in the Province or Kingdom of *Tangut*. Many Camels are there, and many other Beasts and Animals of several kinds. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, living on the Fruits of the Earth, neglecting Merchandize, or manual Labour, other than Husbandry. All the Provinces and Cities aforesaid, *Serbien*, *Camul*, *Chinchintalas*, *Succir*, *Campion*, and *Kizina*, are comprehended in *Tangut*.

13. Having passed over the aforesaid Desert, you come unto the City *Caracorum*, or *Caracorum*, a large Place, which is in Compa three Miles, strongly fortified with Earth, for Stone they have none. Near it is a great Castle, and in it the Governor's fair Palace. This was a Place, near which in old Times the *Tartars* assembled themselves, and here therefore we will declare how they began to reign. They dwell in the North Parts, viz. in *Carza* and *Burga*, where are many vast Plains, without Cities and Towns, but abounding in Pastures, Rivers, and Lakes. They had not a Prince of their Nation, but paid Tribute to a certain great King, named, as I have heard in their Language, *Uman*, which, in some Mens Opinion, in our Language signifieth *Presbyter*, or *Priest John*. To him the *Tartars* gave yearly the Tenth of all their Beasts. In Proofs of Time the *Tartars* so increased in Multitudes, that *Uman* was afraid of them, and thought to disperse them into several Parts of the World, and therefore when any of them rebelled, he sent three or four hundred *Tartars* into those Parts, to diminish their Power, and the like he did on other Occasions, deputed some of their Nobility for that Purpose. They seeing their Ruin intended, and loth to be separated one from another, went from the Places where they dwelt to the Desert towards the North, where they might be safe, and denied *Uman* their accustomed Tribute.

It happened, that about the Year *A.D.* 1162, the *Tartars* having continued for some time in those Parts, chose a King among themselves, a wife and valiant Man, named *Zingis-Khan*; he began to reign with such Justice, that he was beloved and feared of all as a God rather than a Prince, inasmuch that his Fame brought all the *Tartars* in all Parts to his Subjection, and he seeing himself Lord over so many valiant Men, determined to leave these Deserts, and commanding them to provide Bows and other Weapons, began to subdue Cities and Provinces, in which Conquests he placed such just Governors, that the People were not displeased. The chief of them he carried along with him bestowed on them Provisions and Gifts. Seeing therefore that he was advanced to so great Glory and Power, he sent Embassadors politickly to *Uman*, to entreat that he would bestow his Daughter upon him to be his Wife, which he taking in very evil Part, answered with Indignation, and rejecting the Embassadors of *Zingis*, said, "Doth my Servant demand my Daughter? Get ye out of my Sight, and tell your Master, if he ever make such Demand again, I will make him die a miserable Death."

But King *Zingis* levying a great Army, marched boldly and encamped in a certain great Plain named *Tanduc*, sending unto the King, and signifying unto him, that he should defend himself; but he commanding a mighty Army, defended to the Plains, and pitched his Tent within ten Miles of the Camp of the *Tartars*. Then *Zingis* commanded his Astrologers to shew him what Event and Success the Battle should have. They cutting a Reed

* It appears from hence, that our Author was not quite so credulous as some other Writers, who have told us very strange Stories of the Salamander: But notwithstanding what is asserted of that Creature's living in the Fire, is equally false and fabulous; yet as it is a fable generally known in all Parts of the World, we need not wonder that in the East, where the People are so fond of figurative Expressions, they should bestow the Name of a Salamander's Wool on Cloth capable of resisting the Fire. This is plainly the same kind of Manufacture with what the Greeks called *serpico*, of which there are small Quantities still found in several Countries, and of late Years, particularly in the Island of *Andalucia*, as I have been informed by a very curious and intelligent Gentleman, who has made several Experiments.

lengthwise, in two Parts, stuck the Pieces by themselves into the Ground, and wrote upon the one *Zingis*, and the other *Uman*, and said to the Kings, In the mean Space while we read, it shall come to pass, by the Idol's Power, that these two Parts of the Reed shall fight together, and whose Part shall fall on the other, the King shall obtain Victory in the Battle. The Multitude therefore running together to behold that Spectacle, the Astrologers began to mumble their Prayers, and read their Incantments, when presently the Parts of the Reed being moved, fought together, until the Part of *Zingis* ascended upon the Part of *Uman*, which being seen by the *Tartars*, allured of the future Victory, they were encouraged to the Battle, and *Uman* being slain, the Victory and Kingdom, and *Uman's* Daughter remained to *Zingis*.

Zingis reigned six Years after this, in which he conquered many Provinces; and lastly, when he endeavoured to win a certain Castle called *Tbaigin*, and came somewhat too near, being shot in the Knee by an Arrow, he died, and was buried in the Mountain *Altai*. The first King of the *Tartars* was called *Zingis*, the second *Khen-Khan*, the third *Bathyn-Khan*, the fourth *Eju-Khan*, the fifth *Mangu-Khan*, the sixth *Kublai-Khan*, whose Power is greater than all his Predecessors, having inherited theirs, and adding by Conquest in a manner the rest of the World; for he lived near sixty Years in his Government. The Name *Khan* signifieth Emperor. All the Great *Khans* and Princes of the Blood of *Zingis*, are carried to the Mountain of *Altai* to be buried, wherefore they die, altho' one hundred Days Journey from it; and they which carry the Corps to the Burial, kill all those that they meet in the Way, saying, go and serve our Lord the King in another Life; they kill also the best Horses. When the Body of the Great *Khan-Mangu*, the Predecessor of *Khan-Kublai* was brought unto the Mountain *Altai* to be buried, the Soldiers accompanying the Funeral, are reported to have slain above ten thousand Men upon the aforesaid Occasion¹.

The *Tartarian* Women are most faithful to their Husbands. Adultery is the greatest Shame amongst them, yet it is accounted lawful and honest that every one may marry as many Wives as he is able to maintain, altho' the first be looked upon as principal and more honourable than the rest. These live together in one House, without one ill Word, in admirable Concord, make their Merchandizes, buy and sell, and procure all things necessary to their Husbands and Household, the Men meddling with nothing but their Hunting, Hawking, and things pertaining to Arms. They have the best Falcons in the World, and also Dogs; they live only on Flesh and Milk, and what they take in Hunting. They eat Horses, Camels, Dogs, if fat, and drink Mares Milk, called *Cosmos*, so managed, that it is like white Wine. If the Father dies, the Son may have all his Wives, except his own Mother and Sisters; for the Brother being dead, it is lawful for the Brother who remaineth alive, to marry the Widow of his deceased Brother. The Husbands receive no Dowry of the Wives, but they themselves assign Dowry to the Wives and their Mothers. Through the Multitude of their Wives, the *Tartars* have many Children, nor is this Multitude of Wives very burthensome, seeing they gain much through their Labour; besides, they are very careful for the Government of the Family, and Preparation of their Food, and with no less Care execute the other Duties of the House; but the Men apply themselves wholly to Hunting, Fowling, and the Exercise of Arms.

The *Tartars* feed many Herds of Oxen, Flocks of Sheep, and other Beasts and Cattle, and remain with them in Places of Pasture, in the Summer Time, in the Mountains, and colder Places, where they find Pasture and

Wood; but in the Winter, they remove to the hotter Countries, where they find Pasture for their Cattle, marching forwards two or three Months together. Their Houses are covered with Sticks and Felts, and are commonly round, which they carry with them in Carts, or Waggon, with four Wheels; for they can fold and extend them, set them up and take them down, and they turn, wherefore they go, the Door of these moveable Houses always to the South. They have also neat Carts of two Wheels, covered with Felt so close, that the Rain cannot pierce thro' them, drawn by Oxen and Camels, wherein they carry their Wives, Children, and necessary household Stuff with them, and defend them from the Injury of foul Weather and Rain.

The *Tartars*, if they be rich, are clothed in Sables, Ermins, and Cloth of Gold, and all their Furniture is costly. Their Arms are Bows, Swords, Pole-axes, and some Lances; but they can best use their Bows, to which they are used from their Childhood: They are hardy, active, brave, but somewhat cruel, will continue two Days and Nights on Horseback armed, exceeding patient and obedient to their Lords, their Cattle also are strong and hardy. The Law and Faith of the *Tartars* is this, they say, that there is one Great God, Supreme in Heaven, of whom with daily Incense they desire good Understanding and Health. They have another which they call *Natigay*, which is a little Image covered with Felt, or some other thing, which every one hath in his House. To this God they make a Wife and Children, placing the Wife's Image at the Left-hand, and the Representations of the Children before his Face. This they call the God of earthly things, which keeps their Children and their Beasts, and Corn, and give it great Reverence. Before they eat themselves, they anoint the Mouths of the Images with the Fat of the fatted Flesh, and they call the Broth out of Doors, in Honour of other Spirits, saying, that now their God with his Family, has had their Part, and after they eat and drink at Pleasure.

If the Son of a *Tartar* die before he has been married, and the Daughter of another die also unmarried, the Parents of the deceased meet together, and celebrate a Marriage between the Dead, and making a Draught in Writing of that Contract, they paint Men and Women for Servants, Horses, and other Creatures with Cloaths of all Sorts, and Monies in Paper, and burn them together with the Contract, by the Smoke whereof they say, that all these things are carried to their Children in another World, where they are married, and the Fathers and Mothers conceive, they are joined together in such a Bond of Affinity, as if these Marriages had been celebrated while the married Couple were still living.

When the *Tartars* go to War, their Prince conducts about a hundred thousand Horse, appointing Heads over Tens, Hundreds, Thousands, and ten Thousands, by which Subordination, Commands are easily maintained; every Hundred is called a *Tuc*, every Ten a *Toman*: When they begin their March, they send out Men every Way as Scouts, that no Enemy assault them unprovided. Of Horses and Mares, every Man has about eighteen. They carry also their Felt-houses, under which they shelter themselves in times of Rain. When it falls out some important Employment, they will ride ten Days together without Victuals dry or boiled, and live on the Blood of their Horses, cutting a Vein, and sucking it. They have Milk dried like Pate, which they make by boiling the Milk, and skimming the Cream, which swims on the Top, into another Vessel, and make Butter; afterwards they set the Milk in the Sun, and dry it, and when they go into the Army, carry with them about ten Pounds thereof, and every Morning a Man takes about half a Pound, and puts it in a

¹ Our Author has been charg'd with many Mistakes in this List of the Princes who succeeded *Zingis-Khan*, but he has been charg'd by those who knew much less of the Matter than he did; and therefore to set this Matter right, we will give a short Account of that Succession, from the authentic Work of *Abulgazi-Bayadar Khan*. Two Years after the Death of *Zingis-Khan*, the *Tartar* Princes, in Compliance with the Emperor's Will, would have exalted *Ugudai-Khan* to that Dignity, which he absolutely refused, because he had an Uncle and two elder Brothers living. This Dispute lasted forty Days, when at a great Council his elder and younger Brother rose up and said, You have heard our Father's Will, your Modesty shall not render us guilty of Impiety, we will execute his Will, if you will not; and so taking him, one by one Arm, and the other by the other, they forced him into the Imperial Chair against his Consent, A. D. 1230. This Prince died suddenly in 1245. He was succeeded by his Son *Kajak-Khan*, whom our Author calls *Khae-Khan*, who died in the Year 1247, and was succeeded by *Mangu-Khan*, who held the Empire to the Year 1257, when he was succeeded by *Kublai-Khan*, the same with whom our Author liv'd, and whom he calls *Kublai-Khan*. He reign'd in all thirty-five Years, and died in the Year 1292, which agrees very well with *Marco Polo's* Relation.

Flask, or leather Bottle, with as much Water as he pleases, which while he rides, mixes together, and this is his Dinner.

When they encounter with their Enemies, they ride here and there shooting, and sometimes make a Shew of Flight, shooting as they fly; and finding the Enemy broken, rejoin their Forces, and pursue the Victory, having their Horses so at Command, as with a Sign to turn any Way. But now the *Tartars* are mixed and confounded, and so are their Fashions. They punish Malefactors after this Manner; If any steal a Thing of small Value, and is not to be deprived of Life, he is seven Times beaten with a Cudgel, or seventeen, or seven and twenty, or thirty and seven, or forty-seven, giving the Strokes according to the Measure and Quality of the Offence, and that unto an hundred: Some die through these Strokes. But if any have stolen an Horse, or other Thing, for the which he deserves to die, he is cut asunder with a Sword in the Middle; but if he will redeem his Life he may, by restoring the Theft nine-fold. Such as have Horses, Oxen, or Camels, brand them with their Marks, and send them to feed in the Pastures without a Keeper. Leaving the City of *Caracorum* and the Mountain *Altai*, we come unto the champion Country of *Borgu*, which extends itself northwards about sixty Days Journey in Length. The Inhabitants of these Places are called *Medites*, and they are subject to the Great Khan, and in Manners like the *Tartars*; they are a Sort of savage Men, and eat the Flesh of Beasts which they take by hunting, especially Stags, of which they have Plenty, and they make them so tame that they can ride them; they have no Corn or Wine. In the Summer they chiefly practise hunting of wild Beasts and Fowls, on the Flesh whereof they may live in the Winter; for in Winter Fowls, as well as other living Things fly from thence on account of the Extremity of the Cold.

14. After forty Days Journey you come to the Ocean, near which is a Mountain, where Storks and fine Falcons breed, which are carried thence unto the Court of the Great Khan. Here we must return unto the City *Campion*; if therefore you proceed farther five Days Journey from the City *Campion* towards the East, you come to the Kingdom of *Erginul*, in the Province of *Tangut*, subject to the Great Khan. In this Kingdom are many Idolaters; there are some *Nestorian* Christians and *Turks*; as also many Cities and Castles, of which *Erginul* is chief. From hence, if you proceed farther to the South-East, you may go to the Parts of *Calbay*. Going South-East towards *Calbay*, there is a certain famous City named *Cingy*, the Name also of the Province, tributary unto the Great Khan contained in *Tangut*; the People are some Christians, some *Mohammedans*, and others Idolaters. There are also found wild Oxen, very near as big as Elephants, very fair, having white and black Hair, short in other Parts, and on the Shoulder three Palms long, fine, white, and in many Respects beyond Silk, of which Hair our Author brought some to *Venice* as a rare Thing. Many also of these Oxen are tamed, and made to couple with tame Kine, and the Breed of them are fitter for Business than any other Creatures, bear great Burthens, are yoked to the Plough, and do twice as much Service as others.

The best Musk in the World is found in this Province, and is taken from a Beast of the Bigness of a Goat, having Hair like a Stag, Feet and Tail like a Gazell, but without Horns. It hath four Teeth, two above and two beneath, of the Length of three Fingers, as white as Ivory, and is a very beautiful Creature. When the Moon is at full, near the Navel, under the Belly, there grows to this Beast an Impostume or Bladder, full of Blood, and at the Full Moon they go to hunt them, and take away that Swelling, which is dried in the Sun, and is the best Musk; the Flesh also is good to eat: Master *Marco* brought to *Venice* the Head and Feet of this Beast dried. The Men live by

Merchandise and Arts, and have abundance of Corn. They are Idolaters, of a fat Body and little Nose, black Hair, having no Beard but four Hairs on their Chin. The Women are wonderfully fair, and when the Men desire to marry Wives, they rather make Choice of the Beautiful than the Noble or Rich. It often happens from hence, that a great Nobleman marries a poor Wife, if beautiful, assigning a Dowry to her Mother. This Province extends itself five and twenty Days Journey in Length, and is very fertile; in it are exceeding large Pheasants, having Trains eight or ten Handfuls long; many other Kinds of Birds are also found there, which have very beautiful Feathers of various excellent Colours.

After eight Days Journey further East, you meet with the Province *Egrigais*, in the which are many Cities and Castles; all but this lies still in *Tangut*. The principal City is called *Calacia*, the Inhabitants thereof are Idolaters; there are three Churches of *Nestorian* Christians, who are subject to the Great Khan. In this City Crambles are made, woven of white Wool, and the Hair of Camels, than which there are scarce any better in the World. East from this Province of *Egrigais*, lies that of *Tandach*, in which are many Cities and Castles, and here *Presbyter John* resides, who now pays Tribute to the Great Khan. The King of that Nation is called *George*, and is a Priest and a Christian, and most of the People are Christians. All the Great Khans, after his Death (who was slain in Battle by *Zingis*) give their Daughters to those Kings to Wife. This King *George* holds not all that the Priest *John* before held, and is the Fourth of that Family. There is a Nation there called *Argons*, more slightly Men, and finer for Merchandise than the rest, descended of Idolaters and *Mohammedans*. There are also two Regions, where they dwell, which in those Parts are called *Og* and *Mogul*; but they which dwell there call them *Ung* and *Mongul*; in *Ung* are *Gag*, and in *Mongul* the *Tartars*. Riding East seven Days towards *Calbay* are many Cities peopled with Idolaters, *Mohammedans*, and *Nestorians*. There is one City called *Sindicin*, where very excellent Arms are made of divers sorts fit for Armies. In the Mountains of this Province are great Mines of Silver, and much Game, and the Country of the Mountains is called *Idisa*.

Three Days Journey from the City last mentioned stands another City *Tangamur*, that is, *The White Lake*, where there is a Palace, in which the Great Khan delights, because there are many Lakes and Rivers, many Swans, and in the Plains, Cranes, Pheasants, Partridges, and other Fowls. There are five forts of Cranes there, some have black Wings like Crows, others are white, and bright, having their Feathers full of Eyes like Peacocks, but of a Golden Colour, the Neck black and white, very beautiful; a third sort for Bigness not unlike ours; a fourth little, and very fair, intermingled with red and blue Colours; the fifth of a grizzle, or grey Colour, having red and black Heads, and these are very large; and near to this City lies a Valley, where are many Cottages, in which a great Number of Partridges are maintained, which are kept against the King's coming to lodge there for some Time. Three Days Journey North-Eastward, is the City *Ciandu*, which the Great Khan *Cublay* now reigning built, erecting therein a marvellous Palace of Marble, and other Stones, which extends to the Wall on the one Side, and the middle of the City on the other. He included sixteen Miles, within the Circuit of the Wall on that Side, where the Palace joins the City Wall, into which none can enter but by the Palace. In this Inclosure or Park are pleasant Meadows, Springs, Rivers, red and fallow Deer, Fawns carried thither for the Hawks, of which are mewed there about two hundred Ger-Falcons, which he goes once a Week to see, and he often useth one Leopard or more sitting on Horses, with which he hunts the Stag and Deer, and having taken the best, gives it to the Ger-Falcons, and in beholding this

^a This Account of the Musk Animal is very exact, and contains nothing in it liable to Exception, which shews that where our Author relates Things of his own Knowledge, and which fall within the Compass of his Understanding, he may very well be relied on.

^b There is the same Mistake here, as in the Relation of *Rabragui*. The People in *Europe* were extremely desirous of learning some News of this Christian Monarch, as they would needs have him to be; and therefore when our Author heard that this Prince was a *Nestorian*, he took it for granted that he must be *Presbyter John*; but as we have already set that Matter in a clear Light, we shall not trouble the Reader any farther with it at present.

Spectacle, he takes much Delight. In the midst of a fair Wood, he hath built a Royal House on Pillars gilded and varnished, on every one of which is a Dragon all gilt, which winds his Tail about the Pillar, with his Head bearing up the Roof, as also with his Wings displayed on both Sides; the Cover also is of Reeds gilt and varnished, so that the Rain can do it no Injury, the Reeds being three Handfuls thick, and ten Yards long, split from Knot to Knot; the House itself also may be pulled in Pieces, and taken down like a Tent, and erected again; for it is sustained, when it is set up, with two hundred silken Cords. The Great Khan useth to dwell there three Months in the Year, viz. *June, July, and August*. On the twenty eighth Day of *August* he departeth to make a solemn Sacrifice. He hath an Herd of white Horses, and white Mares, about ten thousand, of the Milk whereof none may drink, except he be of the Imperial Race of *Zingis-Khan*, and except one Family called *Boriat*, who had this granted by *Zingis* for their Valour; and these Beasts, as they go up and down feeding, are much revered, nor dare any go before them, or hinder them in their Way.

The Astrologers or Sorcerers tell the Khan, that on the twentieth of the Moon of *August*, he shall disperse that Milk here and there for the Honour of all Spirits, and his Idols, that they may be careful Preservers of all things which he possesses. There are two sorts of Idolaters called *Cbbath* and *Chefina*, which in the midst of Storms ascend the Palace, and suffer no Rain to fall thereon, which they make the People believe comes to pass by their Sanctity, and therefore they go slovenly and negligent of their Persons, never washing nor combing themselves. They also have a horrible Custom to dress and eat such as are condemned to Death, but not those which die naturally. They are called also *Bachfi*, which is the Name of their Order, as Friars, Predicants, or Minors with us; they seem by Magic to do what they list. When the Great Khan in his Hall sits at his Table, it is raised eighty Yards high, and in the midst of the Hall, a great Distance from the Table, is a great Cupboard of Plate, from whence these Sorcerers cause Wine or Milk to fill the Goblets, without any Hand touching them; this they do in the Presence of any Man, whenever their Lord commands it. These *Bachfi* go to, when they have a mind to make Feasts to their Idols, go to the Khan, and address him thus, "Sir, You are to know that if our Idols be not honoured with Sacrifices, they will bring Plagues on Corn and Beasts, and therefore we intreat you to give us the Flesh of so many Sheep, with black Heads, and so many Pounds of Incense, and Lignum Aloes, that we may make them due Sacrifice and Honour." This they speak not to him themselves, but by certain Lords deputed to that Office, who speak to the Khan, and obtain it. On the Feast-day they sacrifice these Beasts, and sprinkle the Broth before the Idols.

They have great Monasteries, some of the Bigness of a City, in several of which are about two thousand Monks, who serve an Idol, sequestered from the Laity, as appears by their Shaving and Garments; for they shave their Heads and Beards, and wear a religious Garment. These, in the Solemnities of their Idols, sing with solemn Songs, and Lights; some of them may marry. There are some who observe strict Abstinence, called *Senfen*, leading an austere Life; for they eat nothing but Meal mingled with Water, till all the Flour be gone, and eat the Bran without any Savour. These worship the Fire, and the Men of other Rules say, that these, which are so austere, are Hereticks against their Law, because they worship not Idols as they do; and there are great Differences between them, and these marry not at all. They shave their Head and Beard, wear black hempen Garments, or of a bright yellow. They

sleep on thick Mats, and live the severest Life in the World.

15. In this Book I purpose to write all the great and marvellous Acts of the present Khan called *Cublai-Khan*, which is, if expressed in our Tongue, Lord of Lords, the greatest Prince in People, Cities, and Treasures, that ever was in the World, he being descended from the Progeny of *Zingis*, the first Prince of the *Tartars*, the sixth Emperor of that Country, beginning to reign in the Year of our Lord 1256, being twenty-seven Years old, and ruling the People with great Wisdom and Gravity. He is a valiant Man, exercised in Arms, strong of Body, and of a lofty Mind, for the Performance of Matters before he attained to the Dignity of the Empire, which by his Wisdom he did, against the Will of his Brethren. He often shewed himself a valiant Soldier in the Wars, and carried himself like a wiser and bolder Captain than ever the *Tartars* had; yet since he swayed the Kingdom, he went but once into the Field, and sends his Sons and other Captains on Expeditions.

In the Year of our Lord 1286, his Uncle, whose Name was *Naiam*, being thirty Years of Age, and having the Command of many People and Countries, so that he was able easily to bring together four hundred thousand Horses, being puffed-up through youthful Vaniry, would no longer be subject, but would needs take away the Kingdom from his Lord *Cublai*, and sent to another great Lord named *Caidu*, Lord of the Parts toward great *Turky*, who was Nephew of the Emperor *Cublai*, yet hated him, who yielding to his Motion for Rebellion, promised to come in Person with an hundred thousand Horses.

Both of them began to gather Forces, which could not be done so secretly, but *Cublai* heard of it, and presently took order to set Guards on the Ways, that no Intelligence might pass, and then assembled all the Forces, within ten Days Journey of *Cambalu*, with great Speed, so that in twenty Days were gathered together three hundred and sixty thousand Horses, and one hundred thousand Foot, a great Part of them Falconers, and Men of his Household; with these he made Haste Day and Night towards *Naiam's* Country, where, at the End of twenty-five Days he arrived, altogether unlooked for, and rested his Men two Days; then he called his Astrologers, and caused them, before all the Army, to divine who should have Victory; a thing they use to encourage their Men, and they promised it to *Cublai*. One Morning whilst *Naiam* was sleeping negligently in his Tent, having not so much as sent out any Scouts to gain Intelligence, *Cublai* made shew of his Army upon a Hill, himself sat in a certain Castle of Wood, full of Archers and Cross-bow Men, born by four Elephants, on the Top whereof was the royal Standard, with the Images of the Sun and Moon. He divided his Army into three Bodies, of which he sent that on the Right-hand, and the other on the Left against *Naiam's* Army. To every ten thousand Horses were assigned five hundred Foot, with Lances, taught to leap up behind the Horsemen, if any Occasion of Flight happened, and suddenly, on Advantage, to light and kill the Enemies Horses with their Lances: *Caidu* was not yet come.

The Battles joined, and made a cruel Fight, which continued from Morning till Noon, and then was *Naiam* taken and brought before *Cublai*, who commanded that he should be sewed betwixt two Carpets, which should be toiled up and down, till the Breath was out of his Body, that so the Imperial Blood might not be exposed to the Sun or to the Air. The Remainder of his People swore Obedience to *Cublai*, which were four Nations, *Ciazza*, *Carli*, *Barfcol* and *Sitingui*. *Naiam* was secretly baptized, and by Profession a Christian, but no Follower of the Works of Faith, yet he signed his principal Ensign with the

* The Year of this Emperor's Age, at the Time of his Accession, is put in a different Character, because none of the MSS. have it at all, and it is also omitted in several of the printed Editions; we cannot therefore fairly charge the Author with the Mistake in it, which consists of ten Years, but Prince at the Time of his Accession being thirty-seven Years old, or rather in the thirty-eighth Year of his Age. There seems also to be an Error in the Year of his Reign, but that is easily corrected, since, as that Prince was raised to the Imperial Dignity in the Month of *January* *Mar's* *Pols*, who reckons according to the *Tartar* Year, places it in 1256, whereas we computing from the beginning of the Month of *January*, make it 1257. The genealogical History of the *Tartars* informs us of the breaking-out of a civil War upon the Election of the Emperor, tho' it gives us somewhat a different Account of the Conclusion of it, in which our Author might be easily mistaken, since he owns what he delivers was from *Hearby*. However, the Exactness as to Dates is truly wonderful, since in the Compuls of one hundred Years after these Travels were published, we had no authentic History of the *Tartars* in *Europe*, and consequently neither *Marco Polo*, nor his Editors, could have any Opportunity of correcting their Accounts, so as to make them correspond with the genealogical History before-mention'd. This Remark is an invincible Proof of our Author's Veracity, and of the Value of his Work.

Sign of the Cross, having with him infinite Numbers of Christians, who were all slain.

The *Jews* and *Saracens* that were in the Army of *Cublai*, began to upbraid the Christians with this Disaster of the Cross, who complain'd of it to *Cublai*; he sharply reprov'd the *Jews* and *Saracens* for this Behaviour, and then turning to the Christians, he said, "Surely, your God and his Cross, would not give any Aid to *Naiam*, but be not you therefore ashamed, because God being good and just, ought not to defend Injustice, or Iniquity. *Naiam* was a Traitor to his Lord, and contrary to all Equity, rais'd Rebellion, and fought the Help of your God in his mischievous Purpose; but he, as a good and upright God, would not favour his Designs."

He return'd after this with great Triumph to *Cambalu*, and staid there till *Easter*. On that Day he called the Christians before him, and kiss'd their Gospels, and made his Barons do the same. He does the like on the great Feasts of the *Saracens*, *Jews* and *Heathens*, that *Segomamber-Khan*, the God of the Idols, *Mohammed*, *Moses*, or whosoever is greatest in Heaven, might help him; yet he made best shew of liking to the Christian Faith, but pretended, the Ignorance of the *Nestorian* Priests, and the mighty Acts of the Sorcerers, hindered his professing it.

For the better rewarding his Soldiers, he kept twelve Barons or Counsellors, who gave him Notice of each Captain's Merit; and accordingly he rais'd them from the Command of one hundred to a thousand, and from one thousand to ten thousand, and so on, giving them Vessels of Plate and Tablets. The Captain of one hundred hath a Tablet of Silver; and the Captain of a thousand, of Gold or Silver gilded; the Captain of ten thousand has a Tablet of Gold, and a Lyon's Head on it. The Weight of the Tablets differ also according to the Dignity. On the said Tablet is written a Command in this Manner: "By the Strength and Power of the Great God, and by the Grace which he hath given to our Empire, the Name of Khan be blessed, and let them all die, and be destroyed, which will not obey him." All Officers who have these Tablets have Privileges in writing of all things, which they are to do and demand; and the Generals, when they ride in publick, have a Cloth born over their Heads, and when they sit, it is on a Chair of Silver. Their Tablet is of three hundred Sagi, which is equal to fifty Ounces of Gold, with the Images of the Sun and Moon, such as have a Tablet, with a Ger-Falcon thereon, may take with them for their Guard the whole Army of a great Commander. *Cublai* is a comely, handsome Man, of middle Stature, of a very fresh Complexion, black and bright Eyes, well-fashioned Nose, and all the Lineaments of his Body consisting of due Proportion. He has four Wives, who are esteemed lawful, and the first-born of them is to succeed him in the Kingdom, and every one of them is called *Empress*, and holdeth a peculiar Court, and that in a magnificent Palace, having about three hundred Women to attend her, and many Eunuchs Servants, and at least ten thousand Persons in their Families.

The Grand Khan hath also many Concubines. There is likewise a Nation of fair People among the *Tartars*: called *Virguts*, where every second Year he sends Embassadors to make Search for the fairest young Women for him; who returning, bring him four or five hundred more or less, as they see Cause. There are Examiners appointed to take a View of all their Beauties, examining Eyes, Nose, Mouth, &c. apart, and set a Price on them at sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, or more Carats, and they bring those of that rate, which their Commission appoints; these he causes to be received by other Examiners, and of so many perhaps chuses thirty for his Chamber of the chief, which he puts to some of his Barons Wives to see if they snore not in their Sleep, if in Smell or Behaviour they be not offensive; those which are approved are by Fives divided, each fifth Part waiting three Days and Nights in his Chamber by course, the other in the next Lodgings pre-

paring whatsoever these command them. The left pri'd are put to Cookery, and other Offices, and sometimes the Khan bestows them on Gentlemen, with great Portions. The Men of that Country esteem it a Grace and Credit to have Daughters worthy his liking; and think themselves born under an ill Planet, if they are not kept when few to Court.

Cublai had two-and-twenty Sons by his four legitimate Wives, and the First-born of his first Wife was called *Zingis*, who would have succeeded him in the Empire, if he had not died before his Father. He left a Son named *Timur*, a valiant Man, wife, and experienced in Arms, who is to succeed his Grandfather in the Empire, instead of his deceased Father; but by his Concubines he hath five-and-twenty Sons, all which are daily exercised in Feats of Arms, and are great Lords; seven of his Sons by his Wives are Kings of great Provinces, and maintain their States with great Reputation.

16. Three Months of the Year, that is, *December*, *January*, and *February*, *Cublai* resides ordinarily in *Cambalu*, which is at the North-East Border of *Cathay*; and there, on the South Part by the new City, is seated a great Palace; first there is a great Wall, each Square being eight Miles, with a deep Ditch environing, and a Gate in the middle of each; after which is the Space of a Mile in Circuit, where Soldiers stand; after this is another Court of six Miles square, with three Gates on the South-square, and three on the North; that which is in the middle, being in both the greater, and kept shut, except when the Khan passeth that Way; the other is always open to others; in each Corner of this Wall, and in the middle is a fair Palace, eight in all very large, in which are kept the Khan's Ammunitions, and Furniture of all Sorts; for Horses in one, in another Bows and Shooting Artillery; in a third, Cassettes, Cuirasses, and Leather Armour; and so in the rest.

Within this Circuit is another Wall like the former, very thick and ten Paces high, all the Battlements white, the Wall square, each Square a Mile in Length, with six Gates as the former, and eight Palaces also very large, wherein are the Khan's Provisions; between these two last Walls are also many fair Trees and Meadows, in which are Deer with other Game, and Store of Grass, the Paths being raised two Cubits to spare it. No Dirt or Puddles of Water, being therein. Within this last Wall is the Palace of the Great Khan, the greatest that hath been seen, extending to the Wall on the North and South, and open where the Barons and Soldiers pass. It hath no Ceiling but a very high Roof; the Foundation of the Pavement ten Palms high, with a Wall of Marble round about it two Paces wide, as it were a Walk. At the End of the Wall without, is a fair Turret with Pillars. In the Walls of the Halls and Chambers, are carved Dragons, Soldiers, Birds, Beasts of divers kinds, Histories of Wars gilded; the Roof is so made, that nothing is seen but Gold and Imagery; in every Square of the Palace is a great Hall, capable of holding a Multitude of People; the Chambers are disposed the best that may be devised: The Roof is red, green, azure, and of all Colours. Behind the Palace are great Rooms and private Store-houses for his Treasure and Jewels, for his Wives, and other private Purposes.

Over-against the said Palace of the Khan, is another for *Zingis* his Son, whose Court was in all Things like his Father's. Near this Palace towards the North, is a Mount made by Hand, a Mile in Compass, one Hundred Paces high, adorn'd with Trees, that are always green; unto this Mountain the King commands all the Trees to be brought from remote Parts, lading Elephants with them, for they are taken up with the Roots, and are transplanted in this Mountain; and because this Mountain is always green, it is called the *Green Mountain*: And where the Earth of the Mount was taken away, are two Lakes answering each other, with a small River supplying them with stored Fish, and so grated, that the Fish cannot get out.

* There have been large Dissertations written upon this Description of our Author, and great Disputes about the City here described; some will have it one Place, some another, because it is a *Tartar* Appellation; and modern Writers speak of this City by another Name. We have not either Time or Room to wade in this Controversy; and therefore we shall cut it short. *Marco Polo* wrote by the Ear chiefly, and therefore set down *Cambalu* for *Khanbaliq*, i. e. the Imperial City; and it is allow'd, that *Khanbaliq*, is the City of *Peking*, the present Metropolis of *China*, of which we shall hereafter have Occasion to speak at large in another Place; and shall therein take an Opportunity of justifying the Accounts given us in the Text by *Marco Polo*.

The City of *Gambula* in the Province of *Catboy*, seated on a great River was famous, and the Royal Seat in ancient Times; and this Name *Gambula* signifies the City of the Lord or Prince. This City the Great Khan removed to the other Side of the River where the Palaces are, for he understood by the Astrologers, that it would rebel against the Empire. This new-built City is called *Taidu*, and he commanded all the *Catboys* to go out of the Old City into the New, which contains in Compass four and twenty Miles, every Side of the Square containing six Miles. It hath Walls of Earth ten Paces thick at the Bottom, and at the Top but three, as growing by little and little thinner. The Battlements are white, every Square of the Wall hath three principal Gates which are twelve in all, having sumptuous Palaces built over them. There are also certain Pavilions in the Angles of the Walls where the Arms of the Garrison, which are one Thousand at each Gate, are kept. The Buildings are squared, and the Streets laid very strait by Line throughout this City, so that from one Gate a free Prospect opens through the City to the opposite Gate; having very stately Houses built on both Sides like Palaces, with Gardens and Courts, divided according to the Heads of Families: In the midst of the City is a certain noble Building, wherein hangeth a very great Bell; after the tolling whereof in the Night, no Man must go out of his House until the Beginning of the Day following, except it be for some extraordinary Cause, as for a Woman in Travail, and then they are compelled to carry Lights with them.

Without the City of *Gambula*, are twelve large Suburbs three or four Miles long, adjoining to each of the twelve Gates, more inhabiting in the Suburbs than in the City; here Merchants and Strangers live, each Nation having several Store-houses, or Burfes, in which they lodge. No dead Corps of any Man is burned within this City, but the Bodies of Idolaters are burned without the Suburbs, where the dead Bodies of other Sects are buried, and because an huge Multitude of *Saracens* inhabit there; they have above twenty-five thousand Harlots in the Suburbs and in the City; and these have a chief Captain appointed over every hundred and thousand, and one General, whose Office is, that when Embassadors come, or such as have Business with the Khan, whose Charges he defrays, then this Captain giveth every Embassador, and every Man of his Family, a Change of Women every Night at Free-cost, for this is their Tribute. The Guards, every Night, carry such to Prison whom they find walking late; and if they be found guilty, they are beaten with Cudgels, for the *Bachis* tell them, that it is not good to shed Man's Blood; but many die of these Beatings. The Great Khan hath in his Court twelve thousand Horse-men, which they call *Cassian*, faithful Soldiers of their Lord, who guard his Person, more for State than Fear; and four Captains have the Charge of these, whereof every one commandeth three thousand. When one Captain, with three thousand Soldiers within the Palace, hath guarded the King for three Days and Nights, another Captain, with his Soldiers, succeeds; and so, throughout the Year, this Course of watching by Turns is observed*.

When on account of any festival Day, he keeps a solemn Court, his Table, which is higher than the rest of the Tables, is set at the North Part of the Hall, his Face is to the South, having the first Queen on his Left-hand, that is, his principal Wife; and his Sons and Nephews, and those of the Royal Blood, on his Right; yet their Table is in a lower Place, so that they scarce touch the King's Feet with their Heads, the Seat of the eldest being higher than the rest; the Princes sit in a lower Place than that; their Wives also observe the like Order: First, the Khan's Sons Wives and his Kinsmen sit lower on the Left-hand, and after those of the Lords, and of every Captain and Nobleman, each in their Degree

and Order; and the Emperor himself, while he sits at his Table, may cast his Eyes upon all that feast with him in that Hall. There are not Tables for them all to sit; but the greatest Part of the Soldiers and Barons eat on Carpets. At all the Doors stand two gigantic Fellows with Cudgels, to see that none touch the Threshold, which, if he does, they take his Garment away, which he must redeem by receiving so many Blows as shall be appointed, or else lose them. They who serve the King, and those sitting at the Table, all of them cover their Mouths with Silk, lest their breathing, should by any means touch the King's Meat or Drink: And when he hath a mind to drink, the Damfel who giveth it goes back three Paces and kneels down, and then the Barons and all the People kneel, and the Musicians found their Instruments. There is no Cause, since I would avoid Prolixity, why I should write any thing concerning the Meats which are brought to the Table, how dainty and delicate they are, and with what Magnificence and Pomp they are served in.

All the *Tartars* observe this Custom to celebrate the Birth-day of their Lord most honourably. The Birth-day of *Cublai* is kept the twenty-eighth of September, and this Day he accounteth more solemn than any in the whole Year, except the first of February, on which they begin the Year. The King therefore, on his Birth-day, is clothed in a most precious Garment of Gold, and about two thousand Barons and Soldiers are clothed in the same Colour of Gold, though of Silk Stuff, and a Girdle wrought in Gold and Silver, which is given them, with a Pair of Shoes. Some wear Pearls and Garments of great Price, who are next to the Khan; and these Garments are not worn but on thirteen solemn Feasts, according to the thirteen Moons of the Year, all are then clothed like Kings. This Custom is also observed by the *Tartars*, that on the Birth-day of Great Khan, all the Kings, Princes, and Nobles, who are subject to his Dominions, should send Presents unto him, as to their Emperor; and they who desire to gain any Place of Dignity or Office of him, offer their Petitions unto twelve Barons appointed for that Purpose; and what they decree is all one as if the Emperor himself had answered them. All People also of what Faith or Sect soever, whether *Christians* or *Jews*, *Saracens*, or *Tartars*, and *Pagans*, are bound solemnly to call upon their Gods, for the Life, Safety, and Prosperity of the Great Khan†.

On the First of February, which is the Beginning of the *Tartar* Year, the Great Khan, and all the *Tartars*, where-soever they are, celebrate a very solemn Feast, and all, as well Men as Women, desire to be clothed in white Garments as a Token of good Luck; therefore, that Fortune may favour them all the Year, they wear white at the Beginning thereof. The Rulers of Cities, and Governors of Provinces, mindful of their Duty, send unto their Emperor this Day Presents of Gold and Silver, Pearls and precious Stones, many white Cloths, and other white Things, and many Horses of a white Colour. The rest of the *Tartars*, at the Beginning of the Year, send white Presents one to another. It is the Custom of those who bring Presents, if they can, of each, to present nine Times nine, as if they send Horses to present nine Nines, that is eighty one; and so of Gold, of Cloths, and other Things; that sometimes he hath, by this Reckoning, one hundred thousand Horses. Also, at this happy Season, all the Elephants which the Emperor hath, (five thousand in Number) are brought unto the Court, covered with Tapiftry, in the Similitudes of divers Beasts and Fowls being portrayed therein, carrying upon their Shoulders two Chefts full of gold and silver Vessels; many Camels are also brought, covered with fine silken Cloths, which bring other Things necessary for the Court.

* This Method of posting Guards and relieving them, was extremely ancient in the East, as appears from the Accounts given us by the Greek Writers of the Oeconomy in this respect of the *Persian* Emperors; and it is still practised by almost all the *Tartar* Princes, and particularly by the Great Mogul, as we shall have Occasion to shew in the second Volume.

† This Account agrees exactly with what is related from Authors of good Credit in Dr. Hyde's most learned Treatise of the Religion of the ancient *Persians*, with respect to the Ceremonies observed on the Birth-day of the Emperor, and at the Beginning of the new Year. Indeed the Conformity is so great, that one might be tempted to believe there is a nearer Relation between the *Tartars* and the ancient *Persians*, than is commonly imagined; and I must confess, that I cannot, for my own part, help thinking that the Religion of the *Tartars* is very nearly the same with that of the old *Persians*, that is to say, I apprehend the Lamas of the one correspond with the Magi among the others.

On this Day, in the Morning, all the King's Captains, Barons, Soldiers, Physicians, Astrologers, and Governors of Provinces, and Armies, and other Officers of the Empire, assemble in the great Hall before the King, and they who happen to have no Place there, for the Multitude stand in another Place, where they may see them, all being placed in their Order and Degree. One riseth, who is amongst their Clergy as a Prelate, and crieth with a loud Voice, *Now down and adore*, and presently all do Reverence, bending down their Foreheads to the Earth; then he saith, *God preserve our Lord with long Life and Joy*, and all answer, *God grant*; then he saith, *God increase and advance his Empire, and preserve his Subjects in Peace, Concord, and Prosperity*; and all answer, *God grant*; and this they do four Times, then the Adoration being finished, the same Prelate goes to an Altar, richly adorned, on which is a red Table, whereon is written the Name of the Khan; and taking a Censer, and putting Spices therein, they perfume the Table and the Altar with great Reverence, in Honour of the Great Khan, and so return to their Places; after which are offered the Gifts of which we have spoken; and then the Tables are prepared, and a most solemn Dinner held, eating and drinking with great Joy with their Wives, in manner before described. And lastly, a tame Lion is brought to the King, which, lying at his Feet like a gentle Whelp, acknowledgeth and caresses his Lord.

In these three Months in which we said before, the Emperor resides in the City of *Cambalu*, viz. in *December*, *January*, and *February*, all the Hunters which the Emperor hath in all his Provinces round about the Province of *Cathay*, apply themselves to hunting, and bring all the larger wild Beasts, such as Stags, Bears, Roe-bucks, Wild Boars and Deer, to their Governors; who if they be distant from the Emperor's Court less than thirty Days Journey, send such Beasts as are taken, by Waggon or Ships, to the Emperor; having first bowelled them: But such as are forty Days distant from his Court, send only the Skins which are necessary for making of Armour. He hath many Leopards and Wolves for Hunting, and many Lions also greater than those which are in *Babylon*, in the Hair whereof certain little Beams appear of divers Colours, viz. white, black and red, and they are bred to catch Bears, Boars, Stags, Roe-bucks, wild Asses, and wild Oxen, and it is marvellous to see the Lion's Fierceness and Dexterity in this Sort of Hunting; two Lions are commonly carried in one Waggon when they go to hunt, and with them a Dog, with which they are tamed; and they carry them in this Fashion because of their Fury and Unruliness; and they must carry them contrary to the Wind, for else the Beasts would scent them and flee. He hath also many tame Eagles which are so taught, that they take Hares, Roe-bucks, Deer and Foxes; among which, some of them fear not to seize upon Wolves, and vex them to grievously, that without Labour and Danger they may be taken by them.

The Great Kan hath in his Court two which are Brethren, one called *Beyan*, the other *Mingan*; called in the *Tartar* Language *Giurlo*, that is, Masters of the Game; each of them hath the Command of ten thousand Men: They which are under one of them, are clothed in Red; the others in Sky Colour; when they hunt, these keep diverse Sorts of Dogs, to the Number of five thousand Multiffs and others. In Hunting they go with their People one on the Right-hand, and the other on the Left; and the King and they take up so great a Length of the Plain, that from one End to the other is a Day's Journey, so that no Beast can escape them; and it is great Pleasure when the Khan goes in the midst to see the Dogs follow Hares, Bears, and all other wild Beasts. These Brethren are bound by Covenant from the Beginning of *October* to the End of *March*, to bring to the Court one Thousand Head of Beasts and Birds, besides Quails and Fishes, the best they can, in such proportion.

17. The Month of *March* coming in, the Great Kan departeth from the City of *Cambalu*, and proceedeth Northward towards the Ocean, distant thence two Days Journey, bringing with him about ten thousand Falconers, who have Falcons, Hawks, Ger-Falcons, and other kind of Fowls of Prey, fit for Hawking. These Falcons discipline themselves by an hundred or two hundred in a Company, and the Birds that are taken for the most part are brought unto the King, who by reason of his Court, sitteth in a woom House, which two Elephants carry covered with the Skins of Lions, and within hung with Cloth of Gold, having with him for his Recreation twelve choice Hawks, and twelve Courtiers; many Noblemen and Soldiers ride by, who guard the King's Person, who when they see Phasants, or Cranes, or other Birds flying in the Air, speak to the Falconers, who are near the King, and they signify the same unto the King, who uncover the King's House, and let their Falcons and Hawks fly, and the King sitting on his Bed beholds the Pastime of the Birds. Other ten thousand Men go also with the King, who in that Hawking run hither and thither by two and two, and mark whether the Falcons and Hawks fly that are cast from the Fist, that if need be they may help them, and these in the *Tartar* Language are called *Tosaa*, that is to say, Watchmen, or Marksmen, being skilful in a certain kind of Whistle, wherewith they call in the Hawks that are flown; and it is needful that the Falconer, who let the Hawks fly, should follow them, seeing these of whom I now speak are busily employed in taking up the Hawks, and are careful, that by no means they are hurt or lost; and every flying Hawk carrieth a little Table of Silver on her Foot, signed with the Mark of her Master, or Falconer, that if she be lost, she may be restored to her Owner.

But if the Mark cannot be known, the Hawk is delivered to a certain Baron, who for this Cause is called *Balangazi*, to whom are brought all lost things (otherwise the Finder would be punished as a Thief) and to him Loans resort to enquire of things lost. He hath a most eminent Place noted by his Ensign, that in so great an Assembly of People he may always be known. While they are thus busied in Sporting and Hawking, they come into a certain great Plain called *Carzermadin*, where the Tents of the King, and all the Courtiers are prepared, about ten thousand in Number.

The first is the Khan's Pavilion, under which ten thousand Soldiers stand, besides Barons and Noblemen, with the Door to the South, sustained by three Pillars, wrought with curious and excellent carved Work, and covered with the Skins of Lions, and other wild Beasts, which keep out Rain; but within the Walls of the Pavilion are covered with most costly Skins of Ermines and Sables, although in those Countries these Skins are accounted most precious, so that sometimes Skins worth two thousand Sultanas of Gold are scarce sufficient for one Pair of Vests. The *Tartars* call the Sable the *Queen of Furs*; the Cords wherewith these Pavilions are supported are of Silk. There are also other Pavilions erected, wherein the Wives, Sons and Concubines of the King remain. Further also the Falcons, Hawks, Ger-Falcons, and other Birds, which serve for Hawking, have their Tents; for there is so great a Multitude of Tents, that to them that come thither, it seems at a Distance, as if a famous City was built there.

The King remains all *March* in that Plain, and takes innumerable Beasts, and infinite Multitudes of Fowl; for no Man may at this time hunt in all the Provinces of that Kingdom, at the least within five Days Journey one Way, ten another, and fifteen a third Way, of the Khan's Court, nor keep an Hunting Dog, or an Hawk, from the Beginning of *March* until the Month of *October*. No Man is permitted to use any Device or Engine whatsoever to take Stags, Deer, Roe-bucks, or Hares, lest he should hinder their Breed; and hence it is, that there is such Plenty of Game. It is incredible what Multitudes of People, Men,

* It may not be amiss to remind the Reader, that this Passage of our Author confirms what we have before met with in the Accounts of the *Arabian* Travels, and in the Relation of the Monk *Rubruquis*. It is also very clear from the whole of this Account, that the Notions generally received of the Barbarity, Stupidity, and Want of Genius among the *Tartars*, are not extremely well founded, but are rather to be ranked among those Prejudices which are the Effects of speaking or thinking without just Motives, or, in plain English, are the Effects of Ignorance.

cham, and Merchandises of all sorts are seen in *Cambalu*. The Money of the Great Khan is not made of Gold, or Silver, or other Metal; but they take the middle Bark from the Mulberry-tree, and thin they make firm, and cut into divers round Pieces, great and little, and imprint the King's Mark thereon; of this Paper-Money therefore the Emperor causeth an huge Mass to be made in the City of *Cambalu*, which sufficeth for the whole Empire, and no Man under Pain of Death may coin any other, or spend any other Money, or refuse it in all his Kingdoms and Countries, nor any coming from another Kingdom dare spend any other Money in the Empire of the Great Khan. Hence it follows, that Merchants often coming from remote Countries unto the City of *Cambalu*, bring with them Gold, Silver, Pearl, and Precious Stones, and receive the King's Money for them; and because this Money is not received in their Country, they change it again, in the Empire of the Great Khan, for Merchandize, which they carry away with them. He also payeth Stipends to his Officers, and Army, in the abovementioned Money. And lastly, whatever thing he needs in his Court, he buyeth with this Money. Wherefore there is not a King to be found in the World, who exceedeth him in Treasure, not expended on the Mint, as elsewhere.

The Great Khan hath twelve Barons, as is said, before which are the Council of War, who dispose of martial Affairs, and the exalting or disgracing of Captains and Soldiers. Their Office is called *Tshai*, that is, the High Court, because they have none above them but the Khan. Other twelve Barons are appointed Counsellors for the four-and-thirty Provinces, which have a fair Palace in *Cambalu*, in which is for every Province a Judge, and many Notaries. These have Power to chuse Governors of the said Provinces, and present their Names to the Khan, who confirms them. These also have the Charge of the Treasure to collect and dispense the same; their Office is called *Singb*, that is, the second Court, subject to none but the Khan, yet reputed less noble than the former, that being a military Establishment.

There are many publick Roads from the City of *Cambalu*, which conduct to the neighbouring Provinces, and in every one of them, at the End of five and twenty, or thirty Miles, are Lodgings or Inns built called *Lambs*, that is, Post-houses, with large and fair Courts, Chambers furnished with Beds, and other Provisions, every way fit to entertain great Men, nay, even to lodge a King. The Provisions are laid in from the Country adjacent; there are about four hundred Horses, which are in Readiness for Messengers and Embassadors, who there leave their tired Horses, and take fresh; and in mountainous Places, where are no Villages, he sends People to inhabit, about ten thousand at a Place, where these Lambs or Post-Houses are built, and they cultivating the Ground for their Provisions. These excellent Regulations continue unto the utmost Limits of the Empire, so that in the publick Ways, throughout the whole Empire, about ten thousand of the King's Inns are found; and the Number of the Horses appointed for the Service of the Messengers in these Inns, are more than two hundred thousand, a thing almost incredible, hence it is that in a little while, with Charge of Men and Horse, Intelligence comes without Stop to the Court; and if any wonder how so many Men and Beasts should be provided for, he must consider, that the *Moors* and *Gentiles* have many Women, and by them abundance of Children, some having thirty Sons, which follow them, armed; and for Victuals, they sow three kinds of Seeds, Rice, Panike, and Miller, which yield an hundred Fold. They make no Bread, but boil these with Milk, or Flesh. Wheat will not so increase with them, nor suffer they any Ground, which will bear, to lie untilld; and the Cattle continually increase, so that each of them carries with him six, eight, or more Horses into the Field, for his own Person. The Horses are employed by Turns, so that of the four hundred, two hundred are in the Stables ready, the other two hundred at Grass, each a Month at a Time. Their Cities also

that are adjoining to Rivers or Lakes are appointed to have Ferry-boats in Readiness for the Posts, and Cities on the Borders of Deserts are directed to have Horses and Provisions, for the Use of such as pass through those Deserts; but have a reasonable Allowance for this Service of the Khan. In Cases of great Consequence, the Post rides with a Ger-Falcon Table, and is equipped so, that he will ride two hundred Miles in a Day, or two hundred and fifty sometimes; also they ride all Night, Foot-Posts running by them with Lights, if the Moon does not shine.

They found a Horn, that the fresh Horses may be brought forth for them to mount presently, and having their Bellies and Heads girded, they run as fast as the Horse can go; and those which are able to endure this excessive riding, are on that Account in great Reputation among them, who admire nothing so much as Horsemanship. There are also between these Inns other Habitations, three or four Miles distant one from another, in which there are a few Houses, where Foot-Posts live, having each of them his Girdle hung full of shrill sounding Bells. These keep themselves always ready, and as often as the Khan's Letters are sent to them, convey them speedily to the Posts at the next Village, who, hearing the Sound of the Foot-Post coming, when at a Distance, expect him, and receive his Letters, presently carry them to the next Watch; and so the Letters passing through several Hands, are conveyed, without Delay, to the Place whither they ought to come: And it often happens, that the King by this learns News, or receives new Fruits from a Place, ten Days Journey Distance in two Days. As for instance, Fruits growing at *Cambalu*, in the Morning, by the next Day at Night are at *Xandu*; but all the beforementioned Posts are free from all Tribute, and receive a great Remcompence from their Labours from the King's Rent-gatherers besides. Some also are appointed to examine the Posts Monthly, and to punish their Faults, if they are fairly convicted.

He sends yearly to the divers Provinces of his Empire, to enquire whether any Prejudice be done to the Corn, by Tempsts, Locusts, Worms, or any other Means; and when he hath Notice given him, that any Province or City hath sustained any Damage, he remits his Tribute to that People for that Year, and sends Grain for Victual and for Seed out of his own Granaries; for in a time of great Plenty the King buys abundance of Corn, and keeps it with great Care by his Officers, three or four Years in Granaries, that when there happens to be a Scarcity of Corn in one Country, that Defect may be supplied out of the King's Store-houses in another. He selleth his Grain for a fourth Part of the common Price, and always provides, that his Store-houses are kept fully supplied. Likewise when any Murrain lights among Cattle, he sends them other Cattle, which he has for Tenths in other Provinces; and if a Thunderbolt has stricken any Beast of any Herd or Flock, he receives no Tribute from it for three Years, let the Herd be ever so great; neither will he receive any Custom of a Thunder-stricken Sheep, as thinking God is angry with them that are so stricken.

Likewise that Travellers may discern all Places able to bear Trees, he hath caused Trees to be planted, at a convenient Distance one from another, near the principal Roads, and in the sandy and desert Places he hath caused Stones and Pillars to be erected for that Purpose, and Officers are appointed to look to these things. He plants Trees the rather because his Astrologers tell him, that planting Trees lengthens the Life of Man. They make excellent Drink in the Province of *Catbay*, of Rice, and divers Spices, which in the Taste thereof excels the Flavour even of Wine; and they who drink more greedily thereof than is fit, or the Nature of the Drinker can bear, become sooner intoxicated than if they had drank Wine.

Through the whole Province of *Catbay*, certain black Stones are dug out of the Mountains, which put into the Fire, burn like Wood, and being kindled, preserve Fire a long Time, and if they be kindled in the Evening, they keep Fire all the Night; and many use those Stones,

* The Reader will easily discern, that what our Author speaks of here with so much Wonder, is, in truth, nothing more than a Coal Mine, which might appear very strange to him, who very probably had never seen or heard of any such thing; but some of the Millionaires seem to be inexcusable, who have dressed up this Matter with such pompous Expressions, as might induce unwary Readers to believe, that the Chinese dug Fire out of the Earth, and that they laid it up in Cellars or Vaults; whereas after all, there is nothing stranger in their digging and keeping Coals there, than what we see practised every Day in our own Country, and very probably, if we were to examine other Wonders that are told us, as closely and severely as they deserve, we might be able to discover that they were rather rendered marvellous by the Ignorance of Relators, than by any thing supernatural in themselves.

because that though they have plenty of Wood, yet is there such frequent use of Stones and Laths, that the Wood would not serve.

It is not amiss, having spoken of his Provision abroad, to mention his Care for the Poor of *Cambalu*. When he hears of any honourable Family decayed by Misfortune, or of any which cannot work, and have no Subsistence, he gives to such Families the whole Year's Expences, each Head of such Families going to the Officer for that Purpose, and shewing their Bill of Allowance, receive Provisions accordingly. There is a Place set apart for those Officers; they are provided also of Garments for Winter and for Summer. The *Khan* having the Tenths of all Wool, Silk and Hemp, which he causes to be made into Cloaths, in a House for that Purpose appointed; for all Trades are bound one Day in the Week to work for him. He provides also Apparel for his Armies, and in every City causes Cloth to be made of his Tythe Wool. You must understand, that the *Tartars*, according to their ancient Customs, bestowed no Alms, but rather upbraided those that were in Necessity, as hated of God; but the Idolaters, especially those *Bachys*, have propounded it as a good Work acceptable unto God, and have taught him to be thus bountiful; so that in his Court, Bread is never denied to any who ask it, and there is no Day in which is not given away twenty thousand Crowns in Rice, Millet and Panike; whence he is esteemed as a God by his Subjects.

There are in *Cambalu*, Christians, *Saracens* and *Cathayans*, about five thousand Astrologers and Diviners, which the Great *Khan* provideth yearly in Food and Raiment, as he doth those Poor abroad. These have an Astrolable, in which are marked the Signs of the Planets, the Hours and Points of all the Year. Herein all those Astrologers, each Religion apart, view the Course of the Year according to every Moon, observing the Disposition of the Weather, referring always to God to do more or less after his own Pleasure. They write also upon certain Squares they call *Tacumi*, the things which are to come that Year, which they sell to those that will buy them, and such as speak most Truth are most honoured. If any intend any great Work, or to go a far Journey, and will know the Event before-hand, he has recourse to these Astrologers, to see it with their Eyes in the Heavens, which they pretend to do, comparing the present Constellation with that of his Birth, which they demand of him; so foretelling him the Good or Evil. The *Tartars* reckon the Computation of their Years by Twelves, the first signified by a Lion, the second by an Ox, the third by a Dragon, the fourth by a Dog, and so through the whole Twelve; so that if it be demanded of a Man when he was born, he will answer, such a Point of such an Hour of such a Day, in the Year Lion. This their Fathers exactly set down in a Book, and when the Twelve is compleat, they go over the same again.

Of their Religion, we have said, that they are Idolaters, and for their Gods, have a Table set aloft in the Wall of their Chamber, on which is written a Name representing the High God of Heaven, and there every Day with a Censer of Incense, they adore it in this Manner; they lift up their Hands aloft, and strike their Teeth thrice, praying it to give them a good Understanding, and Health, and desire thereof nothing else. Besides, on the Ground they have another Statue called *Natigai*; the God of earthly things, with his Wife and Children, whom likewise they worship with Incense, striking or gnashing the Teeth, and lifting up their Hands, and desire thereof Temperature of the Air, Fruits of the Earth, Children, and the like. They hold the Soul to be immortal, and that when a Man dies, it enters into another Body, better or worse, according to the Merits of the former Life; as of a poor Man to become a Gentleman, and after, a Prince or Lord, and so higher, till it be absorbed in God; and if it

have ill deserved, to be a poorer Man, after a Dog, always descending to the lowest Rank of *Balenefs*. They have a comely Speech, salute cheerfully, and honestly, have a graceful Carriage, and feed cleanly. They bear great Reverence to their Parents, and if any be undutiful, or regardless of their Necessity, there is a publick Tribunal assigned for this Particular to punish ungrateful or disobedient Children: Prisoners are released at three Years end, and marked in the Cheek, that they may be known for Malefactors.

The Barons and People which go to the Grand *Khan*, observe these Rights, first, within half a Mile of the Place where the *Khan* is, all is still and quiet, without Noise or any loud Speech; that every Baron carries continually a little Vessel to spit in, after which he covers it, none daring to spit in the Hall: They have furr Bulkins of white Leather, which they put on when they enter the Hall, putting off the former, and giving them to the Servants, lest they should foul the Carpets.

18. Ten Miles off *Cambalu* is a certain great River named *Pulsangan*, emptying itself into the Ocean, by which many Ships with much Merchandise ascend; and in that Place there is a very fair Bridge, all of serpentine Stone, curiously wrought, containing three hundred Paces in Length, and eight in Breadth, so broad that ten Men may ride a-breast; on each Side, it is secured with a Wall of Marble, and Pillars set in a Row, and in the Height of this Ascent is a great and high Pillar, at the Feet whereof is a great Lion, and on the Top another, and to quite through the Bridge: One Pace and a half Distance are Pillars with Lions on the Top, and a fair Wall with wrought marble Work betwixt, to keep Men from falling. Having passed over the River and Bridge, and proceeding thirty Miles westward (in which Palaces are continually seen, with Vineyards and fertile Fields) you come to the City *Gouza*, both fair and great, having many Monasteries of Idols. Cloth of Gold and Silk are made there, and the purest and finest Cambricks or Lawns; and many common Inns for Strangers or Travellers are found in that City. The Citizens are Artificers and Merchants. A Mile without this City the Way parteth, one leading West, the other South-East; that to the West leadeth through the Province of *Cathay*, but the other towards the Country of *Mangi*, from the City of *Genza* to the Kingdom of *Tainfu*.

You ride ten Days through *Cathay*, always finding many fair Cities, well furnished with Vineyards, and tilled Fields, from whence Wine is carried to *Cathay*, where there is none: There are many Mulberry-trees for Silkworms, the People civil, and Cities very numerous and populous. *Tainfu* is the Name of the Kingdom, and of the chief City, which is great and fair, hath much Trade, with Store of Ammunition fit for the *Khan's* Armies. The Wine about this City serveth the whole Province. Seven Days further westward, is a pleasant Country, beautified with many Cattles and Cities, in which also there is great Trade in different Merchandize carried on. After which you come to a City very great, named *Pianfu*; in which there is vast abundance of Silk and much Trade. Westward from *Pianfu*, stands a very pleasant Castle, named *Thaigin*, anciently built by a King called *Der*; in it is a spacious Palace, wherein is a fine Hall, in which are painted all the famous Kings which have reigned there, and it is a fair Spectacle. Of this King *Der*, they say, he was potent, and was attended only by young Danells, of which he had many in his Court. These also, when he had a Mind to take his Pleasure, carried him in a small light Chariot through the Castle, which was so fortified by Art and Nature, that the Governor thereof fear'd none, no not *Umcen* his Lord, against whom he rebelled.

But seven Men professing Fidelity and Service to *Der*, took him at a Disadvantage in hunting, and brought him

* The *Tartarian* Cycle was a very good Contrivance, and as such, has been not only preserv'd amongst them, but spread itself also into other Countries; we shall hereafter have Occasion to explain it more at large; at present it shall suffice to observe, that something of the same kind was anciently used in the northern Nations of *Europe*, and is still practis'd among the Savages in some Parts of *America*.

† It must be acknowledged, that the Description here given by our Author is a little dark and perplexed, and that, at the same time, it is so early Matter to settle the Places he mentions; but, on the other hand, it must be considered, that this is the first Account that was received here in Europe of the great Country of *Genza*, and that this Account was written by a Man little, if at all acquainted with the Sciences, and who aimed at nothing more than transcribing from his Note book, the Names of Places and Provinces, those Distances from each other, with such other Circumstances relating to them as at so great a Distance of Time he was able to recollect.

Prisoner to Prebhyter *John*, or *Umcan*, who put him on vile Cloaths, and appointed him to keep his Cattle, and set over him a strong Guard, till two Years were ended; after which he commanded him to be brought before him, and being dressed in princely Apparel, he giving him his Pardon, after a sharp Admonition, sent him well attended to the Repossession of his Kingdom. About twenty Miles beyond the Cattle *Tbaigin* is the River *Caramaran*, which, by reason of the exceeding Breadth and Depth thereof, hath no Bridge over it in all the Space from thence, till it floweth to the Ocean. On the Shore thereof are many Cities and Cattles built, wherein great Trade is carried on. This Country abounds with Ginger, Silk, and Fowl, especially Pheasants, so that three of them are bought for a Venetian Groat. There grow Reeds in vast Plenty, so thick that some are a Foot, and others a Foot and a half in Compass, which are applied to many Uses. Passing this River, after two Days Journey, is the famous City called *Carianfu*, where many Cloths of Gold and Silk are made. Here grows Ginger, Galingale, Spike, and many Spices. The People are Idolaters.

Proceeding seven Days Journey westward, many Cities and Towns, lovely Fields and Gardens are found, and every where Mulberries for Silk-worms. As for the People, they are mostly Idolaters; but there are also *Christians*, *Turks*, *Nobrians*, and some *Saracens*. There is a vast Abundance here of wild Beasts and Fowl. If you proceed seven Days Journey farther, you shall come to a certain great City, named *Querzanfu*, which is the chief City of the Kingdom, in which have reigned many famous Kings; and, at this Day, the Son of the Great Khan, called *Mangalu*, hath the Command thereof. That Country yields great Plenty of Silk, Cloth of Gold, and all other Things necessary for furnishing an Army, and for the Preservation of Man's Life. The Inhabitants worship Idols, and there are some *Christians*, *Turks*, and *Saracens*. Five Miles without this City, standeth the Palace of *Mangalu*, seated in a Plain, where are many Springs, Rivulets, and Places of Game. There is a high Wall encompassing a Park of five Miles, where are all Sorts of wild Beasts and Fowls. In the Midst is an excellent Palace, having many Halls and Chambers, great and fair, all painted with Gold and Azure, and numberless Statues adorning it. The King, with his Courtiers, delights himself in hunting the wild Beasts, and taking of Fowl, and following his Father's Example in Justice and Equity, is much beloved of his People.

Proceeding three Days Journey westward from the said Palace, through a very beautiful Plain, where many Cities and Castles are, which abound with silk Merchandize and Manufactures, you come to a Country, where in the Mountains and Valleys are frequent Habitations, and many Villages of the Province of *Chunbian*. The Inhabitants, as to Religion, are Idolaters; and as to Employment, Husbandmen. Also in that Country they hunt Lions, Bears, Stags, Roe-bucks, Deer, and Wolves. The Plain is two Days Journey over, and the Country is about twenty Days Journey westward, well inhabited, being finely diversified into Mountains, Valleys, and Woods. After these twenty Days, towards the West, there lies a Province called *Abbalucb Mangi*, that is, the *White City*, of the Borders of *Amangi*, which is well peopled. This Province, for two Days Journey, hath a Plain, in which are an infinite Number of Villages: Beyond these lie Mountains, Valleys, and Woods, all well inhabited. It hath Plenty of wild Beasts, and of those Creatures that yield Musk. In this Province Ginger grows in great Plenty, as also Corn, and Rice.

After twenty Days Journey through those Hills, is a Plain, and a Province in the Confines of *Mangi*, named *Sindinfu*. The chief City, hath the same Name, and is very great, and exceeding rich, being twenty Miles in Circuit. It hath had many rich and mighty Kings; but an old King dying, left three Sons Successors in the Kingdom, who divided the City into three Parts, compelling every Part with their proper Walls; all which, notwithstanding, were contained within the former Wall; but the Great Khan subjected nevertheless that City and Kingdom. Thro' this City run many Rivers, and many Places round about, some half a Mile over, some two hundred Paces,

very deep; on them are many Bridges of Stone, very fair, eight Paces broad, set on both Sides with Marble Pillars, which bear up a Timber Frame that covers the Bridge, each Bridge having Streets and Shops thereupon. When the Rivers have passed through the City, they become one great River, called *Quian*, which runs one hundred Days Journey hence to the Ocean. Near these Rivers are many Cities and Castles, and on them innumerable Ships for Merchandize. Proceeding four Days Journey farther, thro' a very fine Plain, many Cities, Castles, and Villages are found, in which five Launs extend in beautiful Order. There are also many wild Beasts there. Beyond the Plain, which we have now mentioned, is the wide Province of *Thebet*, which the Great Khan vanquished and wasted; for in it lie many Cities destroyed, and Castles overthrown, by the Space of twenty Days Journey; and because it is become a Wilderness, wanting Inhabitants, wild Beasts and Lions are there increased excessively, and it is requisite therefore that Travellers carry Victuals with them. Very large Cane grows in this Country, ten Paces in Length, and three Palms in Thickness, and as much from Knot to Knot. When Travellers therefore will rest at Night secure from Beasts, they take great Bundles of the greener Reeds, and putting Fire under, kindle them, which make such a Crackling, and so great a Noise, that it may be heard two Miles off; which terrible Sound the wild Beasts hearing, flee away, but it has sometimes happened, that Horses and other Beasts, which Merchants use for their Journey, hearing this Noise, and Crackling, have grown also much afraid, and betaking themselves to Flight, have escaped from their Masters; and therefore wiser Travellers binding their Feet together, detain them in their proper Places.

19. Their twenty Days Journey ended, having passed over the Province of *Thebet*, we met with Cities, and many Villages, in which, through the Blindness of Idolatry, a wicked Custom is used, for no Man there marieth a Wife that is a Virgin; whereupon, when Travellers and Strangers, coming from other Places, pass through this Country, and pitch their Pavilions, the Women of that Place having marriageable Daughters, bring them unto Strangers, desiring them to take them, and enjoy their Company as long as they remain there. Thus the hand-somest are chosen, and the rest return home sorrowful, and when they depart, they are not suffered to carry any away with them, but faithfully restore them to their Parents. The Maiden also requirith some Toy, or small Present, of him who hath dowered her, which she may shew, as an Argument and Proof of her Condition; and she that hath been loved and abused of most Men, and shall have many such Favours and Toys to shew to her Wooers, is accounted more noble, and may on that Account advantageously married; and when she would appear most honourably dressed, she hangs all her Lover's Favours about her Neck, and the more acceptable she was to many, so much the more Honour she receives from her Countrymen. But when they are once married, they are no more suffered to converse with strange Men, and the Men of this Country are very cautious never to offend one another in this Matter. They are Idolaters, and cruel, thinking it no Sin if they rob, and exercise Theft. They live by Hunting and the Fruits of the Earth: Many Beasts also are found with them, yielding Musk, called in this Country *Gadderi*. They have a Language of their own, and have no Money, not so much as the Paper-Money of the Khan, but use Corals for Money, and are clothed with the Skin of Beasts, or coarse Hemp. This Country belongs to the Province of *Thebet*, for *Thebet* is a very large Province, and has been some time divided into eight Kingdoms, having many Cities and Towns, with Mountains, Lakes and Rivers, where Gold is found. The Women wear Coral about their Necks, and hang it about the Necks of their Idols, as a precious thing. In this Country there are very large Dogs, as big as Asies, which take wild Beasts, especially wild Oxen, called *Boyamini*.

There are in this Province many sorts of Spices, which are never brought into these Parts. This *Thebet* is (as all the former Provinces) subject to the Khan. On the West of the Province of *Thebet* bordereth the Province of *Caidu*, which was formerly governed by her own Kings, now by the

the Governors of the Khan, by the West, you must not understand, that the Countries are in the West; but that we, departing from those Parts, which are betwixt the East and North-east, came hither Westward, and therefore reckon them Westward. The People are Idolaters, have many Cities, the chief called by the Name of the Province, *Caindu*, built on the Frontiers of the Province. There is a large Salt Lake, in which are abundance of Pearls, white, but not round, so many, that in point of Price they would become little Worth, if they were suffered to be carried away at Mens Pleasures. It is therefore provided, upon Pain of Death, that none should presume to fish for Pearl in this Lake, without the Licence of the Great Khan. There is also a Mountain, in which is found a Mine of Turquoise Stones, the digging of which is restrained by the like Licence. Many Gadders are also in this Province, which yield Musk. That Lake also, which breeds Pearl in such Plenty, abounds with Fish, and the whole Country is full of wild Beasts, that is to say, of Lions, Bears, Stags, Deer, Ounces, Roe-bucks, and divers kinds of Birds. Cloves are found there in great Plenty, which are gathered from small Trees, which have Boughs and Leaves like the Bay-tree, but somewhat longer, and straiter, white Flowers, and brittle, as are the Cloves, and when they are ripe, they are black and dusky. Ginger, Cinamon, and several other Spices, grow there in great Plenty, which are not brought into our Countries. Wine, however, though plentiful with us, groweth not in it, but instead thereof, they make a most excellent Drink, of Corn, Rice, and divers Spices.

The Inhabitants of this Country worship Idols, to which they are so belotted, that they think they deserve their Favour, if they prostitute their Wives, Sisters and Daughters, to be abused by Travellers; for when any Stranger cometh amongst them, every Master of a House seeketh to give him Entertainment, and leaving the Females and House to the Strangers, will not return until they depart, which he doth for the Glory of his Idols, hoping they will be more gracious to him. Certain Sprigs of Gold are their Money, using Weights, and according to the Weight of the Sprig, is the Value of the Money, and this Money is their larger sort of Money without Stamp. They have also a lesser, which they make after this manner. They boil Salt in a Caldron for about an Hour, and of this, being congealed, they make little Lumps like Two-penny Loaves, which being solid, is signed with the Prince's Stamp, and they make vast Profit thereof in Places remote from Cities, which have Store of Musk, and Gold, and want Chapmen. These barter their Gold for Salt, to use with their Meats.

Leaving this Province, they proceed fifteen Days Journey further, and in that Space meet with Castles, and many Villages, whose Inhabitants have the same Customs that the Province of *Caindu* hath, and at length they come unto a River called *Brius*, by which the Province of *Caindu* is bounded. In this River Gold is found in great Plenty, which they call *Di Patola*, washed in Vessels to cleanse it from the Sand and Earth. On the Banks thereof Cinamon grows in great Abundance. This River falls directly into the Ocean. Having passed over the River *Brius*, they come Westward to the Province *Carazan*, which contains seven Kingdoms. It is subject to the Great Khan, whose Son, named *Senteumur*, is made Vice-King of that Kingdom, and is a young Prince, rich, wife, and just.

The Inhabitants thereof are Idolaters; you ride five Days Journey through it, and find it all well peopled: They live on their Beasts and Fruits. The Country breeds excellent Horses, and it hath a peculiar and difficult Language. Having finished these five Days Journey, you come to the chief City called *Jaci*, which is both great and famous, hath in it many Merchants and Artificers, and many sorts of People, Idolaters, *Christians*, *Nestorians*, and *Saracens*; but the greatest Part of the Inhabitants are Idolaters. It hath Corn and Rice, notwithstanding which they eat no Bread of Corn, because it is not wholesome, but they make Bread of Rice; they make Drink also of it, and several Spices, which is very pleasant; they use white Porcelain instead of Money, and for Ornaments, Shells which are found at Sea. Much Salt is made in this City of the Water of Salt Wells, from whence the Vice-King hath great

Profit. The Men of this Country care not if any Man come to their Wives, so they give their Consent. There is also a Lake there very full of Fish, containing an hundred Miles in Compass. These Men eat raw Flesh of Hens, Beef, Mutton, and Buffaloes, but prepared after this Manner: They first cut it into small Pieces, and after season it with excellent Spices; but the poorer sort shred it, and lay it in Garlic Sauce, and eat it as we do boiled Meat. Departing from the City of *Jaci*, having travelled ten Days Journey Westward, we came to the Province called, as the chief City, *Carazan*, which *Cogain*, Son of *Cublai*, governeth. The Rivers there yield great Quantities of washed Gold, and also that which is solid, and on the Mountains they find Gold in the Vein, and they give one Pound of Gold for six of Silver. They spend Porcelain for Money brought thither from *India*.

The Inhabitants are Idolaters; very great Serpents are bred in this Country, some of which are ten Paces in Length, and in Thickness ten Spans. They have two little Feet before near the Head, with three Talons or Claws like Lions, and the Eyes bigger than a Loaf, shining very bright. They have their Mouths and Jaws to very wide, that they are able to swallow a Man, great and sharp Teeth; nor is there any Man, or other living Creature, which can behold these Serpents without Terror. There are also some less, of eight, or six, some of five Paces long, which are taken after this Manner: In the Day-time they use to lie hid, by reason of the Heat, in Holes, out of which they go by Night to seek their Prey, and devour whatsoever they get, Lions, Wolves, as well as other Beasts, and then go to seek Water, leaving such a Trail thro' their Weight in the Sands, as if a Piece of Timber had been drawn there; whereupon the Hunters follow under the Sands great Iron Spikes, in their usual Tracks, whereby they are wounded and slain. The Crows presently proclaim the Serpent's Fate, and by their Cries, invite the Hunters, which come and flea him, taking out his Gall, which is used for divers Medicines, amongst other things, for the biting of mad Dogs, a Penny-weight given in Wine, and for Women in Travel, for Carbuncles, and other Distempers, and they sell the Flesh dear, as being exceeding delicate.

There are stout Horses bred in this Province, which by their Merchants are carried into *India*. They commonly take one Bone out of the Tail, lest he should bend his Tail hither and thither, and esteem it more comely, that it hang downright. They use long Sturups as the *French*, which the *Tartars* and other Nations, for their Shooting, use short, because when they shoot they rise up. They use Targets and Armour in the Wars, made of the Hides of Buffaloes; they have Lancets and Cross-bows, and poison all their Arrows. Some of them, who are Villains, are said to carry Poison about them continually, that if they be taken they may suddenly swallow it, and so dying at once, prevent Torture; for which Cause the great Lords have Dogs Dung ready, which they force them to swallow, and that makes them vomit the Poison. Before the Great Khan subjected them, they used when any Stranger, which seemed of good Preference and Parts, lodged with them, to kill him by Night, supposing that those good Parts of that Man would abide afterwards in that House; and this silly Notion has proved the Death of many.

Travelling forwards from the Province of *Carazan*, after five Days Journey Westward, is the Province of *Carandian*, which also is subject to the Great Khan: The chief City thereof is called *Vucian*, the Inhabitants whereof use Porcelain, and weighed Pieces of Gold instead of Money; for in that Country, and many other lying round about, Silver Mines are not found, and they give an ounce of Gold for five Ounces of Silver, and according to this Exchange, great Gain is made. The Men and Women in that Country cover their Teeth with thin Plates of Gold, which they fit to them, that the Teeth themselves seem, as they were, set in those Plates. The Men about their Arms and Legs make Lints, pricking the Places with Needles, and putting therein a black indelible Tincture; and these Lints or Marks are esteemed with them as a Mark of great Gallantry. They give their Minds to nothing but Ridings, Hunting, Hawking, and the Exercise of Arms, leaving the Household

Cares to the Women, who are assisted therein by Slaves, which they buy, or take in War. When a Woman is once delivered, she forsakes the Bed, washes the Child, and dresses it, and then the Husband lieth down, and keeps the Child with him forty Days, not suffering it to depart; is visited all that time by Friends and Neighbours, to cheer and comfort him. The Woman looks to the House, and carries the Husband his Broths to the Bed, and gives Suck to the Child by him. Their Wine is made of Rice and Spice; their ordinary Food is Rice, and raw Flesh, dressed as before mentioned. In this Province there are no other Idols, save that every Family adoreth the oldest Man in the House, of whom they say, care themselves, and all they have; they dwell for the most part in wild and mountainous Places, but Foreigners come not to those Mountains, because the Air would kill them, being in Summer very corrupt.

They have no Letters, but make their Contracts and Obligations by Tallies of Wood, one half whereof one keepeth, and the other the other, which being afterwards paid, the Tally is destroyed. There are no Physicians in this Province, nor in *Caidu*, *Vociam*, and *Caraian*; but when any is sick, they call the Magicians, or Idol Priests together, and the sick Person declares his Disease unto them; then the Magicians dance, and sound certain Instruments, and bellow forth Songs, in Honour of their Gods, till at length the Devil entereth into one of them, skipping and playing in the Dance. Then leaving the Dance, they consult with him that is possessed, for what Cause that Disease happened unto him, and what is to be done for his Recovery. The Devil answereth by him, because he hath done this or that, or because he hath offended this or that God, therefore he fell into this Disease. Then the Magicians intreat that God to pardon him this Offence, promising, that if the sick Person recovers, he shall offer a Sacrifice of his own Blood; but if the Devil, or the Priest, think the Patient to be sick of such a Disease that he cannot be freed from the same, he useth to answer; This Man hath so grievously offended that God, that he cannot by any Sacrifices be appeased; but if he think he shall recover, he commandeth to offer so many Rams, having black Heads, and to prepare so many Magicians with their Wives, by them to offer Sacrifices, and that God may then be appeased towards him; which being heard, his Kinsmen quickly cause those things to be done which the Devil commanded. They kill Rams, and sprinkle their Blood in the Air, and the Magicians assembled, light great Candles, and perfume the whole House with Incense, making great Smoke of Lignum Aloes, and sprinkle the Broth of the Flesh in the Air, with the Potion made of Spices; all which being duly performed, they skip about again, and dance in Honour of that Idol, which is supposed to have been favourable to the Sick, singing and making a horrible Noise with their Voices. These things being performed, they ask the possessed again, whether the Idol be pleased? And if he answer no, they presently prepare themselves to fulfil any other Command of his; but if he answer that he is satisfied, they sit down at the Table, and eat the Flesh offered to the Idol with great Joy, and drink the Liquors, and Dinner being ended, and the Magicians paid, every one returns to his own Home; and when the Sick hath thus escaped the Disease, thro' the Providence of God, and hath been restored to Health, they attribute it to the Idol, to whom they sacrificed; but if he die, then they say, the Idol was defrauded, and that some of the Sacrificers tasted thereof first: This is not done to all, but by the richer, the Devil, or his Priests, in his Name, imposing on their Blindness.

The Great Khan, *A. D.* 1272, sent an Army into the Kingdom of *Vociam* and *Gurazan*, to reduce it, his Forces

being to the Number of twelve thousand veteran Troops, under the Conduct of a *Neshorian*, an experienced Officer. As soon as the King of *Mien* and King of *Bengala* heard of their coming, assembling their Forces, they joined Horse and Foot together about threecore Thousand, and about a thousand Elephants bearing Castles, and in every Castle twelve or sixteen armed Men were placed; with this Army the King of *Mien* marched speedily towards the City of *Vociam*, where the Army of the *Tartars* lay encamped. *Neshardin*, however, marched forth with invincible Courage to fight the Enemy, and drawing near them, encamped near a certain great Wood, knowing that the Elephants with their Towers on their Backs were not able to enter into the Wood. Then the King of *Mien* seeing this, resolved to meet them; but the *Tartarian* Horse perceiving the Elephants which were placed in the Front of the Battle, were terrified, so that they could not by any Means be brought to charge the Elephants; the *Tartars* therefore were compelled to alight from their Horses, and tying them to the Trees, they came to fight on Foot against those Beasts, and very wisely shot a Multitude of Arrows against the Elephants, which not able to endure the Wounds received by the Arrows, betook themselves to flight, and went all to the next Wood, brake their Castles, and overthrew the armed Men sitting in them; which the *Tartars* seeing, run to their Horses, and getting upon them, furiously fell upon the King's Army with great Violence, and many of either Army fell. At length the King of *Mien* being put to Flight, left the Victory to the *Tartars*, who hastened to the Wood, and taking many Captives, used their Help to seize two hundred of these Elephants, and ever since the Great Khan hath used Elephants in his Army, to which before he was not accustomed: Hereupon also he vanquished the Countries of the King of *Mien* and *Bengala*, and subjected them to his Empire.

Departing from the Province of *Caraian*, there is a great Desert, which continueth two Days and a half, nor is there any Habitation there, but a very large Plain, in which three Days in the Week Multitudes meet together for Trading. Many descend from the great Mountains of that Country, bringing Gold with them to change for Silver, that is, giving an Ounce of Gold for five Ounces of Silver, and therefore many Merchants from foreign Nations come thither, who bring Silver and carry Gold away, and bring thither Merchandize to sell to these People; for to those high Mountains in which they who gather Gold in that Country dwell, no Stranger can come, because the Way is intricate and unpassable. When you are past that Plain, going toward the South, *Mein* bordereth upon *India*, and the Distance is about fifteen Days Journey, through Places uninhabited, and woody, in which innumerable Elephants, Unicorns, and other wild Beasts wander.

After that fifteen Days Journey, you come to *Mein*, a great and noble City, the Head of the Kingdom, and subject to the Great Khan. The Inhabitants thereof have a peculiar Language, and are Idolaters. In this City there was a King, who being ready to die, commanded that near to his Sepulchre there should be erected two Towers, in the Form of Pyramids, one at the Head, the other at the Feet, both of Marble, of the Height of ten Fathom. On the Top was placed a round Ball; he caused one to be covered all over with Gold, a Finger thick, and the other with Silver; and upon the Top, round about the Balls, many little gold and silver Bells were hanged, which at the blowing of the Wind, gave a certain shrill and pleasant Sound. The Monument, or Sepulchre, was also covered with Plates, partly of Gold, partly of Silver. He commanded this to be made in Honour of his Soul, and that

¹ The great Conquests made by the *Tartars* in the East, have so overturned all Monuments of Antiquity among the Nations they have subdued, that if it were not for these Travels of *Marco Polo*, we should be at a Loss for any of the Particulars relating to them. The *Chinese* Historians indeed, very fully confirm the Truth of what he has delivered, but in general Terms only; so that they add nothing circumstantial, or capable of giving us a clearer or more distinct Idea of what he has laid down, in respect to which it is sufficient for us to observe, that most of the Facts he mentions either happened at the Time when he was actually present in the Court of the Great Khan, or a very little before it; so that he could not but be well informed as to the Truth of what he asserts. Strange indeed to us, who live at so great a Distance from these Countries, and are so little acquainted with the Manners of their Inhabitants, but at the same Time very agreeable to the best Accounts that have been afforded us of these Countries by modern Travellers, and more especially by the Missionaries, who have been at great Pains to collect and reduce into Order such Passages as they have met with in *Chinese* and other Oriental Writers.

his Memory should never die among Men. And when the Great Khan undertook to subdue this City, he sent a valiant Captain, and the greatest Part of his Army were Cavalry, of which the better Part of his Troops consists; these winning the City, would not demolish that Monument without the Khan's Knowledge; who hearing that the deceased had erected it for the Honour of his Soul, would not suffer it to be injured; for the Manner of the *Tartars* is not to violate things which belong to the Dead. In this Province are many Elephants, wild Oxen, great and fair Stags, and Deer, and other wild Beasts of divers Kinds.

The Province *Bengala* bordereth upon *India* towards the South, which the Great Khan subdued when *Marco Polo* lived in this Country. This Country has its own proper King and Language, the Inhabitants whereof are all Idolaters; they have Masters which keep Schools, and teach Idolatries and Enchantments, a thing common to all the great Men of that Country. They eat Flesh, Rice, and Milk; they have Cotton in great Plenty, and by the Manufacture thereof, much Trade is there carried on. They abound also with Spike, Galingal, Ginger, Sugar, and diverse other Spices; huge Oxen also are there, comparable unto Elephants in Height, but not in Bulk. Many Eunuchs are made in this Province, which are afterwards sold to Merchants. This Province continueth thirty Days Journey, in the End whereof, going Eastward, is the Province of *Cangigu*, which is a Country having also its proper King and peculiar Language, the Inhabitants whereof worship Idols, and are tributary to the Great Khan; their King hath about three hundred Wives; much Gold is found in this Province, and many Spices, but they cannot easily be transported, because that Country is far distant from the Sea: There are also many Elephants in it, and much Game. The Inhabitants live on Milk, Flesh, and Rice; they have no Wine, but they make very good Drink of Rice and Spices. As well the Men as the Women use to embroider their Faces, Necks, Hands, Bellies, and Legs, making the Images of Lions, Dragons and Birds, and so firmly imprint them, that they cannot easily be put out, and the more such Images any one has upon his Body, so much he is esteemed the finer and the more gallant. And there are also in this Country Professors of this foolish Art of Flesh-Embroidery, which use no other Trade but this needlework and dyeing of Fools-Skins.

Amu lies to the East of that Province, and is subject to the Great Khan, whose Inhabitants worship Idols, and have to themselves a peculiar Language. They abound with Herds of Cattle, and have Plenty of Victuals, and many Horses, and their excellent, which Merchants carry for Sale into *India*. They have also many Buffaloes and Oxen, because there are delicate Pastures there. As well Men as Women wear Bracelets of Gold and Silver, of great Value, on their Arms, as also the like on their Legs; but those of the Women are most valuable: From *Amu* to *Cangigu* are above five and twenty Days Journey. The Province of *Tholoman*, is still eight Days Journey farther distant to the East from *Amu*, subject to the Great Khan, having a peculiar Language, and worshipping Idols. The Men and Women in this Country are tall, well shaped, and of a brown Complexion. The Country is very well inhabited, having many and strong Castles and Cities. The Men are practised in Arms, and accustomed to War; they burn the Bodies of their Dead, and inclosing the Relicks of their Bones in a Chest, hide them in the Caves of the Mountains, that they cannot be touched either of Man or Beast. Gold is found in great Plenty there, and instead of Money, they use Porcelain brought from *India*, as also in *Cangigu* and *Amu*. From the Province of *Tholoman*, the high Road leads towards the East, by a River, on the Bank of which are many Cities and Castles, and at the End of twelve Days you come to the great City *Cintiqui*. The Country is subject to the Great Khan, and the Inhabitants therefore addicted to Idolatry. Excellent Cloths are made in this Country, of the Bark of Trees, with which they are clothed in the Summer. Many Lions are there, so that for fear of them, none dare sleep without Doors by Night; the Vessels which sail up and down the

River, for fear of these Lions, are not fastned to the Bank. There are great Dogs in the same Country, so hardy and strong, that they fear not to attack the Lion; and it often happeneth, that two Dogs, and one Archer, kill a Lion: For the Dogs, set on by the Man, give the Order, and the Lion's Nature is presently to take Shelter from some Tree, that the Dogs may not come behind him, neither will his great Heart suffer him to run from the Dogs, lest he should seem afraid; but he holds his stately Pace, the Man mean while shooting, and the Dogs fastening on his hinder Parts; but with such Agility, that when the Lion turns on them, they are gone; and then this magnanimous Beast holds on his Way again, to seek a Tree for Succour, till what with Bitings and Arrows, he sometimes comes short, and with Expende of Blood, dieth by the Way. This Country abounds with Silk, which by Merchants is carried to diverse Provinces by the River; they live therefore chiefly by their Merchandize: Their Money is Paper; and they are Valiant in Arms.

At the End of ten Days is the City of *Sichia*, and twenty Days from thence is *Gingui*, and four Days thence is *Palansu*, towards the South, and is in *Catbay*, returning by the other Side of the Province. The People are Idolaters, and burn their Dead; there are also certain Christians which have a Church, are all under the Khan, and use Paper Money. They make Cloths of Gold and Silk, and Lawns, very fine. By this City, which has many Cities under it, runs a great River, which carries Store of Merchandize to *Cambala*, made by many Channels to pass thither; but we will leave this Place, and proceeding three Days Journey, speak of *Ciangui*, a great City towards the South, of the Province of *Catbay*, subject to the Khan. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, and burn their Dead. Their Money is the (Mulberry) Paper-Coin of the Khan. In this City, and the Territories that depend upon it, they make large Quantities of Salt, for that Earth abounds therewith, and out of it they get Salt after this Manner; they hap up the Earth in the Manner of an Hill, and pour Water upon it, which draws the Saltiness of the Earth into it, and then runs into certain Conduits, and is boiled in Pans, till it be congealed to Salt, fair and white, to the great Gain of the People, and of the Great Khan, being carried into other Countries to sell. There are large Peaches, high flavoured, which weigh two Pounds a-piece. Five Days Journey beyond the City *Ciangui*, in *Catbay*, Southward, standeth another City named *Ciangli*, in which Road are many Cities and Castles, subject to the Khan, through the midst of which runs a great River, very convenient for Shipping laden with Merchandize.

Six Days Journey hence to the South, is the noble Kingdom and great City of *Tudisufu*, which had formerly its proper King, before it was subdued by the Great Khan, *A. D.* 1272, and hath eleven royal Cities famous for Traffick under the Jurisdiction thereof. It is very pleasantly seated for Gardens and Fruits, rich in Silks; their Khan sent to be Governor thereof one of his Barons named *Lacanser*, with eight thousand Horses, who rebelled against this Lord, but was reduced and slain, by an Army of one hundred thousand Horses, under two other Barons, sent against him, and the Country reduced to Obedience. Seven Days off towards the South, is the famous City named *Singumatu*, to which on the South a great River runs, which being divided by the Inhabitants of the Place into two Rivers, flows one Branch to the East towards *Catbay*, and the other to the West toward *Mangi*; by these Rivers innumerable Vessels, and incredible for their Size and Wealth, bring Necessaries to both Provinces. If you proceed sixteen Days Journey towards the South from *Singumatu*, you will meet with Cities and Towns where prodigious Trading is exercised. The Inhabitants of these Countries are Idolaters, subject to the Great Khan. After that, sixteen Days, you come unto a great River named *Coramoran*, which is said to take its rise in the Kingdom of *Uncan*, or *Presbyter John*, in the North. It is very deep, and carries Ships of great Burthen; it is also well stock'd with Fish, within one Day's Journey of the Sea. There are in this River fifteen thousand Sail, each of which carries fifteen Horses, and twenty Men, besides Victuals and Mariners. This is the *Khan's* Fleet, kept

kept there in Readiness to carry an Army to any of the Islands, if they should rebel, or to any remote Region. Near the Bank of the River, where these Ships are kept, is *Coiganzu*, and over-against it *Quanzu*, one a great City, the other a small one. After you are past that River, you enter into the noble Kingdom of *Mangi*; but you must not think that we have handled in Order the whole Province of *Catbay*, having not spoken of the twentieth Part; for *Marco Polo* passing by the said Province, hath only described the Cities in his Way, leaving those on both Hands, and those betwixt these, to prevent Tedioufness, and to avoid writing from hear-say.

20. The Province of *Mangi* is the richest and most famous that is founded in the East; and in *An. Dom.* 1269, was governed by a certain King, called *Fanfufur*, who was richer and mightier than any which had reigned there in an hundred Years, but a Man peaceable and charitable, so beloved of his Subjects, that thereby, and by the Strength of the Country, he seemed invincible. It was from a Persuasion of this that the King, as well as the People, lost the Use and Exercise of War and Arms. All the City was encompassed with Ditches full of Water. He held in Pay no Horses, because he feared Nobody; and, in Process of Time, the King, betaking himself to Pleasure more than was fit, employed his whole Time in Delights. He maintained about a thousand Concubines, with whom he passed his Time in Pleasure. He maintained Justice, and preserved Peace; no Man durst offend his Neighbour and disturb the Peace, for fear of severe and impartial Punishment; so that Artificers would often leave their Shops full of Wares open by Night, and yet none would presume to go into them. Travellers and Strangers safely walked Day and Night through that whole Kingdom, fearing no Man. The King himself also was merciful towards the Poor, and did not overlook them that were oppressed with Necessity, or punished with Penury. Besides, every Year he took up twenty thousand young Infants, cast off by their Mothers, who, through Poverty, were not able to keep them, which he brought up, and put them, when they were grown up, to some Trade, marrying the young Men with the Maids, which he had in like manner so educated.

Cublai-Khan was of a different Disposition from *Fanfufur*, and delighted only in Wars and Conquests; and to make himself great, he levied an Army, of Horse and Foot, and made one, named *Chinfan-Baian*, i. e. an hundred Eyes, General thereof, he therefore coming with his Army and a Fleet to the Province of *Mangi*, first summoned the City *Coiganzu* to yield Obedience to his Emperor, who refused the same; he departed without any Assault given to the City, and required the same of the second City, which, likewise refusing, he marched forwards to the third and fourth, and received the like Answer of them all; but he assaulted the next with great Courage, and vanquished the same by Force, and slew every Creature of what Sex or Age soever therein, which so frightened and terrified the rest, that they all presently yielded. The Great Khan sent out another great Army after the former, with both which Armies he marched against the chief City *Quinfai*, where the King of *Mangi* resided, who being mightily terrified, as never having seen any War, fled with his Wealth on board the Ships he had prepared, to certain impregnable Islands in the Ocean, where he afterwards died, committing the Custody of the City of *Quinfai* to his Wife, bidding her to defend it as well as he could; for being a Woman, she need not fear Death, if she was taken.

It is to be observed, that King *Fanfufur* had been told by his Diviners, that his Kingdom would never be taken from him but by one which had an hundred Eyes, which the Queen knew, and therefore was still in Hopes not to lose the City however streightened, thinking it impossible for one Man to have an hundred Eyes; but one Day she heard

the Commander of the *Tartars* was called *Baian Chinfan*, that is to say, an hundred Eyes, and was much terrified; wherefore, calling for the Commander of the *Tartar* Army, thinking him to be the Man which the Astrologers spoke of, she delivered the City unto him, which, being heard, the Citizens and Inhabitants of the whole Province yielded to the Obedience of the Great Khan. The Queen was sent unto the Court of the Great Khan, and was most honourably received by him, and maintained like a Queen. And now we will speak of the Cities in the Country of *Mangi*. *Coiganzu* is a very fair and rich City, situate towards the South-East and East, in the Entrance of the Province of *Mangi*, where are always great Numbers of Ships, being seated on the River *Carama*, and a great Quantity of Merchandize is carried thither; Salt is also made there in Abundance. Proceeding from *Coiganzu*, you ride towards the South-East one Day's Journey on a Stone Causeway, on both Sides whereof are great Fences, with deep Waters, through which they may pass with proper Vessels; neither is there any Entrance into *Mangi* but by Shipping, excepting this Causeway.

At the End of that Day's Journey is a City called *Paughin*, large and fair; the People make Stuffs of Gold and Silk, are Merchants, and Idolaters. The Paper-Money of the Great Khan is received throughout the whole Country. It is plentiful in all Necessaries of Life. To the City *Gaim* is from *Paughin* one Day's Journey South-East; and this is also a famous City. The Country thereabouts abounding with Fish, Beasts, and Fowl, especially Pheasants, are found in exceeding great Plenty, as large as Peacocks, of which you may have three for a *Venetian* Groat. Proceeding further from hence one Day's Journey, you come through a well manured, most fruitful and well peopled Country, to the City *Tingui*, which, tho' it be not over large, yet hath in it exceeding great Plenty of Victuals. They are Merchants, and have a vast Resort of Ships: There is Plenty of Beasts and Fowls. It is seated to the South-East, and on the Left-hand towards the East, three Days Journey off the Ocean, and in the Country between, are very many Salt-pits, and they make great Quantities of Salt. After this is *Cingui*, a great City, whence the Country is furnished with Salt, whereof the Khan makes immense Profit, almost beyond Belief: They are Idolaters, and have Paper-Money. From *Cingui*, riding towards the South-East, you meet with the noble City *Jangui*, under the Government whereof are other Cities, seven-and-twenty in Number; and in that City resides one of the twelve Barons, which are Governors of Provinces, chosen by the Great Khan; they are Idolaters, and live on Merchandize. They make Arms and Harnes for War, and Master *Marco* had the sole Government thereof, by Commission, from the Great Khan, three Years together, instead of one of these Barons. *Naughin* is a Province to the West, one of the greatest and noblest of *Mangi*; a Place of great Merchandize; they are Idolaters, have none but Paper-Money, have vast Quantities of Beasts and Fowl, wild and tame. They make Cloths of Gold and Silk, and are rich Merchants, and the Country is very advantageous to the Khan, especially by Customs of Merchandize; there is likewise great Plenty of Corn.

Stanfu is a noble and great City in the Province of *Mangi*, and hath twelve rich and great Cities under her Jurisdiction. They make great Quantities of Silks, and Cloths of Gold, have Plenty of Game, Fowl, and all Things pertaining to a City of Note; so strong that it was three Years besieged, and could not be vanquished by the Army of the *Tartars*, when the Province of *Mangi* was subdued, for it is encompassed on every Side with Lakes, that there was no way to it but on the North; so that Ships came and went, continually bringing Plenty of Victuals, which not a little afflicted the Great Khan. The two Brethren, Master *Nicolo*, and Master *Maffio*, then in his Court, hear-

*The Chinese Histories agree exactly, as to the Character of this Prince, with what we find delivered concerning him by our Author; but they differ widely with respect to the Name; since, according to them, he was called *Tou*, and from the Name of his Family *Tien*. He was the fifteenth Emperor of the nineteenth Dynasty, and succeeded to the Throne in the Year 1264. It was to his Indolence, Debauchery, and excessive Love of Pleasure, that the Chinese attribute the Destruction of their Country, and the total Conquest of it by the *Tartars*. This March died in the Midst of his Misfortunes, and left three young Children under the Tutelage of the Empress their Mother. These Historians give us a great Character of the *Tartar* General, mentioned by our Author; but then they give him quite another Name, viz. *Pe Yen*; but what the Signification of that is, I cannot inform the Reader. He is said to have commanded an Army of two hundred thousand Men, with the same Fate as if it had been only a small Body of Troops, and to have shewn so great Modesty in the Midst of his Conquests, as never once to have valued himself on the many and great Services he rendered to his Master.

ing thereof, went to him, and offered him their Service, to devile certain Engines, after the Manner of the West, able to shoot a Stone of three hundred Weight, thereby to kill Men and ruin Houses. The Khan appointed Carpenters, which were Nestorian Christians, who made three of these Engines in a short Space, which were proved before him, and by Ships sent to his Army. Planting them therefore against the City *Sianfu*, they began to cast great Stones into the City; and the first, falling upon a certain House, broke the most part of it with the Violence thereof, which the besieged Inhabitants seeing, were very much astonished, and yielded themselves, and became subject to the Great Khan, on the same Conditions with the rest of *Mangi*, to the great Repute of the two Venetian Brethren, the one the Author's Father, and the other his Uncle.

From the City of *Sianfu* to a certain City called *Singui*, are accounted fifteen Miles South-eastward, which, altho' it is not very large, yet has a prodigious Number of Ships, being seated upon the greatest River in the World, called *Quian*, the Breadth of which in some Places is ten Miles, in others eight, and in many six; but the Length thereof extendeth above an hundred Days Journey from the Source of it to the Sea. Innumerable other Rivers flow into it, which run through divers Regions, and are navigable; and these make it so great, that incredible Quantities of Merchandize are brought by this River. There are also many other Cities, in Number about two hundred, which participate of the Advantages of this River, for it runs through the Bounds of sixteen Provinces. The greatest Commodity is Salt, wherewith all the Cities which communicate by these Waters are supplied. Master *Marco* saw at one time at *Singui* five thousand Vessels, and yet other Cities on the River have more; all these Ships are covered, and have but one Mast, and one Sail, and usually carry four thousand, and so upwards, some of them twelve thousand *Venetia Cantari*; neither do they use Cordage of Hemp, except for the Mast and Sail, but have Canes fifteen Paces long, which they split into thin Parts from one End to the other, and binding the cut Parts together, and wreathing them, make very long Ropes, so that some of them contain three hundred Fathom in Length; and those Ropes are as strong as Hemp, and serve for Haulies and Cables to draw their Ships up and down the River, each Vessel having ten or twelve Horses for that Purpose.

On that River, in many Places, are rocky Hillocks, on which are built Monasteries to their Idols, and all the way are Vallies and Places inhabited. *Cayngui* is a little City upon the same River South-eastward, where every Year is brought Plenty of Corn and Rice, carried for the most part to *Cambala*; for they pass thither by Lakes and Rivers, and by one large Canal, which the Khan caused to be made for a Passage from one River to another, and from *Mangi* to *Cambala*, without going to Sea; which Work is beautiful and wonderful for the Sight and Length, and more for the Profit which accrues thereby to the Cities. He hath made also great Cauldways to go on Land by these Waters commodiously. In the midst of the said River is an Island, or Rock, on which is erected a great Temple and Monastery, in which are two hundred idolatrous Monks. *Cingbianfu* is a City of *Mangi*, rich in Merchandize, plentiful of Game, having all kind of wild Beasts and Fowl, and of Victual. In it are two Churches of Nestorian Christians, built A. D. 1274, when the Great Khan sent a Governor thither, *Marjachis*, a Nestorian, who built them. From the City *Cingbianfu*, in three Days Journey South-eastward, you find many

Cities and Castles, all Idolaters, and at last come to *Tingui*, a great and fair City, abounding with all kind of Provisions.

When *Baian Chinjam*, General of the Army of the Tartars, conquered the Province of *Mangi*, he sent many Christians called *Alani*, against the City, which was double walled; into the Inner they retired, into the other the *Alani* entered, and found there abundance of Wine, wherof, after a bad Journey, they began to drink so largely, that they were all drunk, and the Citizens in their Sleep, suddenly falling upon them, slew them all, not one eluding; but *Baian* hearing this, sent another great Army against those Citizens, which in a short Space of Time vanquishing the City, in Revenge, put them all to the Sword, leaving none alive. The great and excellent City *Singui* contains in Circuit twenty Miles: Multitudes of People are in it, it hath many rich Merchants, and industrious Artificers, and it hath also very many Physicians and Magicians, and wife Men, or Philosophers. In the Mountains of this City, Rhubarb and Ginger grow in great Plenty. This City hath sixteen Cities under the Jurisdiction thereof, in each of which much Trade is carried on, and many curious Arts are exercised, many forts of Silk are made there. The Word *Singui* signifies the City of the Earth: Also they have another City which they call *Quinfai*, that is to say, the City of Heaven. From *Singui*, at the Distance of one Day's Journey, is *Fagin*, where is also abundance of Silk, and able Artificers, with many other Merchants, as there are in general in all the Cities in this Country.

21. In a Journey of three Days, you find Cities, Castles, and Villages, well peopled, and rich. The People are Idolaters, under the Dominion of the Great Khan. At the End of these Days you come to *Quinfai*, i. e. the City of Heaven, which for the Excellency thereof hath that Name; for in the World there is not the like, or a Place, in which are found so many Pleasures, that a Man would think he were in Paradise. In this City our Author *Marco Polo* hath often been, and considered the same with great Diligence, observing the whole State thereof, setting down the same in his Memorials, as here from them shall be declared briefly. This City, by common Report, is an hundred Miles in Circuit. The Streets and Lanes are very long, and very wide; there are Market-places exceeding large; on the one Side a clear Lake of fresh Water, on the other a great River, which enters in many Places, and carries away all the Filth of the City, and so runneth into that Lake, thence continuing its Course into the Ocean. This Course of Water causeth a good Air, and commodious Passage both by Land, and by those Canals. There may go both Carts and Barks to carry Necessaries; and the Report is, that there are twelve thousand Bridges, great and small, and those on the chief Channels are so high, that a Ship without her Masts may pass under, and at the same time Chariots and Horses pass over it. On the other Side the City is a large Canal forty Miles long, which encloses it on that Side, large and full of Water, from the River made by the ancient Kings of that Province, both to receive the Overflowing of the Water, and besides that to furnish the City, the Earth which was taken out being laid within as a Bank or Hill encompassing it.

There are ten great Market-places, besides others in the great Streets, which are square, half a Mile in each Square; and from the Great Entrance is a principal Street, forty Paces wide, running right from one End of the City to the other, with many Bridges crossing it, and every four Miles

* This happened the Year before the Death of the Emperor *Tou-Tsing*, and in about four Years more all his Children, who succeeded one after the other to the Empire, perished. The first was taken Prisoner by the Tartars, and sent by them to their own Country, where he died in Captivity. The second was driven to *Canton*, where he died of a Consumption, at the Age of eleven Years. The third, whose Name was *Pier*, having lost all his Country, was obliged to take Refuge on Board the Fleet, which was purposed, and forced to an Engagement by that of the Tartars. When the Chinese Lord, who had the Care of the Emperor's Person, found his Vessel surrounded, he took the young Prince in his Arms, and jumped with him into the Sea. The Emperors seeing the loss of her Son thus unhappily destroyed, followed his fate, and threw herself also into the sea. The whole Squadron of the Chinese Fleet forced a Passage through that of the Tartars, but was afterwards destroyed by a Tempest, so that not a Vessel or a Man escaped of the whole Navy; and the Chinese Writers say, that there perished in the whole a hundred thousand Men. The Loss of this Battle put an End to the Chinese Empire, and left the Tartars totally Masters of the whole Country.

* This Description of the City of *Quinfai* has occasioned many Reflections upon our Author, as if writing of Countries at so great a Distance, he took the Liberty of imposing on his Readers the Fictions of his Imaginations for the Facts which he had seen. Under this Imputation he for a long time laboured, especially with such as were desirous of maintaining the Reputation of Sagacious and penetrating People; but by degrees the Credit of our Author has got the better of all such Imputations, and the Relations given by the Portuguese, and other Europeans, who went thither after the Discovery of the Passage by the Cape of Good Hope, have put it out of doubt that he did not invent any Part of his Relation, but represented things such as they appeared to him, though certainly with fewer Circumstances, and less Accuracy, than succeeding Travellers, who had more Time to examine, and greater Capacities for describing what they saw.

is found such a Market-Place, two Miles, as is said, in Compass. There is also one large Canal, which runs against the said Street behind the Market-places, on the next Bank whereof is erected great Store-houses of Stone, where the Merchants from *India*, and other Parts, lay up their Merchandize, being at Hand, and commodious for the Market-places. In each of these Market-places the People meet three Days in a Week, to the Number of between forty and fifty thousand, who bring thither all things that can be desired for Man's Life, Beasts, Game, and Fowls, that Lake yielding such Advantages for bringing them up, that for a *Venetian* Groat you may have two Geese, and four Ducks for the same. Then follow the Butcher-rows, of Veal, Beef, Kid, and Lamb, which the great and rich Men eat; for the Poor eat all the Offal, and unclean Meats, without Respect. There are all sorts of Herbs and Fruits continually, and amongst the rest huge Pears, weighing ten Pounds apiece, white within like Paste, and very fragrant. Peaches yellow and white, very delicate. Grapes grow not there, but are brought from other Places dried; very good Wine also, but it is not esteemed in those Parts as with us, that of Rice and Spices contenting them. Every Day from the Ocean is brought up the River, which is the Space of five and twenty Miles, great Quantities of Fish, besides that of the Lake, so much that a Man would think would never be bought, and yet in a few Hours all is gone. All these Market-places are encompassed with high Houses, and underneath are Shops for Artificers, and all sorts of Merchandize, as Spice, Jewels, Pearls, and in some only Rice-Wine. Many Streets answer one to another in the said Market-places; in some of them are many cold Baths, accommodated with Attendants of both Sexes, a thing to which from Children they use themselves. There are Chambers also in the same Baths, with hot Waters for Strangers, which are not accustomed to the cold Waters; they wash every Day, neither do they eat before they have washed.

In other Streets are mercenary Prostitutes, in such Numbers, that I dare not report it, and not only near the Market-places, where they have their Places appointed, but through all the City; they stand pompously adorned with rich Perfumes, many Servants, and their Houses finely furnished. These are very skilful in making Sports and Dalliances, and contriving Pleasures for ravishing Men out of themselves. In other Streets are the Physicians, the Astrologers, they which teach to read and write, and infinite other Trades. At each End of every Market-place is a Palace, where Lords and Governors are appointed by the King to determine Difficulties which happen betwixt Merchants and others, as also to look to the Guards on the Bridges, punishing such as are negligent. Along the principal Street on both Sides are great Palaces with Gardens, and near them Houses of Artificers, and such Multitudes of People constantly going to and fro, that a Man would wonder whence such Multitudes could be provided with Victuals; and Master *Marco* learned of an Officer of the Custom-house in *Quinsai*, that by a very accurate Computation, it appeared, the daily Expence of Pepper in *Quinsai* was three and forty Soma, and every Soma is two hundred and twenty-three Pounds. Hence may be guessed the Quantity of Victuals, Flesh, Wine, and Spices, were there spent. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, use none but Paper-Money, are of a very fair Complexion, apparelled for the most part in Silk, which grows in all that Territory abundantly, besides that which is brought from other Places. There are twelve principal Companies or Corporations, each of which have one thousand Shops, and in each Shop or Standing are ten, fifteen, or twenty Men at Work, and in some forty under one Master.

The rich Tradersmen do not work with their Hands, but stand in their Shops, well, or rather pompously dressed, especially their Wives, with Jewels invaluable. And altho' their old Kings ordained, that the Child should be of the Father's Trade, yet the Rich are permitted not to work at it, but to keep Shop, and Men working in the same Trade. Their Houses are well built, and very richly furnished with Pictures and other Ornaments of immense Price. The Natives are peaceable, know not how to manage Arms, nor keep them in their Houses, neither is there Strife and

Debate amongst them. They exercise their Trades with great Sincerity. They live in such Amity, that one Street seems as one House, without Jealousy among their Wives, which they hold in great Respect, and it would be reputed a great Disgrace to speak a dishonest Word to a married Woman. They entertain foreign Merchants kindly, both in their Houses, and with best Advice for their Affairs; but they are not overfond of the Soldiers, and Guards of the Grand Khan, because by them deprived of their natural Lords and Kings. About the Lake are very fair Buildings, and great Palaces of the principal Men, and Temples of their Idols, with Monasteries of many Monks. In the midst of the Lake are two Islands, upon each of which is a Palace; with incredible Numbers of Rooms, whither they resort upon Occasion of Marriages, or other Feasts, where Provisions of Vessels, Linnen, and other things are maintained in common, for such Purposes, one Hundred sometimes accommodated at once, in several Rooms. In the Lake also are Boats and Barges for Pleasure, adorned with fair Seats and Tables, and other Provisions for a Banquet, covered above, and flat, upon which Men stand with Poles to push the Boat on, the Lake being but shallow: Within they are painted, without are Windows to open and shut at Pleasure; nor can any thing in the World seem more pleasant than in this Lake, to have such various Objects, the City so fully presenting itself to the Eye, with so many Temples, Monasteries, Palaces, Gardens, with high Trees, and on the Water Barges and People; for their Custom is to work one Part of the Day, and to spend some Part in this Diversion with their Friends, or with Women on the Lake, or else in Chariots, riding through the City, which is also another of the *Quinsai* Pleasures; for all the Streets are paved with Stone, as also are all the Highways, in the Province of *Mangi*, only for the Foot, Potts are left on the Side a Space unpaved: The principal Street of *Quinsai* is paved ten Paces on each Hand, and in the midst it is full of Gravel, with Passages for the Water, which keep it always clean.

In this Street are innumerable long close Chariots, accommodated with Cloths and Cushions of Silk for six Persons, who divert themselves in the Street, or go to the Gardens, and there pass the Time in Bowers, fine Walks, &c. which are kept for that Purpose, and return at Night in the same Chariots. When a Child is born, the Father sets down the exact Point of Time, and with that Note goes to the Astrologer, to consult of his future Fortunes; of these Astrologers are a great Number in every Market-Place. These People will not celebrate a Marriage without such Consultation. When one dies that is of Note, the Kindred cloath themselves in Canvas, and so both Men and Women accompany him to the Burying-Place, playing on Instruments, and singing all the Way Prayers to their Idols, and being come to that Place, cast into the Fire many Papers of Cotton, whereon are painted Slaves, Horses, Camels, Stuffs of Gold, and Silk, and Monies, which they think he shall really possess in another World, and make a grand Concert of Musick in Conceit of the Joy wherewith the Idols there receive his Soul, where he beginneth, as they fancy, to live anew. In every Street are Towers of Stone, to which, when in Danger of Fire, they use to carry their Gods, their Timber-Houses being very subject to such Casualties. The Khan hath ordered, that on the most of the Bridges, Day and Night, there stands under a Covert, ten Soldiers, five by Day, and five by Night, and in every Guard-Room is a Tabernacle of Wood, with a great Bason, whereby they know the Hours of the Day and Night, which at every Hour's end the Warders strike, to signify what Hour, One, Two, &c. beginning at the Sun-rising; and then again, at the beginning of the Night. They walk up and down, and if any have a Light or Fire after the appointed Time, they cause him to answer it before the Justices, or Governors aforesaid, or if any walk later.

If any be not able to work, they carry him to some Hospital, of which are exceeding many, founded by the old Kings, with great Revenues, through the City: When they are well again, they are compelled to work. If a Fire happen, these from diverse Places come to and quench it, and to carry the Goods to the Islands, or those Towers;

for in the Night none of the Citizens dare go out, but those who are in Danger. The Khan always keeps here a Body of his best and most faithful Souldiers, adding the best and richest Place in the World. Within a Mile of each other, are built Ramparts of Wood, where the same Precautions are used for like Purposes. When the Khan had reduced all *Mangi* to his Obedience, he divided it, being before but one Kingdom, into nine Parts, and set them a Vice-King over each, who there administers Justice. Every Year they give Account to the Khan's Officers of the Revenues, and other Accidents, and every third Year are charged, as all other Officers are. One of these Deputy Kings is resident at *Quinsay*, who is Governor of above one hundred and forty Cities, all rich and great: Nor let this be esteemed a Wonder, seeing in *Mangi* there are twelve thousand Cities, all inhabited by rich and industrious People, in one of which the Khan maintaineth a Garrison, proportionable to the Greatness and Occasions, one thousand, ten, or twenty thousand, not all *Tartars*, but *Cathayans*; for the *Tartars* are Horsemen, and keep in such Places as may be fit to exercise their Horses. Into *Cathay* he sends those of *Mangi*, and *Cathayans* hither, such as are fit for Arms, of which he makes choice every third Year, and sends them for four or five Years together, into Places twenty Days Journey from their own Country, and then suffers them to return Home, a fresh Body succeeding; and most Part of the Khan's Revenues are this Way expended, and if any City rebel, he suddenly from the next Garrison compels an Army to reduce or destroy them. The City of *Quinsay* hath in constant Garrison thirty thousand Souldiers, and that which hath least, hath one thousand regular Troops, Horse and Foot in Garrison.

I come next to speak of the Palace of King *Fausur*. His Predecessors caused to be enclosed a Place of ten Miles Circuit, with high Walls, and divided it into three Parts. That in the midst was entered by one Gate on the one Side, and on the other were great and large Galleries, the Roof sustained by Pillars, painted and wrought in pure Gold, and fine Azure. These were smaller at the Entry, and the further the greater, the fairest at the End; the Roof richly adorned with Gold, and on the Walls were painted the Stories of the former Kings, done very elegantly. Every Year, on certain Idol Holidays, *Fausur* keeps his Court, and feasts his principal Lords, the great Merchants, and rich Artificers of *Quinsay*. Ten thousand are at a Time under these Terraces. This feasting endured ten or twelve Days with incredible Magnificence, every Guest endeavouring to present himself in greatest Pomp. Behind this marble Building was a Wall, which divided the Palace, in which were, as it were a Cloister with Pillars, sustaining the Terrace round about the Cloister, wherein were Chambers for the King and Queen, curiously wrought. From this Cloister was an Entrance into a Gallery six Paces wide, extending in Length to the Lake, all covered. On each Side of this Gallery were ten Courts, answering to each other like Cloisters, each Court having fifty Chambers, with their Gardens, and in them one thousand Concubines abode, which the King kept for his Service, who sometimes with the Queen, sometimes with them, went in his Royal Barge, on the Lake, for Recreation, or to visit his Idol Temples. The other two Parts of the Seraglio were divided into Groves, Lakes and Gardens, planted with Trees; in which were inclosed all Sorts of Beasts, Roe-Bucks, Stags, Hares, Conies, and there the King diverted himself with his Damfels in Chariots, or on Horseback, no Man entering there. There the Ladies hunted with his Dogs, and when weary, they went into those Groves, which answered one another over

the Lakes, and there leaving their Garments, came forth naked, and fell to swimming in the King's Presence. Sometimes he would eat a Banquet in those Groves, being served by those Damfels, without once thinking of Arms, which sweet Meat cost him the four Stuce ye have heard. All this was told me by a rich old Merchant of *Quinsay*, while I was there, one who had been familiar with King *Fausur*, and knew all his Life, and had seen that Palace flourishing, into which he would needs bring me.

The Viceroy now resides there, and the first Galleries remain as they were, but the Damfels Chambers are ruined. The Walls also which encompassed the Woods and Gardens, are fallen to the Ground, the Beasts and Trees being gone, and all the other Ornaments destroyed. Twenty-five Miles from *Quinsay* is the Ocean, between the East and North-East, near which is a City called *Gampo*, an excellent Port, where arrive the Indian Ships with Merchandise. While *Marcio Polo* was in *Quinsay*, Account being given to the grand Khan of the Revenues, and the Number of Inhabitants, he hath seen that there have been enrolled one hundred fifty Toman of Fires, reckoning for a Fire the Family dwelling in one House; every Toman contains ten thousand, which makes sixteen hundred thousand Families, of all which there is but one Church of Christians, and those *Nestorians*. Every Householder is bound to have written over his Door the Names of his whole Household, Males and Females; also the Number of Horses, the Names added or blotted out as the Family increaseth or decreaseth; and this is observed in all the Cities of *Mangi* and *Cathay*. Those also that keep Inns write in a Book the Names of their Guests, and the Day and Hour of their Departure, which Books they send daily to the Lords, or Magistrates, who preside at the Market-Places. In *Mangi*, the Poor which are not able to bring up their Children, sell them to the Rich. The Revenues which accrue to the Khan from *Quinsay*, and the other Cities pertaining thereto, being the Ninth Part of the Kingdom of *Mangi*, are first of Salt, every Year, eight Tomans of Gold, every Toman is eighty thousand *Sazzi* of Gold, and every *Sazzi* is more than one Florin of Gold, which will amount to six Millions and four hundred thousand Ducats. The Cause is, that that Province being nigh the Sea, there are many Lakes, where the Water in Summer is coagulated into Salt, wherewith five other Kingdoms in that Country are served. There is plenty of Sugar growing, which pay, as likewise all Spices do, three Parts, and a third in the Hundred: The like of Rice, Wine. Also those twelve Companies, which we said had twelve thousand Shops, and the Merchants which bring Goods hither, or carry any hence by Sea, pay the same Price. They which come from remote Countries and Regions, as for Example, from the *Indies*, pay Ten per Cent. Likewise all things there breeding, as Beasts, and growing out of the Earth, and Silks, pay Tithes to the King, and the Computation being made in the Presence of Master *Marcia*, besides Salt before-mentioned, yearly amounts to two hundred and ten Tomans, which will be sixteen million eight hundred thousand Ducats in Gold.

A Day's Journey from *Quinsay* to the South-East, are all the Way, Houses, Villages, fair Gardens, and Plenty of Victuals; at the End whereof is *Tapizsu*, a fine City, in the Jurisdiction of *Quinsay*. Three Days thence, South-East, is *Uguin*, and two Days farther you may full ride that Way, finding Cattle, Cities, and well cultivated Places, in such a Neighbourhood that they seem to Travellers all one City, and are all in the Jurisdiction of *Quinsay*; there are great Canes fifteen Paces long and four Palms thick. Two Days Journey farther is the City *Cogui*, fair and large; and travelling farther South-East, are

^a The *Tartars* visibly depended upon a military Force for the Preservation of their Empire in *China*, which whether it was an Effect of their own Policy, or a Part of the *Chinese* System of Government, which they adopted, is uncertain; but it is most probable that it was the latter. However it was fit enough for answering the End, for the *Tartar* Forces becoming a meer standing Army, and having nothing to do but to make a lay Livelihood of that Profession, the Soul of which is an active State; they soon degenerated, and became as soft and effeminate as the *Chinese*, while the latter, humbled by the *Tartar* Conquest, impow'rd by ensuring the Burthen of such a numerous Army, and above all, taught the Value of Liberty by the Loss of it, began to form Designs for bringing about a new Revolution, which at last they were so lucky as to effect.

^b These Particulars might very well appear (as indeed they did) absolutely incredible, at a Time when there was not so much as an Idea of a well-peopled, and regularly settled Country beyond the Limits of *Perfia*, received among the *Europeans*. As the *Chinese* were amazed, and knew not what to think of our Manners, when we came first amongst them, so the first News of such an Empire as *China*, so extensive, so well peopled, so admirably governed, and in so flourishing a Condition, must needs astonish us not a little. According to the latest Accounts of this Empire, its Revenues amount to fifty Millions Sterling annually.

Places full of People and Trades; and in this Part of *Mangi* are no Sheep, but Beavers, Buffaloes, Goats, and Swine in great Plenty. At the End of four Days Journey farther is the City *Zengian*, built on a Hill in the Midst of a River, which, dividing into two Branches, encompasses it, and then runs one to the South-East, the other to the North-West. This City is in the Jurisdiction of *Quinsai*, and its Inhabitants are Merchants, also and Idolaters; this Country abounds with all Sorts of Game. Three Days Journey from thence, through a most pleasant Country, exceeding well inhabited, stands *Gierza*, a great City, which is the last of the *Quinsai* Kingdom; after which you enter into another Kingdom of *Mangi*, called *Concha*; the principal City thereof is *Fingui*, by which you travel six Days Journey South-East, through Hills and Dales, always finding Places inhabited, and Plenty of Game, of Beasts, and Fowl; they are Idolaters, Merchants subject to the Khan. There are stout Lions; and here grow Ginger, and Galingale in great Plenty, with other Sorts of Spices; eight Pounds of Ginger are sold for a *Venetian* Groat. There is an Herb, whose Fruit hath the Effect, and gives the Colour and Smell of Saffron, but is not Saffron, which is used in their Meats. They commonly eat Man's Flesh, if the Persons die not of Sickness, as better tasted than others. When they go into the Field, they shave to the Ears, and paint their Faces with Azure; they serve on Foot, except the Captain, who rides, and uses a Sword and Lance; they are very cruel, and when they kill an Enemy presently drink his Blood, and afterwards eat his Flesh.

After six Days Journey is *Quelinsai*, a great City with three Bridges, each eight Paces broad, and above an hundred long: The Women fair and delicately shaped. They have abundance of Silk and Cotton, are great Merchants, have Plenty of Ginger and Galingale. I was told, but saw them not, that they have Hens without Feathers, hairy like Cats, which yet lay Eggs, and are good to eat. Here are many Lions, which make the Way very dangerous. After three Days Journey, you arrive in a populous Country, inhabited by Idolaters, who make abundance of silk Manufactures, the chief City is *Unguem*, where is great Plenty of Sugar, sent thence to *Cambalu*, which they knew not how to make good till they became subject to the Khan, in whose Court were *Babylonians*, which taught them to refine it with Ashes of certain Trees, they only boiling it before into a black Paste. Fifteen Miles farther lies *Cangiu*, still in the Realm of *Concha*, and here the Khan keeps an Army in Readiness for a Guard of the Country. Through this City passes a River a Mile broad, fairly built on both Sides, and abounding with Ships carrying Sugar, and other Lading. This River disembogues from hence five Days Journey South-East at *Zaitum*, a Sea-port, from which the rich Ships of *India* come to this pleasant City, as is all the Country betwixt, in which are Trees and Shrubs of Camphire. *Zaitum* is a famous Port, where all the Ships arrive with Merchandise, thence dispersed through all *India*. There is here such a Quantity of Pepper, that what comes by *Alexandria* to the West is little to it, and, as it were, one of a hundred. The Concourse of Merchants is incredible, it being one of the most commodious Ports in the World, exceeding profitable to the Khan, who receives Custom at the rate of ten in the Hundred of all Merchandise. They pay so much for Hire of Ships also, that there is not above one half of their Merchandise remaining entire to themselves, and yet that Moiety yields vast Profit to them. The Citizens are idolatrous, given to Pleasure; in it are many Artificers in embroidered and Arras Work. The River is great, very wide, and swift, and one Arm of it runs to *Quinsai*, at the parting of which is *Tringui* situated, where *Porcelain* Dishes are made. I was told of a certain Earth, which they call up in Hills, and so let lie exposed to all Weathers for thirty or forty Years without stirring; after which, refining by Time, they make Dishes, paint them, and then put them in the Furnace. You may there have eight Dishes for one *Venetian* Groat. In this Kingdom of *Concha*, the

Khan has as great a Revenue almost as that of the Kingdom of *Quinsai*. In these two Master *Mares* was, and in none of the other nine Kingdoms of *Mangi*, in all which one Language is used, with Variety of Dialect, and but one Sort of Writing; and therefore we will speak no more of them, but in the next Book discourse of *India* the Greater, the Middle, and the Less, in which he was both in the Service of the Khan, and also in his Return with the Queen to *Argon*.

22. We will now enter into the Affairs of *India*, and begin with their Ships, which are made of Firr, with one Deck, on which are twenty Cabins, more or less, according to the Bigness of the Ships, each for one Merchant. They have a good Rudder, and four Masts with four Sails, and some two Masts, which they either raise or take down at Pleasure. Some greater Ships have thirteen Divisions on the Inside, made with Boards inclosed, so that if by a Blow of a whale, or Touch of a Rock, Water gets in, it can go no farther than that Division, and the Leak being found, is soon stopped. They are double, that is, have two Courses of Boards, one within the other, and are well calked with Oakum, and nailed with Iron, but not pitched, for they have no Pitch, but anointed with an Oil of a certain Tree mixed with Lime and Hemp, beaten small, which binds faster than Pitch or Lime. The greater Ships have three hundred Mariners, the others two hundred, or one hundred and fifty, as they are in Bigness and in Burthen, from five to six thousand Bags of Pepper; and they were wont to be larger than now they are, the Sea having broken into Parts and Islands, that the Defect of Water in some Places, causeth them to build less. They use also Oars in these Ships, four Men to one Oar; and the greater Ships have with them two or three less Ships, able to carry a thousand Bags of Pepper, having sixty Mariners, or upwards, on board; which small Ships serve sometimes to tow the greater. They have also with them ten small Boats for Fishing and other Services, fastened to the Sides of the larger Ships, and let down when they please to use them. They sheath their Ships also after a Year's Usage, so that then they have three Courses of Boards, and they proceed in this Manner sometimes till there be six Courses, after which they break them up. Having spoken of the Ships, we will speak of *India*, and first, of certain Islands.

Zipangu, i. e. *Japan*, is an Island on the East, one thousand five hundred Miles distant from the Shores of *Mangi*, very great, the People of white Complexion, of gentle Behaviour, in Religion Idolaters, and have a King of their own. They have Gold in great Plenty, for few Merchants come thither, and the King permits no Exportation of it; and they which have carried on Commerce there, speak of the King's House covered with Gold, as Churches here with Lead, gilded Windows, Floors of Gold. There are also many Pearls. Once the Fame of these Riches made *Cublai-Khan* to send to conquer it, two of his Barons with a great Fleet of Ships, one named *Abbaca*, and the other *Venfanfin*, who going from *Zaitum* and *Quinsai*, arrived there, but falling out between themselves, could take but one City, and there beheaded all they took, except eight Persons, which, by an enchanted precious Stone, inclosed in the Right-arm between the Skin and Flesh, could not be wounded with Iron; whereupon, with wooden Clubs, at the Command of the two Barons, they were slain. It happened one Day, that a northern Wind blew hard, which was dangerous to the Ships riding there, so that some were lost, some put out farther to Sea, and others, with the two Leaders and a few principal Persons, returned home. Out of many broken Ships some escaped by Boards and swimming to an Island not inhabited, four Miles off *Zipangu*, and were about thirty thousand, without Provisions or Arms, against whom the *Zipanguaners*, after the Tempest was calmed, set out a Fleet of Ships, and an Army. These coming on Land to seek the wrecked *Tartars* without Order, gave Occasion to the *Tartars* to wheel about, the Island being high in the Midst, and to get unseen to their Ships,

* This Account of the Ships used in the Trade of the *East-Indies*, agrees exactly with the modern Relations; and though, without doubt, they fall very far short of our Ships for many Purposes; yet for some, and the Nature of those Seas considered, they may be, and very probably are, more convenient.

which were left unmanned, with the Streamers displayed, and in them they failed to the chief City of *Zipangu*, where they were admitted without Suspicion, and found few others but Women. The King of *Zapangu* besieged them six Months, and they having no Relief, yielded themselves, and their Lives were saved. This happened A. D. 1264.

The Khan, for the ill Conduct of his two Commanders, cut off the Head of one, and sent the other to a desert Island called *Zerga*, where he caused Offenders to die, by flogging them, their Hands, bound in a new Skin Hide of a Buffalo, which drying, shrinketh so, as it puts them to vast Tortures, which lead to a miserable Death. The Idols in this and the adjoining Islands are made with Heads of Kine, Swine, Dogs, and in other Fashions more monstrous, as with Faces on their Shoulders, with four, ten, or even an hundred Hands; and to these they ascribe most Power, and do most Reverence, and say, that so they learned of their Progenitors. They sometimes eat their Enemies which they take, with great Joy, and for great Dainties; at least so it is reported of them. The Sea, in which this Island lies, is called the Sea of *Cin*, or *Chin*, that is, the Sea against *Mangi*, and in the Language of that Island *Mangi* is called *Chin*, or *Chius*, which Sea is so large, that the Mariners and expert Pilots, who frequent it, say, that there are seven thousand four hundred and forty Islands therein, the most part of them inhabited, that there grows no Tree which yields not a good Smell, and that there grows many Spices of divers kinds, especially Lignum Aloes, and Pepper, black and white. The Ships of *Zaitum* are a Year in their Voyage, for they go in Winter, and return in Summer, having Winds of two sorts, which keep their Seasons, and this Country is far from *India*; but I will leave them, for I never was there, nor are they subject to the Khan, and return to *Zaitum*; from hence sailing South-westward one thousand five hundred Miles, passing a Gulph called *Cheinan*, which continues two Months failing to the Northward, still confining on the South-east of *Mangi*, and elsewhere with *Ania* and *Toloman*, and other Provinces before named. Within it are infinite Islands all in a manner inhabited: In them is found abundance of Gold, and they trade one with another.

22. This Gulph seems like another World; and after one thousand and five hundred Miles, failing across this Gulph, is the Country *Ziambar*, rich and great, having a King and a Language of their own, Idolaters, and paying Tribute to the Grand Khan of twenty Elephants, and Lignum Aloes in great Quantities yearly. A. D. 1268, the Khan hearing of the Riches of this Island, sent thither *Sagatu* with an Army to invade it. *Acambate* the King thereof was old, and made his Composition by paying the Tribute, which has been mentioned. There are many Woods of black Ebony there, which are of infinite Value. Sailing thence betwixt the South and South-east one thousand five hundred Miles is *Java*, at present supposed by Mariners the greatest Island in the World, being above three thousand Miles in Circuit, under a King who payeth Tribute to none, the Khan not offering to subject it, because of the Length and Danger of the Voyage. The Merchants of *Zaitum* and *Mangi* fetch thence abundance of Gold and Spices. South and South-westward six hundred Miles from *Java*, are two Islands, one *Sendur*, which is the greater, the other *Cander*, less, both desolate.

Fifty Miles South-east from them is a Province, or firm Land, very rich and great, named *Lochar*, the People Idolaters, having a Language of their own, as well as a King. There grows Brasil Wood in great Plenty, much Gold, Elephants, wild Beasts, and Fowl, a Fruit called *Bercias*, large as Lemons, very good; the Place is mountainous and savage, and the King permits not any to come thither, lest they should know his Country, and attempt to conquer it. There are abundance of Porcelain Shells for Money transported to other Places. Five hundred Miles Southward from *Lochar* is the Isle *Pentan*, a savage Place, which produceth in all the Woods sweet Trees; sixty Miles in the way, the Sea is in many Places but four Fathom, after

which sailing to the South-east thirty Miles further, is the Island and Kingdom of *Malatur*, which hath a peculiar King and Language to itself, and here a great Trade is carried on in Spices from *Pentan*. One hundred Miles South-east is *Java the Less*, in Compaſs about two thousand Miles, and hath in it eight Kingdoms, and the People many Languages; they are Idolaters, have abundance of Treasure, Spices, Ebony, and Brasil, and are so far to the South, that the North Star cannot there be seen. Master *Maria* was in six of those Kingdoms, of which he gives the following Account, leaving the other two which he saw not.

One of these eight Kingdoms is *Felob*, where the Idolaters, by frequent Trade with *Soracous*, are converted to the Law of *Mohammed*. In the Cities the Mountaineers are very beastly, eating Man's Flesh, and all kinds of impure Food, and worship all Day what they first see in the Morning: Next to that is *Bajma*, which hath a Language by itself; they live without Law like Beasts, and sometimes send Hawks to the Khan, who lays claim to all the Island. For savage Beasts they have wild Elephants, and Unicorns much less than Elephants, like the Buffalo in Hair; their Feet are like Elephant's Feet, they have one Horn in the midst of the Forehead, and hurt none therewith, but with the Tongue and Knee; for on their Tongue are certain long Prickles, and sharp, and when they hurt any, they trample on him, and press him down with their Knees, and then tear him to Pieces with their Tongues. The Head is like a wild Boar's, which he carries downwards to the Ground. They love to stand in the Mire, and are filthy Beasts, and not such Unicorns are said to be in our Parts, which suffer themselves to be taken by Maids, but quite contrary. They have many Apes, and of several kinds; they have Goshawks black as Ravens, great, and good for Prey. There are certain small Apes, in their Faces like Men, which they put in Boxes, and preserve with Spices, and sell them to Merchants, who carry them through the World, shewing them for Pigmies, or little Men.

Samare is the next Kingdom, where Master *Maria* failed five Months against his Will, forced by ill Weather. There none of the Stars of *Charles Wain* are seen. He once was on Shore with two thousand People, and there fortified he those five Months, for fear of those brutish Men-eaters, and traded mean while with them for Victuals. They have excellent Fish, Wine of the Date-Tree, very wholesome for Phthick, Dropsy, Diseases of the Spleen; some wine, some red, and *Indian* Nuts as big as a Man's Head, the middle whereof is full of a pleasant Liquor better than Wine; they eat on all sorts of Flesh without any Difference. *Dragoian* is another of these Kingdoms claimed by the Khan, having a King, and Language of their own. I was told of an abominable Custom, that when one is sick, they send to enquire of the Sorcerers, whether he shall escape? If the Devils answer No, the Kindred send for some, whole Office it is to strangle the sick Party; after which they eat him in Pieces, and the Kindred eat him with great Jolly, even to the Marrow of the Bones; for, say they, if any Substance of him should remain, Worms would breed thereof, which would want Food, and so die, to the great Torture of the Soul of the Deceased. The Bones they afterwards take and carry into some Caves in the Hills, that no Beast may touch them. If they take any Stranger they eat him in the same manner.

Lembrai is the fifth Kingdom of *Java*, in which is great Plenty of Brasil, of the Seeds whereof Master *Maria* brought to *Venice*, and sowed them, but in vain, the Soil being too cold. They have Unicorns in great abundance, and Choice of Beasts and Fowls. *Fanfur*, the sixth Kingdom, hath the best Camphire, which is sold Weight for Weight with Gold. In that Province they make Meal out of great and long Trees, as thick as two Men can fathom; whence paring off the thin Bark and Wood about three Fingers thick, the Pith within is Meal, which they put in Water, and stir it very well, the lightest Drops swimming, and the finest settling to the Bottom, and then the Water being cast away, they make Paste, of which Master *Maria* brought some to *Venice*, tasting not much unlike Barley-Bread. The

* This Attempt made by the *Tartars* to conquer *Japan*, is a very curious Circumstance, and of great Consequence to the History of this Country, because mentioned by no other Author, which is the Reason that Father *Martini* refers us hither on that Head, in his most accurate *Work on the Empire of China*.

Wood of this Tree thrown into the Water sinks like Iron, of which they make Lancets, but short, for if long, they would be too heavy to bear. These they sharpen, and burn at the Tops, with which so prepared, they will pierce thro' Armour sooner than if they were made of Iron. About one hundred and fifty Miles from *Lambri*, sailing Northwards, are two Islands, one called *Nocuran*, in which the Inhabitants live like Beasts, go all naked, both Men and Women, and worship Idols, have excellent Trees, Cloves, Sanders white and red, *Indian Nuts*, *Brasils*, and other Spices; the other *Angaman*, savage as the former, and where I was told they had Dogs Heads and Teeth.

24. Sailing hence one thousand Miles to the West, and a little to the North-west, is *Zelan*, two thousand and four hundred Miles in Circuit, and anciently three thousand and six hundred Miles, as is seen in the Maps of the Mariners of those Places; but the North Winds have made a great Part of it Sea. It is the finest Island in the World; the King is called *Sendernam*. The Men and Women are Idolaters, go naked, save that they cover their Privities with a Cloth, have no Corn, but Rice and Oil of *Sesamino*, Milk, Flesh, Wine of Trees, abundance of *Brasils*, the best Rubies in the World, Sapphires, Topazes, Amethysts, and other Gems: The King is said to have the very finest Ruby that was ever seen, as long as ones Hand, and as big as a Man's Arm, without Spot, shining like a Fire, not to be bought for Money. *Cublai-Khan* sent and offered the Value of a City for it; but the King answered, he would not give it for the Treasure of the World, nor part with it, because it had been his Ancestors. The Men are unfit for Soldiers, and hire others when they have Occasion. From *Zelan*, sailing sixty Miles to the West, lies the great Province of *Malabar*, which is not an Island, but firm Continent, called *India the Greater*, the richest Province in the World: There are in it four Kings, the chief of which is *Sinder Canai*, in whose Kingdom they fish for Pearls, viz. betwixt *Malabar* and *Zelan*, in a Bay where the Sea is not above ten or twelve Fathom; in which Divers descend, and in Bags or Nets tied to their Bodies, bring up the Oysters, in which are the Pearls: And because there are some great Fish which kill the Fishermen, they hire certain Bramins to charm them, and the have the twentieth, the King the tenth. These Oysters are found through the whole Month of *April*, and till the Middle of *May*, and not at any time else. In *September* they find them in a Place above three hundred Miles off, and till the mid of *October*. The Khan goes as naked as the rest, save that he wears some honourable Ensigns, as a Collar of precious Stones about his Neck, and a Thread of Silk to his Breast, with one hundred and four fair Pearls strung thereon to count his Prayers by, of which he must daily say so many to his Idols. A sort of Bracelets he weareth on three Places on his Arms, and likewise on his Legs, on his Fingers, and on his Toes. The Prayers which he says are *Pacauca*, *Pacauca*, *Pacauca*, one hundred and four times. This King hath one thousand Concubines, and if any please him, he takes her as once he did from his Brother, whence Wars had followed; but the Mother threatening to cut off her Breasts, which had nourished them, if they proceeded, the Quarrel was composed. He hath many Horsemen for his Guard, which always accompany him, who when the King dies, throw themselves voluntarily into the Fire, when he is burned, to do him Service in the next World.

This Prince and his Brethren, the Kings of *Malabar*, buy their Horses from *Ormus*, and other Parts, the Country breeds none; and if it sometimes falls out that it does, yet are they there bred ill-favour'd and naught. Condemned Persons will offer themselves to die in Honour of such an Idol, which is performed with twelve Knives, and twelve Wounds in divers Parts of the Body, at every Blow, saying, *I kill myself in Honour of that Idol*; and the last he thrusts in his Heart, and is then burned by his Kindred. The Wives also cast themselves into the Fire with their Husbands, disrepute following those who refuse it. They worship Idols, and most of them adore Cows, and would not eat so holy Flesh as Beef, for all the World. There are some called *Gauti*, who eat such Oxen as die of themselves, but may not kill them, and dawb over their Houses with Ox-dung. These *Gauti* are of the Posterity

of those which slew *St. Thomas*, and cannot enter the Place where his Body is. They sit on Carpets on the Ground in this Kingdom: They have no Corn but Rice; are not a martial People, kill no Beasts, but when they will eat any get the *Saracens* to do it, or other People; walk twice a-day, Morning and Evening, both Men and Women, and will not otherwise eat, which they who observe are accounted Hereticks. They touch not their Meat with their Left-hand, but use that Hand only to wipe, and for other unclean Uses. They drink each in his own Pot; and will not touch another Man's Pot, nor suffer their own to touch their Mouth, but hold it over, and pour it in. To Strangers who have no Pot they pour drink into his Hands, and oblige him to drink with them. Justice is severely administered for Crimes, and a Creditor may in some Cases encompass his Debtor with a Circle, which he dares not pass till he hath paid the Debt, or given Security; if he does, he is to be put to Death; and Master *Marco* once saw the King himself on Horse-back thus encircled by a Merchant, whom he had long delayed and put off, neither would the King go out of the Circle which the Merchant had drawn, till he had satisfied him, the People applauding the King's Justice. They are very scrupulous of drinking Wine made of the Grape, and they which do it are not thought worthy, or honest Men, or admitted to be Witnesses, a Thing denied also to him who sails by Sea, for they say such Men are desperate. They think Leachery no Sin. It is very hot, and they have no Rain but in *June*, *July*, and *August*; without which refreshing of the Air they could not live. They have many Physiognomists and Soothsayers, which observe Beasts and Birds, and have an unlucky Hour every Day in the Week, called *Cboiach*, as on *Monday*, betwixt two and three, on *Tuesday* the third Hour, and on *Wednesday* the ninth, &c. through all the Year, set down in their Books. They curiously observe Nativities. At thirteen Years old, they put their Boys to get their own Livings, who run up and down to buy and sell, having a small Stock given them to begin, and in Pearl Season they buy a few Pearls, and sell them again to the Merchants, which cannot well endure the Sun, for little Gain; what they get they bring to their Mothers to dress for them, for they may not eat at their Fathers Cost. They have Idols, male and female, to whom they offer their Daughters, who when the Monks or Priests appoint, sing and dance to the Idols, and very often set Victuals before them, saying that they eat, leaving it the Space of a Meal, singing all the while, and then they fall to eating in earnest; after which they return home. The Cause of these Sacrifices is the household Quarrels betwixt the God and Goddess, which, if they should appease, they should lose their Blessing. The great Men have Litters, made of large Canes, which they fasten artificially to some upper Place to prevent Tarantulas biting, and also Fleas and other Vermin, and for fresh Air.

The Place of *St. Thomas's* Sepulchre is a small City, not much frequented by Merchants, but very much by Christians and *Saracens* for Devotion. The *Saracens* hold him a great Prophet, and call him *Ananias*, that is, a holy Man. The Christians take of the Earth where he was slain, which is red, and carry it with them with great Reverence, and give it, mix'd with Water, to the Sick. A.D. 1288, a great Prince, having more Rice than Room to lay it in, made bold with *St. Thomas's* Church, in the Room where Pilgrims were received; but by a Vision of *St. Thomas* in the Night, was so terrified that he quickly left the Place. The Inhabitants are black, not so born, but became so by often anointing themselves with Jessamine Oil, to obtain that Beauty. They paint the Devil white, and their Idols black. The Cow-worshippers carry with them to Battle, some of the Hair of a wild Ox, as a Preservation against Dangers, and therefore such Hairs are sold at a high Price.

25. *Murfilli*, or *Manjal*, is northward from *Malabar* five hundred Miles; the Inhabitants are Idolaters. They have Diamonds in their Hills, which they search for after great Rains. Westward from *St. Thomas* is *Lac*, whence the *Bramins* have their Original, who are the honestest Merchants in the World, and will not lye for any thing,

and faithfully keep any thing committed to their Custody, or as Brokers sell or barter Merchandise for others. They are known by a Cotton-thread, which they wear over the Shoulders, tied under the Arm crossing the Breast. They have but one Wife, are great Astrologers, of great Abstinence, and long Life; observe their own Shadow in the Sun, when they are to buy, and thence conjecture according to the Rules of their Art. They constantly chew a certain Herb, which makes their Teeth good, and helps Digestion. There are some religious among them, called *Tangui*, who go altogether naked, live austere, worship Cows, of which they have little brass Images on their Forehead, and of the Ox Bone's Ashes make an Ointment, wherewith they anoint their Bodies in divers Places with great Reverence. They neither kill or eat any live Creature, nor Herb green, or Root before it is dried, esteeming every Thing to have a Soul. They use no Dishen, but lay their Victuals on dry Leaves of Apples of Paradise. They ease themselves in the Sands, and then disperse it hither and thither, lest it should breed Worms, which must die for want of Food. Some of them live to one hundred and fifty Years, and their Bodies, after Death, are buried.

In *Zeilan* I had forgot to mention a high Mountain, which none can ascend but by Iron Chains, as I was told, in the Top whereof the *Saracens* say is *Adam's* Sepulchre; the Idolaters say it is the Body of *Sagoman Barsban*, the first Idol Founder, Son to the King of that Island, who betook himself to a solitary Life on the Top of this Hill, from whence no Pleasures nor Persuasions could draw him, his Father made an Image after his Death to represent him, all of Gold, adorned with Garments, and commanded all the Islanders to worship it: And hence, as they say, began Idolatry. Hither they come from remote Places in Pilgrimage, and there his fore Teeth, and a Dish of his are reserved, and as holy Relicks solemnly shew'd. The *Saracens* say they, are of *Adam*, which Report caus'd the Khan, A. D. 1281, to send Embassadors thither, who obtained two Teeth and a Dish, and some of his Hairs, by Grant, from the King of *Zeilan*, which he caus'd to be received by the whole People of *Cambala* without the City, and brought to his Presence with great Honour.

Cal is a great City, governed by *Alor*, one of the four Brethren, who is very rich, also very kind to Merchants; he hath three hundred Concubines. All the People have a Custom to be continually chewing in their Mouths a Leaf called *Tembul*, with Spices and Lime. *Conlam* is five hundred Miles South-west from *Malabar*, they are Idolaters. There are also Christians and *Jews*, who have a Speech by themselves. They have Pepper, Brasil, Indico, Lions all black, Parrots of divers Sorts, all white as Snow, others azure, others red, and some small Peacocks and Peahens, very different from ours, and larger, as are their Fruits; they are lecherous, and marry their Sisters and near Kindred: There are many Astrologers and Physicians. In *Camari* are Apes so large, that they seem to be Men: And here we had a Sight of the North-star. *Delai* hath a King, and the Inhabitants have their own Language: The People are Idolaters, and have Plenty of Spices; the Ships of *Mangi* come thither. *Malabar* is a Kingdom in the West, in which, and in *Guzerat*, are many Pirates, who sometimes put to Sea with above an hundred Sail, and rob Merchants. They bring with them their Wives and Children, and there remain all Summer. In *Guzerat* is abundance of Cotton, the Trees six Fathoms high, and last twenty Years; the Cotton of these Trees is not fit to spin, after they are above twelve Years old, but for Quits: There are many Rhinoceros's. In *Canbau* is Store of Frankincense. It is a great City, where is great Trade for Horses. In *Cambaia* is much Indico, Buckram, and Cotton. *Semenab* is a Kingdom of a peculiar Language, they are Idolaters, Merchants, and a good People. *Rejmatoran* is a great Kingdom of Idolaters and *Saracens*. The last Province of the *Greater India*, towards the North-west is five hundred Miles, near which are said to be two Islands, one of Men and the other of Women, those coming to these, and there stay in *March*, *April*, and *May*. The Women keep their Sons till twelve Years, and then send them to their Fathers. It seems the Air of that

Country admits no other Course: They are Christians, and have their Bishop, subject to the Bishop of *Seeswa*; they are good Fishermen, and have Store of Amber. *Seeswa* hath an Archbishop, not subject to the Pope, but to one *Zatulia*, who resides at *Baldach*, who chooseth him. The *Saracens* are Enchanters, as great as any in the World, though excommunicated therefore by their Prebys, and raise Winds to bring back such Ships as have wronged them, till they obtain Satisfaction.

26. A thousand Miles thence Southward, is *Moghe*, one of the greatest and richest Isles in the World, three thousand Miles in Circuit, inhabited by *Saracens*, governed by four old Men; the People live by Merchandize, and sell vast Quantities of Elephants Teeth. The Currents in these Parts are of exceeding Force. They report strange Stories of Fowls, called *Ruch*, like an Eagle, but of incomparable Bigness. *Zinfibar* also is said to be of great Length, &c. There are Elephants, Giraffes, and Sheep, very unlike to ours; the Men and Women very deformed. I have heard Mariners and skilful Pilots of those Parts report, and have seen in their Writings, which have compassed the Sea of *India*, that there are in it twelve thousand and seven hundred Islands uninhabited and desert. In *India Major*, which is from *Malabar* to *Cheymanan*, are thirteen Kingdoms.

India Minor is from *Ziambo* to *Musli*, in which are eight Kingdoms, besides many Islands. The second, or middle *India*, is called *Abassia*, the chief King a Christian. There are six other Kings, three Christians, and three *Saracens*, subject to him; there are also Jews. St. *Thomas* having preached in *Nubia*, came to *Abassia*, and there did the like, and went afterwards to *Malabar*. They are very valiant Soldiers, always in Arms against the Souldan of *Aden*, and the People of *Nubia*. I heard that A. D. 1288, the Great Emperor of the *Abissines* would have visited *Jerusalem*, but being dissuaded by reason of the *Saracen* Kingdoms in the Way, he sent a Bishop of holy Life to perform his Devotions, who in his Return was taken by the Souldan of *Aden*, and circumcised by Force, wherupon the *Abissine* Monarch raised an Army, overcome the Souldan, with two other *Mohammedan* Kings, took and spoiled *Aden*. *Abassia* is rich in Gold, *Hyser* is subject to *Aden*, forty Miles distant South-East, where is plenty of white Frankincense, very good, which drops from small Trees by Incision of the Bark, a rich Merchandize, &c. Some in that Country, for want of Corn, make Biskuit of Fish, of which they have great Plenty: They also feed their Beasts with Fish. They take them in *March*, *April*, and *May*.

27. After having spoken of the Provinces on the Coast, I will now return to some Provinces more to the North, where many *Tartars* dwell, which have a King called *Gadai*, of the Race of *Zingis-Khan*, but subject to none. These observe the Customs of their Ancestors, dwell not in Cities, Castles, or Fortresses, but dwell with their King in the Fields, Plains, Vallies and Forests, and are esteemed true *Tartars*. They have no sort of Corn, but live on Flesh and Milk, in great Peace. They have multitudes of Horses, Kine, Sheep, and other Beasts. There are found great white Bears, twenty Palms long, black Foxes, very large, wild Asses, and little Beasts called *Kandai*, which bear the Sable-Furs, and *Variaicolini*, and those which are called *Pbaraob's* Rats, which the *Tartars* are skilful in taking. The great Lakes which are frozen, except in a few Months in the Year, are the Cause, that in the Summer it is scarce to be travelled for Mire, and therefore the Merchants in going to buy their Furs, for fourteen Days Journey through the Desert, have let up for each Day a House of Wood, where they barter with the Inhabitants, and in Winter they use Siegdes without Wheels, and plain on the Bottom, riding with a Semicircle at the Top, or End, which are drawn on the Ice, by Beasts like great Dogs, by Couples, the Sledge-Man only with his Merchant and Furs sitting therein.

At the Extremity of the Region of these *Tartars*, is a Country reaching to the farthest North, called the obscure Land, because the most Part of the Winter Months the Sun appears not, and the Air is thick and darkish, as sometimes in the Morning with us. The Men there are pale

and squat, have no Prince, and live like Beasts. The *Tartars* often rob them of their Cattle in those dark Months, and lest they should lose their Way, they ride on Mares which have Colts sucking, which they leave with a Guard at the Entrance of that Country, where the Light beginneth to fail, and when they have taken their Prey, give Reins to the Mares, which halten to their Colts. In their long continued Summer, they take many of the finest Furs (one Occasion of the *Tartars* going to rob them) of which I have heard some are brought into *Russia*. *Russia* is a great Country near that Northern Darknefs. The People are *Greek* Christians, the Men and Women fair, and pay Tribute to the King of the *Tartars* of the West, on whom they border. On the East there is plenty of Furs, Wax, and Mines of Silver; it reaches, as I was told, to the Ocean Sea, in which are Islands that abound in Ger-Falcons and Falcons.

28. We are now arrived at the Close of this Author's Writings, and therefore are the more capable of judging of the Particulars they contain, which was the Reason that I left some Points to be considered here, which I should otherwise have thrown under the Head of Objections. Some critical Readers have affected to doubt, whether our Author, or rather his Performance, deserves Credit, from the Account that is given of the Manner in which it was wrote, and from the different Stories that we have told of the Original. We have already accounted for the Mistakes that have been made on this Head, and shall here only take Notice, that *Francis Pipin*, of the Order of Preachers, who made a *Latin* Translation of our Author's Work, tells us in his Preface, that from the Report of his Domesticks, he was satisfied that *Marco Polo* was a Man of great Prudence, remarkably honest, and one who had the fairest Character that could be. It is not very easy to conceive, that such a Man should expose that Credit which he had been at so much Pains to establish, by sending into the World an indigested Heap of Fictions and Romances. But the same Person informs us farther, that Signior *Nicolo Polo*, the Father of our Author, was the most esteemed, and best beloved Man of his Time, and that he constantly reported the very same Facts, during his whole Life, which his Son published in his Works; and as for his Uncle Signior *Maffio*, who enjoyed some of the principal Offices in the Government at *Venice*, and distinguished himself by his Wisdom and Integrity, when he was upon his Death-Bed, he took particular Care to assure his Confessor, that he had reviewed his Nephew's Work, and that he was fully satisfied, that there was nothing in it that was not strictly true, and this he gave him Leave to declare for the Satisfaction of the World. Here then are three credible Witnesses to the same Facts, and therefore, according to all the Laws of Evidence, they ought to be looked upon as thoroughly established.

We must however distinguish between such Facts as our Author reports from his own Knowledge, and those which are grounded only on hear-say and Information. We may accuse an Author of Credulity or Imprudence, who inserts strange and improbable things in his Writings, but we cannot with Justice charge him with Infidelity or Falshood on that Head, and we ought also to make some Allowance for the Genius of the Time in which he wrote, because it cannot be presumed, that even the wisest and most prudent Man can be totally free from the Errors of the Age in which he flourished: It may not be amiss to give a few Instances with regard to our Author.

In the twenty-fifth Chapter, there is an Account of Diamond Mines, in the Kingdom of *Murfil*, where we have omitted a Passage that is to be met with in most of the Editions of our Author, because it is reported on the Credit of the Inhabitants, and we were willing to examine it by itself, that the Reader might perceive we had no Intention to impose upon him those Improbabilities which had been imposed upon our Author himself. After having told us, that Diamonds are found there at the Bottom of the rocky Mountains, after the rainy Season is over, he proceeds thus: "They also in the Summer-Time ascend these Mountains, though with great Difficulty, because of the Vehemence of the Heat, and find abundance of those precious Stones among the Gravel. In this they

"are likewise much exposed to Danger from the vast Number of Serpents of enormous Size, which shelter themselves in the Holes and Caverns of these Rocks, where, nevertheless, they find Diamonds in the greatest Abundance. Among other Methods of obtaining them, they make use of this: There are abundance of white Eagles that rest in the upper Part of those Rocks, for the sake of feeding on the Serpents, and in the deep Valleys and Precipices, where Men are afraid to venture themselves, they throw Pieces of raw Meat, which the Eagles perceiving, immediately stoop and seize it, with all the little Stones and Gravel that adhere to these moist Pieces of Meat. Such as search for Diamonds watch the Eagles Nests, and when they leave them, pick up such little Stones, and search likewise for Diamonds among the Eagles Dung. The Kings and Great Men in this Country keep the fairest and finest of these Stones to themselves, and suffer the Merchants to sell the rest.

The famous *Julius Caesar Scaliger* was extremely offended with this Relation, which he treats with the utmost Contempt, and seems to wonder at the Assurance of a Writer that expects Stories of this kind should gain Credit: Yet, after all, I do not see that there is any great Harm in our Author's relating this Tale, however improbable it may seem, since without doubt he received it from the Inhabitants, and what Motives they had to tell him such a Story, is not very difficult to guess. The native *Indians*, in all the Revolutions that have happened in the Countries where they live, have preserved this Trade in their own Hands, and by Fables of one sort or other kept Strangers from attempting to interfere with them. Our Author was very probably the first *European* that was ever at the Diamond Mines, and therefore we have the less Reason to be surprized at his being imposed upon, in an Affair of which he could not be a competent Judge.

But to make the Reader some Amends for so imperfect a Relation of the manner in which this valuable Trade is carried on, I shall take this Opportunity of inserting the best Account of the Matter that I believe has been hitherto given by one who was an Eye-witness of it in the Year 1680, and that too in the very Country known to our Author by the Name of the Kingdom of *Murfil*. "The Diamonds are so scattered and dispersed in the Earth, and lie so thin, that in the most plentiful Mines it is rare to find one in digging, or till they have prepared the Stuff, and searched purposely for them: They are also frequently enclosed in Clods; and some of those of *Makwilled*; and the new Mines in the Kingdom of *Goleonda* have the Earth so fixed about them, that till they grind them on a rough Stone with Sand, they cannot move it sufficiently to discover they are transparent, or were it not for their Shapes, to know them from other Stones. At the first opening of the Mine, the unskilful Labourers sometimes, to try what they have found, lay them on a great Stone, and striking on them with another, to their costly Experience discover they have broken a Diamond. One I know who had an excellent Stone of eight Mangelans, that is, thirty-two Grains, served so by ignorant Miners he employed. Near the Place where they dig they raise a Wall, with such rugged Stones as they find at hand, whereof all the Mines afford Plenty, of about two Foot high, and six Foot over, flooring it well with the same; for the laying of which they have no other Mortar than the Earth tempered with Water. To strengthen and make it tight, they throw up a Bank against the Side of it, in one Part whereof they leave a small Vent about two Inches from the Bottom, by which it empties itself into a little Pit made in the Earth to receive small Stones, if by chance any should run through. The Vent being stopp'd, they fill the Cistern they have made with Water, soaking therein as much of the Earth they dig out of the Mine as it can conveniently receive at a time, breaking the Clods, picking out the great Stones, and stirring it with Shovels till the Water is all muddy, the gravelly Stuff falling to the Bottom; then they open the Vent, letting out the foul Water, and supply it with clean, till all the earthy Substance be washed away, and none but a gravelly one remains at the Bottom. Thus they continue washing till about Ten of the Clock before Noon, when they

" they take the gravelly Stuff they have washed, and spread it on a Place made plain and smooth for that Purpose near the Cistern, which being so dried by the Heat of the Sun at that Time of the Day, they very curiously look it over, that the smallest Bit of a Stone can hardly escape them. They never examine the Stuff they have washed, but between the Hours of Ten and Three, lest any Cloud, by interposing, intercept the brisk Beams of the Sun, which they hold very necessary to assist them in their Search, the Diamonds constantly reflecting them when they shine on them, rendering themselves thereby the more conspicuous.

" Some of the expertest Labourers are employed in searching, he that lets them at work usually sitting by, and over-looking; but it is hardly possible, especially where many are employed, to watch them so narrowly, but that they may steal part of what they find, as many times some of them do, and selling it privately, convert it to their own Use. If they find a large Stone, they carry it not presently to their Employer, but keep on looking, having an Eye on him, till they observe he takes notice of it, when with the Turn of their Hand, they give him a Glimpse of it, but deliver it not till they have done Work, and then very privately, it being the general Endeavour to conceal what they find, lest it should come to the Knowledge of the Governor of the Place, and he requires a Share, which in the Kingdom of *Colconda* is usually practised, without any Respect to the Agreement made with them. The Miners, those that employ them, and the Merchants that buy the Stones of them, are usually *Pagans*, not a Muslem, that ever I heard of, followed the Employment. These Labourers, and their Employers, are *Tellinga's*, commonly Natives of, or near the Place. The Merchants are the *Banians* of *Gazzerat*, who for some Generations have forsaken their own Country to take up this Trade in which they have had such Success, that 'tis now solely engrossed by them, who, corresponding with their Countrymen in *Suxat*, *Goo*, *Colconda*, *Vishnagore*, *Agra*, and *Dila*, and other Places in *India*, furnish them all with Diamonds.

" The Governors of the Mines are also Idolaters. In the King of *Colconda's* Dominions a *Tellinga Brammee* rents most of them, whose Agreement with the Adventurer is, that all the Stones found under a *Pagoda* Weight are to be their own; all that Weight and above is to be his, for the King's Use. But although this Agreement be signed and sealed, he minds not at all the Performance thereof, but endeavours to engross all the Profit to himself, by tyrannically squeezing both Merchants and Miners, who he not only taxes very high, but maintaineth Spies among them of their own People. On the least Suspicion that they have been any ways fortunate, he immediately makes a Demand on them, and raises their Tax, etc on a false Pretence, they have found a great Stone, drubs them till they surrender what they have, to redeem their Bodies from Torture.

" Besides, the Excise is so high on all sorts of Provisions, Beets and Tobacco, which with them are esteemed necessary, that the Price of all Things is doubled; by which Course there is hardly a Man to be found worth five hundred Pounds amongst them, most of them dealing by Monies taken up at Interest of Usurers, who reside there purposely to furnish them, who with the Governor eat up their Gains, so that one would wonder any of them should stay, and not betake themselves to Places where they might have better Usage, as there are many in other Governments, and some few that have the Sense to remove; but many their Debts, others Hopes of a great Hit, detains. Both Merchant and Miner go generally naked, only a poor Cloth about their Middle, and their Sash on their Heads; they dare not wear a Coat, lest the Governor should say they have thriven much, and are rich, and so enlarge his Demands on them. The wilest, when they find a great Stone, conceal it till they have an Opportunity, and then with Women & Children run all away into the *Vishnagore* Country, where they are secure. The Government in the *Tellinga Country* observes the same Agreements observed, *Tellinga's* are not less Importunate on Provisions;

" the Merchants go handsomely clad, among whom are several Persons of considerable Estates, which they are permitted to enjoy peaceably, by reason whereof these Mines are much more populous, and better employed than those of *Colconda*."

It is for the same Reason, that I have omitted another improbable Story of a Bird called a *Kuc*, of such a monstrous Size, as to be able to carry an Elephant into the Air, which Absurdities our Author was probably induced to believe, by the strange Things he daily saw in these Parts of the World, and of which the People in *Europe* had not so much as the least Idea. These Omissions I thought requisite for keeping the Work within Bounds, as having no Inclination to try the Patience of my Readers, by inserting any more of these old Travels than seem absolutely necessary for connecting the several Parts of this Discourse, and shewing how, in what Manner, and by whom those great Discoveries were made, which enabled the different Nations in *Europe* to carry on so great a Trade as they do to all Parts of the *East-Indies*. This, without doubt, was originally owing to this Work of *Marco Polo*, who, though no Geographer or Seaman himself, yet left such clear and evident Proofs of the Possibility of reaching the most distant Parts of *Asia* by Sea, that his Work was more esteemed in *Portugal*, where the first Spirit of Discovery appeared, than in *Italy* itself. It remains, in this Place, to give a short Account of the Names by which he has distinguished the Countries he visited, and particularly to answer the great Objection raised against his Work, from his not making any Mention of the famous Wall in *China* for keeping out the *Tartars*, which shall be done in as few Words as possible.

Our Author following exactly the Sentiments of the *Tartars*, distinguishes all this great Country into two Parts, viz. *Cathay* and *Mangi*, about which many Doubts have been raised, and many Disputes set on Foot without any just Grounds, since it is very plain, that under the Denomination of *Cathay*, *Marco Polo* comprehends the six northern Provinces of *China*; and under that of *Mangi* the nine Southern Provinces, which are separated from the former by the great River *Kiang*; and when we come hereafter to treat of the present State of the Empire of *China*, we shall take Occasion to shew, that this Description of his agrees very well with the best Accounts of that Empire. This will be the more intelligible to the Reader, when he is informed, that the *Tartars* still preserve their very Forms of Speech, that is to say, give the Name of *Cathay* to the Northern Parts, and that of *Mangi* to the Southern Provinces of *China*. As to this latter, it is a Name of Contempt, for *Mangi*, in the *Tartar* Tongue, implies *Barbarians*, and so they esteemed the *Chinese* to be, not from the Brutality of their Manners, but from their extravagant Haughtiness and Pride, and especially from that intolerable Hatred and Contempt with which they treated the *Tartars* themselves. The plain Reason why our Author did not mention the famous Wall in *China*, was, because he entered it by the southern Provinces; and as he confines himself to the Places he saw, or to such as were in their Neighbourhood, and prosecutes his Description from the Western Parts of *China* to the Sea, it was impossible he should take Notice of it; so that when we consider this Matter attentively, it is very plain, that the Circumstance, instead of lessening the Credit of *Marco Polo*, ought, in Truth, to strengthen it very much, since it is a convincing Proof of the Truth of what he has asserted in relation to his own Travels, and his Descriptions of the Countries through which he passed; and evidently shews, he did not amuse himself with Accounts of Countries and Provinces of which he could say nothing but from Report, to which, if he had listened, his Relation must have been much more obscure and perplexed than we find it at present. But it is now Time to proceed to the Conclusion of this Section, by shewing the Advantages that may be obtained by the Perusal of *Marco Polo's* Travels, in order to the thorough Understanding of our Subject. And this we shall perform as concisely as possible, and in such a Manner as may disengage us from the Necessity of looking into any more of these old Writers for the future.

39. As the Inhabitants of *Europe* received the first distant Accounts of the vast Country of *China* from our industrious *Venetians*, so from them likewise they had the clearest and best Account of the Revolutions that had happened in that Empire by the Power of the *Tartars*; a Thing of such Consequence to the right Understanding what subsequent Travellers have related, that I will be bold to say all the Difficulties and Discouragements that have been thrown in our Way, and have so long hindered our making a right Use of the many Collections of Travels already published, have arisen in part from a Humour that for some Time prevailed, of treating *Marco Polo's* Relation as a Romance, and partly through the Mistakes made by those, who for Want of having sufficient Lights, and the Materials that were requisite, undertook to explain the History of the Irruptions of the *Tartars* into *China*, and endeavoured to make the Dates and Facts mentioned in these Travels, fall in with their Accounts, accusing, at every turn, the Author of Errors and Faults, of which themselves only were guilty. To remedy these Disorders, and to make the Way plainer for the future, we shall, without running into a long Discussion of what other Writers have advanced, observe, that there have been three distinct Conquests of *China* made by the *Tartars*, of each of which we shall give a clear and distinct Account in very few Words. The first of these was by the Eastern *Tartars*, who, before the Time of *Zingis-Khan*, made themselves Masters of the Northern Provinces of *China*, and fixed the Seat of their Empire at *Khanbalick*, *Cambalu*, or *Pekin*; and this, as I conceive, gave Rise to what is called the Empire of *Catbay*; concerning which, all our ancient Writers in general deliver themselves with so much Confusion, sometimes representing *Catbay* as a Part of *Tartary*, sometimes again comprehending under that Name the whole Empire of *China*; and at others, distinguishing it from both. But from this Distinction, it clearly appears, that though the ancient Empire of *Catbay* was situated in *China*, yet it was an Empire raised by the *Tartars*; and that from want of attending to this, so many Mistakes have been introduced.

The Prince who governed *Catbay* in the Time of *Zingis-Khan* was *Altan-Khan*, against whom that great Conqueror made his first Attempt, in the Year 1206, and that with such Success as to oblige this Monarch, after various Defeats, to shut himself up in the City of *Cambalu*, and to sue for a Peace, which, with much Difficulty, he obtained; for the Confirmation of which he gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Zingis-Khan*. This Peace was but of very short Continuance; for *Altan-Khan*, having a Jealousy that some of his Nobility held Intelligence with his Enemy, he put many of them to death; and finding the northern Parts of his Dominions in a manner wasted and depopulated by the late Invasion, he retired to the City of *Nankin*, which his Father had fortified with three Walls, the last of which was forty Leagues in Circuit, and left his Son in Possession of *Khanbalick* and of the adjacent Countries. The rest of the Nobility, enraged at the Instances of Severity before-mentioned, and at the same time doubting their own Safety, had immediate Recourse to *Zingis-Khan*, and drew him a second Time into *Catbay*, where he made himself Master of the Imperial City of *Cambalu*; the News of which Accident affected *Altan-Khan* to such a Degree, that he poisoned himself. This happened about the Year 1210; and thus the *Tartars* became Masters of the northern Parts of *China*. They continued their Conquests under the Reign of the Successors of *Zingis-Khan*, till the Emperor, who reigned when our Author was in these Parts, *viz.* *Coplai-Khan*, who in the Year 1278, completed the Conquest of *Mangi*, or the southern Parts of *China*.

The Bounds of *Zingis-Khan's* Conquests on this Side, was the River *Hoang*; but his Successors annexed all the Country between that River and the River of *Kiang*. All the rest were subdued by *Coplai-Khan*, and his General *Pekin*. This was the second Conquest made by the *Tartars*, who not only destroyed the Empire formerly established by their Countrymen in *Catbay*, but also that of the native *Chinese*, which had subsisted for so many Ages. This short Recapitulation sets this Affair in its true Light,

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and not only explains what *Marco Polo* has told us, and reconciles his Accounts with those of later Authors, but also connects his Relation with that of *Rubruquis*, and even those of the *Arabian Travellers*; so that taking the whole together, we have a clear and satisfactory View of the Affairs of *China*, to that which I call the second Conquest by the *Tartars*; but as the Affairs of this Country were entirely changed again before the Arrival of the *Portuguese* by the Way of the *Cape of Good Hope*, I think it will be for the Reader's Ease and Advantage to have this History conducted to its Close before we enter upon the Discoveries and Conquests of the *Portuguese*, because otherwise, when we come to speak of the *Chinese* as again in the Possession of their Country, and again driven out and conquered by the *Tartars*, it must necessarily introduce infinite Confusion. It is from the *Chinese* Writers that we have the Reigns of the *Tartar* Emperors who succeeded *Coplai-Khan*, and of whom there is very little mention made in the Histories of the *Tartars*.

The *Chinese*, as I before observed, called this new Imperial Family *Tsun*, and bestowed the Name of *Cbi-Tjou* upon *Copli-Khan*, of whom their Histories speak with the utmost Reverence, and whom they celebrate, for his having opened the great Canal mentioned by our Author, and which has been ever since justly considered as one of the Wonders of *China*. It is three hundred Leagues in Length, and nine thousand Imperial Barks are constantly employed thereon, in transporting the Tributes of the southern Provinces to *Cambalu* or *Pekin*, and in other Services. These Writers place the Death of this Emperor somewhat lower than the *Tartar* Historians; for the former say, that he lived to the Age of fourscore, and died A. D. 1295, whereas the latter place that Event in 1292. He was succeeded in the Empire by his Grandson, whom our Author calls *Timur*; but in the *Chinese* Chronicles he is styled *Tching-Tjong*; and as his Grandfather excelled in Power, so he distinguished himself by his Clemency and the Love of his Subjects. After him reigned seven other Princes of his Family, all of whom were no less illustrious on the score of their personal Virtues, than glorious from their possessing so large an Empire: And it is very remarkable, that the *Chinese* History renders to great Justice to this foreign Race of Princes, as to stile the Period in which they ruled over *China*, the wise Administration. The last of them was *Chun-ti*, a Prince of great natural Endowments, but who unfortunately gave himself up to Pleasures and Women, leaving the Management of the Affairs of the Empire entirely to his Prime Minister. The *Tartar* Soldiers, through so long a Peace, had lost their original Discipline, and were become slothful and effeminate, which so raised the Courage of the *Chinese*, that they began to shew a Disposition to revolt; and one *Tchou*, an obscure Person, who had been no better than a Footman, having put himself at the Head of a Body of Malcontents, reduced many of the great Cities in the Empire; and became, by Degrees, so powerful, that he twice defeated the Imperial Army, and at last forced the *Tartars* to abandon *China*, after they had been possessed of it ninety-nine Years. This Revolution happened in 1370; and *Tchou* having by his Success in this War raised himself to the Imperial Throne, assumed the Name of *Tai Tjou*, and fixed his Imperial Residence in the City of *Nankin*. And thus it was that the *Chinese*, having expelled their Conquerors, recovered the Dominion of their own Country.

As for the Emperor *Chun-ti*, he retired with his *Tartar* Subjects northwards, and died of Grief and Vexation about two Years after this Revolution happened. The *Tartars* that were thus expelled, having a strong Tincture of the *Chinese* Customs, did not join with the rest of the *Moguls*, but settled themselves in the Country of *Leaton*, and were, from this Time forward, stiled the *Nieuchen Moguls*, or *Moguls of the East*, to distinguish them from the other *Moguls*, who were called *Moguls of the West*.

This desert Country they cultivated with the utmost Care, built therein several considerable Cities, and practised that Industry which they had learned by conversing so long with the *Chinese*; yet, in some Respects, they still retained a Tincture of their ancient Manners; for, instead

of remaining firm and united, which seemed to be the only Means left for recovering again the Dominions they had lost, they split themselves into several little Principalities, under so many Khans; who, though their Territories were not very wide, maintained nevertheless their Independency. Among the most considerable of those Cities which they erected, were *Kirin*, *Ula*, and *Kinkrisa*, all three of them seated on the West Bank of the River *Sangor*, which falls into the great River *Amur* about twelve Days Journey above its Mouth. The City of *Kirin* is distant from the Province of *Leaton* about three hundred and sixty Miles. The City of *Ula* is in Latitude $44^{\circ} 20'$ N. and was considered as the Capital of the *Nicubien* *Moguls*. The Khan of *Ula* however was far from being a considerable Prince, had no sort of Superiority over the rest of the Khans of the Eastern *Tartars*, was without Allies or Resources beyond the Power of his own Subjects; and yet, as we shall shew hereafter, it was this Khan *Ula*, that had the Courage to undertake, and the good Fortune to accomplish the third Conquest of *China*: But at present we will leave the *Tartars* cultivating their Delights, and return to the new-founded Empire of *Tebou*, and his Descendants.

The Dynasty, founded by this Prince, was called *Ming*, and the Emperor, who, as I have said before, assumed the Name of *Tai Tsong*, reigned thirty-one Years with great Glory, and left the Empire to his Grandson, who perished in a Civil War, and was succeeded by his Uncle, who, having been formerly King of *Peking*, transferred the Seat of the Empire thither. The sixth Emperor of this Family was *Ting Tsong*, under whose Reign the *Tartars* made new Incursions into *China*; to oppose them, the Emperor marched at the Head of a great Army, and pursuing them considerably beyond the famous Wall, they suddenly faced-about, attacked, and defeated the *Chinese*, making the Emperor Prisoner. His Son, who was but two Years old, was advanced to the Empire, and the Brother of the captive Emperor, whose Name was *King Ti*, declared Protector, which Promotion gave him an Opportunity of seizing the Empire. The *Tartars*, some Time after, released *Ting Tsong*, who chose however to lead a private Life, and leave his Brother in Possession of the Empire, which he enjoyed to his Death; and then the old Emperor was again seated on the Throne.

The eleventh Emperor of this Race was *Chi Tsong*, who had the good Fortune to defeat the *Tartars* in several Battles; and it was under his Reign that the famous *Francis Xavier* preached the Christian Religion in the East, where he died in 1552. The Emperor *Chi Tsong* reigned forty-five Years, in the latter Part of which the Government began to decline very sensibly, as it continued to do under all his Successors, down to *Hoai Tsong*, who was the sixteenth and last Emperor of the Family of *Ming*. It was under his Reign that *Zungt-by*, who was Khan of *Ula*, formed the Design of making himself Master of *China*, notwithstanding that all the Force he was able to raise did not exceed fifteen thousand Horses. He began with entering into private Intrigues with some of the *Chinese* Mandarins, who were exiled into the Province of *Leaton*, by whose Assistance, he soon became Master of a great Part of that Province. The Emperor sent against him an Army more than sufficient to have forced him back into his own Country; but he had so much Address, as to prevent the principal Officers of this Army from doing their Duty; so that by Degrees, he mastered all the rest of that Province, and at last took Possession of its Capital.

While this Scene was transacted in the East, and the whole Force of the *Chinese* Empire employed there to so

little Purpose, new Troubles arose in the Western Provinces, where several Bands of Thieves and Highway-men committed the most extravagant Outrages; and, at last, under the Command of one *Lycoungz*, an obscure and infamous Fellow, plundered several Cities, and even whole Provinces, which encreased the Number of their Forces, the Rebel had at last sufficient Power to attempt the Subversion of the Empire. It was with this View that he marched directly to *Pekin*, where in three Days he became Master of the Place, and the Emperor finding himself abandoned, hanged himself on a Tree in his Garden. *Lycoungz* immediately took the Title of Emperor, and endeavoured, by all the Methods he could devise, to bring over to his Interest *Ou-fan-guei*, who was General of the Army sent against the *Tartars*, and the only Person capable of disputing with him the Possession of *China*. That General however rejected all his Offers with Contempt, which obliged *Lycoungz* to take the Field once again, and to march against him with his numerous Army: *Ou-fan-guei*, who saw that it was simply impossible for him to think of making head at once against the Usurper and the *Tartars*, resolved to make Terms with the latter Enemy of the two, and thereupon invited *Zungt-by* to come to his Assistance.

This was precisely what the *Tartar* Prince desired, and therefore he made no Difficulty of complying with his Demand. He left five thousand of his own Troops in the Province of *Leaton*, and then marched with ten thousand *Tartars*, and twenty thousand of the Inhabitants of our Country to the Relief of the *Chinese* General, who received him with great Joy. They marched together directly towards the Usurper, and when they were upon the Point of giving him Battle, *Zungt-by* observed, in a Conference he had with the *Chinese* General, that, as the left Part of the Forces of the Empire, and especially those of the southern and western Provinces were extremely afraid of the *Tartars*, it would be very expedient for him to cut the Tails of his Horses after their Manner; by which Means the Army of the Usurper would take them all for *Tartars*. *Ou-fan-guei* following the Advice of the Khan, it had for good an Effect, that the Rebels were totally defeated, and *Lycoungz* obliged to fly with the Remainder of his Army towards *Pekin*. The victorious Allies continued their Pursuit without the least Intermision; and on their drawing near the City, the *Chinese* General made Proclamation, that all such as did not take part with the Usurper, should trim their Horses after the Manner of the *Tartars*, that they might the more easily distinguish them on all Occasions. This Stratagem had as great an Effect as a second Victory: Such Multitudes declared themselves against the Usurper, that finding it absolutely impossible to maintain his Ground, he first plundered the Imperial City, and then retired with his Army loaded with Booty. When the Allies were in Possession of *Pekin*, it was agreed that *Zungt-by*, with his Forces, should remain there for the Security of the Place, and that *Ou-fan-guei*, with his Army, should pursue the Usurper till such Times as a End could be put to the War.

The same Arts, or rather the same Virtues by which the *Tartar* Prince had gained the Affections of the People of *Leaton*, produced the like Consequences amongst the Inhabitants of *Pekin*; and, as on the one hand, they were weary of living without the Support and Protection of a Governor, so they flattered themselves on the other, with enjoying all imaginable Happiness under a Prince of so much Humanity and so great Abilities as *Zungt-by*, and therefore, almost of their own Accord, they declared him Emperor in the Absence of the *Chinese* General, who had himself Views upon the Throne, in which he had very

* At present all the Eastern *Tartary* is subject to the *Chinese* Emperors, and is divided into two Parts; the first contains what may be called the secondary Dominions of the Family now reigning in *China*. It is divided into three Governments, and the Inhabitants are distinguished by the Name of *Mandchou*. The Capital of this Country is called by the Inhabitants themselves *Mingpoo*, but by the *Chinese* *Chin-Yang*, which, at this Day, is well peopled, and well fortified City, where there is a Sovereign Tribunal for deciding all Affairs that relate to the Dominion of *Tartary*. The second Part of this Country is still under the Dominion of its own Princes, who have the Title of Khans, which they receive from, and are Vassals to the Emperor of *China*. The Inhabitants are called simply *Mogols*, or *Mongols*, and the Country passes also under the same Denomination.

As it is not my Intention to give the Reader here a History of *China*, but barely to mention such Facts as may be necessary to explain what has been related before, and may occur in succeeding Voyages, I did not think myself obliged to mention all the Emperors of this Family, and therefore have touched only on the Reigns of such as might best answer my Purpose.

These Facts are somewhat differently related by different Historians; but I have given them the Reader from the Collection of a Person who has taken great Pains to make himself Master of the *Chinese* History, which he may probably be prevailed upon to publish when he thinks it expedient enough to bear the Inspection of the Critics.

probably succeeded, if he had not been thus out-witted by the *Tartar Zung-bi*, who foreseeing how different a thing it might prove for him to maintain himself in Possession of so great an Empire, with such a handful of Forces, was no sooner seated on the Imperial Throne, than he instantly dispatched Advice of his good Fortune to the Khans of *East Tartary*, who were Princes of his own Family, inviting them to come, and share with him in so rich a Conquest. This was certainly a good Expedient for securing himself against the Fickleness, or Infidelity of the *Chinese*; but at the same Time, it visibly exposed the new Emperor to the Danger of being undone by his Auxiliaries; for the Khans of the *Tartars*, who on the first Summons hastened to his Assistance, had certainly in View, the dividing the *Chinese* Empire amongst them; but *Zung-bi* was a Prince of such Wisdom and Penetration, that he immediately discovered the Danger to which he stood exposed, and provided against it, with a Sagacity equal to his Penetration. He divided these Corps of *Tartars* as soon as they entered his Dominions, sent for several of their Princes to *Pekin*, and in a short Time so separated them from each other, that they became absolutely his Subjects, and were unable to act otherwise than was conducive to his Service. In the Conquest and Settlement of *China*, this *Tartar* Prince shewed all the Courage and Capacity of *Julius*, all the Policy and Conduct of *Augustus Cæsar*, by which he thoroughly accomplished the third Conquest of *China* by the *Tartars*, which happened in one thousand six hundred forty and four, after the *Chinese* had preserved their Freedom for two hundred sixty-six Years^a.

This new Race of *Tartar* Princes, which still continue to reign in *China*, for the twenty-second Dynasty of their Monarchs, which is distinguished by the Name of *Ying*, it is however very remarkable, that *Zung-bi* is not accounted the first of those Emperors, because he died almost as soon as he was seated on his Throne, and before he was entirely possessed of *China*, leaving the Empire to his Son *Chun-Tchi*, who was then no more than six Years old, and to whom his dying Father assigned his Brother *Ana-Van* for his Guardian. So early a Minority, one would have imagined, must have been fatal to the new raised Empire; but *Ana-Van*, during the Non-Age of his Nephew, conducted all things with so much Wisdom and Fidelity, that when the young Emperor came to take the Reins of Government into his own Hands, he found himself in as full Possession of his Dominions, as if they had descended to him from a long Line of Ancestors. The Emperor *Chun-Tchi* was himself a Person of extraordinary Abilities, easy and affable amongst his Soldiers, wise and prudent in his Councils, and so refined a Politician, that under Colour of executing the Laws with Exactness, he took off all the great Men in *China* that were capable of giving him either Jealousy or Disturbance; so that after a Reign of seventeen Years, he left the Empire perfectly settled to his Son, who was but eight Years old.

The Name of this Prince was *Cang-bi*, he was raised to the Throne in the Year 1662, and, during his Minority, the Empire was governed by four great Ministers, who executed their Offices with the greatest Wisdom and Integrity, so that this second Minority proved not in the least dangerous to the Empire. It is true, that the famous *Chinese* General *Ousanguei*, took the Advantage of it, and endeavoured to shake off the Yoke of the *Tartars*, of whom with equal Wit and Wisdom, he said, that he had called in Lions to assist him in hunting Dogs. He had some Success at the Beginning, and might probably have secured at least some Part of the Empire for himself and his Posterity, if he had not been very old at the Time of his Revolt, and died not long after, which gave the Emperor's Ministers an Opportunity of taking such Mea-

sures, as put it out of the Power of the *Chinese* to rebel for the future. *Cang-bi* fell nothing short, either of his Father or his Grandfather, so that it may be reckoned an extraordinary Felicity, in this Family, that for three Generations, there were as great Princes of it as perhaps of any other in the World. This Emperor was extremely careful with regard to two Points, the encouraging and distinguishing his *Tartar* Subjects, and behaving with the utmost Justice and Moderation towards the *Chinese*.

In the Beginning of his Reign indeed, he committed some necessary Acts of Severity, but when he found that he had by this Means absolutely broken the mutinous Spirit of the People of *China*, he changed his Conduct entirely, and applied himself wholly to the putting every thing in the best Order possible, for the Benefit of all his Subjects. It was with this View, that he obliged the Viceroy and other Governors of Provinces, to administer Justice with Impartiality and Mildness, taking from them the Power of punishing Capitally, and obliging them to send all such Sentences to the supreme Tribunal of the Empire. In order to take away all Distinctions, and to render his *Tartar* and *Chinese* Subjects but one People, he established this Regulation; he obliged the *Tartars* to wear the *Chinese* Habit, and obliged the *Chinese* to cut their Hair, after the Mode of the *Tartars*, and this upon Pain of Death. It may seem strange, but it is nevertheless true, that many refused to comply with this Order, and chose rather to part with their Lives than their Hair, and that many more abandoned their native Country, to fly into Places where they might wear their Hair as long as they were wont. But the Emperor's Edict had notwithstanding the desired Effect, that is to say, freed him from such mutinous Spirits as might have disturbed the Tranquillity of his Reign.

The most important Employments, and the most honourable Offices in the Government, he gave only to the *Tartars*; but then he made a Law, by which the Children of *Tartars* by *Chinese* Women, or of *Chinese* by *Tartarian* Women, who were bred up in the Customs, and were taught to speak the Language of the *Tartars*, were declared capable of the highest Offices in the Empire. He was not more careful of the Domestic than of the Foreign Affairs of his Empire, which almost all his Predecessors had neglected to a great Degree; for he not only reduced all the Eastern *Tartars* intirely under his Obedience, but made two Journeys into that Country, where he admitted all Ranks of People freely to his Presence, and thereby gained the Love of the *Moguls* in the highest Degree. As for the *Tartars* of the West, he forced them to have recourse to his Protection, and not only drove the *Calmuks* from his Frontiers, but entering their Country also in his Turn, took from them the Provinces of *Chamill* and *Tarfan*, which serve as an excellent Barrier on that Side for the *Chinese* Empire^b.

In his Person, and in his Manners, he had nothing of the *Tartar*, and was so perfectly acquainted with every Government in *Europe*, that he discoursed of them in a manner that surprised even the *Europeans* themselves. The late Czar Peter the First, sent M. *d'Ismaïloff* with the Character of his Ambassador to the *Chinese* Court, whom the Emperor not only received with all imaginable Politeness, but at the first Audience presented his Excellency, a Nobleman who accompanied him, and his Secretary, each with a Gold Cup full of Mead, by which they plainly perceived that he was informed of the Czar's Custom, who when he had a mind to distinguish any Foreigner, was wont to present him with a Glass of Wine with his own Hand. This Emperor *Cang-bi* reigned with great Glory sixty-one Years, and died on the 20th of Dec. 1722. He left behind him seventeen Sons, the fourth of which he declared his Successor, who at his Accession to the Imperial Dignity,

^a The *Chinese* Historians themselves agree, that this Race of Emperors were far inferior to the *Tartars*, as giving themselves up too much to a sort of Studies that were by no Means suitable to their Dignities. Some of them were carried away by a vain Desire of finding the Water of Life; that is a Kind of Liquor, by drinking of which a Man might become immortal; but with so little Success, that the Emperor *Chi-Tong* died immediately after he had drank of this pretended Water of Life, at the Age of Fifty-eight. Others were possessed with a violent Desire of finding the Philosopher's Stone, which induced them to spend too much of their Time in chimerical Experiments. The Fate of these Monarchs sufficiently shew, that the Art of Government is the only Science worthy of the Attention of Princes.

^b This Prince took care to secure the *Moguls* of the East from the ambitious Designs of the *Russians*, and for that Purpose made a very wise and honourable Treaty with the Czar Peter the First, for settling the Limits of their respective Empires, in Consequence of which the Town and Fortress of *Abulghin* was demolished.

assumed the Name of *Yong Tching*, i. e. Peace undisturbed. This Prince, who is said to inherit the Virtues as well as Dominions of his Ancestors, was in quiet Possession of the Empire in the Year 1735, since which we have not had any certain, or at least very important Accounts from *China*.

By this Deduction of the *Chinese* History we learn a Multitude of things necessary for the understanding such of the subsequent Voyages as mention that Country, which was the Reason that I insisted upon it so long; and we likewise discover the Usefulness of this sort of Knowledge, with respect to the Voyages that have gone before. We see that the *Chinese*, with whom our *Arabian* Travellers conversed, were quite another sort of People than those that now inhabit *China*; for they were a pure and unmixed Nation, whereas the modern *Chinese* are in a great measure incorporated with the *Tartars*; from whence it is easy to discern, that great Alterations must have happened in their Manners, especially if we consider the Character that *Rashid* gives the *Tartars*, which comes much nearer that of the modern *Chinese* than any thing we meet with in the *Arabian* Writers. It appears likewise from the Comparison of the Facts related by the *Arabians* with those mentioned by *Marco Polo* of the People of *Mangi*, that both these Writers must have reported Things with great Fidelity, since they agree in a Multitude of Particulars. The Conquest of the Northern Part of *China* by the *Tartars*, though not expressly mentioned, yet is plainly alluded to by the second *Arab* Writer; and as to the entire Conquest of *China* by the same Nation, we owe the full Account of it to *Marco Polo*; for, without the Assistance of his Relations, it would have been a thing very difficult, if not impossible, to have discovered, that *Chi-Tsou* was the same with *Coplai-Khan*, or *Cublai-Khan*, Emperor of the *Tartars*, who before he became Master of their Country, was called by the *Chinese* *Ho-pi-lie*.

We likewise learn from this succinct View of the *Chinese* History, that the *Tartars*, who now possess *China*, are the very same Nation that formerly possessed it, contrary to what some very learned Men asserted, and which was generally believed half an Age ago. We likewise see, that the reigning Family in *China* are direct Descendants of *Cublai-Khan*, and consequently of *Zingis-Khan*, that famous Conqueror, whose Empire, as we have elsewhere shewn, was the most extensive that has been hitherto known in the World. These Things are of very great Consequence, if we read Voyages for the sake of improving and enlarging our Knowledge, and not merely for the sake of Amusement, which, however, is rather encreased than lessened, by attending to these Circumstances. We can easily apprehend, after a little Reflection, that in the Time of our *Arabian* Travellers, and even in that of *Marco Polo*, the *Chinese* Empire must have been in a much better Condition, and its Trade much more flourishing than when it was first visited by the *Portuguese*, *English* and *Dutch*. Before that Time it had not been exposed to those cruel Ravages that ensued first on the breaking out of their Civil Wars, and next from the last Conquest by the *Tartars*. Besides, we can at any time have Recourse to this short History, when we are at a Loss as to the Facts mentioned in subsequent Voyages, and by comparing the Times in which they happened with the Dates that are therein set down, obtain an easy Solution of Doubts that perhaps we could never otherwise have got over.

It is from the Consideration of these Advantages, and that as far as in my Power lies, I might remove all Obstacles whatsoever to the perfect understanding of this Subject, that I have determined to give the Reader in the next Section a concise History of the other *Tartar* Empire in the *Indies*, I mean that of the Great Mogul, who was likewise a Descendant from the same Family with the great Con-

queror I have so often mentioned. By pursuing this Method, which I have brought into the narrowest Compass possible, the Reader will gain such a previous Knowledge of a great Number of Facts as never to be at a Loss in perusing any of the Voyages to the *East-Indies*, either in this, or in any other Collection, which, without such an Introduction, it would have been absolutely impracticable for him to have understood, and that for many Reasons, of which I will take the Liberty to mention only a few. In the first place then, every Voyage brings us not only into a new Country, but, if I may so speak, introduces us into a new Company, with the Character of which, if we have not some previous Acquaintance, it is impossible for us to be at our Ease, whereas if we know in general who and what they are, we enter immediately into the true Sense of the Relation, and hear all that is told us with Pleasure. In the next place, it often happens, that either from the Fear of appearing tedious, or from some other Motive, the Writers of Voyages give us only short Hints as to the Government of the Countries through which they pass, or the Characters of Princes that reign in them, which would be utterly unintelligible to such as never heard of them before, and yet may be sufficient for the Information of those who have a general Notion of the Posture of things in that Country at the Time mentioned by the Author. Lastly, we are by this means enabled to rectify the Mistakes of such Writers, to distinguish between the Truth and Falshood of what they relate, and to form a clear and certain Judgment of the Merit of their Performances.

It may possibly be objected, that for the same Reasons which have been offered in Support of these two Histories of the *Chinese* and of the *Indian* Empires, we might be obliged to write the History of all the other Princes that have reigned in the *Upper Asia*, which Objection, however, is not at all founded in Fact, since in the first place the Histories of all the little Princes in *India* are very far from being so necessary as those of the capital Empires; and in the next, how necessary soever we might think them, it is impossible for us to write any such Histories, because the necessary Materials for them are not to be found. When therefore this Matter is seriously considered, it appears to be a new Argument in favour of our Design; for since there have been but two great Empires in this Part of the World, of which any just and regular Account can be given, and to which all Books of Voyages and Travels through the *East-Indies* must necessarily refer, it would seem very absurd and unreasonable, after all the Pains we have taken in the darker Ages of this History, to declare that Period of it, which is at once the most useful, and will appear by far the most agreeable to a modern Reader, as there is not in the Compass of Universal History any Branch so full of extraordinary Events, or in which there occur more surprizing Turns and Revolutions than in this which we are about to give.

Add to all this, that however deficient the rest of the Oriental Histories may be, we have abundant Materials for this, and those too as excellent in their kind as can be desired; for besides the particular Relations afforded us by several Writers of Credit, who were actually on the Spot when those Events happened which they record, we have very great Lights given us by such of the Oriental Writers as have undertaken to explain the several Expeditions of the *Tartars*, and especially those of the famous *Timur-lar*, known to us by the Name of *Tamerlane*, whose Conquests, though less extensive, have, notwithstanding, made a greater Figure in our general Histories than those of his glorious Predecessor *Zingis-Khan*. Besides all which, we have the singular Advantage of having a great Part of this History taken from the very Records of that Empire which it concerns, by the Industry of Mr. *Mamouchi*, who was fortu-

* The Change of Names is a very clear Proof that no sort of Blame ought to lie on *Marco Polo* for writing Places after a different Orthography than what is commonly used; and we have this Advantage from it, that we learn the *Tartar* Appellation, and have thereby an Opportunity of comparing them with the *Chinese*. I cannot help remarking upon this Occasion, that in all probability, His *phile* is no more than the *Tartar* Name of *Khop-lar* (as is seen in that Language it is written) expressed in *Chinese* Characters; but for the Name given him after he attained the Empire of *Chi-Tsou*, it may be considered the first of his Race, for *Chi* signifies the beginning, and *Tsou* a kind of Violet coloured Plume, or Feather worn in the Imperial Diadem.

* This Mr. *Mamouchi* was a *Portuguese* by Birth, but he wrote his History of *Indostan* in the *Portuguese* Language, which was then, and is still common in the East. We owe the Publication of it to the famous Jesuit Father *Carrasco*, who dedicated his *Præface* Translation to the Duke of *Saragossa*, the Father of the present *Louis XV.* In his Preface to that Work, he promises some farther Memoirs by the same Hand; but I cannot find any more were ever published, which is the more wonderful, considering the great Reputation that the first Part of the Work acquired. As Father *Carrasco* is now dead, it is very possible those Papers may fall into other Hands, and yet see the Light.

Years in that Country, in the Quality of Physician to its Emperors, and had thereby an Opportunity of having free Recourse to those Records, which for the Benefit of Posterity,

as well as his own Information, he transcribed, and from which in a great Measure we have taken the Facts that are contained in the following Section.

SECTION XXII.

A succinct History of the Empire of the Great Mogul, from its Foundation by the Great Tartar Conqueror Timur-Bec, or Tamerlane, to the present Times.

Taken chiefly from the Oriental Writers.

1. *The History of Timur-Bec, or Tamerlane, from his first Appearance in the World, to his being declar'd Khan of the Tartars.* 2. *His Conquests in the Indies, and subsequent Victories, to the Time of his Death.* 3. *The History of Miracha the Son of Tamerlane, and his Successor in Part of his Dominions.* 4. *The Reign of Abouchaid the Grandson of Tamerlane.* 5. *The History of Sheik-Omar, the Seat of whose Empire was at Samercand.* 6. *The Life and Reign of Babar, the first of these Monarchs who assum'd the Title of Grand Mogul.* 7. *An Account of the great Revolution which happen'd under Homayum, his Restoration to the Empire of the Indies, and his Death.* 8. *The Reign of Akebar, and the Accessions made by him to the Dominion of the Moguls.* 9. *The Reign of Iehan-Guire, and of the Troubles that happen'd therein.* 10. *The History of Shah-Jehan, and of the Princes his Sons, to the Time of his Decease.* 11. *A succinct Account of the Reign of Aurengzebe, and of the several Accessions made by him to the Indian Empire.* 12. *Of the Disputes that happen'd after his Decease among the Princes his Sons.* 13. *Of the Reign of Badour-Shah, and of the War carried on by him against his Brethren.* 14. *Of the Troubles that have happen'd since in that Empire.* 15. *The History continued to the Expedition of the Shah-Nadir, or Koulikan, with an authentick Account of its most remarkable Particulars.*

THE Empire of the Tartars subsisted for near two hundred Years, under the Administration of the direct Descendants of its illustrious Founder Zingis-Khan, when a new Conqueror was born of the same Race; for Timur-Bec, or, as he is usually called by us Tamerlane, was descended in a direct Line from Cabul, who was the Great-Grandfather of Zingis. His Family, tho' not powerful, was very illustrious, since, tho' he was the Vassal or Subject of Adill-Khan, yet he was by Birth, Prince or Chieftan of the Tribe of Buriats. The visible Declension of the Power of Adill-Khan, gave him some Hopes of shaking off his Dominion. The Weakness of four Princes had so loosened the Foundation of their Throne, that this Adill-Khan had little more left him than the Shadow of supreme Authority. Whole Tribes of the Mongals or Moguls, withdrew themselves entirely from his Obedience, and set up particular Princes of their own; the rest, who still acknowledged his Sovereignty, pretended to assign the Measure of their Submission, and to fix the Bounds of that Duty they were content to pay. As for Tamerlane, his Design was to throw off the Yoke entirely, but wanting sufficient Strength for so bold an Undertaking, he confederated with Hussen, who had exactly the same way of thinking; and when they had joined their Forces together, they declared War against Adill-Khan, attack'd and defeated his Army, and having taken him Prisoner, tied him Hand and Foot, and threw him into a Torrent, where he was drowned. Tamerlane, to give the best Colour possible to so foul a Fact, rais'd Cabul, who was a direct Descendant from the famous Zagatai-Khan, to the Throne, from whom in two Descents it came to the Possession of Mobammed his Grandson. But he who was now powerful enough to bestow Crowns, had so much of Ambition, as to desire the Power that attended them in his own Hands, tho' for certain Purposes he suffer'd the Title to remain elsewhere. Under the Name of Mobammed-Khan, he made War on the rest of the Princes of the Family of Zingis, and by his repeated Victories became so famous, that he was quickly considered as the first, or principal Khan of the Tartars. This provoked the Jealousy of Hussen, who had been his first Companion in Arms, so that of a Friend and Ally, he first became a secret Rival, and very soon an open Enemy. Their Armies met in the Plains of Balk, where a bloody Battle ensued, in which Hussen was defeated and killed, and Tamerlane then saw himself at the Head of the whole Power of the Tartars, without a Competitor, and therefore having sum-

moned all the Princes of the Blood of Zagatai to Samarcand, there, by a sort of Election, assumed the Title of Khan, which hitherto he had not done, put on the Imperial Crown of Gold, and the Girdle, which was also an Ensign of that Dignity, received the Homage of all who were present, and very rich Presents upon that Occasion. It is from this Election and Coronation, that the Reign of this great Prince is usually dated, because tho' he had the Power long before, yet his Title was never till now acknowledged, or himself known to the World, as supreme Khan of the Tartars, which Title he ever after bore.

2. This great Event fell out in the Year of the Hegira 781, in the Year of our Lord 1379, and in the thirty-fourth Year of the Age of Timur. He was no sooner seated on the Throne of Zingis-Khan, than he began to form a Design of uniting under his Dominion, all the Countries that had formerly paid Obedience to that Conqueror, with which View he instantly attack'd the Princes of Chorassan, Sigistan, and Kandabar, whom he reduced in a short Space of Time, and thereby opened a fair Road into the Indies. It was in the Year of the Hegira 800, and A. D. 1409, that he undertook the Conquest of that extensive Empire, at the Entrance of which, he found Abundance of little Clans of Thieves, that by the Help of the strong Holds which they had erected, maintained a kind of tyrannical Power over the adjacent Country. These he first of all rooted out, and at the same Time destroyed without Mercy a Multitude of Guebres, or Worshipers of Fire, that had settled themselves on the Confines of Indostan, when driven out of their native Country of Persia. He next besieged the famous Fortrefs of Uldugin, which had hitherto been considered as impregnable; but as this was not a Task that required so great an Army as that under his Command, he employed a Part of it in reducing the adjacent Country, then under the Dominion of Sultan Mobammed, who finding himself in such imminent Danger, invited all the neighbouring Princes to join him, in order to defend themselves against a common Enemy, who made no Scruple of declaring that he meant to dispossess them of all their Dominions, in order to annex them to his own. This Application had the desired Effect; Rajah Rana, and the rest of those little Princes took care to assemble their Forces, and at the Time appointed, joined Sultan Mobammed, who immediately march'd to give the Invader Battle. The Forces of the Indian Princes surpassed in Number by very far the Army of the Tartars, but the Conduct of Timur, who had spent

spent almost his whole Life in Arms, proved more than a Balance to their Numbers. He made choice of a small Plain out of which there was a narrow Passage, between two high Mountains, for the Field of Battle, in which he drew up about a third Part of his Army; the rest he drew up in two Bodies, which he posted behind those Mountains, and as soon as the Indian Army advanced, his Horse, that were drawn up in the Plain, as if struck with a sudden Panick, fled thro' the narrow Pass, and were followed by the Indians, who thought that the very Sight of their Army had defeated their Enemies; but they soon found their Mistake, for they no sooner entered the great Plain behind the Mountains, than the two Bodies of Horse attacked them in Flank and Rear with the utmost Fury. This Engagement proved decisive, and Timur, by this single Victory, became Master of the Indies; that is to say, he put Tartar Garrisons into most of the Fortresses, left a considerable Army at *Deby*, the Capital of the Country, and having received the Homage of most of the Rajahs, or petty Princes, returned in Triumph to *Samarcand*, which he made choice of for the Capital of his Empire, laden with the Spoil of the Indies. He had not been long returned, before he had Advice, that *Abmet*, whom some Years before he had driven from *Bagdat*, was come back thither. This News soon drew him into the Field again, and his Enemy retired at his Approach. This War was succeeded by another of much greater Consequence, and to which he chiefly owes his Fame in this Part of the World. *Bajazet*, Emperor of the *Turks*, one of the greatest Monarchs of that Age, and withal, one of the bravest and best Captains, gave him some Cause of Provocation. Timur march'd against him with his victorious Army, and not only defeated and dispossessed him of his Dominions, but made him Prisoner also, and afterwards put him to Death. On his Return, after this Victory, to *Samarcand*, he formed a new Design of reducing *China*, out of which, at this Juncture, the *Tartars* were expelled. He marched for this Purpose with a most puissant Army, and being encamped at *Otrar*, was there seized by a Dilemper which put an End to his Conquests, and his Life, in the thirty-seventh Year of his Reign, and in the sixty-fifth of his Age, in the Year of the *Hegira* 807, and A. D. 1605.

3. The great Empire of *Timur-Bec*, or *Tamerlane*, sunk almost as soon as it rose. He divided his Dominions amongst his Children, and, according to his Will, the Eastern Part of *Persia*, together with *Cabulistan* and *Indostan*, fell to the Share of *Miracha*, his third Son. He was a Prince of considerable Courage, and did not want Capacity; but, during his Father's Life-time, had been extremely unfortunate, inasmuch, that he was once in Danger of losing that Share of the Empire, which had been assigned him. At the Time of that Monarch's Decease, *Miracha* did not find himself strong enough to establish himself absolutely in the *Indies*, he therefore made choice of the City of *Herat*, in the Province of *Chorassan*, for its Capital, which was indeed very conveniently seated for that Purpose, as being almost in the Centre of his Dominions. He marched from thence annually, at the Head of a considerable Army, into *Cabulistan* and *Indostan*, in order to levy the Tribute which his Father had imposed, and which the Indian Rajahs rather chose to pay, than to run the Hazard of a War.

The King of *Caspar* was the only Prince that refused to acknowledge him as his Sovereign, or to pay him any Tribute. Against him therefore *Miracha* made a long and cruel War, in which however he was at first very unsuccessful, his Forces being absolutely defeated, and himself taken Prisoner by the Indian Prince. That Monarch, by a Stroke of extraordinary Generosity, took no other Advantage of his Victory, than to engage *Miracha* to quit all claim to Tribute, and thereupon restored him to

Liberty. This Treaty however was but indifferently kept, for when the *Tartar* Prince had recruited his Army, he, without Scruple, renewed the War, in which he was so fortunate, as to defeat his Enemy, and make the King of *Caspar* Prisoner in his turn. He did not however behave as Gratitude, or even as Humanity required; but barbarously ordered the Eyes of that Prince to be put out, over-run his Dominions, and kept himself, during his whole Life, a Prisoner.

This base Action, however, drew upon him that Punishment which it so well deserved. His *Tartar* Soldiers exercised before him every Day, and hearing a Discourse amongst them, of the great Dexterity of the King of *Caspar*, notwithstanding he was blind, he thought fit to enquire into it, and being told, that this Prince shot with the greatest Truth to any Corner where he heard the least Noise, he resolved to make the Experiment, conceiving in himself, that the thing was absolutely impossible. When the Question came to be decided, the captive King declared, that he would not discharge an Arrow at the Command of any other Person than the Emperor. He accordingly gave the Word, which force had escaped his Lips, before the Rajah let fly a poisoned Arrow, which struck him through the Body; at the Sight of which, his Guards cut the unfortunate Indian Prince to Pieces.

Such was then the End of *Miracha*, after he had reigned forty-six Years. He is justly esteemed the first of the *Mogul* Emperors; for tho' the Country was conquered by his Father, yet it made only a Province of his Dominions, whereas it was, strictly speaking, the Main of this Monarch's Possessions, as well as his peculiar Share of his Father's Empire, and as such was transmitted by him to his Posterity.

4. He was succeeded in his Throne by his Son *Aboubaid*, or *Abesyd*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 855, A. D. 1451. But this Prince neither resembled his Father or his Grandfather, for he was lazy and luxurious to the last Degree, and withal excessively cruel, which irritated the *Rajahs* to such a Degree, that they resolved to depose him, and to set his younger Brother on the Throne, which they accordingly did, but had very soon Reason to repent of the Exchange. *Aboubaid*, on losing his Crown, took the Habit of a *Faquir*, and in it travelled through the *Indies*. His Subjects soon found him out, though he took all imaginable Pains to conceal himself, and they no sooner discovered him, than as they had forced him to resign the royal Robes for the Habit of a Monk, they now with like Passion obliged him to a contrary Exchange. He no sooner appeared, than he saw his Brother totally abandoned, by which he was peaceably restored to his Dignity; but that he might be safe from future Affronts, he ordered his Brother's Head to be struck off, as the Punishment of his Tyranny, as he pretended; but in reality, to prevent a second Usurpation.

His Government was now precisely the reverse of what it had been before, for he studied nothing but the Art of pleasing his People; and tho' he did not, and perhaps could not, change his Temper, yet he dissembled it so well, that with respect to his Subjects, his Hypocrisy had the same good Consequences as if he had acted from real Virtue. His Deposition however was not the last Misfortune of his Life, for while he was engaged in War against the Khan of *Samarcand*, one of the young Princesses in his Seraglio, set up a new Prince, whose Name was *Bram*, who bid fair for depriving *Aboubaid* of his Dominions; but at last he was defeated, and on the first News of this, the Princess, who had raised him to the Throne, first murdered the Son she had by him, at the Breast, and then destroyed herself, by a Dose of Poison, which for that Purpose she had concealed in her Locket. *Aboubaid* returning in Triumph to *Herat*, reigned for some Time with

* This City of *Herat* is situated in the southern Part of the Province of *Chorassan*, in the Lat. of 34°. It is now the finest, and most beautiful City of those Parts, since the *Uzbek* *Tartars* destroyed *Meshed*; and the Inhabitants are very rich, chiefly through the Trade they carry on with the *Solomon* the Great *Alphs*. It is in this City that the finest *Carpets* in *Persia* are made, and the finest Brocades also; but the greatest Advantage it enjoys, is being a convenient Stage, in the direct Road from *Shahs* to *Candahar*; so that the Magazines of this City are not better supplied with their own Manufactures, than with the choicest and most valuable Merchandise of the *Indies*.

* This is an *Arab* Word, and signifies the same thing with the *Turkish* Word *Dervish*, that is, a mendicant Monk, one who has made a Vow of Poverty, and travels through the Country without Food, Raiment or Shelter, but what is afforded him out of Charity. They are generally esteemed sacred in *Mohammedan* Countries, and every body is willing to contribute whatever Necessaries they want.

great Success and Glory; but the Violence of his Temper, joined to a high Opinion of his good Fortune, drew him into another War, which cost him both his Crown and his Life.

He had always a strong Inclination to pass for the great Dispenser of Justice amongst his Neighbours, and therefore taking Offence at the Proceedings of *Ujam Cassan*, a very potent Monarch of the Family of *Zingis-Khan*, who had deprived one of his Relations of his Dominions, he declared War against him, notwithstanding all the Pains that Prince could take to terminate the Difference between them by a Negotiation. *Ujam Cassan*, though much inferior in Power, was much better versed in the Art of War; and by ruining his Country, and keeping his Forces always encamped in Places that were inaccessible, he so weakened the Forces of the *Tartar*, that, at last, he found himself obliged to retreat, in order to save the Remains of a numerous Army, worn out with perpetual Fatigue. But he was not able to conduct them, as he endeavoured, into his own Dominions, but was defeated and taken Prisoner by the Sons of *Ujam Cassan*, who immediately conducted him to the Presence of their Father, who received him at first with great Humanity, but being provoked at the insolent Speeches of *Abouchaid*, who reproached him with not daring to meet him in the Field, at last ordered his Head to be struck off, and put out the Eyes of his three eldest Sons, who were taken with him.

Such was the Fate of this insolent and vain-glorious Monarch, equally unfortunate in the Beginning, and in the Close of his Reign, but in neither more so than he deserved. The Chronicles of the Mogul Empire, take Notice, that he left a bad Example to his Successors in these two Points, first, in putting to Death his Brother, and next in his Ingratitude to his most faithful Servants; Circumstances very dishonourable for his Memory, and which shew how unworthy he was of so great an Empire, that in the Course of twenty-eight Years, which he sat upon the Throne, could leave nothing but the Shame of his Vices to make him remembered by Posterity. There have some Doubts arisen about the Succession of this Prince, because, in the great Seal of the Mogul, on which the Names of the Emperors are engraved, there is one *Mirza-Mohammed* mentioned, whom some therefore would have the Son of *Mirarcha*, and the Father of *Abouchaid*. The first may be true, but not the latter, since it is probable, that this *Mirza-Mohammed* was his Brother, whom he put to death.

5. *Skeik-Omar*, the fifth Son of *Abouchaid*, succeeded his Father in the Year of the *Hegira* 874, A.D. 1469, and was of a quite contrary Disposition: He is recorded to have been a very pious *Mohammedan*, and to have made the Study of the Khoran the Business of his Life, which is the more extraordinary, since his Great-grandfather *Ti-nur* had a Religion of his own, which was a Sort of Deism. His Grandfather had very little Religion, and his Father none at all, though he made some Pretences to *Mohammedism*. The Reign of *Omar* was a continued Peace; he never fought to trouble his Neighbours, was contented with his own Dominions, where he ruled his Subjects with Justice and Moderation, and was neither disturbed by Plots at home, or Wars abroad. The only Thing remarkable in the Reign of this Monarch, is the Manner in which he amused himself, for it must appear somewhat singular, that a Prince, who seriously delighted in Peace, should invent a new kind of War for his Diversion.

At the End of his Garden, he had a high Terrace, at each Extremity of which was built a Pidgeon-house; thither the Emperor daily resorted, and as he fed his Pidgeons with his own Hand, they flocked about him as soon as he appeared. He had taught these Creatures to live in a perpetual State of Enmity; so that as soon as the Emperor lifted up a white Satin Standard, the Pidgeons

of one House attacked those of the other, and they with great Resolution defended themselves, and often killed out and drove away the Invaders. It one Day happened that the Emperor, deeply engaged in this Sport, flourishing his Standard in the Air, and having his Eyes fixed on his Pidgeons, fell against the wooden Balustrade of his Terrace, which, being rotten, gave way, so that by his Fall he broke his Skull, of which unlucky Accident he died in two Days after, having reigned happily for himself and for his Neighbours twenty-four Years.

6. He was succeeded in the Throne by his Son *Babar*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 899, A.D. 1493. This Prince had scarce taken Possession of the Government before he found himself engaged in a War, for which he was every way indifferently provided. The Prince of the *Ubeck Tartars* at that Time was *Schaibac-Khan*, who remembering that his Father had been deprived of *Samarkand* by *Abouchaid*, the Grandfather of *Omar*, he determined to lay hold of the Opportunity that offered of recovering his Dominions, knowing that the *Moguls* were much softened by their Inactivity, during so long a Peace. He made a right Judgment in this Matter; for, on his Approach, *Babar* found it impossible to make head against him, and therefore retired from Place to Place, till at last he took Shelter in *Cabulistan*, the Governor of which remained faithful to him, and soon assembled an Army capable of recovering what he had lost to the *Ubecks*.

Babar, had hitherto appeared of as peaceable a Disposition as his Father; but now, whether stung with Repentment, or roused by Despair, he shewed as great Courage as any of his Ancestors, and seemed impatient to invade that Country, which he had so lately abandoned. The Governor of *Cabulistan* however was of quite a different Sentiment, and having shewn his Master that it was infinitely more easy to make himself absolutely Lord of *Indostan* than to recover the Countries he had lost, he brought *Babar* over to his Opinion. In order however to proceed with the greater Security and Success, the Emperor proposed making a Journey through *India*, under the Disguise of *Grogs*, or *Indian Pilgrims*, that they might the better judge of the Strength and Condition of those whom they meant to conquer.

They executed this Resolution almost as soon as they had formed it; and having travelled undiscovered from one Extremity of *India* to the other, they found it inhabited by four Nations. The first were the native *Indians*, who still kept up the Form of the ancient Constitution, though the Spirit of it was in a manner lost. Their Kings shutting themselves up in their Seraglios, thought of nothing but their Pleasures, and left the great Affairs of Government to their Ministers, who were often as indolent as themselves, and left them in their Turn to their Domesticks. The *Bramins* had exchanged the elevated Philosophy of their Ancestors for a Life of Superstition, which amused the Vulgar with a false Religion, and seemed to justify the Men of Sense, in having little or none at all. Their Soldiers kept their Horses, took their Pay, and appeared at their stated Times in Review; but as for Service they knew it not in Practice, and the very Idea of it gave them Disquiet. The common People were sunk in Luxury and Sloth, mistaking the Power of doing Evil for Liberty, and placing all Happiness in the Pursuit of their vicious Appetites, without Danger of Restraint, or Fear of Reproach.

The second Sort of People were the *Pattans*, a Race of *Mohammedans*, who from the opposite Coast of *Arabia* had passed over thither, and having first settled on the South-side of the River, erected there a Town, which still bears the Name of *Muslipatan*; from whence extending themselves still farther and farther, they at last became Masters of the Kingdom of *Dehly*, of which they were possessed when *Tamerlane* made his Irruption into the *Indies*.

* That Vice, which of all others has most stained the Glory of the Mogul Race, is Ingratitude; the first Imputation of which was derived from the Conduct of this *Abouchaid*. When he was obliged to fly, in order to save his Life, after the Loss of his Crown, two only of his Courtiers remained faithful, and shared with him all his Misfortunes. After he was restored, these two worthy Men expected some Share in his Favour, but *Abouchaid* told them plainly he was more obliged to them than it was in his Power to repay, and therefore he hated to see them; neither was he contented to banish them from his Court, but ordered their Names to be struck out of the Roll of his Servants. Hence the Ingratitude of *Abouchaid* is, to this very Day, a Proverb through the East.

† This is a frontier Province between *Persia* and the *Indies*, and has belonged sometimes to one, and sometimes to the other of these Empires, and is thought of so great Consequence to the East, that it is a common Saying, he who is not Master of *Cabulistan*, is not Master of the *Indies*.

The *Perfians* were the third Sort of People; and these were no other than the Remains of the ancient *Perfians*, who were, and are certainly the most innocent People in the World, and perhaps the most pious. As the principal Part of their Religion consists in worshipping the Almighty Author of all things, under the Symbol of Fire, the *Mohammedans*, without taking any Pains to enquire into their principles, concluded them Idolaters; and when they conquered *Perfia*, forced them to abjure their Religion or to quit their Country. They chose the latter, and this brought Multitudes of them into the *Indies*, where, by a laborious Industry, they procured a bare Subsistence, exposed continually to the Insults of the other Nations, without any thing to sustain them under the Weight of so many and so great Misfortunes, save the Testimony of a good Conscience in this Life, and the Hopes of a Reward in that to come. The fourth Sort of People were his own Subjects the *Moguls*, placed there in Garrisons by his Ancestors, and employed in levying the Tributes imposed by them upon the *Rajabs*.

When *Babar* and his faithful Companion, had examined all Things with the utmost Diligence and Attention, they returned to *Cabulistan*, and began to prepare for the Execution of their Project. They had observed, that the Prince of the *Pottanis*, who was in Possession of the Kingdom of *Dehly*, was the most powerful of any of the *Rajabs* in the Country of *Indagstan*, and therefore they resolved to begin with reducing him. *Babar*, having put himself at the Head of a numerous Army, summoned this Monarch, whose Name was *Amoixia*, to lay aside the Style and Title of a Sovereign, in a Country which belonged to the *Moguls* by Right of Conquest. *Amoixia* answered, that a King, though tributary, was still a King, and that since they disputed his Title, he was determined to pay no more Tribute to one driven out of his Dominions, and who, by his Conduct, seemed unworthy of Respect. *Babar* having received this Answer, prosecuted his March towards *Dehly*, and met with *Amoixia*, at the Head of an Army much greater than his own; but as the *Indians* were Soldiers only in Shew, so they were broke and defeated by the first Attack. Their King perished like a brave Man in the midst of his Enemies; the Remains of his Army took Shelter in the Mountains of *Tebet*. *Babar* remaining Master of the Country, made Choice of *Dehly* for his Capital, which has continued to be the ordinary Residence of his Successors ever since*.

The first Care of this Prince, after his Establishment in the *Indies*, was to frame a Body of Laws, or rather to establish a few fundamental Maxims for the Government and Security of his Empire, that his Successors might not be exposed to such Accidents as he had met with, or be obliged, at every turn, to set their whole Dominions on the Hazard of a Battle. The Foundation on which this Structure was raised, was the sole and absolute Right of the Grand Mogul, for so *Babar* was first called to all the Country he had acquired by Conquest; and this was so clearly understood, as that it secured all Property to him, and made even the greatest of his Subjects Tenants at will, or Tenants for Life at the very utmost. As by this Means the whole Lands in his Dominions were vested in the Mogul, and all the great Men in the Kingdom made dependant upon his Pleasure; so by another Principle, the Bulk of the People were put as much into his Power, since no written Laws were allowed, but the Judgment of the Emperor established what was right and wrong in his Dominions. In his Capital he gave Judgment himself in all Causes that came before him; in other Cities there were Officers who decided all Things in his Name, and whose Decrees were liable to be reviewed by the Mogul himself.

These Constitutions were devised by the Governor of *Cabulistan*, who, as he had fixed the Emperor upon the Throne by his Fidelity, now secured him thereon by his Wisdom. The Effects of these Settlements very soon ap-

peared by the Change that was perceived in the Face of Affairs; for the *Tartars*, who had been the old Subjects of *Babar* and his Ancestors, swarmed to him now from all Quarters, as did also the *Perfians* and other *Mohammedans*, with whom the Court and the Army were filled, and upon whom all Places of Trust and Profit were bestowed. The great Officers, and in short all who had Preferences, civil or military, were styled *Omrahs*, and the old *Indian* Princes retained their ancient Appellation of *Rajabs*. We shall meet with these Words very often, and therefore it may not be amiss to fix the Sense of them effectually. The *Omrah* is the mere Creature of his Prince, and tho' he often enjoys large Tracts of Land by his Favour, as well as considerable Appointments, yet he enjoys both but for Life, and can leave nothing to his Children, all being resumed by the Mogul at his Decease, who is the Heir-General of every Man in his Service. The *Rajabs* are hereditary Princes in their own Dominions, which they hold indeed of the Mogul, but by certain Tenures, with which, if they comply, he has no farther Demands upon them. It often happens that these *Rajabs* live at Court, and are honoured with Employments, in right of which they become *Omrahs*; but at their Decease the Mogul resumes all that they possess in his Dominions, and nothing but the Principality descends to their Children.

After all the Obligations that *Babar* owed to the Governor of *Cabulistan*, he became as ungrateful to him as his Grandfather had been to the Companions of his Misfortunes, and treated him in such a Manner, that he, for his own Security, turned *Faqir*, and in that Disguise sheltered himself in some distant Part of the *Indies*. After he left the Court, all Things ran to Confusion, and it plainly appeared, that none was able to govern the Empire, according to its present Constitution, but him who had framed it. It was some Time before the Emperor discerned this, but at length he found it out, repented of his Ingratitude, and would very willingly have recalled his Minister to Court, if he had known where to have found him. His Endeavours for some Time were fruitless, but at last he bethought himself of an Expedient, which was as successful as it was singular; he published an Edict, by which he ordered every Market-Town in his Dominions, to send its *Bazar*, or Market-Place up to *Dehly*, or to return a sufficient Reason for not doing it. His Motive to this, was, that he believed he should be able to distinguish, amongst these Returns, the Place where his Minister had taken Shelter. When he came to look them over, he laid his Finger on the following Answer from a Town at a great Distance from his Residence. The Inhabitants declared, that they were ready, and willing, to obey his Imperial Decree, but that their *Bazar* did not know the Way to *Dehly*, and therefore, if his Majesty would be pleased to send one of the *Bazar's* of his Capital to conduct it, theirs should immediately set out. *Babar* directed the Deputies that brought him this Return, to find him instantly to Court, the Man by whose Advice they made it, which accordingly they did, and it proved as he expected, his old faithful Servant the Governor of *Cabulistan*, whom he restored to his former Post, and to his Favour, both which he enjoyed as long as he lived. The rest of this Emperor's Reign affords us nothing remarkable, inasmuch as he spent it in profound Peace, and having lived to a good old Age, deceased in the Year of the *Hegira* 937, A. D. 1230, after reigning five Years at *Samarcand*, three in *Cabulistan*, and thirty in the *Indies*.

7. He was succeeded in his Dominions by his Son *Hameyun*, or *Amayun*, who very soon experienced how difficult a Thing it is for the Successor of a Conqueror to preserve his Dominions. He had the Assistance of his Father's old Counsellor, but, like a young Man, he did not put that Confidence in him that he deserved; but, contrary to his Advice, and in spite of all his Remonstrances, promoted to the highest Employments the Person in the World most capable of doing him Mischief.

* The Name of this City is sometimes called *Delli*, and the Reader will meet with a large Description of it hereafter. It is very ancient, and made a Part of the Kingdom of *Persia*; and it was in the Neighbourhood of this Place, that the great Battle was fought, which put *Alexander* in Possession of his Dominions. There is said to be still remaining in this City a Column erected in Memory of that Event, with an Inscription almost worn out in Characters, and in a Language now altogether unknown. The *Rajas Rana*, who was defeated by *Tamir-lane*, is reported by all the Oriental Writers to have been a direct Descendant from King *Porus*.

The Thing happened thus : A young *Pattan* Lord, named *Chira*, who had been bred up with *Amayum* in his Father's Court, became his principal Favourite, and was advanced to the greatest Posts in the Government. Such a Confidence did this Prince place in him, that he made him his Generalissimo and Commander of the Guards about his Person. But *Chira*, on whom Ambition, or a pretended Love to his Country, had a much greater Influence than all the Favours bestowed on him by *Amayum*, meditated how he might depose his indulgent Master, and restore the *Pattans* to their ancient Sovereignty. This great Minister first discovered his Ambition, it is said, by changing his Name from *Chira*, which signifies a young Lion, to that of *Chireba*, which signifies the Royal or Imperial Lion. And being Commander of all the *Persian*, *Tartar*, and *Mogul* Troops, among whom he had rendered himself very popular, by his obliging Behaviour; and his own People the *Pattans*, as well as the *Indian Rajabs*, being glad of an Opportunity of throwing off the Mogul Yoke, all Things seemed to conspire to raise him to the Throne.

Amayum however being apprised of this universal Disaffection to his Person, occasioned by his Favourite, assembled a small Body of *Tartars* and *Persians*, with whom he gave Battle to *Chira*; but their Numbers being very unequal, *Amayum* was soon compelled to leave the Field, and fled to the Shah of *Persia* for Protection, after he had reigned in *Debby* about eleven Years, almost in continual Trouble and Confusion. The Inhabitants of the East are extremely addicted to Augury, or observing the Flight of Birds, from whence the few Courtiers who attended *Amayum* in his Retreat, predicted his Return to his Empire; for, it fell out one Day, when the Weather was hot, and he was weary with Travel, that Prince lay down to rest, when an Eagle, followed by her young ones, hovered for a considerable Time over his Head, and thereby shaded him from the Sun-beams. When he awaked, his Attendants complimented him on the Omen, which served to keep up his Spirits; for it is observed, by all the Writers of his History, that he bore his Misfortunes with great Dignity, and appeared as much a Monarch in his Exile, as he had ever done upon his Throne. The *Persian* Prince received him with all imaginable Kindness and Respect, assigned him a Palace in his Capital, with a competent Revenue, and left nothing untried that might contribute to lessen his Sense of his Disaster, which had so good an Effect, that the *Indian* Monarch forgot his Cares, and passed his Time as comfortably as it is possible for one Prince to do in the Dominions of another.

In the mean time however, *Chireba* employed all his Thoughts in providing for the Welfare of that Nation, who had, in some measure, called him to the Throne. He was a Man of great Parts, and of a benevolent Nature; he saw that the only Means to make his People happy was, to enlarge and facilitate their Trade; and therefore to this he applied his Attention and his Power. He erected, at proper Distances in all the great Roads throughout his Dominions, Caravanferas, or publick Inns, where Merchants might find all Conveniences, and proper Persons to attend them at a very moderate Expence, and where Foot-passengers might be entertained at the publick Expence. His Example had such an Effect on the richest of his Subjects, that they began to imitate him in the like Foundations, which proved of infinite Advantage to the Publick; and has therefore been practised ever since. The founding such Receptracles for Strangers and Travellers, being accounted the highest Point of Charity in that and other Eastern Countries to this Day. Another Regulation with the same View did equal Honour to the Administration of this Prince, and contributed no less to-

wards making him the Darling of his Subjects. There was, before his Time, no kind of Certainty in the Weights or Measures of this Country; but all Things were in a manner bought and sold by hand, which was attended with many Inconveniences. This Evil he remedied by a Law, which forbid the selling any thing but by Weight and Measure, and appointed the Standards of both to be kept in the great Towns throughout his Dominions. The Reign of this Prince was but short, and he died without Issue, for otherwise he had, in all Probability, put an End to the Mogul Empire in the Indies. He was a very martial, as well as a very wise and prudent Prince in Time of Peace, and had a particular Turn for the Art of Engineering, which, by an Accident, proved fatal to him; for, having a Cannon of an unusual Size sent him from *Bengal*, he would needs make Trial of it himself, and the Piece bursting, he was killed by the Breech of it that struck him on the Head, when he had enjoyed the Empire about nine Years.

All Things upon his Death fell into Confusion; every one of the petty Princes had either Views for himself or for some greater Prince, to whom he was attached; and, in the Midst of his Distraction, the Government remained without a Head, and every *Rajab* acted as an independent Prince in his own Dominions. While Things were in this Situation, a certain *Faqir*, whose Name was *Cbadula*, went privately to the Court of *Persia*, and informed *Amayum* how Matters stood, assuring him that if he could procure but any Appearance of Force, he might be able to recover his Throne. He applied himself upon this to the Shah of *Persia* his Protector, and offered, if he would assist him, to pay him an annual Tribute, and, as a Compensation for the Expence he must necessarily be at in furnishing him with an Army, he proposed to make a Cession of the Principality of *Kandabar*. These Terms were immediately accepted, and with a considerable Body of Foot, and twelve thousand *Persian* Horse, he began his March towards the Frontiers of the Indies. The King of *Persia*, at his taking Leave of him, gave him a short Piece of Advice, which contributed no less to the Preservation of his Dominions, than the Army with which he furnished him, did to the regaining them. His Advice was to keep up continual Enmity between the *Pattans* and the *Rajpouts*, or *Indian* Soldiery, by which Means each of them would be weakened, and both of them kept within the Bounds of their Obedience.

On his entering the Confines of *India*, he found the whole Country open except only the Fortrefs of *Labor*, in which a *Pattan* Lord was Governor, and had under his Command a numerous Garrison, every way well provided. Of this Place however he soon became Master by the following Stratagem. An hundred young *Persians*, wholly devoted to his Service, disguised themselves in the Habits of Pilgrims just returned from *Mecca*; of these a Part got into the Fortrefs before it was dark, and the rest presented themselves at the Gates just as the Day was shut in, entreating Admittance for that Night only. The Governor looking upon it as an Act of Religion, admitted them: But in the midst of the Night, when the Garrison, weary with Fatigue, were buried in Sleep, the pretended Pilgrims fell upon the Governor and those who were about him, and having massacred them without Mercy, delivered the Fortrefs to *Amayum*, who, by this Means, entered *Labor* without the least Resistance. He marched on from thence with the utmost Diligence toward *Debby*. A single Battle fought at the Distance of three Leagues from that City determined the Dispute, and put him once more in Possession of the Dominions of his Ancestors. *Amayum*, upon his Restoration, shewed his Gratitude to the *Faqir Cbadula*, who first brought him the News of *Chira's*

¹ This, probably, might be, in some Measure, owing to the personal Behaviour of *Amayum*, who astonished the *Persian* Monarch by his Presence of Mind at their first Interview, which happened to be in a Summer-House, where there was but one Sopha, and that too small for them to sit on together. The *Indian* Prince saw this with Indignation, but recollected himself after he had paid his Compliments to the *Shah*, who was standing, he desired him to be seated; and as soon as he had placed himself on the Sopha, *Amayum* fate down by him on his Quiver, which, after the *Tartar* Custom, he had hanging at his Back, which Act of Spirit pleased the *Shah* extremely.

² There is one Circumstance of this Prince's Reign which ought not to be passed over. When he took Possession of the Palace of *Amayum*, he treated his Empire with extraordinary Respect; and being informed that she was with Child, ordered her to be sent to *Persia* to her Husband; but *Amayum*, seized with a Fit of Jealousy, refused to see her; of which the informed *Chiracha* by Letter. Upon this he wrote to *Amayum*, assuring him that he had never so much as seen the Empress; and to confirm the Truth of this Fact, he swore it upon the *Khoran*; on which the Emperor received her with great Tenderness and Affection; and the Son, with which she was then big, succeeded him in the Empire.

Death, by granting him an Estate in Lands, to be enjoyed by him and his Posterity for ever; and this is the only *Mohammedan* Family in *India*, it is said, who can claim the Property of any Lands at this Day. His Descendants also take Place of all others, and his Tomb has great Honours paid to it; but his Gratitude seems to have been exhausted, by the returns made to this worthy Man, since in regard to the Shah, to whom he owed all things, he neither shewed Kindness, or Justice, since he never paid him so much as one Year's Tribute, nor yielded to him the Principality he promised. Yet he remembered his Advice, and followed it very exactly, by which Means he took away from future Malecontents all Power of giving him Disturbance, and left it as a Maxim to his Posterity, who have practised it with great Success, and to this has been chiefly owing the Preservation of the Dominions he left them¹.

Amayum was in the Flower of his Age when he recovered his Dominions, but whether it was that a settled Melancholy had grown upon him, while under his Misfortunes, or that he had a Mind to shew, that in the Possession of the highest Blessings, he had still the common Fate of Mankind in his Eye, or that he was led thereto by a Custom common among the *Mohammedan* Princes of his Age; so it was, that as soon as his Government was settled, he began to build himself a Tomb, upon which he bestowed incredible Expence. He likewise settled a large Revenue for the Maintenance of a certain Number of Mollas, or Doctors of the *Mohammedan* Law, to reside constantly there, and to spend their Time in praying for his Soul, and reading the *Khoran*, near the Tomb where his Body was to be laid. When this Edifice was in good Forwardness, *Amayum* went one Day to see it, and having a Carpenter's Rod in his Hand, walked upon the Battlements, and gave the Workmen some Directions, when, either through Weariness, or that he might look about him with greater Ease, he clapp'd the Rod down, and leaned upon it, which being but slender, broke, and the Roof being sloping, the Emperor rolled forwards, and fell from thence to the Ground; by which Accident he was killed upon the Spot, and found his Death and his Tomb together, in the Year of the *Hegira* 966, and *A. D.* 1552. The latter was finished by his Successor with the utmost Magnificence, and adorned with a Dome, which is so richly gilt, that it dazzles the Eyes of the Spectator by its Splendor. It stands a little Way without the Gates of *Dehly*, at the End of a fine Bridge, composed of twelve Arches, and is esteemed one of the noblest Monuments in the Empire of *Indostan*. This Monarch survived his Restoration two Years, nine Months and fourteen Days, and reigned from his first Accession twenty-two Years.

Amayum was succeeded by his Son *Akbar*, or *Akbar*, then but thirteen, whom all our Historians agree wanted no Accomplishments to adorn a Throne. He had, they tell us, a most penetrating Judgment, an extensive Knowledge, an intrepid Soul, and at the same Time was generous, tender, and compassionate. He soon perceived that the *Moguls* and *Tartars* bore no Proportion with the *Pattans* and *Indians* under his Government, and therefore inviting the neighbouring *Uzbeks* and *Persians* to serve under him, he preferred them to the principal Posts, and gave them Wives, that they might in Time be a Balance for that Part of his Subjects whom Nature and Interest inclined to be disaffected to his Government. And the greater Part of these who are called *Moguls*, at this Day, are a Mixture of white People of several Nations, professing the *Mohammedan* Religion; but it being found, that in a short Time they lose their Complexion, and de-

generate into Softness, like the original Natives of the Country, new Supplies of *Persians* and *Tartars* are encouraged to transplant themselves, and these usually fill the greatest Posts in the Government. This Prince also, to strengthen himself against the *Pattans*, whom he dreaded most, took several Bodies of *Rajpoots*, or *Rajpoots*, into his Service. These are the bravest People amongst the native *Indians*, who make Arms their Profession, and are Pagans by Religion; and to endear them the more, it is said, he took the Daughters of the principal *Rajas* among the Number of his Wives, and suffered the *Rajas* to match with the *Mogul* Princesses; tho' I must confess this Part of the History is a little difficult to give Credit to, because no People in the World are so scrupulous of mixing with those of a different Religion, or even with a different Sect, or Employment, as the Generality of the Pagans of *India* are; tho' there are some Sects, on the other Hand, that admit of very great Liberties.

To proceed, *Akbar* having taken all prudent Measures to render his Government secure at home, began to think of extending his Dominions towards the Sea-Coast, that he might come in for a Share of the Trade and Riches that the maritime Places possessed; and the first Enterprize of this Nature that he undertook, was against the Kingdom of *Guzarat*, which extends from the River *Tapis*, upon which the Town of *Surat* stands, to the Mouth of the River *Indus*. This Part of *India*, at that Time, enjoyed a most flourishing Trade; the *Portuguese* in Particular, who had established several Colonies in this Part of the Country, imported immense Treasures every Year from *Europe*, in Exchange for the Manufactury of *India*. The Prince who then reigned in *Guzarat*, was Sultan *Babader*, a *Mohammedan*. This Sultan *Babader* had maintained a long War with the *Portuguese*, who daily encroached upon his Territories, and lately made themselves Masters of *Diu*, a Town which lies upon an Arm of the Sea, almost opposite to *Surat*; but both the Sultan *Babader*, and the *Portuguese*, being alarmed at the Approach of the *Mogul*, united their Forces against him.

It was with some Difficulty, it is said, that *Akbar* prevailed on his Troops to march against the *Portuguese*. They had been represented at *Dehly* as something more than mortal, and those vast floating Machines armed with Artillery, with which they had heard they fought upon the Water, they were apprehensive might be made use of, or at least something of the like Nature upon the Land. They dreaded the Encounter therefore to such a Degree, that they were upon the Point of turning their Backs, and quitting the Enterprize, till *Akbar*, who had fully informed himself of the Numbers, and Strength of the Enemy, and their manner of engaging, convinced his Troops how much inferior this little *Guzarat* Prince, and the *Portuguese*, were to the Forces he brought with him, and putting himself at the Head of his Troops, in one brisk Charge, he routed both the *Guzarats* and *Portuguese*. Sultan *Babader* fled, but his Children were taken Prisoners, and put to Death by the Conqueror, and the whole Kingdom immediately submitted to his Power, except those Towns the *Portuguese* were possessed of, which being fortified after the modern Way, bid Defiance to his Forces, as indeed, a very slight Fortification will at this Day. Their Elephants, which are their greatest Strength, are of very little use in a Siege, because a Battery of great Guns would soon lay them in Heaps, if they could be suppos'd so intrepid, as not to be disordered by the very Fire, or even the Report of a Cannon.

Akbar finding *Guzarat* so easy a Conquest, bent his Arms towards *Decan*, which lies to the Southward of it.

¹ The intelligent Reader will easily perceive the Reason why this Empire has been more subject to Revolutions than any other, the *Moguls* having no Subjects that he can depend on but *Tartars* and Strangers, the native *Indians* remaining still as distinct a Nation as ever, and abhorring the *Mohammedan* as heathen; the *Mohammedans* contemn them; so that this Government still remains what it was at the Beginning, that is to say, Military, the Sword giving Law, and being the true source of Power. This Observation will be found of great use to the understanding the subsequent Part of this History.

² It is a pretty difficult thing to fix the Manner of Writing this Word, which in all Probability is very incorrectly expressed by the *Europeans*. Most of our English Authors write it, *Rajpoots*, or *Rajpoots*, they are properly the War Tribe of the ancient *Indians*, and we find them very frequently distinguished by the Name of *Quateries*. The Arms they use, are commonly Swords, Pikes and Bucklers; but when they appear with a *Yelou* Cloak, it is a certain Sign that they have made a Vow either to conquer or die. On these Occasions, it is common enough for them to beguile their Courage, by taking Opium, which inspires 'em with a sort of military Fury, that differs not much from Madness. There is one thing remarkable in their Disposition, which is, that before they engage, they embrace each other, as if they were on the Point of departing on a long Journey, intimating thereby their Readiness to rush into another State.

This was divided into several little Sovereignities. *Muslapha*, a Mohammedan Prince, possessed that Part of the Country wherein the Towns of *Brampour* and *Acer* are situated, whose Subjects gave him the Title of *Almir*, or King. *Amanadagar*, and the Territory belonging to it, was subject to the Queen of *Cande*, and *Ambar* commanded the District of *Daltabad*. These Princes, tho' at other Times Enemies, united their Forces against *Akebar*, and gave him Battle, but were defeated by him with very little Loss. The Reduction of the Fortresses which these Princes possessed, prove a Work of greater Labour; for now every one being to defend what was their own, exerted their utmost Force, and their utmost Capacity.

The Fortress of *Acer* was the first that he attack'd, an irregular Fortification, and which could have made no Defence against an European Army, but a Place of great Strength in the *Indies*, and very well provided with Artillery, some of which, it is said, were cast by the *Indians* themselves, before the *Portugueses* visited their Coasts. King *Muslapha* was there in Person, with a very numerous Garrison, composed entirely of his best Troops. The Defence he made, was worthy of his Reputation for Conduct, and for Courage, and the Army of the *Mogul* was so ruined by the Fatigue of this Siege, that the Emperor himself had Thoughts of raising it, when he was informed by some Deserters, that the Garrison began to want Water, which encouraged him to remain before the Place. King *Muslapha* perceiving the Cisterns dry, and knowing the Rainy-season to be at a Distance, resolved to retire privately out of the Fortress, in order to throw himself into *Brampour*, and there defend himself and the rest of his Dominions.

It was with this Design, that in the middle of the Night, he quitted *Acer* in Disguise, and before he had proceeded far, he was seized by the Advance Guards of the *Mogul* Army, who carried him immediately to the Emperor's Tent. When he came into the Presence of *Akebar*, that Monarch asked him who he was, and where he was going? To which, with great Spirit, he answered, that he was King *Muslapha*, and that knowing him to be a wife and generous Prince, he came out to ask his Advice, since they had now no Water left, and he could not bring himself, after living so long as a King, to become the Subject of another. *Akebar* bid him go back to the Place, and be satisfied, that a Heaven intended to deliver him, he would meet with a Supply of Water by some unexpected Means. *Muslapha* took his Advice, and returned to his Fortress. It was then about the middle of *May*, and as the rainy Season does not usually commence till the middle of *June*, he had not much Reason to expect what nevertheless fell on the Night following, in which it rained so plentifully, that his Cisterns were all full by the next Morning. *Akebar*, astonished at this Accident, left a sufficient Body of Troops to block up *Acer*, and marched with the rest of his Forces to besiege *Brampour*, which, tho' a Place of considerable Strength, and well provided with every thing, did not hold out long, and *Muslapha* seeing the best Part of his Dominions lost, resolved to make the best Terms he could for himself, in Consideration of the Surrender of *Acer*. The *Mogul* granted him as good Conditions as he could reasonably expect, and *Muslapha* entering into his Service, had the same Respect paid him as the other Rajahs.

After the Reduction of *Acer*, the *Mogul* prepared next for the Siege of *Amanadagar*, which the Princess of *Cande* defending with great Courage, kept him two Months before the Place. At length, despairing to hold out, she caused all her Treasure to be melted into Bullets, and, interlarded with the bitterest Curfes against her Enemies, shot them into the neighbouring Woods, to prevent his possessing it. Some of these gold and silver Bullets *Manouchi* assures us, were found in his Time, and he read the Inscriptions on them with abundance of Delight, and one particularly of Gold, he says, weighed eight Pounds at least. *Ambar* hearing the great Distress that this Princess was in, resolved to make an Effort for her Deliverance, and at the same Time to keep the War out of his own Country. The Design was generous in itself, and well enough contrived, and on the Review of his Forces, it

seemed not altogether impossible to have executed it; for this *Indian* Prince, by compelling all his Subjects to take Arms, had drawn together near fifty thousand Men. *Akebar* however attacked him suddenly on his March, defeated him without the Loss of a Man, and his own People being discontented with his Conduct, murdered the unfortunate *Ambar* in his Flight. The Princess of *Cande* seeing now no Hopes left, yielded her City, and herself, to the victorious *Mogul*, who not only treated her with all the Respect due to her Quality, but soon after received her into the Number of his Wives, and she remained for many Years his principal Favourite. *Akebar* was now Master of best part of the South Coast of *Indostan*, and almost all the Rajahs of that Country readily yielded him Obedience.

It was at this Time, that from a Motive hitherto concealed, he took Occasion to destroy the vast and beautiful City of *Dehli*, the ancient Residence of the *Pattan* Kings, and the Capital of *Indostan*. He built a Mosque, and a Palace at *Faizpore*, and the Rajahs building also many Palaces near them, it soon became a very considerable City; but the Lustre of this Place lasted not long, since the Emperor himself perceiving that the Air was unwholesome, removed from thence, and returned into the Neighbourhood of *Dehli*, where, out of the Ruins of the old City, he erected a new one on the Banks of the River *Jemna*; but even the Splendor of this new City could not please him long, and therefore proceeding farther on the River, he fixed on the little Town of *Agra*, for the Seat of his Empire. It is seated on a large Plain, and the River *Jemna* making an Elbow therein, the City lies round it in the Form of an Half-moon. At one End he erected a noble Palace, round which the Omrahs and Rajahs built theirs; so that in a very short Space of Time, from an inconsiderable Hamlet, it grew to be a large City, of nine Italian Miles in Circumference, and having no fewer than 660,000 settled Inhabitants, exclusive of Strangers.

The Palace of the Emperor, which serves for a kind of Citadel to *Agra*, is one of the finest Structures in the World. The Walls of it, which are about thirty-five Foot high, are of a fine red Stone, little inferior in Hardness and Beauty to Marble, and it is built in such a Manner, that the joining of the Stones does not in the least appear. It is adorned with rich and beautiful Balconies, on every Story; and between the Palace and the River, there is a kind of Parade, where the Emperor sees his Guard reviewed, and the Battles of his Elephants. On the other Side the River, stands another City, as long as *Agra*, and not much inferior to it in Bigness. This is entirely inhabited by *Indians*, or, as they are now called, *Banians*, who are either Merchants, or Artificers; so that this City is no less remarkable for its Commerce, than the other for being the Imperial Residence of the Grand *Mogul*, and being the Capital of the *Indies*. When this great Work was accomplished, it plainly appeared, that this Emperor intended it for a Monument of his Glory to latest Posterity, by his bestowing upon it the Name of *Akebarabad*, i. e. the City of *Akebar*; but after his Decease, this new Name was laid aside, and the old one revived; so that this Capital of the *Indian* Empire is still known by the Name of *Agra*.

His Attention to the raising of this new City, did not extinguish that Thirst of Empire, which had appeared in the first Years of his Reign. On the contrary, having heard of an *Indian* Rajah, who was equally celebrated for his Wisdom and Courage, and who was besides illustrious on the score of his Descent from the famous *Porus*, and whose Dominions lay but twelve Days Journey from his Capital, he immediately formed a Design of reducing them, the rather because they lay between his hereditary Dominions, and his new Conquests. This Rajah took the Name of *Rana*, which seems to have been common to all his Family, according to the ancient Custom of the *Indies*. He was a Prince worthy of the Blood of *Porus*, and who, if he had been well seconded, might have restored the Liberty of his Country. As it was, he made a noble Attempt, which will be ever remembered in the Chronicles of that Country.



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He was soon obliged to quit the Field, and to shut himself up in the Fortrefs of *Chitor*, seated on the Top of an high Mountain, and surrounded by a River. The Siege of this Place cost the Mogul two Years, though at the Head of the most numerous and best furnished Army that had ever been seen in that Country, and was endangered by the foulest Piece of Treachery that perhaps was ever committed¹. *Akbar* pretended to raise the Siege, and desired of *Rana* to have the Liberty only of entering the Place with fifty Attendants, which was granted him by the honest *Indian* without the least Suspicion; but after he had been very kindly entertained, and conducted to the Gates of the Fortrefs by the *Rajah* himself, he threw over his Neck a Chain of Pearl, strung upon Mohair for that Purpose, and pulled him without the Place, where a Body of the Mogul's Troops made him Prisoner. He afterwards made his Escape, and the Mogul having renewed the Siege, he was killed on the Walls, and so the Place was forced to capitulate, and thereby all the Dominions of that once powerful *Rajah* were annexed to the Empire of *Akbar*, and proved a very considerable Acquisition.

The Conclusion of this War could not but be very agreeable to the Emperor, who found his troops sufficiently harassed by a War of such Continuance, and in which at the Beginning so many *Indian* Princes were engaged, who, notwithstanding, retired into their respective Territories as soon as they saw *Chitor* invested; whereas if they had kept the Field, and harassed the Army of the Mogul, it is highly probable they might have preserved the City of *Chitor*, and the Country of *Rajah Rana*, from being thus swallowed up by him, who meant to bring them all under his Subjection. But whether it proceeds from Religion, Humour, or Custom, certain it is, that the *Banians* have an established Principle amongst them, that defensive Wars against Foreigners are only lawful, and that they ought not to march out of their own Dominions, in order even to attack an Enemy that has often attempted their Destruction. This weak Notion has always given the Moguls great Advantages over them, and particularly this politick, as well as enterprizing Prince, who, when he had torn from them a Part of their Dominions, suddenly laid down his Arms, and thereby put an End to the War, till another favourable Opportunity offered.

Akbar therefore, after he had subdued this Province, employed himself for some time in cultivating the Arts of Peace, in enlarging the City of *Agra*, and beautifying his Palaces; and among other great Works, he planted the Road from *Agra* to *Labar*, and made it one continued Walk of shady Trees, though it be not less than four hundred and fifty *English* Miles from one City to the other. This still remains as a Monument of this Emperor's Grandeur, and is an inconceivable Refreshment to Travellers in so hot a Climate. He was a great Admirer of all robust Exercises, and took a Pleasure in the most hazardous Uses thereof, breaking unruly Horses, and managing the War-Elephants when they fought; an Employment so very dangerous, that the Wives of those who are obliged to do it by their Office, tear off their Cloaths, and the Pendants from their Ears, when their Husbands are thus exposed. Nay, it is reported of him, that in the War he had with the Peasants of the Country, the most obstinate he ever engaged in, when some of them had shut themselves up in a Town, and the Conductors of the Elephants were ordered to break open the Gates; upon their expressing some Reluctance to hazard themselves in so desperate an Undertaking, the Emperor commanded one of them to dismount, and clothed in a common Soldier's Coat, mounted the Elephant himself, and managed him with that Dexterity, that he forced open the Gate in the midst of a Shower of Arrows which the besieged poured upon him, and had the good Fortune to come off unhurt. This War with the Peasants, which begun in *Akbar's* Reign, lasted a considerable time; for being acquainted with all the Defiles and inaccessible Parts of the Forests, it was found exceed-

ing difficult to drive them from their Haunts, and the Government is so severe upon this sort of People to this Day, that if a Peasant be found in Arms, he loses his Head. Nothing is more common than to see the Heads of these Wretches hanging on the Road Sides in *terrorum*.

While *Akbar* was engaged in this War with the Peasants, his eldest Son *Jehan Guire* broke out in Rebellion against him, but his Party was soon defeated, and the Prince made a Prisoner. However, such was his Father's Tenderness towards him, that he did not keep him long confined; but, to deter him from such Practices for the future, upon his Enlargement, he made the Prince follow him into a Forest, where he shewed him the Heads of the principal Conspirators hanging upon the Branches of the Trees. The Prince being taught, by so tragical a Prospect, the Danger that attended such Enterprizes, or moved by a Sense of the Emperor's Indulgence to him, ever after continued unshaken in his Loyalty and Duty to his Father. This Insurrection was no sooner suppressed, but the *Pattans*, who had been driven up into the Mountains by *Amaym*, began to make Incursions into the open Country, and threatened to assume their ancient Sovereignty in that Kingdom of *Deby*. Against these *Akbar* sent an Army of eighty-thousand Men, who entered the *Pattan* Country, but were all cut in Pieces, or perished in the Desarts.

This Misfortune obliged the Emperor to lay aside all Thoughts of subduing these People, at least for the present, and perceiving that the chief Cause of his Misfortune was, that his Artillery had not been so well played as it might have been, he resolved to take some *Europeans* into his Service, and with this View he sent for some *English* Gunners from on Board their Ships that came to trade upon his Coasts; and of one of these Gunners we have a very whimsical Story, which, as it has nothing in it improbable, I will venture, for the Reader's Amusement, to relate. This Man was particularly skilful in his Profession, but withal had a great Affection for his Bottle, and found himself much at a Loss in a *Mohammedan* Country, where Wine was prohibited. He at last contrived a very singular Method for procuring in this respect a Dispensation for himself. The Emperor being desirous to see a Proof of his Dexterity, ordered a large Carpet to be hung up at a reasonable Distance, and directed him to fire at it, which the Fellow did, but pointed his Gun in such a manner, that the Shot flew extremely wide. The Emperor called him, and gave him a pretty brisk Reproof, telling him, that it was a Shame for a Man to take upon him that Office, who knew so little of the Matter. The Gunner answered with great Humility, that since he had been debarred the Use of Wine, his Eyes were grown dim, but that if his Majesty would order him a chipping Cup, he durst engage to hit a smaller Mark. *Akbar* immediately commanded that they should give him a Quart, of which the Gunner made but one Draught, and then applying himself to the Task he had undertaken, he performed it with universal Applause. The Emperor upon this ordered it to be entered in the Annals of his Reign, *That Wine is as natural to Europeans, as Water to Fish, and that to deprive them of it, was to rob them of the greatest Comfort of their Lives*.

It was from this Accident that a Law was made, giving Leave to such Foreigners as settled in the Empire to cultivate Vineyards, which they have since done with great Success and Profit. He from this Time forward had a great Kindness for the *Europeans*, and took all imaginable Pains to engage them, as well as all other Strangers, to settle in his Dominions, that they might enlarge the Trade, and perfect the Manufactures of his Subjects. By this means his Empire became every Day more and more flourishing, and the Inhabitants of it more and more industrious; yet with all these great Properties, and notwithstanding he was certainly one of the ablest Politicians in the East, *Akbar* had something very extravagant, which discovered itself particularly in his Notions about Religion. His own good Sense, assisted by the Lights he received

¹ The Siege of *Chitor* is almost as famous among the modern *Indians*, as the Siege of *Troy* among the ancient *Greeks*; and an infinite Number of fabulous Stories have been thrust into this History. Thus it is said to have had its Beginning from the Character which *Akbar* had received of the beautiful *Padmanay*, the Wife of *Rana*, and the most lovely Woman in the *Indies*. All these Embellishments I thought requisite to leave out, that we might keep the more within Bounds, and report as near as possible nothing but Matters of Fact to the Reader.

from the *Portuguese* Missionaries, brought him to discern many Absurdities in the *Mohammedan* Religion, to which he had never been much addicted; but instead of becoming a Christian, as the *Portuguese* Priests expected¹, he framed a strange Project of introducing a new Religion, which very plainly shewed that he considered it only as a political Institution, and as a useful Engine of Government. He was sensible of the great Inconveniences that arose from his Subjects, being of different Faiths, and therefore he was willing to introduce a System that might reconcile them all, and at the same time place him at the Head of Ecclesiastical, as well as Civil Affairs. This Scheme of his he published at *Labor*, and at first it was tolerably well received, at least among his Courtiers, who were ready enough to embrace any thing that might please their Master. In this new Religion he studied to comprehend the principal Doctrines and most remarkable Rites of all the rest. Baptism he borrowed from the Christians, Circumcision from the *Mohammedans*, a profound Reverence for the Sun from the *Persees*, and with these he mingled somewhat of the Morality, and even of the Theological Notions of the *Bramins*, assuming, in consequence of this Invention, the Title of *Shah Geladin*, that is, the supreme Pontiff of the sovereign Law.

But in the midst of his Politicks there were certain Circumstances attended these Proceedings, which he had not foreseen, and that was the disgusting all such of his Subjects as were really Men of Principles, and sincerely attached to the Faiths which they professed. The *Mohammedans*, who are, generally speaking, Bigots, were provoked to the highest Degree by what they call his Apostacy. The *Indians* were by no means pleased, and the *Persees* remained obstinately fixed to their old Religion, which they thought was grievously profaned by this new Regulation; and thus, instead of pleasing all, he pleased none but such Men of corrupt Intentions as were leant to be relied or depended on. The First-fruits of his new Religion was a dangerous Revolt begun in the following Manner: *Mustapha*, one of the Decan Princes, whom he had formerly subdued, and who, as has been before observed, had lived peaceably in the Mogul's Court for a considerable Time, about this Time retired from thence, and found means to repossess himself of his Country, where many *Mohammedans*, disgusted at the Sights the Emperor had put upon their Religion, went over to him. The Prince *Pibari*, the Emperor's beloved Son, to whom he had given the Name of *Morad*, was sent with a gallant Army to suppress this Insurrection; he engaged the *Rajab* in the Province of *Cambaya*, being considerably superior to the Enemy in Numbers, but *Mustapha*, who was an experienced Captain, and perfectly acquainted with the Country, gained an intire Victory over the Emperor's Forces, and the Body of young *Morad* was found in the Field of Battle among the slain. This Stroke of Fortune, it is said, pierced *Akbar* to the Heart, and he was so sensible of the Anger of Heaven, that he never after worshipped the Sun, nor suffered, as in Consequence of his Scheme he had done, Divine Honours to be paid to his own Person.

The Emperor soon after returned from *Cuchemira*, by the Way of *Labor*, and marched Southward till he arrived at *Agra*, where mighty Preparations were made against *Mustapha*. In the mean while the Emperor grew extremely thoughtful, abandoning all sorts of Diversions but Hunting, which he followed chiefly for the Opportunity of retiring alone into the Forest, and unfrequented Places. In one of these Excursions, sitting by himself under a shady Tree, it is said he observed a certain kind of Caterpillars creeping near him, which he killed with the Point of one of his Arrows, and shooting an Antelope soon after with the same Arrow, the Beast expired in an Instant, tho' the Wound was not in a mortal Part; whereupon the Empe-

ror commanded the Antelope to be opened, the Flesh of which appeared black and corrupted, and the Dogs died that eat of it, by which *Akbar* discovered how very subtil the Poison extracted from this Insect was, and caused a Quantity of Pills to be made up with it, which he compelled some disaffected Lords to take in his Presence, and thereby dispatched them out of his Way². He practised the same Conduct towards all whom he esteemed Friends to *Mustapha*, whom he found to have abundance of Creatures in his Court, and promised himself, by this Contrivance, a safe and happy Reign for the future.

But it so fell out, that this very Art turned upon himself, and shortened his Days in the same manner that it had done those of his Enemies. The Person to whom he confided the Secret of mixing these Pills, had Orders to supply the Emperor's Box from Time to Time with a certain Quantity of them. In this Box there were three Partitions, in one of which he kept his Betel, which, according to the Custom of his Country, he chewed in the same manner as in *Europe* People chew Tobacco; in the second he had some cordial Pills to help Digestion, and in the third were those Poison Pills. It happened one Day, that either through *Hurry* or *Inadvertency*, he mistook the Pills in the third Partition for those in the second, and by this means poisoned himself. The Venom operated slowly, but surely, notwithstanding all the Assistance he received from his own Physicians, and from the *Portuguese*, so that he ended his Days in great Pain and Misery, after he had reigned fifty-three, and lived sixty-six Years. His Corps was interred in a very fine Tomb of his own Building, and he left behind him the Character of one of the bravest, wisest, and most fortunate Princes of the Age in which he lived, and seemed to have merited in the Course of his Reign, the Title he assumed at the Beginning of it, *Akbar* in the Language of his Country signifying inimitable.

9. *Shah-Selim*, i. e. the peaceable King, succeeded his Father *Akbar* on the 21st of October in the Year of the *Hegira* 1014, and in that of our Lord 1605. On his ascending the Throne, he assumed, as the Custom is in the East, a new Name or Title, and called himself *Nour'odin Mohammed Jebanguir*, i. e. the Light of Religion, Mohammed Conqueror of the World. Almost all the *European* Authors call him *Jehan Guire*, and therefore that we may not seem to affect Singularity in Matters of no great Importance, we shall call him so likewise, that the Reader may apply what is here delivered the more readily to what he may read of this Prince in other Authors. As to the Character of this Monarch, we are obliged to speak of it more largely than hitherto we have done of any of these Princes, because the History of his Reign depends in a great measure thereupon. He fell very far short of his Father in Abilities, and at the same time exceeded him very much in his Vices. He loved eating and drinking more than became a King, and the chief Reason why he inclined rather to the Christian than to the *Mohammedan* Religion was, because the former did not restrain him in Meats or Drinks as the latter did. He was very brave in his Person, though he did not affect War so much as some of his Predecessors; but whenever his Affairs forced him to take the Field, he shewed himself as capable of conducting his Armies as any of them. He was naturally fond of the *Franks* or *Europeans*, because he found them more inclined to that manner of Life, which he liked best, than the *Mohammedans*, whom he treated with great Harshness and Severity; for he particularly affected Feasting at the Season of the Year, when by the Precepts of their Law they were bound to fast; and if at such times they refused to eat and drink as freely as he would have them, he threatened to throw them out of the Window of his Dining-room, under which two fierce Lions were constantly chained. One would imagine

¹ There are abundance of strange Stories related of the Conferences between this Monarch and these Missionaries, which, as I cannot believe, I will not relate, but content myself with observing, that in this Court, as well as in most others, the Suppleness of the Clergy did more Harm to Religion than their Preaching could do good. The Truth of the Matter seems to be, that they had one thing in View, and the Emperor another, so that they were continually at Cross-purposes, they studying by Artifices unworthy of the Christian Religion to convert him, and he labouring all he could to pick out of them such things as might be of most Use to him, in which he succeeded much better than they.

² There seems to be something contradictory in this Account of the Poison which *Akbar* discovered, since it is said to have operated so suddenly on the Beast, and so slowly in Men; but if we consider the Facts attentively, we shall very soon be convinced, that they are very consistent. In the first place the Poison in one instance was unmixed, and in the other compounded, which must necessarily make a great Alteration in the manner of its working; and in the next the Poison was very differently applied; for with respect to the Antelope, it was thrown immediately into the Blood and Joints, whereas when administered to Men, it paid first through all the Operations of the Stomach, which, though they could not entirely destroy, must, however, much weaken its Force.

from hence, that he was obstinate and cruel, and yet it is certain that no Prince was more under the Influence either of Women, or of Ministers, than he, as will very clearly appear from the subsequent Part of this History.

It has been already observed, that he took up Arms against his Father, and this Crime drew after it the Punishment it deserved; for as the old Emperor *Akbar*, while his Son was under Disgrace with him upon this Account, often threatened to deprive him of the Succession, and to leave the Crown to his eldest Son Sultan *Khosro*, or, as it is commonly wrote, *Cofrou*, so from the very Beginning of his Reign, that young Prince at least secretly disputed his Right to the Crown, conceiving himself the lawful Emperor, and his Father no better than an Usurper; which Notion, whether well or ill founded, was the Source of those Troubles and Disturbances in the Government, which lasted for near an hundred Years. Yet it does not appear, that the Emperor shewed any great Jealousy or Dislike to this Son, before such time as his Behaviour made it absolutely necessary for him to treat him with Severity; and in all probability, the Reason that Sultan *Cofrou* had so many Friends in his Father's Court, and was able to give him so much Disturbance, proceeded from his own ill Management, and especially from his applying himself too little to Affairs of State, and giving up too much of his Time to his Pleasures. Another great Error in the Conduct of *Jehan Guire*, was his shewing a great Contempt for his Father's Memory, and altering almost every thing that he had done; whereas Sultan *Cofrou*, on the other hand, studied in every thing to follow the Footsteps of his Grandfather, to support the Dignity of his Character, to maintain his Interest with the great *Omrahs* and *Rajabs* at Court, and withal, to gain the Affections of the People. It is easy to discern from what has been said, that how peaceable soever this Monarch's Temper might be, his Reign could not but be liable to Troubles and Distractions, as we shall see it was.

This Emperor removed the Imperial Seat from *Agra* to *Lahor*, which lies four or five hundred Miles to the North in a more temperate Climate, and the fine Walk of Trees from one City to the other, which was begun by *Akbar*, was finished by this Prince; he made also large Additions to the City of *Lahor*, and built him an elegant convenient Palace, but not near so magnificent as that of *Agra*. Here it was that the Emperor engaged in an Ambour, which occasioned him infinite Troubles during the Remainder of his Reign; and though the Beginning of the Story have the Air of a Romance, yet as to the Substance of it, there is very little Reason to entertain a Doubt, the Distractions in the Royal Family, and the Wars that succeeded amongst the Princes of the Blood, sufficiently attest the Truth of the principal Facts. His Majesty it seems was walking on his Terras, under which runs a fine River, when he saw a Barge rowing under him, wherein was a Lady of surprizing Beauty sitting under a Canopy. The Emperor let the Barge pass by, but sent immediately to enquire after her Name, and where her Residence was. The Messengers informed him that the Lady's Name was *Nour Mahal*^a, and that she was married to an Officer who commanded five hundred Men in his Majesty's Service; whereupon the Emperor ordered rich Presents to be made her, and that she should be acquainted how much he was smitten with her Beauty; but the Lady vowed inviolable Fidelity to her Husband, and would not hear any Proposals to his Dishonour. His Majesty, not being able to prevail with her to alter her Resolution, wrote to her Husband to attend a certain General, and at the same time sent to the General to put him to Death as soon as he saw him, which was executed accordingly, but not so secretly but *Nour Mahal* heard of it, and would not be put off with Accounts the Emperor ordered to be divulged, that he was killed by Accident.

When his Majesty therefore renewed his Addresses, and acquainted her there was now no Difficulty in the Way, and that he desired no more than the nicest Virtue might comply with, to take her among the bitterest Invectives, and reproached him with his Treachery and Cruelty. But the Time of her Widowhood being expired, and having had Leisure to vent her Grief, and reflect on the advantageous Officers which were made her, his Majesty found her more complying; and upon Condition that she should be the first Queen, that her Brother should be Prime Minister, and her Relations presented to the highest Posts, she was contented to yield to the Embraces of her Husband's Murderer. The Emperor solemnized his Marriage on the Arrival of the new Queen in his Palace, by a Festival, which lasted eight Days; and instead of the Name of *Nour Mahal*, which she had before, he gave her that of *Nour Jehan*, or *the Light of the World*.

But, notwithstanding one of the greatest Emperors of the East was captivated with her Charms, and the Empire was, for some Time, governed by her Arts, her Parentage was but mean; and when she came from *Persia*, the Place of her Birth, with her first Husband, he was no more than a Camel-Driver, though he afterwards advanced his Fortune in the Mogul's Service, and became a Commander of five hundred Men, as was observed before. Within the Compass of the first Year after her Admission into the Haram, or Seraglio, she dispatched five of the Ladies there, who were most in the Emperor's Favour, by Poison. And such was her Influence over the Emperor himself, that she engaged him to forbear drinking, at least, beyond the Bounds of Moderation, allowing him no more than nine Glasses at a Sitting. She had no Children by the Emperor, and but one Daughter by her former Husband; and the great Object therefore of her Policy was, to marry this Daughter to one of the Emperor's Sons, and then advance him to the Throne. *Jehan Guire* had four Sons by several Wives, the eldest was born in the Life of his Grandfather *Akbar*, and was stiled Sultan *Cofrou*; the second Sultan *Parvis*; the third Sultan *Chorrom*^b; and the fourth Sultan *Shebriar*. It was to Sultan *Cofrou* that *Nour Jehan* intended to have married her Daughter, but this Prince, it seems, was prejudiced against her already, on account of the Influence she had over his Father; and another Obstacle was, his having married a Daughter of one of the great *Rajabs*, of whom he was passionately fond, whereupon he slighted the Proposal. The Sultaneis offered her Daughter to *Shebriar*, the youngest Son, Sultan *Chorrom* being already married to her Niece, the Daughter of *Ajapp Khau*. His Brother *Shebriar* was pleased with the Match, as the most likely Means to advance him to the Throne after the Death of his Father. And the Marriage was no sooner celebrated, but the three elder Brothers were appointed to distant Governments. Sultan *Chorrom* was sent to *Decan*, Sultan *Parvis* to *Bengal*, and Sultan *Cofrou*, the eldest, was designed for *Guzerat*.

But, instead of going to that Command, he assembled a Body of Troops to secure his Succession to the Crown, which he apprehended to be his Right, even at this instant, for he was bred up in a Belief that his Grandfather *Akbar* had appointed him his immediate Successor; and though he was content his Father should enjoy the Crown before him, he could not bear to see his youngest Brother the Favourite at Court, and with his Mother-in-law the Sultaneis, taking such Steps as must infallibly exclude him. If this did not justify it, at least it excused his Conduct, and brought many to side with him; but there were others who were not caught, even with this plausible Pretence, and, amongst them, the very best Friend the young Prince had in the World.

^a In the Text I have followed the usual Way of Spelling, because by that this Lady is well known to us from Mr. Dryden's Play of the Great Mogul; but her Name more accurately expressed was *Nour-Mahal*, which signifies the Light of the Haram, or Seraglio; and therein consists the Complement of the Emperor's changing her Name to *Nour-Jehan*, in which there is a double Entendre, since it signified at once the Light of the Emperor, and the Light of the World. She was not only the handsomest Woman in the Indies, but a great Wit also, and had a fine Vein in Poetry. In a word, she was the most accomplished of her Sex, and if she had not had too many of these Vices, would have made a very shining Figure in History. There are complete Memoirs of her amorous and political Intrigues under the Title of *Mazir-Jehangir*.

^b The proper Name of this Son of the Emperor was Sultan *Khaurm*, i. e. the Prince of Joy. He was born in the Year 1592, and was the Son of an Indian Princess, the Daughter of *Rajah Gadseng*; and though he was the third Son of the Emperor, yet succeeded his Father, and his Family, are still possessed of the Throne of *Indogan*.

This was *Mohammed-Khan*, his Father's Prime Minister, who had always supported him even at the Hazard of his Interest. The Empress, who hated that Minister for many Reasons, and especially, because he was the only Rival that her Brother *Ajaph-Khan* had in the Emperor's Favour, placed Things in such a Light to her insatuated Husband, that at last he gave his Consent that this great Man, who had deserved alike well of himself and of his Subjects, should be murdered. The Scheme laid for this Purpose, had as much in it of female Management as of Malice. A Company of *Indians*, who were posted in a Hall through which he was to go to the Emperor's Apartment, had Orders to stab him in his Passage. Had this Commission been given to one resolute Man, the Thing had probably been done; but these People behaved in so cowardly a Manner, that they discovered the Design without executing it, and *Mohammed*, who had much personal Bravery, forced his Passage into the Emperor's Apartment, where, finding him surrounded by Officers, upon whom he could depend, he seized upon his Person, forced him to mount his Elephant, and then seating himself by him under the same Canopy, with a Dagger drawn in his Hand, he sent the Empress Word by one of her own Spies, that the Life of *Jehan Guire* should answer for it, if any Attempt was made to hinder his Passage. In this Manner he conducted the Emperor to his own Palace, where he was very safely guarded; for *Mohammed* was not only General and Commander in chief of the Army, but had it entirely at his Devotion; so that notwithstanding this surprising Accident, there was not the least Stir amongst the Soldiers, nor any Attempt made to rescue the Emperor out of his Hands. While he had him thus in his Custody, he obliged him to continue sober, and represented to him, in very plain Terms, the bad State of his Affairs, and the bad Consequences that must necessarily attend the Intrigues of the Sultana. In the mean time, he directed every thing as he was wont to do, in the Emperor's Name; levied Troops, and made open Preparations for War. The young Prince, who was all this Time in the Field, collected also a numerous Body of Men, the best Part of whom however were *Indians*; for having married a Wife of that Nation, and having always studied to oblige the *Rajaes*, his chief Interest lay among those People, who promised themselves great Things whenever he came to the Crown.

But all their Hopes were dashed by *Mohammed*, who released the Emperor, defeated *Cosrou*, and sent him and his Family Prisoners to the Citadel of *Gualtier*. While the Prince remained in this Captivity, *Nour Jehan* made him an Offer not only of his Liberty, but to assure his Succession to the Crown, if he would marry her Daughter, whom she promised to divorce from his younger Brother *Sbeiriar*, as being an unactive Prince, and never likely to maintain himself upon the Throne, if he should be placed upon it. But such was Sultan *Cosrou's* Contempt, or Prejudice to *Nour Jehan's* Family, or, as others say, such was his Passion for one of his Wives, that he refused to comply with her, even in those wretched Circumstances. *Ajaph Cham*, Brother to the Sultana, also encouraged the unfortunate *Cosrou* to persist in his Resolution, having an Interest to manage distinct from that of his Sister's; for Sultan *Chorrom*, the third Son of the Emperor, as has been observed, had married his Daughter; and if Sultan *Cosrou* and *Nour Jehan* should be reconciled, his Son-in-law could never hope to succeed. But, to make all sure, left Sultan *Cosrou*, induced by the Hardships he suffered, or the Hopes of a Crown, might, at length, be prevailed on to comply with the Sultana, he procured the Emperor to send for Sultan *Chorrom* to Court, where they agreed together to cause Sultan *Cosrou* to be privately murdered in Prison. It was first attempted by Poison, but the Prince suspected the Design, and would eat nothing but what was dressed by his beloved Wife; whereupon they resolved to take the shortest Way, and ordered the Captain of the Fortrels to strangle him, which was executed without the Emperor's Knowledge.

However, a Fact of this Nature could not be transacted so privately, but it was at last discovered; and though the Murderers were Persons of that Consequence, that the Emperor could not punish it in the Manner it deserved; yet he, from thenceforward, determined to make his Grandson *Bolagui*, the Son of Sultan *Cosrou*, his Successor; who appeared to be a Prince of great Expectations; and then about seventeen Years of Age. This Prince therefore was brought to Court, and treated as the presumptive Heir of the Crown, while Sultan *Chorrom* was commanded to retire to his Government of *Decan*. Here he spent his Time in making Alliances with the neighbouring *Rajabs*; and by Presents and Offers of Preferment, brought over most of the best Officers in the Empire to his Party; while the old Emperor spent his Days in the Amusements of the Seraglio, or over a Bottle, with his Friends; for either the Sultana now indulged him in it, or she had not that Influence over him, as when her Charms were in their Bloom.

It was while Things remained in this Situation, that *Jehan Guire* enjoyed the pleasantest Part of his Reign: He spent the hot Summer Months in the little Kingdom of *Cachemire*, which all the Eastern Writers represent as incomparably the finest Country in the World. It is the most Northern Part of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, and is, strictly speaking, no more than a Valley, surrounded by high Mountains. The Air is temperate and wholesome, the Country rich and fruitful, and the People valiant in War, laborious and industrious in Time of Peace. It was in this beautiful Region that the Emperor indulged himself in all the Pleasures of a rural Life. His Palace was elegant and agreeable, but, at the same time, rather convenient than magnificent; his Gardens large, but irregular, and remarkable, rather for their Resemblance to a Forest, than for the Decorations that are derived from Art. The Empress, that she might seem to comply with the Humour of so kind a Husband, condescended to share in those rural Delights, and particularly diverted herself with feeding tame Fish in her Canals, some of which were many Years afterwards known by Fillets of Gold which she caused to be put round them. In the winter Season, when the rainy Weather makes it very uncomfortable living in the *Indies*, *Jehan Guire* contrived a singular Method of amusing himself at *Agra*, or *Labor*. He caused a kind of Fair to be kept in the Galleries of his Palace, where the *Omrahs* and *Rajabs* kept Shops, and attended them with their Wives and Daughters. The Emperor and the Royal Family were their only Customers, and amused themselves in going from Shop to Shop, cheapening Goods and haggling for them as if they were in earnest concerned about laying out their Money.

But these kinds of Pleasures were frequently interrupted by untoward Accidents in the Imperial Family, and sometimes too by Causes of another Nature. The wife and potent Shah *Abbas* was, at that Time, Monarch of *Persia*, and a formidable Neighbour to the Mogul. He revived the Pretensions which his Predecessors had on the Principality of *Kbandabar*; and one Summer, when *Jehan Guire* was diverting himself in the Kingdom of *Cachemire*, the Shah sent an Embassador to demand the Restitution of that City and Country, agreeable to the Promise made by his Grandfather *Anayum*. The Emperor sent Orders immediately to the Viceroy of *Multan*, which is the nearest Province to *Kbandabar*, to assemble, with the utmost Expedition, an Army for its Relief; but being informed that the Thing was impossible, he sent Instructions to the Governor of the Fortrels of *Kbandabar*, which is the strongest Place in the *Indies*, to set a good Face upon the matter, and to deliver up the City and Castle, as soon as the *Persian* Army appeared. The Governor, however, could not believe his Eyes, and being a better Subject than a Statesman, was unable to comprehend that any Reasons could be strong enough to induce the Emperor to part with a Place of so great Strength, and so much Importance; he therefore defended it very bravely for six Months, and did not even surrender it then, till the Breach was

* This Diversion has been much used by his Successors, but especially by his Grandson; though it has always given great Offence to the *Omrahs* and *Rajabs*, because it obliges them to expose their Wives and Concubines, which tho' done only to the Imperial Family, is not born by them but with infinite Unc easiness, and the rather, because this has sometimes occasioned the carrying their Wives into the Imperial Harem.

practicable; and Shah *Abbas* on the very Point of making a general Storm. The Conduct of this Officer was very serviceable to the Emperor, though not agreeable to his Orders, for it gave *Mohammed-Khan* an Opportunity of drawing together such a Force as put a Stop to the Progress of the *Perfian* Arms, and prevented Shah *Abbas* from prosecuting the Design he had formed of making an Irruption into *Indofan*.

This Misfortune was quickly followed by a greater; the Emperor had given Orders for transporting the Treasures of the Empire from *Agra* to *Lahor*, and *Asaph-Khan* was directed to see this performed, of which he immediately gave Notice to his Son-in-law, Sultan *Chorrom*, and advised him to march with an Army and seize them on the Road; and he accordingly put himself at the Head of sixty thousand Men for that Purpose. The Design, however, was prevented by the Fidelity of the Officer, who had the Custody of those Treasures, and who absolutely refused to deliver them to *Asaph-Khan*, though he produced the Emperor's Order. Sultan *Chorrom* not meeting with them upon the Road, proceeded to *Agra*; and though he was not able to take the Citadel, plundered the City, and then returned into his own Province of *Deccan*, with an immense Booty. The Emperor, incensed at this outrageous Act of Disloyalty, assembled all his Forces, and marched in Person against this unnatural Son. The Armies met in the Neighbourhood of the City of *Dehly*, where an obstinate Engagement ensued, in which, however, the Emperor was at last victorious, and Sultan *Chorrom* was obliged to retire into the Mountains. The young Sultan *Belaqui* was sent by his Grandfather to lay Siege to the City of *Amadabat*, which was the Capital of his rebellious Son's Province. This he performed with all the Zeal, and all the Expedition that could be expected, made himself Master of the Place in a few Days after he appeared before it, seized all the Treasures that were laid up therein, broke to Pieces the Throne of Gold the Sultan had erected there, and distributed the Diamonds with which it was adorned, amongst his Officers. This Victory had, in all Probability, put an End to the War, if one of the Emperor's Generals, whose Name was *Abdul-Khan*, had not gone over to the Party of Sultan *Chorrom*, which gave him fresh Hopes, and enabled him, once more, to take the Field, though with a small Army, with which he retired behind the River *Nerbada*, and fixed his head Quarters at *Brampour*. While he was in this Post, and endeavouring to recruit his Forces, very high Disputes arose between his old Minister *Kanna*, and his new Favourite *Abdul-Khan*, which, by Degrees, grew to such a Height that the former deserted his Interest, and made his Peace with the Emperor. To do this the more effectually, he informed Sultan *Parvis* and *Mohammed-Khan* of the distressed Situation of Sultan *Chorrom*'s Affairs, advising them to pass the River immediately, and secure his Person. But *Abdul-Khan*, suspecting that he would give this Advice, advised his Master to retire into the Dominions of *Amber Malec*, an Indian Prince, who was his Friend; by which he escaped his total Ruin: And, on the other hand, *Mohammed-Khan* believing that *Kanna* had deceived him, treated them but very indifferently. By this Time however the Empress began to apprehend that *Mohammed-Khan* intended to put Sultan *Parvis* the Throne, in which she was confirmed by the great Victory gained over the Sultan *Chorrom* at *Alabassen*, one of the most famous Battles that was ever fought in the *Indies*; she therefore determined to ruin that great Minister, in the Opinion of a Master who owed his Life and Crown to his Fidelity.

It was with this View that she sent for the Traitor *Kanna* to Court, whose Eloquence, assisted by the Influence of the Sultana, drew over the old Emperor to their pernicious Opinion, and induced him to send an Order to *Mohammed-Khan* to come to Court immediately, without any Attendance. He was too wise a Man not to discern upon what Motives

this Order was founded, and therefore made no great Haste to obey it; but he was much more perplexed, when he discovered that Sultan *Parvis* was not at all displeased at his Disgrace, but rather looked upon it as a Piece of good Fortune, which left him an Army entirely at his Disposal. *Mohammed-Khan* then saw that Loyalty and Probity were Virtues quite unnecessary to Ministers under an absolute Government, and that in the Situation he stood, it was necessary to practise the same bold Measure which he had once before taken with so much Success. He had Information, that the Court was removing from *Agra* to *Cabul*, and that the Bulk of the Army generally moved at some Distance before it. He assembled therefore with great Secrecy and Diligence, by the Assistance of some old Officers devoted to his Service, five thousand *Rahpours*, of determined Courage, with whom he watched the Emperor's Motions, and understanding, that the Army had passed the River *Nilab*, in the Grey of the Morning, he invested the Camp of *Jebangure* before Sun-rise, and almost without Bloodshed, secured him, the Empress, Sultan *Belaqui*, Sultan *Sberior*, and his two mortal Enemies, *Asaph-Khan* and *Kanna*, which was, perhaps, one of the boldest Actions ever performed in the *Indies*.

The Use this Minister made of it was surprizingly generous; he told the Emperor, as soon as he saw him, that he did not come to make him a Prisoner, but to set him at full Liberty, and leave it in his Power to place whom he pleased on the Throne after his Decease. As for the two Princes, he sent them Prisoners to the Citadel of *Agra*, and after having detained the Ministers, his Enemies, for some Time in Custody, he set them at Liberty, having first sworn *Kanna* on the *Khoran*, not to bear Arms against him, which Oath he kept in a very ministerial Manner; for the Empress having by her Intrigues recalled the Emperor's Army, he put himself at the Head of it, with a View to have deprived of Liberty and Life that great Man from whom he had just received both; but *Mohammed* had timely Notice of the Design, and made his Escape. He soon after saw himself in worse Circumstances than ever; for the Troops at *Agra* set the two Princes at Liberty, Sultan *Chorrom* took the Field with a fresh Army, and Sultan *Parvis*, who was just reconciled to him, died of a Disease. His Affairs appeared now so desperate, that his Son deserted him, and took Part with the Court. In this Distress, the old Man preferred nothing but his Loyalty, and his Spirits, retiring, for the sake of immediate Safety, to *Rajah Rama*, a powerful *Indian* Prince, and yet so simple, and so bad a Politician, that he received his old Friend covered with Misfortunes, and in all Appearance without Resource, with as much Affection as when the first Man in the Empire, and at the Head of its Armies and Councils. The first thing *Mohammed* thought of in his Retreat, was his restoring the publick Peace, and securing the Quiet of his Master as long as he lived, which was all the Revenge he took for the repeated Injuries he had received.

It was with this View, that he wrote to Sultan *Chorrom*, and offered him his Service, not to act against his Father, but to secure the Crown to him after his Decease. That Prince had married the Daughter, and was entirely under the Influence of *Asaph*, the avowed Enemy of *Mohammed*, to whom he revealed the Proposition made him, and asked his Advice: He conjured his Son to accept the Offer; you cannot, said he, have a better General, or a more faithful Servant. Thus, in an Instant, the whole Face of Affairs was again changed; *Mohammed* reconciled the Emperor to his Son, pacified all the Troubles of the Empire, and put it in the Power of *Jebangure* to spend the Remainder of his Days in Peace. That Monarch was now grown old and infirm, and therefore desired to enjoy his Ease in the pleasant and wholesome Country of *Cachemire*, whither he retired, but had not continued there long, before he found himself troubled with an Asthma. The Impatience natural to Age and Sickness, made him

* There are many Circumstances of this Prince's private Life that very well deserve to be recorded, if we were not pressed both in point of Time and Room; and these are known with the greater Certainty, because he wrote himself a Treatise, entitled, *Fabul Jebangure*, or, the Countenance of *Jebangure*, for the first thirteen Years of his Reign, viz. from the 21st of October 1605 to 1618. In these are contained Abundance of very curious and pleasant Stories; for he was wont to disguise himself in an Evening, in order to go and drink with the Tradesmen of *Agra*, at the common Punch-House, and kept a very exact Account of his Adventures.

long once more to change the Place of his Residence, and accordingly he set out for *Labor*, and in his Way thither died at *Bimber* on the 27th of *October*, in the Year of the *Higra* 1038, *A. D.* 1627, having reigned twenty-two Years and six Days, and lived fifty-eight Years, one Month and twenty-nine Days.

He was much regretted by his Subjects, over whom he reigned with much Justice, and with whom he lived in a manner so familiar, that they loved him as a Father and a Friend, as much as they respected him as a Prince. He was far from wanting great Qualities, or good ones; the Easiness of his Temper was his greatest Fault.

The Death of the Emperor revived the Commotions in the Empire, and raised them much higher than ever, as the Time was now come, when the Possession of the Crown was the only thing that could give any of the Princes a secure Title to his Life. There were immediately three Parties formed, and in the Space of a very few Days, two Emperors proclaimed. The first of these was *Shabriar*, the deceased Monarch's youngest Son by a Concubine, then twenty-two Years of Age, whose Dominions never extended farther than the Palace, and who owed the Shadow of Empire that attended him for a little while, to the Influence of *Nour-Jehan*, whose Daughter, by her first Husband, he had espoused. Sultan *Bolagui*, the Grandson of the late Emperor, and the true Heir of the Crown, was proclaimed by the Army, and soon after acknowledged by the City of *Agra*, by which Means the Empress and her Son-in-law fell into his Hands; he imprisoned them both, and to secure himself more effectually, put out the Eyes of the latter; so that his Empire ended almost as soon as it began, and indeed, he was in every respect so weak a Prince, that his Mother-in-law had no great Hopes of him, notwithstanding all the Arts she had practised in his Favour. The Contest seemed now in a Manner over, and Sultan *Bolagui* thought himself so secure of the Empire, that he took little or no Pains to ingratiate himself with the principal Omrah, or to procure the Affections of the People, which are always a Monarch's firmest Support. *Asaph* and *Mohammed*, notwithstanding, had their Eyes upon Sultan *Chorrom*, but the Treasure and Forces of the Empire being in the Power of *Bolagui*, they did not yet think it a proper Time to declare themselves.

Bolagui resolving to found his Uncle's Intentions, sent to demand a Tribute, and Homage, for the Kingdom of *Dacan*, and the other Dominions he held of the Empire. The Omrah, who was dispatched to Sultan *Chorrom* on this Occasion, was acquainted, that he was in so ill a State of Health, that he could not possibly transact any Business; the Omrah still persisted to see him, which, with some Difficulty, he was at length permitted to do, and found the Sultan in a very weak, languishing Condition, as he apprehended, and vomiting Blood in such Quantities, that he did not think it possible he could live many Days. The Omrah thereupon immediately dispatched a Courier to *Agra* with the News, which he knew would be very acceptable to the Court. But this Illness it seems was all counterfeit, and the Blood he seemed to vomit, was only the Blood of a Kid he held in his Mouth: However, the Design was still carried on, Sultan *Chorrom* disappeared on a sudden, and it was not only given out, that he was dead, but his whole Court went into Mourning for him.

The crafty *Mohammed* also prevailed with the Omrah who came from *Bolagui*, to write to his Master, to obtain Leave for the burying the Sultan in the royal Sepulchre at *Agra*, which was readily granted; and upon the return of the Courier, a pompous funeral Procession begun, agreeable to the Quality of so great a Prince. *Mohammed-Khan*, at the Head of a thousand Officers of the deceased, attended the Hearse, and Sultan *Chorrom* himself followed in Disguise. Several Bodies of the *Rajpoots*, or *Rajpouts*, Allies of Sultan *Chorrom*, fell in with the Pro-

cession, upon the Road, under Pretence of paying their last Duties to the deceased. *Asaph Khan*, who had not declared himself, but remained of *Bolagui's* Council in *Agra*, treacherously advised the young Emperor to meet his Uncle's Corps, as they drew near *Agra*, who thereupon marched out with an ordinary Guard, and such an Equipage as was suitable to the Occasion. He was surprised to see so numerous a Body of Troops attending the Hearse, and suspecting he was betray'd, turned short on a sudden; and made his Escape, never attempting to recover *Agra*; and, indeed, he did not stop till he found himself in the *Persian* Dominions. He looked upon the Inflection to be universal, and very well knew, that the Consequence of falling into his Enemies Hands, was Death, or the Loss of his Eyes at least. This Transaction shews, that the Statesmen of the East are as able, and as refined Politicians as the *Italians* themselves, and within a Trifle as wicked too. But let that pass, and let us see how the Affair was conducted after this Flight of the second Emperor, who reigned only a few Months.

10. Sultan *Chorrom* having thrown off his Disguise, mounted the Carriage which was supposed to contain his Body, and which when stripped of its funeral Ornaments, appeared to be a triumphal Car, in which he entered the City of *Agra* in Splendor, where he was received with the loud Acclamations of the People, who began to be afraid of the bloody Disposition shewn in so short a Space by his immediate Predecessor. The first thing he did, was to enquire for *Shabriar*, and the rest of the Princes of the Blood, and being informed, that they were all kept Prisoners in one of the Apartments of the Palace, he instantly gave Orders that the Gates of it should be walled up, and there left a Brother and three Nephews to perish for want of Sustenance. This Piece of Cruelty was the more extraordinary, because he had but the Moment before, and out of the very next Apartment, delivered his own three Sons, who being at Court with their Aunt the Empress, *Nour-Jehan*, had been imprisoned ever since the old Emperor's Death. Whether this Act of Severity displeased the old Minister *Mohammed-Khan*, or whether he was grown so weary of Courts, as to wish he might breath his last in a better Air, is uncertain; but so it was, that as soon as this great Revolution was over, he demanded Leave to retire, which was with some Difficulty granted him, and he passed the Remainder of his Days in an honourable Retreat in Peace and Quiet.

The Subjects of this Empire had now all the Reason in the World to hope for an happy Administration; the Prince was in the Flower of his Age, drawing towards his thirty-sixth Year, one who had shewn a martial Disposition, great Intrepidity, and a Soul not to be broken by the Frowns of Fortune. He assumed with the Imperial Diadem, a new Name, and caused himself to be called thenceforward, *Shababod'din Mohammed Shab Jehan*, i. e. *The bright Star, Mohammed King of the World*; but our European Historians generally call him by the last Part of this long Name, viz. *Shab Jehan*, and therefore it is by that we shall mention him in the ensuing Account of his Reign. The Dominions he possessed were larger in Extent, and produced much greater Revenues than many of his Predecessors had enjoyed; for all the vast Extent of Countries between the Principality of *Kandabar* to the River *Indus*; owned him for their Monarch; neither was it barely an Acknowledgment of his Superiority, but they were content likewise to pay him large Tributes, the Quantities of which, as well as the Title thereto, was now, through Length of Time, effectually established.

Yet he had still some Difficulties to struggle with, notwithstanding this fair outside of his Circumstances. The *Rajahs*, however submissive they might be, were little to be depended on, tho' Subjects they were Princes, and had Dominions of their own, no way despicable either for their Size or their Situation. In order to understand this Matter clearly, it is necessary to observe, that all the flat

* It was not for a long Time known where this Prince took Shelter, and some of the Memoirs of these Times say, that it was *Mohammed-Khan* who privately gave him a Hint to make his Escape, that he might have no Hand in shedding the Blood of any of his Master's Family.

* The Day on which he mounted the Throne, was the first of *February* 1628, so that the Confusions, after his Death, lasted very little more than three Months. It was believed, that after the Death of *Shabriar*, the old Empress *Nour-Jehan*, was not displeased to see him mount the Throne, as he had married her Niece, and was thereby Son-in-law to *Asaph-Khan* her Brother.

Country within the Bounds before-mentioned, was entirely and absolutely under the Dominion of the Great Mogul. But in the Heart of these Territories, were many little Principalities well bounded by Forests and Mountains, so that the native Inhabitants, though no great Soldiers, were very able to defend themselves against a Prince who was obliged to trust a mercenary Army, composed of different Nations, and whose natural Subjects the Moguls, were in a manner worn out.

In the next Place, Difference in Religion was another Cause of Distraction and Disquiet. The established Faith was *Mohammedism*, yet the Rajahs, and the greatest Part of the People, were of the old *Indian Religion*, and there were besides, a large Mixture of Christians and *Parsees*. The Difficulties that this created were so many, and so intolerable, that the two last Emperors were inclined to have invented a new Religion, which might have reconciled the Minds of all their Subjects; but in this, as indeed it was no great wonder, they failed; but what administered the greatest Cause of Disturbance was, the Custom introduced in the Court of the Mogul, of sending the young Princes of the Empire to govern several Provinces of it, which gave them a Habit of commanding, so that it was difficult, if not impossible, to teach them to obey, even a Parent, as well as a Prince, and yet this was a Custom, that it was not either easy, or safe to break through; for on the one Hand it was a thing very unnatural for a Father to make his Sons Prisoners in his own Palace, and on the other, it was no less difficult to prevent their forming Factions, if they were allowed such Liberties as were suitable to their Birth.

The Emperor knew this by Experience in the Reign of his Father, and had consequently much Reason to fear the like under his own Reign, having four Princes grown up to Mens Estate, and all very capable of pretending to the Crown. The eldest of these, Sultan *Dara Shikowah*, that is, in *Pomp like Darius*, the second Sultan *Sujab*, that is, full of Valour, who was a Year younger than *Dara*, the third Sultan *Aurangzeb*, or as we usually write it, *Aurengzeb*, that is, the Ornament of the Throne; his fourth Son was Sultan *Morad Buksh*, that is, the Fulfiller of Desires; he had likewise three Daughters by his Sultanas, whose Names it will be necessary to mention, because, contrary to the usual Custom, they had a great Influence over their Father, and by that Means a considerable Share in the Administration. The eldest of these, and indeed of all his Children, was *Jehan Ara Begum*, that is, the Ornament of the World; she was her Father's greatest Favourite, and entirely in the Interest of her Brother, Sultan *Dara*. The next was *Roshnai*, or *Roxana Begum*, that is, the Princess of enlightened Mind. This Lady had great Parts, and wonderful Address, which she employed to favour the Designs of her Brother *Aurangzeb*. The third was *Suria Bann Begum*; that is, the shining, or, bright Princess, of an easy and gentle Temper, who diverted herself with innocent Amusements, and had little or no Share in those Intrigues, which occasioned so many Disturbances in the Empire. He had besides several other Princes and Princesses by his Concubines, the Names of which, as they are not necessary to our Purpose, we shall omit.

In regard to his Neighbours, this Emperor had not much to fear. The Kingdom of *Persia* was at that Time governed by a weak and very inactive Prince, not capable of giving him any Uneasiness or Disturbance. The *Tartars* were much altered from what they were, and besides, their Strength was so much exhausted, that he had nothing to apprehend from them. The *Indian Nations* in the South of his Territories were, generally speaking, peaceable and pusillanimous People. The *Portuguese* were the only Nation with whom he was like to have any

Quarrel, and that not from any Disturbance they gave him or his Subjects, but from a natural Aversion he had to them, which arose from different Motives. He had solicited their Assistance when he was in Arms against his Father, and was not only refused it, but reproached for having desired it against his Parent and his Prince, a Thing he could not either forget or forgive. His Emperors also was a bitter Enemy of the *Portuguese*, on the score of their Religion. She was the Niece of the old Emperor, and the Daughter of *Ajaph-Khan*; her Name was *Tagee Mohl*, that is, the Crown of the Seraglio, a Woman of a violent Spirit, and yet of so much Art, that she entirely gained the Affection of her Husband, and is said to have put him upon this War.

When it was once resolved on, he sent his General *Cossam-Khan* with a Body of Forces, in order to make himself Master of *Oughli*, a Place near the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, where the *Portuguese* had a Garrison of six or seven hundred Men, who were all taken Prisoners, because it so happened, that the Place was invested, at that Season of the Year, when the Waters of the *Ganges* were so low that they were not able to make use of Boats; for, otherwise they might have escaped very easily. They were most of them conducted to *Agra*, where they were treated with great Severity; many of them obliged to turn *Mohammedans*, while some chose rather to suffer Death, and thereby obtained the Reputation of Martyrs. Some Priests and Jesuits that were taken here had, after a Time, their Liberty given them, and were suffered to return to the *Portuguese Colonies*. It was very happy for them that the Emperess *Tagee Mohl* was dead before the War ended; for, otherwise they had, undoubtedly, all suffered. She was regretted by none but the Emperor himself, who, in a great measure, owed his Crown to her Arts, and to her Interest.

He built, to perpetuate her Memory, a noble Tomb, at the Expence of about sixty Lacks of Rupers, or 750,000 Pounds Sterling. After the Close of this War, and of her Death, *Shah Jehan* changed his Manner of living entirely, and gave no farther Signs of a martial Disposition. His Father had been particularly fond of Labor, as his Grandfather had been of *Agra*. This Prince chose rather the City of *Delhy* for his Habitation; and not far from it he erected a very fine Castle for his own Residence, built at a vast Expence, and adorned it with two very magnificent Gardens, laid out by a *Venetian*, who was extremely skillful in his Profession. He was so delighted with this Place, and with the Improvements he had made, that he affected to call it *Shahjehanabad*, i. e. the Dwelling-place of *Shah Jehan*. The enlarging and beautifying, the laying out and peopling this City, employed him for several Years, and, by Degrees, gave him such a Turn for building, planting, and such like Pleasures, that he spent his whole Time in them and in the Delights of his Seraglio, for he was excessively addicted to Women, and that in a Manner scarce known to any of his Predecessors; for not content with a vast Number of Ladies, and those the most beautiful the East could afford in his own Seraglio, he fell to debauching the Wives of his principal *Omrabs*, particularly those of *Jaffer-Khan* and *Kalil-Khan*, which were attended with fatal Consequences.

By degrees, he formed his Pleasures into a kind of System, and every sort of Diverſion had its proper Season, and the Measure of its Expence settled. In this voluptuous Manner of living he spent upwards of twenty Years, and then the Heat of his Passions abating, and the Vigour of his Constitution being worn out, he grew, from being the most expensive and profuse, the narrowest and most miserly Prince in the World. To gratify this unkingly Thrift of Money, he altered the whole Course of his Proceedings; and having caused two large Vaults or

* It will be necessary to set down here the Age of these Princes and Princesses, to which the Reader may have recourse, for the better understanding what is said of them. It may not be amiss to observe, that these were all the Sons and Daughters of the Sultanas mentioned in the Text, whose Name was originally *Ajmand Bann Begum*; that is, the most noble Princess. *Jehan Ara Begum* was born in the Year 1614, Sultan *Dara* in 1615, Sultan *Sujab* 1616, *Roshnai Begum* in 1617, Sultan *Aurangzeb* in 1618, *Suria Bann Begum* in 1622, and Sultan *Morad* in 1624.

* I follow, in the Text, the Observations made by other Historians, as to the Vanity of these Princes, in giving their own Names to the Cities they erected; but, I must, for my own part, observe, that I think the Fact is, in itself, a little doubtful, and I am rather inclined to think, that it is the People themselves that give these Names to the Cities, in order to distinguish which were the Capitals of the Empire under the Reign of particular Monarchs; and I am confirmed in this, by observing that these Names are still in use, at least in all the Court-Writings.

Cellars to be made under his Palace, in one of which he kept his Gold, and in the other his Silver, cast into such large Ingots, as could not be easily removed or imbezelled; and one great Pleasure of his Life was to visit these Receptacles of his Riches, and delight his Eyes with gazing upon them. This single Vice of Covetousness absorbed and swallowed up all the rest of his Desires, inasmuch that though in the first Years of his Reign he had particularly plucked himself upon doing strict Justice to his Subjects, yet now he gave them up to be plundered by all the Governors of Provinces, and other great *Omrabs*; and when he found they were grown excessively rich by such Practices, he turned the Edge of his Resentment suddenly upon them; and, under a Colour of punishing their Oppressions, put them to death, and seized their Effects.

His three Sons he sent to govern the most distant Provinces of his Empire, and kept only the eldest Sultan *Dara*, to share with him the Cares of Government, and to be the nearer that Throne which he was one Day to possess. Sultan *Sujab* was made Viceroy of *Bengal*; his youngest Son *Morad*, was established in *Guzerat*; and *Aurangzeb* was Viceroy of *Deccan*; all of them were obliged to pay their Tribute exactly, and for their Substitution in a manner that became their Rank, were compelled to have Recourse to the same unjust Measures which other Governors practised. It was this, and the earnest Desire of obtaining Possession of the Diamond-Mines, that put the last-mentioned Prince upon attacking the King of *Golconda*, a very unjust War in itself, but so remarkable for the Issue of it, and for the Consequences attending it, that it is necessary we should enter into a more particular Account of it. It took Rise therefore in the following Manner; *Mirza Mula*, a Person who came into *India* in the Service of a Merchant, entering afterwards into that of the Mogul, was advanced, by degrees, to the most considerable Commands in the Army; but, finding himself slighted by Sultan *Dara*, he went over to the King of *Golconda*, who gave him a Post in the Treasury, and the Direction of the Trade of his Country; in which Employment *Mirza Mula* having amassed together considerable Sums, he endeavoured to distinguish himself at Court by a magnificent Equipage, and the Curiosities he purchased and presented to his Majesty and the Royal Family; and amongst the rest the King's Mother, the Dowager Queen, who was so smitten with the Gallantry of the *Persians*, that she denied him no Favours; which the King having an Intimation of, without taking any farther Notice of her Majesty's irregular Passion, sent *Mirza Mula* out of the Way, to the Government of *Carnate*, in which were the famous Diamond-Mines. Here he took Care to lay by the most curious Stones for his own Use; and one among the rest he happened on, so large and fine, that it was not to be matched in the *Indies*, either for its Size or Lustre, which he afterwards presented to *Aurangzeb*. *Mirza Mula* was not contented with what he found in the Mines, but he forced the People under his Power to bring in their Gold and Jewels, under Pretence of the Needs of the Government. He plundered the very Temples, and pulled off the precious Stones with which the Images were adorned; of which the King of *Golconda* being informed, determined to call *Mirza Mula* to a severe Account for his Rapine and Extortions; but the good old Queen let her Favourite know the Dangers that threatened him: Whereupon *Mirza Mula* immediately dispatched a Courier to *Aurangzeb*, whose Government lay contiguous to *Golconda*, to let him know, that if he would march with his Army into that Kingdom, he would join him with a Body of Troops from *Carnate*, and that his Interest was so considerable in the Palace itself, that he might depend upon an easy Conquest; and to convince him of the Advantage of the Enterprize, made him a Present of the large Diamond above-mentioned.

This was the most agreeable Message that *Aurangzeb* could have received; for he did not doubt, that if he was

once possessed of the Riches of *Golconda*, he should bid fair for the Empire of *Indostan*; he marched therefore, without Delay, and joined the treacherous *Mirza Mula* with his Army. The King of *Golconda* hereupon retired, in the utmost Conternation, from his Capital of *Bagnagur*, and shut himself up in the Fortrefs of *Golconda*, which stands about three Miles from it. The Confederates plundered *Bagnagur*, and afterwards invested the Fortrefs, of which *Aurangzeb* sent Advice to the Emperor. Sultan *Dara* was alarmed at the Progress of *Aurangzeb's* Arms, and represented to the Shah *Jehan*, that if his Brother was once Master of the Diamond-Mines, his next Attempt would be infallibly against the Crown; whereupon Orders were immediately dispatched to *Aurangzeb* to desist from the Enterprize, and retire to his Government of *Deccan*. As Things were not yet ripe for the Execution of his great Design, *Aurangzeb* obeyed the Orders of the Court, and concluded a Treaty with the King of *Golconda*; the principal Articles whereof were, that the Mogul should be reimbursed his Charges in the War; that the King's Daughter should be given in Marriage to the Prince *Mohammed*, *Aurangzeb's* eldest Son, who should succeed to the Crown of *Golconda*, after the Demise of his Majesty, and that *Mirza Mula* and his Family should be at Liberty to retire, with their Effects, out of the Kingdom. Thus was *Golconda* delivered from the Danger that threatened it at this Time. But *Aurangzeb* had such a Taste of the Riches that Country afforded, that he fully determined to make it a Province of the Empire, if ever he succeeded to the Crown.

Aurangzeb, finding his Friend *Mirza* wanted neither Courage nor Conduct, and that he had a confirmed Aversion to his Brother, the Sultan *Dara*, and above all, that he was Villain enough to execute whatever he should command, without Remorse, looked upon him as a proper Instrument to promote the ambitious Designs he had in View; he took him therefore into his most intimate Confidence, and made him General of the Forces against the Kingdom of *Vishapour*, while he himself spent his Time in amusing the People with extraordinary Shews of Devotion, most exact Justice, and uncommon Benevolence to the Poor, which rendered him exceeding popular. In the mean time the Emperor Shah *Jehan* was taken dangerously ill, and it was reported in *Dehly*, and even in the remotest Provinces of the Empire, that he was dead; whereupon the three youngest Sultans, his Sons, began to make Preparations in their respective Provinces to push for the Empire. Sultan *Sujab*, or *Chutia*, Viceroy of *Bengal*, was the first that appeared in Arms, directing his March toward *Dehly* with an Army of forty thousand Horse. When he first set forward, it is said, he laid his Hand on his Cymeter, crying out, "Now for a Throne, or for a Grave." He gave out, upon the March, that Sultan *Dara* had poisoned the Emperor, and that he was going to revenge his Father's Death: But Shah *Jehan* recovering from his Indisposition, wrote his Son Word with his own Hand, that he was now perfectly in Health, and that his Brother *Dara* had not contributed to his late Illness, and therefore he would do well to return to his Government of *Bengal*, and repair the Oversight his Excess of Zeal had induced him to commit, by a more exact Obedience for the future. But Sultan *Sujab* receiving other Letters from his Friends at the same Time, assuring him that it was not likely that his Father should recover, and that his Fortune depended on his appearing immediately before *Dehly*, the Sultan thought fit to continue his March. Shah *Jehan* thereupon removed his Court to *Agra*, being a Place of much greater Strength. *Dara* followed his Father's Court; but detached his Son *Seliman Chacu*, and with him *Rajab Jasing*, and *Dhil-Khan*, two experienced Generals, and a gallant Army, to oppose Sultan *Sujab*, whose Forces, in all respects, were easily defeated, and the Sultan himself, with some Difficulty, escaped to *Bengal*, where he endeavoured to recruit his Army.

* The Kingdom of *Golconda* is a maritime Country, on the East-Coast of the Peninsula of *India*, on this Side the *Ganger*. *Aurangzeb* would never be easy, after he had obtained this large Diamond, till he was likewise possessed of the Country, which, as we shall see hereafter, he annexed, notwithstanding this Peace, to the Mogul Empire, under the Name of the Province of *Hydrabad*, which is only another Name for the Capital of this Country, called in the Text by its old Name *Bagnagur*; and that this Country was very well worth acquiring, appears from the annual Revenue which it produces to the Great Mogul, of 3,711,000 Pounds.

The Confusions in the Empire did not end here. The two younger Sons of the Emperor were also in Arms, in order to dispute the Possession of the Empire with Sultan *Dara*. And now it was that the profound Dissimulation of *Aurengzebe* paved the Way for his mounting the Imperial Throne, while he pretended to assist the Ambition of his youngest Brother. The old Pretence was that of Religion: Sultan *Dara*, he said, was an Infidel, Sultan *Tujab* a Heretick, and therefore the Crown ought to be secured to Sultan *Morad*; for, as to himself, the utmost of his Desire was to spend the Remainder of his Days near the Tomb of *Mohammed* in Acts of Mortification and Devotion. But to shew, that as much a Saint as he was, he understood the Affairs of this World as well as any of them; he assembled a very numerous Army, composed of veteran Troops that had been employed in his former Wars, extremely well provided with every thing necessary, with which he joined his Brother *Morad*, and his Troops, not far from *Dehly*. The first Step he took was, to persuade that Prince to assume the Title of Emperor, in which Quality he received and obeyed his Orders, which, however, were such as himself dictated in his Council. As soon as Sultan *Dara* was informed that the two Brothers had joined their Forces, he sent a Trumpet with a Letter from the Emperor, his Father, to each of them, assuring them that he was in perfect Health, and commanding them to retire and disband their Troops, on pain of being treated as Rebels. This surprised Sultan *Morad* exceedingly, and he would willingly have atoned for his first Offence, by yielding the Emperor, his Father, immediate Obedience: But *Aurengzebe* prevented his Return to his Duty, by suggesting that Obedience now came too late; that though the Emperor might be satisfied Sultan *Dara* would be revenged, and that to separate their Armies now, would be doing his Business, and giving themselves up to Destruction. These Arguments soon got the better of Sultan *Morad*'s Loyalty, especially when it was farther insinuated to him that his Father was now superannuated, and that Sultan *Dara* only made use of his Name. *Morad* conceiving with himself that it was better for him to impose Law upon his Brethren, than be obliged to receive it from them, determined to proceed, and to acquire, if possible, by Arms, a Crown, to which he was not entitled either by the Laws of Nature, or the Custom of his Country.

But as we are now to enter on that War which has made so great a Noise in *Europe*, as well as the *Indies*, it will be necessary to say something of the Characters of these Princes; and the rather, because some of them have been much misrepresented, and, in *Europe*, generally misunderstood. Sultan *Dara* was always happy in the Enjoyment of his Father's Favour, in consequence of which he received an Education truly Royal; he enjoyed, from Nature, a very graceful Person, and a strong Constitution; his Parts were not only solid, but bright and sparkling, so that before he reached the Flower of his Age, he was Master, not only of all the Sciences which are usually taught in the Universities, but most of the Languages likewise that are spoken in *Europe*. His superior Knowledge, and the great Quickness of his Wit, joined to a philosophical Virtue, were the Sources of his Ruin. He was, beyond Comparison, the greatest Prince that ever drew Breath in the *Indies*, and the most unfortunate; the wisest Man of the Age in which he lived, yet unaccountably weak in his Conduct; one of the best Men that ever was bred up in a Court; and withal, the worst qualified to live in one. These Paradoxes shall be in few Words explained. His Wisdom drew upon him the Hatred of such as affected to be thought wise; his Quickness and Penetration rendered him less capable of being advised by such as were most able: He had spent much of his Time in Books, knew the Duties of every Profession, and expected that Men of every Profession should discharge

those Duties. He had no sort of Craft, and despised it too much; he was so truly virtuous, that he knew too little of bad Designs to guard against them; and he was so open and sincere, that he never suspected any Man of Dissimulation. He had a great Respect for the Missionaries, and they, in return, had taken a great deal of Pains to persuade the World that he was a Christian in his Heart; and that the Knowledge of this was one great Cause of his Mistakings, which, however, is so far from being true, that I venture to affirm, they flowed from quite a different Fountain. He had, indeed, studied Religion more than became a Prince, and left behind him a Testimony of it, which plainly proves the Truth of what I have asserted; and yet not one of the Missionaries have mentioned it, for Reasons that I cannot assign. In short, he revived the old Scheme of his Ancestors, and had a Mind to become the Legislator, as well as the Monarch of the *Indies*. It was with this View that he composed a large and learned Work, to prove that the Principles of the old *Indian* Religion were the same with those of *Mohammedism*; and, in Support of this, he collected, with great Labour, all that was worth collecting from the Works of the ancient *Brahmins*, and compared these with the principal Passages of the *Khoran*, to demonstrate that these Religions were not so far from each other as those who professed them imagined, and that there wanted nothing but a little Temper and good Sense to bring them to a good Understanding. This armed the Bigots against him, as the Steadiness of his Conduct, and his Contempt for the Arts of a Court, ruined him, with those who placed their Hopes and their Credit in being well versed in them.

Sultan *Sujab* was the very reverse of his Brother, except that he had a fine Person, a happy Constitution, and great Parts, for he was a finished Courtier, understood the Art of Intriguing perfectly, and practised it with such Success, that *Jacobsing*, upon whom his Brother *Dara* had chiefly depended, was privately his Creature, and betrayed the Master, to whose Favour he owed all Things. This Prince had Spies in every Part of the Court, knew every thing that was done there, and the Sentiments of all who composed it. He held likewise private Intelligence with the principal *Rajabs* throughout the Empire, had a private Correspondence with the King of *Persia*; and that he might not want a religious Party to espouse his Interest, he declared for the Sect of *Ali*, which is the established Faith of the *Persians*.

The Character of *Aurengzebe*, tho' directly opposite to those of his Brethren, was very probably formed upon theirs. He had strong Sense, much Application, and a deep Reach of Thought; the greatest Hypocrite, and the most profound Dissembler in the World. Humble in Appearance, in reality excessively ambitious; covetous in the highest Degree, and yet affecting to despise Money; devout in Shew, without the least Tincture of Faith or Goodness in his Heart. He saw that his Brethren had courted Men of other Religions, and therefore he placed all his Hopes in the bigotted *Mohammedans*, whom he knew to be a powerful Party, and most capable of serving him in the Way that he desired to be served. He knew very well, that if he could not attain the Throne by his Cunning, he was not likely to preserve his Life, and therefore he spent his whole Time, and applied all his Thoughts in meditating how to acquire the Imperial Diadem, and in hindering the rest of the World from perceiving his Design, which he believed, and which Experience shewed to be the surest Method of effecting it.

Morad, the youngest of *Shah Jehan*'s Sons, was an honest generous Prince, one who professed *Mohammedism* from his Heart, and was really as much a Believer as any of the Clergy could wish him. He loved Hunting, and other Exercises of that Kind, and was much given to Women. In all other respects he was a very amiable and worthy Prince, and if he appeared from some Parts

* The Title of this singular Treatise is, *Majmaul Babrains*, that is, the *Junction of the two Seas*. These sort of Titles are, and always have been, much esteemed in the East, as having in them something of Allegory; and, at the same time, something sententious and very expressive. I cannot but inform the Reader, that these Letters are derived from Mr. *James Fraser*, who has not only given us the Titles and Characters of abundance of Oriental Pieces, hitherto absolutely unknown in this Part of the World, but has likewise brought with him the Books themselves, which are, indeed, an invaluable Treasure, inasmuch as they afford the Means of filling up that vast Chasm, which has been so long left in *Universal History*, for the Annals of their Eastern Countries.

of his Conduct in a different Light, it was owing to the Influence that *Aurengzebe* acquired over him, and in which he acted against his own Sentiments. Let us now return to Matters of Fact, and discuss them in as few Words as possible. All the Hopes of *Aurengzebe* lay in making his Brethren destroy each other. His Schemes in some Measure accomplished with respect to Sultan *Sajab*, and from his Intelligence, he knew very well, that such *Dara* was not an equal Match to the Forces they had in the Field against him, and this gave him as much Pleasure in one Sense, as it did Pleasure in another; for, as he saw very clearly, that his Brother's Safety and Interest depended upon taking him off, so notwithstanding the Difference of their Characters, he was afraid his Brother might see it himself, or at least be shewn it by some who were about him, which made him more intent upon his Destruction, towards whom he professed both Duty and Affection, than on that of his elder Brother against whom he was in Arms: Yet he covered his Uncertainty with a Shew of great Tranquillity, and prevented any Suspicion, that might have risen from his Reserve, by attributing it to a Spirit of Religion; so that while he was plotting the most detestable Villanies, the far greater Part of the Camp believed him entirely taken up with religious Meditations. He employed the vain Treasures he had hoarded up by the most unjustifiable Means, in Practices so wicked; and by that Means had constant Advice of whatever passed in all the Courts; so that if his Hypocrisy had ever been detected, he would have had leisure sufficient to have secured a Retreat, and at the same Time, his Officers and his Troops were so devoted to him, that he had not the least Reason to doubt their defending him to the last Man: Such were the Circumstances on this Side.

Dara was not idle in the mean Time, but ordered his Generals *Jafarising* and *Cassam-Khan*, to take a Pass upon the River *Uzin*, which might have been maintained against all the Forces of the two Brothers. But *Cassam-Khan*, one of those whom *Dara* had formerly disoblged, being in the Interest of *Aurengzebe*, withdrew upon the Approach of his Army, and left the Rajah *Jafarising* to fight it out by himself; whereupon the two Brothers gained an easy Victory, making themselves Masters of all the Enemies Artillery and Baggage, and so did the Partisans of *Aurengzebe* manage this Matter, that all the Glory of the Victory was ascribed to him, which gave a great Disgust to the Ministers and Generals of *Morad's* Army, knowing that their Master's Troops had born all the Burthen of the Day, while *Aurengzebe* seemed to reserve his own Forces for another Occasion. They began now to be convinced of the ambitious Designs of the Dilember, and had, it is said, without their Master's Knowledge, formed a Design to cut him off next Time he came to *Morad's* Quarters, which *Aurengzebe*, who had his Spies in every Place, had some Intelligence of, and came no more to his Brother's Tent as usual, but sent his Son *Mahmud* to pay his Compliments, without discovering that he was apprized of the Conspiracy against him. While the two Brothers continued their March, the Malecontents at Court came over to them every Day, and many of those who staid behind, remained there for an Opportunity of giving Intelligence to the Enemy. *Shah Jehan* finding himself betrayed on every Side, and reflecting on his former Conduct, 'tis said, in respect to the Omrahs, thought this universal Defection might proceed from a particular Prejudice to his own Person; he made a Cession therefore of the Crown, and devolved all his Authority on his Son *Dara*, who thereupon raised a prodigious Army, and marched to meet the Enemy upon the 14th of May, 1656.

To see this mighty Army, says the Historian, extend itself on the vast Plains of *Agra*, would have inclined any one to believe, that *Dara* must have commanded Victory

where-ever he went; but *Dara's* haughty Carriage, it seems, had raised him as many Enemies as the Vices of *Shah Jehan* the Father, inasmuch that there was hardly a considerable Officer in the Army, but had his particular Prejudices. *Dara* continued his March for four Days, till he came to the River *Chambal*, where he entrenched himself, and determined to wait the Motions of the two Brothers; for here his Army could be supplied with all Manner of Provisions from *Agra*, and the Enemy, he knew, could not possibly subsist long in that barren Country, which lay to the Southward, especially at this Season of the Year, when the Heats are intolerable. *Aurengzebe* observing the Disposition of the Imperial Army, and that all the Avenues to *Dara's* Camp were fortified with Entrenchments and Batteries of Cannon, concluded it was impossible to face the Enemy in that Post. On the other hand, he was sensible, that the least Delay was their infallible Ruin. *Dara* would be joined in a little Time by his victorious Son, who was returning from the Pursuit of Sultan *Sajab*, and their own Troops would be disheartened, and dispersed, if their first Heat was a little cooled, as is usual in all Insurrections, where Rebels meet with unforeseen Difficulties. In this Distress, the Rajah *Campel*, a confirmed Enemy to the Court, offered the two Brothers a Passage through his Country, which lay about thirty Miles higher up the River, where it was probable they would meet with no Opposition; for the Rajah's Territories being woody and mountainous, and the Rajah himself a General in the Imperial Army, *Dara* looked upon himself as secure on that Side, when, to his Surprise, Intelligence was brought him, that a Body of the Enemy had actually passed the River, and was preparing to attack his Rear. *Dara* immediately dispatched the treacherous *Calim-Khan* to oppose them, but he having a Correspondence with *Aurengzebe*, suffered his whole Army to pass the River, and form themselves in Order of Battle, without giving them any Disturbance; so that now both Armies came to a Battle on equal Terms, which was fought with very great Bravery on that Side, where *Dara* himself commanded; but the other Generals not doing their Duty, and some of them with their whole Bodies going over to the Enemy, the two Brothers, at Length, obtained an entire Victory. *Dara* retired with a small Body of Troops, which remained faithful to him, to *Agra*, where he staid but a few Hours to refresh himself, and continued his March to *Dehly*; but the Governor having heard of the Loss of the Battle, refused him Admittance, whereupon he was compelled to retire to *Lahor*.

The two Brothers, with their victorious Army, advanced to the Gates of *Agra*, and invested the Place, which was betrayed to them in a few Days, and the old Emperor *Shah Jehan* made Prisoner. The two Brothers possessed themselves of his prodigious Treasures, which they found sufficient to reward their Adherents, and support their Usurpation; and having refreshed their Troops, and put the Government into such Hands as they could depend on, they left a Garrison in *Agra*, and continued their March towards *Dehly*, *Morad* being treated by *Aurengzebe*, and the whole Army, as their Emperor. They were encamped in the fertile Plains of *Matura*, where stands a noble Mosque or Temple erected by some of the Mogul Emperors, which *Aurengzebe* proposed as a proper Place for the Inauguration of his Brother; whereupon great Preparations were made to perform the Solemnity on the 15th of June 1656. The Evening before *Aurengzebe* sent a most dutiful Message to his Brother, importing, that he was extremely sorry that a sudden Illness, with which he was seized, would not allow him to wait upon his Imperial Majesty, in order to concert with him and his Astrologers the lucky Hour for his Coronation; but that if he would have the Goodness and Condescension to accept of a small Collation at his

* We have many very authentic Relations of the Transactions in these Wars, but particularly two, the first by M. *Bernier*, and the second by M. *Menant*, who were both upon the Spot, and both Attendants on the unfortunate Sultan *Dara*. I have, however, chiefly followed the latter, for several Reasons; first, Because he made the History of the Moguls his Study, and procured the Materials from which his Memoirs were composed, at a great Expence. Secondly, Because he wrote at Leisure, and after he had taken Time to enquire into, and examine the Facts which he recorded, so that he was the less likely to be deceived by common Reports. Thirdly, Because he was an *Italian*, had a Head well tuned for Languages, and appears to have been much better versed in Affairs of State, and in the Practices of the Court, than the other Historian, tho' he was a very able, and amiable, as well as entertaining Writer.

Quarters, all things might be regulated there, so as to prevent any Delay in a Matter of so great Importance*. Some of the principal Confidants of Sultan *Morad* could not very well digest this Message, but fancied there was something concealed under it which might be prejudicial to their Master, and therefore they advised him to return a very civil Answer to this Complement, but by all means to decline the Visit. There were, however, others, who were secretly in his Brother's Interest, who persuaded him to go, and as Sultan *Morad* was a Prince of a very open and generous Disposition, he listened to their Advice, and went with his ordinary Guard, and a few of his principal Courtiers, at the Time appointed, to his Brother's Tent, where he was received with such high Marks of Respect, and with so much seeming Affection, that he laid aside all Suspicion, and according to his usual Custom, drank freely of several sorts of excellent Wine, which were provided for him; but as for the pious *Aurangzeb*, he, for a Principle of Conscience, could not taste a Drop of that prohibited Liquor, and therefore drank Water only. At last Sultan *Morad*, having got his full Dose, fell fast asleep, and was, by his Brother's Command, immediately removed into another Tent, attended only by his faithful Eunuch, who could not by any means be persuaded to leave him.

In the mean time the Officers and Courtiers of *Morad*, were entertained in another Tent by Persons of equal Rank with themselves, who were known to have strong Heads, and could bear drinking. The Guards all the time attended round the Tent, and all the Music of the Camp playing, as if the Brothers had spent the Night together in Feasting. *Aurangzeb* early in the Morning went with six of his Guards into the Tent, where Sultan *Morad* and his Eunuch were still fast asleep, and having caused them to be bound before they were well awake, he ordered them to be put in two close Litters, and sent away privately, one to the Citadel of *Dehly*, and the other to that of *Agra*. When all was over, he directed a Message, in his Brother's Name, to such as were to assist at the approaching Coronation, importing, that the solemn Procession to the Mosque was to be made from the Tent of *Aurangzeb* at a certain Hour, and therefore they were to be ready by that Time in the Temple. When the Hour fixed for the Coronation came, the greatest Part of both Armies were drawn up in perfect Order, under Colour of preventing Disturbances without Arms. On a sudden they were surrounded by several choice Squadrons of Horse from the Army of *Aurangzeb*, who, as soon as the Procession began to move, made the first Declaration of the Change by brandishing their Swords, and crying out, *Mey the Emperor Aurangzeb live for ever*. The rest of the Army were exceedingly astonished at first, but they were soon forced to join in the Cry, from an Apprehension, that these Troops might trample them down, and put them to Death, if they discovered the least Signs of Disobedience. As soon as they joined in the Acclamations, *Aurangzeb* himself appeared, sat down for a Moment on the Throne prepared for his Brother, and having invested himself with the Ensigns of the Imperial Dignity, presently withdrew, the whole Army shewing the greatest Joy at his Accession, which is a Proof, that in arbitrary Governments there is no such thing as Loyalty; for Slaves reverence Power, and not Right, which ought to render Princes as careful of their Subjects Privileges as of their own Prerogatives, because both stand upon the same Foundation.

In the midst of all this Success, *Aurangzeb* ran a great Hazard of being dethroned, or at least of losing the War derived from a Quarter which, with all his Cunning, he never suspected. He had sent his eldest Son Sultan *Mohammed* to *Agra* to execute his Orders with respect to *Shah Jehan*, which he performed very punctually, since as soon as he entered the Presence of his Grandfather, he told him in very few Words, that he was grown old, and incapable of managing the Empire, and ought therefore to leave it to him, who in such a Conjunction was best able to sustain it;

but at the same time informed him, that his Father intended no Hurt to his Person, but was content to allow him a Palace, his Seraglio, and such Amusements as might content an old Man. The Eunuchs and the Women set up a loud Outcry at this barbarous Message; but *Shah Jehan* bore it calmly, and with great Patience. He did still more, for he gave the strongest Proof of the Falseness of this Pretence, and of his Capacity for governing at a Time when his rebellious Children treated him as a Doctard. He retired as Sultan *Mohammed* commanded, and as soon as he was fixed in his new Apartment, he sent to desire another Visit from his Grandson, whom, as soon as he saw coming at a Distance, he threw himself on his Knees. The young Man coming to lift him up, he addressed him in these Words: "Since it is so, since I must be dethroned by my own Children, I submit to my Fate; but be you so courageous enough to snatch the Crown of the *Indies* from him, who is most unworthy to wear it. The City of *Agra* is yours, you have in it a powerful Army devoted to your Service; revenge then my Wrongs, and secure yourself from the Cruelty of a Parent who will never shew Affection to his Son, after treating a Father as he has done me." Sultan *Mohammed* was struck with this Discourse; but as he knew that all the Officers under his Command were entirely devoted to *Aurangzeb*, he durst not pursue his Grandfather's Advice, which, however, made such an Impression on him, that he never forgot it, or obeyed his Father afterwards but with Reluctance.

The People however, more susceptible of Pity than of Duty, could not help murmuring at the harsh Treatment of so great a Monarch. *Aurangzeb* was no sooner informed of it, than he caused a Letter to be written in his Father's Hand, addressed to Sultan *Dara*, in which he directed him to march with what Forces he could gather, towards *Agra*, promising him to engage *Aurangzeb* to make him a Visit, and cause him to be murdered in his Apartment. The forged Letter had in Effect upon the Mob, who immediately pronounced the Usage of the old Emperor to be what he deserved, and admired the Wisdom and Humanity of *Aurangzeb*. That artful Prince, having thus settled all Things behind him, and having, out of the Treasures of his Father, rewarded, even beyond their Hopes, all who had hitherto assisted him in his Enterprises, found himself at Leisure to pursue Sultan *Dara*, who had again drawn a formidable Army together in the Neighbourhood of *Lahor*. That Prince was now happy in a faithful and able General, whose Name was *Daur-Khan*. *Aurangzeb* attempting to corrupt him, failed for the first Time; upon which he caused a Letter to be forged in the Hand of *Daur-Khan*, importing a Design to betray his Master, and contrived the Matter so, that it fell into the Hands of Sultan *Dara*, who, having suffered so much through ill-placed Confidence before, became now unreasonably suspicious. On the Sight therefore of this Letter, he dismissed his faithful General; upon which the rest of his Officers, and soon after his whole Army abandoned him, and he was forced to fly into the Province of *Gazarat*, from whence he proposed retiring into *Perfia*.

Aurangzeb took this Opportunity of turning his Forces against his other Brother Sultan *Sajab*, who being informed of his March northwards, began immediately to move with his Army towards *Agra*. But *Aurangzeb* returning with a surprizing Celerity, prevented that Capital from falling into his Hands. However, Sultan *Sajab* had posted his Troops so advantageously that he was not to be forced in his Camp, and kept a Communication open with several Towns, from whence he was well supplied with Provisions, while his Enemies wanted all Necessaries, and even Water, which they were forced to bring to their Camp upon the Backs of Camels from the *Ganges*, which lay at twenty Miles Distance. In this Distress *Aurangzeb* ordered it to be given out, that he would decamp the next

* It is still the Custom in most Eastern Countries, but especially in *China*, *Perfia*, and the *Indies*, to consult Astrologers upon all great Events, and to be guided by them in the Choice of lucky Hours. *Shah Jehan* was strangely addicted to these superstitious, and became thereby the Dupe of those Fortune-tellers to the last Degree. They once persuaded him to leave his Capital, upon pretence, that the ensuing Month would be fatal to the chief Persons in *Dehly*. He left the chief Justice to preside in his Absence, and the Astrologers took care to poison him before his Return, by which they verified their Prediction, and kept the Emperor ever after in the most slavish Dependence upon them.

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Morning, and accordingly the Tents were struck, and the Troops actually in Motion; which Sultan *Sujab* observing, prepared to fall upon their Rear. The Troops of *Aurengzebe* were ordered to give Way upon the first Attack, until they had drawn the Advance-guards of Sultan *Sujab* some Distance from their Camp, and then to make a Stand, which Orders were punctually executed; and Sultan *Sujab* observing his Men were over-powered, detached still other Troops to support them; and the Enemy doing the like on the other Side, it came at length to a general Battle. The Generals, mounted on their respective Elephants, advanced with the Bodies under their immediate Commands to engage each other, and the Battle was fought with great Obstinacy, till *Aurengzebe* artfully drew his Enemy into a Field, where he had ordered Pits to be made the Night before, and covered over with Turf, so that they lay unperceived. Here the brave Sultan *Sujab* was advancing to engage his Brother, and personally defied the Fortune of the Day, when his Elephants flounced into one of these Pits prepared for him, from whence the Sultan found it impossible to disengage himself suddenly; whereupon the Army, not seeing their General, imagined he was killed, and thought of nothing but making their Retreat. Sultan *Sujab* afterwards mounted a Horse that was brought him, and endeavoured to rally his flying Troops, but it was too late; the Rout was total, a panick Fear had seized his Forces, and they could never be brought to make a Stand again; and *Sujab*, with great Difficulty, made his Escape into the Province of *Bengal*. Here he recruited his shattered Army, and, having posted himself in an advantageous Camp, waited the Approach of the Enemy, when he understood that *Mohammed*, the eldest Son of *Aurengzebe*, was in some Disgrace, and secretly invited him to come over to his Party, which Negotiation was so well managed, that he did not only desert his Father's Court himself, but brought over with him several of his best Officers. Upon this, *Aurengzebe* had Recourse to his old Practice of forging Letters, by which he drew Sultan *Sujab* to believe that *Mohammed* had deserted by his Orders, who thereupon treated the young Prince in such a manner that he was glad to reconcile himself to his Father, who fed him with fair Promises till he had him in his Power, and then, in a little time, sent him Prisoner to the Castle of *Gallier*.

Sultan *Dara*, having drawn another Army together, marched, with great Diligence, towards the City of *Aumadab*; but when he was within a few Miles of it, the Governor, who had been corrupted by *Aurengzebe*, shut the Gates of it against him; upon which, the Army he had assembled, seeing him thus betrayed, abandoned him, in order to provide the best they could for their own Safety. The Sultan, now entirely despairing of his Affairs, determined to fly for Refuge to *Perfia*, to which he was the rather induced, because, *Givon Khan* had the Command of a Fort upon the Frontiers, who was his Friend, and might favour his Retreat. This Man had received the highest Favours from the Sultan, and particularly, once he saved his Life, when the Emperor *Shah Jehan* had commanded him to be trad to Death by Elephants for some Misdemeanour he had committed. This Traitor received the Sultan with the greatest Professions of Gratitude, but immediately gave Intelligence to the General who commanded the Forces of *Aurengzebe* on that Side, that he had *Dara* in his Power, and would deliver him up. The Sultan suspected the Treachery, and was meditating how he might make his Escape from thence, when a Detachment of *Aurengzebe's* Forces surrounded the Palace, and carried *Dara* Prisoner with them to *Bakar*, which was besieged by his Brother's Troops, being the only Fortrefs which still held out for *Dara*, they compelled the unfor-

tunate Sultan to send Orders to the Governor to surrender the Fortrefs, who obeyed, on condition he might be at Liberty to retire into the Kingdom of *Cashmere*. When the captive Prince was brought to *Dady*, he was set in an open Chair on the Back of an Elephant, with his Feet chained, and his youngest Children about him, which moved the Compassion of the People. His Brother *Aurengzebe* would not see his Face, but ordered him to be secured in a Castle without the Town; and, having assembled a Council of the principal *Omrahs*, he proposed it as a matter indifferent to him whether it were most advisable to condemn *Dara* to perpetual Imprisonment, or deprive him of his Life; by which Means he did not doubt but he should discover which of them were in *Dara's* Interest, determining with himself not to spare one of them. But these great Lords were all so wise as to save their own Lives by voting away their Master's, except one, who had been his declared Enemy, which, 'tis said, gave *Aurengzebe* such an Opinion of the Man, that he afterwards took him into the Number of his Friends. After long waiting the fatal Stroke, Sultan *Dara* met with it from the Hand of a common Executioner, who, with great Brutality, threw him on the Ground, and afterwards cut off his Head. Some of the Millionaries have reported he died a Christian, but, as they do not produce any Evidence in support of it, we can scarce credit the Fact barely on their Assertion.

The personal Hatred of *Aurengzebe* to his Brother, 'tis reported, was such, that he ordered *Dara's* Head to be brought him, and viewed it with great Satisfaction, and insulding over it, said, "Behold the Remains of a weak Man, who would have wrested a Crown from me he was not able to sustain." He afterwards ordered the Head to be carried to his Father *Shah Jehan*, and his Sister *Jehan Ara Begum*, who were imprisoned in the Castle of *Agra*; at which melancholy Spectacle the old Emperor fell into a Swoon, but it did not break his Heart, as his pious Son *Aurengzebe* expected; nor was the Sight a less Affliction to the Sister, who had always espoused the Interest of Sultan *Dara*, and whom he had promised to marry, 'tis said, if ever he possessed the Throne. Sultan *Sujab*, the second Son of *Shah Jehan*, still remained in *Bengal*; but, upon the Approach of *Aurengzebe's* Army, finding himself in no Condition to oppose so great a Force, he proposed to retire to the Kingdom of *Arracan*, which lies to the South-East of *Bengal*, but separated from it by impassable Mountains and Forrests. The *Portuguese*, who were then possessed of *Chatigan*, a Port near the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, took upon them to transport the Sultan, with his Treasure, and Family thither; but, it is said, they sunk the Vessel in which the Money and Jewels were, and afterwards converted them to their own Use. However that be, Sultan *Sujab* arrived safe at *Arracan*, though it might have been as happy for him if he had perished at Sea with his Treasure; for he had not been long in the Court of *Arracan*, before there happened some Misunderstanding between him and the Prince he fled to for Refuge; and not only himself, but his Wives and Children were all cut to Pieces in the Year 1658. Thus miserably died the second Son of *Shah Jehan*, who first began the Rebellion against his Father.

Sultan *Chacu*, eldest Son of *Dara*, a Prince of great Expectation, still remained secure from his Uncle's Cruelty in the Territories of the Rajah *Sirmager*, whom neither Threats nor Promises could move to deliver him up. But *Aurengzebe* so insinuated himself into the Favour of *Sirmager's* Son, that he prevailed with him to betray Sultan *Chacu* into his Hands; to which end, a Hunting-Match was appointed, and Intelligence given in what Part of the Country they would hunt; whereupon an At-

^a There are some Writers, who tell us, that he did not send his Son, Sultan *Mohammed*, immediately to this Prison, but kept him some Time under a Guard; but when he had taken the eldest Son of Sultan *Dara*, he sent them both thither, on the 14th of January, 1661, and kept them there many Years, till, at last, *Mohammed* died of a natural Death, as most Writers say, but, as some would insinuate, by Poison, which, however, is improbable; because, with equal Provocation from another of his Sons, this Emperor contented himself with a long Imprisonment, and set him at Liberty before his Death.

^b This Execution was performed in the Night, on the 28th of August, 1659. We are told, that a little before his Death, this Prince was asked, by *Aurengzebe's* Orders, what he would have done with him in case he had obtained the Victory. As he is a Rebel, and a Murderer, answered Sultan *Dara*, he best knows what he deserves; which Answer occasioned his Death. It is highly probable, that *Aurengzebe* invented this Story, and caused it to be inserted in the Chronicles of the Mogul Empire, in order to execute this Cruelty. At least this is certain, that he caused the History of his Father's Reign to be penned in such a Manner as might give the fairest Colour possible to the foul Actions of which he had been guilty. And as he was a Person of prodigious Abilities, it is very easy to conceive that, by his Assistance, a very plausible Account might be drawn up.

tachment of the Mogul's Troops formed an Ambuscade, and carried off the young Prince, who was imprisoned in the Castle of *Gallier*, with his Uncle *Morad*. It was not long before he removed that Prince out of his Way; some say by a form of Law, under Pretence that he had caused an Officer, sent by *Shah Jehan*, to enquire into his Conduct, to be murdered, which, if true, was a very singular Act in one who had committed to many Murders himself; but, however it was, all Authors agree that Sultan *Morad* was, by his Orders, put to death.

It was now, in the Judgment of *Aurengzebe*, a fit Time that he should be more solemnly invested with the Government, and that the Omrahs and other Officers of the Court, should take the Oath, and pay their Homage to him, as was usually practised on every Emperor's Accession. It was very wonderful that, as Things then stood, either this, or any thing else, should be opposed; and yet he met with some Contradiction, where he least expected it. In short, the Cadi, or Head of the *Mohammedan* Religion interposed, and declared that, according to the Precepts of the *Khoran*, as well as the Laws of Nature, it was forbidden to acknowledge him as Emperor, while his Father was still living; and the whole Empire was well acquainted with the barbarous and bloody Methods by which he had opened a Passage to the Throne. To remove this Obstacle, he summoned an Assembly of Mollahs, or Doctors of the *Mohammedan* Law, to whom he justified his Title, by shewing that his Father was superannuated, that his Brother had been a Contemner of the Law, and a Favourer of Infidels, that he had violated their holy Religion by drinking Wine, and had a Design entirely to subvert the Constitution, and introduce Unbelievers into the Administration; and that it was only his Zeal to see the Precepts of their Great Prophet maintained, which could have induced him to take the Government upon him; but the Cadi still opposing his Inauguration, he procured him to be deposed, and a more complying High Priest substituted in his Room, who, being convinced by his Arguments, or terrified by his Troops, made no Opposition to his mounting the Throne. Thus this great Point was settled to his Satisfaction; and from this second Inauguration, he, by a special Edict, directed they should reckon the Years of his Reign. All Parts of the Empire submitted to him, without the least Dispute, and all the Princes, his Neighbours, sent to compliment him upon his Accession, which, however, is to be understood of his first taking the Title of Emperor; and out of the Number of these Princes, we must except the famous *Shah Abbas*, at that Time Monarch of *Persia*, who, instead of complimenting him on the acquiring his Crown, reproached him with his many barbarous Murders, his unnatural Behaviour towards his Father, and his Treachery towards his Brethren. This Prince carried the Matter still farther when *Aurengzebe* sent a Minister to his Court, about some private Affairs, and, at the same Time, charged with very rich Presents, for he caused the Envoy's Beard to be pulled up by the Roots, and directed the Presents to be burnt. He likewise granted his Protection to all the Malcontents that retired into *Persia*, and was preparing to have invaded the *Indies* with a most powerful Army, when he was taken off by Death, which, perhaps, was as fortunate an Event for *Aurengzebe* as any in his whole Reign, since all Things considered, such an Invasion might have been fatal, not so much from the Power of the *Persians*, as from the general Discontent and Dissatisfaction of the People throughout all *Indostan*, which, however, wore off by degrees; for, after he was once possessed of the Empire, and firmly established in that Possession, *Aurengzebe* governed as well as any of his Predecessors, especially with regard to the common Peo-

ple, towards whom he behaved with much Mildness and Moderation, at the same time that he administered the Government with great Wisdom and Justice.

11. The second Coronation of this Conqueror of his own Family, was performed on the fifteenth of May, but he ordered his Reign to be dated from the twelfth of that Month, in the Year of the *Hegira* 1069, and in the Year of our Lord 1659, when he was in the forty-first Year of his Age. He assumed, on this Occasion, according to the Custom of the Empire, a new Style, and called himself *Mohy O' Din Mohammed Aurengzebe Zilunguir*, that is, *The Reviver of Religion, Mohammed Aurengzebe, Conqueror of the World*. This last Part of his Title gave great Offence to the *Persian* Monarch, who thought that de-throning his Father, and murdering his Brothers, did not, by any means, give this new Emperor a Right to title himself Conqueror of the World. *Aurengzebe*, however, gave himself very little Trouble about what other People thought; his Actions were entirely governed by three capital Maxims, which were these: First, he studied the *Khoran* assiduously, was extremely exact in the Exteriors of Religion, shewed infinite Respect to the Clergy, and was remarkably exact in doing Justice, and hearing Causes, by which he engaged the Esteem of all the zealous *Mohammedans*, and preserved the Affections of the Bulk of his Subjects. The second was, to have always a numerous Army on Foot, commanded by himself, for it was his Opinion that, in all absolute Governments, he who was at the Head of the Army was, in Fact, at the Head of the Empire. His third Maxim was, to be always active, that the great Officers under him might find somewhat to do, and not run into Cabals for want of Employment. He pushed this last Principle so far, that falling soon after his Accession into a dangerous Illness, and fearing that some Advantage might be taken from thence to create new Disturbances in the Government, he caused himself to be carried to Council in his Bed, and behaved himself there with as much Temper and Patience as when he was in perfect Health. Some of the great Men, however, either from real Concern, or to make their Court to him, earnestly pressed him to spare this Fatigue, and to take Care of his Health, which was of so great Consequence to the Empire; to which Advice he gave this remarkable Answer: "That the same good Providence which had raised him to the Crown, required he should spend his Time in hearing and redressing the Grievances of his Subjects; and that Kings ceased to be Kings when they did not govern their Kingdoms themselves; but left their People to be devoured by rapacious Ministers." It is very probable, that there was much of Dissimulation, and little of Sincerity in this Answer; but I beg Leave to remark, that in Order to be perfect, we should regard the Sayings of Hypocrites, and imitate the Actions of good Men.

The Treatment which old *Shah Jehan* met with after this Son of his was quietly seated on the Throne, was much better than he had received before, which had had an Effect on the old Man, that he freely gave him some Jewels of prodigious Value, which he had threatened to break to pieces, and likewise yielded his Consent to the Marriage of the new Emperor with his Niece, the Daughter of Sultan *Dara*, by which he was in Hopes of strengthening his Title to the Empire. But in the midst of these Regulations, *Aurengzebe* could not divest himself of his Suspensions, but remained under the utmost Apprehensions of his Generals, who were conscious of that weakness by which he had raised himself to the Throne, and particularly of *Emir Jenid*, whom he advanced, raised to the highest Posts. Him, he employed in distant Wars, commanding him to invade the Territories of the *Rajan* of *India*,

* The Method he took in destroying this Brother, differed a little from that which he had practised towards Sultan *Dara*; for he actually put him to death in the Presence of him to the Publick Justice of the Empire, but directed that he should die by the Bite of a Serpent's Wound, taken off by him, in the Place where he was confined, and, as some say, bit him in his Sleep.

† *Aurengzebe* was as deep a Disssembler as this Monarch was, he chose to know things after they were done, and would not suffer any to be able to give them, than to the Methods that might have been taken either to conceal, or discover what he wanted to know. I knew my own Intentions, and he, were to make the People of my Empire happy; and that I might be able to do so, I knew that I must have it in my Power to show Justice and Mercy to a whole Nation. This is what he has said, in the History of his Reign, penned by his Order; and it is very easy to discern, that the same Excesses which he committed, were necessary to him.

which lie to the Eastward of *Bengal*. Emir *Jemla* being a Man of ambitious Spirit, joyfully accepted the Command, proposing to extend his Conquests as far as *China*; or, however, being at the Head of so powerful an Army, hoped to be in a Condition to give Laws to his Sovereign. The General met with great Success in the Beginning of his Enterprize. The Rajah of *Albam* was defeated, his Capital *Chandara* plundered, and that Prince forced to retire into the Mountains; but the rainy Season coming on sooner than was expected, the Country was immediately overflowed. The Army of Emir *Jemla* found it very difficult to subsist in their new Conquest, and not less difficult to retreat; however, Emir *Jemla* did at length find Means to return into *Bengal*, of which Province he was Governor, proposing the next Year to compleat his Conquest of the Kingdom of *Albam*; but his Army having contracted the Bloody-Flux in that wet Season, were most of them swept away, and among the rest, Emir *Jemla*, to the great Satisfaction of *Aurengzebe*, who hardly looked upon himself to be Emperor while he lived. As this Officer was a Man of a very enterprising Genius, his Master took the properest Method to be rid of him, by feeding his Vanity, and seeming to expect from his Zeal, Activity and Abilities, the Conquest even of the Empire of *China*, though he was sensible, that the Countries which lay between him and that Kingdom, were impassable for great Armies, and therefore when Emir *Jemla* was dead, he made no farther Attempts on that Side; but, to encourage others to serve him, he gave *Mohammed*, the Son of Emir *Jemla*, all his Father's Estate, which by the Laws of the Empire devolved to the Crown.

The next considerable Expedition in this Reign, was against the Pirates, who infested the Bay of *Bengal*, and had fortified themselves at *Chatagan*, and other Places, on the Mouths of the *Ganges*, and in the Kingdom of *Aracan*, which lies contiguous to *Bengal*. These Pirates consisted of *Europeans*, or *Franks*, of all Nations, but chiefly of *Portuguese*, who frequently made Slaves of the Mogul Subjects, burnt and plundered the frontier Towns, and rendered both the Seas and the Shores very unsafe. Against these, *Aurengzebe* sent another of his Generals, who suppressed the Pirates, and brought that Part of *India* under as peaceable and regular a Government, as any other Part of the Empire. About the Beginning of the Year 1666, there happened some Stirrs in the Empire, occasioned by the Ambition of some of his own Children, but coloured with the fair Pretences of Zeal for the Constitution of the Empire, and Pity for its lawless Monarch, the unfortunate Shah *Jehan*, which, however, had no other Consequence, than making the innocent old Man a Victim to the Terror of his cruel and unnatural Son, who, to spare himself any farther Trouble, and to take away all such Pretences for the future, ordered the old Emperor to be poisoned at the Age of Seventy-four.

This, however, did not make him the easier, or dispose his Sons to greater Obedience. Of these, excluding Sultan *Mohammed*, who lived and died in Prison; he had four, viz. *Mohammed Mauzan*, that is, the *Illustrious*, was excessively ambitious, and began very early to form Designs against his Father's Life; once he was very near carrying his Point; he caused a Pit to be dug very deep, in the Place where his Father's Tent was to be pitched, which was so well covered, that *Aurengzebe* very narrowly miss'd being buried in it, for which Sultan *Mohammed* was for many Years confined in a Dungeon, where he enjoyed not so much as a Ray of Day-light. Shah *Azzem*, i. e. the *Glorious*, had likewise engaged in Plots of the same Nature, which proving unsuccessful, and he fearing they might come to be detected, fled to the King of *Vishapour*, where he remain'd till the Edge of his Father's

Repentment was worn off. But the greatest Hazard the Emperor ever ran, was from the Ambition of Sultan *Akbar*, whom he trusted with a great Army, in order to reduce one of the Rajahs, who had rebelled; but the first News that the Emperor heard, was, that his Son had joined the Rebel, and that they were marching toward him with seventy-thousand Horse, and a proportionable Number of Foot. The Troops which *Aurengzebe* had about him, were in no Capacity of disputing with such a Force, and therefore he had recourse to his old Artifice; that is to say, he sent a Letter to the Prince, which he contriv'd the Rajah should intercept, wherein he commended his Son's Conduct, in drawing the Army of the Idolaters to that Place, assuring him, he would advance the next Day to such a Post, where, having the Rajah's Forces between them, they might charge them on all Sides, and that it was not possible any of them should escape. The Eunuch, by whom this Letter was sent, being brought Prisoner to the Camp by the Rajah's Out-guards, and the Letter read among the Officers of the *Rahpoots*, occasioned a terrible Confection in the Rajah's Army, and notwithstanding Sultan *Akbar* swore on the Alcoran it was a Contrivance of his Father's, he found it impossible to remove those Jealousies the Letter had created, which gave the Mogul Time to reinforce his Troops. The Rajah was afterwards defeated, and *Akbar* fled with a Body of four-thousand Horse to another *Pagan* Prince; but being closely pursued by his Father's Troops, was forced to fly to the *Portuguese* at *Goa* for Protection, who transported him to *Persia*, where he was very kindly entertained by the Shah, and afterwards, it is said, married his Daughter; nor could the Mogul, either by Threats or Promises, ever procure him to be delivered up. *Aurengzebe*, however, fell upon the Rajah *Seva*, who had assisted *Akbar* in his Rebellion, and having taken several of his Towns, besieged him in his capital City of *Gingy*, but they held out a Siege of many Years, nor was it taken while *Seva* lived, tho' the Mogul, in the mean Time, subdued both the Kingdoms of *Vishapour* and *Golconda*. The youngest of his Sons was Sultan *Kambuksh*, who had as much Ambition as any of the rest, but he knew better how to conceal it, and therefore never took up Arms against him, but laboured all he could to gain his good Graces by Flattery.

In this Manner the Emperor spent many Years of his Life, without losing any Part of his Authority, which was in great Measure owing to his florid Health, and his retaining the free and perfect Use of his Senses. In order to preserve them, he led a Life as regular as that of a religious Person, restrained by a certain Rule, and kept his Passions under such Restraint, that he was never known to shew any Sign of an Alteration in his Temper; so that there was no guessing, either from his Countenance, the Tone of his Voice, or from his Gestures, at what passed within. He loved Regularity extremely, and observed it himself with such Strictness, that every body about him knew his Duty, and knew when it was to be performed; and all who had any Petitions to present, or Complaints to make, knew when they might have Admission. To gain Time for going through such a Variety of Business, and that one thing might not interfere with another; this was the Emperor's constant Course of Life. Early in the Morning, before Break of Day, he bathed, and spent some Hours in his Devotions; then having eaten a little Rice, or Sweetmeats, shut himself up with his Secretaries, and before Noon, he gave publick Audience to his Subjects. After which he prayed again, and then went to Dinner, his Table being furnished only with Rice, Herbs, Fruits or Sweetmeats; for neither Flesh, or Fish; or any strong Liquors, were ever brought before him. In the Afternoon he gave Audience again, which being over,

* Authors differ very much in regard to this Fact; for some positively assert, that he compelled his Father to drink Poison; and others, that Shah *Jehan* died of old Age and those Infirmities, which he had brought upon himself by his Vices. One thing is certain, that his being a *Ligot* to the *Mohammedan* Religion, exposed *Aurengzebe* to the Hatred and Calumnies of the Millionaries. They very well knew, that the general Character of this Prince, would make any thing they said of him believed; and in the Confidence of this, it is very possible, they may have charged him with Crimes of which he was never guilty.

The Behaviour of these Princes plainly shew, how much Example goes beyond Precept; for most certainly there never was a Father more careful of his Children's Education than *Aurengzebe*. He did not suffer his Sons, according to the general Custom of the East, to remain till they were grown Men, in the Haram or Women's Apartment, but took Care that they should not only be instructed in the Sciences, but also made acquainted with the World, and for this Reason called them to Council, and employed them in his Armies, tho' for his own Safety he very seldom trusted them with independent Commands. In short, he was a very bad Man, with very great Abilities.

he played a third and fourth Time. The Remainder of the Day, till two Hours after it was dark, he spent in the private Concerns of his Family, then he supped, and slept afterwards only two Hours; after which, it is said, he read the *Alcoran*, and prayed almost all the remaining Part of the Night. And here we have a remarkable Instance of what vast Advantage an abstemious regular Course of Life is towards the procuring Health and long Life, and rendering a Prince fit for the most important and intricate Affairs; for this Emperor, notwithstanding he was an unwearied Hearer of Causes, and constantly directed the Affairs of so vast an Empire, and conquered several large Kingdoms, lived without contracting any Distemper, and neither his Judgment, or Memory, were at all impaired when he was near Ninety Years of Age. This Regularity was not at all the Effect either of Decay in his Constitution, or of Repentance on account of past Liberties. He was altogether as temperate in the Vigour of his Age as in the Decline of it, and from the same Principles of Wisdom, Moderation and Prudence; for it is related of him, that even in his Youth, having singled out a young Lady in the Harem to lie with him one Night, and she had dressed and prepared herself to receive her Royal Lover, the King coming into the Apartments at the appointed Time, instead of going to Bed, fell to reading, and between his Books and his Devotions, passed the whole Night without ever taking Notice of the expecting Lady. He gratified, however, his Appetites, when they were very strong, from the very same Motives that induced him to restrain them, that is to say, that they might not disturb or distract his Reason.

He conducted his Conquests in the same manner, contenting himself for many Years with the Tributes of two neighbouring Kingdoms; but at length finding it necessary to employ his Troops, and keep his Army in Action, he in the Years 1685 and 1686, deprived the Kings of *Vishapour* and *Golconda*, even of that Shadow of Sovereignty which till then he had left them, and bringing them Prisoners to his Camp, annexed their Kingdoms as Provinces to his Empire, and appointed Viceroy to govern them, in which State they have continued ever since. These Conquests gave *Aurangzeb* the Sovereignty of most of the other petty States in the South of the Peninsula, as far as Cape *Comerin*, for these were subject or tributary to one or other of those Kings before the Great Mogul subdued them. There are indeed some Rajahs or Pagan Princes in the Mountains, who still govern their own People; but these seldom think fit to attack the Mogul, and are very well satisfied if he will let them remain at Quiet in their little Principalities. Some of them also are his Allies, and assisted him in the Conquest of *Vishapour* and *Golconda*, and these are suffered to retain their ancient Jurisdiction. However, it may properly enough be said, that the Empire of the Great Mogul has no other Boundaries than the Ocean towards the South, for the Sea-Coasts are generally in his Power, nor is there any Rajah now left able to meet him in the Field, though some few of them may skulk in inaccessible Mountains, and boast to this Day that they have not submitted to his Arms.

It was in reducing these Kingdoms, and making fresh Accessions to the Empire, that this great Monarch spent his Time, and spent it in a Camp, and in the Field. He thought that every Palace, every Castle, had the Air of a Prison, and therefore he seldom entered one, but when his Affairs would allow him so much rest; he was content to stay sometimes a considerable Space in the same Camp, as particularly in that near *Galgula*; after the Defeat of his Son Sultan *Dahur*, he remained no less than four Years. His Magnificence appeared, however, as great in this military Life, as if, like his Ancestors, he had founded Cities, and erected Palaces; for when he decamped at any time no less than one hundred and twenty Elephants, one thousand and four hundred Camels, and four hundred Carts, were employed in carrying the Royal Tents, Baggage and Fur-

niture, and these were always sent away the Night before, the Emperor and every *Omrah* in the Army had a double Suit of Tents and Field Equipage; so that when they came to their Ground the Camp was always ready pitched, and Provisions of all kind to be had as soon as the March was over. It was by these extraordinary Precautions, and by a strict Adherence to these Maxims, which from a steady Attention to the Situation of things in that Country, he at first laid down, that for so many Years he governed with so great Ease so vast an Empire, and left it not only entire, but very much extended to his Children. In one thing only his Fortune failed him, which was in the War against *Sera-Rajah*, commonly called by our Writers of Travels and Voyages *Sera-gi*, of whom we have hitherto had so dark an Account, that it may not be amiss to take this Opportunity of setting it at once in a clear Light. This *Sera* was originally in the Service of the King of *Vishapour*, and would have persuaded him to have united with other Princes his Neighbours, when *Aurangzeb* first attacked their Countries before he ascended the Throne of the Moguls; But that Prince would neither listen to his Advice, nor believe that it was given with any other View than to put himself at the Head of an Army, with which he might attempt things to his Prejudice. This unjust Suspicion had a very bad Effect, for it put the Rajah *Sera* upon seizing a Part of his Master's Dominions, which with some of the adjacent Countries were confirmed to him by *Aurangzeb*; but when that Prince had demolished his Father, and was established in the Empire, he was for depriving Rajah *Sera* of what he had before given him, in order to annex those Countries to his Dominions, which was the first Cause of the War; for this Rajah *Sera* was as great a General, and a much better Man, than the Emperor himself; and by his Behaviour plainly proved, that if the rest of the Indian Princes had been Men of like Courage and Spirit, their Kingdoms had never become Provinces of the Mogul Empire. In order to accomplish this Design, and remove so formidable a Prince out of his Neighbourhood, *Aurangzeb* commanded his Uncle *Chajla-Khan*, with a numerous Army, to march against him; upon which Rajah *Sera* retired to his Mountains, where he bid Defiance to the whole Forces of the Mogul, and was very near surprising *Chajla-Khan* one Night in his Tent, having killed his Son, and wounded the General himself; and in short, he so harassed the Mogul's Troops, that *Chajla-Khan* was glad to quit the Enterprize, and return to his Government of *Aurangabad*.

Rajah *Sera* soon after formed a Project of surprizing *Surat*, a Port of the greatest Trade in the Mogul's Dominions. To cover his Design, he marched with the greatest Part of his Troops the direct contrary way, and while *Aurangzeb's* Forces were preparing to oppose him he, disguised in the Habit of a Fakir, travelled to *Surat* on Foot, in order to view the Avenues to that City, and finding it a Place not capable of making any great Defence, at his Return to the Camp, he took with him no more than four thousand Men, with whom he marched with the utmost Secrecy and Expedition, inasmuch that the Governor had no Notice of his Approach, till he came within Sight of the Town, and then thought fit to retire into the Castle, with the Garrison; and the Effects of the greatest Value. The Inhabitants also forsook their Houses, and fled into the Country, so that the Rajah had the plundering one of the richest Towns in the World four Days together, without any manner of Opposition, except what he met with from the *English* and *Dutch* Factories, who having time to erect a Battery or two of great Guns before their Houses, saved all their Effects; nor was he prepared to attack the Castles, and therefore thought fit to march off with the Plunder he had got, which was computed to amount in Gold, Silver, and Jewels, only to the Value of three Millions Sterling at least; for in the House of one *Banjan*, Merchant, it is said, he found twenty-two Pound Weight of strong Pearl, besides a great Quantity of others unpierced.

This

* The Courage and Conduct of this Indian General is very much magnified by most of our Writers, on the Credit of the Relations received from such as then resided in the *Indies*, and particularly at *Surat*, when the thing happened. But there are two Remarks that are necessary, in order to set this Action in a true Light. The first is, that he had formed in his Mind a Project of becoming at once a Prince able to defend himself against his old Master, and against the Mogul. It was a bold Resolution, but at the same time it was necessary. If he had not a Fund sufficient for an Army equal to that of the Mogul, his Force amounted nothing, and from being a Prince, he must soon have sunk into a Highway man. The Plunder of *Surat* added would be sufficient to answer his Purpose; so that considered in this Light, this appears a very different Exploit from what it is commonly set out for.

This Enterprize of *Seva's* was undertaken in January 1664, and though *Aurengzebe* was piqued to the Heart to see a little Pagan Prince contemn his Power, and plunder his best Towns at Pleasure, he was not then, it seems, in a Condition to call him to an Account, and therefore thought fit to stifle his Resentment; nay, he extolled the surprizing of *Surat* as one of the greatest Actions that ever was performed, and insinuated to the Rajahs, who attended the Court, that he was ambitious of seeing so great a Hero, desiring they would use their utmost Art to invite him into his Service, and gave them his Word he would protect him from all Violence. *Seva* hereupon ventured himself and his Son in the Mogul's Camp, where they were received at first with all imaginable Careless; but after some Months, observing a more than ordinary Coldness in the Mogul's Behaviour to him, and having some Intimation that there was a Design to dispatch him, he made his Escape, with his Son, into *Vijapur*, where he and his Descendants maintained long Wars with *Aurengzebe*. That Monarch indeed outlived him, but was never able to reduce all his Country; and during the Confusions that happened after his Death, the Posterity of this Indian Prince grew stronger, and more powerful every Day, and partly by erecting Forts in convenient Places, partly by their Civilities to such as trade with them, have established a Power, that it will not be easy to subdue. According to the very latest Accounts we have from the *Indies*, the present *Sebou-Rajah*, who keeps his Court at *Settara* in *Decan*, is a Descendant of this *Seva Rajah*. He is a Prince of the *Moharattes* or *Ganims*, who have of late Years acquired a surprizing Power, making great Inroads into the Mogul's Territories, and levying a Tribute from several Provinces. They have lately taken the Island of *Salfet*, the Castle and Town of *Bachaim*, with other Places from the *Portugueses*; and have above two hundred thousand Horse in the Northern, Southern, and inland Provinces.

But, to return to *Aurengzebe*, of whom we have not much more to say. As soon as he began to feel the Effects of Age, and that his Strength was on the decay, he resolved to set his eldest Son, Sultan *Mohammed Mauzum*, at Liberty, and bestowed upon him the Province of *Indoistan*. He gave his second Son, *Azem*, the Government of *Decan*, and the Provinces depending upon it. To his youngest Son he gave the new-conquered Provinces, and shewed himself extremely solicitous about his Preservation. A little before his Death, he was reduced very low by a dangerous Disease, which put all his Sons in Motion, and shewed him plainly, that they regarded much more the Example he had left them in his Conduct, than the wise and peaceable Lessons he had taught them. He quieted however these Disturbances; for, his eldest Son, in Obedience to his Command, retired into his Province, but Sultan *Azem* continued to advance, yet with a small Body of Troops however; and as if he came to visit his Father, and to enquire after his Health, which the old Emperor took very kindly, embraced him, and kept him with him as long as he lived, which was not above a few Months, for he was now in a manner worn out; and yet his Senes remained vigorous to the last.

He was then incamped in the Neighbourhood of *Ahmednagar*, in the Province of *Deulatabad*, where he expired on the Twenty-first of February, 1707, having reigned forty-eight Years, and lived eighty-nine. We are told, by many Historians, that he lived to upwards of

a hundred; which is a Mistake; but we must not say the same as to such Eastern Authors as report that he was upwards of Ninety, for they reckon by lunar Years; according to which, he also reigned above fifty Years. It does not appear that he intended any of his Children should succeed him in the Whole of his Empire, not out of any Want of Affection, or through Envy of their Glory, but because he judged it for their mutual Interest, to keep that Division which had been made by him in his Life-time; yet he fore-saw that this would never take Place, and therefore contented himself with proposing it as a Thing reasonable and proper, but without any express Command, which he knew would be to no Purpose. Some of the old Captains that were about him, were desirous that he should have declared his eldest Son Sultan *Mohammed Mauzum*, his Successor, which, at first, he declined; and when urged further, he could not help telling them plainly, I have done for him what I can, I have made him King of *Indoistan*; if his will have any thing more, he must ask it of Almighty God, in whose Power it is. As his Will is a very singular Piece, and may be of peculiar Use, not only to the History of the Mogul Empire, but in explaining the Character of its Author, I thought it might not be amiss to insert it here, especially as it is as short as it is curious.

A Translation of *AURENGZEBE's* Last Will.

"I CAME with empty Hands into the World, and with empty Hands I quit it. Whoever of my fortunate Children shall chance to rule the Empire, let him not molest *Mohammed Kambukh*, should he rest contented with the two new Soubahs. There cannot be a better Vizir than *Emir al Omrah*. Let all the King's Servants be true and faithful to *Mohammed Azem Shakh*. Whoever shall chance to have the Empire, let him not turn out, or molest those born or bred up in my House. If the Division, I formerly made, proves agreeable to my Children, it will prevent a great deal of Confusion and Blood-shed.

"There are too imperial Seats, *Agra* and *Dehly*: Whoever settles in *Agra*, may have the Province thereof, *Decan*, *Malwa*, and *Guzerat*; and who resides at *Dehly*, may have *Cahul*, and the other Provinces. I came naked into the World, and naked I go out of it. Let no Ensigns, or Royal Pomp, accompany my Funeral. Let *Hamid o' din Khan*, who is faithful and trusty, convey my Corps to the Place of *Shakh Zen al din*, and make a Tomb for it in the same Manner as is done for *Dervishes*. Let not my fortunate Children give themselves any Concern about a Monument.

"There is, in my private Treasury, Fifty-seven thousand, three hundred, and eighty-two Rupees, (which) make Seven thousand one hundred and seventy-two Pounds fifteen Shillings of our Money. Let a thousand Rupees (which make One hundred and twenty-five Pounds of our Money) be distributed among the Poor at my Funeral."

It is very remarkable, that this Monarch persisted, to the last, in maintaining his Character of a devout *Mohammedan*, and despised, after Death, all those Honours which had been paid to his Predecessors, as much as he did, the Pomp and Magnificence, and the luxurious Pleasures

Relations; for they make *Rajah Seva* an able Partizan, whereas in truth he acted the Partizan only as an under Character, that was necessary to make him a Prince. When his Coffers were again exhausted, he had Recourse a second time to the same Expedient, and, which is very extraordinary, he demanded the Sum he wanted, and sent the Citizens of *Surat* Word of the Day and Hour when he would come to receive it, and performed it again with as much Facility as at first. The second Remark is, that the Indian Rajahs going always to Court with a great Number of Attendants, he sent his Troops in small Bodies, so that they were not suspected of being in his Service, till they were actually in the Place, and then it was too late to think of Defence; for having taken their several Polls, the People could not stir in any Quarter of *Surat*, without the immediate Danger of having their Throats cut. This takes off the Improbability of the Thing, which otherwise would be so great, that we could hardly credit it.

This Title of *Emir al Omrah*, rendered literally, is the Prince of Princes; for *Omrah* is the Plural of *Emir*, but rendered significantly, and with due Regard to the Idiom of Languages, signifies Prime Minister. This great Officer, in the Court of the Mogul, has many more Titles agreeable to the Pomp of the Eastern Language. He is, for Example, titled; The Security of Fortune and Trust worthy of the Empire; Chief of the Omrahs of exalted Rank; chosen among the Khans of the High Court; Manager of the Empire, and of its Riches; Director of its Fortune and Grandeur; Master of the Sword and Pen; Exalter of the Standard and Ensign; Vizir of true Judgment; Prop of the Empire; Supreme Manager of its Affairs; The Victorious General; The Grateful Friend, and Patron for all Vixers.

Zen al din signifies literally, The Ornament of Religion, and *Shakh*, which signifies King, is a Title frequently given to *Dervishes*. This *Zen al* was a remarkable *Santon*, who kept his Cell near that City, and was buried there, which being reckoned a sanctified Place, *Aurengzebe* in his Will, directed that he should be interred there. As this Prince was very zealous, or, at least pretended to be so, for Mohammedism, those of that Religion make a great Merit of visiting his Tomb, especially on the 18th of the Month *Zecadib*, which was the Day he died on.

of their Palaces while living. He thought, it seems, that Power and Pleasure were incompatible, and that the former ought to be preferred to the latter: How far he was in the right I pretend not to determine; but, most evident it is, that he took the right Method to obtain what he chose, and to keep it when obtained. His Government, with respect to his Subjects in general, was exact without Severity; for, though he improved the Revenues of the Empire, and took care that the Governors of the respective Provinces should pay into the Imperial Treasury the Tributes levied upon the People, yet he also took care that there should be none of that Extortion or Oppression which had been practised under the Reign of his Father, but allowed all his Officers competent Salaries, and punished them severely, if they were guilty of any Exactions.

He kept up, in the several Provinces of his Empire, an Army of regular Troops, amounting, in Horse and Foot, to upwards of Nine hundred thousand, who were regularly paid and well disciplined, so that his Sons were in Want of Soldiers, when they came, after his Death, to dispute the Succession. In his Father's Time, the Empire consisted of twenty-three Provinces, the Revenues of which amounted to Twenty-seven Millions and a half of our Money; but, in the latter End of his Father's Time, the three Provinces of *Balkh*, *Kandabar*, and *Bidduckshan* were lost, which produced a Revenue of Six hundred thousand Pounds; and yet, at his Decease, he left his Dominions in a better Condition than he found them, as will appear from the following succinct Table of Provinces, and their Revenues, which may be depended upon, and which will be of great Use in understanding the subsequent Part of this Work, as well as other Books which treat of the Mogul Empire.

The Nineteen Old Soubahs, i. e. Provinces.

Names.	Capitals.	Revenues in Dams.
<i>Dehli</i> - - <i>Dehli</i> - -	1221950137	
<i>Agra</i> - - <i>Agra</i> - -	1146760157	
<i>Ajmir</i> - - <i>Ajmir</i> - -	652445362	
<i>Alcababad</i> - <i>Alcababad</i> -	456542448	
<i>Panjab</i> - - <i>Lahor</i> - -	826132107	
<i>Audib</i> - - <i>Audib</i> - -	322327829	
<i>Multan</i> - - <i>Multan</i> - -	214442936	
<i>Cabal</i> - - <i>Cabal</i> - -	161039354	
<i>Cashmir</i> - - <i>Strinagar</i> -	229911397	
<i>Guzerat</i> - - <i>Ahmedabad</i> -	607849135	
<i>Bcha</i> - - <i>Patna</i> - -	407161000	
<i>Scind</i> - - <i>Tatta</i> - -	91816810	
<i>Dowlatabad</i> - <i>Aurangabad</i> -	1034945100	
<i>Malwa</i> - - <i>Eugene</i> - -	403901658	
<i>Bera</i> - - - - -	614025000	
<i>Khandeish</i> - <i>Prampore</i> -	448630000	
<i>Bdr</i> - - <i>Zafferabad</i> -	372974370	
<i>Bengall</i> - - <i>Dacca</i> - -	524636240	
<i>Odissa</i> - - - - -	142820000	

The Two New Soubahs.

<i>Hyderabad</i> - <i>Hyderabad</i> -	1113360000
<i>Vijapore</i> - - <i>Vijapore</i> - -	1078305000

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12. The great Emperor, *Aurengzebe*, had no sooner breathed his last, than his Sons were immediately in Motion, in order, each of them, to force his Passage to the Throne at the Head of an Army. His second Son being on the Spot, had some Advantage; he assumed immediately all the Ensigns of the Imperial Dignity, took the Title of *Mohammed Azem Shâh*, i. e. *The glorious, or, illustrious Monarch*; and, at the same Time, by the Advice of his Ministers, posted Guards on the Frontiers of the Province, to prevent any Correspondence between his elder Brother and the Grandees of the Court. He made great

Presents to the principal Ministers and Officers in the Army, and much greater Promises, in which he certainly acted very wisely. But, being naturally of a haughty Temper, he could not help shewing it in the Letters that he wrote to the Rajahs, in which he disclaimed their Assistance, but threatened, at the same time, to punish, with the utmost Severity, such as should presume to take the Field against him.

His elder Brother, *Mohammed Mauzum*, or, as he is commonly stiled, by our *European* Writers (from the Title he afterwards assumed) *Shâh Alum*, i. e. *King of the World*, was then in *Cabulistan*, the most distant Part of the Empire; but he soon raised Forces sufficient to put him in a Condition to make good his Claim to the Empire; and that Kindness and Alacrity with which he received every Body, did him as much Service as his Arms. He wrote several Letters to such Governors of Provinces as he supposed least in his Interest, importing his great Regard for their Persons, and his Desire that they would remain neuter till the Empire was established on a settled Foundation, and make Use of their Troops to protect the People in their respective Governments, from the Miseries incident to a Civil War. This Advice they took very kindly, and followed it very exactly. When *Shâh Alum* had advanced as far as *Dehly*, that Capital, without any Scruple, opened her Gates to him, and he there seated himself on the Throne of his Grandfather *Shâh Jehan*.

He marched from thence towards *Agra*, and on the Banks of the River *Chun*, both Armies met. That of *Shâh Alum* consisted of 150,000 Horse, and 178,000 Foot, exclusive of the Auxiliaries furnished by the Rajah and *Shah Azem*, had very near the same Force. The Battle was fought in the Middle of the Month of *June*, with great Obstinacy on both Sides, and lasted for near three Days; but, at length, Fortune declared in Favour of the elder Brother, and *Shâh Azem* lost the Field, the Crown and his Life together. Some Writers tell us, that when he found himself surrounded, and heard one of his Brother's Sons calling out to take him alive, he was so transported with Rage and Despair, that he killed himself with his own Poniard, to avoid falling into the Hands of his Enemies, of whom he is said to have slain twenty before he fell. This single Battle put an End to the Dispute, and the Conqueror entering *Agra* in Triumph, ascended the Throne of his Father, and was immediately owned for their Emperor, by such of his Brother's Ministers and Generals as escaped from the Defeat.

13. Sultan *Mohammed Mauzum*, or *Shâh Alum*, assumed, on his mounting the Throne at *Agra*, the Title of *Kath o' din Babadr Shâh*, i. e. *The Axis of Religion, the most valiant Monarch*; thence he is called by our Writers simply *Badrour Shâh*. He declared *Mohammed Khan* his Prime Minister, and *Zulfekar Khan* his High Treasurer: So that under this Reign those Offices were distinct, though under many of the Mogul Emperors they had been enjoyed by the same Person. As soon as every thing was settled, he formed a Design of attacking his surviving Brother, upon what Provocation is not very clear; but, if what some Writers relate of this Monarch be true, he was not the most tenacious Man in the World of his Word.

After that great Battle, which gave him the Empire, he is reported to have been so over-joyed, that he offered the Rajahs, who had assisted him, whatever Proofs of Gratitude they could possibly desire, and gave them his Consent freely, to consider what they would ask. After consulting among themselves, they desired him to grant them the free Exercise of their Religion, with leave to rebuild their Pagods, or Temples, to exempt them from the Capitation or Poll-Tax, which *Aurengzebe* had imposed upon them, to admit them to Offices and Employments; and that with respect to Customs and Tolls, and generally in all other Points, they might be treated in the same Manner as *Mohammedans*, which Privileges were all granted them by *Babadr Shâh*, but they did not enjoy them long.

^a This has been always a common Practice in the Mogul Empire, where, without Victory, no Cause is good, and with it none is ever questioned, but every Man submits to the Conqueror, and acknowledges him for his lawful Sovereign to Day, with whom Yesterday it would have been Treason to have had the least Correspondence.

His Sons and Ministers represented to him with so much Earnestness, that he would thereby deprive himself of his principal Revenues, that his Finances were exhausted, that he had Occasion for Money to maintain the War against his Brother, that he would make the Rajahs and Idolaters too powerful, and that they might turn their Arms against him : To which they added so many other Reasons, that they obliged him to revoke all the Grants he had made to the Rajahs. Those Princes resenting the Violation of his Word, took Arms, not to make War upon him with their joint Forces, but to plunder and ravage the Country, as they do still without any Opposition, about their own Territories, which are situated in the Mountains. In the mean time, *Babadr Shab*, who could not then remedy it, because of the War he was engaged in, advanced into the Dominions of his Brother, with an Army of fifty thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot.

Khambukh, who was in the Neighbourhood of *Hyderabad*, where he drew together the greatest Force he was able, which, however, was far from being such as might enable him to take the Field. All that he could do was to secure himself behind some good Retrenchments ; with a Handful of Troops he made a very glorious Defence, till, at last, over-powered by Numbers, his Army was defeated and himself mortally wounded, and taken Prisoner ; in which Condition, however, he continued for one Day, and then expired. Thus the whole Dominions of *Aurangzeb* were united under the Power of the eldest of his surviving Sons, of whose Reign no farther Particulars are recorded, except that he extinguished some religious Disputes at *Labar*, which, otherwise, were like to have excited a Rebellion. He enjoyed the Empire only six Years, and then died in a good old Age, universally regretted by his Subjects.

14. This Monarch no sooner expired, than a Civil War was again kindled in the Empire, for *Jebandar Shab*, *Jehan Shab*, and *Rasheed al Shan*, Sons to *Babadr Shab*, having joined against their Brother *Azim al Shan*, defeated and killed him. His Treasure falling into the Hands of *Zulficar Khan*, who was in *Jebandar Shab*'s Interest, they marched against the other two Brothers, *Jehan Shab* and *Rasheed al Shan*, and having overcome them, put them to Death. Their Deaths secured the Empire to *Jebandar Shab*, and *Zulficar Khan* became his Vizir. He was a weak Prince, and so foolishly fond of one of his Wives, called *Lai Koor*, who was of an obscure, mean Parentage, and a Singer by Profession, that he endeavoured to fill the Places of the greatest Trust and Honours in the Empire with her base Relations, which so disgusted *Seyd Abdallab Khan*, and *Seyd Hossan Khan*, two Brothers of great Authority in the Empire, and who had a Body of choice Troops, that they resolved to place *Mohammed Furrukhsir* on the Throne.

This Prince, notwithstanding he had but little Treasure, got Numbers to join him. At first, he defeated *Eaz o' din*, *Jebandar Shab*'s Son, and afterwards *Jebandar Shab* himself was defeated near *Agra*, and was obliged to fly, tho' he had near 100000 Horse and Foot.

Mohammed Furrukhsir, Son to *Azim al Shan*, being settled on the Throne, *Seyd Abdallab Khan* was made Vizir, with the Title of *Koteb al Muluck*, and *Jarba Vasa*, that is, Faithful Friend, and *Hossan Ali Khan* made *Mir Bukhsir*, or Pay-master-General, with the Title of *Emir al Omra*. The Emperor was only so in Name, for these two had the absolute Management of every thing ; *Furrukhsir*, at last, with the Advice, and at the Instigation of *Kbandoran* and *Mir Jumla*, began to contrive Means to cut off the two Brothers. They, on the other Hand, were intent on nothing so much as enriching themselves. They turned out *Mizam al Mulluck* from his Government of *Decan*, and *Hossan Ali Khan* went thither himself. At last, the two Brothers finding the Emperor jealous of their Power, resolved to remove him, and put a more passive Prince in his stead. Having got *Ajasi Sang*, the

Maba Rajab, and the Emperor's Father-in-law, to join them, they confined him, and shortly after they blinded him, by drawing a red-hot Wire over his Eyes ; and on the 6th of February, 1719, offering him a thousand In dignities and Insults, put him to Death, after a Reign of seven Years. It was in this Emperor's Reign, that the *English East-India Company* obtained a Firman, exempting them from paying any Duties in his Dominions.

The *Seyds*, after having thus traiterously and treacherously destroyed *Furrukhsir*, took *Rasheed al Darjat*, Son to *Rasheed al Shan* out of the Castle of *Sclimgur*, where the Royal Family are confined, and placed him on the Throne. He had not reigned above three Months before they murdered him ; and sending for his Brother *Rasheed al Dowlat*, placed him on the Throne, who, in a few Days afterwards died a natural Death, and was succeeded by the present Emperor. *Nasr o' din Mohammed Shab*, Son to *Jehan Shab*, who, being raised to that Dignity by the *Seyds*, *Hossan Ali Khan*, and *Abdalla Khan*, they kept the Power so much in their own Hands, that he had nothing except the Name of Emperor, which made him eagerly wish for an Opportunity of making himself independent, and revenging the Death of his Uncle's Son.

Mohammed Shab, in October, 1720, marched, with a numerous Army, from *Agra* towards *Decan*, accompanied by *Hossan Ali Khan*, and several Omrahs. When they came to halt, after the first Day's March, the Emperor called a Divan, from which, after a short Stay, he withdrew. As soon as he was gone, *Kbandoran*, and several others of the principal Omrahs, who were best affected to the Royal Family, drew their Swords, and falling upon *Hossan Ali Khan*, killed him, and two or three of his Friends. When this was over, the Emperor thought no more of his first Expedition, but marched back with his Army to *Dehly*, in order to cut off *Seyd Abdellab Khan*, the other Brother, who was in that Capital, with a great Force, and, who, hearing of his Brother's Murder, had taken out *Sultan Ibrahim*, Son to *Rasheed al Shan*, and proclaimed him Emperor, gathering together what Treasure he could, and having broke to Pieces the famous Throne of *Shab Jehan*, which cost eleven Millions of our Money, in order to raise wherewithal to pay his Soldiers. By the Help of this extraordinary Supply, he was very soon in a Condition to look his Enemies in the Face ; and, accordingly, marched with fifty thousand Horse to give the Emperor Battle.

It was on the second of November, 1720, that those Armies came to a general Engagement, and, after an obstinate and bloody Battle, *Abdallab Khan*'s Forces were defeated, and himself desperately wounded, and taken Prisoner. The young Sultan, whom he had brought with him to countenance his Rebellion, being taken, had no other Punishment inflicted on him, but being sent back to his old Quarters the Castle of *Sclimgur*.

Upon this Victory, the Emperor made great Rejoicings, and appointed *Mohammed Amin Khan* Vizir, and returned to *Dehly*. *Abdallab Khan* being brought before him, the Emperor said to him, " Traitor, see what thou hast done ! " To which he answered, " I took you out of Prison, and gave you an Empire. My Brother being murdered by your Order, as I was at the Head of an Army, Self-preservation directed me to make Use of it ; Providence decreed you the Victory, use it as you think proper, by treating this Clay as your Resentment or Interest may prompt you." Then the Emperor said to him, " What Harm had *Furrukhsir* done to you ? " To which he answered, " He grew jealous of mine and my Brother's Power ; and, as it was inconsistent with our Interest to resign it into his Hands, we thought it dangerous to lose any time in removing him. Had Providence permitted us to have been so prudent hitherto, we should not have come to this tragical End ; but when Fate destines one to Ruin, it begins by blinding the Eyes of his Understanding." Then the Emperor

¹ We have not, since this Emperor's Reign, had any distinct Account in Europe, of what has past in this Empire, and therefore the Reader must be content with a very summary Relation of those Matters here ; and indeed these Reigns themselves are so short, that, except their Beginnings and Endings, they contain little or nothing worthy of Notice.

² This Firman, or Imperial Decree, is dated on the 4th of the Month *Safer*, in the fifth Year of the Emperor *Mohammed Furrukhsir*'s Reign, that is, on the 6th of January, 1716-17. It was solicited by Mr. *John Surman*, and an Armenian Merchant, on the Behalf of the *East-India Company*, to whom it is a Thing of great Consequence, and, at the same time highly honourable for the *English Nation*.

ordered him to be confined, and four Servants allowed to attend him, and said, "As for the young Sultan, he is not to blame; should he be punished, it would distract his poor Mother, let him remain with her."

In Consequence of the great Services rendered him upon this Occasion, the Emperor preferred all who had been active, either in killing *Hoffan*, or in the War that followed against *Abdallah*. *Kbaderan* was made High Treasurer, with the Title of *Emir al Omra*, and *Sirbulind Khan*, of whom we shall have Occasion to speak at large hereafter, was sent for from *Cabul*, and appointed one of the Vizirs. It was upon this singular Revolution, that the Mother of the Emperor *Mohammed Farrukhsir*, demanded that *Abdallah Khan* should be delivered up to her as the Murderer of her Son; but the Emperor refused to comply with her Demand, telling her that his Brother had already suffered for that Offence, and therefore he would not sacrifice two Lives to expiate the Loss of one. But this was not all, for he treated his Prisoner not only with Humanity, but with most surprising Kindness, in Gratitude, as it may be presumed, for the Respect formerly shewn him; for he ordered that *Abdallah Khan* should lodge in the Palace of *Ajef al Dowlat*, have a Pension of three thousand Rupees monthly, thirty household Servants, seventy menial ones, with Provisions of all kind from the Royal Kitchen, five Women to amuse him, and proper Guards over him. He did not live long to enjoy this generous Allowance, dying a few Months afterwards of his Wounds. Five and forty Women, most of them, his Wives and Concubines, and some of them his near Relations, burnt themselves in one Room the Night after he died.

One cannot but observe here, how strangely even the wildest and worst-founded Customs spread, and that too against all the Principles of Religion, Reason, and common Sense. In ancient Times, none but the Wives of *Bramins*, or *Indian Priests*, had the Privileges of burning themselves with their deceased Husbands; but since the Government fell into the Hands of the *Rajapents*, 'tis customary, when any of their Princes die, for one or more of their Wives to be burnt with him. There is no Compulsion to this Sacrifice as some People groundlessly imagine, it is entirely of their own Accord, and often they are dissuaded from it; sometimes, indeed, when a vain-glorious Passion prevails over natural Affection, the Widow's Relations would gladly have her burn herself, as it raises the Character of her Family, by making it remarkable for virtuous and loving Women; yet, according to their Religion, it is more meritorious to behave chastely and decently in their Widowhood until Death, than burning, because one is but a short Pain, and the other a State of Trial. The Moguls have endeavoured to discourage this Custom as much as possible; but since Money is omnipotent in that Country, as well as in many others, a small Bribe generally purchases the Consent of the Governor or commanding Officer. Lately the *Seyd* and *Pastan* Families, in several Parts of *India*, have thro' their excessive Pride got into this Custom, and as it is strictly forbidden by their Religion (which is the *Mohammedan*) they do it privately, by setting an Apartment on Fire about their Ears.

In the Year 1721-2, the Emperor wrote to *Nizam al Muluck*, then at *Decan*, desiring his Presence at Court, and that he would appoint him Vizir; but, if he declined it, he should nominate whomsoever he should judge to be the most deserving: To which he answered, "I am a *Der-veish*, and not ambitious of so high a Station; I was contented with the Province of *Malwa*, when the *Seyds* intending to distress me, I was obliged to take Arms. By the Divine Assistance I baffled their Designs, and secured myself. At last your Majesty, by their Instigations, set out against me with a mighty Army. Here the Almighty protected me likewise. In the Beginning, one of the Brothers was killed, and as you knew

"me to be a faithful Servant, you laid aside the Expedition, and returned to *Delhi*, where, being settled to the Satisfaction of all People, you have now condescended to distinguish me, the meanest of your Slaves, with this extraordinary Mark of your Favour, which I only decline, as knowing myself unequal thereto, and that there are many about your Court, more capable and desirous of such an Employment than I."

But though he refused to come to Court, he still continued in Possession of the Government of *Decan*; and tho' he acknowledged himself a Subject, yet he made no Remittances to Court, but appropriated the Revenues to the maintaining of an Army, which he said, was to keep in Awe the *Mabarattins*, or *Ganims*, the *Sabon Rajahs*, Subjects in *Decan*, whom notwithstanding he permitted to plunder and lay waste several of the Emperor's Provinces. They imposed a Tribute of one Quarter-part of the Revenues which they call *Chot*, in many Places, and some Parts they have taken entirely to themselves. He well knew, that with the *Mabarattas* Assistance, he could defy any Attempts that could be made against him from Court. The Character of this Man is truly singular, and deserves to be both written and read with Circumspection; he had not only great Power, but a very comprehensive Genius, and was not so much distinguished by his Situation in the World, as by his great Merit and wonderful Capacity; but the Reader is to observe, that *Decan* is to *Delhi* or *Agra*, what the most distant Part of *Wales* or *Scotland* is to *London*, and such as pass'd the best Part of their Time there, are not the fittest to be made Dancing-Masters when they come to Court. Our Governor had a good Head, but spoke it seems in a Country Tone, could execute the Functions of a Statesman or a General, but would perhaps have made a bad Figure, if obliged to open a Ball. In Compliment to his Power, he was with much ado forced up to Court, when the Emperor's Affairs were in a very declining Way, and he was preferred to the first Place in the Government. All this, however, was meer Shew; for behind his Back, the Courtiers made a Jest of him, and could scarce forbear affronting him to his Face. He acted at first as became a Man of Honour; he took an Opportunity to lay before the Emperor a true State of his Affairs, and the Necessity of his making a thorough Change in his Administration, if he meant to enjoy the Fortune, as well as the Throne of *Aurangzeb*.

The Emperor told his Favourites of this, who made a Jest of this Statesman's old fashioned Notions, and redoubled their Impertinences, as to his clownish Behaviour, which piqued him at last to that Degree, as to make him resolve upon sacrificing such a Nest of Fools and Knaves, without considering that his Sovereign must be sacrificed with them. He first proposed his Scheme to the Vizir, their Families being allied; but he rejected it on this honest Principle, that the Publick ought not to be given up to gratify private Prejudices. *Nizam al Muluck*, however, found enough to join with him in his Scheme, for a wanton Court will never fail of raising a Multitude of Malecontents, and such is the Nature of Men, that the far greater Part of them employ their Reason only to gratify their Repentments. Such therefore as fell in with the Schemes of this disgusted Statesman, resolved to call in *Nadir Shah*, so well known in *Europe* by the Name of *Thamas Kouli Khan*, in order to rouse the Court, or in plain English, to rid themselves of a weak and corrupt Ministry, as vain and insolent in their Abuse of Power, as they were incapable of managing it for the Honour of their Prince, or the Benefit of his Subjects. Thus this great Empire was betrayed, and exposed to numberless Michiefs, purely to gratify the Repentments of a few, who, to revenge their own Wrongs, cared not what they brought upon their Country.

It must be allowed, however, that they chose a fit Time, and a fit Person, for executing their wicked Pur-

^a I shall take this Opportunity of observing, that the same People mentioned in ancient Writers by the Name of *Pastans*, are now called *Ajghans* and all the Northern Parts of *India*, but more especially such as are mountainous, are inhabited by Tribes of these People. They are not originally *Indians*, but are descended from the *Mahomedans*, that began to establish themselves in these Countries from *Aravia* and *Egypt*. They are a bold, brave, hardy, patient, and active People; and it was they that, under the Command of *Mir Feroz*, or, as we commonly, tho' very corruptly, call him *Mir Juss* and his Son, made themselves in a manner Masters of *Persia*, out of which they were driven in the Beginning of his Glory by *Ismael Kuli Khan*, to whom, however, they gave a great deal of Trouble afterwards in the Province of *Kandahar*.

pose, which they accomplish'd to the utmost. *Nadir Shah*, having fully established himself, and settled his Affairs in *Persia*, he left his Son *Reza Kuli Miza* to command there, and set out with his Army towards *Kandahar*. *Hofsein-Khan*, the Governor thereof, having laid up great Stores of Provisions and Ammunition, held out for eighteen Months; at last being reduced to Straits, he fallied out with his Men, most of whom died bravely fighting. *Hofsein-Khan* and his Son being taken Prisoners, the *Persians* entered the Castle, and took Possession thereof. While *Nadir Shah* was busy in securing and fortifying *Kandahar*, and bringing over to him the *Zemidars** of those Parts, Letters came from *Nizam al Muluk*, and *Saadit-Khan*, inviting him to march towards *Indostan*. In answer to which, he objected the Difficulties of getting thro' the Desiles, passing the great Rivers, and the many Encounters he must expect to have with the *Afghans*, and the warlike Nations of those Parts. The Opposition he must expect from *Nadir-Khan*, *Soubabdar* of *Cabul*, and *Zekaria-Khan*, Ruler of *Labor*; and last of all, his Fate to depend on his Success against a powerful Imperial Army. They soon satisfied him how unnecessary his Fears were, and that before he crossed the *Attock*, he should have a Proof how able they were, and how much inclined to facilitate his Passage. Being encouraged by those Representations, he set out with an Army of 125,000 Horse, *Kuzzlebas*, *Georgians*, *Turks*, *Khorasanians*, *Balkhis*, &c. all inured to Fatigues and Hardships; they were well provided for this Expedition, and greatly encouraged thereto by the Hopes he gave them of not only enriching themselves, but of bringing Wealth and Glory to their impoverished Country, by the Plunder of *India*. In the mean Time, *Nizam al Muluk* and *Saadit-Khan* used all their Endeavours secretly to promote his Interest, and wrote to *Sherzib-Khan*, Governor of the Castle of *Cabul*, and *Maar-Khan*, *Soubabdar* of that Province, as also to *Zekaria-Khan*, Ruler of the Province of *Labor*, to this Purport: "*Nadir Shah*, being thoroughly informed of the State of Affairs in *India*, and that his Imperial Majesty and favourite Courtiers employ their Time in Wine and Women, has come to a Resolution to strike a Blow at this Empire. You well know, that none of the great Ones here are fit to take the Field, much less to resist a Man who is conducted by Fortune. As this is the Case, you can have little Hopes of Assistance from hence; the best you can do, will be to behave discreetly and save yourselves." These Letters cooled them pretty much, and had the desired Effect with *Nadir-Khan* and *Zekaria-Khan*. *Nadir Shah* having subdued *Ghorbund* and *Gloznavi*, and garrisoned them with his own People, came to *Cabul* and besieged it. *Nain-Khan* had left it, and marched to *Peishor*, but *Sherzib-Khan* defended both the City and Castle for six Weeks, with the utmost Bravery, and wrote repeatedly to *Nadir-Khan*, and to Court, for Assistance; but none coming, both City and Castle were at last taken by Storm, and he and his Son were put to Death.

Nadir Shah found Treasure, Jewels, Arms, &c. to a great Value, which, since the Great Mogul *Babar's* Time, had been shut up in Vaults. When the taking of *Cabul* was known at Court, the Emperor gave Orders to get his Troops in Readiness, and provide all things necessary for taking the Field. As *Rajah Jessing* was more attached to *Khandoran* than to any of the other Omrahs, he repeatedly wrote to him to this Purport: "*Nadir Shah's* coming is a concerted thing, you must be watchful over the Mogul Omrahs, who seem to be united in order to compass some treacherous Design *Nadir-Khan* and *Sherzib-Khan* are gone; one has sacrificed his Life to his Interest, and the other has fled to *Peishor*. If *Zekaria-Khan*, Ruler of *Labor*, makes any Opposition, it will give the Empe-

ror's Army Time to advance pretty far, in order to check this Invader; as for us *Rajapouts*, we are ready to join the Royal Ensigns." *Khandoran* knowing him to be well affected, represented this to the Emperor, and told him, it would be very imprudent in him to leave the Capital, and take the Field; however, it was at last agreed, that the Army should march to *Labor*, that the Emperor should accompany it so far, and that from thence it should proceed towards *Cabul*, under the Command of *Nizam al Muluk*, and the other two Omrahs; for which Purpose the *Peishkhan* was ordered out to the Gardens of *Sbalimar*; but after it was sent thither, to every body's Surprise, *Khandoran* came back to the Palace, and delayed the March, whereas *Nizam* seemed to be for hastening it all in his Power.

The Emperor's Servants, as they knew *Khandoran* to be attached to their Master, contrived all the Impediments they could think of; so that *Nadir Shah* had not only Time to secure *Cabul*, but was far advanced in his March to *Peishor*, where the *Afghans* and Mountaineers very much incommoded him, and kept him in Play for seven Weeks; in which Time he had a great many Men wounded and killed, seeing there was no way for forcing the Passes without much Blood-shed, and that the *Afghans* had fortified themselves on the Tops of the Hills, he sent them Officers of Accommodation, to which they came into the more readily, as the *Soubabdars* had sent no Assistance, and that they had been four or five Years without receiving any of their usual Allowance from Court. Upon *Nadir Shah's* paying them a certain Sum of Money, they not only let him pass unmolested, but several of them listed in his Army; the other *Afghans* hearing of this, followed their Example; so leaving the main Army behind, with ten thousand chosen Horse, *Kuzzlebas*, in seven Days he got to *Peishor*. *Nadir Khan*, who with seven thousand Horse had encamped without the City, not imagining he could get through the Passes so soon, upon hearing of his Approach with so large a Body of Horse, was greatly perplexed, several of his Auxiliaries left him, and few besides the King's Men stood by him, who, after a brave Resistance, were defeated, and *Nadir-Khan* taken Prisoner. Some *Afghans*, who waiting the Event, were posted on the Hills, seeing *Nadir Shah* prevail, came and offered him their Service; after this Victory he entered *Peishor*, and took Possession thereof.

When the News of this Defeat came to the Court, *Nizam al Muluk*, *Khandoran*, *Zamir & din Khan*, and the other Omrahs, according to the King's Orders, on the second of January 1738-9, marched out with a numerous Army, a large Train of Artillery, and other Necessaries, in order to oppose this Conqueror, and halted at the Gardens of *Sbalimar*. *Nizam*, who was the Contriver of this Storm, endeavoured all he could to prepossess the Minds of the Soldiers with a Terror of *Nadir-Shah's* Forces, and how vain it was to resist him, and at the same time amused them, to divert their going too far forward; but the King issued out Orders, that *Nizam*, and the other Omrahs, should advance with all Expedition, himself intending to follow soon after them. *Nizam al Muluk*, and the rest, according to these Orders, marched on, and encamped in the Plains of *Karnal*, which is fifty-five Cois distant from *Dehli*. The Emperor also set out the 18th of January 1738-9, and on the 4th of February joined them. *Nadir Shah* having thrown a good Garrison into *Peishor*, passed the River *Attock*, and marched on directly towards *Labor*, the Governor of which had fortified the Place with great Diligence, and seemed disposed to defend it to the last Extremity; but as he was in the Secret of Affairs, upon the Approach of the *Persian* Army, he abandoned the Town, and retired into the Castle, which he held out no more than three Days.

* It will be necessary to explain this Word, and in order to make the Reader perfectly comprehend it, we must observe, That *Dar* signifies as Possessor, that is to say, one who holds, or enjoys any thing. *Zemin* signifies Land, and *Zemidar* is one who possesses Land, that is, a Rajah, or little Indian Prince, who pays some Acknowledgment to the Emperor, but who is notwithstanding the free Lord of his Inheritance. In the same Manner the Word *Manjabadar* is compounded from *Manjab*, a Post or Office, and consequently he who possesses it is a *Manjabadar*. If, instead of a Salary, he has Lands assigned him, those Lands are called *Jaguir*, and from thence the Officer is styled *Jaguidar*. The *Zemidar* and *Jaguidar* both possess Lands, but by very different Titles; for the former is a Freeholder, and the latter a Tenant at Will, by the Grant of the Emperor. This Minister was sincerely attached to his Master, but had a very odd Scheme of Politicks, for he thought that the most precarious Peace was preferable to War, and therefore he was always for Negotiations and Expedients, rather than having Recourse to Arms; by which he sunk his Master's Credit, and, as we shall see hereafter, drew on his own Ruin and Death.

It was natural to expect, that *Mohammed Shab* should some way or other be acquainted with the Motives that had induced this Invasion of his Dominions, and accordingly *Nadir Shab* wrote him a Letter, dated in the middle of *August*, in which he tells him, that he came out of pure Friendship, having heard that a Handful of barbarous People had presumed to harrafs several of the Provinces of his Empire, and to lay his Subjects under Contribution, which were things unworthy of so great a Monarch to bear, and from which he was come with an Army to rescue and relieve him. The Emperor, however, took up Arms, and seemed determined to meet him in the Field; but the Disputes and Heart-burnings among his Ministers continued. As for *Khandoran*, he was sincerely in his Interest, though mistaken in his Politicks; and now he saw that the Empire was to be saved by fighting, he did his utmost towards carrying on the War; but the Misfortune was, that the Emperor confided most in *Nizam al Muluk*, as indeed he was the best Officer in his Service; but it cannot be supposed, that he, who had been the Author of the War, and had drawn *Nadir Shab* into his Master's Dominions, should be forward to oppose him; yet he marched with the rest, and on the fourteenth of *February* an Engagement ensued, wherein the Mogul's Army was defeated, and *Khandoran* mortally wounded. This Action, however, was far from being decisive, though the Mogul lost several of his best Officers, and a great many Men. On the Side of *Nadir Shab*, seven principal Officers, and two thousand five hundred Men were killed, and about five thousand wounded. The Mogul's Troops, on their Return into their Camp, fell into great Confusion, and plundered the Tents of such Officers as were either killed, or taken Prisoners, which obliged the Emperor to go in Person to that Part of the Camp where the Forces, under the Command of *Nizam al Muluk* were posted, in order to put things into a better Condition, by reducing the Soldiers to their Duty. It was with the same View, that the Emperor, with that Officer the Vizir, and other Omrahs, went without the Mourtchas or Retrenchments, and drew up their Men in a Line of Battle, with a Design to put a stop to the Enemy's advancing any farther; but had not the Night come on, these Precautions would have stood them in little stead, and that Day would have put an End to the whole Affair. About an Hour after Sun-set the Emperor returned back to his Tent; several of those who escaped out of the Field, as also those who attended the Baggage and Carriages, fled towards *Debli*, a great many of whom were plundered and killed by the way. The Camp in some Places was very thin of Men, inasmuch, that when at Midnight the Emperor sent for *Nizam al Muluk*, the Space from his Mourtcha to the Emperor's Tent, which is about three Quarters of a Cos, was found intirely empty. *Nizam al Muluk*, *Sirbulind-Khan*, *Kummur & din Khan*, and all the other Omrahs that were left, staid with the Emperor in deep Consultation until near the Morning, when each returned to his own Quarters.

On the 16th, finding the Camp thin, and being apprehensive of the *Kirzlebas*'s attacking them, they contracted the Circuit thereof, and their Mourtchas into the Compass requisite to contain the Number of Troops they had left, which was the Space between the Emperor's Tent and *Nizam*'s Mourtcha, and there they stood under Arms the whole Day, every Minute expecting the Enemy's Approach. Towards the Evening a small Tent was pitched for the Emperor, and all the Troops were disposed of to their respective Posts, where they continued under Arms the whole Night, and their Horses faddled, without either Hay or Corn. The next Day was past in great Fear and Apprehension, for the Emperor saw plainly his Soldiers were very much dispirited, and his Ministers and Generals in a manner at their Wits End, so that they were as little fit to ad-

vise him, as he was to act without their Advice. On the 17th of *February*, *Nizam al Muluk*, with *Azim Allah Khan*, and several Horsemen, went out and pitched a small Tent betwixt the two Camps, to which *Nadir Shab*'s *Zaimand al Dowlat*, or Vizir *Kasim Beg-Khan* came, and from thence conducted him to his Master, who embraced him sitting, and made him stand honourably close by himself; he gave him a Cup of Sherbet, and made him eat at the Vizir's House; after which it was agreed, that *Mohammed Shab* should come and stay with *Nadir Shab*. This Conference lasted about six Hours, and was immediately followed by two very remarkable Events; the first was a kind of Cessation of Arms, which was so much the more necessary, that the Emperor might be under no Apprehensions, and that he might be the better able to bring his Troops into good Order, who hitherto had been in a great deal of Confusion; the next was, that *Nizam al Muluk* was declared High Treasurer, and *Emir al Omrah*, that is, prime Minister, so that with respect to him, the End of the War was intirely accomplished. All the Ministers who opposed him were driven from Court, and he was not only vested with the Title, but was in Fact at the Head of the Emperor's Councils, and had the whole Power of the Empire in his Hands*.

It is from this Time therefore, that we are to date his real Concern for the Peace of his Country, which having first accomplished, his own Views he now laboured to promote. About this Time *Khandoran*, his old Antagonist, died of the Wounds he had received in the Battle, and was buried with more Privacy than seemed consistent with the great Offices he had held, and the high Favour in which he had stood with his Master. It is not easy to conceive by what Arguments *Mohammed Shab* was prevailed upon to quit his own Camp, and trust himself in that of his Enemy; but it seems he was now intirely guided by his new Minister, who very probably told him, that in his present Circumstances he hazarded little by taking that Step, since it was in the Power of the Persian Monarch to force him to accept what Terms he pleased, and that therefore it was better to do with good Grace a thing he might otherwise be compelled to do, whether he would or not. But, however it was, this is certain, that on the 19th of *February*, in the Morning, the Emperor sitting in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy over it, followed by a lead Horse, and a Drum, and attended only by a few of his faithful Servants, and an Escort of about two hundred Horse, marched out of the Camp, and when he had gone a good way by a Sign, he forbade the Horsemen to accompany him any farther; then with his Eunuchs, and the above-said Omrahs, each of whom had not above two or three Servants to attend him, he went on to *Nadir Shab*'s Camp.

When he had advanced about half way, one of *Nadir Shab*'s Ministers came to meet him, and paid him the usual Honours. He likewise assured him, that his Master waited for him with much Impatience, that due Care would be taken to make this Interview as easy and as agreeable to him as possible, and that he had no Reason to apprehend any Danger, or the least Failure in point of Decorum or Complaisance. All this was certainly requisite to keep up the Spirits of a Monarch in such a Situation, and under so many Difficulties. He continued his March therefore, and as he drew near *Nadir Shab*'s Tent, he received another and more welcome Message; for there *Nefr Allah Mirza*, *Nadir Shab*'s Son, who came in a Royal Litter, having alighted, paid his Respects, according to the Form of his Country. The Emperor ordering his own Litter to be let down, embraced *Nefr Allah Mirza*; after which they both marched on until they came as far as the Train of Ordnance: Here all the Attendants were obliged to stay behind, only the Emperor with two or three Eunuchs, and the Omrahs abovementioned, were allowed to pass. When they came

* We are indebted for this very exact and no less curious Account of this extraordinary Transaction, to Mr. *Jamieson*, whom I have before-mentioned, and I have inserted it here, in order to render this History of the Mogul Empire as complete as possible. The Reader will perceive, that at this juncture there was a kind of Suspension of the Emperor's Power, and all was at the Mercy of a Stranger. It may seem strange, that *Nadir Shab* should let slip this Opportunity of making himself Master of *Indostan*; but when it is considered, that the Power of the Persians was chiefly owing to the Weakness and ill Conduct of *Mohammed Shah*, it will appear great Wisdom and consummate Policy in the Conqueror, to act as he did: for, if he had cut off the Mogul Emperor, his Subjects might have become desperate, and *Nadir Shab*'s Army was so small, and so far advanced into the Country, that he might have been ruined in his Retreat, if he had not acted as he did.

to the Door of the Royal Tent, and the Emperor was alighted, *Nadir Shab* came forth to receive him; having embraced him, he seated him close by himself on the same *Mulindid*. After the customary Forms of Salutation, and the Enquiry after each others Health were over, *Nadir Shab* addressed him thus: "It is strange that you should be so unconcerned, and regardless of your own Affairs, that notwithstanding I wrote you several Letters, sent an Ambassador, and testified a Friendship for you, your Ministers should not think proper to send me a satisfactory Answer, and by reason of your want of Command and Discipline over your own People, one of my Ambassadors, contrary to all Laws, has been killed in your Dominions. Even when I entered your Empire, you seemed under no Concern about your Affairs, nor so much as sent to ask who I was, or what was my Design. When I advanced as far as *Labor*, none of your People came with a Message or Salutation, nay, not with an Answer to my Salutation to you. Afterwards, when your Omrahs were awakened out of their Lethargy and Indolence, they prevented all Means of a Reconciliation, and coming tumultuously with an Intent to stop my farther Progress, they brought themselves into one general Snare, without having the Fore-sight to leave any behind, who, upon an Emergency, could make Head and retrieve their Affairs. Besides this, you have foolishly cooped yourselves up in your *Murchas*, as not considering, that if your Enemy was stronger, you could not remain within those Barri-cades, without either Water or Grain; and if he was weaker, it was both unnecessary and disgraceful, to suffer yourselves to be besieged by him. Besides, if you thought lightly of him, and imagined him a rash inconsiderate Man, without exposing your own Person and Reputation to much, you ought to have detached a faithful and experienced Officer, who, in a little Time, might have found Means to distress and cut him off; but if you dreaded his Experience and Conduct, you had still the less Reason (after provoking him thus far) to venture your all at one Blow. Even when you had thus entangled yourself, I sent you Offers of an Accommodation, but you was so puffed up with your own childish Conceits, and foolish Resolutions, that you would not give ear to any honourable Overtures, or consult your own Interest, until at last, by the Assistance of the Creator of the World, and the Strength of the Arms of the victorious Warriors, you have seen what has happened. Moreover, your Predecessors were wont to take *Jesab*, or Poll-Tax from the Infidels, and you in your Reign have given it to them; having for these twenty Years suffered the Empire to be over-run by them; but as hitherto the Race of *Timur* have not injured, or misbehaved towards the *Seff* Family, and the People of *Perfia*. I shall not take the Empire from you, only as your Indolence and Pride have obliged me to march so far, and that I have been put to an extraordinary Expence, and my Men, on account of the long Marches, are much fatigued, and in want of Necessaries, I must go to *Dehly*, and there continue some Days, until the Army is refreshed, and the *Peishwah* that *Nizam al Muluck* has agreed to, is made good to me: After that, I shall leave you to look after your own Affairs." *Mohammed-Shab* gave no Answer during the whole Speech, but continued in a fixed Silence, which testified a good deal of Confusion and Shame.

There were only three of his Ministers present at this Conference, and the Emperor having remained some Hours in *Nadir Shab's* Quarters, returned in the Evening to his own Camp. He continued there three or four Days, without well knowing what Issue things would come to. On the 23d, *Nizam* was sent for to the *Perfian*

Camp, where he was kept, and about Eight the same Night, the Vizir received a Firman from *Nadir Shab*, to this Import, "Kumair & diu Khan Vizir, Know, that To-morrow, *Mohammed-Shab*, *Sirbullind-Khan*, *Mohammed-Khan Bunguh*, and *Azim Allah-Khan*, shall come into the Presence; therefore look well to your People, that they be not dispersed, or straggle abroad; when you have secured that Point, come you hither also." When the Emperor was apprized of this, he sent for *Sirbullind-Khan*, and all the other Omrahs, with whom he held Council until Midnight. At last the Emperor declared, that Affairs were now gone beyond his Power, and that he must do one of these three things; To-morrow march out and make one desperate Push, to determine his Fortune at once, or put an End to all things and Misery by a Dose of Poison, or else submit peaceably to what Terms might be imposed. The Emperor's Inclination, though he did not then declare it, was for the last of these. On the 24th, *Sirbullind-Khan*, *Mohammed-Khan*, &c. were ready, each with his own Men, that in case the Emperor should make a Push, they might not be unprepared, and if on submitting, he should go to *Nadir*, and bid them come, they should follow his Fate. At Night arrived a Note from *Nadir Shab*, to this Effect; "Sirbullind-Khan, be of good Cheer, perfectly composed, get yourself hither, before *Mohammed-Shab* sets out."

On the 25th, *Sirbullind-Khan* having obtained Leave, marched towards *Nadir-Shab's* Camp, and according to an Order, leaving his Men and Baggage on the Right-hand thereof, he with *Khan*, *Zad-Khan*, three Horsemen, and four or five Servants, entered the Camp, and pitched a small Tent for himself, near the *Bargab*, close by *Saadit-Khan's* Quarters. About 9 o'Clock that Morning, *Mohammed-Shab*, according to an Order, being seated in a royal Litter, with a Canopy and Umbrella, set out for *Nadir-Shab's* Camp, attended only by *Emir-Khan*, *Ishak-Khan*, and some Eunuchs. On his Arrival, he alighted at a Tent which had been pitched the Day before, by *Nadir-Shab's* Order, for that Purpose, in the Front of the Camp, where he was allowed to have as many of his Domesticks of all Sorts as were necessary, and 1000 *Kuzzle-bush* Horsemen were detached as Guards round him. About Eight o'Clock in the Evening, *Mohammed* being called, went to wait on *Nadir-Shab*. After three Hours stay, he returned to the Camp, and there was an Order, that none of the Omrahs should be allowed to go to see him. In this uncomfortable Situation he passed all that Afternoon, and the succeeding Night. The next Day, all the Ordnance, and the Emperor's Baggage, were seized for the Use of the Conqueror, who selected out of the former two hundred Pieces of Cannon, and sent them away; after which, out of the Treasure he had taken, he rewarded his Army with three Months Pay by way of Gratuity, and took Care that it should be distributed to every Man in the same Proportion as his Pay.

On the 1st of *March*, *Nadir-Shab* began to move towards the City of *Dehly*, having *Mohammed-Shab* in his Hands, guarded by ten thousand Horse. On the 8th of the same Month, the Emperor entered the Castle of that Capital, under a Guard of four thousand Horse, before it was light, and the same Morning *Nadir-Shab* also made his Publick Entry into the City, at the Head of 20,000 Horse, and proceeding thro' it to the Castle, was there received by *Mohammed-Shab*, who entertained him at Breakfast. They spent the whole Day together, and *Nadir-Shab* did not retire till towards Evening, behaving all the Time towards him with much Civility and seeming Affection. The *Shab* likewise, at his Request, issued out a Proclamation, forbidding, on very severe Penalties, any of his Soldiers from insulting the Inhabitants, at the same Time strictly enjoining the proper Officers to see this Proclamation duly executed, and to spare no Severities re-

* The *Mulindid* is a Part of the *Divan*, which is raised higher than the rest, and is large enough for two or three People to sit upon. It is covered with a fine Carpet, and over that there lies a Quilt of fine Linnen. The placing the Emperor here, was a very high Mark of Respect, and treating him as an equal, since this was a Place to which none of *Nadir-Shab's* Ministers were ever admitted.

* This was a thing constantly practised by the *Perfian* Conqueror, on his becoming Master of any great City. He did the same thing after the taking of *Kandahar*, where he found immense Riches, and he did much more, when he became Master of the whole Wealth of this Empire, as we shall see hereafter. It was by these Acts of Generosity, that he kept his Army so perfectly attached to him; from the Consideration, that in serving him, they served themselves, and that he was not more their Monarch than their Benefactor.

quisite for that Purpose in punishing the Offenders, which Proclamation had such an Effect, that very exact Discipline was maintained, and none of the Mogul's People suffered any Injury.

On the 10th, an Order was sent to open the Magazines in the Corn-Market, and to see that Commodity sold at a reasonable Rate, which was absolutely necessary, as things were then circumstanced. A Mob, however, was raised upon this Occasion, and those who would not fight for their Country, took up Arms rather than part with their Corn at a fair Price. In short, the Persian Officers were kill'd, as also a good Number of their Men, and in a few Hours Time the whole City was in Confusion. About Eight the next Morning, *Nadir-Shah* mounted on Horseback, in order to quell the Tumult, and in his Passage through the Streets, seeing Abundance of his own Soldiers dead Bodies lying about, he was extremely provoked, yet he moderated his Passion so much, as to give very just and favourable Orders, though at the same Time he detached a strong Body of Horse and Foot to reduce the People that were in Arms to Reason. There were some very duty Circumstances in this Affair, which it is necessary should be explained. Some of the Mogul's Ministers had promised *Nadir-Shah* a Present of a Crore of *Ruppes*, that is, a Million and a Quarter of our Money, on his coming to *Delhy*, which however they did not raise, but privately excited this Tumult, by giving out, that *Nadir-Shah* was killed in his Quarters, and other such like Stories, calculated for the Understanding of a Mob, and keeping up their Fury. The Troops that were detached to reduce them, had strict Orders not to proceed to Extremities, till fair Means were found ineffectual, and even then, they were ordered to be very careful in distinguishing between the Innocent and the Guilty, by firing on none but those that were in Arms, and suffering such as remained quiet in their Houses to reside there undisturbed. But as Mobs are apt to mistake Mildness for Fear, and gentle Persuasions for a Dread of their Force, so the People of *Delhy*, instead of dispersing, assembled in Crowds upon their Terraces, and from thence they furiously began to throw Stones, and either from one of these Terraces, or a Window thereabouts, a Musket was designedly shot at *Nadir-Shah*, which missing him, killed one of his Officers who stood next him. This made him give way to his Passion, and to order a general Slaughter to be commenced from that very Place; the Soldiers in an Instant getting upon the Walls and Terraces, began to plunder and kill.

This bloody Scene extended from the *Sarafa Ardui*, which is before the Castle, to the old *Eidgab*, which is three *Coss* Distance, on one Side as far *Jitli Tomb*, and on the other as far as the *Tobacco Mandavi*, and *Poul Metai*, the whole Streets of the *Bazar*, and the Alleys and Wards on all Sides the *Khanums Bazar*, and round about the *Jamib Musjid*, and the Cotton and Jewellers *Bazars*, were all plundered; several Places were set on Fire, and whomsoever they found in the Wards and Houses, Streets, Alleys and Shops, great and small, Men and Women, they put to the Sword, even the brute Creatures did not escape their Fury; several Women were made Prisoners. *Lauf Ali Khan*, the Officer who was appointed to slaughter and plunder, towards the Square of *Saad Allah Khan*, and *Delhy Gate*, when he came as far as *Sirbulind Khan's House*, he, in a great Surprise and Fright, came out to meet the said Officer, and representing to him, that the People of that Quarter were not to blame, he made him desist, and stop his Men, on promising they should pay a Sum of Money; but in other Places the Slaughter, Plundering and Burning went on, in a most barbarous Manner. *Nadir-Shah*, after he had given the Orders, returned back to the Castle. About Two o'Clock *Mohammed-Shah*, and *Nizam al Muluk*

waited on him, who having made great Intercession for the City, the Soldiers were ordered to desist, and it was proclaimed by Beat of Drum, that none of the Inhabitants should be any longer molested. The Slaughter continued from Eight in the Morning till Three in the Afternoon; above 400 *Kuzzlebs* were killed, and of the Citizens, great and small, 120,000 were slaughtered, others computed them 150,000; what Treasure and Effects were plundered, some *Nadir-Shah* had, and a great deal was destroyed by the Fire.

In several of the *Hindu's Houses*, where one of a Family survived, he used to pile thirty or forty Carcasses a-top of one another, and burn them, and so they did in the Streets; notwithstanding which, there still remained so many, that for a considerable Time there was no such thing as passing any of the narrow Lanes. When the Slaughter began, those who raised the Commotion disappeared in an Instant, and left the innocent Shopkeepers, *Bazars*, and many honest Families, to be butchered by the enraged *Kuzzlebs*. Several, jealous of their Honour, not only killed their Women, but laid violent Hands upon themselves. One of these unfortunate Wretches in particular, when the Soldiers came near his House, burned about twenty Women of his Family, and was in Expectation of their entering every Minute, and killing him; by Chance they missed that House, but he was so incensed, that finding himself disappointed, he went out, and bringing some of them back, shewed them the Way to his own House, telling them, there was a good deal of Money and Effects therein. After they had plundered the House, they went their Way without killing him, which so enraged him, that he dispatched himself. There were great Numbers of People, especially Women and Children, burnt in their Houses. The very next Day, the Prisoners, and especially the Women, were, by *Nadir-Shah's* Order, conducted back to their own Houses, to the Number of fifty thousand. About ten thousand Women, in the midst of the Confusion, had thrown themselves into Wells, of whom there were many taken out alive, two or three Days after.

On the Thirteenth, *Nadir-Shah* having an Account that a Detachment of his Troops that had been sent to seize the Cannon at the *Serai of Reub Allah Khan*, had been cut off by the People, a strong Body was sent thither to punish that Offence, which they did by cutting to Pieces five or six thousand of them, and bringing in three hundred of the principal Persons Prisoners, who had their Heads struck off. The same Day Proclamation was made that every Man should retire to his House and Employment, without Fear of the Soldiers. Two Days after, as the great Number of dead Bodies that lay about the Castle, and in the *Bazars*, and other Places, caused a very offensive Stench, they pressed most of the People they met with in the Streets, and employed them in removing the Bodies; some, by tying Cords to the Feet, they dragged without the City; some they threw into the River, and those whom they imagined to be *Hindus*, they piled forty or fifty of their Bodies a-top of each other and burnt them, with the Timber of the demolished Buildings.

On the Sixteenth, a *Firman*, to exempt the Dominions of *Persia* from Taxes for three Years, was drawn up, and dispatched by a Chopper, at the same time the Arrears formerly due to the Soldiers, as also one Year's Pay beforehand, and six Month's Pay as a Gratuity, was given to all his People, even his Servants, and those who trafficked for Necessaries in the Camp. On the Seventeenth, *Nadir-Shah* sent for *Sirbulind Khan*, and told him, that he apprehended his Pretensions of old Age and Infirmary, were calculated purely to retard the raising of the Money, and therefore he would advise him, for his own sake, to be more expeditious, because it was a Thing that would

¹ In order to understand this Word, it is necessary to observe, that *Hindu*, strictly taken, signifies a swarthy, dark-coloured Person, and was therefore given to the original Inhabitants of the Country, round about *Delhy*, from whence it received, in Process of Time, the Name of *Hindian*, or as we commonly write it, *Indians*; that is, the Country of the *Hindus*, and many have believed, that from thence the *Europeans* derived the Name of *India*, which, however, seems more probably to have been taken from the River *Indus*. As for the Natives of this Empire, they are still distinguished by their old Name of *Hindus*, because of that Mixture of Nations which now inhabit their Country, such as *Mughls*, *Pattans*, *Persians*, &c. They are a very harsh, insolent People, very laborious and industrious, but exceedingly contemned and despised by the *Muslimans* in general.

admit of no Delay. On the next Day, which was the Eighteenth, *Sirbulind Khan* went likewise to the Dirbar, where were present *Nizam al Muluck*, and *Kummir o' din Khan*, and he stayed there until Noon. *Thomas Khan* and *Mustapha Khan*, pressing them concerning the Money, *Sirbulind Khan* told *Nizam al Muluck* as follows; "I have, a long time ago, foreseen this Disgrace, and frequently represented to the Emperor, that before Things were past Remedy, he ought to take some Measure, and not through too much Security reckon any Accident unworthy his Care and Prevention. I desired him to employ some experienced and faithful Person, and to give him full Power, that with a Sum of Money, and other valuable Things, as a Pishcush, he might make up Matters, prevent the impending Calamity, and live, as formerly with the Shah, in an amicable Manner. Every Body imagined I couched some Designs and Self-Views under this Advice. They themselves would contrive no Expedient, nor would they rely on the Contrivance of another, until, at last, Affairs are come to this calamitous and disgraceful Issue." To this *Nizam al Muluck* made no Answer. Then *Thomas Khan* addressing himself to *Kummir o' din Khan*, repeated to him the Substance of what *Nadir Shah* at first meeting reproached *Mohammed Shah* with. Afterwards he told him, "What is past shall not be remembered. Now my Shah wants the Money, use all Means you can to raise it, and bring not yourselves into any further Disgrace by being dilatory." *Sirbulind Khan* answered, "undoubtedly we will raise it wherever it is to be found." *Thomas Khan* asked him, if he had not Money himself, *Sirbulind Khan* said to him, "If I had had Money, I would have sent it to you to *Khandabar*, and prevented you from having the Trouble of coming hither."

In short, by what passed at this Meeting, it was known that *Nadir Shah*, after this Victory, and having established his Power, had demanded of *Nizam al Muluck* twenty Crores of Rupees, or twenty-five Millions Sterling, (exclusive of the Jewels, Gold-Plate set with precious Stones, and other fine Goods, seized of the King's and other Omrahs) to be collected in the best Manner he could, out of the King's Treasury, his own Effects, and all the other Omrahs, wealthy People, and Inhabitants. Such a Sum was not to be raised out of the King's Treasury or the Omrahs Effects; for, in the King's, all the Gold and Silver Coins did not exceed three Crore: But, in the inward Vaults, (which had been shut up and sealed for many Years, no body knowing by whom they were sealed, or what they contained) there was found of Gold and Silver a much larger Amount than the Money in the Treasury. *Nizam al Muluck* contributed a Pishcush of one Crore and a half in Jewels, Treasures, and Goods; as did also *Kummir o' din Khan* to the same Amount. *Saadit Khan* had formerly agreed to pay one Crore of Rupees, and made good thirty Lacks thereof, which was all that had escaped being plundered; he promised to send for the Remainder from his Soubah. *Sirbulind Khan*, on account of his Poverty, was excused from any Share; and three Crores of Rupees were appointed to be levied on some of *Manjuddar*, *Mutsefidys*, Officers, and the rich Inhabitants, each in Proportion to his Circumstances. Formerly *Saadit Khan* was ordered to collect this Money. After his Death, and the Slaughter and Plunder of the City, this Business was recommended to the Care of *Sirbulind Khan* and the other Omrahs, which *Thomas Khan*, at his Meeting, pressed them about. Accordingly it was now agreed, that *Zaim Khan*, *Chuchl Keisboir*, *Vakel of the Subbaddars of Bengal*, *Seta Ram*, and all the *Manjuddars* and Officers of the *Cababoura*, &c. should meet at *Sirbulind Khan's* House, and make an End of this Affair. All Officers,

Inhabitants, &c. who were suspected to be rich, were ordered to give in a List of what Money and Effects they were Masters of, to be laid before the Shah, that what he liked he might take, and what he forgave them they might keep; and whoever pleased Poverty, such Person should declare the same by a Writing under their Hand and Seal, that in case it should be afterwards proved that he had given in a false Account, he might be punished. That Day the People before-mentioned came to *Sirbulind Khan's* House; and having staid until the Evening, and enrolled some Names, returned to their own Houses.

This Affair was prosecuted for several Days following with the utmost Diligence; during which time also they were busy in preparing Illuminations on the Banks of the River, and Fire-works for the Wedding of *Nadir Shah's* Son, who was to be married to the Daughter of *Jesden Buktyb*, Son of *Kam Buktyb*. On the Night of the Twenty-seventh of *March*, the Marriage was consummated: *Mohammed Shah* made the young Princess a Present of Jewels to the Value of 50,000 Rupees, and; in ready Money, 50,000 more. Some Days after the Marriage, *Nadir Shah* sent them Jewels to the Value of five Lack of Rupees, or 62,500 Pounds.

The Council for ascertaining the Pishcush or Present, was continually held in the Castle, near the Divan of Justice, at which assisted *Thomas Khan*, *Mustapha Khan*, and *Mohammed Shah's* Omrahs, until the Eighth of *April* at Noon; and, during that Time, every Body was present at the said Place, from Sun-rise to Sun-set. All the *Vakeels* and Agents of the *Manjuddars*, and other Officers, gave constant Attendance; and, at Night, each returned to his own House without having a Centry or Guard over them. In those Days, and also afterwards, several People finding Affairs go hard with them, left their Effects and Families behind, and made their Escape out of the City in the best Manner they could, being glad, at any rate, to save their Lives. Several of *Mohammed Shah's* Omrahs were obliged to stay the whole Day in the Castle in a mean Manner, and perpetual Fear, with but one Horse and a few Servants to attend them, and at Night they returned to their own Houses. The whole of this Month was passed by, the Subjects of *Mohammed Shah* in a very melancholy Manner; for, notwithstanding they raised prodigious Sums, yet new Demands were still made and exacted from them in so rigorous a manner, that they frequently chose Death, as a milder Punishment than those to which they were exposed: As, for Instance, the Agent of the Province of *Bengal*, was ordered to send for seven Crore of Rupees from thence, which is almost nine Millions of our Money. He, to demonstrate the Impossibility of complying with this Order, answered, that such a Sum of Money would fill a Line of *Vaggon*s, reaching from *Bengal* to *Dibly*. For this Freedom he was to ill treated, that, in Repentment, he went home, murdered his Family, and then himself; and it would appear a Thing incredible, if we were to mention a few only of the many Examples of this sort that happened.

On the First of *May*, all the Omrahs were ordered by *Nadir Shah* to be at *Mohammed Shah's* by Five of the Clock in the Morning, where they all received Presents from that Conqueror, according to their several Ranks, consisting of Cloaths, Arms, and Pieces of Gold, and Silver-Staff. About Eight in the Morning, *Mohammed Shah*, seated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy Umbrella, and some red Litter, with several of the Omrahs, went towards the General Divan, the Omrahs being mounted at a small Distance behind him; when they came near the General Divan, the Emperor ordered *Saad o' din Khan* to let none but the head Omrahs, and a few of the chief *Manjuddars* to go farther. At the Door of the General

* One would imagine that this was a Marriage formed upon some political Motive, which, however, it is very difficult to discover, since *Nadir Shah* never shewed any Intention of depriving the Mogul of his Dominions. It is not impossible, however, that he might suspect, from the Condition in which he saw the Empire, that it could not long subsist, and might therefore incline to have a Son or a Grandson related to the Imperial Family, as, in that case, to form a Pretension to it; for otherwise this is a Transaction, for which no rational Account can be given, especially, considering the Time when this Marriage was solemnized.

There cannot be a stronger Mark of Degeneracy and Corruption, than what some People may mistake for Bravery and high Spirit; I mean the self-murders. We have, in this History, the clearest Instance of it; for these People had seen their Country overrun, their Friends and Relations abused and murdered, their Sovereign insulted, and their Government overturned, without so much as one risking their Persons to prevent such Mischiefs; but now, when the Means of Luxury were to be taken away, and they were in Danger of living poor, they could pluck up a Spirit and kill themselves.

Divan, all the Omrahs alighted, and followed on foot to the Door of the private Divan, where *Nadir Shah* was; there the Emperor came out of his Royal Litter and went in. After they had mutually embraced, they breakfasted together, and the Omrahs likewise had Breakfast given them. A little after the following Things were brought in for *Mohammed Shah*, viz. a Crown richly set with Jewels, a Sirpeach, or Fillet, to be worn round the Turban likewise set with Jewels, a Bracelet richly adorned, a Girdle of great Value, two Swords, the Handles set with Jewels, an enameled Cuttarry or Dagger. The Crown *Nadir Shah* put on with his own Hands, making him an Apology at the same time. After giving him some Advice he took leave of him; the Substance of the Advice, was to this purpose; "In the first Place, you must seize all the Omrahs and *Yagirs*, and pay each of them according to their Manfubs and Rank, with ready Money out of the Treasury. You are to allow none to keep any Forces of his own, but you yourself are constantly to keep Sixty thousand chosen Horsemen, at sixty Ruppes per Month, one with another; every ten Men to have one *Dehbasht*, every ten *Dehbashts* one *Sudival*, and every ten *Sudivals* one *Hazzari*. You ought to be well acquainted with the Merit of each, their Name, their Family, and Nation, not allowing any of them, Officers, Soldiers, or others, to be idle or inactive; when any Occasion may require, detach a sufficient Number under the Command of one whom you can trust for Conduct, Courage, and Fidelity; and when that Business is over, recall them immediately, not letting any Persons stay too long in Command, for fear of bad Consequences. You are more particularly to beware of *Nizam al Maluck*, whom, by his Conduct, I find to be full of Cunning and self-interested, and more ambitious than becomes a Subject". *Mohammed Shah*, knowing these Advices proceeded from Good-will, was very thankful, and desired him, as his Empire depended on him, that he would appoint those whom he thought most deserving of the principal Posts. *Nadir Shah* said, "That will not be at all for your Interest, such Officers will have little Deference for you in my Absence. When I am gone, dispose of every Post to those whom you think most worthy; and should they, or any of them rebel, upon the first Advice, I will send a Person to chastise them; if it be necessary, I will send Forces, or, on Occasion, I can be with you myself in forty Days from *Kandahar*; but, at all Events, don't reckon me far off." After this, *Mohammed Shah*, taking Leave, returned back to *Aryb Mabl*, from whence he gave the Omrahs Leave to go home. On the Second of May, *Nadir Shah* sent for *Nizam al Maluck*, *Sirbullind Khan*, and the other Omrahs, and having enjoined Obedience to *Mohammed Shah*, and threatened them, in case of Rebellion, took his Leave. It was whispered, that *Nadir Shah* declared before some of his Omrahs, that he had acted indifferently in regard to two Things; one was, his giving the Empire to *Mohammed Shah*, who being unequal to so great a Task, the Affairs of *India* would become worse than formerly. The other his giving Quarter to *Nizam al Maluck*, who being so very subtle and crafty, it was more than probable, he would raise a Disturbance; but, as according to the Decrees of Providence, and the Assistance of their own good Fortune, he had once passed his Word to them, he would not act contrary thereto. This shews the Temper and Spirit of this Conqueror, and his Resolution to do nothing that might destroy that Confidence which even his Enemies reposed in him.

* It is very evident, from this very singular and curious Conversation, that, in the Opinion of *Nadir Shah*, nothing could secure a Government like that of the Moguls, but a standing and well-disciplined Army, constantly kept on Foot, and as constantly kept in good Order. The Reason is not hard to find out: In Countries where the People have Liberty and Property, they have no Temptations, or, at least, very few, to endeavour to overturn that Constitution, or form a Government, by which, or under which they enjoy such Advantages; and in case their Country is invaded from abroad, they are hearty and zealous in defending it. But in such Countries as are under arbitrary Princes, as none have either Liberty or Property, so none but such as are hired to fight, will fight in Defence of that Power which belongs to one whom perhaps they fear, rather than love, or, as in this Case, neither fear him nor love him.

† This is another Proof, that there is no political Distemper so hard to cure, as a rivetted Luxury and total Corruption. One would naturally imagine, that there could not be in Nature a better Remedy contrived, or at least one more effectual than this, which was devised by *Nizam al Maluck*, but even this we see did not operate. While the Mischief was upon them, they sunk under it, and groined under the immediate Sense of their sufferings, but like lethargick Patients, as soon as the Caustick is withdrawn, they relapse again into their former Condition, and sleep as sound as ever. We may, however, venture to predict, that the Dissolution of this Government is at hand, and that it will not be long before we hear of *Indyast's* being over-run by foreign Enemies, or a new Family raised to the Throne by some fortunate Insurrection.

On the Fourth of May, 1739, he began his March from *Dehly*, having first issued out strict Orders for all his Soldiers to join his Army, upon Pain of Death, which, with great Severity, he inflicted upon such as stood behind, Sixty of whom were discovered, and sent after him, by the Command of *Aleahammed-Shah*; a large Number was afterwards collected, and were likewise to have been sent to him; but upon Reflection, the Mogul Emperor declared in Council, that as it was morally certain these poor People would be likewise put to Death, he saw no Reason why they should make themselves accessory to the shedding of so much innocent Blood, and therefore ordered their Deserters to be set at Liberty. *Nadir Shah*, when he had once begun his March towards *Peshawar*, prosecuted it with great Diligence, that he might effectually secure the vast Riches he had obtained, and to which, however, he made some Accessions. Some Days before he left *Dehly*, he sent Part of his Army before to *Lahor*; when they approached the Place, and *Zeharia-Khan* was apprized thereof, he called together all the great Men, Merchants, Serafs, and wealthy People of the City. At their Meeting it was agreed, that the Khan and they should go out of the City, and send a Message to the commanding Officer, in these Words; "If your Design be to slaughter the Inhabitants, lo! we are here present. If Plunder be your Intent, the City is deserted, and our Effects left there, or if Money be what you want, the *Soubahdar* and Citizens can raise no more than one Crore; so whatever your Intentions or Orders are, that execute. This is a small City, and not able to withstand the Fury of an Army, as *Dehly* is." On the Receipt of this Message, the commanding Officer thought proper to represent the Affair to his Master, who ordered him to receive the Crore of *Ruppes*, and to molest them no further. After the Payment of the Money, amounting to 1,250,000*l*. he drew off, and joined the main Army upon their March.

It is amazing, that so sudden, so extraordinary, and so dreadful a Blow as was by this Invasion given to the Mogul Empire, did not awaken such as were entrusted with the Administration of Affairs, to a just Sense of their Duty; and yet we are assured, that for almost two Months after the *Shah's* Departure, there were no Steps taken to rectify those Disorders in their Government, that had produced this melancholy Event; on the contrary, the Ministry persisted in their Ill-will to each other, and were more intent on the Means of promoting their separate Interests, or gratifying their particular Resentments, than in contriving any thing for the publick Good, or for restoring their Affairs. Neither did this strange Humour prevail among the Great only, but spread like a pestilential Infection through all Ranks and Degrees of People. The Inhabitants, from the Terror of this Calamity, like People possessed, and in Fits, were quite stupified, and not come to themselves; and what is still more strange (notwithstanding the Oppressions and Disgrace the People of this Empire have met with since *Nadir-Shah's* Departure) the indecent Expressions and beastly Actions of his Soldiers, were the constant Subjects of Discourse, in all Companies, related with a seeming Satisfaction and Pleasure, and by way of Jest and Drollery, not being the least affected with the Reflection on their past Disgrace and Misfortunes, but on the contrary seemed sorry for his going away.

It is impossible to account for this, since the Losses they sustained of all Kinds were incredibly great, for in gold and silver Coin, he carried away twenty-five Crores of *Ruppes*, making upwards of thirty-one Millions of our

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Money; in Gold Crores; in Jewels, the Omrahs, twenty famous Peacock Tails, many Crores of *Jewels*, and other valuable more, so that in the Crores, which make our Money. He planted, seven thousand about a thousand *As* and Soldiers acquiring or twelve Millions Charges of his Armories of the Moguls, advanced them, together with Fire, and other Artillery much, if any, and if to this we add the City of *Dehly*, the March to and from Inhabitants of this Empire at an Arrive of five Millions Sterling, destroyed in the *Cornal*, in the *Mar* there, and in the *den*, *Famine*, and there could not fall, sons, of all Ranks,

But it was not of this Invasion, but of the *ed*, and obtained, ries then posses'd Side of the River its Territories, the other Countries, we rent of that Monarch it was before *Nadir*.

Thus we have fire in the *Indies*, through the Course upwards. It is by sequel at Part of this intelligible, because the higher *Asia* chafed Measure their Inhabitants being the purest and their Cities came out Nations, and this was occasioned a Monarchy by that Country, who late *Parth's*, into a to *India*, where the of their Country, *Mohammedans* next themselves in the themselves strong Country as were several Principalities *banned*, which gave when he first invaded so long famous under *Pattans*. The 7th the last Section, Countries, to the who were likewise Quarrels and free who by this Measure which was absolute It is very clear the much altered from cients, and conse

* The River *Attock* it is a very large and fertile of this Treaty, now the River and the

Money, in Gold and Silver Plate he carried away five Crores, in Jewels, which he took from the Emperor and the Omrah, twenty-five Crores. He seized likewise the famous Peacock Throne, and nine others, valued at as many Crores of *Ruppes*. In fine, Cloths, rich Stuffs, and other valuable Commodities, he picked up six Crores more, so that in the whole, he received at least seventy Crores, which make eighty-seven Millions and an half of our Money. He took with him likewise a thousand Elephants, seven thousand Horses, ten thousand Camels, and about a thousand Artificers of several sorts. His Officers and Soldiers acquired by Plunder ten Crores of *Ruppes*, or twelve Millions and an half of our Money; the Charges of his Army, while he continued in the Territories of the Mogul, the Arrears, Pay, and Gratitudes advanced them, together with the Goods they destroyed by Fire, and other Acts of Fury and Desolation, could not fall much, if any thing, short of twenty Crores more; and if to this we add the Loss suffered by the Plunder of the City of *Dehly*, and the Ravages committed in the March to and from thence, the entire Loss sustained by the Inhabitants of this Empire, will not be exaggerated, if computed at an Arris of *Ruppes*, or an hundred and twenty-five Millions Sterling. Again, as to the Number of Persons destroyed in the March from *Labor*, in the Battle of *Carnal*, in the March to *Dehly*, in the general Massacre there, and in the Consequences of it, such as Self-Murders, Famine, and arbitrary Punishments, it is believed there could not fall less than two hundred thousand Persons, of all Ranks, Sexes and Ages.

But it was not only Blood and Treasure that paid for this Invasion, but Dominions also, for *Nadir Shab* required, and obtained, an absolute Cession of all the Territories then possess'd by the *Indian* Monarch on the West-Side of the River *Atack*, by which Means *Peishor*, with its Territories, the Principality of *Cabul*, and several other Countries, were yielded to *Perfia*; so that the Extent of that Monarchy on this Side, is much larger than it was before *Nadir-Shab* came to the Crown.

Thus we have traced the History of this *Tartar* Empire in the *Indies*, from its first Rise, to the present Times, through the Course of three hundred and forty Years and upwards. It is by the help of this History, that the subsequent Part of this Work will be rendered perfectly intelligible, because from thence we see how all Parts of the higher *Asia* changed their Government, and in a great Measure their Inhabitants, since it is certain, that from being the purest and most unmix'd People in the World, their Cities came to be filled by a vast Variety of different Nations, and those too of different Faiths. First, this was occasioned by the utter Destruction of the *Persian* Monarchy by the *Arabs*, which drove the Natives of that Country, who have since been called *Perfies*, and of late *Perfs*, into all Parts of *Asia*, but more especially into *India*, where the Manners of the People, and the Laws of their Country, very nearly resembled their own. The *Mohammedans* next, for the sake of Trade, came to plant themselves in the *Indies*, where, when they once found themselves strong enough, they seized such Parts of the Country as were most convenient for them, and settled several Principalities, but particularly that under Sultan *Mohammed*, which gave the great *Timur* so much Trouble, when he first invaded *Indostan*, and which was afterwards so long famous under the Title of the Kingdom of the *Pattans*. The *Tartars*, as has been before observed in the last Section, had made several IncurSIONS into these Countries, to the great Disturbance of the Inhabitants, who were likewise very much distressed by the continual Quarrels and frequent Wars among their own Princes, who by this Means weakened and destroyed that Force which was absolutely necessary to their common Safety. It is very clear therefore, that the State of the *Indies* was much altered from what it was in the Time of the Ancients, and consequently the Inhabitants were much less

able to resist the Attempts that were made upon their Liberties by the *Europeans*.

For, in the first Place, they had been totally enervated by their Luxury, which drew upon them those Divisions and Distractions which rendered them an easy Prey to the *Mohammedans* and *Tartars*. Neither was this at all cured by their Misfortunes, for tho' it be natural enough for a poor and hardy Nation to attain by slow Degrees, and unwearied Endeavours, to Wealth and Power; yet it is neither reasonable to expect, nor does History make it at all probable, that when once a Nation has been corrupted in its Morals, and softened in its Manners, to a great Degree, it has ever recovered its former Temper and Spirit, tho' brought again into as great Poverty and Distress, as when it first struggled for Empire. This was the Situation of the *Indians* precisely, when they were first known to the *Portuguese*; that is to say, they had attained to the most flourishing Condition that perhaps every Nation enjoyed, and by abusing their Wealth and Power, had sunk into all the Depths of Luxury by which the Yoke of Slavery had been brought upon their Necks; which tho' they bore with Impatience, yet they wanted both Force and Virtue to throw off, living still in perpetual Feuds and Animosities against each other, and delighting as much as ever in that Sloth and Love of Pleasure which had brought them into these Misfortunes.

After having these leading Circumstances clearly laid down to us, and our making a few necessary Remarks upon them, from the Lights of Reason and Experience, we shall be as well prepared as we can desire for the perusal of the remaining Part of this Work, and be capable of entering fully into the Spirit and Meaning of it. We shall see how far we have Reason to expect, that modern Writers should agree, and how far we may suppose, they must differ from, the Authors of Antiquity, tho' writing of the same Places, and of the same People. We cannot but believe, that in the great Points of Government, and what may be called the Exterior of a Constitution, there must be still a very apparent Likeness between the ancient *Indians* and the moderns, because these are things permanent in their Nature, as we see in the Customs of the *Jews* and other Nations. Accordingly we find, that as to their Division into Tribes, their Form of Government, and their ordinary Manner of Living, the modern *Indians* resemble those described by the Ancients so much, that there can be no manner of Doubt of their being the same People, or of the Truth of those Relations that are delivered to us from the most early Times.

In the next Place, we find the Religion of the *Indians* exactly in that Situation in which we might expect it, that is, exceedingly altered and corrupted, intermixed with many Notions, Fables and Ceremonies, taken from the Doctrines maintained by the several Nations with whom they have since conversed. Lastly, in respect to Trade, the Inhabitants of the *Indies* appear very much changed from what they were, but changed in a Manner very suitable to the Accidents that have befallen that Nation. They have no longer that Openness and Freedom in their Dealings, that Justice and Integrity in the Performance of their Contracts, that Regularity in their Proceedings, or that strict regard for their Words, which heretofore rendered them famous; but they are to this Day indolent and indefatigable, excellent in the several Manufactures to which they apply themselves, and more attentive than ever to the concealing those Secrets which relate to them. The Commodities, and the wrought Goods of this Country, are such as perfectly correspond with the ancient Accounts of them; so that taking things altogether, there is as much Affinity between the old and the new Relations of this Country, and its Inhabitants, as the foregoing Particulars attentively considered, we can possibly require.

The Subject, as it has been hitherto pursued, has lead us into Abundance of troublesome Digressions, some perplexed and abstruse Inquiries, and through Roads into

* The River *Atack* is a little Stream, as it is represented in some Maps, which divides the Province of *Labor* from that of *Peishor*; but in Truth it is a very large and rapid River, which is fordable only in one Place, which is defended by a strong Castle, called the Castle of *Atack*. So that by virtue of this Treaty, there are four Provinces cut off from the Mogul's Empire, and annex'd to that of *Perfia*, the Eastern Boundary of which is now this River and the River *Indus*.

which nothing could carry an Author but the Love of Truth. If either the Search of Ease to myself, or the Desire of acquiring false Fame by amusing my Readers with pleasant Relations, could have diverted me from the Execution of the Plan laid down at the Opening of this Chapter, I might undoubtedly have taken my Journey over plainer Ground, and through a more cultivated Country, I mean that of suspicious Voyages, where we are more indebted to the Imagination, than to the Industry of the Writers; but I was convinced, that this kind of History of the *Indies*,

was a thing equally wanted and desired to complete the Universal History, if I may so speak, of Voyages and Travels; I thought I should render a greater Service to the Publick in compiling what had never been digested before, than by tacking together Piece after Piece, that had been before made publick: As this is now finished, and we enter in the next Section on modern Voyages, I flatter myself, the Reader will, at every Step, discern the great Importance, and singular Utility of the foregoing Part of this Chapter.

SECTION XXIII.

A compleat History of the Rise and Progress of the Portuguese Empire in the East-Indies; their Discoveries set forth in their natural Order; the Form of their Government in those Parts explained; the Causes of the Declension of their Power examined; and the present Posture of their Affairs, in this Part of the World, truly stated.

Collected chiefly from their own Writers.

1. An introductory Discourse, shewing the Design of this Section, and the Method observed therein.
2. The Discoveries made by the Portuguese in the sixteenth Century, and the Motives which induced them to attempt a new Passage to the Indies.
3. The Discovery of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, by Bartholomew Diaz, and the Reasons why it was so called.
4. The glorious Expedition of Vaquez de Gama to the Indies, by this new Passage, and his Exploits there.
5. The second Voyage to the Indies, under the Command of Don Pedro Alvarez de Capral, who in his Passage discovered Brazil.
6. The King of Portugal sends Don Vaquez de Gama again into the East.
7. Affairs of the Portuguese to the Arrival of the two Albuquerque in the Indies.
8. Don Francis d'Almeida sent with the Title of Viceroy.
9. The noble Acts, and extensive Conquests of Don Alphonso d'Albuquerque.
10. The great Wars carried on by, and the prodigious Success of the Portuguese in the Indies.
11. A succinct Account of their Affairs to the Union of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal.
12. The Reasons which oblige us to distinguish between their Conquests and Discoveries.
13. The Maldives and Ceylon, first known to the Portuguese.
14. They visit Sumatra, and the adjacent Islands.
15. The important Discovery of the Moluccas, or Spice-Islands.
16. The Portuguese first visit the Coasts of China.
17. The Islands de los Ladrones, discovered.
18. The large Island of Celebes, first visited by the Portuguese.
19. They discover likewise the Islands in the Straights of Sonda.
20. The Coasts of New Guinea, first known to the Europeans.
21. The Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines.
22. The first Voyage made by the Portuguese to Japan.
23. Attempts made to discover the Land of Yedro, and to the North.
24. The History of the New Philippines, never before published in our Language.
25. An Account of the Caroline Islands, the last discovered in this Part of the Globe.
26. The History of the Portuguese Commerce in the Indies, resumed.
27. Several of their principal Colonies lost, to whom and how.
28. The great Declension of their Power in the Indies.
29. The Causes of that Declension inquired into, and explained.
30. The present State of the Portuguese Settlements and Commerce.
31. Their Importance to the Crown of Portugal considered.
32. Conjectures as to the future State of their Affairs.
33. Observations and Remarks upon the foregoing Section.

1. **T**HE Discoveries and Conquests of the Portuguese take up not only so large a Part of their own Histories, but make so considerable a Figure in those of Europe, and above all concern the Subject of this Chapter so nearly, that I find myself obliged to treat this Matter in such an Extent, as that it may answer the Reader's Expectations, and fulfil what I have promised for it in the original Plan of this Work. We have already many large and well written Books in several Languages, and some in our own, which promise a compleat History of the Exploits of this Nation in the East; but none of these come up to what I have in View. They take in only a certain Period of Time, and are rather calculated to inform us of the Actions of the several Admirals, Governors, and Commanders in chief, than to give us a compleat Idea of the Rise, Progress, and Declension of the Portuguese Power in those Parts, which is what I aim at, and which, God willing, shall be performed in the Compass of this Section.

But to keep within due Bounds, and to bring so vast a Field of Matter within Compass, I have found it necessary for my Reader's Ease, and my own, to have Recourse to the following Method. In the first place, I shall give a general and succinct Account with due Regard to Persons Circumstances, and Time, of the first Discoveries and Conquests of the Portuguese, the Growth of their Empire in the East, and their several Establishments, till other European

Nations began to interfere with them in those Parts, without running into any Digressions as to the Discoveries made by particular Persons, and by this means I hope to give a clear and easy Account of that great Alteration made in the Commerce of all Europe, by the Discovery of a direct Passage by Sea to the Indies. But as in the subsequent Part of this Work, it will be found extremely requisite to have Recourse to the particular Discoveries and first Intercourse between the Portuguese and several Indian Nations, I shall next endeavour to state with all the Brevity that is consistent with such a Design, the particular Discoveries that have been made by this Nation, or by the Spaniards, who acquired all that they possess in the East-Indies, in right of the Portuguese down to the present Age; and when this is done, I shall resume the general History of their Empire, shew the true Causes of its Declension, and conclude with a fair and distinct Account of their present Possessions in those Parts.

This, I conceive, will fully answer our Intention of representing as accurately as is possible the Progress of this Trade, which, with so much Labour, we have conducted from the very earliest Ages; and in this manner of stating it, the Matter contained in this Section, though not absolutely new in itself, will, however, appear in a Light very different from that in which it has hitherto stood in any Collection of this sort. It will be easy to discern, that the

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reducing such a vast Abundance of Materials, as the Portuguese Historians, and those of other Nations, who have treated on different Parts of this Subject have amassed, within the Bounds of one Section, and that too of no great Size, will require great Diligence, and put me under the Necessity of laying aside many things which those Writers thought worthy of transmitting to Posterity. But this will be so far from proving in any respect prejudicial to the Reader, that it will on the contrary turn to his Advantage, because it will free him from the Trouble of running thro' a long Course of trifling Circumstances that have little or nothing to do with the main Point.

For, as to the copious and swelling Panegyrics on particular Captains, the long Accounts of the Travels and Labours of Millionaries, and that pompous Detail of Church History, which makes up at least two-thirds of what these Authors have delivered, they are certainly Matters that an English Reader would be tempted to hurry over as fast as possible, and therefore the Omission of them must contribute not only to the Elegance, but to the Usefulness of this Performance. Indeed, when freed from these and other cumbersome Circumstances, there cannot be any thing more pleasant or entertaining, and at the same time more curious and instructive than this Part of our History, in which we see what mighty things may be performed by Courage, Industry, and Application, and how soon even the smallest States, by cultivating a maritime Power, become potent and considerable.

The little Kingdom of Portugal is bounded on the North and on the East by several Provinces of Spain, and on the South and West by the Atlantick Ocean. It extends from 37° to 42° of North Latitude, and lies between the 7° and 10° Longitude West from London. It is in Length from North to South about three hundred Miles, and in Breadth from East to West about one hundred. The Climate is pleasant and wholesome, the Soil fertile in some Places, but not in many, so that they are supplied with Corn by us, and by the Dutch. This Country was formerly famous for Gold, but for many Ages there has been none, or at least but little of that precious Metal found there. There is, indeed, a very rich Silver Mine at *Guacaldana*, still wrought with considerable Profit; but the principal Advantage of Portugal is its Situation on the Sea, and the Excellence of its Harbours. That of *Lisbon*, if we extend it from *St. Beni's* above it, to the Bay of *Cascais*, at the Mouth of the River, is four or five Leagues long; but if we only take in that Part of it about the Town, where Ships ride in the greatest Security from Storms and Enemies in eighteen Fathom Water, it will contain several thousand Sail; the Entry of it indeed is hazardous without a Pilot, but on the other hand, Ships ride securely when they are in it, being covered by the Hills on which the City stands on one Side, and by the opposite Banks, which are very high, on the other. There are, besides this, several other good Ports in this Kingdom, the Subjects of which have been always famous for their Application to Maritime Affairs, and after they had driven the Moors out of their Country, followed them into their own, and, under the Reign of King *John the First*, defeated them in a great Battle, and took from them the Fortresses of *Ceuta*, which still remains in the Power of the Crown of Spain.

It was to the Zeal and Magnanimity of the Infant Don *Henry*, the Fifth Son of this King *John*, that the Portuguese stand indebted for all that Glory which they have acquired by their Discoveries and Conquests in the East, and we may justly consider the Attempts made by them at this Juncture, as the more extraordinary, since their Country was but just recovered from a long and dangerous Civil War, the Power of their Prince very far from being great, his Finances very low, and the Country so indifferently peopled, that he was obliged to have Recourse to other Nations for Men to recruit his Armies, and to serve on Board his Fleets, which were very far from being considerable; I

do not mean in Comparison of the Fleets fitted out in our Times, but of those that were then employed by the Crown of Spain, and the Republicks of Italy. Yet under these Discouragements, this Spirit of Trade and Navigation not only sprung up, but prospered; and this too, notwithstanding that many of their Statelmen were very averse to such Undertakings, from the Danger and Difficulties that attended them; nor could they in all probability have been carried into Execution, but from the Zeal of the Clergy, who, out of a Desire of propagating the Christian Faith, promoted them to the utmost of their Power.

2. The Infant Don *Henry Count de Viseu* was a Prince endowed with all the great Qualities that distinguish Heroes from other Men. He had shewn his Courage in his Youth in the Wars against the Moors; but he was far from valuing himself on the Power of destroying or making miserable his Fellow-creatures, and therefore thought the proper Object of Valour was the facing those Dangers that hindered the Prosecution of such Designs as might be beneficial to the human Species. He resolved therefore to make himself Master of the *Canaries*, which were then in the Hands of *Maciot de Betancourt*, who held them under a Grant from the King of *Castille*, and who for a valuable Consideration made over his Right to Prince *Henry* about the Year 1406. He sent *Ferdinand de Castro*, who was at that time Master of his Household, to take Possession of them, and conceiving that they might be of great Use in the Discovery of the Coasts of the great Continent of *Africa*, which were then very little known, he began about the Year 1410, to fit out Ships for that Purpose, and took *Spaniards*, and others who were skilled in Navigation, into his Service for that Purpose.

The utmost Limits of the South-west Part of *Africa*, then known to the Portuguese, was a Cape running out from the Foot of Mount *Atlas*, the proper Name of which was *Chauar*, but called by the Seamen Cape *Non*, situated in the Latitude of 28° 10' North; and these Vessels proceeded along the Coast to Cape *Bojadore*, in 26° North Latitude, but they had not the Courage to double it. In 1418 *Tristan-Vaz* discovered the Island of *Porto-Santo*, and gave it that Name, because he first saw it on the Feast of *All Saints*. The next Year the Portuguese discovered the Island of *Madeira*, to which they gave that Name, on account of its being covered with Wood. In 1439, a Portuguese Captain doubled Cape *Bojadore*, which some think is the same that in the Writing of *Prolemy* is called Cape *Canarea*. The next Year they sailed as high as Cape *Blanco*, in the Latitude of 26°, and soon after discovered the *Rio del Oro*, with several small Islands upon the Coast. In 1446, *Nuno Tristan* doubled Cape *Verd*, in the Latitude of 14° 40'. In 1448, in the Spring, Don *Gonzalo Vello* sailed to the Islands called *Azores*, or the Hawk-Islands, from the Word *Azor*, which, in the Spanish Language, signifies a Hawk. They were at that Time uninhabited, and were settled by this Commander, who did not, however, visit at this Time the Islands of *Flores* and *Corvo*, which were settled, as we have elsewhere observed, by some *Flemings*, and from thence were called the *Flemish* Islands.

In the Year 1449, the Islands of Cape *Verd* were discovered on the Behalf of the Infant Don *Henry*; the first of these was called the Island of *May*, because they came thither on *May-day*, and at the same time they bestowed the Names of *St. James*, and *St. Philip* on two of those Islands, the rest remaining undiscovered till the Year 1460. The Progress made by the Infant Don *Henry*, gave great Satisfaction to the Princes that possessed the Crown of Portugal, inasmuch that King *Alphonso IV.* or rather the Infant Don *Pedro*, who governed the Kingdom during his Minority, made him a Grant of the Islands of *Porto-Santo* and *Madeira*. The Infant, however, judged it requisite, according to the Custom of those Times, to obtain the Sanction of the Holy See, and for that Reason sent Don *Ferdinand Lopez d'Almeida* as his Embassador to Pope *Martin V.* who, as the

* It was very far from being my Intention to give the Reader either a Description of the Kingdom of Portugal, or the History of it, for both belong to the succeeding Volume. What I have said in the Text was purely to render the subsequent Part of this Section perfectly clear, and well connected. By comparing the Force of the Kingdom of Portugal with the Conquests gained by the Portuguese in the *East-Indies*, he will be made sensible of the Truth of my Remarks, and by attending to the Situation of this Country, he will be satisfied, that there was nothing in it more than a Nation's turning their Thoughts to that for which Nature designed them; for with Respect to *the India Voyage*, as the Art of Navigation then stood, the Portuguese were better suited than any other People in Europe.

thing cost him very little, made a free Grant to the Crown of *Portugal* of all that should be discovered on that Side as far as the *Indies*. This Bull is dated in 1444, and was confirmed by his Successors, *Eugenius IV.* *Nicholas V.* and *Sixtus IV.* which occasioned afterwards high Disputes.

In 1471, *Pedro d'Escovar*, discovered the Island of *St. Thomas*, and *Princes-Island*, and on the first Day of the next Year another Island on the same Coast, which for that Reason he called *Anno Bueno*, which is the same that is now called corruptly *Annohon*. In 1484, *Diego Cam*, a *Portuguese*, discovered the Kingdom of *Congo*, and having heard there of a Christian Monarch, who reigned in *Ethiopia*, he magnified his Power so much on his Return, that *John II.* who was at that Time on the Throne, took a Resolution to send by Land two Persons he could trust, to gain some certain Intelligence of this Christian Prince, whom he judged to be Prefbyter *John*, and at the same time to gain the most satisfactory Knowledge they could of the State of the *Indies*. The Persons who went with this Commission, were *Pedro de Covillan* and *Alphonso de Payva*, who had strict Orders to commit to Writing whatever they judged worthy of Notice; but more especially the Situation of Places, and the Navigation on the Coast of *Ethiopia*, by which it was judged some Discovery might be made of the Means of passing by a new Rout to the *Indies*. Our Travellers, who spoke the *Arabick* Tongue perfectly, went together to *Alexandria*, and from thence to *Cairo*, from which City they proceeded to the famous Port of *Aden* in *Arabia*, where they had an Opportunity of conversing with Traders of all Nations, and from all Parts of the *Indies*, from whom they learned many things, which were of great Consequence to them, inasmuch that they seemed to put it in their Power to give the King a good Account of the Commission with which they were intrusted. Here they resolved to part, in order, that while one made a Tour through the *Indies*, the other might go to the Court of the Emperor of *Ethiopia*. Accordingly, *Pedro de Covillan* went to the *Indies*, and having made a very exact Map of the Coasts, he crossed the *Arabian* Sea to *Africa*, and after having visited most of the principal Ports there, came to *Sofala*, fully persuaded, as well from the Reason of the Thing, as from the concurring Opinions of the Seamen he conversed with, that a short, and easy Passage, might be found round the Continent of *Africa* to the *Indies*. Full of Joy, from this Discovery, he made the best of his Way to *Cairo*, where he was to meet his Companion; but when he came thither, he was informed that the unfortunate *Alphonso de Payva* had been murdered on the Road to *Ethiopia*. He was somewhat at a Loss as to the Measures which he was next to take; but, after mature Consideration, he resolved to acquaint the King with the Discoveries he had made by Letter, and to continue his Journey into *Ethiopia*, that, at his Return to *Portugal*, he might be able to satisfy the King, in every Respect, so that his Majesty might not be under a Necessity of sending any other Person to make farther Enquiries. He executed this second Journey with the same good Fortune that he did the former, at least at the Beginning, and was extremely well received by *Alexander*, who was at that Time Emperor of *Abyssinia*, who was extremely well pleased with the Offers made him of the Assistance of a powerful Prince, and promised to send *Pedro de Covillan* back again with Letters

to the King his Master; but he dying suddenly, his Successor *Nabu*, treated our *Portuguese*, not only with Cruelty and Disrespect, but with the greatest Cruelty, refusing him Leave to return home, and keeping him at Court as a Prisoner for many Years; so that in *Portugal* they concluded him dead, though he lived afterwards to recover his Liberty.

3. The same worthy King of *Portugal* *John II.* who he endeavoured, by these his Embassadors, to gain a perfect Knowledge of the State of the *Indies* by Land, neglected not the Prosecution of what had been so long laboured with the same View at Sea. It was to facilitate the Design, that he employed *Bartholomew Diaz*, one of his Courtiers, and a Person remarkable for great Prudence, much skill in the Art of Navigation, as well as for invincible Courage, to proceed still farther along the South-Coast of *Africa*, which accordingly he did in the Year 1482, and executed his Commission with equal Conduct and Success. He carried with him several Negroes, who had been many Years in his Service, and who, from time to time he set on Shore, well dressed, with a small Quantity of Goods, on purpose that they might inform the People of the Country how well they had been used, and how kindly treated by the *Portuguese*. He likewise set up Crosses of Stone, with the Arms of *Portugal* engraven upon them, to assert his Master's Title to the Countries by him discovered.

At last, arriving in Sight of a high Cape, near which he met with very bad Weather, he lost the Company of his victualing Bark, upon which his Crew mutined, complaining, that it was too much to endure at one time the Harshness of the Sea and of Famine. But Captain *Diaz* replying to them, that the former was not to be escaped going back, and that the only means they had of preventing the latter, was to proceed till they came to some Place where they could get Refreshments, he prevailed upon them to double the Cape, and to sail a good Way beyond it, to a Place where he erected another Pillar of Stone; and having obtained a final Supply he returned, and, in his Passage homewards, met with his Bark again, in which, of nine Men that he had left, three only survived, and of these *Ferdinand Gelaxo* died with Joy at the first Sight of his Captain. He continued his Voyage safely to *Lisbon*, where he arrived in December 1487, after sixteen Months and seven Days after his setting out, having discovered above a thousand Miles along the Coast.

He gave the King his Master, a very full Account of that had happened to him, and insisted particularly on the Difficulty with which he had doubled that stupendous Promontory, which, from the stormy Sea about it, he thought fit to call *Cabo Tormentofo*, that is, *The Tempestuous Cape*. But the King, who from the Lights he had received from *Covillan's* Letters, knew how to form a right Judgment of the Importance of this Discovery, styled it *CABO BUENO ESPERANZA*, or, *THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE*, which Name it has ever since retained: For he saw clearly from the Agreement between these Accounts, that the passage was now open, and that there wanted but one Voyage more to finish what they had so much desired, viz. finding a direct Passage by Sea to the *East Indies*.

But while King *John* meditated this great Design in Mind, and busied himself in contriving the Means of

^a This Translation shews, that Don *Henry* was a very great Politician, for by pretending that all Countries were to be disposed of at the Pleasure of the Pope of *Rome*, he secured his Holiness's Consent to whatever he demanded; and he very well knew, that whatever was bestowed him by those Grants, would be infallibly supported by the Thunder of the Church. This great Prince died in the Year 1461. The Controversy about *Africa* under his Auspice having been discovered from Cape *Nou* to Cape *Sierra Leona*, which is in the Latitude of 8° North, by which the Fiction was laid of all that was afterwards performed.

^b I cannot help owning, that it is a little out of the Road of what is proposed in this Section, to dwell on the Adventures of particular Persons as I know it is natural for an inquisitive Reader to wish that he might be informed of what became of such remarkable Persons as are mentioned in History, I have taken Occasion, in the former Note, to observe, that Don *Henry*, the first Encourager of the Discoveries of the *Portuguese*, died in 1461; and here I shall observe, that this *Pedro de Covillan*, who was the first of his Nation that ever set Foot in the *Indies*, lived a Prisoner in *Ethiopia* to the Year 1510, when Don *Rodrigo de Lima* came thither in Quality of Ambassador from the Crown of *Portugal*, to whom he related all his Adventures, and from whom he learned what mighty Conquests his Letters had produced.

^c The Remarks made upon this Translation by Sir *William Mordaunt* in his naval Tracts, deserve the Reader's Notice, the rather, because he has been always esteemed a very wise Man, and was, beyond Question, a very able Seaman, and, by no means, envious of the *Portuguese*; he is disposed to depreciate their Labours; yet he attributes their Discoveries to the peculiar Providence of God in these Words: Before I treat of the particular of the *East-Indies*, give me Leave to put you in mind of some Observations of mine, which will not be unworthy your Perusal, see are only to be attributed to God, who is the Searcher of all Hearts, and the Discoverer of hidden Secrets. It is strange and surprising, that so many flourishing Nations as God hath created and civilized, he should elect and chuse the Kingdom of *Portugal* to perform this great Work of Country in those Days of less Esteem and Reputation, of less Renown and Fame, and of less Ability and Valour than any other Christian Monarch can call to mind, and to assign them such a Time to effect it, when they enjoyed a happy Peace with their Neighbours, and had no Enemy to oppose, or hinder their Designs.

cuting it in such a Manner as might be most honourable to himself and advantageous for his Subjects, the great Ruler of all Things disposed of him otherwise, by calling him out of this Life. In his last Sickness he appointed his Cousin *Don Emanuel*, who also married his Sister, his Heir. This Prince, who succeeded to the Throne of *Portugal*, 1495, was in the Flower of his Age, being then about Twenty-seven, and possessed, in an eminent Degree, those Qualities that are most worthy of a Monarch. He had great Parts, much Penetration, and an excellent Judgment, yet he was so diffident of his own Abilities, that, foreseeing the Execution of his Predecessor's Projects would be attended with a larger Expence than the Discoveries hitherto made had induced, he declined entering upon them, without taking the Advice of his Council before whom he laid all the Informations that either himself or his Cousin King *John* had received. The Portuguese Statesmen were extremely divided in their Opinions, for some pressed the King warmly to tread in the Footsteps of his Ancestors, and, to compleat with Glory, what with so much Reputation they had begun; while others as vehemently opposed his Pursuit of this Design, each Party supporting their Opinion by very plausible Arguments.

Such as were desirous that this new Navigation might be attempted, observed, that the Trade to the *Indies* had been the great Source of Power and Riches to every Empire that had been possessed of it, that Providence seemed to have thrown it into the Hands of their Nation, in such a manner that it would not only be disadvantageous but dishonourable, to refuse it; that all Difficulties now were in a manner overcome, so that there remained scarce any thing but the going to take Possession of those fine Countries, and that vast Wealth which all the World thirsted after, though none but themselves knew how to reach; that the engrossing so rich a Trade to *Portugal*, would balance their small Extent of Territory, and enable his Subjects to make as great, or greater Figure than the Inhabitants of Kingdoms much more potent in Appearance; that, in fine, there was no less Danger to be apprehended from abandoning this Design, than Benefit to be expected by pursuing it; since, in all Probability, their ambitious Neighbours, the *Spaniards*, would pursue and accomplish this great Work, which would enable them to execute, with Ease, whatever they might be prompted to by their boundless Ambition.

On the other Side it was alledged, that there were many Things more apparently necessary to the Kingdom than such long, such expensive, and such uncertain Expeditions, since there were several large Tracts of Land, and particularly that spacious Plain between the *Ebro* and the *Tagus*, that were not properly cultivated, the Improvement of which would free them from the Necessity of depending for their daily Bread upon Strangers; that their Country was but thinly peopled, at least, in Proportion to the Numbers it might be able to maintain, if, instead of maritime Expeditions they turned their Thoughts towards making the most of what was in their Power; so that it was very unreasonable to squander away Men that might be immediately useful to their Country, for the sake of distant, and perhaps fallacious Expectations; that all their Discoveries and Conquests hitherto, had furnished him only with a few Negroes, Elephants Teeth, strange Birds, and other Curiosities, in procuring which they had suffered many Shipwrecks, and run the Hazard of many more; that, for a Century together, they had been amused with these golden Dreams, and therefore it was high Time to

awake from this Delusion; that the Kings his Predecessors, had been at vast Expences, to very little Purpose, in Pursuit of the like Designs, and that this ought to render him not only the more cautious in following their Example, but oblige him also to consider the Consequence of a running an exhausted Nation into Expences she was unable to bear; that, besides the Success of the Undertaking, might bring such Demands upon the Crown of *Portugal*, as would greatly exceed her Forces; so that perhaps her Interests at home might come to be sacrificed to those abroad. I have dwelt the longer upon these Arguments, to shew that the greatest and most salutary Designs are liable to as many Objections as the most dangerous and the most destructive.

4. The Deliberations into which the King entered upon this important Affair, though they did not absolutely carry him from his Purpose, or engage him to abandon a Design which was, in some measure, recommended to him, with his last Breath, by that great Prince to whom he owed his Throne, yet they, for a long Time, retarded his Preparations, and hindered him from undertaking that Project in the Manner he had first intended: At last, however, fearing that his Neighbours might take Advantage of a longer Neglect, especially as he understood that the *Spaniards* very vigorously pushed forward their Discoveries, he came to a final Resolution to wait no longer, but to make a Trial of what might be done in this Way, by sending a few Ships only with a small Number of Men, in which he endeavoured to avoid Extremes, and to steer as it were in the Middle, between the Opinions of such as were of his Council. It was in consequence of this Determination, that in the Spring of the Year 1497, he ordered four Ships to be equipped for this Expedition; of these, three were armed Vessels, with some Pieces of Cannon on Board, and the fourth a small Store-ship. We may be sure that their Force was not very great, since, in the whole, it consisted in no more than an hundred and sixty Soldiers and Seamen.

The Person chosen to command was *Don Vaquez de Gama*, a Man of Quality, who possessed all the Talents necessary for such an Employment. On the 9th of July, 1497, he embarked on board the *Gabriel*, which was the Admiral of this little Fleet, of the Burthen of One hundred and twenty Tons, and the same Day put to Sea: On the Third of August he left the Island of *St. Augustine*, on the Twentieth of November he doubled *The Cape of Good Hope*; in the Beginning of the Month of January he put into a Port of *Ethiopia*; and, on the first of March, he entered the Port of *Mozambique*, where the Scurvy destroyed many of their People and where they were in great Danger of being betray'd, as soon as they were known to be Christians. His Artillery, however, preserved him, and from thence he continued his Voyage to *Mombaza*, where he again met with very pernicious Dealing. He failed from thence to *Melinda*, the Prince of which Country received him with great Civility, and promised to send an Ambassador by them when they returned into *Portugal*.

Don Vaquez, in Obedience to his Instructions, sailed from thence for the Coast of *Malabar*, and arriving happily at *Calicut*, there first heard of a puissant Monarch in those Parts, styled the *Samarin*, which is a Dignity comparable to that of Emperor; there he met, very unexpectedly, with an extraordinary Act of Friendship; for, on the first going of his Officers on Shore, they were met by a Moor of *Tunis*, who knew them, by their Dress, to be Portuguese; and though both on the Score of his Country

* It is evident from hence, that if any Accident, or Shipwreck had attended this Voyage, there had been an End of the Design for ever, though it would have remained just as reasonable and fit to have been undertaken as before, which I mention to shew how probable a Thing it is, that many great and glorious Discoveries have been prevented by such groundless Oppositions.

The Reader will easily perceive, from this Instance, that it is not a great Force, or a vast Expence, that is necessary to the Execution of an important Design, but the Choice of a good Officer, one who knows what he is to do, and goes with a Resolution to do what he is sent to do. All the maritime Expeditions, from the Beginning of the World to this Period of Time, are not comparable to what was performed in the narrow Compass of seven Years Time by *Christopher Columbus* and *Vaquez de Gama*; for the former sailed on the 11th of October, 1492, and the other on the 9th of July, 1497, so that, as I observed before, the Discovery of the *East-Indies* and the *West*, were completed in seven Years, at a tenth Part of the Expence that attended our last *West-Indian* Expedition, and with a Force that would be scarce thought sufficient for equipping, at this Day, three Privateers. I do not say this with any View of making invidious Comparisons, because I am persuaded that our Admiral, who commanded in the *West-Indies*, had he lived in those Times, and been intrusted with either of those Commands, would have done as much as *Columbus* or *Gama*. But I make this Observation with this View, that our Countrymen may be satisfied, that as great Things as these may yet be done, whenever our Undertakings are conducted by Public Spirit, and the Execution of them entrusted to Officers who are known to have a greater Regard to Character than Fortune.

and his Religion, it was natural for him to hate them, yet he very generously offered them his Service, and very sincerely fulfilled all that he promised. He acquainted the *Samorin*, that a certain rich, powerful, and warlike Nation, were come from the farthest Parts of the Earth to seek his Friendship, and to desire Leave to trade with his Subjects: This Representation had its Effects; *Gama* was allowed not only to anchor in that Port with his Ships, but was also admitted to an Audience, in which he was treated with all the Kindness and Respect imaginable.

But Things however did not remain long in this Posture, for the *Mohammedans*, who were settled in great Numbers in the Dominions of this Prince, seeing that their own Commerce must be destroyed by the coming of the *Portuguese*, took incredible Pains to misrepresent them, as an ambitious, fraudulent, and cruel People, who meant nothing less than to depose the *Samorin* himself, and to conquer his Country; which Stories had such an Effect on the *Indian* Monarch, that he began to form Schemes for the Destruction of *Gama* and his People. Don *Vasquez* however, had very early Intelligence of his Design, and therefore hastened on Board his Ships, and quitted the Coast. He wrote, however, a Letter to the *Samorin*, in which he vehemently complained of this Breach of Faith, justified himself from the Imputations thrown out against him, and advised the *Samorin* to return to his former Sentiments, assuring him that he would find his Account in changing his Commerce with the *Mohammedans* for that of the Subjects of the King his Master. The *Samorin* wrote him a very polite Answer, in which he threw the Blame upon his Ministers and the *Mohammedans*, promising to punish such as were guilty, assuring him, that, for the Time to come, his Nation should meet with no Reason to complain. He added to these Compliments a very respectful Letter to the King of *Portugal*, in which he accepted the Propositions made him on his Majesty's Behalf, and promised a free Trade to his Subjects, without Prejudice however to his former Allies.

Don *Vasquez* having received the Letters, proceeded to the Island of *Angedive*, at the Distance of fifty Leagues from *Calicut*, where having repaired his Vessels, and refreshed his People, he set sail from thence in order to return to *Europe*. In his Passage, he took Care to put into *Melinda*, where he was received with great Friendship, and the King, according to his Promise, sent with him an Ambassador to *Portugal*. He sail'd from thence to the Island of *Zanguebar*; but finding by the Way, that his Crew was much diminished, he burnt the *S. Raphael*, which was commanded by his Brother *Paul Gama*, and took the Men on Board his own Ship: From *Zanguebar* he sail'd to *Mozambique*, where he took in a Supply of Provisions.

On the 20th of *March* following, he doubled the Cape of *Good-Hope*, proceeded from thence to the *Azores* or *Terceras*, and in the Month of *September*, 1499, arrived safe at *Belun*, having spent two Years and two Months in his Voyage, and having lost by Sicknels and Fatigue, about one hundred Men, and amongst them his Brother. The Captain of his third Ship deserted him in his Passage Home, with a View to get to *Lisbon* before him, in which he succeeded; but this proved rather advantageous than prejudicial to Don *Vasquez*, for King *Emanuel* sent some of his prime Nobility to meet him, receiving him, on his coming to Court, with all imaginable Marks of Favour and Esteem, and rewarded him beyond every thing but his Merit. He created him Count de *Vasiguera*, gave him the royal Arms of *Portugal*, charged with two Does, in Allusion to his Name of *Gama*, which signifies a *Dee*; and tho' he brought no great Riches home, bestowed upon him large Appointments. He made also great Presents to all his Officers, nor was there so much as a private Man on Board the Fleet, that did not receive the personal Thanks of this Prince, and with it considerable Marks of his Bounty.

So happy a Conclusion of the first Attempt, naturally paved the Way to a second Expedition, for which King caused immediate Preparations to be made, but the same Time declared, that Don *Vasquez de Gama* should enjoy in Peace that Glory he had acquired, and not be obliged to hazard his Person again in so long a dangerous a Voyage. It may not be amiss to observe, that this second Expedition met with no Opposition, much more powerful is Success than Reason, and so much greater the Authority of Experience, than all the Arguments in the World. All Expences were now trifling, and those who before had treated the Passage to the *Indies* as a Chimera, were now the loudest in applauding it when performed.

5. The Fleet therefore intended for this second Expedition, consisting of thirteen Sail, some of which were large Ships, was so effectually victualled, manned and freighted as to fill Strangers with a high Idea of the Courage, Power and Wealth of the People inhabiting that Country from which it came. Don *Pedro Alvarez de Capral*, was appointed General and Commander in Chief, and carried with him Priests to instruct the Natives, if they were so inclined; but if not, and determined to make use of Force, he had fifteen hundred chosen Men on Board, which was thought Force sufficient to support him. In the Month of *March* in the Year 1500, he sailed from the River of *Lisbon*, Experience having shewn, that was much the properest Season of the Year for sailing to the *Indies*. In his Passage keeping out to Sea, in order to avoid the Storms that therto had been met with in doubling the Cape, he found himself near an unknown Continent, opposite to that of *Africa*; and as the Coast made a very pleasant Appearance, he thought fit to go on Shore, and took Possession of it on the Behalf of the King his Master, which Country he called the Land of the *Holy Cross*, but it has been since known by the Name of *Brazil*.

This Discovery appeared to him of such Consequence that notwithstanding he had lost five Sail of his Fleet ready, he thought fit to send *Gaspar Lamidos* back to *Portugal* with the News, and one of the Natives on Board, as a Proof of this Discovery, and he likewise let twenty condemned Persons who were put on Board him for such desperate Services, in this new found Country, and then prosecuted his Voyage.

In a short Time after he left *Brazil*, he was surprized by a most dreadful Storm, which lasted twenty Days together, in which he lost many of his People, and one of his Ships, on Board of which was the famous *Bartholome Diaz*, who first doubled the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and who, by this unlucky Accident, perished with the rest that were on Board that Ship. The General, notwithstanding this Misfortune, continued his Voyage, and refreshed at *Mozambique*, where he arrived with no more than six Sail, and those too in a very shattered Condition. The Inhabitants remembering the Disputes they had with his Predecessor, received him, if not with Kindness, at least with Respect, and furnished him with whatever he commanded; he sailed from thence to *Quiloa*, and then continued his Rout to *Melinda*, where he safely set on Shore the Ambassador of that Prince, whom *Vasquez Gama* had brought over.

He proceeded from thence with a fair Gale of Wind to the *Angedive* Islands, where he refreshed and refitted his Litter. The *Samorin* having Intelligence of his arrival, sent certain Persons of Distinction to complement him thereupon, and to invite him to *Calicut*, which Invitation he accepted, provided he had Hostages sent him for Security. This was in itself a pretty bold Demand, but when he came to explain himself as to the Hostages he expected, it appeared of a much more extraordinary Nature. He demanded the Casual, or Commissioner of the Courts, and some other of the *Samorin's* Ministers, which that Prince hesitated at first, but at last yielded.

* This Discovery of *Brazil* is a plain Proof, that if *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* had not sent *Columbus* to discover *America* at the same time they it would have been discovered by the *Portuguese*; which shews of how great Importance it is for every Nation that aims at maritime Power, to encourage and promote all possible Schemes for Discoveries, which if they do not immediately succeed, are necessarily attended with them. It is also necessary to keep up good Officers, and keeping Seamen in Action; so that in Time of Peace, Attention to such Expeditions will always procure a sufficient Number of Officers and Seamen fit for the Service of their Country in Time of War, and who, if they are duly paid and treated, need never be compelled to do their Duty.

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it, and to all the other Demands made by the Portuguese General. On his Landing, he was received with all imaginable Civility, and immediately admitted to an Audience of the Emperor, at which Capral, who was naturally vain, made a pompous Display of his Magnificence. The Samorin, to demonstrate the Sincerity of his Professions, made him a Present of a Houle, by a Deed of Gift, which was ingrossed in Letters of Gold; he permitted him also to set up the Standard of Portugal, to appoint a Factor, or Consul for his Nation, and to open Magazines for the effectual carrying on of Commerce; but all this fair shew of good Intelligence and reciprocal Friendship soon came to nothing.

The Portuguese Historians assure us, that it happened thro' the Imprudence of their new Factor, or Consul, whose Name was Correo, and who, on some slight Information, acquainted Capral, that the Samorin intended him some foul Play. The Portuguese General, upon this, began to seize the Ships of the Indians, and to commit other Acts of Hostility; upon which the Inhabitants, as might be reasonably expected, attacked the Portuguese Factory, forced open the Gates, pillaged and burnt the Houle, and of sixty-six People that were in it, murdered fifty, the rest saving themselves with great Difficulty on Board their Ships. The Portuguese General took a very severe Revenge, by burning ten rich Ships that were in the Port, making Slaves of Part of their Crews, and beating down a great many Houles about their Ears; after which he sail'd away for Cocbin, which lies thirty Leagues from Calicut.

The Prince then on the Throne of Cocbin, was called Trimumpara, who having Reasons to be offended with the Samorin, received him very kindly, and concluded a Treaty with him, into which the Kings of Cananor and Cananor desired to be admitted. Capral taking great State upon him, did not immediately listen to this Proposal, but offered to carry their Ambassadors, if they thought fit to send any with him, into Portugal, assuring them, that his Master would send them speedy and powerful Assistance against the Samorin. They readily accepted his Offer, and the General having taken on Board a rich Cargo, paid a Visit to the King of Cananor, and having received the Ambassadors of all the three Princes on Board, he in the Month of January sail'd from Cocbin, in order to return to Europe.

The Samorin fitted out a great Fleet, on Board of which were two thousand Men, and sent it in Pursuit of them, but the Portuguese being better Sailors, easily escaped their Danger. In his Passage home, one of his Ships unluckily ran ashore on the Coast of Melinda, and Capral, to prevent the Mohammedans from making any Advantage of this Accident, fired nailed his Cannon, and then set the Ship on Fire; notwithstanding which, the King of Mombaza found Means to weigh the Artillery, and to render them serviceable, to the great Prejudice of the Christians.

The Portuguese General continued his Voyage, doubled the Cape without any great Difficulty, and arrived safely at Lisbon, on the 23d of July, 1501. He brought Home with him a very rich Cargo, the Ambassadors of three Princes, and a pompous Account of the great Exploits he had performed against the Samorin. All which, however, did not procure him a very favourable Reception from his Master, on account of the great Loss he had sustained in this Voyage, and the Number of gallant Men who had perished in it, and who were not to be repaired or replaced, by all the Wealth of the Indies^a.

It seems, Don Emanuel had some Foresight of what might happen from the haughty Disposition of this Officer, and therefore had dispatched a Squadron of four Sail to the Indies, under the Command of Don Juan Nova Collica, a Man of great Prudence and Courage. He milked of Capral in his Passage, but arriving at Melinda, and there learning what had passed at Calicut and Cocbin,

he continued his Voyage to Cananor, and having complemented the King on the Part of his Master, sailed from thence for Cocbin. He met in his Voyage, a Fleet of upwards of fourscore Sail, which the Samorin had sent to attack and destroy him in the Port of Cananor. Don Juan, notwithstanding the great Inequality of their Force, fought them for a whole Day, and having sunk ten Sail of large Ships, four Barks, and other small Vessels, and killed upwards of four hundred Men, forced them to return with Shame to Calicut. After this Victory, he was received with all imaginable Marks of Kindness and Gratitude at Cocbin, where having at Leisure revivualled his Ships, and taken in a very rich Cargo, he sailed for Europe.

He doubled the Cape without any Difficulty, and in his Passage from thence touched at the Island of St. Helena, of which he made such a Report on his Return to Lisbon, as engaged the King of Portugal to intrust his Admirals to touch for Refreshments there for the future. But a Squadron of six Sail that were sent to Brazil at the same time Don Juan was dispatched to the Indies, had not the like good Fortune, four of them being lost at Sea, and the two that returned brought little with them except Monkeys and Parrots.

6. The Necessity of sending a greater Force into the Indies than had been hitherto employed, was now very apparent, and therefore King Emanuel ordered twenty Sail of stout Ships to be equipped for that Purpose, neither did he find it more difficult to furnish so large a Force with every thing necessary, than to fit out the small Fleets he had sent before; for now that there was a Prospect of great Riches being got by this Commerce, he had not only the Command of the Wealth of his own Subjects, but Foreigners also resorted in Crowds to Lisbon, some in search of Employment, and others to employ their Money. The Business was next to find a Person fit to be intrusted with so great a Command, and the King, after mature Reflection, determined to engage Vasquez de Gama to go thither a second Time. That great Officer was in every Respect as easy and as happy as he could wish; his Reputation was well established, his Fortune larger than his Desires, and the Affairs of his Family in the fairest Situation. But the present Posture of things made his Presence necessary abroad, and from a Sense of this he readily quitted his Retreat, and sacrificed all the Blessings of Life, as became a Man of Honour, to the Service of his Country.

In the Spring of the Year 1503, he sailed from Lisbon, doubled the Cape without any remarkable Accident, and arriving at Quiloa, forced the King thereof to become tributary to his Master, and to agree to the annual Payment of two thousand Crowns of Gold. He sailed from thence to Cananor, where he set the Ambassador on Shore, made several rich Presents to the King in the Name of his Master, renewed the Alliance made with him, and then sailed for Cocbin. While he was there, he received a Deputation from the Christians of India, or, as they are commonly called, Christians of St. Thomas, to whom he promised all the Assistance in his Power, and that he would leave, as indeed he did, a strong Squadron behind him to protect them. The Samorin in the mean time neglected nothing in the Power of a great Politician, or of a puissant Monarch, to destroy his Enemies. He laboured all he could to engage Trimumpara to betray Don Vasquez into his Hands; but that Prince answered, that hitherto the Portuguese had behaved towards him with great Honour and Generosity, and that while they continued so to act, he would never abandon them.

The Samorin had next Recourse to open Force, and assembling a Fleet of twenty-nine Sail, resolved to attack Don Vasquez, when he was ready to return with his Fleet heavy laden, and consequently in a Condition less able to oppose him. When therefore he had Intelligence that the Portuguese Admiral was preparing for his Departure, he sent this mighty Force against him. Don Vasquez de Gama suffered them to come as near him as they thought fit, and

^a I think it requisite to add a Note here, in order to inform the Reader, that this is no Remark of mine, but taken from the Portuguese Writers, which is an Argument, that in those Days, when a true Spirit of Virtue prevailed, it was held more honourable for a great Officer to serve his Country, than to enrich it; and that Capral was blamed, not for his want of Zeal or Courage, for he does not seem to have been defective in either, but for his not being so careful of his People as he ought to have been; for it is, and will be, a Maxim in all well-governed States, that he is no Friend to his Country who is careless of its Subjects.

then attacking two of their largest Ships with great Vigor, the Seamen and Soldiers, after a short Resistance, in which they lost three hundred Men, jumped over-board, which struck such a Terror into their Companions, that they immediately spread all the Sail they could, and bore away in the utmost Confusion. In these two Ships that were taken, Don *Vaquez* found immense Riches; for besides Gold and Silver Plate to a great Value, there was on board one of them an Idol of a most horrid Shape, which weighed sixty Pounds in Gold. In the Head there were two Emeralds for Eyes, more perfect than any that had been seen in *Europe*; and in the Breast there was fixed a Ruby of the Size of a Chestnut; these and other valuable things being taken out, together with a Robe designed for the Idol, embroidered with Pearls, Topazes, and Diamonds, the Ships were lit on Fire.

Vaquez proceeded from thence to *Cananor*, conferred with the King on the Measures necessary to be taken in his Absence, and then leaving behind him six large Ships under the Command of *Vincent Sodrez*, he sailed for *Mozambique*, where having taken in some necessary Refreshments, he continued his Voyage without the least unlucky Accident, till he arrived at *Lisbon*, where he was received with the utmost Joy, and the Tribute of the King of *Quiloa*, in a Silver Basin, was carried in Triumph before him.

As soon as *Goma* left the *Indies*, the *Samerin* assembled an Army of 50,000 Men, and marched to attack the King of *Cochin* by Land. The News of this Invasion so frightened the Subjects of that Monarch, that they began to curse the *Portuguese*, and to intreat their King to make his Peace with the *Samerin*, by delivering up such of them as were in his Hands, and renouncing his Alliance with them. *Trimumpara* behaved on this Occasion with extraordinary Firmness, he gave the *Portuguese* that were at *Cochin*, a strong Guard, and, notwithstanding the Cowardice of his Subjects, resolved to put all to the Hazard, rather than break his Faith.

At this Juncture *Vincent Sodrez* arrived with the Ships under his Command, to whom the King applied himself for Relief, and desired he would land a Part of his Force to assist him in this Extremity. The *Portuguese* Officer was a very brave Man, and understood his Business perfectly; but he loved Money, and had found a very easy way of acquiring it, by plundering the *Mekannedan* Traders: He therefore found out, that by his Instructions he was to act by Sea, and not on Shore, and therefore would not consent to land so much as a single Man. This amazed the King, and enraged the *Portuguese* that were at *Cochin* to the last Degree; but *Sodrez*, without putting himself to any Pain about their Repentments, sailed to the *Red-Sea*, in order to make Prizes, where his own Ship was lost, and he and his Brother drowned.

In the mean time the *Samerin* marched with his Army into the Territories of *Cochin*, where the King being betrayed, they forced a Pass that led to his Capital, by which they imagined they had him intirely at their Mercy. As soon as *Trimumpara* was informed of this unlucky Accident, his first Care was to secure the *Portuguese*, and in order to this, he directed that they should be sent over to the Island of *Viapan*, which lies over-against *Cochin*. This Island was consecrated to the most solemn Mysteries of the *Indian* Religion, and had therefore been hitherto accounted sacred in all the Disputes between Monarchs of that Faith; but it was also a Place of extraordinary Strength, and that not only from its being inaccessible by Nature, but from the Assistance also of Art; and in this Island there were con-

siderable Magazines, and a very numerous Garrison of Troops.

The *Samerin* carrying all before him, and a great number of *Trimumpara's* Subjects having deserted their Master, submitted to that Tyrant, the King of *Cochin* found himself at last obliged to follow the *Portuguese*, and to Shelter in the same Place. The Governor of *Viapan* remained firm to his Master's Interest, and thereby preserved him from the Rage of his Enemy; for the *Samerin* having burnt the Town of *Cochin*, several times attacked the Island of *Viapan*, and was as often repulsed with great Loss, at last obliged to abandon his Design, and to return again into his own Dominions, the Winter Season coming on, which it is impossible for an *Indian* Army to keep the Field; but he left a considerable Garrison in *Cochin*, and ordered several Forts to be erected, resolving to return thither again in the Spring.

7. It was now become a settled Maxim in *Portugal* to send annually a Fleet to the *Indies*, and accordingly *Francis Albuquerque* coming with a strong Force into their Service, and having joined at the *Aguedive* Islands the Ships under the Command of *Pedro Alaida*, he sailed directly to *Viapan*, where he comforted the King of *Cochin* on the Part of *God Emanuel* his Master, and assured him that he should receive all the Assistance from him that lay in his Power, which he performed with as much Sincerity as with Readiness he was capable of. In the first place, he drove the Garrison, which the *Samerin* had left in *Cochin* from thence, and having demolished their Forts, brought the King back again in Triumph to his Capital. As this Victory, and the Use made of it, gave the *Portuguese* Admiral a good Title to the King's Favour, he took Occasion from thence to declare the Liberty of erecting a Place of Strength for the Security of his Countrymen, that they might not be exposed to so many Dangers as they had lately gone through for the future; a Proposal was very kindly accepted, and the King of *Cochin* gave him leave to build a Fort where-ever he thought fit. In Consequence of this Permission, *Francis Albuquerque* made Choice of an Eminence, which commanded both the Town and the Fort, and the King having allowed him to cut down all the fine Palm Trees that were planted near his Palace, he quickly finished the Fortifications he had marked out in the best manner that such Materials would permit. He likewise built a Chapel for the Performance of Divine Service; and thus as the *Portuguese* Writers themselves confess it, their Nation became possessed of the Dominions both in Spirituals and Temporal of the *Indies*, and the King of *Cochin* without perceiving it, contributed all that lay in his Power to the introducing Strangers as Lords and Masters of himself and his Neighbours.

Under pretence of reducing such as had rebelled against the King of *Cochin*, they made themselves Masters of several Countries, pillaged all their Towns and Villages at pleasure, and committed greater Devastations than the *Samerin* himself had done during the late Invasion. In the first of these Proceedings *Alphonso Albuquerque* arrived in *Portugal* with an additional Force, he soon added to the Conquests and Alliances of the *Portuguese*. The Lords or Guardians of the King of *Colan*, a very rich and potent Prince, whose Capital lay twenty-four Leagues South of *Cochin*, demanded the Protection and Friendship of *Portugal*, which was immediately granted, and a Treaty settled there. The King of *Zanzibar* was soon compelled to submit to the Crown of *Portugal*, and the City of *Brava*, which was a kind of Commonwealth, was obliged to pay an annual Tribute. The King of *M*

* The Man has a very good Character given him by the famous *Portuguese* Historian *John de Barros*, at least in Point of Courage; but his Love of Money got the better of his Virtue and his Understanding. He had heard of a rich Fleet of Ships in the *Red-Sea*, and he went out in the Month of *May* to intercept them. In vain the People of the Country represented to him, that it was dangerous putting to Sea at such a Time of Year; in vain his Pilots dissuaded him from his Purpose; he was so possessed with the Desire of being rich, that he had no Regard to Safety. After his and his Brother's Death, *Pedro Alaida*, upon whom the Command devolved, endeavoured to return with the remaining Ships; but finding it impracticable, was forced to retire to the *Aguedive* Islands, where he wintered.

It is not easy to conceive how in such a Situation the King of *Cochin* could refuse the *Portuguese* leave to build a Fort in his Dominions; but it is allowed, that it was an *Indian* Policy not to be justified. He was pressed by two Difficulties equally great; but the Degrees both of his Difficulties were not equally pressing, and therefore he chose, as indeed any other Prince would in his Circumstances, to run the least of them. The *Portuguese* Writers, without any Ceremony avow, that the Design of their General's erecting a Fort to establish their Dominion over the Natives, to which, however, they had no sort of Title, except what was derived from the Possession of the Country, was a Project of a People fit for *Holberg*. With regard to the Bull, it has been treated with equal and with just Contempt by *European* Writers. The *Portuguese* might be easily shown, that Force of any kind is incompatible with the Christian Religion; and that the Pretence, were it founded on pure Maxims of Policy; and all that is said of Religion is a mere Pretence, by which the *Portuguese* sought to justify their Conduct.

had Recourse to the Portuguese for Assistance against his Neighbour the King of *Mombaza*, which ended in the Reduction of them both. Those great Successes terrified the *Samorin* to such a degree, that in the most humble manner he sought for Peace, and in order to obtain it, entered into such Conditions as seemed satisfactory to the Portuguese, made them Reparation for the Losses they had sustained when formerly settled at *Calicut*, and did every thing for them that they inflicted upon.

But as great Prosperity is apt to corrupt the Minds of Men, so the Portuguese made a very ill Use of this extraordinary Turn of Affairs in their Favour, since not long after this Peace concluded with the *Samorin*, they took a Ship of his richly laden; and notwithstanding he applied by his Embassadors for Satisfaction, *Francis Albuquerque*, who then acted with supreme Authority in the *Indies*, not only refused him Satisfaction, but treated him with Scorn and Disrespect. This irritated that Monarch to such a Degree, that he determined to renew the War, in order to revenge himself upon these Strangers, and to destroy the King of *Cochin*, who had sacrificed the Freedom of the *Indians* by his indiscreet Concessions to these foreign Invaders.

He kept, however, his Design to himself, and made secret Preparations for War, in order to be ready to fall upon his Enemies as soon as the Portuguese Fleet should return to *Europe*. But all the Precautions he used could not hinder *Trimmampara* from gaining early Intelligence of his Intentions, who thereupon applied himself to the *Albuquerque's* intreating them to leave a sufficient Force behind to protect their Countrymen and Allies in the *Indies*. The Request was reasonable in itself, and the King of *Cochin* had the justest Grounds to expect it should have been complied with; but notwithstanding what he could say, *Francis Albuquerque* would not be persuaded to leave him any more than three Ships, and one hundred and fifty Men, under the Command of *Edward Pacheco*, a Man of great Courage and Conduct, and of such Steadiness and Abilities, that he was an Army in himself. This Step once taken, the *Albuquerque's* sailed with a rich Cargo for *Europe*, but met with very different Fates in their Voyage, since *Francis Albuquerque* the Uncle perished, with all who were on Board his Ship, none knew where, or how; but *Alphonso*, the most fortunate Commander of his Time, arrived safely at *Lisbon*, with all the Ships under his Command, having acquired as great Fame and Riches as any that had been hitherto employed in the East.

As soon as the Portuguese Fleet quitted *India*, the *Samorin* assembled an Army of sixty thousand Men, and a great Fleet, in order to attack *Trimmampara* and the Portuguese in his Dominions. The Subjects of that Prince acted as ill on this, as they had done on the former Invasion; that is to say, they abandoned their Prince, and endeavoured to save themselves without thinking of their Country. The King behaved with his usual Firmness and Constancy, disposed all things to the best Advantage, and left the rest to Providence. *Pacheco* and his Portuguese gained great Reputation by this War; and it was chiefly by his Assistance, that the vast Preparations made by the *Samorin*, produced nothing but Confusion and Shame to their Author. This Commander built another Fort for the Defence of the Haven, acted with the greatest Alacrity and Courage by Sea or Land, where-ever the common Interest called him; so that when a new Fleet arrived from *Portugal*, and the Danger being over, he testified a Desire of returning home: The King of *Cochin* gave him Letters, testifying how well he had behaved, and how much they were indebted to him for their Security.

At his Return King *Emanuel* paid him the highest Honours, ordered one of the most eloquent Prelates in the Kingdom to write the History of this War, which he transmitted to the Pope, and other Christian Princes, telling them at the same time, that it was as great a Satisfaction to him to have such a Man his Subject, as to be Master of the *Indies*; and to shew that he did not mean to reward the

important Services with Fame only, he bestowed on *Pacheco* one of the richest Governments in *Africa*. Such was the noble Spirit of this Prince, to whose sublime Virtues *Portugal* owes her Glory, and her *Indies*; a Prince, who knew how to suit the Abilities of Men to the Designs in the Execution of which he employed them, who judged impartially of their Behaviour, never punished with any degree of Severity, or suffered Envy to mix with the Rewards he bestowed on Men of Merit. Such a Prince was remarkably well served at home, and highly esteemed abroad: His Fortune made him the Delight of his Subjects; his Power rendered him the Terror of his Enemies; his Fidelity gained him the perpetual Confidence of his Allies. But it is now time to pursue our History, and to speak of the first Viceroy sent by the Crown of *Portugal* to direct the Affairs of the *Indies*.

8. The immediate Acquisition of Wealth and Power did not so take up the Mind of this great Prince, as to engage him in an Opinion that all Difficulties were overcome, and that there was nothing now to be thought on but making use of what was already in the Hands of his Subjects; on the contrary, the great things they had performed, inclined him to extend his Plan, and to think of driving the *Mohammedans* entirely out of the *Indies*. It was undoubtedly a great and glorious Design, but at the same time it seemed the Strength of his Kingdom, considered absolutely impracticable. Don *Emanuel* had been informed that there were three great Ports in the East, in which the *Mohammedans* were established, and from whence they carried on all their Commerce to the most distant Parts of the *Indies*. These Ports were *Aden* in *Arabia*, *Ormuz*, in an Island of the same Name on the Coast of *Persia*, and *Malacca*, near the Straights of *Singapur*. As their Strength was divided, Don *Emanuel* judged it not impossible to make himself Master of all these Places in their Turns, and with this View it was that he began to fit out a larger and better appointed Fleet than hitherto he had sent to the *Indies*.

While he was employed in these Preparations, there happened a new Scene of Affairs in the East, where the *Brammins*, who were about the *Samorin*, shewed themselves able Politicians, by giving him the best Advice that the Posture of his Affairs would admit. They observed to him, that the *Christians* and *Mohammedans* were equally his Enemies, and that therefore the wisest thing he could do was to call in the one to combat the other, that by thus waiting their Forces, they might be so reduced, as that he might be a Match for both. He, listening to their Request, sent for Aid from the Sultan of the *Mamlukes*, who were at that time in Possession of *Egypt*; the News of which greatly terrified all the *Christians* in the *Indies*, and occasioned their sending immediate Advice of it into *Portugal*.

This obliged King *Emanuel* to dispatch his Fleet sooner than he intended, and with a less Force, though it was even now very considerable, consisting of thirteen large Ships, and six Carvels, with a great Body of Soldiers on Board. He made choice of Don *Francis Almeida Count d'Abrantes* to command it, who had served King *Ferdinand* of *Castile* in his Wars with great Reputation, and gave him the Title of Vice King, and Governor General of the *Indies*. He likewise assigned him Guards for his Person, a certain Number of Chaplains, and whatever else could be thought necessary to give an Air of Grandeur to his Office. On the 25th of *March* 1505, the Fleet sailed from the River of *Lisbon*, and on the 11th of *April* following reached the Islands of *Cape Verde*, from whence stretching too far to the South, in hopes of doubling the Cape with greater Ease, the Fleet ran into such high Latitudes, as that the Seamen had many of them their Fingers frozen; but varying their Course a Point or two to the East, they arrived safely at *Quilou*, where *Abraham*, the Tyrant of that Country, refusing to pay his Tribute any longer, the Viceroy drove him out, and settled *Mohammed Anconin* in his Place, building a Fort there to keep the People the better in Subjection.

^a This Scheme of Don *Emanuel's* was actually executed in every Branch of it by Don *Alphonso Albuquerque*; but I think it is very questionable, whether the Portuguese would not have found their Account much better in making two or three good Settlements in the *Indies*, without endeavouring to distress the Inhabitants, or to deprive them of their Liberty: In Prosecution of which Design, their own Success ruined them, as in the succeeding Part of this Work we shall have Occasion to shew.

Thence he sail'd to *Mombasa*, which is a small City, in an Island well fortified with two Castles, furnished with some Pieces of Cannon, which engaged the King to refuse *Almeida* Entrance; this, however, he forced, by beating their Forts to the Ground, and afterwards took the City by Storm, and made Slaves of a great Part of the Inhabitants. He continued his Voyage to the *Angedive* Islands, which are five in Number, not far from *Goa*, where, according to his Instructions, he built a Fort. He proceeded thence to *Cananor*, where, with the Consent of the King, he built another Fort, and put a strong Garrison into it. On his Arrival at *Cochin*, he found things in a very unsettled Condition; for *Trimumpara*, worn out with Years, had resigned the Crown to his Sister's younger Son *Noubedar*, rejecting the elder, because he had detested him on the last Invasion, by the *Samorin*, which occasioned great Troubles; but the Viceroy put an End to them, and fixed *Noubedar* firmly on his Uncle's Throne.

About this Time a Squadron of eight Ships was sent out to discover new Lands, by which was found the Island of *Madagascar*, otherwise called *St. Lawrence*, because it was first seen on the Day dedicated by the Church of *Rome* to that Saint. *Almeida* also detached a Squadron under his Son *Laurence de Almeida*, on the same Service, who repaired to the *Maldiva* Islands, from whence he was driven by a mighty Tempest to the Isle of *Ceylon*, thought to be the *Tuprebona* of the Ancients; where landing, he took the Inhabitants into the Protection of *Portugal*, and imposed a Tribute on their Kings; nor was the Viceroy in the mean Time less employed, but defeated the *Calicutans* in a great Battle at Sea; then dividing his victorious Fleet, he committed one Part of it to *Emanuel Pazaghe*, and the other to his Son, upon his return from *Ceylon*, appointing the first to accompany the trading Ships of *Cochin* to *Cape Comorin*, for their Security against the Robbers in those Seas, and the other to cruise at large about the Coast for the Defence of the Islands and Ports. It became now an established Rule among those new Inhabitants of the *Indies*, that whosoever came unto those Parts, without a Pass from some *Portuguese* Admiral, or Governor of a Fort, should be esteemed as Enemies, and lose both Ship and Goods, whereby they engrossed all the Wealth of the *East* to themselves, and the better to maintain their Authority, King *Emanuel* sent out yearly new Reinforcements and Supplies.

In the Year 1508, fifteen Ships were fitted out, under the Command of *Tristan de Cotta*, with which, repairing to the Coast of *Zangubar*, he assisted the King of *Melinda* against his rebellious Subjects, and burning the Cities of *Hoid* and *Bracca*, sailed to *Zocotara*, where, reducing the chief Town of the Island, he left a Garrison in it, and made the best of his Way to *Malabar*, where, joining the Fleet of *Almeida*, they repaired against the People of *Calicut*, who were now assisted by a Fleet from *Arabia*, and before *Panan*, one of their Towns, gave them a final Defeat. Not long after they engaged off of *Chaul* near *Bombay*, the Fleet of *Campson* Sultan of *Egypt*, coming to the Assistance of the Enemy, which they entirely ruined, and every where came off Conquerors, excepting the aforementioned Son of *Almeida* falling in with a Squadron of *Cambayan* and *Egyptian* Ships, was unfortunately slain with an Arrow, as he bravely defended himself against them. The Body of this young Hero could not be found, but the Fleet returned with the melancholy News, which the Viceroy received with great Constancy of Mind, saying no more, than that his Son could not end his Days more gloriously than in the Service of his Country.

Alphonso Albuquerque was now arrived in the *East* with a strong Squadron from *Portugal*, with which, designing to subdue the Isle of *Ormuz*, at the Mouth of the *Persian*

Gulph, he first reduced the Cities *Curiate*, *Mascat*, *Sol*, and *Orfaca*, lying along the Coasts of *Arabia*, then subject to the King of *Ormuz*; after which, defeating the Enemy in an Engagement, in the Port of that City, he landed in the Island, and prepared to invest the Place when the King (called *Zorbadin II.*) gave Leave that the *Portuguese* should build a Fort on the Sea-Coast, and engaged, not only to pay them an annual Tribute, but to defray the Charges of the War. The Time of *Almeida*'s Viceroyship being now on the Point of expiring, he resolved to revenge the Death of his Son, and going off with a Squadron of nineteen Sail, attacked off *Diu* a great Fleet of *Cambayans*, *Egyptians*, *Calicutans*, and other of the Enemies of the *Portuguese*, by whose Hand his Son fell, and entirely routing them with great slaughter, subdued all the Coast from *Diu* to *Cochin*, forcing the several Princes to yield themselves Tributary to *Portugal*.

His Commission being now expired, he delivered the Government with great Reluctance to *Albuquerque*, who, having passed the Cape of *Good-Hope*, in his Way homewards, was, with his Companions, unfortunately slain by some Barbarians on the Coast of *Africa*, through his Impudence; for he would needs go on Shore in search of Provisions and Refreshments, in a Country almost unknown, and there some of his Attendants having quarrelled about the Price of Provisions with the Natives, with more Courage than Prudence, ran to their Assistance; but when he saw the whole Country pouring down upon them, he would have retired, and did his utmost endeavour to make a Retreat to his Ship; but it was too late, the Barbarians discharged on him, and those who were with him, a Shower of Arrows, by which himself and twelve experienced Officers were killed upon the Spot, so that he lost not only the Rewards which he might reasonably have expected from his Master, but even was denied a decent Funeral, which, in the Opinion of those who survived him, was a much heavier Misfortune.

9. He was succeeded in his Command in the *Indies* by *Alphonso Albuquerque*, whose Services had already rendered much from his Master, and whose Character rendered him the fittest of all others to be entrusted with Power at this Time, yet he had not the Title of Viceroy, but only of General only, though his Authority was as extensive as that of *Almeida*, and his Success in his Administration extraordinary, that it acquired him the Surname of *Great*. *Fernand Coutinho*, Grand Marshal of *Portugal*, who came with a Fleet of fifteen Sail, and with three thousand Men on Board, to put him in Possession of the Government, engaged *Albuquerque* to begin the Exercise of Authority with the Destruction of *Calicut*, which had given them so much Trouble, and which was likely to give them still more, as long as it stood. This Expedition very honourable for the new General, though it proved fatal to his Authority; for while *Albuquerque* took the City that commanded the Place, and set fire to the Town, the Grand Marshal made himself Master of the Royal Palace, where finding immense Riches, his People fell to pillaging, and the *Indians*, taking Advantage of the Distress they were in, fell upon them, and cut them off to a great Number. *Albuquerque* did all that in his Power lay, to prevent *Michiel*, but without Effect, and in endeavouring to another, he ran a great Risk of being destroyed himself for in his Passage towards the Palace, he received dangerous Wounds, and immediately after, was almost crushed to Pieces, by a great Stone thrown upon him from the Top of one of the publick Buildings. In this Collision his Soldiers took him up, and carried him on Board his Ship, and then they made a good Retreat, having at this unfortunate Undertaking the Grand Marshal, fourscore Men, and about three hundred wounded.

¹ There was a very deep Question in *Polynesia*, viz. Whether Rebellion in the next Heir deprives him of his Right of Succession? But it does not appear, that ever the *Portuguese* considered the thing in this Light, the youngest of the two Nephews seemed to them most in their Interest therefore it was very natural for them to be in his.

² We learn from some of the *Portuguese* Histories, that *Almeida* suffered his Jealousy of *Albuquerque* to carry him too far, as to cause him to be seized, together with his Papers, and conducted to the Citadel of *Cananor*, where he kept him Prisoner, allowing him only three of his Servants to attend him; and that it was impossible they should have Intelligence of this in *Portugal*, yet it seems they suspected some such Matter, and therefore sent a Man of great Quality, and a strong Fleet, to regulate Affairs in that Part of the World, without which, in all Probability, there might have been some Difficulty in persuading the Viceroy to part with a Power of which he was so fond.

As soon as *Albuquerque* recovered, he formed a Design of making himself Master of *Ormuz*; and for that Purpose assembled a great Fleet, and a considerable Body of Troops, amongst which were two thousand veteran *Portuguese* that had served long in the *Indies*. But when he was on the Point of sailing, he received such Intelligence as engaged him to alter his Design, and to resolve upon attacking *Goa*, a large and rich City in the Island of *Tiquarim*, with one of the best Ports in the *Indies*. This Island, which is about nine or ten Leagues in Circumference, was esteemed, from its Situation, the most important Post on the Coast of *Malabar*. The King of *Decan* was the natural Lord of it, and the Person who commanded for him therein, was one *Idalcan*, a Moor by Birth, and a Man of great Courage and Experience. He took all imaginable Care to put the Place into the best Posture of Defence possible; notwithstanding which, the Island was reduced, and the City of *Goa* taken by Storm by the *Portuguese*, assisted by a Fleet and Army of an *Indian* Prince, called the King of *Omer*, under the Command of *Timola*, his General. Don *Alphonso Albuquerque* made his publick Entry into it on the 17th of February, 1510, with great Magnificence; and having settled every Thing there, in the best Order possible, he appointed his Nephew *Antonio de Noronha* Governor of the City; *Gaspard de Payva* General Director of the Commerce; and *Timola*, had the Charge of the Revenues, which amounted to Eighty-two thousand Pieces of Gold per Annum. This Conquest was not easily maintained, for *Idalcan* returned with such a Force as recovered the Place, and the new Governor *Antonio de Noronha* was slain in the Dispute, which, however, served only to encrease the Desire of *Albuquerque* to raise the Credit of his Nation, by securing a Country and City of such Consequence, which, after a War of long Continuance, he accomplished; and this City became afterwards, viz. in 1559, the Seat of the Governor, and the See of an Archbishop, and Primate of the *Indies*.

The Conquest of *Goa*, though, in itself, of vast Importance, was far from satisfying the Ambition of *Albuquerque*, whose Mind was continually agitated with the Desires of extending the Power of his Prince, and his Reputation. It was with this View, that he sailed with a great Fleet to the Road of *Malaca*, where he demanded the *Portuguese* Prisoners the King had in his Hands. The *Indian* Monarch put him off with fair Words and Promises, and the General being afraid that he might put the Prisoners to Death, bore with this Treatment for some Time; but, at last, was so provoked, that he made an Attempt on the Place, and actually set it on Fire; upon which the King of *Malaca* immediately sent the before-mentioned Prisoners, and offered to make Peace with the *Portuguese* upon their own Terms. Those prescribed by *Albuquerque* were extremely hard, for he demanded Leave to build a Fort, where he thought fit, a Reparation of Damages done to the *Portuguese*, and a Sum of Money equivalent to the Expence of this Expedition.

The *Indian* Monarch, having consulted with his Council, absolutely refused to yield to them; and thereupon Hostilities were again begun on both Sides, which ended in *Albuquerque's* attacking the City of *Malaca* by Sea and Land with great Fury, and, after an obstinate Resistance, it was taken by Storm, and given up to the Pillage of the *Portuguese* Soldiers; and we may guess at the Riches of the Place by the clear Fifth, which was referred to the King, and which was bought on the Spot by the Merchants for Two hundred thousand Pieces of Gold. The General immediately caused a Fort to be erected for the

Security of the Place, and putting a good Garrison into it, he gave the Command thereof to *Rodrigus Patalino*. He raised one *Utinut*, an *Indian* Lord, who, by deserting the King of *Malaca*, had been very useful to him, to the Post of supreme Magistrate of the *Indians* and *Mohammedans*; and, having received the Compliments of several *Indian* Princes upon his Victory, he prepared to return to *Goa*. Before he quitted the Place a Conspiracy was discovered, in which *Utinut* was principally concerned, who thought to have made himself Master of the Place. As his Letters were intercepted, the Proof against him was clear, and the General ordered him and his Son to be executed, notwithstanding his great Age, and an Offer made him of an hundred thousand Pieces of Gold to spare their Lives. After this, and staying there near a Year, he determined to leave a very brave Man, and experienced Officer Commander of the Forces at *Malaca*, with a sufficient Number of Ships and Men. These Precautions being taken, he sailed for the Coast of *Malabar*; but, in his Passage, met with such a Storm as destroyed the greatest Part of his Fleet, with all the Riches on Board, and it was with very great Difficulty that the General himself escaped.

After a short Stay at *Cochin*, and putting every thing there in the best Order they could, Don *Alphonso Albuquerque* retired to *Goa*, where Things were in some Consternation; but he soon restored them, and humbled all the *Indians* in his Neighbourhood to such a Degree, that the *Samorin* himself sent Embassadors to implore Peace, and to offer him Permission to build a Fort at *Calicut*, wherever he thought fit. The Emperor of *Ethiopia* also sent an Embassador to *Goa*, and from thence to *Portugal*; and, in short, the Terror of the *Portuguese* Arms was now so great, that *Idalcan* and the Princes that had given the greatest Opposition to the Settlement of that Nation in the *Indies*, were glad now to atone for their Indiscretion, by offering to accept whatever Terms Don *Alphonso* thought fit to prescribe. Such a long Train of Successes, and so splendid a Scene of Prosperity, would certainly have turned the Head of a Man of less Abilities than the Great *Albuquerque*, to whose Capacity the *Portuguese* were more indebted for their Conquests, than to the Armies and Fleets which he commanded.

He had, indeed, all the Talents requisite for a Man in his Station, and with these such a Degree of Diligence and Application, as would have enabled him to have performed great Things, if his Parts had been less shining.

He loved the ancient Frugality of his Country, and never suffered himself to be corrupted by the Power or Wealth that he possessed; and, indeed, he made no Use of either, but for the Service of the Crown. When he saw the Disposition of the *Indians*, to measure every Thing by outward Pomp, he seemed to give into their Notion, and affected, upon publick Days, prodigious Magnificence: But, in the midst of all this, he relaxed nothing of his former Severity, but lived in the midst of all his publick Splendor, as carefully, in respect to his Person, as any private Man. In exacting the Dues of the Crown, he was somewhat severe, but, with regard to his own Fortune, he took too little Care of it, that, except his publick Appointments, he had scarce any thing he could call his own. His Officers were his Children, and he took as much Pains in teaching them their Duty as an affectionate Parent in the Education of his Sons. He overlooked Misconducts, but punished Treachery, or Neglect of Duty, with inexorable Severity. He was extremely ready to reward, and all his Discourse at his Table was of the great Actions performed by his Officers, while he was not only silent as to his own,

* While these Disputes lasted, *Sequeira*, a *Portuguese* Officer, had the Command of a considerable Squadron given him, which was to be sent in order to make Discoveries; and as he had taken part with the Victory against the General, he no sooner knew that the latter was invested with the chief Command, than he immediately hastened his Departure. Sailing from *Cochin* on the 19th of *August*, 1522, he arrived on the Coast of *Malaca* on the 11th of *September*, and was entertained with a Shew of Friendship by the King, who invited him to a grand Entertainment, with Intent to have murdered him, and all who came with him, which *Sequeira* avoided, by pretending Sickness; the King then attempted to surprise the *Portuguese* as they landed to carry on their Commerce, in which he succeeded better, killing some, and making a considerable Number Prisoners. *Sequeira* revenged himself by attacking and plundering several rich Vessels that he met with on the Coast, and then he continued his Voyage to *Portugal*. It was this Act of Treachery that induced Don *Alphonso Albuquerque* to make his Attempt on *Malaca*.

* This Storm happened on the Coast of the Island of *Samatra*, in which *Albuquerque* found a new Opportunity of raising his Reputation. The Ship on which he was aboard, striking on a Rock, the Crew hurried him into his Long-boat, and just as they were putting off from the Wreck, the General saw a young Man fall from one of the Masts into the Sea, near his Boat. He flying himself to his Assistance, caught him in his Arms, and thereby preserved his Life at the Hazard of his own.

but would not permit others to commend them. It was a common Saying of his, that he was afraid of nothing but Flattery; and, it was observed, that he never preferred any who attempted to gain his good Graces that way. Let them serve their King and Country, said he, if they would be beloved by *Albuquerque*; and his Actions were agreeable to his Words, for he distinguished none but Men of Merit. It has been well observed by some of the *Portuguese* Historians, that the Vanity of *Almeida* made him affect the State of a Prince, when the Power of the *Portuguese* was but indifferently established; whereas the Modesty of *Albuquerque* was most conspicuous when his Victories had left him nothing to fear, and when the greatest Princes of the East sent their Embassadors to beg his Friendship.

Yet, with all these Qualities, this Hero had his Faults. His Ambition was boundless, and carried away by an extravagant Desire of extending the Dominions of the Crown of *Portugal*, he very little regarded whether the Measures he took for that Purpose, were just or unjust. In his private Life, he was a Man of the strictest Honour; in his publick Character Regard to Truth will not permit us to say so much. What we have farther to relate of his Actions, will fully justify this Remark. He made himself Master of *Goa* without any other Pretence than that it was necessary to the Crown of *Portugal*. He had seized *Malaca* for the same Reason: And now he meditated the Conquest of *Ormuz* from the like Motive, and he effected it in the following manner: He had formerly, that is, before he was declared General of the *Indies*, attempted to raise a Citadel there without being able to effect his Design; but the Power of the *Portuguese* being now so much increased, that all the Commerce of the East depended upon them, the King of *Ormuz* had been obliged to become tributary, because his City and Nation depended upon Trade; other Places could not be rich, but his Dominions, could not subsist without it.

The then King of *Ormuz*, was *Torun-Shab*, a young Prince of no great Abilities, and of a weak and timorous Spirit. In the Beginning of his Reign, he was entirely governed, as all Princes must be, who have not Parts enough to govern themselves, by an old Minister, whose Name was *Noradino*, a Man of great Cunning, but of no enterprizing Genius, and who, to support himself, and secure the Administration to his Family, brought three of his Nephews to Court, and gave them great Posts in the Government and in the Army. *Hamed*, the youngest of these, in a short Time gained, by his Intrigues, such a Share of Power, that neither the King nor his Uncle, had any more than a Shadow of Authority left. Don *Alphonso Albuquerque* being informed of this, assembled an Army, and gave it out that his Design was to attack *Aden*; but, when at Sea, he directed his Course to the Coast of *Persia*, and appeared before *Ormuz* when he was least expected. He demanded that the Citadel should be immediately put into his Hands, *Portuguese* Factories settled in the Place, and that the King should absolutely acknowledge himself dependant on the Crown of *Portugal*.

Torun-Shab, thinking it better to be the Vassal of a foreign Prince, than the Slave of his own Minister, exerted his Authority to lessen his own Dignity, admitted the General into the Citadel, assigned the *Portuguese* some of the best Houses in the Town for their Factory, and ordered their Flag to be displayed upon the Palace. *Hamed* could not help discovering his Impatience, at a Change so sudden and unexpected, to prevent the Effects of which, he formed some Designs against the General's Life; of which Don *Alphonso* was no sooner informed, than he gave Orders to some of his Soldiers to cut him off, which they, without Ceremony performed. If the General had stopped here, it had been well enough, but his Projects

were not of a Nature to be bounded by any thing but absolute Possession of what he aimed at, and therefore under Pretence that a Fleet was coming from *Egypt*, to make a Descent upon the Island, he demanded all the Artillery of the Place, which, he said, was necessary for preserving it from the Enemy.

Torun-Shab assembled his Council, who declared, that in the first Place, they knew nothing of any such Design; and in the next, that they thought it very imprudent to comply with the General's Design. The Cowardice of the King, however, got the better of the good Sense of his Ministers, the Artillery was put on Board for the present Service, which the General would never restore; but having made *Pedro d'Albuquerque* Governor of the Citadel, he seized fifteen of the Princes of the Blood, with their Wives and Children, and carried them away with him to *Goa*, that he might have sufficient Hostages for their good Behaviour to him, who, he was conscious, had Reason enough to be displeased with his Conduct towards them; and thus, for the present, *Ormuz* was subjected to the *Portuguese*.

A little before the Return of *Albuquerque*, he received magnificent Embassy from the King of *Persia*, who, finding himself in danger of suffering by the new Empire erected by this General in the East, resolved to prevent it if he could, by offering him his Friendship. The General received him with all the Respect due to the Minister of a great Prince, and caused him to be entertained during the Time he staid at the publick Expence, and that with as great Magnificence, as the Circumstances of Time and Place would allow. He likewise made the *Persian* Monarch very valuable Presents, and such as be very little expected; for he sent him some very fine Pieces of Brass Cannon, and various other Utensils of War, together with some able Engineers, to manage them, which he did for two Reasons; first, that he might secure the sincere Friendship of so great a Monarch, which he knew would be of prodigious Consequence, as Things then stood, to the Affairs of *Portugal*; and next, because he was perfectly informed that the Advantages gained over the *Persians* by the *Turks* were intirely owing to their Artillery; and this great Politician very rightly judged, that nothing could serve the Purposes better than keeping the Force of these rival Empires on an Equality.

A short time after the Return of Don *Alphonso de Albuquerque* to *Goa*, he was seized with an Illness, which in a few Days carried him off at the Age of sixty-three. He was called by the *Mohammedans* *Albuquerque Melandir*, because he was born at *Melinda* in *Africa*, which in all the Eastern Tongues is called *Zanzibar*; but by the *Portuguese* he was stiled, and that very justly, *Albuquerque the Great*. He was the ablest Statesman, and by far the most consummate General they ever had in the *Indies*, and left the Affairs in the best Situation; and yet he performed all the great Actions of his Life with very inconsiderable Force. For with thirty Ships he took *Calicut*, with twenty-one became Master of *Goa*, with twenty-three he surpris'd *Malacca*, and had no more than twenty-two in his last expedition against *Ormuz*. At the Time of his Death he was meditating two Projects, which would have raised Reputation still higher, if he had lived to execute them; and they are both of them worthy the Character of this illustrious Person, and such as perhaps would never have entered any other Head than his own.

He had so firmly established the Power of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies*, that he saw no Possibility of the Trade being diverted into another Channel, but by the *Turks*, who he suspected would make themselves Masters of *Egypt*, and he very well knew, that by a right Management of the old Channel of Commerce, by the way of *Alexandria*, might be restored, and would then become more considerable than ever. To prevent this, he insinuated to the Emper-

P If we consider what Sentiments the *Indians* must have of the Behaviour of the *Portuguese*, we must naturally conclude, that they thought the bloody and barbarous Acts of the *Tartars*; and, therefore, when we hear what the *Portuguese* call Acts of Treachery, we must not absolutely blame them to the faultless and wicked Disposition of the *Indians*, but to their Terror and Apprehension of the *Portuguese*, whose Yoke they did not know how to resist.

This City owed both its Being and its Grandeur to its Trade, and therefore we often hear it mentioned, to shew, that there is no Place so comfortable by Situation, that may not be rendered agreeable by Commerce and the Wealth that it brings in; the worst of it is, that luxury follows to accompany the Abundance; and it was to the Factions that took Rise from their Wealth and Corruption, that the King and People

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of Ethiopia, that for his own Security against such bad Neighbours as the Turks, the best Step he could take would be to divert the Channel of the Nile, by cutting a Passage for it into the Arabian Sea before it reached Egypt. If this Design had taken Effect, it must undoubtedly have rendered the greatest Part of Egypt uninhabitable, and withal would have rendered it impracticable to renew the old Method of transporting East-India Commodities from the Red-Sea to Alexandria, which was the principal thing he had in View. His other Project was to transport three hundred Horse from the Island of Ormuz to the opposite Coast of Arabia, which is but seventeen Leagues, and this Party he thought sufficient to plunder the Tomb of Mohammed at Mecca, and to burn the Relicks of that false Prophet, which he imagined would have various good Consequences. One it would certainly have had, that is, it would have struck all the Mohammedans in the East with Terror and Amazement, and have diverted that Concourse of People thither; I mean to Mecca, which made the Commerce of Arabia famous, and consequently would have promoted in a great Degree his other Design of refusing the Trade of the East out of the Hands of the Turks, and other Mohammedan Nations.

The Death of this excellent Commander, though at so great an Age, proved some Inconvenience to the Portugueze Affairs, and would have proved a much greater, if his Successor had not been at that Time at Cochim with a Squadron of ten Sail, which he had just brought from Portugal. This General Albuquerque left all the Settlements then made in the Indies in perfect Peace, and in admirable Order; and he likewise left such a Body of regular Troops as were capable not only of maintaining what was already acquired, but also of adding such Conquests as the King or his Successors should judge necessary. His Funeral was performed with great Solemnity, and his Body interred in a Chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, which himself had built at Goa, and which was much enlarged by his Son Alphonso Albuquerque, who lived to the Age of fourscore, and gave considerable Assistance to such Historians as have recorded his Father's Actions.

10. The Person chosen to replace this great General was Lopez Suarez, who was come for that Purpose with a Squadron of Men of War from Portugal to Cochim, where he received the News of Albuquerque's Death. It seems to have been a Maxim, and indeed it was a very right one, not to leave the same Officer too long in the Possession of so great a Power as it was necessary to vest in the Viceroy, or General of the Indies, and without doubt it was owing to this Method, that some of these great Officers were prevented from making an ill Use of their great Authority, and from setting up for themselves, which all things considered, it is a wonder they did not, since with a little Management any enterprising Commander might have secured an Indian Island to himself, and have brought the Inhabitants to think it their Interest to defend him. Suarez was no sooner entered upon his Administration, but the People of Aden sent Embassadors to him to let him know they were ready to comply with his Demands, but he took no notice of their Submission; and having a Design on the Egyptian Fleet, which he heard was coming down the Red-Sea, he, to keep his People employed till their Arrival, near the Straights of Babel-mandel, attacked Zeila a Town on the Coast of Africa, opposite to Aden, and gave the Plunder to his Soldiers and Seamen.

But Suarez too late repented him of his Neglect of the People of Aden's Officers, for the expected Fleet of Egypt-

ians never appeared, and that City changed soon after its Resolution of submitting to Portugal. To the Loss of this happy Opportunity succeeded another Misfortune; for Camphor the Sultan of Egypt being overcome by the Emperor Selim, and his Dominions becoming part of the Turkish Empire, the Coasts of Egypt and the Red-Sea were much better guarded than before, several new Ports being erected there, and supplied with good Garrisons. In the mean time Andrada, who commanded in chief at Malacca, made an Expedition for settling of Trade to the Coast of China, where he was hospitably entertained for some Months, but his People growing insolent upon his kind Reception, committed several Violences, and he was forced to quit the Country with the Loss of a great Number of his Followers. The Portugueze of India were now but in an indifferent State, and the new Ports lately finished in Ceylon, and the Kingdom of Cochin, were scarce sufficient to keep the Inhabitants in their Duty, so that Suarez being looked upon as unequal to so great a Charge as the Government of those Acquisitions, was recalled, and James Lopez appointed his Successor.

He, on his Arrival in India, having quelled some Insurrections there, and overcome the King of Bintam, whom he forced to accept a Peace on his Terms, repaired to Ormuz, and defeating Moeri King of Bobarim, an Island in the Persian Gulph, reduced it to the Obedience of Portugal. Lopez was succeeded by Edward de Meneses in 1521, who restored the King of Pacem, in the Island of Sumatra, to his Dominions, on condition of his paying a Tribute, and giving leave for the erecting a Fort upon his Coast. In the first Year of this Viceroy's Administration died Emanuel King of Portugal, the greatest Prince that ever sat on the Throne of that Kingdom, who, having reduced to his Obedience not only the Coasts of all India, both within and without the Ganges, but of the Gulph of Persia, and and of the Red-Sea, and covering with his Fleets the Ethiopian and Atlantick Oceans, shut up the Navigation to those Countries from all others, thereby totally excluding the Venetians from the Commerce of the East, whose Merchants had ever since the Year 1269, to that Time, wholly engrossed that Trade. He also subdued great Part of the Coast of Barbary, making himself Master of Afesia, Tita, and Azamor, near Cape Cantin, and defeated the Forces of the Emperor of Morocco in several Encounters.

He was succeeded by his Son John III. about which Time the Viceroy of India appointed Lewis de Meneses, with a strong Squadron, to keep the People of Ormuz in Obedience, and sent Gaspar Henriquez with another to the Eastward to make farther Acquisitions, which latter failed round the Islands Banda Mira and Gumanap, and proceeding thence to Tidore, there fell in with one of the Ships that had been sent out under Magellan by the Emperor Charles V. to make new Discoveries, which Henriquez attacked, and made himself Master of, putting to Death, or making Slaves of all the Spaniards on Board. This done, he erected a Fort in the neighbouring Island Ternate, and strictly enjoined the Inhabitants not to vend their Spices to any other than the Portugueze.

The next Year Hector Silveria being appointed Admiral of the Indies, was joyfully received by the Viceroy of Goa, from whence he proceeded to Malacca, then besieged by Laqueziments the King of Bintam's Admiral, and having happily raised the Siege, detached Alonso de Souza to the Coast of Bintam, which having ravaged, he gained a great Victory over the Ships of Pabang, Patena, and Java, killing great Numbers of the Enemy, and taking several Pri-

* The Fleet with which this Commander sailed into the Red-Sea was by much superior to any thing the Portugueze had ever been able to put to Sea before that Time, and was intirely the Effect of Don Alphonso d'Albuquerque's Prudence and Diligence. It consisted of thirty-seven large Ships, and at the same time he arrived before Aden, there was no Force in the Indies capable of disputing with him. The Reason that the Inhabitants of that City would then have submitted was, because a great Part of their Walls remained unrepaired, so that they were not in a Condition to make any Defence; but when they observed the Slowness of the Portugueze General, and that he did not embrace an Offer of such Impudence with the Reluctants that he ought to have done, they lost no Time in repairing their Fortifications, and putting their City in a Posture of Defence, so as to be no longer under Apprehensions of his Power, and then they treated him with Contempt.

† It appears from hence, that the Portugueze were the first who attempted to monopolize the Trade of Spices; at which the Reader may be the more surprized, since we do not hear at this Time of any other European Nations that traded in those Parts, and therefore this forbidding the Inhabitants to sell Spices, might appear an unnecessary Precaution. To set this Matter in a true Light, the three following Points must be observed: In the first place, there was a great Trade for Nutmegs carried on throughout all Asia, and this the Portugueze were desirous of keeping in their own Hands. In the next place, they were very apprehensive of their being carried into the Red-Sea, and so through Egypt to Alexandria, to their great Rivals in Trade the Venetians; to prevent which, they kept a Squadron cruising at the Mouth of the Red-Sea. Thirdly, they were afraid of the Spaniards from the West-Indies, the Governors in America making frequent Attempts on this Side, in hope of establishing a regular Commerce between the Kingdom of Mexico and the Moluccas; so that it is very plain the Portugueze Viceroy had Reason enough to apprehend their having this valuable Commerce taken out of their Hands.

soners; after which, proceeding to *Mackian* and *Bachian* two of the *Molucca* Islands near *Tidor*, he plundered them, and carried off a great Booty. The next Year *Vaquez de Gama* was appointed Viceroy of the *Indies*; but as he was in a very advanced Age, it being improbable he should live long, a Commission was made out for *Henry de Meneses* to succeed, in case of his Decease, before the three Years of his Viceroyalty should be expired. There was a third Commission to *Pedro Mascarenbas*, appointing him Viceroy, if *Meneses* should die; and a fourth to *Lopez de Sampayo* to succeed, in case of the Death of *Mascarenbas*. The *Portuguese* by this means were almost secure of providing, that their Acquisitions in *India* should not remain without a Head, and the Event shewed the good Effects of their Care; for *Gama* did not long enjoy his new Honour; but having first defeated the People of *Calicut* in an Engagement at Sea, died within few Months after his Arrival at *Goa*, so that the Viceroyalty devolved upon *Henry de Meneses*.

The Commission by which he was to succeed was sealed up with this Supercription, *Not to be opened till (which God forbid) Vaquez de Gama, Viceroy and high Admiral of the Indies shall be departed this Life*. This being now opened by the next commanding Officers in the great Church at *Cochin*, *Meneses*, who was then absent from the Place, was proclaimed Viceroy, whose Administration was likewise of a short Date, and diversified with both good and bad Fortune; for after several Engagements with the *Calicutians* with various Success, he defeated their Fleet in the Port of *Guleta*, and made himself Master of most of their Ships; soon after which he destroyed a Fleet of *Turkish* Ships off *Dabal*, another of *Meers* off *Zeila* worsted, that of the Prince of *Patana* and *Loqueximenes* the Admiral of *Bintam*, and then advancing to relieve the *Portuguese*, besieged by the Enemy in the Fortrefs of *Calicut*, he performed the same, but died of a Wound he had received in his Leg by an Arrow in the Year 1526.

This unlucky Accident had very bad Effects on the Affairs of the *Portuguese*, and as these were the Result of the very Precautions that were taken to avoid them, it may not be amiss to examine them more at large. As soon as it was known at *Goa* that *Henry de Meneses* was dead, all the great Officers assembled, in order to open the Billets by which the Successor was appointed; and on opening these, the Authority of Viceroy devolved upon *Pedro Mascarenbas*, who was then at *Malacca*. One of the Officers present, who took upon him to have more Wit than his Neighbours, thought proper to distinguish upon this Occasion between a General present, and a General at a Distance; he said, that the Intent and Meaning of these Substitutions was plainly, that the Government in the *Indies* might never want a Head, and that an absent Head being in Effect no Head at all, it was necessary to open another Billet, in order to procure a Viceroy for the present, till *Pedro Mascarenbas* should arrive from *Malacca*.

This Proposal was far enough from being universally approved by all who were present, because many of them foresaw, that under pretence of providing against a slight Evil, or rather an Inconvenience, they were on the Point of running into a much greater Mischief. However, *Alphonso Mexias*, who first proposed the Opening the other Billet, pressed it with such Earnestness, that at last it was complied with, and the Billet being opened, *Lopez de Sampayo* the Fourth, substituted Viceroy, took upon him that Charge, and gave the *Malabarians* a signal Defeat in an Engagement at the Mouth of the *Bacanor*: But *Mascarenbas* highly resenting it, that *Sampayo* should usurp the Viceroyalty out of his Turn, would by no means acquiesce with that Proceeding, but assumed to himself the Title and Office of Viceroy, and being forced to wait the proper Season for coming down to *Goa*, took that Opportunity to repair with a Fleet of nineteen Sail to the Coast of *Bintam*, where he defeated *Lopez de Sampayo*, the Enemies Admiral, together with the Fleet of *Patana*, which came to their Assistance, when the City of *Bintam* by Storm, he bount it, and the King dying with Grief at his ill Success, *Mascarenbas* ap-

pointed another in his Room, on condition that he should maintain no Army nor Fleet without Leave from the *Portuguese*, but commit himself wholly to their Protection. This done, he went with his Fleet to *Goa*, where he desired a Number of Arbitrators might be appointed to judge whether he or *Sampayo* was the proper Viceroy; but the latter at first refused to submit to any Arbitration: Instead of which, contrary to all Reason and Justice, he seized and imprisoned him, supposing that this would put an End to the Controversy by frightening the Friends of his Competitor into Silence; but in this he took his Measures quite wrong, for this Violation instead of lessening the Interest of *Don Pedro*, increased so that at last he found himself under a Necessity of yielding to this Proposition, and thirteen Judges were chosen to decide this difficult Question, which by an Accident that happened in the mean time, was made still more difficult.

For, a fresh Squadron arriving from *Portugal*, brought more of these Billets, with an Order that such of the ones as were not opened, should be suppressed and sent back, and that the Government should be determined by the new Billets; the first of which, by the Advice of *Alphonso Mexias*, the first Mover of all these Troubles, was opened, contrary to the Opinion of the wisest and best Men at *Goa*, who foresaw, that instead of lessening, it would augment the Doubts and Suspicions that had thrown the *Indies* into Factions already. This Billet being in Favour of *Lopez de Sampayo*, he insisted, before the Judges, that both the former Nominations were void, and therefore he insisted only upon this last; and they being, for the most part, of his Faction, or else corrupted by *Mexias*, came into it at once, and declared him Viceroy, and to put an end to all Disputes, ordered *Don Pedro Mascarenbas* to return immediately to *Portugal*, with which Arbitration he complied, as well as perceiving that he could hope for nothing by continuing in the *Indies*, when Things were in this Situation. On his Return to *Lisbon*, he laid the whole Proceedings before the King, together with a Memorial, in which he represented, that as all these Disputes had been occasioned from their not knowing certainly his Majesty's Pleasure, he humbly desired that it might be declared, who it was his Majesty intended to have named Viceroy, that Accidents of this kind might be prevented for the future. The King accordingly heard and decided this Matter with great Justice and Wisdom; for, in the first place, he cancelled the Decree of the Arbitrators, and ordered that the present Viceroy, *Lopez*, should pay to *Don Pedro* Two thousand Crowns, as the Profits of his two Years Government, and, at the same time, made a regulation for the future to this Effect, that on the opening of these Billets Substitution, the Absence of the Person nominated should not prejudice him in any degree, provided the Person named was in any Part of the *Indies* between *Cape Good Hope* and *Diu*, which taking in the best Part of the *Indies*, rendered it impossible that any such Accident should hereafter fall out as that which had occasioned all this Confusion.

But as *Don Lopez* had, in other Respects, behaved well, it was judged the reasonablest Course to leave him in Possession of the Government, more especially, since he was obliged to part with all the Money he had hitherto acquired in it. As soon as the King's Orders arrived in the *Indies*, *Don Lopez* executed them in every Respect, reconciled himself to the Friends of *Don Pedro Mascarenbas*, behaved in every other Circumstance as became a wise Man and a good Subject. But no sooner were these Troubles over, than new Disturbances broke out, which occasioned fresh Confusions in the *Indies*.

Henry Garcias, who was at that Time Governor of the *Moluccas*, finding Affairs extremely embarrassed by the Wars which his Predecessor had made against the King of *Tidor*, with very little Advantage, that lit, on his first coming to his Government, to make Peace with *Almanzor*, who was then King of that Island on Condition that he should restore the Artillery, Prisoners he had taken from the *Portuguese*, whom he kept the Space of six Months, he undertook to do. But

It is to be observed, that the Opening of these Billets which proved afterwards so fatal to the *Portuguese*; for it is certain, that if they had not been opened, they might have preserved their Empire in this Part of the World much longer, and much more secure; but when they were opened, they gave rise to many dangerous Steps for their private Advantage, at the Expence of the public Interest, and the Destruction of those Officers and Pilots, which proved the Ruin of that Commerce.

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Face of Affairs in those Parts altering soon after, *Garfias* repented him of the Peace, and resolved to renew the War, believing, that if he could reduce this Island, it would very much raise his Reputation; to furnish himself therefore with some Pretence for breaking with the King of *Tidor*, he, before the Time limited was expired, sent to demand the Cannon and Prisoners; to which *Almanzor* modestly reply'd, that he would have delivered them up when the Treaty was made, if it had been in his Power; but that having lent the Cannon to a Prince who was his Neighbour, it required some Time to get them back. He had no little Suspicion however of the Governor's bad Design, that, being at this Time extremely indisposed, he requested him to send a Physician, whose Advice he might make Use of for his Recovery. *Garfias* accordingly sent one, under whose Direction the King put himself, without the least Reserve, and was by him most basely poisoned. Immediately after the King's Death, *Garfias* sent again to demand the Cannon and Prisoners, and because the People desired a Delay till the King's Funeral was performed; he having all Things ready, expecting the Event, made a Descent upon the Island, attacked the capital City, took it, and plundered it, and treated the People with the utmost Inhumanity.

As this was done without the least Provocation, in a Time of full Peace, and when there was not the least Intention on the Side of the Natives to renew the War against the *Portuguese*, it caused among the People of that Island, and of most of the rest of the *Moluccas*, an implacable hatred against them; soon after which, a Squadron of the Emperor *Charles V.* arriving there, was welcomed by the People of *Tidor*, with all the Marks of Kindness, on account of the *Spaniards* equal Enmity with them to the *Portuguese*, and being received into their Port, they raised Works for the Defence of it, in case of an Attack from the Enemy. The *Spaniards*, who were under the Command of *Igniguesza*, alleged, that the *Moluccas* belonged of Right to them, as being first discovered by *Columbus*, with a Commission from the King of *Spain*; and the Dispute having been submitted to Arbitration, was determined in their Favour.

On the other Hand, the *Portuguese*, under the Command of *Henriquez*, said, that the unjust Sentence of the *Catholic* Arbitration had been reversed by the Judges in *Portugal*, and that those Islands were discovered ten Years before the Voyage of *Magellan* in the *Spanish* Service by *Antony Abreu*, who was sent out to make Discoveries by *Alphonso Albuquerque*, in whose Company was *Magellan* himself, before he had deserted his Country. Thus they disputed with Words for a while, but soon after came to Blows, the People of *Ternate* taking Part with the *Portuguese*, and those of *Tidor* and *Gilolo* with the *Spaniards*. The latter struck the first Stroke, by besieging the *Portuguese* Fortrefs in *Ternate*, where, at the first Attack, they took one of the Enemies Ships, and now the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* had gone near to have attoned for the Mischief they had done to the *Indians* by the Destruction of each other, but that the Emperor being engaged in other Wars in *Europe*, neglected to remote an Acquisition, and for a certain Sum of Money, yielded up his Right in the *Moluccas* to the King of *Portugal*.

This was look'd upon at that Time as very indifferent Policy, and as the Effects of his not considering attentively the Advantages that might have been derived to him in *Europe*, by the prudent Management of his Affairs in

America, and this because his Thoughts were entirely turn'd on the vain Project of raising an universal Monarchy by Force of Arms, whereas the *Portuguese* wisely contented themselves with pushing on their Conquests in the *Indies*, and employed their Riches they derived from thence to secure themselves against their ambitious Neighbours in *Europe*; from which Plan, if he had never varied, he might have escaped becoming a Province to *Spain*, as the afterwards did, and all the unlucky Consequences that followed from that Conjunction. But it is now time to return from these Reflections to the Thread of our History. Matters being settled in those Islands, the Viceroy *Sampayo*, sent out *John Deza* with a Squadron, to cruise off *Cananor*, and at the same Time, dispatched *Alphonso Melia* to the *Sunda* Islands, who, just as he had doubled the Cape of *Comorin*, met with some Deputies coming to *Goa*, from the Prince of *Calecutra*, on the Pearl-fishing Coast, with Offers of Tribute and Submission, upon Promise of Assistance against his Enemies the *Calecutians*.

In the mean time, *Deza*, upon his Station, intercepted all Ships passing between *Calecut* and *Gambaya*, to the incredible Loss of the People of both those Places, and landing at *Mangalor*, the Inhabitants deserted the Town, which he plundered and set on Fire; after which, falling in with *Cutial* the Admiral of *Calicut*, he engaged and defeated him, and carried him Prisoner to *Cananor*; and about the same Time *Anthony Miranda* failing to the *Red-Sea*, took great Numbers of the *Arabian* Ships, and burnt several along the Shore; *Sampayo* himself, off *Cananor*, destroyed the greatest Part of a Fleet of one hundred and thirty Sail of *Moorish* Ships, bound to *Mecca* with Spices, and then repairing to *Porca* (the Prince whereof was a formidable Sea Rover) he landed there, and took the Town, forcing the Prince to betake himself to Flight, who left such a vast Booty to the *Portuguese*, that the Share of the meanest Sailor came to a thousand Dollars. From thence he sailed to the Northward, and near the Island of *Bombay*, fell in with a Fleet of the Enemies, under the Command of *Halissa*, Admiral of *Cambaya*; whereupon proffering a Reward of one hundred Dollars to the first Man who boarded one of the Enemies Ships, he immediately engaged, and having entirely routed them, committed the Fleet to the Command of *Miranda*, who, soon after the Viceroy's Departure, came to another Engagement with the *Malabarians*, before the Town of *Chaul*, and gave them a signal Defeat, killing great Numbers, and carrying off a rich Booty in Spices to *Cochin*; soon after which, the *Portuguese* reduced the Town of *Tanor*, made the Prince of the neighbouring Country their Tributary, and again routed *Halissa*, the *Cambayan* Admiral.

In the mean Time, *Nunco de Cunha* set out from *Portugal* with a Commission to be Governor, accompanied by his Brother *Simon de Cunha*, who was constituted Admiral of the *Indies*, and in his Way thither, attempting to put in at *Monbaza*, in order to pass the Winter-Season there, was refused Entrance by the King, but forced a Passage into the Port, and making himself Master of the Town, gave the Plunder to the Mariners, and set it on Fire. Departing thence early in the Spring, he made the best of his Way to *India*, where he resolved to make himself Master of the Town and Fortrefs of *Diu*, situate in an Island of the same Name, near the Entrance of the Gulph of *Cambaya*; to which Purpose, repairing thither with the Fleet, upon his Appearance off the Place, he received an

^a As soon as this was known to the Viceroy, he sent a new Governor to the *Moluccas*, one *George Monfex*, between whom and *Garfias* there happened a long Dispute, in which the latter was first made Prisoner, and afterwards the former: And this, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* were actually possessed of *Tidor*, and were endeavouring to get the rest of the Islands into their Hands, which shews the Infatuation of the *Portuguese*, who would not avoid quarrelling at that very Juncture, when Union was most necessary, and when not only the Extension of their Commerce, but the very being of it depended thereon, and could not be secured without it.

^b We have a clear Account of this Matter, and a very good one, in Sir *William Monson's* Naval Tracks. The Controversy, says he, to whom the *Moluccas* should belong, continued between the two Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the *Spaniards* madeundry Attempts by Way of the *Straites*, but evermore with unfortunate Success. At last Don *John III.* of *Portugal*, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperor, willingly lent him three hundred and fifty thousand Ducats, when he went into *Italy* to be crowned Emperor, upon Condition the King of *Portugal* should no Way be molested in his Possession of the *Moluccas* Islands, till that Money was repaid; which being never done, the *Spaniards* never since pretended to those Islands.

^c I mean by this, that if the *Portuguese* had cultivated Manufactures at Home, in order to support and supply their Commerce in the *Indies*, without engaging, as Don *Sebastian* unfortunately did, in Wars on the Continent, and in *Barbary*, they must have become one of the principal maritime Powers in *Europe*, and have attained to such Wealth and Strength, as would effectually have secured them for ever against the Attempts of *Spain*. But the Languishing out of our War and travels Expeditions, to gratify the Humours of ambitious Princes, will prove fatal to any, but few, and, in short, to a trading Nation.

Envoy from *Badur* King of *Cambaya*, with Offers of yielding the Forts into his Hands, which being accordingly performed, it was committed to the Custody of *Anthony Silveira*.

Not long after, the King of *Cambaya*, at the Instigation of the *Turks*, who were very desirous of getting *Diu* into their Hands, made an Attempt to dispossess the *Portuguese*, and recover the Place; but with an unfortunate Event he, with his *Turkish* Auxiliaries, being entirely routed, most of his Fleet sunk, and himself received his Death's Wound in the Engagement. Soon after this, *Soliman*, the *Turkish* Emperor, sent the *Pasha* of *Cairo* to besiege it, with a Fleet of sixty-two Gallies, six Galleons, and other smaller Vessels, having on Board four thousand Janizaries, sixteen thousand other Soldiers, besides Gunners, Seamen and Pilots, which, on their Arrival before the Town, were joined by eighty Sail of Ships of *Cambaya*.

The *Turkish* *Pasha* landing his Forces, battered the Forts with sixty Pieces of Cannon; but the Governor with great Bravery sustained his Attack till the Arrival of *Garças de Noronha*, the new Viceroy from *Goa*, to his Assistance, who, by a Stratagem passing thro' the Enemies Fleet with Drums beating and Trumpets sounding, as if they had been some of their *Indian* Allies, the *Turks*, upon Discovery of their Mistake, raised the Siege in the utmost Confusion, leaving behind their Tents, Ammunition, Artillery, and above a thousand wounded Men, besides the like Number that were out on Foraging; all which fell into the Hands of the *Portuguese*. After the Death of *Badur* before mentioned, *Mamud* became King of the *Cambayans*, and *John de Castro* succeeded *Noronha* as the *Portuguese* Viceroy, in which Time the *Cambayans* and *Turks* made another Attempt on *Diu*, but with the like Success as before, *de Castro* routing them both by Sea and Land, with a very great Slaughter, after which, he added several Works to the Place, and raised a new Citadel, in a more advantageous Situation, and of much better Materials than the former.

In this prosperous Manner did the *Portuguese* carry all before them in *India*, during the Reign of *John III.* who dying *A. D.* 1557, was succeeded by *Sebastian*, then an Infant. That Prince growing up, was so intent upon his *Indian* Acquisitions, that he resolved on a Voyage thither himself; and it was with Difficulty his Council found Means to dissuade him from it. They did at length prevail on that Point; but could not prevent his undertaking a Design more hazardous than the former, viz. an Expedition against the Emperor of *Morocco*; and he embarking for that Purpose with a great Army, and the Flower of the *Portuguese* Nobility, on Board a numerous Fleet, landed at *Tangier*, and unadvisedly marching up into the Country, gave the *Moors* Battle near *Alcacer*, where he was cut off with the whole Army.

He was succeeded by *Henry* his Uncle, then in an advanced Age, whose Reign is remarkable for nothing but the Disputes about a Successor to him; he dying *A. D.* 1580, *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, who had Pretensions to the Crown, thought it most expedient to end all Disputes by the Point of the Sword; and considering the great Inclination the *Portuguese* had through Hatred of a *Castilian* Government, to set *Antonio*, a natural Son of *John III.* upon the Throne, he ordered the Duke of *Alva* to march at the Head of a powerful Army into the Kingdom, who soon reduced it to his Obedience, forcing *Antonio* to withdraw to *England*; from whence, after some unsuccessful Attempts to recover his lost Dominions, he retired to *Paris*, and died there *A. D.* 1595. The rest of the Territories of that Crown fell, at the same time, into the Hands of the Conqueror, except the *Azores*, or western Islands, which

were, at length, subdued to *Spain* by a great Victory obtained over a Fleet of *French* Ships sent thither to maintain them in the Obedience to *Anthony*.

As this Subjection of the *Portuguese* to the *Castilians*, was very irksome and odious to them, so was it attended with Consequences very fatal to their Interests; for, upon the first Commotions in the Low Countries, *Philip* judging that one of the best Expedients to quell them, would be, to deprive the Inhabitants of the Advantages they received by Trade with *Portugal* and *Spain*, he prohibited all Commerce between them; for, in those Times, the *Dutch* Ships made no longer Voyages than to these Countries, for the Commodities of *India*, with which they afterwards supplied the Northern Nations of *Europe*. But *Philip's* Designs met with an Event very contrary to his Expectations, though they were laid very deeply, and pursued with the utmost Steadiness, as well as Dexterity. The Conquest of *Portugal*, indeed, carried along with it the Conquest of the Dominions of the *Portuguese* in the *East-Indies*, and seemed to promise the *Spaniards* the entire and quiet Possession of both *Indies*; But the Project began very soon to fail, for, in the first Place, the *Portuguese* Governors paid no more than a forced Obedience to the Crown of *Spain*; and in proportion to the Distance of their Settlements, the Governors were, more or less, circumspect as to their Conduct. On the other hand, the *Spaniards* having many Affairs of their own to mind, and very little, if any, Concern for the true Interests of *Portugal*, the annual Fleets and regular Supplies were neglected, or, when sent, proved very far short of what they ought to have been. A too quick Sense of this Relaxation of Government, induced many who were vested with Authority in the *Indies* to make Use of it purely to serve their private Purposes, without regarding either the publick Welfare of their Country or the particular Benefit of such as were under their Protection.

But what contributed most to the speedy Ruin of their Affairs was, this Act of Policy, by which *Philip II.* prohibited, on their Rebellion, his Subjects in the Low Countries from trading to any Part of his Dominions, by which he absolutely forced them on the Measures, by which they aggrandized themselves at his Expence. If he had avoided this unlucky Prohibition, had treated his new Subjects kindly, and made a reasonable Provision for *Don Antonio*, he might have secured his *Indies*, and all their Wealth, which, well minded, and their Produce properly applied, would, in a short Space of Time, have enabled him to execute all his ambitious Projects into Execution. As it was the *Dutch* finding an absolute Stop put to their profitable Trade in *India* Commodities, which hitherto they had bought in the Ports of *Spain* and *Portugal*, resolved, immediately, to try if it was not possible to go and fetch them from the *Indies* directly; whereas, had they been permitted to have purchased them in their accustomed Manner, this Design had never been thought of, but the Commerce of *India* had continued in its old Channel, without Envy or Disturbance.

We have now conducted to its Close, the first Part of this Section, and have shewn how this Navigation was opened, improved, and monopolized by the *Portuguese*; how their Conquests in this Part of the World were made and maintained, and how by entertaining and pursuing the Scheme of distant Expeditions, the smallest and most inconsiderable of all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, became one of the richest and most potent, having it entirely in her own Power so to have increased her maritime Force as to have had no Cause to dread the Ambition of her Neighbours, or their united Endeavours to her Prejudice. We now to see as clear an Explanation of the second Part, which within the Compass of this Section we proposed.

* This was one of the greatest and most honourable Victories ever gain'd by the Arms of the *Portuguese*; for it was not against a raw and untried Soldier, or against a General unacquainted with the Art of War, that this Effort was made, but against a numerous and well equipped Army, completely furnished with every thing necessary for carrying on the Siege. The Reputation of this Victory was no less advantageous to the *Portuguese*, spreading over *Spain*, *Africa* and *Europe*; so that the *French* King, *Francis I.* sent into *Portugal*, to obtain the Picture of *Don Sebastian*, who had just Defeat, in order to hang it up in his Cabinet of consummate Officers.

† *Don Sebastian* was so fond of the *Portuguese*, and the personal Virtues of that Prince rendered him so much beloved by the Nation, that they could scarcely imagine themselves to believe (especially as his Body was never found, that he perished in this Action) Nay, at the request of that Nation to his Hour, that he escaped; and it is certain, that a Person who called himself *Sebastian*, appeared afterwards at *Madrid*, at the Request of the King of *Spain*, he was seized, then examined in a full Senate, and defended himself so well, that he was set at Liberty. He afterwards fell into the Hands of the *Turks*, who imprisoned him first at *Naples*, and afterwards carried him into *Spain*, where he died Confounded, admitting in the very last, that he was no Impostor, but the true King *Sebastian*.

12. It would require much Room, and add very little to the Reader's Satisfaction, should we prosecute the History of the *Portuguese Empire* in the East, through all the Changes and Revolutions to which it was subjected, from the Causes before-mentioned; the rather, because as their Dominions increased, they were obliged to carry on Wars in different Places at the same time, with several Nations, and with great Variety of Success. In order therefore to separate these Subjects, so as to represent to the Reader what is of Importance to be known, and that in the easiest and clearest Method possible, we will consider the most remarkable Discoveries and Settlements of this Nation in the *Indies*, according to the order in which they were made; the principal Events that happened in them during the Time they remained in their Hands, and the Manner in which they lost them, whether to the *Indians* or *Europeans*. By this Division, that Confusion which must necessarily attend the Abridgment of a general History, so pregnant with Events, will be avoided; all the Passages relating to the same Places and Persons, will be ranged together, so as to give Light to each other, and render the Perusal of them easy and entertaining; at the same time, that by being thus digested, every Colony, every Country will have its History preserved in such a Manner, as that it may be easily compared with whatever has been said before, and be with like Facility turned to, when what is hereafter said, may make it necessary.

Before we proceed to these Discoveries and Settlements, it will be necessary to fix the Place from which they were made. *Calicut*, as we have before shewn at large, proved the first Place they visited in the *Indies*, though the first Fortification they built was at *Cochin*, which lies South from it. They were sole Masters of the Commerce on the Coasts of *Malabar* from the Gulph of *Cambay* to Cape *Comorin* for about one hundred and fifty Years, which determined them to fix the Capital of their Dominions as near as possible to the Centre of this Coast, which was one principal Inducement to their seizing *Goa* in the manner before mentioned. It stands at an equal Distance from *Surat*, and Cape *Comorin*, in a little Island made by the Rivers *Mandao* and *Quari*, about six or seven Leagues in Circumference, and at the Distance of about three Leagues from the Fall of these Rivers into the Sea. The Name of the Peninsula adjoining is *Saljette*, and the Soil is extremely rich and fertile. In the hot Season the Waters are very low, sometimes not above two Feet in Depth; but the rest of the Year they are so high as to afford the largest Vessels an Opportunity of entering the Port of *Goa*, which is one of the safest and most commodious in the Universe.

All the Territories adjacent to this City are held by a Treaty with the King of *Decan*, who by yielding these, purchased a free Trade for his Subjects throughout the *Indies*, in all Commodities except Pepper, with which they were to furnish the *Portuguese* alone. Since this Agreement many Disputes have happened, and when their Power has been great, particularly in 1635, the Viceroy of *Goa* have treated their Neighbours with great Severity. At the Time before-mentioned, they had Intelligence of four *Indian* Vessels bound with Pepper for *Mocha* and *Perfia*, which they chased and took. Their Cargoes, pursuant to the Treaty, were confiscated; yet not satisfied with that, they murdered all who were on Board them in cold Blood, in order to strike a Terror into the Natives. This Behaviour has, as it might well be expected it would, raised a most violent Aversion in the *Indians* against them, which they never fail to discover when any Opportunity offers. There are in *Goa* many superb Edifices, such as the Viceroy's, the Archbishop's, and Inquisitor General's Palaces; but above all, the Churches are exceedingly numerous, and some of them wonderfully rich. In Extent it contains about

ten Miles, taking in all the Fortifications raised round it for its Security, which bend according to the Course of the River, and are so well furnished with Cannon, that hitherto they have rendered it impregnable, though it has been very hard pressed both by *Indians*, and by the *Dutch*. It was from this City, in the Latitude of 15° 20' North, that the *Portuguese* made their Discoveries, and sent most of their Colonies, and having given this short Account of it, we shall next proceed to describe them.

13. The *Maldives* are so situated, that it was impossible the *Europeans* should make many Voyages to, or be long settled in the *Indies*, without being acquainted with them, since the most northern of them lie but fifty Leagues from Cape *Comorin*. They extend from 8° of North Latitude to 4° of South, stretching in Length consequently near two hundred Leagues; but they are not above thirty or thirty-five Leagues in Breadth in any part of the *Archipelago*. Within this Space are contained a prodigious Number of Islands, so that even in the Time of *Ptolemy*, that is, in the second Century, they were accounted 1373; but the Inhabitants maintain, that a small Part of them only were then known, for their Sovereign takes the Title of Sultan of the *Maldives*, King of thirteen Provinces, and of twelve thousand Isles. There is in this, without doubt, a Mixture of that Pomp and Ostentation which is so common in the East; but for all that, there are, unquestionably, many more than the Ancients knew any thing of under this Monarch's Dominion. Admiral *Suarez* discovered them in 1507, and he made an Alliance with their King, which was confirmed by *Sequeria*, who demanded leave to build a Fort upon the Island of *Male*, which is the largest of them, and the chief City of the same Name is the Capital of their Monarchy.

John Gomez, who was sent thither for this Purpose, met with a favourable Reception, and by dint of Presents prevailed upon the King to agree to his Demand. He built this Fort of Wood, there being neither Stone nor Lime in the Island. It was extremely well situated, and in some measure commanded the Port, so that it might have been of great Service to the *Portuguese*, if he had behaved as became him; but no sooner was the Fort finished, than presuming on the Terror of the *Portuguese* Name, he began to lord it over all the Strangers that traded thither, though his Garrison consisted but of seventeen Men, which occasioned a Conspiracy of the *Mohammedans* against him, who attacked him when he least expected it, and cut off him and all his People to a Man, levelling the Fort with the Ground. The *Portuguese* were never afterwards able to obtain any Establishment in the *Maldives*, which is the Reason that several of their Authors treat them as pitiful Places, and their Inhabitants as a base and barbarous People, contrary, however, as we shall see, to all Reason and Prudence.

It was impossible for them to double Cape *Comorin*, without taking Notice of the noble Island of *Ceylon*, *Ceylan*, or *Ceilon*, called by the Inhabitants *Lanco*, which in their Language signifies the Terrestrial Paradise, or Holy Land, a Name given it by its first King, *Vigia Rajah*, who is supposed to have flourished five hundred Years before Christ: It was afterwards called *Ilanara*, or *Tranate*, which is as much as to say the Insular Kingdom; it was also called *Hibenaro*, or the Fertile Land, and *Tenarism*, or the Country of Delight. The *Arabians* call it *Serendib*, or rather *Serendive*. It is by many held to be the largest, and is, beyond Controversy, in itself, the richest and finest Island in the World. The *Portuguese* settled here in 1506, under the Conduct of *Lawrence Almeyda*, who erected a Column with an Inscription, testifying that he took Possession of that Country on Behalf of *Emanuel King of Portugal*, because it had no Master, though at the same time he treated with the Emperor, and promised him the Protection of his

* The *East-Indies* in general are very properly divided into the Dominions of the Great Mogul, and the adjacent Kingdoms on the Continent, the Peninsula without, the Peninsula within the *Ganges*, and the Islands. The *Portuguese* filling as they did at their first coming into these Parts on the Coast of *Malabar*, which makes the West Front of the Peninsula without the *Ganges*, acquired the happiest Station that could be desired for extending their Commerce, and their Conquests on every Side; and there is Reason to believe, that their fixing as they did the Seat of their Empire on this Side, contributed greatly to the Preservation of their Dominions, notwithstanding all the Efforts made by the *Indians* and the *Mohammedans* to dispossess them.

† There is but one good Description of this prodigious *Archipelago* written by *Francis Pirard de la Val*, a *Frenchman*, who was a long Time Prisoner in one of these Islands, and which, as it is a Work equally curious and instructive, and at the same time exactly within our Plan, the Reader shall have at large in the next Section, which will give him an Opportunity of observing how little Cause the *Portuguese* had to treat the Inhabitants of the *Maldives* with Contempt, since it is certain, that they are one of the bravest, and one of the most polite Nations of the East.

Master, in Consideration of 2500 Quintals of Cinnamon to be paid him as an annual Tribute.

In 1520 they built a Fort here, and began to settle, and afterwards obtained an absolute Power over a great Part of the Island, under Colour of the Emperor's Will, who made the *Portuguese* Heirs of his Dominions. The Trade they carried on there was very considerable, and next to the Viceroyship of the *Indies*, the Captain General of this Island, was thought the first Post the King of *Portugal* had to bestow. The Commodities they drew from hence were long Pepper, fine Cotton, Ivory, Silk, Tobacco, Ebony, Musk, Chrysal, Salt-peter, Sulphur, Lead, Iron, Steel, Copper, besides the three grand Articles, of, Cinnamon, all kinds of precious Stones except Diamonds, and Elephants.

As soon as the *Dutch* came into the *Indies*, they formed a Design of making themselves Masters of so valuable a Place. They made their first Defeat in the Year 1602, and carried on sometimes open Wars, sometimes secret Contrivances against the *Portuguese*, till in the Space of about fifty-five Years, they completely drove and wormed them out of *Ceylon*, making themselves Masters of *Colombo* and *Negombo*, which were the principal Places in the Island and of the strong Fortrefs of *Punto Gallo*, which commands the best Haven in *Ceylon*.

The *Portuguese* held their Establishments here for about a hundred and fifty Years under sixteen Captain-Generals, from Don *Pedro Lopez de Souza*, who was the first, down to Don *Antonio d'Amaral y Meneses*, who was the last. Captain *Ribeiro*, who wrote the History of this Island in 1685, and presented it to the King of *Portugal*, assures us, that the Country was lost through the Covetousness and Pride of the Governors, and the Luxury, Laziness, and Cowardice of the Soldiers, which he charges on the inactive Administration in *Portugal*, that took no care to look into the Management of so considerable a Settlement, and which brought in so large a Revenue to the Crown of *Portugal*, till it was too late. A Circumstance surely that ought to be remembered, and considered by every maritime Power.

14. The Island of *Sumatra*, which extends itself North-west and South-east, fronting the *Peninsula of Malacca*, is divided by the Equinoctial almost into two equal Parts, extending to 6° of Latitude North and South. It is about two hundred and fifty Leagues in Length, sixty in Breadth, and five hundred in Circumference. The *Portuguese* came hither in 1508, under the Command of Don *Diego Lopez de Segura*. They found the Country very desirable, as being extremely rich and fruitful, and under the Dominion of several petty Princes, who were continually at War with each other.

One would have imagined, that this might have afforded an Opportunity to the *Portuguese* of subduing it entirely, as they did other Parts of the *Indies*; but it happened otherwise; for the People, by their continual Disputes among themselves, were become so well acquainted with the Art of War, that they were not able to make great Impression, but contented themselves with a few Settlements on the Coast, which enabled them to carry on a very lucrative Trade with the Inhabitants, not only in Sulphur, Rice, Ginger, Pepper, Camphire, Cassia, Sandal, and other rich Woods and Drugs; but also in fine Tin, Iron, Copper, Silver, Gold and Diamonds.

The *Dutch* began to intell this Island in 1596, and soon after, as their Power increased, began, as usual, to exclude all other Nations; but the Inhabitants soon shook off their Yoke, and are still in a great measure free. It is for this Reason probably that almost all our *European* Writers concur in treating these People as the most cruel, barbarous, and perfidious in the *Indies*, without ever considering that the good Hypothesis may be justly retorted upon those who endeavour to deprive them of their Liberties and their Possessions, without the least Colour of Right.

15. The *Moluccas*, or *Spice-Islands*, were not disco-

vered by the *Portuguese* till the Year 1511, and then, it were, by chance. *Promis Serrano* and *Diego d'Almeida* being sent to make Discoveries, were separated by a Storm; the former penetrated as far as *Ternate*, but the latter discovered only the Island of *Ambon*, and afterwards that of *Banda*. They spent about eight Years in these Discoveries, which cost *Serrano* his Life in his Return. We are indebted to a *Portuguese* Writer, whose Name was *Alfonso de Gusmano*, for a large History of these valuable Islands, which consist, strictly speaking, of no more than five; whence it is said they received their Name in the original Language of the Inhabitants. They are not out of Sight of each other, and lie all of them within the Compass of twenty-five Leagues. They are famous for producing several sorts of valuable Spices, and are governed by three Kings. Their Coasts are very dangerous, because of Sand and Shelves: They were formerly subject to the *Chinese*, then fell under the *Javanese*, and were afterwards subdued by the *Malayans*; and the *Mohammedans* had begun to settle in them, and convert the Inhabitants to their Religion, but a very little while before they were discovered by the *Portuguese*. The History we have before mentioned, equally copious and curious, but much too long to have Place in this Collection; yet we shall extract from thence a distinct Account of these Islands, because no other Writer affords us any thing comparable thereto.

Ternate, says he, is eight Leagues in Compass; its Land is high, and they have good Water, but little Provisions, and few Cattle, except Goats. Their chief Riches consist in Cloves: They have extraordinary Parrots, which exceed those of the *West-Indies* in speaking, and many Birds of *Paradise*. They have Almonds, and coarse Tobacco. During their Wars with the *Portuguese*, they burnt all their Clove-trees, retired to the Mountains and Deserts, and forbid selling any thing to the *Portuguese* on pain of Death, which reduced them to great Extremity. Though they burnt the Cloves in Despair, our Author says, their Ashes did so cultivate the Soil, that it produced them in greater abundance than ever in a few Years. The King of this Island was the most powerful of all the fourteen in the *Moluccas*, and boasted of a divine Extraction, which the silly People firmly believed. He was Sovereign over seventy-two Islands that lay in the *Great Archipelago* betwixt *Mindanao* on the North, those of *Bima* and *Oron* on the South, and the *Terra Firma* of *Papua*, *New Guinea*, on the East, and had his Tribute in Gold, Amber, and Birds of *Paradise*.

Having made these great Conquests over his Neighbours, he called himself Emperor of the *Archipelago*, where there were many Colonies of Christians; but most of them were destroyed, or apostatized by the Persecution above mentioned. *Argensola* gives a particular Account of Forces which every Island could raise, and in the reckons them at 120,300 Men that were lifted, besides Multitudes of others, and a great Number of Slaves. Many of these Islands had their particular Kings, but subject to him of *Ternate*, and served under him, to avenge the Death of King *Aerio*, who was treacherously murdered by the *Portuguese*. This great King's Name was *Cacibibahu*, *Aerio*'s third Son: He allowed the *Dutch* to trade here in 1599, entered into a strict Friendship with them, and entertained them with Fights of Gladiators, after the Manner of his Country. The *Dutch* lifted him to shake off the Yoke of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*; and he was victorious over those of *Tidore*. The Place where he kept his Court was *Gammalamma*, on the Coast, consisting chiefly of one Street, their Housing of Wood and Cane. About a League from hence there is a Town called *Mallaya*, inclosed with Wall and Stone, without Mortar. The Road to *Gammalamma* is not good. There are still some Remains of Churches and other Structures, built by the *Portuguese*. The first the *Dutch* built here was *Verlucio*; the next was the

The History of this Island, while in the Hands of the Crown of *Portugal*, was annually conveyed to *Goa*, on Board a Gallion, mounted with the Piece of Cannon on that Purpose, and this Gallion was thus provided: The Officers were, a Captain, Purser, Master, Pilot, Boat-steward, &c. the Men on Board were, 1200 Gunners, four *European* Seamen, twenty Soldiers, and forty common Mariners of the *Indies*, who were paid for their Maintenance and Pay of which, the King allowed annually 986,062 Reys, or 616,171 *l.* 1 *s.* 4 *d.* as appears from the *Relacao* of the *Portuguese* Settlements in the *Indies*, compiled and published by Don *João de Meneses*, who was Viceroy there in the

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that no European Nation has been able to dislodge
them.

Tidor is larger than *Ternate*, is also a particular King-
dom, and produces the same Fruits: It lies a little South-
east from *Ternate*, near the Line. The Spaniards assisted
the Inhabitants against those of *Ternate* at first, but had
War with them at last, and treated them barbarously, till
expelled by the League above-mentioned. The Dutch
attacked the Spaniards here in 1607, and afterwards with-
out Success; but, at last, took it by the Assistance of the
King of *Ternate*, after an obstinate Resistance, and were
kindly received by the King, who allowed them to settle
factories here. The Capital is of the same Name, and has
an Harbour about a Stone's Throw from the Shore, dry at
Low-water, and defended by a Chain of narrow Rocks,
over which the Tide rises from three to six Foot. The
Town is very strong by Nature.

Molir, Molit, or Timor, lies between *Tidor* and *Ma-
chin*. It was laid waste during the intestine Wars; but
the Dutch built a Fort at the North End of it, which en-
couraged the Inhabitants to return from *Gilolo*, continuing
firm to the Dutch; the Spaniards durst not attack it. *Ma-
chin* lies just under the Line South from *Molir*. The
Dutch took it from the Spaniards in 1609, and built three
Forts here. It is seven Leagues in Compañs, and has fe-
veral little Towns; the Inhabitants were then about Nine
thousand: It was reckoned the fruitfulest of the *Moluccas*,
and produced the best Cloves. The Inhabitants were more
industrious than their Neighbours. *Bachian*, the last of
the proper *Moluccas* lies South from *Machian*, and was a
Kingdom. The Country is large and desert; it abounds
with Sagu, Fruits, Fish, and many other Sorts of Provi-
sions. It was formerly very potent, and had the best
Cloves in the *Moluccas*, but was ruined by the Idleness of
the Inhabitants. They had an Alliance with the *Portu-
guese* and Spaniards, who planted Garrisons there, but
were dispossessed by the Dutch in 1610, who built other
Ports, and obtained a Liberty to trade without paying Cus-
tom. The Isle of *Labova* lies so near it, that they fre-
quently go by the same Name, though each had their par-
ticular King. The latter is very pleasant, and abounds in
Cloves. The Inhabitants rebelled against the Dutch, but
were forced to submit, and have been since kept in Awe
by Fort *Barnesvelt*.

The Island of *Bouro* was formerly subject to the King
of *Ternate*; it is not very considerable; but while in
the Hands of the Portuguese, was more considerable than
it is at present. But the Island they chiefly depended up-
on was that of *Timor*, which is much larger than the other
of the same Name before-mentioned, and was extremely
fruitful, so that it supplied most of the *Moluccas* with Pro-
visions. West from thence lies the Island of *Solor*, in
which was a strong Fortrefs, wherein the Portuguese Gar-
rison held out a Siege of two Months against the Dutch
Fleet and Army; and, when they surrendered, marched
out near one thousand strong. There are many other
Islands, which are commonly, since the Dutch Conquest,
called the *Moluccas*, because they make that Word syno-
nimous with the Spice-Islands; whereas the *Moluccas*,
strictly speaking, are no more than the five Islands first de-
scribed. It was with the Spices they produced, that the
Portuguese traded throughout the whole Extent of the *In-
dies*; that is to say, from *China* to the Coasts of *Aegypt*.

16. The Viceroy *Lopez Suarez*, Successor to the fa-
mous Don *Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, was the first who
thought of establishing a Commerce with *China*; and in
the Year 1517, sent for that Purpose *Ferdinand Andrada*,
with a Squadron of eight Ships, laden with Merchandize,

together with *Thomas Pereira*, with the Character of
Embassador from *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*. On their
Arrival at the Mouth of the River *Canton*, the Portuguese
Ships were stopped by the Chinese, and only two suffered
to proceed up the River, on Board one of which was the
Embassador, and the Portuguese Commodore *Andrada*, who
was a Man of Quality and of strict Honour, so that he soon
gained very much on the Chinese, notwithstanding their
natural Aversion to Strangers. By his Civility and polite
Behaviour, he first drew them to trade with him; and then,
by his Exactness and Probity, brought them to have a
Confidence in him; but what had the greatest Effect of all,
and might have established the Commerce of the *Portu-
guese* to the Exclusion of all other European Nations was,
his giving Notice a little before his Departure, that at
such a Time he meant to sail, and that if any Body had
Demands upon him, or any who belonged to him, they
might, before that Time, apply and receive Satisfac-
tion.

This, it seems, was a Thing new to the Chinese, but
was so agreeable, as they made him the highest Protec-
tions of Friendship, and assured him that they would
willingly trade with his Nation, in hopes of meeting with
the like just Usage: But this fair Prospect did not con-
tinue long; and, as this was the first, it had also very near
proved the last Voyage of the Portuguese hither. The
Captains of the Ships that were left at anchor at the Mouth
of the River, were the Occasion of this, for they landed
and fell into Trade with the Natives; but presuming on
their Power in the Indies, they began to treat the Chinese
in the same manner they had done other People; that is to
say, they landed several Pieces of Cannon, and then took
what Goods they pleased, and at what Rates they thought
fit, committing many other Insolences, such as ravishing Wo-
men, and trading with Pirates for such Persons as they had
taken Prisoners, of whom the Portuguese made Slaves.
The Viceroy of the Province quickly assembled a great
naval Force, with which he surrounded the Portuguese
Squadron, and had infallibly taken every Ship, if a Storm
had not risen, which scattered the Chinese Fleet, and gave
them an Opportunity of returning to *Malacca* with more
Profit than Honour. As for the Embassador, *Thomas Pe-
reira*, he, though perfectly innocent, proved the Victim of
his Countrymen's bad Behaviour; for the Chinese Court
having received Advice of what had passed before his Ar-
rival, not only refused him Audience, but sent him back
to *Canton* in Chains, where he was put into the common
Prison with the lowest and vilest Criminals, and there
spent his miserable Life for several Years; till, at length,
worn out with Hardships, he expired in such wretched
Circumstances, that he did not leave wherewith to bury
him.

It was many Years before the Chinese would suffer the
Portuguese to have any Trade with them at all; but, at
last, permitted them to send annually some Ships to the
Island of *Sancban*, where they were allowed to erect
Tents on Shore, for a very small Space of Time, in which
they disposed of their Merchandize. At length, in the
Beginning of the sixteenth Century, a favourable Oppor-
tunity offered, not only of restoring their Commerce, but
of procuring an Establishment in *China*, which is what no
other Nation ever had to boast. The Thing fell out thus;
A certain Pirate, whose Name was *Tchang Si Lao*, commit-
ted prodigious Ravages upon the Coasts, and having at last
acquired a great Force, he made himself Master of the
little Island of *Macao*, and from thence not only blocked
up the Port of *Canton*, but proceeded so far as to besiege
the City. The Mandarin, in this Distress, had Recourse
to the Portuguese, whose Ships were then at the Island of

* The King of *Portugal* likewise maintained a Gallion for bringing the Tributes of the *Moluccas*, officered in the same Manner as that mentioned in the last Note; but inasmuch as the Voyage was longer, and they were more Seamen employed, the yearly Expence amounted to 3,292,998 Rees, or 12,551 £. 10 s. 6 d. which shews that the publick Revenue was admitted to ere with great Oeconomy in those Times.

The famous Portuguese Historian, *Johã de Barros*, though, otherwise, a very candid Writer, endeavours, as far as he is able, to cover and disguise the Fact; but other Writers, even of that Nation, confess it ingenuously, and speak of it as it deserves. It proved, without doubt, of infinite Damage to their Concerns, as indeed their Pride and over-bearing Temper did in many other Places. It may be justly wondered, that they never employed Force while their Affairs in the Indies were in so flourishing a Condition; but they were restrained from this, by their Fear that the Chinese would revenge any Injuries they did them upon the Christians, which is very probable; and therefore they were in the right to proceed as they did. To say the Truth, the Portuguese seem, of all the Nations in the World, the least fit to have any Correspondence with the Chinese, because of their envious and assuming Temper, and of the natural suspicion of the Natives of that Empire.

Sauaban. They readily offered them their Assistance, and not only forced *Tebang A Lao* to raise the Siege, but pursued him to *Macao*, and there killed him.

The Viceroy having made a faithful Report to the Emperor of this extraordinary Piece of Service, that Prince, out of just Gratitude, published an Edict, by which he granted the *Portuguese* this little Island, with the Power of making a Settlement there, which they joyfully accepted, and built a good Town, which they fortified after the *European* Manner, and furnished it with near two hundred Pieces of Cannon. One would imagine, that this might excite the Jealousy of the *Chinese*, who are justly esteemed the most suspicious People in the World; but they have provided so effectually for their own Security, that all the Force of the *Portuguese* is entirely at their Devotion, because they have not a Day's Provision but what they received from the *Chinese*, and are so surrounded by their Forces, that it is impossible for them to undertake any thing to the Prejudice of their Empire. The Possession of this Place has been, notwithstanding, extremely beneficial to the *Portuguese*; for, from thence, they carried on for many Years, a most beneficial Commerce with *Japan*, by which *Macao* became one of the richest and most considerable Places in the *Indies*, and many of the Nobility of *Portugal*, who had enjoyed very high Offices, chose, at the Expiration of them, to settle here, where they lived in great Splendor, and at the same Time acquired vast Estates by Trade.

We shall hereafter have occasion to give some Account of the Cauls which brought on the total Prohibition of their Trade with *Japan*; but at present, we shall confine ourselves to what relates to the City of *Macao*. In the Year 1639, the *Portuguese* sent from thence two large Ships laden with Merchandize, which came to an Anchor in the Road of *Nagazaqui*; immediately on which it was notified in Form to the Commodore, or, as the *Portuguese* stile him, the Captain Major Don *Vasco Paglia d'Almeida*, that the Emperor of *Japan*, by his Edict, had totally prohibited all Commerce with the *Portuguese*, and that for these Reasons: First, because, notwithstanding the several Cautions given them, they had still continued to bring over Missionaries into his Country. Secondly, for that they had supplied those that were already there, with Provisions and other Necessaries; and Thirdly, because there were just Reasons to suspect, that they had some Knowledge of, and some Concern in the late Rebellion of the Christians in *Arima*. They had also a Copy of the Emperor's Edict given them, which they were directed to make publick at *Macao*, and to inform the Inhabitants of that City, that these were the last Ships that should ever be permitted to anchor in any Port of *Japan*, of which they were to take Notice, and to remain assured, that if ever they came thither again, they should undoubtedly be treated as Enemies, and put to Death without Mercy.

On their Return to *Macao*, and making Report of these Facts, the whole City was struck with Consternation, being satisfied, that the Destruction of this Trade would prove the Ruin of their City; to prevent which, they resolved to make one great Effort, and to send a solemn Ambassy to justify their Conduct, and if possible, engage the Emperor to recall this Edict, or at least to qualify it so, as that they might on certain Terms have Leave to send some Ships thither. The Difficulty was to find any who would charge themselves with so dangerous a Com-

mission; but at last the following Persons offered, of their own Accord, to run the Hazard, viz. Don *Luis de Paes*, who had served with Honour as Commander of the Armies in the *Indies*, and who was now twenty Years of Age; Don *Roderic Sanchez de Paredes*, Don *Gonzalez Montayro de Carvalho*, and Don *Simon de Pavia*; all Men of Distinction, and who were moved nothing but the Desire of justifying their Nation, and rendering Service to their Country. On the 9th of 1640, the Ship that carried these Ambassadors arrived at the Road of *Nagazaqui*, and sent an Account to the *Japanese* Governors of the Nature of the Commission, which they were intrusted. Their Ship was immediately seized, and the Ambassadors, and all who belonged to them, except eight Negroe Seamen, were imprisoned on the Island of *Kijima*, till the Emperor's Pleasure should be known. On the return of the Courier sent to Court the News of their Arrival, they were sent for before the Magistrates, who treated them as Criminals, demanding of them, what it was that could induce them, after a Warning as was given them the Year before, to turn thither, in direct Breach of the Emperor's Edict. They pleaded, that they were not at all within the Meaning of that Law, because the Emperor forbid thereby Attempt to trade, which was not their Business, but no Commodities of any sort on Board their Ship, coming thither with the Characters of Ambassadors, had been always esteemed sacred. The Magistrates told them, that this would not serve their Turns, but that had incurred the Penalty of the Edict; upon which they were instantly bound and conducted back to Prison.

The next Day, the Ambassadors, and all their Attendants, to the Number of twenty-four, *Portuguese*, *Spanish*, *Chinese*, *Canarians*, and *Indians*, were again carried before the Magistrates, who then told them, it was his Imperial Majesty's Pleasure they should all suffer Death, except sixteen; which Sentence was executed the same Evening which was the 13th of August. The next Morning before it was light, the Governor sent for the thirteen that were spared, and having asked them whether they had their Ship burnt, inquired of them, whether they would faithfully report at *Macao*, what they were commanded by the Emperor to say to them on his Behalf. Being answered in the Affirmative, they proceeded thus: "We are then to inform your Fellow-Citizens, that henceforth the Subjects of *Japan* will not receive either Money, Merchandize, or Presents, from them any more. You see we have burnt the very Cloaths of those who were executed Yesterday. Let your People use theirs, and ours that fall into their Hands in the same Manner; consent to it, and desire that you would think of us more than if there were not such a Nation as the *Japanese* in the World. This is what we have to say to you."

They then conducted these Mariners to the Place where the Heads of those who were murdered the Day before were fixed upon Poles in three Rows; the four Europeans first, the Europeans next, and the Strangers last. They likewise shewed them a great Iron Chest, in which they told them were the Bodies of the Persons executed, and obliged them to read a long Inscription, setting forth who they were, on what Account, and by whose Order they were put to Death; which Inscription ended with these Words: "All this is set forth as a Memorial of what has past, and as an Advertisement for the Time to come."

I have taken all the Care I could to discover whether this Nation had ever any other Settlement in *China* than this at *Macao*, but to no purpose, except that they traded for some Time as other Nations did, at *Canton*, and at *Ning-Po*, which is a very considerable Port in the Province of *Tche-Kiang*, and the first into which *English* Vessels were admitted. But a late Writer, one Captain *Alexander Hamilton*, speaking of this which he calls *Limpoo*, instead of *Empoa*, by which I find it mentioned by other *European* Writers, gives us the following Story, which I take to be true, and which therefore I shall relate in his own Words: "Here the *Portuguese* were once well settled, and had a numerous Colony; the *Chinese* were Masters of their own Country, and the *Portuguese* of the Seas. It is reported, that they had above one thousand *Portuguese* families settled in *Limpoo*, and were governed by their own Laws. Their Trade through *China* and *Japan*, which they carried on by *India* and *Canton*, made them prodigiously rich, which brought them into Luxury and Debauchery, and at last was the Cause of their Expulsion from *Limpoo*. They began to be notorious Ravishers of Women. They would go into the Country Villages, and carry off young Virgins, not from their Parents, and when they had abused them as long as they pleased, sent them back to their Friends. Many Complaints were made, but no redress could be obtained. At length, when a Parcel of Virgin Hunters had gone into the Country, upon an Expedition, and the Peasants told them, and killed them every Man. This Slaughter made the *Portuguese* very loud in their Complaints, and desired to be done on the Peasants. The Peasants made bold Replication to the Complaints of the *Portuguese*, and desired their Assistance before the Emperor, which was accordingly done, and the *Portuguese* were ordered to clear themselves of the Crimes laid to their Charge; but not being able to do it, were banished *Limpoo*, but had Liberty to carry off their Effects; and thus ended the most opulent Colony in the World."

"Henceforward, so long as the Sun shall shine upon the Earth, let not any Christian be so hardy as to set his Foot in Japan; and be it known to all the World, that if King Philip in Person, the God of the Christians, or the great Xata, one of the first Deities of Japan, shall presume to break this Ordinance, he shall pay for it with his Head." They then gave these poor People an old Ship to return in to Macao, which they chose, rather than to be put on Board any of the five Dutch Ships that were then on the Coast, and offered to set them safe on Shore in that Port.

In the Year 1641, arrived at Macao from Europe Don Antonio Ferreira, with the News of the Revolution in Portugal, and that Don Juan, Duke of Bragança, had mounted the Throne, and assumed the Title of John the Fourth, to whose Obedience they readily returned, and as a Mark of their Loyalty, presented him with two hundred Bras Cannon, and a vast Quantity of Ammunition. This Monarch, in the Year 1646, thought fit to make another Attempt in Favour of the City of Macao, and sent Don Gonzalo Segura as his Embassador to the Emperor of Japan, to inform him, that Portugal no longer continued subject to the Crown of Spain, which as it was the principal Occasion of the Nation's being prohibited all Commerce with the Japanese, he hoped that a good Intelligence would now be restored between the Citizens of Macao and the Subjects of his Imperial Majesty. The Embassador was very civilly received, and an Express sent to Court with the News of his Arrival. About a Month afterwards a Courier arrived with the Emperor's Answer, which was to this Effect; That his Request could not be granted, but that he and all that belonged to him had free Liberty to depart.

In the Year 1685, another favourable Opportunity offered, which the Portuguese, with great Alacrity, embraced: A Japanese Vessel being driven by a Storm from their own Coast, was forced to take Shelter in the Port of Macao, where those who were on Board it met with a very kind Reception, and having been entertained at the publick Expence, till they were recovered from the Hardships they met with at Sea, and were then put on Board one of the best Vessels belonging to the Port of Macao, and sent back to their own Country. On their coming to an Anchor in the Road of Nangazaki, and sending the Japanese on Shore, they received a Message from the Magistrates, importing, that they were obliged to them for this kind and generous Return, but that for the future they would advise them not to give themselves the Trouble of sending home any more of their People, since it would not answer their Ends. Since that Time the City of Macao has declined very much, and tho' it is at present in a better Condition than it has been, yet it is far from being so considerable as in the Sixteenth Century, as we have already shewn the Reader in another Place. But that it may possibly make a better Figure than it does, we shall hereafter render probable, when we come to speak of the present State of the Portuguese Dominions in this Part of the World.

17. In the Year 1521, Magellan discovered the Ladrone Islands, near those which he called the Archipelago of Saint Lazarus, because he discovered them on the Feast of that Saint. The Portuguese arrogate to themselves this Discovery, because he was their Countryman, though in the Service of the Crown of Spain; and on the other hand, the Spaniards challenge the Discovery of the Moluccas, because Magellan went to them from America in their Service; but without doubt this Title was wrong placed, since, as we have shewn, the Portuguese had discovered them long before. It cannot indeed be affirmed, on any good Authority, that the Portuguese had before this time visited the Ladrone Islands; but it is very certain, they made several

Voyages thither afterwards, and did not think them so despicable as they are now esteemed; but on the contrary, drew from thence things of great Value; and the Reason I have mentioned them here is, that I might have an Opportunity of acquainting the Reader, that when this Nation first settled in the Moluccas, they were informed by the Inhabitants, that from these little Islands they were wont to receive considerable Sums in Silver, and the very finest Emeralds they had in Exchange for Spices.

The Portuguese were in hopes of finding, according to this Information, Mines of Silver and precious Stones amongst them; but on the closest Search, could meet with neither, which was the true Reason they never made any Settlements there. But this Account affords us room to conjecture, that before the Portuguese penetrated thus far into the East, there had been some Commerce between these People and the Americans, from whom they might receive both Silver and Emeralds. This is a Point that deserves mature Consideration, because, if there be any Truth in this Conjecture, it will give some Light into the Means of peopling America, which hitherto has perplexed the ablest Enquirers into such Subjects. It is true, that at first Sight there seems to be no great Authority for this Conjecture, since it is founded on the Report of the Inhabitants of the Moluccas, who were, according to the best Accounts we have of them, a rude and barbarous People. Yet let them be ever so rude and barbarous, they could not be mistaken as to a Matter of Fact; they had Emeralds amongst them, and as their Country did not produce them, they must know from whence they had them; and since this could be learned no other way but from these People, there seems to be no Reason why we should not accept of their Account.

The Conjecture, however, does not rest upon this alone, but upon another Fact, which cannot be disputed; and it is this, that there are no Emeralds to be found in any of the Countries in the East-Indies, and yet they were so common there, when the Portuguese came first into those Parts, that they brought considerable Quantities into Europe, from whence grew the Distinction of Oriental and Occidental Emeralds; whereas in Truth there never were any that could be strictly and properly called Oriental, because, as I observe, they are not the natural Produce of any Country in the East; and yet in another Sense they might be very well so called, because they came first to us from the East. I cannot help adding to this Observation another, which is, that there is some Reason to doubt, whether the Inhabitants of the Ladrone Islands were always so rude and barbarous as the Portuguese and Spaniards found them; and my Reason for advancing this is, because I find the best Portuguese Writers agree, that the Chinese had been Masters of the Moluccas, and very probably of these Islands also, as they certainly were of some of the Philippines; and if so, then very probably they were more civilized, while under their Dominion, and grew rude and barbarous, by their being deserted by them, and left to themselves.

This will appear still the more probable, if we consider on the one hand what the Chinese Writers tell us of their Emperors contracting their Dominions from Maxims of Policy; and on the other, what appears very clear to us from what we know with Certainty of their History, which is, that their Empire had been subverted by the Tartars, and consequently their Economy totally disturbed before the Portuguese came into the Indies at all. What I would conclude from hence is, that possibly we may be mistaken in our Notions of these Countries, and that therefore it may be worth while to enquire more narrowly into this Matter, which may possibly lead us to some kind of Evidence of an Intercourse between the East and West-Indies.

* It seems a little extraordinary, that the Emperor of Japan should treat these People with so much Severity, when it appears from this very Account, that Justice is as regularly administered in his Dominions as in any part of the World; but in all human probability, he was induced to use them in this manner by the Representations of the Dutch, as to the Power of the King of Spain, and his Intentions of reducing both the Indies.

† The Fact, that no such thing as a true and perfect Emerald is to be found in any of the Countries on the Continent, or in any of the Islands of the East-Indies, is maintained by the famous M. Tavernier, from whom I think a better Authority cannot be produced. He was indisputably as well skilled in Jewels as any Man of his Time, and had travelled more in the Indies than almost any other Writer, so that to controvert his Authority on this Head, is to refuse the best Evidence that can be produced, in order to conclude, without any Evidence at all, that the Thing is otherwise. It may, indeed it has been said, that to support this Opinion, we ought to shew, that there has been such a Commerce with America; but there is a Difference between proving a thing, and rendering it probable; and yet in the next Chapter, something farther shall be said in Defence of this Opinion, which will approach very near a Proof.

before either were known to us by the Passages now in use. But let us for the present return to the Discoveries of the *Portuguese*.

18. In the Year 1525, *Antonio Britto*, and *Garcias Henriquez*, being sent from the *Moluccas*, discovered the great Island of *Celebes*. This *Antonio Britto* was the very Person that had taken one of *Magellan's* Ships, and put all the People that were in her to Death, which had gained him the Reputation of a bold and able Seaman; nor did he lose it by this Expedition, since he actually discovered what he was sent to look for. Other *Portuguese* Writers say, that he did not go himself, but fitted out Ships for that Discovery, and that they in their Return to the *Moluccas*, saw certain Islands, which they could not reach, to which they gave the Name of the Islands of *Mey*. But when *Antonio Galvano* was Governor of the *Moluccas*, he sent over two of the Natives, who were Laptized, into that Country, who converted several of the Princes themselves from Paganism to Christianity, and established a good Correspondence between them and the Inhabitants of the *Portuguese* settled in the *Moluccas*.

This Island of *Celebes* is divided from *Borneo* by the Straights of *Macassar*, and lies at no great Distance from the *Moluccas*. *Argensola* tells us, the Natives are of a white Complexion, and that they were formerly much given to Piracy. That Writer, and some others, give us an odd Account of the ancient Form of Government in this Country, and which seems to confirm what I have before suggested, that there had been great Revolutions in these Parts before they were discovered by the *Europeans*. What they say on this Subject, reduced into a narrow Compass, amounts to this; that there were originally seven Kingdoms, or Principalities in this Island, the Princes of which met together and chose a Monarch, who had a limited Power over the whole Island, and whom, in case of Tyranny, they who elected him deposed. This does not look like Rudeness or Barbarity, but seems to have been a very rational kind of Policy, instituted for the sake of preserving the Peace of the several Nations inhabiting that Country, and preventing those Wars that must otherwise have kept them in continual Confusion, and into which they actually relapsed, when by some Accident or other this salutary Form of Government fell into Disuse.

The Discovery of so considerable a Country was looked upon, by the *Portuguese*, as a Matter of great Consequence and Measures were taken to secure the Affections of those whom it was not found easy to conquer; but, on the other hand, capable of being obliged, or rendered useful, as their Allies, by good Usage. The People were much braver, and withal had much better Sense than most of the *Indians*; and, therefore, after a little Conversation with the *Europeans*, they began, in general, to discern that there was no Sense or Meaning in their own Religion; and the few of them who had been made Christians by the Care of *Don Antonio Galvano*, were not so thoroughly instructed themselves as to be able to teach them a new Faith. The whole People in general, however, disclaimed their old Superstitions, and became Deists at once; but, not satisfied with this, they determined to send, at the same time, to *Malacca* and to *Achin*, to desire from the one, Christian Priests; and from the other, Doctors of the *Mohammedan* Law; resolving to embrace their Religion; the Teachers of which came first among them. The *Portuguese* have hitherto been esteemed zealous enough for their Religion; but it seems that *Don Luis Pereira*, who was then Governor of *Malacca*, was a little deficient in his

Concern for the Faith, since he made a great and very unnecessary Delay, in sending the Priests that were desired.

On the other hand, the Queen of *Achin* being a furious *Mohammedan*, no sooner received an Account of this Disposition in the People of the Island of *Celebes*, than she immediately dispatched a Vessel full of Doctors of the Law, who, in a short Time, established their Religion effectually among the Inhabitants. Some Time after came the Christian Priests, and inveighed bitterly against the Law of *Mohammed*, but to no Purpose; the People of *Celebes* had made their Choice, and there was no Possibility of bringing them to alter it. One of the Kings of this Island, indeed, who had before embraced Christianity, persisted in the Faith, and most of his Subjects were converted to it; but still, the Bulk of the People of *Celebes* continued *Mohammedans*, and are so to this Day, and the greatest Zealots for their Religion of any in the Indies. This was one of the greatest Errors in Policy that ever the *Portuguese* committed; for if all the Inhabitants of that Island had been made, as they very easily might have been, zealous Christians, the *Dutch* had never become so absolute in the Indies as they now are.

But this Difference in Religion did not hinder them from living in very good Terms with the *Portuguese*, who established a better Trade here than in any other Part of the Indies; for, finding few rich Commodities, and no Opportunity of encroaching on the Liberties of any Nation, they were glad to treat them as a free People; and the Situation of the Country being extremely happy for that Purpose, made it very soon the Centre of Commerce. The great Island of *Borneo*, abounding in Gold, Diamonds, Pepper, and other rich Commodities, lay but one Day's Sail from them; *Amboyna* and the Spice-Islands, not above three or four; the Kingdoms of *Siam*, *Cambaya*, *Cochin*, *China*, and *Yenquin*, the Empire of *China*, and the *Philippine* Islands, none of them above three hundred Leagues. We need not wonder, therefore, that the Port of *Jampouan*, the best in that Part of the World, should be always full of Ships, and the great Towns on the Coast become Places of great Trade, when it was so much the Interest of the *Portuguese* to promote it. The People themselves were very capable of managing it, being very industrious and as well skilled in Navigation as any of their Neighbours; and though they had not any very rich Commodities, except Gold, and that in no great Quantities, yet they had wherewithal to purchase those of the greatest Value, since the Rice of this Country is esteemed the best in the Indies, as their Cotton is held the finest; with those they traded to the *Moluccas*, and from thence brought such vast Quantities of Spices, that they drove a very considerable Trade in them with the *Europeans*.

The Reason that this Island is sometimes called *Celebes*, and at others *Macassar*, is, because the former which lies in the North-west Part of the Island, and the latter which takes up all the South, were the principal Kingdoms of the Island, and especially the last, the Monarchs of which were very powerful, and frequently made themselves Masters of the best Part of the whole Island. Their Subjects are allowed to be the boldest and bravest of all *Indians*; and are likewise remarkable for having a consummate Knowledge in all Sorts of Poisons, which are some of them of so deadly a Nature, that the very Touch, Smell of them, are instantly and infallibly mortal. The Men make use of them to tinge the Head of their Arrows, or rather Darts, which they blow through hollow Trunks, and that with such Force and Dexterity, that

¹ As this Fact is unanimously related by the best Authors on this Subject, it may not be amiss to set it in the clearest Light of which it is capable. Two Brothers, Subjects of the King of *Seppur*, going over to the Island of *Sernate*, saw there the Ceremonies of the Christian Worship, according to the Rites of the Church of *Rome*. They were extremely pleased with the Show, and desired therefore to know more of the Substance, which induced them to apply to the Governor, in order to be informed as to the Notions the *Portuguese* had of God, the Reasons why they were called Christians, and how themselves might be made so. He readily discoursed with them on these Heads, they were quickly convinced of the Truth of what he said, and so were baptized by the Names of *Anthony* and *Micbael*; which, it seems, the Governor made no Scruple of performing with his own Hand, there being, at that Time, no Priest in the *Moluccas*. It is easy to conceive, that these Men, returning into their own Country, might be able to shew the Folly and Absurdity of their Idolatry, without being capable of demonstrating the Truth of the Christian Faith.

² The ancient Religion of this Country deserves to be taken Notice of, because we shall then evidently see that the People had good Reason to do as they did. Their Priests told them, that the Heavens were eternal, and the Sun and Moon a God and Goddess, from whose Influence all Things proceeded; that they had once a Quarrel, and the Sun striking the Moon, she thereupon miscarried this World; with abundance of Stories of the same Nature. They taught them likewise the Transmigration of Souls; and that it was unlawful to kill any living Creature to eat, except swine, Birds, because the former was too nasty, and the latter too little for any human Soul to dwell in. But they advised them to sacrifice their Children to the Sun and Moon; and, if they had power to do so, they sometimes made free with their Children. No wonder, therefore, that they were glad to get rid of such a Religion, and of such Priests.

they will hit a small Mark at the Distance of fourscore Yards. They likewise dip the Points of their Daggers in the same poisonous Drugs, and the very Scratch of it, either Dart or Dagger, kills without Remedy¹. The Women likewise make use of these Poisons to gratify their Revenge; for as they are generally allowed to be extremely constant themselves, so they have very quick Repentments in Cases of Infidelity, especially in regard to Europeans, who frequently cohabit with them, and sometimes marry them.

As they were rather the Allies, than the Subjects of the Portuguese, so they were much more attached to that Nation than any other Indians, and gave a very hospitable Reception to such of them, as on the Declension and Ruin of their Colonies, fled thither for Protection, which was one Reason that the Dutch made such a Point of reducing the King of Macassar, which they did after a long War in 1667, and prescribed to him very hard Terms, particularly these, that he should deliver up to them the Harbour of *Tompadan*, as too good for any but the Dutch to be possessed of; next he was obliged to turn all the Portuguese out of his Dominions, which was the more reasonable, because it was intended, that he should never trade with them, or any other European for the future; and lastly, he was to renounce all Commerce with the *Spice Islands*, without which his Conquerors could not have monopolized them².

This fully proves what has been before observed, that if the Portuguese had taken Care to have converted these People to Christianity, and had taught them the Sciences, they would have been of more use to the Crown of Portugal, than all the Indian Nations that were subjected to it; for they had very right Notions of the Consequences of falling under the Dominion of the Dutch, and struggled against their whole Power in the Indies, when at its greatest Height, for many Years; and since their Country has been subdued, Multitudes of the Macassars have quitted it, and transported themselves to other Places, where they are entertained as Soldiers, particularly at Batavia, where they are esteemed by far the best Indian Troops in the Service of the States, and some of them likewise are in the Pay of the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa.

19. The *Sunda Islands* were now entirely open, and it is not easy to conceive, how the Portuguese could be so long traversing those Seas, without gaining a proper Knowledge of them; yet it does not appear, that before the Year 1527, they were acquainted with any thing more than the Name of the Island of *Borneo*, and with its Situation, by reason of their frequently passing by its Coasts. About that Time, Captain *Edward Conil* had Orders to examine it more narrowly, and being once acquainted with the Worth of the Country, they made frequent Visits thither. This Island, which is almost of a circular Figure, lies immediately under the Equator; it is about five hundred Leagues in Circumference, and abounds with the richest Commodities, the Hills well stored with Gold, and the finest Diamonds in India are found in its Rivers, washed down into them probably from the Hills, by the Torrents that pour into them.

All the Coasts they found inhabited by *Malayan Moors*, who certainly had established themselves there by Conquest, but the original Inhabitants still remain in the Mountains, and are stiled *Beajus*, which in the *Malayan Tongue*, signifies a wild Man, and the *Moors* use the very same Word for the largest Sort of Apes, that are likewise common in this Country, as if they meant to signify,

that the one had as little of Humanity about them as the other, which however is far from being true. The *Moors* are governed by several Kings, the Chief of which are those of *Manjar-Massen*, of *Succadon*, in one of whose Rivers there are excellent Diamonds found; of *Borneo*, and others. The *Beajus* have no Kings, but only Princes, and other Chiefs. These that are Subjects to the King of *Manjar*, or border upon him, pay a Tribute; but such as live farther up in the Country, and in Places inaccessible to the *Moors*, are absolutely independent, and live according to their own Customs. The *Beajus* are generally very superstitious, being much addicted to Augury. They do not adore Idols, but their Sacrifices of Sweet-wood and Perfumes, are offered to one only God, who they believe rewards the Just in Heaven, and punishes the Wicked in Hell. They marry but one Wife, and look upon any Breach of conjugal Faith, either in the Man, or in the Woman, as so heinous an Offence, that every one contrives the Death of the Person transgressing, either by themselves, or their Friends; and therefore the Women are very modest and reserved, especially the Maidens, who are not seen by their Husbands till the Wedding-day, when the Women receive their Portion.

They are Enemies to Fraud and Theft, and grateful for Benefits received. Among themselves, they live lovingly and friendly, and therefore, when every Man has gathered what he sowed for his own Use, the rest on the Mountains and Vallies, is in common, without any Distinction of particular Right. They are also well inclined in their Pleasures, and seek Honour in Hunting, at which Sport they endeavour to get some sharp Horns to polish, and wear them as an Ornament at their Girdle. This Girdle is no other than a long Slip of Linnen, which turns between their Thighs to cover their Privities, one End of which hangs down before, and the other behind. The Peasants make a sort of Cloth of the Barks of Trees, which being afterwards washed and beaten, are as soft as Cotton, and those Trees being within the Dominions of the *Malay Moors*, they expose themselves for the Bark to their Tyranny and Insolence. Some of them go naked, and the rest wear a small Doublet made of the same Bark, which they dye of any Colour. On their Heads, to keep off the Heat of the Sun or Rain, they wear a Cap of the Palm-Tree Leaves, shaped above like a Sugar-Loaf, long, and with Flaps hanging down.

The Weapons they use are Knives, made like the Canjers of the *Moors*, and Zampittes, that is, Trunks about six Spans long, out of which they shoot little wooden Darts, with an iron Head at the one End, and Cartouch, or hollow Paper at the other, blowing into which, they shoot it out with a vast Force, and sometimes the Point being poisoned, the Wound is mortal. They also shoot Birds with Pellets through them. The *Beajus*, as to their Persons, are of a dark Complexion, well-countenanced and strong. Such is the Account given of them by the Portuguese Writers, who, for any thing I know, are the only Authors that can be depended upon in this Particular. Their Countrymen carried on their Trade chiefly with the *Moors*, whom they could never subdue; nor have their Successors, the Dutch, been able to do any thing considerable against them, as we have already shewn at large in another Place.

The noble Island of *Java* was sooner visited by the Portuguese, on account of the Trouble given them by the Pirates, or Privateers, fitted out from *Bantam*, or as they call it *Bintam*, and other Places in the same Island, which

¹ When our Royal Society was first founded, they sent some Queries to Sir *Philbert Varnatti*, who resided at *Batavia*, the sixteenth of which ran in these Words, "What Poison is it the King of Macassar in *Celebes* is said to have particular to himself, which not only kills a Man immediately, that hath received the slightest Wound by a Dart dipped therein, but also within half an Hour's Time makes the Flesh touched therewith so rotten, that it will fall like Snivel from the Bones, and whose poisonous Steam will soon fly up to a Wound made with an unpoisoned Dart, if the Blood be only in the slightest Manner touched with a Dart infected with the Poison?" To which he gave the following Answer: "That there is such a Poison in this King's Possession, is most certain, but what it is no Christian ever knew; some say it is the Gall of a venomous Fish, others say it is a Tree, which is so venomous, that those who are condemned to die, fetch the Poison, but not one of an Hundred escapes Death. The Roots of this Tree are held an Antidote against the Poison; but our People, when we had War with *Macassar*, found no Antidote like to their own, or others Experiments, as soon as they felt themselves wounded, they instantly took a Dose of the same, which presently provoked to vomit, and so by Repulsion (as I conceive) and Sweat, freed the nobler Parts from farther Infection."

² I should not have advanced these Facts on the Hearsay or Report of any Writer whatever, but the Treaty dated the 18th of November, 1667, is before my Eyes, and the sixth Article of it begins thus: "They, that is the Regents of *Macassar*, shall turn out the Portuguese, and all belonging to them, without Exception; and because we are obliged to believe, that the *English* are great & chief-makers, and the Authors of the present War, the said Regent shall turn them out also, the first Opportunity, and shall never permit either of those Nations, or their Creatures, to negotiate or trade in *Macassar* hereafter, &c."

induced *Pedro Mascarenhas* to attack *Bantam*, which he took, and plundered, though *George Albuquerque* had attempted it in vain. *Java Major* lies South East from the *Peninsula of Malacca*, having *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, and *Celebes*, lying before it. Authors vary as to its Dominions; but the most moderate allow it nine hundred Miles in Circuit. The Air is generally esteemed more wholesome than in any of the Isles before mentioned, the Country exceedingly fruitful, and the Coast abounding with good Ports. It is not intended here to enter farther into the Description of Places than to render what we have to say as to the History of them, clear and intelligible.

The *Javanese* pretend, that they are descended from the pure and unmixed Race of the old Inhabitants of *China*, who retired thither when their Country was over-run by the *Tartars*; and on this they very much value themselves; but before the *Portuguese* came there, they had not only mixed with other neighbouring Nations, but were also become *Mohammedans*. The whole Island at that Time was cantoned out among a Number of little Princes, some more, some less powerful; but most of them Masters of some Force by Sea. All this corroborates what has been before so often observed, that these Nations did not grow better by their Commerce with the *Europeans*, but were actually declining from what they had been when first visited by them, and have been sinking lower and lower ever since.

The *Portuguese* Generals saw plainly enough, that they had not Force sufficient to keep this Island, and therefore they contented themselves with making a new King of *Bantam*, when they had taken it, and accepted from him an annual Tribute. *Panarutan*, a small City, the Capital of a little Principality of the same Name, and withal a commodious Port, owed much to their Protection, and was raised to one of the principal Marts of the whole Country, where they not only dealt in Rice, Pepper, and other Commodities of the Island, but also in Gold, precious Stones, and Spices brought from other Places, and more especially from the adjacent Islands. But since the *Dutch* became Masters of *Batavia*, and the Emperor of *Materan*, and the King of *Bantam* have divided the Island between them, this Place is become a Fishing Village, and all its Trade is entirely lost.

20. There is some Dispute as to the Time, and even as to the Person who first visited the Coast of *New Guinea*. Some say, that this Coast was first discovered by *Alvarez de Saavedra* in the Month of *May* 1520, as he was returning to *New Spain* from a Voyage he had made for Discoveries. He fell in with this Continent in the Latitude of two Degrees South, and ran East along by it above five hundred Leagues to the End of the Month of *August*. The Coast was clean, and of good Anchorage: The People black, with curled Hair, naked to the Waist, and covered from thence to their Feet. *Saavedra* having sailed four or five Degrees to the South, returned again unto the Equinoctial, and having passed it, discovered towards the North an Island, on which he bestowed the Name of *Isla de los Pintados*, that is, *The Island of painted People*; for he found the Inhabitants white, and each of them marked in his Body with an Iron. They could not understand the Language they spoke, which was very guttural; but by the Signs they made, they apprehended that they came from *China*.

There came off a Boat full of these People in a hostile manner, threatening the *Spaniards*, and throwing Stones at them; but *Saavedra* would not suffer his People to fire upon them by any means. A little beyond this Island they discovered many others low and flat, covered with Palm-Trees and Grass, so that they made a very pleasant Appearance, and therefore *Saavedra* called them *Los Jardines*, or the Gardens; they were very full of People, who seemed to them by their Countenances, and the Manner of wearing their Hair, to be descended from the *Chinese*; but by their long Continuance there, were become barbarous, and even brutish, living without Law, that they may live without Labour, clothed only with a white kind of Stuff, which they make of Grass. They eat Cocons instead of Bread, pulling them before they are ripe, and burying them in the Sand, from whence, after some Days, they take them out,

and lay them in the Sun, where they open of themselves. They likewise eat Fish, which they take in a kind of Boat called *Parasos*, made of Pine-wood, which is driven on the Coast at certain times of the Year, they know not from whence, or how. The Tools with which they make the Boats are made of Shells. What appeared to *Saavedra* as most strange was, that these People had never seen, nor had any Notion of Fire, till they came upon their Coast, and then they shewed the utmost Terror and Apprehension at the Sight. *Saavedra* would have returned from hence to *New Spain*, but met with so many Difficulties in his Passage, that worn out with Grief and Care, he died, and his People brought his Ship back to the *Moluccas*.

This gave an Opportunity to the Author we have taken this Account from to learn all those Particulars, and the Writer deserves the more Credit, as he was a Man of Education, and Governor of the *Spice-Islands* for the *Portuguese*. His Name was *Antonio Galvano*, the same who took so much Pains to introduce Christianity into the Isles of *Celebes*, and who has written an exact Account of all the Discoveries made by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* both the *East-Indies*, and in the *West*. But we must not apprehend from his Account, that this Southern Continent was absolutely unknown, till this Discovery of it by *Saavedra*; because it is certain from his own Account, that the Inhabitants of the *Moluccas* were very well acquainted with it before the *Portuguese* came amongst them, and carried on a considerable Trade thither; but this Part of the Coast which *Saavedra* failed was unknown to the *Europeans* before. While this *Antonio Galvano* commanded at *Ternate*, there was a famous Pirate, who with a Squadron of *Parasos*, did a great deal of Mischief on the Coast of the Land of *Papua*, which is the Country since called *New-Guinea*, and at last began to threaten the Subjects of the *Portuguese* in the *Moluccas*. To repress the Violences committed by this Rover, *Galvano* fitted out some Barks that were sent him by the King of *Tider*, and having manned them with a few *Portuguese*, and with the Auxiliaries from the neighbouring Islands, he sent them under the Command of *Ferdinand Vinagrez*, a Priest, in Quest of this Pirate, with whom they came up, and after a smart Engagement, in which the Pirate and his Brother were both killed, destroyed some and dispersed the rest of his Squadron.

After obtaining this Victory, he was sent to the Court of *Papua*, where he was kindly received by several Princes and converted some of them and their Subjects to the Christian Faith, which was so great a Satisfaction to the worthy Governor, that he instituted a kind of Seminary, in which he bred up abundance of young Men brought from all the Countries, instructing them himself in the Christian Religion, and in all sorts of Literature that were at that Time studied in *Portugal*.

It is observed by the *Portuguese* Historians, that what other Governors increased their Fortunes, this Man died only to increase his Reputation and the Number of his Master's Subjects, by his wife and gentle Government, which had so good an Effect, that Multitudes of Christians expelled and banished by *Mohammedan* Princes throughout the *Indies*, repaired to him in the *Moluccas*, where he was so entirely beloved by all the Princes of those Islands, that they joined together in a Representation to the King of *Portugal*, setting forth the many Advantages that would accrue to the *Portuguese*, as well as to themselves, if *Antonio Galvano* was continued in this Government for Life; but before this Representation was framed, the Governor of the *Indies* sent *George Castro* to succeed him, which, in the Space of a few Years, produced such a Change in their Affairs on this Side, that *Maffews*, and other of their Historians, have declined giving us an Account of them.

It was the removing this worthy Man, that hindered all the Southern Continent from being thoroughly known, for, by his Candour, Humanity, and wise Government, he established a new Face in that Part of the World, which the *Portuguese* never had any Idea, either before or since; and if he had remained there but a few Years, would have done more towards the Conversion of the Nations by his own Virtue and Piety, than ever could be effected by an Army of Missionaries. But what he

not permitted to effect by his Actions, he has sketched forth in his Writings; so that, from them we learn, this great Southern Continent was, in his Time, well inhabited; and though these Inhabitants might, in some Parts of it, be absolute Barbarians; yet, in others, they were as much civilized as their Neighbours, and had, as we have before seen, not only the Use of Vessels, but some kind of naval Force.

21. The Discovery of the *Philippine Islands*, as they are now called, was, undoubtedly, made by *Francis Magellan*, in the Year 1521; and the first Island in which he landed was *Hammunun*, which is now barren and uninhabited. He took Possession of the Island of *Butanon*, by erecting a Cross, as we have elsewhere shown, on the *Wednesday in Easter-Week*, in the same Year. But these Islands were not settled on the Behalf of the *Spaniards* till the Year 1565, by *Michael Lopez de Legaspi*, a Native of *Mexico*, acting under a Commission from King *Philip II.* in Honour of whom they were called *Philippines*. But with this Conquest and Settlement I have, at present, nothing to do, as intending to speak only of the Discoveries made in these Parts by the *Portuguese*, on whose Behalf *Don Antonio de Gálvão*, in the Year 1538, sent *Francis de Castro* to the Island of *Mindanao*, where he persuaded six of the petty Princes to receive Baptism, with all their Families. This Island of *Mindanao* is the most southern of all the *Philippines*, and the largest of them all, except *Manila*; it extends from 6° of N. L. to 10° 30', and is esteemed three hundred Leagues in compass. There are few Countries in the World better watered; for there are in it twenty navigable Rivers, and near two hundred Rivulets, besides large Lakes, one of which is called *Mindanao*, and gives its Name to the whole Island.

The *Portuguese* found it inhabited by several different Nations, of which, the true original Lords of the Country possessed then, only the Hills and inaccessible Places; being *Negros*, with crisp and curled Hair, like those in *New Guinea*; and, by the way, those were the original Inhabitants of all the *Philippines*. The *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* call them *Negrillos*, a Nation who have sacrificed all the Blessings of Life, and all the Advantages of human Nature, to an enthusiastick Love of Liberty. Those who inhabit one Mountain will have no Intercourse with those who inhabit the next; nay those that inhabit the Middle of a Hill, will murder such as live at the Top or the Bottom of it, if they find them in their District. They have neither Lords nor Laws, but live like Brutes, for the sole Satisfaction of being free. This silly Humour induced them to abandon the Sea-Coasts on the first Appearance of Strangers, which have been since settled by several Nations, some *Mohammedans* from *Borneo*, others a white People, no Body can well say from whence, only the most civilized Inhabitants own, when the *Portuguese* came amongst them first, that these Islands had formerly been under the Dominion of the *Chinese*, and, upon their abandoning them, were left a Prey to any Nation that thought fit to settle in them, and were able to defend themselves from the Blacks in the Mountains.

The Island *Xolo* lies South-West from *Mindanao*, and is governed by a King of its own; it is far from being large, but its Situation between *Mindanao* and *Borneo* makes it the Mart of all the *Moorish* Kingdoms. I do not find that the *Portuguese* ever pretended to settle, much less to conquer these Islands; but they visited them frequently for the sake of Trade, and in those Days there was a greater Commerce in these Parts than can be well imagined; for, while the Trade was open to *Japan*, there came annually two or three Ships laden with Silver, Amber, Silks, Chefts, Cabinets, and other Curiosities, made of sweet-scented Woods, with vast Quantities of Silks, Mullins, Calicoes, Quilts, and Earthen-ware from *China*. For these the Merchants of *Goconda* exchanged their Diamonds; those of *Ceylon* their Rubies, Topazes and Sapphires; from *Java* and *Samatra* came Pepper, and Cloves, and Nutmegs from the *Moluccas*.

The native Commodities of these Islands were as valuable as any of the rest, since no Country in the World,

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Pern not excepted, abounds with more Gold. In the Mountains they dig but three Foot deep, before they meet with it in red Sand, and where they cannot come at the Mountains for the Blacks, they dig Trenches in the flat Country, and after the rainy Season, they pick the Gold out of the Mud that is left in them. Cinnamon they have as good as any in *Ceylon*; but no body having any Property in the Trees, they tear and destroy the Bark at all Seasons, which is the Reason the World is so little acquainted with the Cinnamon of *Mindanao*. In the Sea, between this Island and *Xolo*, there is a Pearl-Fishery, inferior to none in the *Indies*, either in point of Colour or Shape. Ambergreece they have in great Plenty and Perfection on their Coast; and Lumps are very often found of twenty or thirty Pounds Weight, nay, and sometimes larger.

It was from their Commerce with *Mindanao*, and the Respect, or, as they call it, Homage, paid to the King of *Portugal* by some of the petty Monarchs of that Country, that the *Portuguese* pretended to maintain their Claim to these Islands against the *Spaniards*, who assume to themselves an exclusive Right over all the *Philippines*; because *Luconia*, or *Manila*, which is the biggest of them, is in their Possession; yet they have so managed their Affairs, that though they keep these Settlements merely for the sake of Trade, their Government is so ordered, as to lessen that Commerce, which those Islands had before they became Masters of them; and, at the same time, the Royal Revenue is so indifferently managed, as not to defray above Two-Thirds of the Expenses of the Government; though the People are so much harassed, that they fly to all Parts of *India*, to avoid the Hardships imposed on them at Home.

Father *Navarrete*, who was himself a *Spaniard*, and who, in his History of *Luina*, shews a manifest Partiality for his Country, confesses the Truth of this, and that he never was in any Country of the *Indies*, but he found *Manila Indians* either carried away, or run away from thence; and of this, he says, the *Spanish* Government complained, as being extremely detrimental to that Settlement: But he observes very justly, upon that Occasion, that Complaints lie only against themselves, and their own Conduct: Let them, says he, use the *Indians* well, and they will not run away; let them protect those People as they ought, and no body will be able to steal them. The Negligence of the *Portuguese*, the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, and the encroaching Disposition of the *Dutch*, hinder these Islands from being, what they otherwise must be, the Centre of Commerce between the *East* and *West-Indies*; and if a free Trade were allowed in them, each of these Nations would get ten Times as much, and that too with ten Times the Ease with which they get what little they do get by their Commerce here at present.

22. There is not any Passage relating to the Discoveries made by the *Portuguese* in the East, more curious or more extraordinary, than what relates to the finding the Islands of *Japan*, which were discovered about the same Time by two different sets of Adventurers, both, in all Appearance, the pure Effects of Chance. And though, in the Account we have received of both these Discoveries, very little Notice is taken of Dates; yet, from Comparison of Facts, it is pretty evident, that the Persons we shall first speak of, arrived in that Country some Time in the Month of May, A.D. 1542. Of the first of these, we have a very large Account, written by *Mendez Pinto*, who was himself the Discoverer; but for many Reasons, we have found it necessary to contract that Account into as few Words as possible, that we may have Room to give the Reader both the Discoveries, and thereby enable him to judge for himself, as to the Controversy that has been raised concerning them.

Ferdinand Mendez Pinto tells us himself, that being in Company with two of his Countrymen, whose Names were *Diego Zeimato*, and *Christopher Borelio*, at *Lampacao*, which is the same with *Macao*, they there endeavoured to get a Passage to some other Part in the *Indies*, and found it very difficult to do: At last a *Chinese* Corsair offered his Ser-

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Vice,

vice, promising to conduct them to the Islands of *Leguian*; but when they were at Sea, the Weather proved so bad, and the *Chinese* Captain's Ship so leaky, that there was an absolute Necessity of putting into some Port to refit; and accordingly the Captain bore away for a certain Port in the Island of *Japan*, which our Author tells us was that of *Nagayima* in the Island of *Tanuximan*, where they safely arrived. Before they entered the Port, two Barks came from the Shore to know who they were, and what they wanted? The Captain answered, that they were come from *China*, that his Ship was full of Goods, and that his Intention was to trade, if they might obtain Permission; to which the principal Person in the Barks answered, that the Lord of the Island was called *Nautaquim*, and that if they paid the Port Duties, they might have Leave to Trade. The *Chinese* Captain instantly complied with this Demand; the Patron of the Barks used him thereupon with great Civility, and conducted him immediately into the Harbour.

About two Hours after the Lord of the Island came thither, accompanied by several Persons of Distinction, and some Merchants. At the Sight of the three *Portuguese* he was very much astonished, and demanded immediately who those Strangers were, and of what Nation? The Captain answered, that they came from a great City called *Malacca*, and that they were of a certain Kingdom in *Europe* called *Portugal*. At these Words *Nautaquim* appeared more surprised than before, and at last, turning to those who were about him, he said, let me die, if I don't believe these are the *Chinichicogis*, of whom we read in our old Books that they fly upon the Waters, and make themselves Masters of every rich Country they hear of: We shall think ourselves very happy, if they are content to be our Allies. He then called a Woman, who could speak the *Chinese* Language, in which he was but indifferently skilled, and desired her to ask the Captain with what View he brought these Strangers into *Japan*. The Captain answered very candidly, that he found them at *Macao* much distressed for a Passage to some Port in the *Indies*, and that he, from a Principle of Humanity, took them on Board his Vessel, in hopes that Providence would raise him a like Friend, in case he should fall into the same Distress. This satisfied *Nautaquim* perfectly, so that he made no Difficulty of going aboard the *Chinese* Vessel, with some of the principal Persons about him, and asked the *Portuguese* abundance of Questions, whom he also invited to visit him on Shore, promising to entertain them kindly.

They went accordingly, and carried him a Present, which was very graciously received, and *Nautaquim* entered into a long Conversation with them about their Country, and particularly insisted on these three Points, which he said he had been told by the *Chinese* and *Leguians* in his Country. First, that *Portugal* was bigger than *China*, and secondly, that the King of *Portugal* had conquered the best Part of the World; and thirdly, that his *Portuguese* Majesty had better than two thousand Houses full of Gold and Silver. *Pinto* ingeniously owns, that he did not stick exactly to Truth in his Answers, but contrived such as were most likely to keep up the high Opinion that *Nautaquim* had conceived of their Monarch. All the Time they stayed here, they were treated with the utmost Civility and Respect, being permitted to see every thing they desired, and to go where they would. *Zeimote* had a very fine Gun, with which the *Japanese* were extremely taken, inasmuch that they spoke of it to *Nautaquim*, who

desired to see it, and how it was used; which Request his being complied with, he thought himself so much obliged thereby, that he set the *Portuguese* upon one of his own Horses, and obliged him to ride through the Town with a Crier before him, who proclaimed him *Nautaquim* Cousin, and admonished the People to consider him such: At his Return he had an Apartment assigned him in the Palace; upon which he made a Present to *Nautaquim* of his Fowling-piece, in return for which, he sent him ready Money a thousand Taels, which make in our Money three hundred and thirty-three Pounds.

The People imitated the Generosity of their Prince, and bought all the Captain's Goods at such round Rates, that for a Cargo which cost him two thousand five hundred Taels, they gave him to the Value of thirty thousand. We need not doubt that People so well entertained, spent their Days there very agreeably, and were not in any great Hurry about their Departure. After a Month's Stay, however, the *Chinese* Captain having refitted his Ship, prepared to put to Sea; but before he was ready an Accident happened, which changed the Face of their Affairs entirely. A Boat arrived in the Harbour, having on Board a Gentleman charged with a Letter from the King of *Bungo*, the Lord of the Island, signifying that he was informed that certain Strangers were come into his Dominions, which it was apparent, that the World was much larger than they imagined, and that he desired he would send at least one of these Strangers to discourse with him, the other, because at that Time he was very much indisposed and suffered by repeated Fits of black Melancholy, which oppressed him to the last Degree. The Lord of the Island sent immediately for the *Portuguese*, and having informed them, that the King of *Bungo* was both his Uncle and Father-in-Law, he most earnestly desired that they would gratify the Request of that Prince. At the same time, however, he declared, that he could not part with his Cousin *Zeimote*, but that the Embassador might take which of the other two he pleased; but after a little Reflection, he fixed upon *Pinto* as the most proper Person to go to his Uncle, because he was of a brisk and lively Temper, and therefore the most likely to divert him; and at the same time made him a Present of two hundred Taels, as a Compensation for the Trouble of this Journey.

Things being thus regulated, *Pinto* took his Leave of his Friends, and embarked with the Embassador for the Kingdom of *Bungo*, which lies but at a very small Distance from the Island of *Tanuxima*. They arrived, without meeting with any Accident, at the Fortrefs of *Ojima*, where they remained two Days, and then they set out for the Capital, where they arrived the very same Day. The King had sooner Notice of their coming than he immediately sent one of his Sons to complement them, to whom the Embassador delivered a Letter from *Nautaquim* for the King's Father, whose Name was *Origendo*, who, as soon as he received it, desired the *Portuguese* to come to him, where he received with all the Respect imaginable. The Question he asked *Pinto* was, whether the Gout, with which he was dreadfully afflicted, was a Distemper known in one of the Countries through which he had passed, and if he had ever heard of any Remedy that would effectually cure it? *Pinto* told him honestly, that he was no Physician, that he had brought with him from *China* a kind of Wax, which had a Quality of relieving the most violent Pains, but that he had left it in the Island where he first arrived; upon which the King said

* These Islands, of which it seems the *Portuguese* had already some Knowledge, pass under different Names; and even at this Day we are not much wiser with any Certainty about them. Some Writers call them the Islands of *Leguian*, others the Islands of *Riuku*. They lie between the 20th and 30th North Latitude, having the Island of *Formosa* on the South West, the Continent of *China* on the West, the Islands of *Japan* on the North East, and the great Ocean on the East; on which side they seem to have no Land nearer to them than *America*. The *Japanese* report, that they are the best of the Islands in the World, and that the Inhabitants are the coldest, happiest, and best conditioned of the Human Race. They are governed by a Prince of the Name of *Zeimote*, who is one of the principal Lords of the Empire of *Japan*. It may not be amiss to observe, that the *Chinese* were the first Discoverers of these Islands, and that at present there is some Commerce between them and the *Philippines*.

This Island, which *Pinto* calls *Tanuxima*, is, undoubtedly, *Tanuxima*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Formosa*. It lies in the Latitude of 25th, at a very small Distance off the great Island of *Ximo*, which is the second in Size of those three Islands which are known in *Europe* under the Name of *Japan*, which is not, as we generally apprehend it, the Name of a particular Country, but of a large Archipelago of Islands, the most considerable of which is *Yokos*. It is true, that later Authors speak of no such Port as *Pinto* mentions, but that is no just Objection to the Story, since it is on all Hands allowed, that prodigious Changes have been made in the Names of the principal Ports and Places in *Japan*.

One of the most singular things in *Pinto's* Relation is this; that notwithstanding the Astonishment of the People on their first beholding the *Portuguese*, they were, however, so ingenious as to comprehend the whole Mechanism of it in a very little time; and that in the space of a few Years they became very expert in the Trade; which is a Circumstance, that, notwithstanding, is attributed to later Discoverers.

which Request of himself to much upon one of through the Town him Nautiquin's consider him as assigned him in ent to Nautiquin, he sent him in make in our Mo-

their Prince, and ound Rates, that and five hundred thirty thousand, entertained, spent e not in any great a Month's Stay, ted his Ship, pre- ready an Accident ir Affairs entirely. on Board a Gen- King of Bungo to he was informed his Dominions, by it was much larger d he would sent a with him, the r- much indolent, melancholy, which Lord of the Island d having informed his Uncle and his d that they would he same time, how- with his Cousin take which of the le Recollection, he Person to go to he ively Temper, and s, and at the same d Tael, as a Com- ey.

took his Leave of Embassador for the very small Distance ived, without meet- of *Ofus*, where they out for the Capital.

The King had o- immediately sent o whom the King's ho, as soon as he re- me to him, whom imaginable. The first e Gout, with which mper known in any d passed, and it in ould effectually cure as no Physician, but a kind of Wood, oft violent Pains, let he had left it in the ch the King name-

on at this Day we are u. They he between- iled of *Japan* one report, that they are an Race. They are- that the *Chinese* were

in the Latitude of 17 down in *Amoy* under the pelage against *Hainan*, the at Object of the East ports and Places in these

the first beholding the Gun very little time, to that in the Valley which

diately dispatched a Messenger thither to fetch it. As soon as it arrived, *Pinto* caused it to be steeped in Water, which he gave the King to drink, and in the Space of a few Days, he found himself so well, that he was able to rise and walk about, which he had not done for two Years.

It is easy to imagine what high Effects so extraordinary a Circumstance as this must necessarily produce, and what Careless were naturally bestowed on a Stranger, who had so suddenly and so unexpectedly performed so great a Cure. The King ordered all the Care imaginable to be taken of him, and the whole Court was employed in contriving how to entertain and divert him; but in the midst of all this Joy and Satisfaction, there happened an unlucky Accident, which had like to have been attended with very bad Consequences. *Pinto* had with him his Gun, which was mightily admired by every Body that saw it, and the Operations of which filled them with Astonishment. The hereditary Prince was so taken with it, that he would needs try to shoot himself, to which *Pinto* would by no means consent, telling him, it was an Instrument to be managed with great Caution, and might do unexpected Mischief in the Hands of a Person who knew not how to manage it. This, instead of satisfying the Prince, made him only the more eager, inasmuch that he complained to his Father, and desired he would prevail upon the Stranger to trust him with his Gun; to which the *Portuguese* yielded, and promised to go a shooting with him the next Day.

The young Man was so impatient, that he was up before it was light, and on the fifth of *August* was at *Pinto's* Chamber-door before he was awake. He had too much Manners to disturb him, but unluckily spying the Gun, took it out with him into the Court, and resolved to make a Shot. He put in a double or treble Charge of Powder, to which giving Fire, the Gun burst, cut his right Thumb so that it hung by a Thread, and at the same time a Piece of the Barrel struck him so violently over the Ear, that he fell flat upon the Ground, and those who were about him thought he was killed. The Noise of this Accident was very soon spread over the whole Town, where it was unanimously agreed, that the Stranger's enchanted Instrument had killed the Heir of the Crown. The Noise made round his Apartment awakened *Pinto* out of his Sleep, who coming down without knowing what was the Matter, went directly to the Place where the Accident had happened, and seeing the Prince lying on the Ground, whom he took to be dead, he threw himself on the Body in the utmost Agony. A Moment after came the King, the Queen, and the two Princesses, all of them in a distracted Condition, and as soon as they saw the Prince swimming in his Blood, and *Pinto* lying by him, they immediately concluded that the Stranger had killed the Prince; upon which two Soldiers advanced with their Swords drawn, in order to cut off his Head; but the King called out to them to forbear, since he was determined he would first extort from him the Reason that induced him to commit so vile a Fact.

The Reason of this Stay of Execution was, because a little before a Conspiracy had been discovered, for which several Persons had been executed the Day before; and the King apprehended, without any Reason, that this Action might be an Effect to that Conspiracy. It is not necessary for us to dwell upon all the little Circumstances of this Affair; and therefore it will be sufficient to observe, that when they were on the very Point of torturing *Pinto*, in order to make him confess why he committed this detestable Murder, and who were his Accomplices, the Prince very luckily came to himself, and seeing how things stood, declared, with great Concern, that he alone was in the Fault, and that the Stranger knew nothing of the Matter; wherefore he intreated that he might be set at Liberty, and have Leave to come to him, which his Father immediately granted. It was then proposed, that they should send for an old Bonze, who lived at seventy Leagues Distance, to dress the Prince's Wounds, and to try if he could save his life. The young Man declared against this, and said, he should die before he came, and begged that he might be left in the Hands of the Stranger, who knew best how to deal with him. The King thereupon called for him, and asked, if he would undertake his Son's Cure, which, if he should, he should think his Kingdom too small a Re-

ward. *Pinto* declared he could promise for nothing, but that he was willing to do all that lay in his Power, and that he had great Hopes of succeeding.

Upon this the Prince was left in his Hands, but not without a great Struggle on the Part of the Bonzes, who declared, that if the Stranger touched his Wounds, he would die that Night; and that the best thing the King could do was to offer up *Pinto* as a Sacrifice to the Gods, and to send an Express immediately for the old Bonze before-mentioned. The Prince interposed, however, so warmly in Favour of the Stranger, and some of the oldest and wisest Men about the Court thought the young Man's Desire so reasonable, that the King consented to it, and the Prince being carried to *Pinto's* Lodgings, he dressed him as he had seen the *European* Surgeons do, and in one Month's Time there was no other Sign of the Wounds than the Scars they had left, and a little Deadness in his Thumb. The King and the whole Court were quite ravished with Joy at his unexpected Recovery, and besides a thousand Blessings and Thanks, made the *Portuguese* abundance of magnificent Presents; besides fifteen hundred Taels in ready Money, which the King bestowed upon him as soon as the Prince was able to go abroad.

While things were in this Situation, they had Advice that the *Chinese* Ship was ready to sail; upon which *Pinto* desired Leave to be gone, to which the King very unwillingly consented; but as the Stranger insisted upon it, he ordered a Vessel to be equipped, in order to carry him back to the Island of *Tacussima*, and sent a Gentleman with him, furnishing him also with all manner of Provisions and Refreshments. After his Return to that Island, our Traveller remained there a Fortnight waiting for a fair Wind, and then embarking, arrived safely at *Liamo* on the Coast of *China*. This is, in few Words, the Account given us by *Pinto* himself: Let us now proceed to the other Discovery of this Country made by the *Portuguese*, according to our Promise.

In the same Year 1542, three of the same Nation came by pure Accident into this Country, their Names were, *Antonia Mota*, *Francisco Zeimoto*, and *Antonio Pexeta*, who in a Voyage from the Island of *Macassar* to *China*, were thrown upon the Coasts of these Islands, and were exceedingly well received. Amongst other Acquaintance, they entered into a close Conversation with one *Angero*, a Man of a good Family, and considerable Fortune; but who was exceedingly troubled in Mind on account of some Irregularities committed in his Youth, who heard them with Pleasure discourse concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion. About two Years after *Alvarez Vaz*, a *Portuguese* Merchant, came into the same Country, and became very intimate with the same Person whom he persuaded to go to the *Portuguese* Settlements in *India*, in order to be converted and consoled by the holy Discourses of the famous *Francis Xavier*; to which at length he yielded, and having received Baptism at *Goa* in the Year 1548, he the next Year accompanied Father *Xavier* and two other Jesuits in their Voyage to *Japan*, where they immediately entered upon their Mission; by the Progress of which, this Country was made so thoroughly known to the *Portuguese*, that if *Mendez Pinto* had not recorded his own Voyage thither, it is very possible we had never heard any thing of it at all; but that he afterwards visited *Japan* in Company with Father *Xavier*, and after the Decease of that industrious Jesuit, whom the Papists esteem the Apostle of the *Indies*, he went thither again as Embassador from the Viceroy of the *Indies* to the King of *Bungo* in 1556, so that there seems to be no just Grounds for calling any thing that he has written in Question.

The Conversions made in this great Empire contributed not a little to support and extend the *Portuguese* Trade, which was managed with much Facility, and to a vast Profit: For the *Portuguese* being established in *China*, carried from thence vast Quantities of Silk into *Japan*, where as all Ranks of People affect to be clothed in it. There followed a prodigious Consumption, which enriched the *Portuguese* Merchants very soon to a high Degree, tho' it is scarce credible, that as some *Dutch* Writers report, they have sometimes carried home in one small Ship one hundred Tons of Gold. But this prodigious Success proved the

the Cause of their being at last deprived of this lucrative Commerce.

It is not to be expected, that we should enter here into a long and particular Relation of the several Facts which drew upon them, from the Government of *Japan*, that Prohibition of which we have spoken so largely in the Article of *Macao*, and therefore we shall only report in general Terms, and in as few Words as possible, the principal Causes of that Exclusion. The vast Wealth they had acquired corrupting the Manners of the *Portuguese*, made them less cautious than they ought to have been, in their Behaviour towards the *Japanese*, inasmuch, that instead of the Moderation, Sobriety, and exact Conduct which they at first pursued, they grew proud, insolent and dissolute. This prompted them to change the Places where they were wont to trade, and to prefer such Ports as were in the Dominions of infidel Princes, to those in the Territories of these *Japanese* Lords, that had embraced the Christian Religion, that they might live as they thought fit, and without being under the Controul of the Missionaries, who took all the Pains they could to oblige their Countrymen to advance the Credit of the Christian Religion by the Regularity of their Lives. These Errors had two very bad Consequences; for, first, they disgusted such Princes as had embraced the Faith; and, secondly, they hardened the Infidels in their Aversion to it.

But it was not only the Corruption of the *Portuguese* Merchants, Officers, and Seamen, that gave Offence to the People of this Empire, the Intrigues of the Missionaries themselves contributed to it as much, or more, by exciting the Jealousy of the Emperor; for where-ever they had converted any of the Princes of *Japan*, they were continually at Court, and instead of minding what was the proper Business of the Church, engaged at every Turn in Affairs of State, making the Direction of Consciences much less their Care than the Direction of Councils, by which they became the Authors of many Troubles, and afforded a Handle to their Enemies of charging them with many more; so that the Emperor of *Japan* began at last to surmise, that there was more of Hypocrisy than Sanctity in their Hearts, and that they were endeavouring, under Colour of saving Mens Souls, to establish a new Government in that Country.

These Jealousies, which certainly were not altogether without Foundation, were extremely increased by two Circumstances; the first was, the Haughtiness and Ill-conduct of such as were sent Embassadors thither, especially after the Union of the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; for those Ministers were wont to boast of the vast Power of the Catholic King, and of the mighty Extent of his Dominions, of which they affected to convince the *Japanese*, by shewing the Maps of the *East* and *West-Indies*; and the Imprudence of one of these Embassadors is said to have carried him so far, as that on being asked how his Master had acquired such vast Territories at so great a Distance from his hereditary Dominions, he answered, by sending Missionaries first to convert a Part of the Inhabitants to Christianity, and then sending Troops to assist the new Converts in shaking off the Yoke of infidel Princes.

The other Circumstance was the coming of the *Dutch* Ships upon the Coast of *Japan*; for these People applying themselves entirely to Commerce, and submitting, for the sake thereof, to whatever Terms were prescribed by the *Japanese*, gained thereby such a Degree of Confidence with their Princes, that it procured implicit Credit to their Representations, as to the ambitious Designs of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*. These Remarks will give the Reader so easy a Key to the political Contrivances for first restraining the *Portuguese* Trade to a particular Port, and then shutting them up as it were in a Prison, during their Stay in that Empire, as in the first Chapter of this Work has been largely related, that we need not run here into any Repetitions, but content ourselves with observing, that notwithstanding the many previous Signs which the *Portuguese* had of the approaching Rupture with the *Japanese*, yet were they so far from taking such Steps, as in common Prudence they ought to have done, for avoiding so great a Mischief, that on the contrary, they behav-

ed daily worse and worse, till the Storm came upon them with such a Force, as was not to be resisted.

The particular Relation of the Subversion of Christianity in this Empire, will be found in the succeeding Volume, when we come to treat of the Description of *Japan*; at present we have only to observe, that the *Portuguese* have been deprived of this rich Commerce ever since the Year 1639, and that all the Attempts they have hitherto made to recover it, have proved absolutely ineffectual, nor is it probable, that any they may hereafter make, will be attended with any better Success.

23. The Country, or Countries, lying beyond *Japan* to the North-East, or North-West, have been always regarded, at least since Geography has been tolerably understood, as the very Confines of the World, and the Extremities of the Earth, which Countries the *Japanese* themselves called *Jeso*, or *Jesso*, the *Chinese*, *Yesso*, from whence we have the Word *Jesso*, or *Yesso*, by which the *English* and *Dutch* Maps they are distinguished. The first Accounts that were received of these Countries were from the *Japanese* themselves, but according to their Skill in such Sciences, extremely dark and incorrect. They were not able to say absolutely, whether their own Country was an Island or not; and as for the Land of *Yesso*, they professed the utmost extent of their Knowledge to be that it belonged to the Prince of *Motumay*, who was pendant on, and a Tributary to the Emperor of *Japan*. In the Year 1613, Father *Constance*, who then preached the Christian Religion in *Japan*, hearing that the Prince of *Motumay* had sent to *Japan* for a Physician, and a Convert to Christianity, a Man of good Sense, and quick Parts, was pitched upon to go over in that Quality he recommended to him the Care of instructing that People, if a favourable Opportunity offered, in the Christian Faith, which Commission the Physician executed with much Zeal and Fidelity, that he quickly gave Father *Constance* a good Account of his Mission, assuring him, that he had not only made many Converts, but that he had the People in general better inclined to the Christian Religion, than could have been expected.

In 1620, Father *Angelis*, who was then at *Tangara*, the most Northern Part of the Island of *Nippon*, to which many Christians had been banished, received Orders from his Superior, to go himself to *Motumay*, in order to cultivate the Seeds of Conversion, which the *Japanese* Physician had sown, and accordingly thither he went the same Year by Sea. He arrived very lately in the Port of *Tzugo*, and from thence travelled through very bad Roads to *Motumay*, where he found a vast Number of *Japanese* and amongst them many Christians. They had been settled there but a few Years, and had been drawn thither by the Discovery of very rich gold Mines in the Neighbourhood of this City, and Mines (if they may be called) of a very singular Kind. There is a great River that passes by the City of *Motumay*, immensely rich in Gold; those who desire to deal in that Commodity, pass from the Prince such a Part of the River, and then a semicircular Canal, well secured by strong Banks, which, by Shutes, the River is turned, leaving to the People of its Channel as the Adventurers have agreed for, thence they take the Mud, and by frequently rinding obtain vast Quantities of Gold-dust, and sometimes Pieces of Gold of a considerable Bigness. When they have finished their Work, and find there is no more Gold to be got, they fill up the Canal, and by that Means the River back into its old Channel, and in the Space of Year or two, it is found as rich in Gold as ever.

Father *Angelis* informs us, that the Natives of this Country, which we call *Jesso*, call it in their own Language, *Ainemoxori*, but were able to give but a very different Account of its Extent or Situation. The People were larger, stronger, and had much better Complexions than the *Japanese*, and wore Beards that reached their Girdles. They were dressed in long Robes of Cotton, or Linnen, according to their Rank, which were set off with Abundance of little Ornaments. Their Arms were Bows, Arrows, Lances and short Swords. In Religion, their Notions were very obscure and

fused, but the great Objects of their Worship were the Sun and Moon. They talk'd likewise of an invisible King of the Mountains, Forests, Seas and Rivers, but they did not worship him. Their Government was very regular and exact, and themselves the best-natured and best-behaved People the Missionary had ever seen. Their Commerce consisted chiefly in dried Fish, and in a sort of Seal-skins, which they exchanged for Rice, Cotton, Thread, and other Necessaries; for as for Gold and Silver, they made little account of them, but left the Trade in them to the *Japanese*. On his first going over, Father *Angelis* was inclined to believe, that this Country was the southern Part of *Tartary*; but after he had made a longer Stay there, he in some measure altered his Sentiments, as appears by the following Letter he wrote upon this Subject, which is very curious and entertaining, and is, withal, the utmost that can be said on this Subject, from the Lights given us by the *Portuguese*.

"I am at present persuaded, that the Opinion entertained as to the Country of *Yesso's* being an Island, is not without Probability, and the Reasons upon which I go, are these: In the first Place, it is very certain, that this Country is bounded on the East, and on the South, by the Sea. On the other Hand, the Land of *Yesso*, which is the western Extremity of *Yesso*, is likewise bounded by the Sea, where the Currents are so violent, that tho' there is a Country on the other Side the Strait, within Sight, and where they are able to distinguish the Horses feeding, yet hitherto none of the Inhabitants of *Yesso* have passed over thither, because great Quantities of large Canes are driven with prodigious Violence by those Currents, so that if they were to hazard themselves in their small Boats, they must run an apparent Hazard of being over-set and lost. From hence I conclude, that according to all Appearance, *Yesso* hath a fourth Sea on the North, which consequently separates it from *Tartary*. From whence should those impetuous Currents come, but from a Sea to the North of *Yesso*, running East and West, or from West to East, and discharging itself to the South, through the Straits, on the West of *Yesso*, with such Rapidity, as renders them impassable to the People of the Country?"

"The second Reason is, that the Inhabitants of *Yesso* are not under the Dominion of any one Prince, nor have they amongst them any Chief that has a Tract of Country of any great Consequence, that is subject to him; they are likewise far from acknowledging the Supremacy of any Khan of the *Tartars*, or seem to be acquainted with that Title, or with any thing of the like Import; but every Family, or at least every little Village, has a Chief who governs it absolutely, and without acknowledging any Superior, which appears to me a strong Proof, that they are separated by a Sea from all other Countries, since if it were otherwise, they would undoubtedly be governed as those Countries are. I am sensible, that it may be objected against the first Proof I offer, that the Currents of which I am speaking, may possibly be occasioned by the Opening of some great River, which discharges itself into the Sea, somewhat farther to the North, and thereby occasions such an Accession of Water, as in passing thro' those Straights, form such terrible Currents. But after all, I cannot help esteeming it more reasonable to believe, that this Country is bounded on that Side, as well as on the rest, by an Arm of the Sea. At least this is the most common Opinion, and I remember to have seen in *Sicily* an old Map of the World, in which the Land of *Yesso* is laid down as an Island. As to what the Inhabitants of the Country say, I have examined those that came from the East, and others who came from the West, but found 'em all alike ignorant of Geography."

Thus far this Missionary, who is the only *Portuguese* that has wrote sensibly upon this Matter. He does not, however, seem to have been acquainted with one thing, which he might have learned in *Japan*, and that is, that those People distinguish between the Island of *Yesso* and *Oku Yesso*, that is, the higher or upper *Yesso*; from whence it is very plain, that there is both an Island and a

Continent of *Yesso*; but we shall have occasion to resume this Subject, when we come to speak of the Discoveries made by the *Dutch*, on this Side, who were both more capable of making such Discoveries, and more industrious in making them than the *Portuguese*. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the *Japanese* informed the Missionaries, that there lay North-East from their Country, and to the East of that of *Yesso*, two Islands, of which the smallest, and that at the greatest Distance, they call *Yensima*; that is, the silver Island, and that which is nearest their Continent, *Kinsima*, or the golden Island; but as they have been always very cautious of explaining themselves as to the Situation of these Countries, some Doubts have arisen, whether there were really any such Islands or not.

However, in the Year 1620, a Ship was sent by Order of Philip II. of Spain, to discover them, but without Success; and the *Dutch* have likewise made an Expedition, with the same View, to as little Purpose. This may seem to justify the Supposition of their being fabulous; but then on the other hand, there are two Circumstances equally strong, that seem to prove the contrary: The first is, that there is such a Plenty of Gold and Silver in *Japan*, as cannot be accounted for from the Mines known to be wrought in that Country, the other, that tho' the Emperors of that Country have granted several Licenses to Europeans, and particularly to our Countryman Captain *William Saris*, for making Discoveries to the West and North, yet they have been always extremely cautious of permitting any Strangers to examine their Coasts on the East.

24. The new *Philippine* Islands are a late Discovery, of which we have an Account in the Philosophical Transactions, in a Letter from a Missionary at *Manila*, who tells us, that being accidentally at the Town of *Guivam*, in the Island of *Samal*, he there found twenty-nine Palao or Inhabitants of certain new discovered Islands, who were driven thither by the Easterly Winds, which blew in those Seas from December to May. They had run before the Wind for seventy Days together, according to their own Relation, without being able to make any Land till they came in Sight of the Town of *Guivam*, an Inhabitant of which being on the Shore, perceived them, and judging from the Make and Size of their Vessels, they were Strangers, and out of their Courte, took a Piece of Cloth and made them a Signal of entering the Road he directed; to avoid the Shoals and Banks of Sand they would otherwise have run upon. These poor People were so frightened at the Sight of this Stranger, that they began to put to Sea again; yet the Wind forced them back a second time towards the Shore; when they came near, the *Guivannese* made the same Signal as before; but seeing they would not mind it, but would unavoidably be lost, he threw himself into the Sea, and swam to one of the little Vessels on purpose to bring them safe into Shore. He was no sooner got to them, but the Women with their Children on their Backs, and all that were in that Vessel, threw themselves overboard, and swam to the other. He seeing himself alone in the Vessel, resolved to follow them, and getting aboard the second, shewed them how to avoid the Shoals, and brought them safe to Land; in the mean time they stood immoveable, and resigned themselves up entirely to the Conduct of this Stranger, as so many Prisoners.

The Inhabitants of *Guivam* running to Shore, received them very kindly, and brought them Wine and other Provisions, they eat Cocons very freely, which are the Fruit of the Palm-trees of this Country. Their Pulp is something like that of Chestnuts, only that it is more oily, and it supplies them with a sort of sweet Water, very pleasant to drink; they gave them Rice boiled in Water, which is eat there and all over *Asia* as Bread is in *Europe*; they looked on it with Surprize, and taking up some Grains of it, threw them on the Ground, imagining them to be Worms; upon bringing them large Roots called *Palavan*, they eat greedily of them. In the mean time they brought them two Women that had formerly been driven on Shore on the Coast of *Guivam*, and who understood a little of the Language of this Country; one of the Women found among these Strangers one of her Relations, and, as soon as they knew each other, they fell a weeping. The Inha-

bitants

bitants of *Guïam* strove with each other who should entertain these Strangers at their Houses, and furnish them with Provisions and Cloaths, and other Necessaries. Of thirty-five Persons that embarked there remained but thirty, five dying through Want of Provisions and other Hardships, in so long a Voyage; and some time after their Arrival another died.

They related, that their Country consisted of thirty-two Islands, which cannot be far distant from the *Marianns*, as may be judged by the Smallness of their Vessels, and the Form of their Sails, which are very like those of the *Marianese*. It is likely, that these Islands may be in eleven or twelve Degrees of North Latitude, more Southerly than the *Marianns*, and under the same Degree of Longitude as *Guïam*; for, sailing directly from East to West, they came ashore at this Town. It is likewise probable, that it was one of these Islands that was discovered some Years ago at a Distance, when a Ship belonging to the *Philippines* leaving the common Course, which is from East to West, under the third Degree of Longitude, and running farther to the South-East, first perceived it. Some called this Island *Carolina* Island from *Charles II.* of *Spain*, and others the Island of *Saint Barnaby*, because discovered on that Apostle's Day; and it was again seen 1695, by another Vessel, that a Storm had driven out of its Course in going from hence to *Marianns*. These Strangers added, that of the thirty-two Islands three of them were uninhabited, unless with Wild-fowl, but all the rest were well peopled. Upon asking them the Number of Inhabitants, they pointed to a Heap of Sand, to shew that their Number was very great. The Names of these Islands are *Pais Lamulututup*, *Saraon*, *Yaropic*, *Palayay*, &c.

The three Islands that have nothing on them but Wild-fowl, are *Piculet*, *Hulatan*, *Pagian*. The most considerable of all these Islands is *Lamurec*, where the King of the Country keeps his Court, and to him the Governors of all the other Islands are subject. Amongst those Strangers, there was one of the Governors and his Wife who was the King's Daughter; though they went half naked, yet their Carriage, and a peculiar Air of Greatness, sufficiently distinguished them from the rest. The Husband had his Body painted all over with certain Lines, in such a manner, that they formed several Figures: The rest of the People were also painted in like manner more or less. The Women and Children were not painted at all; there were nineteen Men and ten Women of different Ages, the Make and Colour of their Faces were much like that of the *Philippine*. The Men had no other sort of Cloaths than a Sash wrapped several times round their Bodies, and covering their Reins and Thighs; they wore on their Shoulders about an Ell and an half of coarse Linnen Cloth, like a Cowl, tied before, and hanging loose behind. Both Men and Women dressed much alike, only that the Women had a Piece of Cloth somewhat longer, that hung from their Waist down to their Knees. Their Language is different from that of the *Philippine* and *Marianese*; their Manner of pronouncing comes nearest that of the *Arabs*, and some who understood the Language observed the Women that seemed the most considerable amongst them, had several Rings and Necklaces of Tortoise-shells, called here *Carey*; and others made of a Substance much like Ambergreece, but not transparent. The Manner of their living at Sea, which was for seventy Days together, continually driven by the Wind, was thus: They cast out a sort of Net made of a great many Twigs of Trees tied together, with a large Mouth for the Fish to enter in at, and terminating in a Point, to prevent their getting out. The Fish they took after this manner was all the Nourishment they had, and Rain-Water saved in Cocoa-shells, which is the Fruit of the Palm-trees, and of the Figure and Size of a Human Skull.

They have no Cows in their Islands, and at the Sight of them they run away, as they did likewise at the Barking of a Dog; neither have they Cats, Stags, Horses, nor, in general, any Quadruped, nor any Fowl, but Sea-fowl, excepting Hens, which they breed up, but never eat their Eggs. Notwithstanding this their Want of every thing, they are very cheerful, and contented with their Condition. Their Songs and Dances are exact and regular; when they sing it is all in Concert, every one observing the

same Humour and Gestures, which makes it very agreeable. They were surprized at the Government, Politeness and Manners of the *Europeans*. They admired not only the Solemnities and Ceremonies of the Church in celebrating the Divine Service, but also the Music, Instruments, Dances, and Arms of the *Spaniards*, and Gunpowder was what surprized them most. They wondered at the Whiteness of the *Europeans*, in respect of whom they were perfectly tawney, as well as the Inhabitants of this Country. It did not then appear, that they had Knowledge either of a Deity, or that they worshipped Idols. Their Life is perfectly savage, minding nothing but eating and drinking, in which they observe no set Time or Place, when hungry or dry, and when they can find any thing to satisfy Nature: Yet they eat but little at a Time, and never enough to satisfy for a whole Day. They shew much Respect and Deference for their Kings and the Governors of Towns, and obey them very punctually. Their Civility and Respect consists in taking hold of the Hand or Foot of the Person they would honour, and gently rubbing his Face.

Amongst their Utensils they had some Saws, not made of Iron, but of a large Shell, called here *Toulobo*, which they rub and whet upon a certain kind of Stone. They were surprized to see the Number of Carpenters too used in building a Merchant-Ship at *Guïam*. They had no Metals in their Country. The Father-Missionary made each of them a Present of a large Piece of Iron, which they received with as much Joy as if it had been to them Gold; and for fear it should be stole from them, they laid it under their Heads, when they went to sleep. They have no other Arms than Lances or Darts, made of human Bones, very well sharpened, and fixed on. They are naturally very peaceable; but if any Quarrel happens amongst them, it is decided with some fifty Cuffs on the Head, which yet very rarely happens; for when they would come to a close Fight, they separate them, as they are soon reconciled again. They are not dull or heavy, but, on the contrary, have a great deal of Liveliness and Courage. They are not so lusty as the Inhabitants of the *Marianns*; yet they are well proportioned, and shaped much like those of the *Philippines*: Both the Men and Women let their Hair grow long, and hang loose over their Shoulders. When they understood that they were to be conducted to the Presence of the Father-Missionary they painted their Bodies all over with a yellow Colour, which is looked upon by them as a great Ornament.

The oldest of these Strangers was once before cast the Coast of *Caragan*. They are very expert at diving, they said, that in fishing they took two large Pearls in their Shells, but threw them into the Sea again, not knowing their Value. The New *Philippines* are eighty-seven in Number, and form one of the finest *Archipelago's* in the East, being enclosed on the North and South between the Line and the Tropic of *Cancer*; on the East and West between the *Marianns* and *Philippines*. The Natives of the Islands never offer any Violence to each other: Murder and Homicide are unknown to them; and they have a Proverb amongst them, *viz.* That one Man never kills another. It is probable, these Islands may abound with Gold, Amber, and Drugs, being situated nearly under the same Degree of Longitude as the *Moluccas*, whence they have Nutmegs, and other valuable Spices.

Though these People seem barbarous, yet they are amongst them a sort of Politeness and regular Government: every Island obeys his Chief, who is himself subject to the King of the Country. This Prince holds his Court in the Island of *Falu*, called likewise *Lamurec*. Though these Islands were never heard of in *Europe* till within these few Years, it is a long Time since, from the high Mountains of *Samal*, thick Smoaks were discovered on the Coast, which commonly happen in Summer, when the Islanders set Fire to their Woods and Forests, to clear the Ground: These Smoaks the Fishermen of *Marianna*, and other Islands, had also observed when far at Sea.

There have been some Objections made to this account by some of our Writers, who have reported very succinctly, and thereby embarrassed themselves by

founding their own Sense of Things with that of their Authors. It has, for example, been questioned, whether there be not Inconsistencies in these Accounts of the *Indians*? It is suggested that, as no *European* ever was in that Country, so the Belief of such an *Archipelago* of Islands cannot be established on any rational Foundation; and that there is a visible Absurdity in the *Indians* being seventy Days in passing from a Country, the Smoak of which was seen from the Mountains of *Mindanao*. This Humour of Reasoning away Facts, is so strong at present, that though I have already taken up more Room than I intended, yet I cannot forbear adding another Relation, with respect to these Islands, of a much later Date, viz. in the Year 1710, because I think it will put this Matter out of Dispute, and because, hitherto, it has never appeared in our Language.

"The Vessel in which we embarked, in order to prosecute the Discovery of the Islands of *Palaos*, was called the *Holy Trinity*, and her Crew consisted of eighty-six Persons: She was commanded by Serjeant-Major, Don *Francis Padilla*, who carried with him the Reverend Fathers *Duberon* and *Cortil*, Jesuits, accompanied by Brother *Stephen Baudin*, who were made Choice of to propagate the Faith among these Islanders. It was on the Fourteenth of November, in the Year 1710, that I sailed from the *Philippine* Islands, in order to find the Islands of *Palaos*, supposing my Departure to be from the Lat. of $13^{\circ} 9'$, and from the Long. of $144^{\circ} 22'$, I navigated fifteen Days, as I have marked in my Chart; and, on the Thirtieth of November, we discovered Land to the North-East 3° towards the North, having observed 4 or 5° Variation to the East in this Course, the Land lying from us about three Leagues.

"We made Sail again in order to approach nearer, when it appeared, that there were two Islands, which Father *Duberon* thought fit to call the Islands of *St. Andrew*, because, on the Day that we discovered them, the Church celebrated the Feast of that great Apostle. When we were very near these Islands, we perceived a Boat coming to us, in which were some of the Inhabitants, who cried out, when they were within hearing, *Mapia, Mapia*, which is as much as to say, Good People. A *Palaos*, who had been baptized at *Manila*, and whom we carried with us, shewed himself then, and spoke to them: As soon as they came on Board, they informed us, that these Islands were called *Sonjorol*, and that they were Part of the *Archipelago* we sought for. They expressed a great deal of Satisfaction and Joy at the Sight of us, which they testified by kissing our Hands, and embracing us.

"These People are extremely well shaped, and of a very robust Constitution; they were naked, except that about their Middle they wore a Piece of Mat. Their Hair was curled; they had very little Beard, and, to defend themselves from the Rain, they wore upon their Shoulders a kind of Mantle, made of a thick sort of Mat, and, on their Heads, Hats of the same sort of Stuff, round which they stuck Birds Feathers upright. They were extremely surprized to see our People smoke Tobacco; and, of all things, seemed most to esteem Iron; and when ever they saw it, they gazed on it in such a manner as visibly betrayed how much they coveted it: And in case we did not understand their dumb Signs, they made no Difficulty of earnestly and frequently demanding it. In the Afternoon there came off two other Boats, in each of which there were eight Men; as soon as they came near us, they began to sing, beating Time with their Hands upon their Thighs. When they were on Board, some of them began to measure the Length of the Ship, taking it for granted, that it was made of a single Tree, while others counted our Number of Men. They brought us some Loaves, some Fish, and some Herbs.

"These Islands were all covered with Trees to the Sea-Shore. Their Boats appeared to us very neatly made, in which they made use of Smack-Sails, having a Lee-Board on the other Side the Boat, in order to preserve it from going over. We desired them to shew us which was the Course to the largest of their Islands, or *Panloque*, and

"they pointed to the N. N. E. They added, that to the S. S. W. and to the S. S. E. there lay two other Islands, one of which was called *Merieres*, and the other *Poulo*. When we were very near the Land, I sent my under Pilot to found, that I might bring the Ships to an Anchor. The Shallop being arrived within a quarter of a League of the Island, there came off three Boats full of People, and some of them going on Board our Shallop, one of the *Indians* took notice there of a Sabre, which, after he had, for some time, considered attentively, he jumped into the Sea, and took it with him. My under Pilot reported, at his Return, that there was no fit Ground for Anchorage, inasmuch as there was a great Depth of Water, and a rocky Bottom all along the Shore. I afterwards sent another Man on the same Errand, who quickly returned with the same Answer.

"All this Time I had made a shift, by keeping under Sail, to stem the Current which ran very strongly to the South-East, but the Wind failing in the Evening, we began to drive at large; the *Indians* then got into their Boats to go ashore. Our Missionaries laboured all they could to keep them on Board, but could not prevail upon them by any Means. They talked with them, however, some Time, on the first Principles of our Religion, and taught them to pronounce plainly the holy Names *Jesus* and *Maria*. We asked them several Questions as to the Bigness of the Island, and the Number of its Inhabitants. They answered, that the Island was about two Leagues and a half in Circumference, and that very probably there might be eight hundred People, who lived chiefly on Cocoa, Fish and Salads. I observed the Height of the Sun at Noon, and found, that we were in the Latitude of five Degrees sixteen Minutes North, the Variation of the Compass at Sunrise being about 5° to the N. E.

"The Currents carrying us away to the South-East with great Violence, we were not able to recover the Land till the fourth, about Six in the Morning. We then found ourselves at the Mouth of the Channel, betwixt the two Islands. I then sent the Shallop once more to look for an Anchorage; it was to no Purpose, for about 4 in the Afternoon they returned with an Account, that the Coast was an entire Rock, and that it was to no Purpose to let go an Anchor. On the 5th, about 7 in the Morning, the two Fathers came to a Resolution of going ashore, and setting up a Cross. Don *Padilla*, and myself, represented to them the Dangers to which they would be exposed, and how much they had to fear from these Islanders, with whose Temper we were so little acquainted, and how much they might be embarrassed, in case the Currents carried us to such a Distance as might put it out of our Power to send a Boat to bring them off, or to afford them any Assistance. Their Zeal was so warm, that they made little Account of these Difficulties, but persisted firmly in their Resolution, in spite of all we could say. At last, therefore, leaving Brother *Baudin* on Board the Ship, they went into the Shallop, taking with them the Quarter-Master of the Vessel, and the Ensign of the Land Forces we had on Board: They likewise carried with them the *Palaos* I have before mentioned, together with his Wife and Children.

"The two Missionaries being gone, we kept near the Island all Day, by the Favour of the Wind, notwithstanding the Force of the Current; but towards the Evening, the Wind sunk, and we were driven out to Sea. We put out Lights from the Time it was dark, on the Bolt-sprit; and also on the Mizzen-mast, that they might see where we were. During the Night, we had some Gulls of Wind from the North-East, the North-West, the West and South-East, so that in the Morning at break of Day, we found the largest of the two Islands bore from us, N. N. W. distant about 8 Leagues. We endeavoured from that Time to the 9th at Noon, to get as near the Land as we could, but without Effect; nay, the Current drove us still farther and farther, so that I found myself in the Latitude of $5^{\circ} 28' N$.

"We

"We then held a Council of War, in order to consider what Course we should take. Don Padilla, the Lay-fuit, my Sub-Pilot, and myself, were of Opinion, that the wisest thing we could do was to steer for the Island of Panloque, the largest of these Isles, and which was distant from that we had quitted about fifty Leagues. It was about nine o'Clock in the Morning of the 11th, that we discovered that Island; at Noon we were in the Latitude of $7^{\circ} 14'$ North, the Land being about a League off. At Four in the Afternoon came off four Boats, which kept at the Distance of about half a Cable's Length, and were soon after followed by two other Boats; at last some of the People jumped over-board into the Sea, and swam on Board of us, with Intent, as it appeared, to steal any thing they could lay their Hands on. One of them laid hold of an Iron Chain, and pulled at it, in hopes of breaking it; another caught hold of a Hammock that was hung out to dry, and a third was endeavouring to get in at a Port-hole. Don Padilla considering the Behaviour of these People, thought proper to put the Soldiers under Arms, there being at least four-score Men in these six Boats, and at the same time made a Sign to the Islanders to keep at a Distance.

"Upon this they began to row towards the Shore; but at their going off, let fly a Shower of Arrows, four of which fell on Board our Ship. Don Padilla then thought fit to order a general Discharge of our Fire-Arms; upon which the Indians jumped over-board, leaving their Vessels, and swimming towards the Shore at a prodigious Rate; but when they found that we gave over firing, they returned to their Boats, reembarked, and made for the Land as fast as they were able. These Indians were all of them naked, and some had painted their Bodies of different Colours. Their Skin is generally of an Olive Colour; but some were darker skinned than others; they had nothing with them that we saw, but a few Coconuts. On the 12th we had little or no Wind, so that it was as much as we could do to continue in our Station, which we did all that Day without approaching near the Land. About four in the Afternoon there came off two Boats, who made Signs, and spoke to us; but, as we had no Interpreter, we were not able to learn what they said. About Nine at Night the Wind blew South-South-East, and the Currents setting strongly to the North, carried us away at a great Rate. I then thought the most prudent thing I could do was to sail between two of these Islands, the Chanel being very open and fair, and about a League over. On the 13th, being to the West of these two Islands, we held a Council, in order to consider what Measures we were to take, and it was very soon resolved to bear away for Sonjorol, in order to learn some News of our Missionaries, and of our Shallop. On the 18th, I found myself abreast of that Island. We lay there the whole Day without so much as seeing a Boat, though we were within Cannon-shot of the Shore. We coasted round the West Side of the Island till the 20th, when a high Gust of Wind from the South-East drove us out to Sea.

"On the 21st we again drew near the Coast, and by Two in the Afternoon were within three Quarters of a League of the Shore, without perceiving any Boat. In the Evening we were driven to Sea again by an East-North-East Wind, upon which we held another Council, in which, after mature Deliberation on the Circumstances we were in, without a Shallop, in some want of Water, without knowing where to get any, it was resolved to return to Manila, which we did with some Difficulty, being forced to make the Tour of Mindaniso, carrying nothing back but the melancholy News of the Loss of the two worthy Fathers we carried out."

It appears clearly from this Relation, that it was penned by the Captain of the Vessel, though he has not thought fit to inform us of his Name. Better Evidence than this of there being such an Archipelago cannot be desired, tho' at the same time it must be confessed, that this Account gives us a very different Notion of those People from that suggested by the former Narratives. In 1711 another Attempt was made of this kind, which ended as unluckily, some of the Jesuits intended for the Mission, dying at Sea, and

others perishing in these Islands, as very probably those did that are mentioned in the foregoing Voyages.

25. It has been generally believed, that these Islands or Palaeos are near the Philippines, and the same with those which were discovered by a Spanish Captain in the Year 1686, and who in Honour of Charles the Second of Spain, called them the Caroline Islands; but I think they lay more to the South. On the 19th, and on the 21st of June 1720, there arrived in the Island of Guam the largest of the Archipelago called the Marianna Islands, two Boats full of Indians, who said they embarked from an Island called Sarsilep, in order to go to another at a small Distance from it called Uly, and were driven thither by a Storm. A Vessel was fitted out to carry them home, and from the Accounts given by those who were on Board that Vessel it very clearly appeared, that the last named Island was one of those called the Caroline Islands, lying in the Latitude of 6° North. It is said, that these Islands belong to a large Archipelago divided like the Maldives into five Provinces, and inhabited by various Nations of very different Colours. Some Negroes, supposed to be of the same Race with the Inhabitants of New Guinea, others tawny, like the Indians in the Philippines, and a third sort perfectly white, supposed to be the Descendants of certain Spaniards, who in the Year 1566 were set on Shore by their Commander for Mutiny, in a Voyage from New Spain to the Philippines.

While these People were on Shore at Guam, they found some Silver Plate, and after considering it attentively, declared that they had a great deal of that Metal in the Islands, which gave Occasion for the fitting out some Ships from Guam, for the Discovery of those Islands, in the Year 1722; but what the Fate of that Expedition was, does not come to our Knowledge. It is certain, that a very great Discovery might be made on this Side, because, from what is already known, it is very clear, that there is a continued Chain of Islands in the Longitude of about 160 from the Line, or rather from the Continent of New Guinea, which lies in the Latitude of 8° S. to the Islands, that make a Part of the Archipelago of Japan, in the Latitude of 32° N. and as it is certain, that the Inhabitants of the last mentioned Archipelago acknowledge they received great Quantities of Silver from an Island which lies to the East of them, it is not at all improbable, that many rich Metals might be found in some of the many Islands which form the Chain before mentioned.

But this, however, is not the Discovery that I mean, and therefore I shall explain myself a little farther. If Settlement was made on any of these Islands, or in an Island to the East of them, it might afford an Opportunity of visiting the great Continent, if in Truth there be any Continent between America and Asia, or, perhaps, might lead to the Discovery of some considerable Island between America and Asia, which, from their Situation might well be expected to abound in rich Commodities, but particularly in silver Mines, since it is confessed, that the richest of those hitherto discovered are in the Northern Parts of Japan and of America. If it should be objected that the rich silver Mines of Potosi lie in South America, answer to that, this makes rather for, than against my Opinion, because they are very near the same Degree of South Latitude that the rich Mines of New Mexico are to the N. that is, a little within forty Degrees. But this is not all, for if any such Islands could be discovered, they would afford us an Opportunity of searching with great Ease for a Passage either to the N. E. or N. W. which is a Point of very great Importance, and as such, has been treated very judiciously by Mr. Debris, in some of his last Pieces, which, sooner or later, may very probably produce some such Discovery.

We have now gone through all that we proposed with respect to this Part of our Subject, and the Lights given us by the Expeditions of the Portuguese and Spaniards on this Side. It next remains to shew how that prodigious Power which those Nations had acquired in the East crumbled, and broke to Pieces, notwithstanding the many Advantages they had for preserving it; and what still remains in these Indies under the Dominions of the Crown of Portugal: Which, when we have performed, the Re-

der will have a much more compleat History of the *Portuguese Indies*, and that too in a much narrower Compass than is any where else to be met with. In treating of this Subject, I have, to the utmost of my Power, labour'd to draw together such Circumstances as were most likely to contribute to the Reader's Information, and to connect, with the greatest Propriety, the ancient and modern Commerce in this Part of the World; and, at the same time, I have been very careful to omit nothing that might entertain or divert him. As to the particular Memoirs of the *Portuguese* Governors, their Disputes with the *Indian* Princes, and with each other, they would have swell'd this Section to an enormous Length to a very little Purpose; and besides, the Reader will meet with enough on this head in other Places. I shall pursue the same Method in the subsequent Articles, and shall endeavour to point out briefly and truly the Causes of that strange Revolution which has happened in the *Portuguese Trade*; the rather, because I am convinced the same Causes will produce like Effects, in regard to the Trade of all other Nations.

26. The Care taken by the *Portuguese* to establish themselves firmly in all the principal Ports of the *Indies*, was of great Consequence to them, considering the Circumstances under which they began their Commerce in these Parts; for, at that Time, the *Indian* Princes were engag'd in cruel Wars against each other; and the *Mohammedans* taking Advantage of this War, endeavouring to make themselves Masters of every Country in which they were permitted to trade; so that it must be admitted, the *Portuguese* had, at first, some Reason for making Use of Arms, and insisting on a Fortress where-ever they established a Factory, because the one was necessary for the Security of the other; but in this they were blamable, that they affected to govern with an absolute and uncontrollable Power every Country into which they came, instead of cherishing and supporting the *Indians*, as they might have done, to their own great Profit, as well as that of those unhappy People, who, from their own Difficulties and ill Management, became the Prey of every new Invader.

If the *Portuguese* had taken this Step, they had, undoubtedly, secured this rich Commerce to themselves; whereas, by their Tyranny they made the Inhabitants weary of them to the last degree, and ready, whenever an Opportunity offered, to change their Masters. It must, however, be allowed, that the Method they pursued served to gratify their Vanity exceedingly, inasmuch as for above a Century they governed the *Indies* at their Will, and were the sole Lords of that rich and extensive Trade, none of the *Indian* Nations being allowed to carry on any Trade at all but by their Permission, and under the Sanction of their Passports. They carried this Matter still farther; for, with respect to the richest Commodities, they reserved the Privilege of dealing in them to their own Subjects entirely, such as in the Cinnamon of *Ceylon*, the Wild-Cinnamon of *Cochin*, Ginger, Iron, Steel, Lead, Tin, Copper, Planks, Timber for building, all sorts of Arms, Honey, and Pepper. These Regulations, both with respect to Passports and reserved Commodities, together with a Power of visiting such Ships as put into any of the Ports under their immediate Dominion, continued in Force for a long Series of Time, and was not totally abolished till the Year 1678, which was One hundred and fourscore Years after their first Establishment in those Parts.

During the best Part of this Time, they dispos'd, as the supreme Lords of *India*, of all the rich Commodities it afforded, sending home annually fifteen or twenty large Ships, laden with the most precious Merchandize of the East, exclusive of the Profits they made of their Commerce in the *Indies* themselves, and the adjacent Coasts of *Africa*, viz. to *China*, *Japan*, *Persia*, *Arabia*, *Melinda*, *Mojambique*, and *Sofala*. *Lisbon* became, by this Means,

the greatest Port for Trade in *Europe*, to which the Ships of all Nations resorted for the Commodities and Manufactures of these distant Countries, the best Part of which were paid for in Gold and Silver, and, for the rest, the most valuable Products of these Nations were exchanged; so that the whole of this Commerce was in the Hands of the *Portuguese*, who set whatever Price they thought fit upon what they imported, and sold at excessive Rates to other *Europeans*, what they had purchased in the *Indies* for coarse Stuffs, Needles, Knives, Glass-Ware and other Things of very little Value. In consequence of which, they became, by far, the richest trading Nation, and, at the same time, the most potent maritime Power in this Part of the World; and so, for a long Time, they might have continued, if, from their own Mistakes and the bad Use they made of their Power and Riches, they had not excited other Nations to a Resolution of taking, at all Events, this rich Commerce out of their Hands; a Point that it will become every Nation to consider, that finds itself in the like Circumstances; for Trade is not to be constrained or monopolized: And tho' the contrary of this may, for some Time, appear true, yet, sooner or later, every Nation that acts as the *Portuguese* did, will be sensible of the same Effects which happened to them in the *Indies*.

27. It was towards the latter End of the sixteenth Century, that the *English* and *Dutch* began, as we have before shewn, to interfere with the *Portuguese* in these Parts, but they very soon, by the Assistance of the Natives, took from them the most considerable Places they possessed, and some of them they abandoned themselves. It would take up a great deal of Room, and perhaps answer the Purpose but indifferently, if we should attempt to give a large History of the Man, in which these Places were reduced, and therefore we shall rather take them in the Course of their Situation, by which the Reader will clearly perceive how the Empire of this Nation in the East was broken and dissolved.

We have already shewn how the *Portuguese* became Masters of *Ormuz* on the Coast of *Persia*, which Settlement they greatly improved, though the Island itself is one of the most uncomfortable Places in the World, the Country being without Water, and situated in a Climate where the Heats are in a manner intolerable: Yet in spite of all these Difficulties the *Portuguese* built there a very fine Town, in which the Streets were strait and regular, their Houses very high, finely adorned without, and within richly furnished, their Exchange rich and beautiful, their Churches splendid, and their Castle regular, well fortified, and excellently provided with Artillery. *Shah Abbas*, when Monarch of *Persia*, had an earnest Desire to rid himself of those ill Neighbours; but he wanted a maritime Force sufficient to accomplish his Design, and therefore he applied himself to the *English*, who had likewise suffered much by the Pride and Avarice of the *Portuguese*, and by their Assistance part of his Forces were transported into the Island of *Ormuz*, which was attacked both by Land and Sea on the 20th of January 1622. The Defendants behaved with great Bravery, and good Conduct, and made a noble Resistance; but the *English* having destroyed their Fleet, which consisted of five Gallies, and twenty-five Frigates, and having also sprung a Mine, which opened a fair Passage into the Castle, the Garrison thought fit, about the Middle of April, to surrender, which set all the neighbouring Coasts at Liberty, and destroyed the Power of the *Portuguese* on that Side.

The rich City of *Surat*, formerly a Place of the greatest Trade in the *Indies*, suffered severely from the *Portuguese*, who burnt it down to the Ground on purpose to favour the Commerce of their own City of *Diu*, which stands at the Entry of the Gulph of *Cambaya*, and which they had rendered one of the strongest and finest Places in the East, keeping the Monarch of that Country in the most absolute

* If we had pursued a strict chronological Method in relating the Loss of the Settlements made by this Nation in the *East-Indies*, we must have begun from one Part of this Country to another, which would have occasioned great Confusion, without yielding any considerable Advantage; whereas the Method we have now taken by proceeding from West to East, will shew the Reader, as he goes along, how these Settlements were made in the very same Order in which we have before shewn they were acquired.

Subjection. But notwithstanding their Policy in this respect, and that they still remained Masters of *Diu*, yet the *Indian Princes* in the Neighbourhood trade freely with all *Europeans*, and *Sural*, which they took to much Pains to destroy in 1520, is now in as flourishing a Condition as ever, and the *Portuguese* are almost the only Nation that are not benefited by its Traffick. On this Coast they were possessed of several strong Places down to *Goa*; of these *Daman* is still in their Hands, and is a Place of pretty good Trade. *Bagaim* is lately fallen into the Hands of the *Indians*. *Bombay* they yielded to the *English* on the Marriage of Queen *Catherine* with King *Charles II.* and has continued in our Hands ever since. From *Goa* to *Cap. Comrin* they had also very considerable Settlements, of most of which they have been dispossessed by the *Dutch*, who in the Year 1603, becoming Master of *Cingaper*, *Cochin* and *Caulan*, soon after deprived them of *Lamacer*, which was the first Place they had settled at; and thus we see the State of their Power greatly reduced on the Coast of *Malabar*. Doubling this famous Cape, and proceeding along the Coast of *Ceylon*, we meet first with the Port and Fortress of *Negapatam*, which, when the *Portuguese* came first into the *Indies*, was no more than a Village; but they considering the Importance of the Place, fortified it with great Care, and rendered it in every respect very considerable. But after the *Dutch* had deprived them of the Island of *Ceylon*, they did not long let them rest here, but by the Assistance of an *Indian Prince*, besieged and became Masters of that Place in 1605.

From thence all along the Coast, quite up to *Bengal*, the *Portuguese* have lost all Power; and as for Settlements they had none of any great Consequence to lose, having in the Time of their greatest Power contented themselves with a small Fishery at *Meinapour*, or *St. Thomas*, restraining all the rest of the Coast by their Squadrons, which were continually cruising in the Bay of *Bengal*. On the opposite Side of the Gulph the *Portuguese* had once very great Power in the Kingdom of *Pegu*, in consequence of their assisting the Monarch of that Country against the King of *Siam*, who had invaded his Territories, and would very probably have made him his Tributary, if a Body of *Portuguese* had not come to his Assistance, by whom he was enabled not only to defend himself effectually against his Enemy, but even to pursue him into his own Country.

It is very easy to discern what mighty Advantages might have accrued to the *Portuguese* from this favourable Turn, if they had known how to improve it; but we learn from a late Author, that what might have turned to much to their Benefit, proved, by their own ill Management, the Cause of their Ruin, and that in a very short Space of Time. The King of *Pegu*, it seems, was so sensible of the Service they had done him, in driving the King of *Siam* out of his Country, that in pure Gratitude, he made one *Simon Thomas Pereira*, who commanded the *Portuguese* in the War, Generalissimo of all his Forces, which Protrusion made the *Portuguese* so insolent, that in a few Years they became intolerable to all Ranks and Degrees of Persons in *Pegu*. Both Kings grew tired of War, but both were too proud to make Advances towards Peace, so that for many Years they had Skirmishes with small Parties, tho' not let Battles; and where-ever the *Portuguese* Arms went, they had Victory to accompany them. The King of *Pegu*, to have his Forces nearer the Borders of *Siam*, settled his Court at *Martaban*, and kept the *Portuguese* near him, to be ready upon all Occasions, either to repel or assault the *Siam* Forces, as Opportunity served; and *Thomas Pereira* was the great Favourite at Court: He had his Elephants of State, and a Guard of his own Countrymen to attend him.

One Day, as he was coming from Court in State, a large Elephant, towards his own Palace, he happened to hear Music in a Burgher's House, whose Daughter being a very beautiful Virgin, had been married that Morning to a young Man of that Neighbourhood. The General went to the House, wished them Joy, and desired to see the Bride. The Parents took the General's Visit for great Honour done them, and brought their Daughter to his Elephant's Side. He being smitten with her Beauty, ordered his Guard to seize her, and carry her to his House. His Orders were but too readily obeyed, and the poor Bridegroom, not able to bear his Loss, cut his own Throat; and the disconsolate Parents rent their Clothes and went crying through the Streets towards the King's Palace, imploring their Countrymen to avenge them, the insolent *Portuguese*, the common Oppressors of the Country. Crowds of People came from all Parts of the City to hear and see the Tragedy; their Numbers grew so great, that the Streets were hardly large enough to contain them, and their Noise so loud, that it reached the King's Ears, who sent to know the Cause of their Uproar. The Messenger returning, acquainted the King with what had been transacted, and he, to appease the Tumult, sent the Word, that he would punish the Criminal, and accordingly sent for his General: But he made an Excuse, that he was so much out of Order, that he could not wait on his Majesty till he was better; which Answer so provoked the King, that he ordered the whole Nation to take up Arms, and to make a general Massacre of the *Portuguese*, where-soever they should be found, in City or Country. The King's Orders were put in Execution so speedily, that in few Hours all the *Portuguese* were slaughtered, and the guilty Criminal was taken alive, and made fast by his Heels to an Elephant's Feet, which dragged him through the Streets till there was no Skin nor Flesh left to cover his Bones; which Spectacle appeased the enraged People. There were only three *Portuguese* saved, who were accidentally in the Suburbs, next the River, who hid themselves, till Night favoured their Escape in a small Boat, in which they coasted along the Shore, feeding on what the Woods and Rocks afforded them, and at length arrived at *Malacca*, to give an Account of this melancholical Transaction.

The Kingdom, or as some called it, the Empire of *Siam*, lies next to *Pegu*, and is a Country of vast Extent, the Monarch of which was too powerful for the *Portuguese* to think of making any great Conquest in his Dominions, and therefore they chose to live with him upon good Terms, for the sake of the vast Trade carried on in his Dominions, which are extremely well situated for Commerce, having on one Side the Kingdoms of *Laos*, *Cambaya*, and *Cochinchina*, and on the other, the Country bordering on the Gulph of *Bengal*. Besides, there annually resorted thither a Fleet of Merchant Ships from *China*, laden with all the rich Goods of that Empire. They continued to hold a fair Correspondence with this Monarch and his Subjects, as long as their Power subsisted in *Indies*; but by Degrees, the *Dutch* have in a great Measure excluded them from their Influence here, since it was when they erected their Factory here, and have introduced themselves so effectually into the Confidence of this Prince, that he has granted them an exclusive Privilege of purchasing all the Tin in his Dominions, which is a Branch of Commerce of prodigious Importance; the *Portuguese* are not wholly ejected, though their Trade is much fallen from what it was. There are several small Principalities on the Isthmus, before one comes to the Country of *Malacca*, which were all of them formerly under the Power of the *Portuguese*, as appears

* This City of *Diu* stands in the Latitude of 21° 20', and is by many supposed to be the *Barigaza* of the Ancients. It stands upon an Island a League in Length, and not a third Part of a League in Breadth. The Country about it abounds with all the Necessaries of Life, and the City is well built, and as well fortified, as any in the *Indies*. It is very famous for the Siege it sustained in 1538, of which we have before given an Account. At present it is in a worse Condition than formerly, both with regard to Wealth and Strength; but to balance this in some measure, it is more commodiously situated.

† It is very remarkable, that the *Portuguese* are best respected in those Countries where they had no Fortresses, which shews, that where the *Portuguese* had not established their Power, the *Europeans* were under no Necessity of building Forts, but might have carried on their Commerce well without them. There are a great Number of *Portuguese*, or rather Descendants of *Portuguese*, settled in this Country, where they live peaceably, and are treated with great Respect, both by the Natives, and by other *Europeans*, which can be attributed to nothing but their former Services, and the Love which is naturally due to them, and to become as degenerate as the *Portuguese* themselves, who are a effeminate People.

their retaining still a Mixture of that Language with their own. The chief of these Principalities are those of *Liger* on one Side, and *Quedab* on the other; but the People are so barbarous, and perditionous, that the *Europeans* carry on scarce any Trade on their Coasts.

The great Peninsula of *Malacca*, at the Time the *Portuguese* came thither, was subject to the King of *Jobore*, and by what Means the Viceroys of the Crown of *Portugal* were led to attack, and make themselves Masters of that City, we have already shewn. After it came into their Hands, it changed its Condition entirely, and from being a Place of small Account, in a short Time became famous all over *India* and *Europe*, lying almost in the Centre of Trade, brought thither by shipping from the rich Kingdoms of *Japan*, *China*, *Formosa*, *Luconia*, *Tonquin*, *Cochin-China*, *Cambodia*, and *Siam*, besides what *Jobore* produced, and *Sumatra*, *Java*, *Borneo*, *Maccassar*, *Banda*, *Ambonia*, and *Ternate*, Islands, that abound in valuable Commodities. After *Goa* and *Ormuz*, this was by very far the richest City in the *Indies*, and a great Market for all the different Commodities that these Countries produced. It was the Seat of a Bishop, and the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul* was extremely fine. They had besides, five other Parish-Churches, and a noble College for the *Jesuits*, together with a Seminary, in which all new Converts to the Faith were instructed. The Whole was encompassed with a strong Stone Wall, regularly fortified with Battions, the Place extremely well peopled, and the Garrison numerous, and well supplied, because the *Portuguese* considered it as the Eastern Frontier of their Dominions.

In 1605, the *Dutch*, who were then become very potent in the *Indies*, attacked and destroyed the Fleet of the *Portuguese* here, consisting of thirty-four Sail, on Board of which were three thousand Men; but they were not able to take the Place. The next Year, the King of *Jobore* invested it with an Army of sixty-thousand Men, in revenge of what the *Portuguese* had done against him three Years before, when they took and destroyed his Capital; but, however, he was obliged to raise the Siege with great Loss. But the *Dutch*, well knowing the Importance of the Place, and the vast Advantages accruing to the *Portuguese* from its Situation and Commerce, the former affording them an Opportunity of levying 10 per Cent. upon all Vessels passing thro' the Straights, and the latter producing annually a large Revenue, they attacked it in the Year 1640, so vigorously, that they became Masters of it after a Siege of six Months. The Walls and Fortifications they preserved, as also the Church of *St. Paul*; but most of the other Churches they have destroyed, and the great Hospital they have turned into a Warehouse. The Language spoken here is esteemed the most copious and polite in the *Indies*, and therefore serves as a kind of general Tongue through all the Islands and Provinces farther towards the East. In the Kingdom of *Cambodia*, or *Cambaya*, the *Portuguese* have still a considerable Trade, and they are likewise well received in *Tonquin*. As to their Settlements in the several Islands of the *East-Indies*, in *China*, and in the Empire of *Japan*, we have spoke of them sufficiently already, under the Head of Discoveries, and there is therefore no need of our infilling farther upon them here, as our View, at present, is no more than to shew, how their principal Settlements were lost, and to whom, which having done, it may not be amiss to say somewhat of the Wars carried on against them in these Parts, by the *Dutch*, and the Pretences they made use of for carrying them on.

28. The Troubles in the Low Countries, which produced a War between the Crown of *Spain* and the Republick of the United Provinces, began about 1570, and Eng-

land interposing in Favour of the States, their Power increased to such a Degree, that they were not only able to defend themselves against *Spain* by Land, but to give that potent Monarchy inexpressible Trouble by Sea. But this War seems to have no Relation to *Portugal*, and we do not hear of their attacking any but the *Portuguese* Settlements in the *East-Indies*. In order to relieve this Difficulty, we must remember that the Crown of *Portugal* was united to that of *Spain* in 1579, by which means *Philip II.* became Master of both the *Indies*, and consequently the States of the united Provinces were as much at War with the *Portuguese*, who were Subjects to the King of *Spain*, as with any of the rest of his Subjects; and consequently this gave them a Right to attack the *Portuguese* Settlements both in the *East* and *West-Indies*, which they prosecuted with such Vigour, that they did fair for becoming Masters of all that the *Portuguese* had possessed in either *Indies*.

We have seen what mighty Acquisitions they made in the East; but it is necessary to our Subject to observe likewise, that their *West-India* Company became in that Space of Time so powerful, as to make almost an entire Conquest of *Brazil*. It is very evident from hence, that nothing but the Union of the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal* could have afforded the *Dutch* either a Pretence for attacking, or an Opportunity of reducing these Countries, both of which in a singular Degree they from this Accident obtained. For as on the one hand, his Catholic Majesty had enough to do in defending his hereditary Dominions before this Accession of the Territories of *Portugal*, so he was tempted to apply the Revenues of that Crown to the immediate Wants of the *Spanish* Government, which we may conclude were very great, since on his Death-bed he owned, that the Wars of the Low Countries had cost him five hundred and sixty-four Millions of Ducats, which is upwards of one hundred and twelve Millions of our Money; whence it is easy to perceive, that he could not spare as much as was requisite for the Defence of the *Portuguese* Territories. On the other hand, the *Portuguese* themselves, though they had been always distinguished for their Loyalty to their natural Princes, were far enough from shewing so much Zeal in the Service of the King of *Spain*; and it is very natural, when the Minds of private Men are entirely deploied of publick Spirit, for the Affairs of the State to fall into Confusion.

But one would have imagined, that after the Separation of *Portugal* from *Spain*, which happened in the Year 1640, Things would have taken another Turn; because, with King *John IV.* the *Dutch* had no Pretence of making War. To give the Reader a clear Idea of this Matter, we must remember, that the *Dutch* had taken *Brazil* from the King of *Spain*, or rather from the *Portuguese*, while they were his Subjects; but afterwards that Nation considering this as an Injury not to be born, attempted to drive the *Dutch* out, notwithstanding the Treaty concluded between the States and the King of *Portugal* in 1641, which, to say the Truth, had been but indifferently observed on both Sides; that is to say, the *Dutch* had encroached upon the *Portuguese* in the *East-Indies*, and they, on the other hand, gave the *Dutch* little or no Repite in *Brazil*, out of which, in ten Years Time, they drove them entirely.

About this Time died King *John IV.* and left his Son *Alphonso VI.* a Minor, which Advantage the *Dutch* took to declare War against the Crown of *Portugal*, from a Persuasion that this Opportunity of regaining what they had lost in the West, and prosecuting their Conquests in the *East-Indies*, was not to be lost, the rather, because *Portugal* was at that Time engaged in a dangerous War with *Spain*, and the *Dutch* had lately concluded a Peace with that Crown. It was in consequence of this new War, that

At the Time the *Portuguese* delivered themselves from the *Spanish* Yoke, the *Dutch* were employed, as we have already shewn, in reducing the Island of *Ceylon*, and made use of Abundance of Artifices, in order to prosecute the Advantage they had gained, notwithstanding the Peace concluded between the States General and the Crown of *Portugal* in *Europe*; neither did they desist from their Hostilities, even after the Peace was proclaimed in the *Indies*, but continued to give the *Portuguese* almost as much Trouble as while the War continued. This they did, under Pretence of being Allies, or Auxiliaries to such *Indian* Princes as were at War with the *Portuguese*; and where this Pretence was wanting, they took Care by their Embarasses, to stir up new Wars, and under Pretence of retelling the *Indians* to their Freedom, carried Things so as to engage them in long and bloody Wars, which had no other End, than to oblige them to change their Masters; with this Difference only, that whereas the *Portuguese* endeavoured to keep large Countries, and to oblige the *Indian* Princes to pay Homage to the King of *Portugal*, the *Dutch* contented themselves with the Sea-Coasts, and forbidding these Princes to trade with any other Nation, so that their Slavery was equally great, tho' not always equally apparent, which ever side prevailed.

the *Dutch* attacked the *Portuguese* again in the *East-Indies*, and even endeavoured to deprive them of *Goa*; but as this they did not succeed: And, on the other hand, the *Portuguese* found Means to traverse all the Attempts that the *Dutch* made to establish a Trade in *China*, as also to raise such a Storm as deprived them of the Island of *Formosa*, which they had conquered, and which was of prodigious Consequence to them.

But, in the mean time, the great Fleets they sent to the *East-Indies*, enabled them not only to extend their Conquests, but in the Year 1661, to defeat the whole naval Power of the *Portuguese* in two general Engagements. But while the Publick suffered excessively from the Consequences of this fatal War, some private Merchants in *Lisbon* and in the *East-Indies* fitted out so many Privateers, and of such Strength, that the *Dutch* suffered excessively in their Trade, and therefore both Nations began to be weary of the War, and inclined to a Negotiation. The Crown of *Great-Britain* interposed its Mediation, in consequence of the Marriage between King *Charles II.* and the Infanta of *Portugal*, by which Peace was brought about in the Year 1661, and thereby the *Portuguese* were left in Possession of *Brasil*, and the *Dutch* accepted a Sum of Money as a Satisfaction for their Pretensions.

In the *East-Indies* Things were to remain as they then stood, and both Parties were to keep what, at the Conclusion of this Peace, should be in their respective Possessions; but the *Dutch* kept this no better than they did the former Treaty; but, on the contrary, in 1663, attacked all the Places which the *Portuguese* held on the Coast of *Malabar*, particularly *Cochin*, which they had no sooner taken, than they destroyed all the Wild or Ballard-Cinnamon, which, after the Loss of *Ceylon*, had proved an advantageous Branch of Commerce to the *Portuguese*. There were also Complaints made of this in *Europe* to the States-General, who were either deceived by the plausible Accounts given them by their *East-India* Company, or pretended to be deceived, that they might, with a better Grace, protract the Negotiation relating to this Affair, till their Subjects in the *East-Indies* had so fortified the Places they had taken, as to put entirely out of the Power of the *Portuguese* to attempt the Recovery of them.

These Proceedings gave the finishing Blow to the Ruin of the *Portuguese*, who have never since been able to undertake any thing of Consequence; but, on the contrary, have exhausted much of their remaining Strength in defending themselves against their *Indian* Neighbours, who, encouraged by the Progress of the *Dutch*, and excited thereto by some of their Agents, have been since endeavouring to tear from them the small Remains of their Possessions in *India*, and have often kept *Goa* itself blocked up for many Months together; in which, perhaps, they have as much mistaken their own Interest as prejudiced that of this Nation, the Power of which has already so much broken, as not to afford any just Ground of Jealousy either to *Indians* or *Europeans*.

We have already, in the Course of this History, pointed out many of the Causes of the Declension of that mighty Power which, in so short a Space of Time, the Crown of *Portugal* acquired in the East; but as this is perhaps the most useful Part of the present Section, it may not be amiss to add a few farther Observations on this Subject, the rather, because the *Portuguese* Authors, who have treated to largely of the Conquests made by their Nation, have been, in a great measure, silent on the Means by which they were lost. One great Cause of their Ruin was, the Circumstances of their Government at home, where, for many Years together, they were engaged in a long, expensive, and dangerous War against the Crown of *Spain*,

in Defence of their Independency, which at once employed their whole Force, and exhausted their whole Revenue. It is true indeed, that this was rather the Misfortune than the Fault of the *Portuguese*, since it was what they could not avoid; but it was, nevertheless, the great Cause of their Losses in the *Indies*.

We may add to this their sending over Men of a great Quality, as Viceroy to *Goa*, with a View rather better their Fortunes than the publick Service, which the Reason that, of late Years, we hear nothing more of the *Gamas*, the *Albuquerque*, the *Pereyra*, or the *Gonsalves*, but are forced to search for the Names of their Viceroys in the private Registers of the Palace, instead of the publick Records of History: Besides, as these Men have been, generally speaking, too poor to mind any thing, much as mending their own Estates; so they have been too well allied to be called to any Account on their Return for their Maladministration in the *Indies*. When the Affairs began first to decline in this Part of the World, was a common Thing for a Governor of *Molamban*, which was esteemed the first Post after the Viceroyalty, and with all the other Governments in the Power of a Viceroy, to bestow on whom he pleased. I say, it has been common for such Viceroys to make, in the Space of three Years, Five hundred thousand Crowns; from whence we may form some Notion of the Profits of a Viceroy. Now as it is impossible such exorbitant Sum should be made any other Way than by oppressing the *Indians*, and taking large Sums from the Merchants, may easily perceive, that all these private Fortunes were made at the Expence of the publick Interest.

The bad Examples of the Governors had a very bad Effect on all the subordinate Officers, so that Pride, Vanity, Luxury, and a pompous Display of Wealth, attended by illicit Means, took place of that generous Virtue that laudable Ambition, that disinterested publick Spirit which enabled their Ancestors to lay the Foundation of a large an Empire, with a very inconsiderable Part of the Power, which was in the Possession of those who lost it. The Clergy too, followed the Example of the Laity, instead of promoting, as at the Beginning, the Conversion of the Natives to the Christian Faith, from the religious View of saving their Souls, they now professed that Work from the meaner Motive of making themselves servient to their own Purposes, and enabling them to acquire vast Riches. This Corruption proceeded to farther Degrees, that not only many of the Jesuits at *Goa* engaged in Trade, contrary to the Rules of their Order, and to their Duty as Missionaries, but even defended so low, as disguise themselves in the Habits of Friars, or *Molamban* Monks, that they might have an Opportunity of viewing the Diamond Mines, and purchasing Stones there at an extraordinary Value.

But what most of all contributed to corrupt the Indians of the *Portuguese* Settlements, was the little Care taken to prevent their leaving all Things to the Care of the Negroes and other Slaves, and their inter-marrying with the People of the Country, Practices which have been, and will be fatal to all *European* Establishments, because it only softens and effeminates the Minds of such as fall in this Way of Living, but also changes their Views, so that they lose all regard for their Country, and incline to take such Measures as are most likely to preserve them in the Enjoyment of such servile Pleasure. The *Portuguese* at *Goa* have been for more than a Century past much addicted to this gross and sensual kind of Life, provided they might enjoy their fine Houses in the City, and their Country Palaces in its Neighbourhood, and gave themselves no Pain about what happened else where.

The *Dutch*, though their *East-India* Company gained sufficiently by these Practices, suffered very severely, as a State, from the Corruption in their Neighbours. The *English* had some Experience of a like Disposition towards them; and though the *French* had not, at least they were not in a War to humble them, as they feared it, which was that of 1662; and how far the Causes of that War were connected with the Corruption of the *Dutch* in the *Indies*, may appear from a Fact charged upon them by Mr. *Townsend*, who, in his Travels, relating the *Dutch* Embassy at *Gambra* in *Portugal*, publicly burnt the Picture of King *Charles II.* in a Fire, partly made of Cinnamon, which was the Prince never forgot, and which gave a very bad Impression of the *Dutch* to the *Portuguese* who laboured all they could to recover it. The same Circumstance to the History of *Holland*, by M. *De La Nouville*, who tells us, that the *Dutch* being extremely pious at home, the Jesuits gave them in *China*, discovered this Practice to the Governor of the Diamond Mines at *Poulo*, who caught two of the famous pious *De La Nouville*, with Stones about them to the Value of twenty-five thousand Pounds, and after whipping them, took from them the Habit of those holy Men, took such Measures as prevented them carrying on that Trade in the Shape ever after.

or how great Progress the *Dutch* made in subduing their distant Settlements. The natural Consequence of this was, that when such Settlements were lost, those who were driven from their Habitations, instead of repairing to *Goa*, and taking Arms in the King's Service, for the Recovery of any Part of his Dominions, went into the Territories of some *Indian* Prince, and there, for a pitiful Subsistence, entered into his Pay, or accepted of some low Office in his Court; so that while the Fleets and Armies of *Portugal* grew thin and contemptible, for want of Soldiers and Seamen, there were many thousands of that Nation scattered all over the *Indies*, disgracing their Country by the manner in which they got their Bread, when by a proper Behaviour they might have restored the Affairs of their Prince, as well as their own Fortunes.

One may safely affirm, that all these Mischiefs were at the Bottom owing to the Want of a right Administration in *Portugal*, where, if a Council for the *Indies* had been settled, composed of Men of real Abilities and competent Experience, who had been entrusted with the sole Power of bestowing Places in that Country, and had been charged to look carefully into the Conduct of such as were employed by them, might, before things had gone too far, have restored Discipline in their Colonies, and recalled such as from Discontent or Diffidence in their former Governors had taken Refuge in other Places. But their Attention to other things, and more especially to their Settlements in *Brazil*, which have, indeed, accidentally compensated in some measure their Losses on this Side, hindered them from thinking of their Affairs in the East, till they became past all Hopes, as well as past Recovery. In this distressed and dejected State they lie at present, which, however, must not excuse us from giving the Reader a View of them even in this Condition, because the *Portuguese* are still considered as having some Interest in the *Indies*, though it be in a manner nothing in Comparison of what it was, and is daily growing from bad to worse, so that they really owe what little they still enjoy, to the Want of any Inclination, at least in *European* Nations, to take it from them, which they might otherwise do almost at Pleasure.

30. The Dominions subject to the *Portuguese* Viceroy of the *Indies* are very easily described. The City of *Goa*, of which we have spoken before, is still the Capital, the Seat of the Viceroy, the Archbishop, and the Inquisition, which are heavy Burthens on so exalted an Establishment. In the Neighbourhood of this City, they preserve the Islands of *Salsette*, *Bardes*, *Agudivir*, and some others of no great Consequence, farther than that they supply the City of *Goa* plentifully with Provisions, which is hard to say, whether it be an Advantage to that Place or not; and because this may seem a kind of Paradox, I will explain it. As Rice comes in great Quantities, and very cheap, to *Goa*, it encourages the Citizens to keep a vast Number of Servants, especially Negroes, who are content with one Dish of this Food at Noon, and another at Night. If these were kept for any kind of Labour or Manufactures, there would be no great Objection to it; but almost every House-keeper has six, most of them twelve, some thirty or forty, that have no other Business than carrying their Master's Palankin, and Umbrella; so that in Reality they are not kept so much for Service as for State; and thus they rather exhaust than increase the Riches of the Inhabitants.

Diu, which formerly belonged to the Kingdom of *Guzarat*, is the strongest Place they have, and is indeed very well situated for Commerce. It has a very good Port, and while the *Portuguese* had any Fleets of Consequence, they were generally laid up here; and at this City the *Moors* and other Traders in these Seas were obliged to take out their Passports before they proceeded any farther to the East. At present all the Trade, or at least almost all the Trade which was carried on here, is removed to *Surat*, and what little still remains at *Diu*, in the Hands of the *Portuguese*, is carried on under *Gentil* Colours; that is to say,

the *Portuguese* think themselves safer under them than under the Flag of *Portugal*, formerly so much respected in the *Indies*. The Port of *Daman*, on the Gulph of *Cambaya*, is yet in tolerable good Condition, though nothing in Comparison of what it was, the old Town being in a manner deserted, and the new not near so well peopled as might be expected from its Extent. There are, however, still some Manufactures carried on here, particularly in Silk, with which they furnish the Market of *Goa*, and thereby enable the Merchants settled there to carry on what small Commerce they have left. *Chaul* stands behind the Mountains on the same Coast, and has a very safe and good Port.

These are all the Places that they have on the *Malabar* Coast, and in other Parts of the *Indies* they have few Factories, and no Establishments at all, except it be in the Islands of *Timor* and *Solor*, not far from the *Moluccas*, which they possess jointly with the *Dutch*, and of which we have already given a large Account in the History of Captain *Dampier's* Expedition to the South. Once in two or three Years they send a Ship from *Goa* to these Islands, the chief Commodities of which are Sandal Wood, much esteemed in *China*, very good Wax, and a sort of Medicine called *Solor* Stones, which are very little, if at all, inferior to the best *Bezoar*. On the Coast of *China* they have the Island and Port of *Macao*, from whence they carry on a considerable Trade to *China* and the *Philippines*.

All that remains under the *Portuguese* Dominion from the Cape of Good Hope in *Africa* to the City of *Macao* in *China* is governed by a Viceroy, with the Title of Captain General, who resides at *Goa*, as the Metropolis of *India*. There are six, and sometimes eight *Desembargadores* or Judges that attend the Government as a Sovereign Court or Council, who wear a Gown down to their Heels over a Calfstock of the same Length, the Gown with wide Sleeves down half way their Arms. They wear Gollies, and huge Perukes of the *French* Fashion. The chief Court these Gown-men sit in is called a *Relacao*, which administers Justice in civil and criminal Cases, having Power over all Ministers, and tries all Appeals brought from all Parts of their Dominions. The Viceroy sits as Chief of this Court, under a Canopy. The Gown-men sit on Benches placed on the plain Floor. The Council *De fucada* is like the Court of *Exchequer*, where one of the Gown-men sits as the Viceroy's Deputy. Thus the Pomp and Splendor of this Government is still kept up, though the Extent of it is much lessened, and the Power and Credit of it in a manner decayed. There are still as many Governments as ever, that is, in Title; for otherwise they are of no great Consequence, and those on whom they are bestowed, have the Characters of Generals. There is, for instance, a General of the Gulph of *Ormuz*, who has four Ships under his Command; a General of the North, who directs the small Towns on the Coast of *Malabar*; a General of *Salsette*, who has a Territory of about fifteen Miles, a General of *China*, who is, properly speaking, Governor of *Macao*, and an absolute Vassal to the *Chinese*. There is another General in the Islands of *Timor* and *Solor*, to whom even the *Portuguese* there scarce pay any Obedience, and who lives in a miserable Fort, the Guns of which are in no Condition for Service. There is likewise a General of *Goa*, whose Business it is to take Care of the Channels between the Islands, and to restrain Smugglers.

But the best of all the Governments that still belong to the *Indies*, is that of *Mofambique*, which is an Island situated near the Coast of *Africa*, in the Lat. of 15° South, within half a League of the Continent. They have a strong Fort there, with four good Bastions, which commands the Chanel, and in which there are seventy Pieces of Brass-Cannon; and here there is always kept a good Garrison, and in tolerable Order. The Governor is honoured with the Title of General of the River of *Senna*, where he has his Lieutenant, which Employments was worth to him several hundred thousand Crowns a Year. There

* There is a very wide Difference between these titular Preferments and the Governments formerly in the Gift of the Viceroy of *Goa*, which were five; the first was that of *Mofambique*, which is still in their Hands, and the only one of the old Government that is so; the second was that of *Malacca*, on the *Arabian* Coast, which was of very great Importance, and brought in a large Revenue; the third was that of *Ormuz*, on the Coast of *Perfian*; the Captain-General of the Island of *Ceylon* was the fourth, and the Governor of the important Forts of *Malacca* the fifth. Upon each of these General Governments there depended many others of less Consequence, of which these Generals had the absolute Disposal; but those who held them were continued in them for no longer than three Years. And it was for this Reason they were guilty of so much Extortion, looking up on their Governments as Leases for so many Years, in which they were to make their Fortune.

are but a few Houses about the Fort, the Inhabitants keeping their Effects on the neighbouring Continent: But notwithstanding the Narrowness of the Place, there are Monasteries of Jesuits, Dominicans of *St. John de Dios*, besides the chief Church and that of the *Misericordia*. The Merchandize brought to this Place by the Ships of the Company, are bought at a set Price by the Royal Factory, which afterwards send them to *Chelmani*, the Mouth of the River of *Senna* running three hundred Miles along the Coast, in Gallies and small Vessels, because of the Flats from *Chelmani*; the Goods are sent up the River, against the Stream, in Almadies or little Boats, which are ten Days going up, and about five coming down. It is very difficult going up for those who are not well acquainted with the Shallows and Windings of the River. *Cafres*, or *Blacks*, resort to this Port from Provinces and Kingdoms three or four Months Journey distant, to buy or take up Goods upon Trust for so much Gold, which they never fail to bring punctually the next Year, unless Death prevents them. This Trade yields above *Cout. per Cent.* So that the *Portuguese* may be said to have another *India in Africa*. *Senna* is a little Town on the Right-hand of the River, inhabited by fifty *Portuguese* Families, who make it populous enough, by the great Number of Blacks they keep. These till the Ground, and dig in the Mines, and by that means maintain their Masters instead of being kept by them.

About fifteen Days Journey from hence lies *Sofala*, where the *Portuguese* have likewise an Establishment, subject however to the General of *Mozambique*, and here a prodigious Trade is driven on, of which the *Portuguese* are, or might be, Masters. It consists chiefly in Gold, of which there are greater Quantities here than in any other Country in the World, since the annual Produce of this Market is computed, by the best Judges, at Forty-six thousand Ounces. There are vast Quantities of *Spanish* and *Canary* Wines, Oil, Silks, Linens, Cottons, Coral, and other *European* Goods sold here, which are carried by the Inhabitants of the little Kingdom of *Sofala*, through all the great Empire of *Momotapa*, which the *Portuguese* stile the Empire of Gold, from the prodigious Quantities of that precious Metal which is brought to them from thence. There are, likewise, some other very rich Commodities brought hither by the Negroes, such as the most excellent Ebony in the World; great Quantities of Ivory, abundance of fine Mats, which are much esteemed in the *Indies*, and a great Number of Slaves, so that *Goa*, and all the rest of the *Portuguese* Settlements, are furnished from hence. One may justly wonder that, considering the Value of this Settlement, and its convenient Situation, the *Dutch* had not made themselves Masters of it long ago, as well as of all the other Places belonging to the Crown of *Portugal* on this Coast.

In the Year 1605, they attempted *Mozambique* with very little Success, which, however, did not discourage them; as it must be allowed, that where there is a Prospect of Gain, the *Dutch* are not easily discouraged: And, therefore, in 1607, they attacked it a second Time with greater Force, but with the same Ill-luck as before, except that they made themselves Masters of a rich *Portuguese* Fleet, which, in some measure, paid the Expence of the Expedition. This rich Trade, however, is much fallen off by the *Arabs* making themselves Masters of *Mozambique*, and other Places, which gives them an Opportunity of supplying the *Africans* with *European* Goods, which they purchase in different Parts of the *Indies*.

As for the Share which the *Portuguese* still retain, the Gold obtained thereby is sent to *Goa* and to *Diu*, where it is coined into small Pieces, called *St. Thomas's*, which are not worth above Half a Crown of our Money; and it is observed that this Coin is of a worse Touch, that is, of a baser Alloy than any other in the *Indies*, which is another Sign of a declining Trade; for the *Saralins*, which were formerly coined at *Ormuaz*, when in the *Portuguese* Hands, were esteemed the best Gold in the *Indies*; but they are now become extremely scarce; and the *St. Thomas's* are said to be coined in less Quantities every Year.

31. These Possessions are said to produce so little to the King of *Portugal*, that it has been more than once de-

bated in the Council of that Prince, whether it would be for the Interest of the Crown, to abandon them altogether with drawing their Artillery and Effects, and are likewise told, that it is not any political, but purely religious Motive, that has hindered this Measure from being taken, the Priests having suggested that, in that of a Multitude of Souls would be lost to the Church. We shall less wonder at this, if we consider, that such a best acquainted with the *East-India* Trade assures us, that a single Merchant and a single Ship of a reasonable Burthen may carry on as great a Commerce as what, at present, subsists between *Lisbon* and *Goa*. This Matter however deserves some Explanation. There are yet a great many Ships employed from *Goa*, *Diu*, and *Daman*, the Coasts of *Persia*, *Pegu*, *Manila*, and *China*, but they are mostly on the Account of *Indian* Merchants, there being scarce a *Portuguese* Trader at *Goa* able to furnish a Cargo of the Value of Ten thousand Crowns; and it is very much doubted, whether, in the whole of their Trade they employ above Two hundred thousand Crowns; that it is not at all strange that, one Year with another there are not above two Ships sent directly from *Goa* to *Lisbon*, and those not a fourth Part so rich as when they usually sent twenty.

Yet there has been a late Regulation made at *Goa* the Preservation and promoting of Trade, which they who understand that Subject best, agree complicated Ruin. This is an exclusive Company, which has the Right to the Commerce of *Mozambique* and *Macao*, which Company has taken upon itself the Payment of the Royal Officers, who are also Two-thirds concerned therein, who has given such a Blow to the natural Commerce of *Goa*, that the best Part of the *Indian* Merchants that were formerly now retired from thence. To say the Truth, it is the great Share the Viceroy, Governors, and other Officers, always took in Commerce, without contributing anything thereto, except protecting the Merchants from the violence committed by themselves on such as did not add them to a Share in their Trade, that first destroyed the extensive Commerce they enjoyed. And, upon this Subject the Wits of the *Indies* have framed a very pretty Allegory. They say, that when the *Portuguese* came first there, they had a Sword in one Hand, and a Crucifix in the other; but that they might fill their Pockets the faster, they quickly dispersed with the first, and soon after laid down the last, by which they have lost all. But though their Power and their Commerce are so much declined, their Pride is as great as ever, insomuch that they refuse the Native the Country, who are called *Canarins*, the Privilege of wearing Stockings, though they employ them as Physicians, Lawyers, and Merchants, by which many of them are so rich that they keep a Dozen or Fourteen Slaves, and are in much better Circumstances than the *Portuguese* themselves.

The Revenues of the Church have suffered very much by this surprising Change in the State, there is a Monastery that does not receive four or five thousand Crowns out of the Treasury, at the same time the Priests starve and mutiny for want of Pay, which is much the harder upon the Government, because the reverend Fathers know very well how to take care of themselves, insomuch that it is affirmed, the Jesuits of *Goa* have a better Revenue than the Crown of *Portugal*. It is not easy to know what becomes of the Money the Churchmen raise; but it is very evident, that the Wealth they possess, together with the Establishment of the Mission at *Goa*, is such a dead Weight on the Settlement must sooner or later destroy it. The wisest of the *Portuguese* in *Europe* understand this very well, and would glad to see some proper Remedy applied, not from Prejudice against the Church or Churchmen, which is enough from being the Vice of that Nation; but from pure Regard to the Crown, and to the Nation; and would think, that the Clergy themselves, instead of being at more, ought to be willing to part with some Portion of what is already in their Hands, in order to make the State more able to protect them in the Possession of the Remainder. Besides, there is nothing clearer, than that the erecting of religious Houses is directly opposite

very Scheme of planting, and must always ruin the Settlements where it prevails, and consequently the religious Houses themselves, which is certainly an Argument that ought to prevail even with Popish Princes to lay some Restraint on the Missionaries that are sent abroad, unless they prefer the Reputation of Zeal among such as are no competent Judges, not only to Maxims of Policy and good Government, but to the Principles of true Religion. For, if there be any Piety in converting Pagans to the Christian Faith, it follows, that there is still greater Piety in doing this effectually, and in maintaining for ever the Establishments necessary to support them, which Reason and Experience shews, the building Monasteries, and maintaining Numbers of idle People in them, will not do, but on the contrary will bring on in time the Destruction of those Colonies, in which this Humour is suffered to prevail.

The very last Advices from this Part of the World inform us, that several Indian Princes were driven from before Goa, which they had blocked up with a numerous Army, by the powerful Succours sent by the present King of Portugal, and by the excellent Conduct of the late Viceroy, who was the Count de Laurical, and who, if I mistake not, was twice in the Indies, and behaved there with great Reputation. Such Expeditions, however, are to be considered as Expedients only, which may for a time preserve that Settlement, but can never restore it, or bring the Affairs of this Nation in these Parts into so good Order, as to make them worth the Attention of a Prince, who has the Honour of his Crown, and the Good of his People, at Heart. It may not therefore be amiss, before we conclude this Section, to consider what is like to be the future Fate of the Portuguese in the Indies, in which, if our Conjectures should be justified by Events, they cannot but do Honour to this Performance.

32. It is morally certain, that the Establishments which the Crown of Portugal still has in the East-Indies might, in the Hands of an active and industrious Nation, turn to considerable Account; for it has been long ago observed by M. Tavernier, that the Port of Diu is as well situated for Trade, and as capable of Improvement, as any in that Part of the World, or more so; and if put under proper Regulations, that is, if made in some measure a free Port, it must necessarily come in for a large Share of that Commerce now carried on at Surat, and in all probability, retrieve much of the Arabian and Persian Commerce that has been so long lost to the Portuguese. On the other hand, as they have still some Factories at Bijnagar and other Places on that Coast, it would be no difficult Matter to re-establish their Commerce in the Heart of India, at the same time that the Port of Macao would furnish them with the Means of supplying the China Market as cheap or cheaper than any other European Nation, because their Colony at Mozambique is so situated, as to serve them for the same Purposes that the Cape of Good Hope does the Dutch, or the Island of St. Helena the English.

But all these Advantages signify nothing in the Hands of those who are so far from possessing the Virtues requisite to such Improvements, that on the contrary, they are not only tainted with, but over-run by such Vices, as must unquestionably overturn the best Establishment in the World. It is necessary to support a Charge of this Nature by Facts, that it may not appear to be the Effects of Fancy, Prejudice, or Misinformation. I shall mention but one, which, as it is very singular in its kind, will at once answer my Purpose, and serve to enliven the Subject. The Portuguese had, in the Close of the last Century, an Officer capable of doing much towards the Execution of such a Plan as this, inasmuch that he was a Man of great Prudence and Virtue; but withal, he had too high a Spirit, which led him to treat the Vices of his Countrymen with such Asperity as drew upon him a disastrous Death, and thereby defeated all the Hopes that had been raised from the great Victories he obtained over the Arabs and Moors, and that

noble Zeal he had upon all Occasions shewn for the Welfare of his Country.

His sharp Tongue, says my Author, had gained him the Ill-will of almost all the Gentry of Goa, and along the Coast; but more particularly of the Family of Melo, which was powerful in Kindred, and great by Birth. His Affronts becoming insupportable, they conspired, to the Number of fifty, to murder him; and having agreed on the Time, Place, and Manner of executing their Design, they made several Loop-holes in the Houses of the Quarter and Parish of St. Peter, that they might shoot him with more Safety. The General, or rather Admiral, persuading himself, that Gentlemen could not harbour Thoughts of taking an ungenerous Revenge, tho' warned to be upon his Guard, because there were treacherous Practices against him, would never admit any Soldiers to attend him, and particularly two Captains that were willing to share in his Dangers. Thus being carried in a Palankin alone, only with one Black that carried his Umbrella, a Shot was made at him from a House, which giving him a slight Wound, he leaped out of the Palankin, and taking the Snuff he held between his Fingers, said, *Who is it you aim at? Triстан de Melo* as these Words coming out of his Mouth, answered, *at you*, and fired a Blunderbuss at him. He, with an undaunted Courage, defended it with his Cloak, and bowing his Body, then drawing his Sword, and falling on his Enemy, he struck him five times, but to no Purpose, because he had on a Coat of Mail, whereupon he cleft his Head, and with a back Stroke cut him over the Face, which made him fall; then taking him by the Hair, he set his Feet upon him, and was going to run his Sword into his Breast, but Triстан begging his Life, he generously granted it, saying, he would not embroil his Hands in such base Blood. In the mean while out came Triстан's Son, and a Mulatto, (so they call all those that are got between Blacks and Whites) and firing two Blunderbusses, lodged several Bullets in the Admiral's Breast, breaking in Pieces the Cross he wore as a Badge of Knighthood; but still he stood and defended himself, when a Slave came up and run him into the Side with a Javelin; nor did he go unpunished, for the General, with a Back-stroke, ripped open his Belly, whereof he died at Night. Macbado being ready to expire, drew near to the Palankin, and setting his Peruke to rights the best he could, laid himself in it. The Murderers fearing he might yet live, one of them, who was a Priest, came with a Blunderbuss in his Hand to make an end of him; but seeing him ready to breathe out his Soul, asked, whether he would make his Confession? The Admiral called him Jew, and bid him go about his Business: Afterwards a Dominican coming to him, he gave Signs of Repentance, and grasping his Hands, died with these Words: The Blood of Christ save me. They found in his Breast about thirty Bullets; whereupon People admiring his Valour, said, he must needs have more vital Spirits than other Mortals, since there must go so much to the killing him.

This Murder, foul and detestable as it was, could never be punished, so powerful was the Family concerned in it, and so weak the Authority of the Viceroy, in Matters relating to Justice. It is true, this strange Fact happened fifty Years ago, but things are far from being mended since. Assassinations are still common in this Country, and such as would not expose their own Lives for the Preservation of the Colony are ready, on the slightest Provocation, to command their Slaves to take away the Life of another Man, let his Worth or Dignity be what it will, even at the Altar, and this without the least Apprehension of Justice. We need no clearer Proof than this, that the Minds of these People are totally enervated and corrupted, and that as Cowards, they are cruel and revengeful, which wicked Dispositions arise from a lazy and luxurious Life. We may there-

7 This gallant Man Don Antonio Machado de Brito, was general of the North, and afterwards Admiral of the Gulph of Ormuz, in which Character he gained immortal Reputation. In the Month of April 1694, he with three Ships only fought fourteen Arabian Vessels of the same Size, in the Bay of Surat, for a whole Day; and when he might have retired safely into the Port of Diu, he anchored close by them all Night, in order to have renewed the Fight next Morning; but the Arabs having had fighting enough the Day before, stole away in the Dark, and recovered their own Coast. Several Boats full of English, French, and Dutch Merchants, went from Surat to see this Battle, and afterwards complemented the Portuguese Admiral on his Victory, little suspecting, that before the End of that Year, a Man, who had done such eminent Service to the Publick, would fall, as he did, a Victim to private Revenge.

fore safely predict, that the Continuance even of that slender Power which the *Portuguese* have still left, cannot continue long, and that for these two plain Reasons: First, because it has been long, and is still in a declining Condition, so that its Force being extremely decayed, and at the same time continually employed in resisting the Efforts of its Enemies, it is impossible in the Nature of Things that it should subsist for any Time: Secondly, the Manners of the People are entirely ruined, so that there is not the least Probability that any such Reformation will ever be effected, as might enable them to make such Use of the convenient Ports of which they are still possessed, as is necessary to revive and restore their Commerce in the *Indies*. I venture therefore to pronounce, that in the Compass of twenty or thirty Years, their Establishments in these Parts will be quite lost, and that in all likelihood, *Goa*, *Diu*, and *Daman*, will be lost first, which will necessarily draw after them the Desertion of *Macas*, which cannot long subsist by its own Force, and lies at much too great a Distance to receive any effectual Succour or Support from *Portugal* directly*.

It is indeed possible, that Accidents out of the Reach of human Foresight, may prevent, at least for a Time, the Completion of what I have predicted; but without the Intervention of some such Accidents, it will certainly come to pass, and when it does, perhaps it may not be much to the Disadvantage of *Portugal*; for when Colonies contribute little to the Benefit of a State, and are of no Use in promoting its naval Power, the Loss of them cannot be considered as very detrimental, except to such as are settled in them, which is a Consideration well worthy the Attention of every Colony, since it shews that the Relation between it, and its Mother-Country, is the sole Source of the Welfare of both, and cannot therefore be taken away without hazarding the Destruction of the Colony.

33. The History of the Rise, Progress, and Declension of the *Portuguese* Commerce in the *Indies* was never written before, and therefore I hope will appear the more agreeable and entertaining now. We have here, in a very narrow Compass, presented the whole of it to the View of the *English* reader, with all the Accuracy and Impartiality that lay within the Reach of our Power; and as we have, throughout the whole Section, intermixed our Remarks with the Matters of Fact, we shall be very short in our Observations here. It may not, however, be amiss, to suggest, by way of Conclusion, that though this, with respect to the Circumstances attending Facts, is a particular History, yet the intelligent and judicious Reader will very easily perceive, that, at the Bottom, it contains a general View of the Rise, Progress, and Decay of all Commerce and naval Power, which are at first (at least, generally speaking) the Effects of private Virtues, or, in other Words, are produced by the extraordinary Abilities and unwearied Labours of particular Men in Seasons proper for such Undertakings, and with due Assistance from that State in which such Genij appear.

The advantageous Consequences that arise from Expeditions, beget in the Body of a People a Spirit of Industry and Commerce, which, by giving a new Turn to their Genius, and raising at the same time a virtuous Emulation, in a short Space, shorter indeed than can be imagined, create a naval Force, and thereby establish a new maritime Power. But, on the one hand, the Wealth derived from Commerce, and that wonderful Flow of Success which usually attends a Nation powerful at sea, very often produces Luxury and Insolence, which naturally lead to the Ruin both of Trade and naval Power. We do not mean, by Luxury, the Possession of all the pleasures and good Things of this Life, but the affecting of such things else. If it were otherwise, we ought not to do up our Commerce at all, because it is the certain Source of Riches and Affluence; but there is a great Difference between possessing and using good Things moderately, and being so bewitched with them as to dedicate our whole Time to their Enjoyment; because, if there were no other Argument to prove this wrong, the Thing proves itself, since it is impossible to preserve Pleasure, supposing it possible to consist therein, if we do not spend a great part of our Time in thinking of somewhat else.

It was for want of attending to this plain Truth, that the *Portuguese* despised and contemned the *Dutch* on their first Appearance in the *Indies*; they considered their Force as so much superior to that of their Enemies, they never reflected on the Means by which Force was raised; I mean the Valour, Industry, Patience, and publick Spirit of the first Adventurers, which Qualities being now on the Side of their Competitors, and wanting in themselves, ought to have awakened them to a Sense of their Condition, and to a Return to the Virtues which originally procured, and were alone able to preserve, their extensive Possessions. But continuing they did to provoke on one hand the Natives, and to neglect on the other the necessary Precautions against the *Dutch*, they did the Business of their Enemies, and drew upon themselves that Destruction which could never otherwise have been brought upon them.

I have before observed, that like Causes will, in like Cases, be attended with the like Effects, and therefore there will be no Occasion to repeat these Remarks in the Progress of this Work; though it would have been a great Oversight to have omitted them here, inasmuch as they contribute chiefly to render our Labour useful and important, which otherwise would be no more than an agreeable Amusement. To relieve the Reader however from so serious a Course of Study, we have, in the next Section, given him the Travels at large, of a very curious Discoverer, and the only one who has given us a tolerable Account of that *Archipelago*, which is the Subject of the Performance.

* It is very remarkable, that *Vasquez de Gama*, whose Statue is over one of the Gates of *Goa*, was not only the Discoverer of the Passage to the *Indies* by the Cape of Good Hope, but lived to see the Establishments made by his Countrymen in those Parts, carried to their greatest Height; the Time of his Death the *Portuguese* Empire in the East was in its most flourishing Condition. It is likewise remarkable, that the Son of the *Don Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, who was the Conqueror of *Goa*, lived to see the Declension of their Affairs in the *Indies*, and the prodigious Progress the *Dutch* at their Expense. The whole Circle therefore of the Discoveries, Acquisitions, and Losses of this Nation, take in no greater Compass two hundred and fifty Years, which is very little in Comparison to the Time this Trade was held by the *Persians*, or the *Romans*.

SECTION XXIV.

The Voyage of Francis Pirard de Laval to the East-Indies; his Shipwreck amongst the Maldives, and his copious Account of that Archipelago.

Translated from the Author's Original Voyage, published by himself in French.

1. *An Account of the Design of this Voyage, and the Author's Embarkation for the East-Indies, May 18, 1601.* 2. *The remarkable Accidents which happened in their Passage till their Arrival at the Island of Anabon.* 3. *They double the Cape of Good Hope, and arrive happily on the Coast of the Island of Madagascar.* 4. *They meet with a dreadful Storm there, and lose a great many Men by the Scurvy and Surfeits.* 5. *Proceed from thence to the Comorro-Islands on the Coast of Africa, near Mozambique, where they refresh and rest.* 6. *The Ship on board of which our Author was, wrecked amongst the Maldivian-Islands, and himself made Prisoner.* 7. *A general Description of these Islands, their Product, and the People who inhabit them.* 8. *The Division of these Islands into several Provinces, with an Account of the Sea that surrounds them.* 9. *Of the Original Inhabitants of this Country, their Complexions, Stature, Temper, and Manners.* 10. *The vast Fertility of the Maldives, and the Nature of the several kinds of Corn and Fruits produced there.* 11. *Of the Birds, Fowl, Fish, and other sorts of Provisions, and of their prodigious Plenty and excessive Cheapness.* 12. *A very singular Method in use among the Inhabitants for weighing whatever is left in the Sea.* 13. *Their Language, Religion, Temples, Priests, and Form of publick Worship, with occasional Remarks on them.* 14. *Other Ceremonies of their Religion, together with their Feasts and Fasts, and Diversions at such Seasons.* 15. *A large Account of their Marriages, the Manner of their settling Jointures, and their frequent and voluntary Divorces.* 16. *Their funeral Ceremonies, Profits accruing thereby to the Priests, and other curious Particulars relating to that Subject.* 17. *A Description of the Drefs of Men and Women in those Islands, and of the Laws in relation thereto, and other Circumstances.* 18. *Their Customs in Eating and Drinking, Laws for prohibiting of Luxury, and generous Concern for the Poor.* 19. *Superstitious Customs among them in relation to the Killing of Beasts, Use of Baths, Sailing, and other Cases.* 20. *An Account of the Diseases which prevail among the Inhabitants; their Skill in Physick, and other Sciences.* 21. *The Virtues and Vices of the Maldivians, with some curious Particulars relating to their Women.* 22. *A large Account of the Nature of their Civil Government, Power of the King, his Privy Council, Judges, &c.* 23. *Criminal Punishments in Use amongst them; together with the Estate of their Military Establishments.* 24. *A Description of the King's Palace, Habit, Manner of Living, and other Circumstances relating to his Court.* 25. *His State when he appears in Publick, the Queen's Court, and the great Respect paid them by their Subjects.* 26. *The Particulars of the Royal Revenue, the Nature of the Coinage here, and of the Value of their Commerce.* 27. *The Manner of the Author's Escape out of this Country, after he had remained a Prisoner there for several Years.* 28. *The Author's Journey to Bengal, and Return out of the Indies.* 29. *Remarks and Observations on the foregoing Particulars.*

THERE are some Voyages and Discoveries which never lose their Value, because never superseded by any thing more excellent in their kind; and this we may truly affirm to be the Case of that Voyage which we now present to the View of the Reader. It contains a very curious, accurate, and circumstantial Account of Countries and People, who, tho' they lie at the very Entrance of the Indies, were never described before, nor has any subsequent Account of them appeared capable of entering into any Degree of Comparison with this which we have before us. Our Author appears to have been a Man of good Sense, and great Observation. He was led to travel from a Humour common enough in Youth; I mean the Desire of seeing new and strange Things; but, at the same time, this Humour of his was regulated by a Disposition not very common in young People, which was that of looking to the Bottom of whatever appeared worthy of Notice, and of labouring to acquire whatever Talents were necessary to make to thorough an Inquisition. It was from these Principles that he derived that Constancy and Resolution which are so conspicuous in the following Relation.

He was, doubtless, in Hopes, when he undertook this Expedition, that all Things would have fallen out favourably, and that he should have been entertained with the Sight of all the Curiosities in the Indies, with little Hazard, and some Gain to himself: But when it fell out otherwise, and he found all these Resolutions overturned by the unlucky Accident of a Shipwreck, he did not lose either his Reason or his Spirits; but, on the contrary, determined to make Use of this Accident to further his Design of obtaining a distinct Knowledge of the Places and

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People whom it was his Fortune to visit. It was in consequence of these Notions, that he examined carefully, and recorded faithfully what ever came within the Compass of his Notice: And that he might enlarge the Circle of his Understanding, he applied himself with Diligence, first to learn the Tongue of the Country, and next to enter into a free Conversation with regard to their own Affairs of every kind with the People themselves; so that his Judgment always went along with his Curiosity; and we may rest satisfied that he has not reported Things barely as they appeared, but as they were.

After this Account of our Author, it's requisite we should say somewhat of the Time and Manner in which this Voyage was undertaken, and afterwards we shall leave him to speak for himself. The Fame of the *East-India* Commerce in the Beginning of the seventeenth Century, provoked some French Merchants of *St. Malo, Laval, and Vitre*, to think of sending two Ships into that Part of the World, which Project they executed in the Spring of the Year 1601. The biggest of these Vessels was: the Burthen of three hundred Tun, called the *Croissant*; the lesser of two hundred Tun, called the *Corbin*: The former of these was under the Command of the *Sieur de Bardeliere*, the other under that of *Francis Groul*, Constable of *St. Malo*. They sailed from the last-mentioned Port on the Eighteenth of May, 1601, and had not proceeded above ten Leagues out to Sea before their Mizzen-Mast split and broke in the Middle, which, says our Author, was the Beginning of our Misfortunes: And their History he continues thus.

2. On the 21st we fell in with nine great Dutch Hoys, each of which saluted us with a Gun, but one of them be-

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ing loaded with Ball, bear the Sail of the *Corbin* to Pieces; upon which the Vice-Admiral fired two Guns on the Rigging of the Ship that had injured him; and the Admiral tacking to the Windward of the *Dutch* Admiral, spread all his Sails, and fired a Gun upon them; the *Dutch* Admiral presently struck, and, having informed himself that the Mischance was occasioned by the Oversight of a Gunner that was in Drink, delivered up the Gunner to the *French* Admiral, in order to condign Punishment, and begged he would pardon the Mistake. Our Admiral finding how the Matter stood, said, he desired no further Satisfaction; and having returned the Gunner to the *Dutch* to vouchsafe him a Pardon. How the *Dutch* treated him afterwards I know not; though I do not much doubt but they hanged him up immediately at the Yard-arm; for the *Dutch* observe an exact Discipline among their Ships, and suffer no Mistakes to pass with Impunity; and from thence it comes to pass, that their Navigation is more successful than the *French*.

June the 3d we departed the *Canary Islands* in 28, 29, and 30° N. Lat. The 12th and 13th we came within Sight of the Islands of *Cape Verd*, which run from 20 to 14° N. Lat. On the 29th we were in 5° Lat. and discovered the South-Star, called the *Cross*; at the same time we saw a prodigious Quantity of Flying-Fish, with Wings like those of Bats, which are very plentiful near the Equinoctial Line, whether on the North or South-side. On the 14th of July we discovered the unhealthy Coast of *Guinea*, being carried out of our Course in a Calm by the Strength of the Currents. August the 24th we crossed the Equator, on both Sides of which, for the Extent of 7 or 8 Degrees, we had very unconstant Weather; the greatest Calms were commonly turned into Thundering and Lightenings (especially when the Sun is near the Equinoxes) and with boisterous Winds, which surprised us so suddenly, that we could scarce get our Sails down in time. The Heat was so great that it melted our Candles and Butter, corrupted our Water, and spoiled our Meat and Fish, though never so well salted.

We frequently saw great Whirl-Winds rising at a Distance, called by the Seamen *Dragons*, which shatter and overturn any Ship that falls in their Way. When these appear the Sailors have a superstitious Custom of repairing to the Prow, or the Side that lies next the Storm, and beating naked Swords against one another crosswise, from a vain Apprehension of preventing their Approach by that Means. In this Climate the Rains are very dangerous, for if one is wet and does not immediately dry himself, his Body is soon covered over with Bloches, and his Cloaths with Worms. In the Time of a Calm Ships roll prodigiously in those Seas, but when they run with a fresh Gale they are more steady.

3. August the 29th our Pilot, who was an *Englishman*, discovered Land ten Leagues off; for though we endeavoured to stand one hundred Leagues off to Sea, the Currents drove us towards the Shore. This we found to be the Isle of *Anabon*, possessed by the *Portuguese*, where we took in fresh Water and Fruit, and the Inhabitants, after a Shew of Civility at first, treacherously slew one of our Men, and took five Prisoners. This Island is governed by a *Portuguese* Lord, who had the Gift of it from the King of *Spain*, the other *Portuguese* who inhabit it being only his Factors and Commissaries. The Natives, who are all his Slaves, are Negroes, and go naked, covering their Privities with Cotton. Their Women carry their Children upon their Backs, and suckle them over their Shoulders, their Breasts being very long. The Island is situated in 1° 20' S. Lat. and is five or six Leagues in Circumference. It is high, mountainous, and very fertile. The Road is on the North-West Side, and is very dangerous, by reason of Flats and Rocks. We lay there six or seven Weeks, and, during that Time, it rained every Day, more or less. The Country produces a great Quantity of Fruit and Cotton, in which all the Revenue to the Lord is paid. Their Fish is extraordinary good and very plentiful. At the Distance of a League and a half from *Anabon*, there is a little scorched Island, which produces no Greens, but is so covered with Fowl called *Peyman*, that one cannot walk any where without

treading upon their Eggs. This Fowl is no bigger than a Pidgeon, and the Flesh is black, but eats as well.

On the 16th of October we put to Sea again, and on the 17th we made the Island of *St. Helena*, which lies in 16° S. Lat. at the Distance of six hundred Leagues from the *Cape of Good Hope*. Upon the Altar of a Chapel in this Island we found several Letters, advising the *Dutch* had passed that Way. Here we did not have fitted our Mizen-Mast, but found no Wood fit for Purpose. The Air, Fruit, Flesh, and Water of that are so healthy, that our Men, who were much oppressed with the Scruvy, recovered in the Space of nine Days. The 26th we set Sail, and stood for the *Cape of Good Hope*, and three Days after doubled *Arcebas*, which are a Line of Shelves upon the Coast of *Brazil*, in 18° S. Lat. seventy Leagues long. The doubling of these Sands both difficult and dangerous, and in sailing to the *Indies*, an expert Pilot ought to be very cautious, in going to a just Distance from the *Guinea* Coast, which is very unhealthy, and incommoded with Calms and rents, and, at the same time, standing off from the *bravos*, for the doing of which there is a Room to conceive we reckon a thousand Leagues from the Coast of *Africa* to that of *Brazil*. Having doubled this Cape, we continued our Course for the *Cape of Good Hope*, and a few Days we knew that we approached it by the appearance of the Reeds called *Trombas*, and white speckled Fowls. Having weathered the *Cape of Good Hope*, we came in Sight of that of *Aguilhas* or *Needles*, which is fifteen Leagues farther into the Sea, and lies in 33° S. Lat. This Cape derives its Name from the Observation, when a Ship comes before it, the Needle of the Compass points directly northward, without declining to the East or West.

We met January the 6th, 1602, with a violent Storm, in which one of our Scamen fell overboard, and his Companion would have jumped after him if we had not prevented him; though, after all, I took his Offer as the Effect of Wine rather than true Affection; for it is but little Friendship among sea-faring Men. Pursuing our Course, we steered by the Country of *Natal*, on the Coast of *Ethiopia*, without any Storm, which was common in those Seas; for between the 33d and 35th, there are never, almost, without violent Storms. About we mistook our Course, thro' the Ignorance of the Pilot, and on the 4th of February, finding ourselves on the Land-side of *St. Lawrence*, tacked about, in order to make the other Side.

4. February the 7th, having passed that Island, and being to our Wither, we were surprized all on a sudden with a violent Storm from the South-West, being less acquainted with those Seas than the *Portuguese*, who make it their Provisions for such Accidents. In the Storm it was dark at Noon-Day, that we could not see the Heaven or one another; our two Ships were separated, and we were tore to Rags, such was the Force of the Rain and Wind, that they wounded our Faces like to many Blows of Whipcord. The Waves swelled so high, and ran so upon the Ship, that we could not stand upon Deck. In this Place we continued four Days and four Nights, some of the Men that were on Board applied themselves to devout Exercises, while the Sailors indulged themselves in Blasphemies. Our ancientest Pilots and Seamen testified they never encountered such a Tempest. Their Business was, they never had been in those Seas, nor swell higher than elsewhere.

On the 11th the Storm being over, we stood on for *St. Lawrence*, being much disabled. All our Men were now near half dead, and we had not a Man on Board but the Gunner, that had ever been in the *Indies* before. We came within thirty or forty Leagues of the Island, appeared yellowish and frothy, and was covered with floating Herbs, which continued to appear on our face till the 19th, that we arrived and cast Anchor in *Augustin's Bay*, in 23° 30' South Latitude. This Bay is very convenient, having an excellent Ground and Sand. The same Day the *Croissant* rejoined us, after twelve Days Separation, and was more disabled than

The Seamen being scorbutick, we marked out a Place on the Shore for the Sick, and at the same time a Dutch Ship was forced into the same Harbour by Strels of Weather, which had not one sick Hand on Board. The Natives gave us Cattle, Fowls, Honey, and Fruit, in Exchange for Knives, Scissers, and Trinkets of little Value; but the Place was so unhealthy, that many of our Men died, partly by the Scurvy, and partly by a Phrenetick Fever. We lay directly under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and the Sun-beams darted upon us almost in a perpendicular Line; some had their Legs scorched, and ulcerated through their Stockings; nay, the extrem Heat would have incommoded us more, if it had not been for the Convenience of a fine River to bathe in, and the Shades of a large Wood. We were posted at the Foot of a great Mountain, which was covered with Infinity of large Lizards that offered no Hurt to any body. The Wood was replenished with an innumerable Quantity of little Monkeys and Apes, which entertained us with a continual Shew of dancing about, and skipping from Tree to Tree. Parrots are there very numerous, and make an agreeable Harmony, with their various and warbling Notes. Not to mention the Indiscretion of our Men in over-feeding in so hot a Climate, and the pernicious Consequences that attended it: I shall only take notice farther of the unspeakable Uzzasinsels from the Flies by Day, and the Gnats that pestered us by Night, in piercing the Flesh till the Blood came, and an Inflammation issued. This Inconvenience was so cutting, that some crept into Sacks and Bags, leaving only a small Hole to breath through, and all of us were forced to make Fires, and lie down in the midst of the Smoak.

The Island of *St. Laurence* has seven hundred Leagues in Circumference. It lies between 26 and 14° South Latitude. It abounds in Cattle, especially Sheep, which bring forth three or four Lambs at a time; the Cattle are not impropriated, but common to all that catch them; for the Inhabitants, and indeed most of the other *Indians*, chose rather to feed on Fish, Fowl, and Milk. 'Tis common there to see two or three hundred Bulls and Cows in one Herd, and when they come to cross a broad deep River, the Cows raise their Heads upon the Bulls Rumps, and so get over. We anchored at the Mouth of a River that afforded great Plenty of Fish and Crocodiles, and when we killed a Crocodile, and took out its Entrails, we observed, that like Musk they made a very agreeable Perfume in the Air. The Natives are of a tawny olive Colour, inclining to red; they are tall, strait, well made, and not only of a ready Apprehension, but wise; their Hair is long, and wreathed into Tresses. They are naked all over, excepting that their Privities are covered with Cotton Cloth. The Women wear one Piece of Cloth, that covers them from under their Breast to their Girdle, and another that reaches from thence to the Knees, their Heads being bare, and shaved. Their Arms are Darts and Javelins, called *Azagayes*, for the Noise of a Gun frights them exceedingly. 'Tis said that this Island was formerly peopled by the *Chinese*, upon the Occasion of a Ship's being cast away upon that Coast; and indeed they resemble the *Chinese* very much, bating that their Complexion is not near so white, which perhaps may proceed from their going naked, and living in the *Torrid Zone*. At present the Island is very populous, and governed by several Kings that wage War with one another: Some of the Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, and circumcised, and the rest are *Pagans*. The inland Parts of the Island are in great Want of Water.

5. On the 15th of May, having refitted our Ships as well as we could, and provided ourselves with Water, Wood, and Flesh, which after all would not take Salt so well as what we have in *Europe*, we set sail, and steered for the *Comorro* Islands, from the Consideration that our Complement of Men was very short and sickly. The 23d made these Islands, which lie in 12° 30' South Latitude between *St. Laurence* and the Continent of *Africa*, at the Distance of seventy Leagues from *Mozambique*. There are five of them, each of which has a peculiar King, and one of them called *Malail*, being surrounded by the other four. We chose to anchor in its Road; we saw several Villages ashore, the Inhabitants of which used us kindly, and gave us Fruits in Exchange for Trinkets made of Iron. The Inhabitants of

these Islands are *Mohammedans*, being a Meddly of several Nations, viz. *Ethiopian*, *Caffres*, *Arabians*, and *Perfians*. They are true Friends to the *Portuguese*, and a cunning, sharp sort of People, that are not fit to be confided in.

When our Men offered to land at a little Village to take in Water, the Inhabitants rose up in Arms, and opposed their Landing, till they sent them five or six Crowns; after which they allowed them to take as much Water as they pleased. All these Islands are extrem fertile in Oranges, Citrons, Cocoas, Honey, Betel, and Rice, which we bought up at the easy Purchase of a few Iron-Trinkets and *Flanders* Ware: Flesh, indeed, is as dear there as here, though they have Plenty of Oxen, Cows, and Sheep. They have Barks made altogether out of the Body of one Tree, in which they send their Fruit to *Mozambique* to be exchanged for Cotton, Cloth, Gold, Ivory, &c. One Day we saw a monstrous Fish rise above the Water, which had the Form and Figure of a Man, with a fort of Beard towards the Chin that seemed to be its Fins, and a long scaly Head, terminating in a Point: When we offered to come near him he plunged his Head under Water, and so discovered Part of his Back, which was scaly. We staid a Fortnight in this Road, and the Goodness of the Fruit and the Air cured our Men of the Scurvy to a Miracle; and indeed I have always observed that Citrons, and Oranges, and their Juices, are of sovereign Uses in scorbutick Cases.

6. June the 17th we set sail, and the 24th repassed the Equinoctial Line, standing to the Northward in the Lat. of 5°. We perceived some great Shelves surrounding little Islands, which were the *Maldives*, though most of our Masters and Pilots mistook them for the Islands called *de Diego des Roers*, which we had left eighty Leagues a-stern to the North-West. Our Admiral designed to pass to the North of the *Maldives*, between them and the Coast of *India*; but, on the contrary, we run directly upon them, whereas we ought to have stood an hundred Leagues off them, if we had a Mind to be safe. In fine, such was our Misfortune, that the *Corbin* which sailed a head, struck thrice upon a Rock, at the Distance of five or six Leagues from the Coast of the *Maldives*. In this Disaster we saw a Bark belonging to the Islands, which would not come near us on account of a strict Prohibition in that Country to approach any Ship in Distress without the King's Leave. In the mean time the Sailors eat and drank heartily, and treated their Commanders with Insolence, insulting all those who shewed any Regard for Religion, and loudly proclaiming that, since Death was so certain, they were resolved to render its Approaches easy and soft. This filled me with Horror, and convinced me that most Sailors leave their Souls and Consciences ashore. In fine, after continuing two Days in this deplorable and desperate Condition, we made a shift to reit our Galleon, and haul it over the Flats, and, with infinite Labour and Difficulty, arrived on board of it at one of the Islands called *Pouladen*, which is not a League in Circumference. We had carried some Arms along with us, but the Inhabitants disputed our Landing till we had given up our Arms, and surrendered ourselves at Discretion. There were not above twenty or twenty-five Inhabitants in the Island, but they concerted their Measures so wisely, that they sent off our Boat and all their own, to the other Islands: To prevent any Insurrection from us, they carried us to a Lodge in the Middle of the Island, where they entertained us with some Fruit, Cocoas, and Lemons, and ridled us of all we had, alledging that it belonged to their King, as being a Wreck. We had a Piece of Scarlet Cloth with us, which we pretended was designed for a Present to the King of the Islands, affirming at the same time, that the whole Cargoe of our Ship was for a Complement to him.

Upon this no body dared to touch the Scarlet; but, after all, we cut off a Piece of two or three Ells of it, and presented it to the Governor of this little Island, in order to oblige him, and he, who was a very old Man, took it very kindly, conjuring us not to speak of it. Soon after the Governor sent the Master and two Sailors to the King, who resided in the Capital Island called *Maie*, and the Master presented him with the Piece of Scarlet.

Immediately the King sent for his Brother-in-law to save what was on Board our Ship, though the Flats were such that no Boat could come near it; yet they found a Way of getting at it by the Means of a Rope fastened at one End to the Ship, and at the other to the Rock; for tho' the Waves washed over them, they had fast hold by the Rope, and so got to the Ship; nay, they are so ingenious, that they took out the very Cannon and the heaviest Goods, and laughed at any Advice we could give them. When we left the Ship, we brought with us about a thousand Crowns in several Girdles, and buried it ashore for a common Reserve, to supply our Necessities; but some of our Men being in want of Subsistence, digged up the Place, and offered the Natives Pieces of Money for Food, after which the Natives would never allow us Subsistence without Pieces of Money; and in regard that the least Piece in the Bank was worth Twenty-pence, their Provisions were much over valued: Every Seaman hid from his Neighbour what he had got, and would not assist him even at the Point of starving; nay, when any lay very sick the rest came and killed him before he died.

As for my own Part, I and two more were transported to the Island of *Pandora*, the Natives of which being acquainted with what passed in the other Islands, and thinking we had Money about us, refused us Subsistence, till we gave them Pieces of Silver; but, in reality, we had none of the Money, and were reduced to great Extremities. In the mean time, I made it my Business to learn their Language, and by being able to discourse with them, insinuated myself into the Favour of the Governor of the Island, who sent me to *Male* with Recommendations to the King, and both the King and his Queens were so well pleased with my saluting them in their own Language, and according to the Custom of the Country, and with the Account I gave them of the Things that were taken out of our Ship, the Manners of the *French Ladies*, &c. that they took particular Care of me in a Fit of Sickness that lasted for many Days: In a Word, I rose, by the King's Favour and Bounty, to a Competency; and having, by Virtue of a long Stay in the Country, an Opportunity to inspect their Constitution, Customs, Laws, &c. am now going to gratify the Publick with what I have learned upon that Subject.

7. The *Maldives* lie between one Degree N. Lat. and 4° S. Lat. being two hundred Leagues in Length, and thirty-five in Breadth. They are distant from *Spain*, according to the Course of sailing 4500 Leagues. They are divided into thirteen Provinces, called *Atollons*, each of which comprehends a great many small Islands, and is of a circular Form, containing about thirty-two Leagues in Circumference. These Islands are surrounded with a great Ridge of Rocks, which breaks the Shocks of the Sea, and raises prodigious Surges. 'Tis said the Number of Islands amount to 12000, a great Part of which are nothing but uninhabited Hills of Sand; but the Inhabitants informed me, that the daily IncurSIONS of the Sea-Sand impaired the Number both of the Islands and the Inhabitants, and that the Isles of one *Atollon* were formerly one continued Track of Land. It is plain, that the Seas which divide the Isles of one *Atollon* are so shallow, that, at Low-water one might easily wade over, were it not that the Bottom is rocky and sharp, and apt to wound the Feet, and that those Seas are pestered with Fish called *Paimones*, which break Mens Legs and Arms, and devour 'em. Another great Inconvenience that attends the going into the Water, proceeds from a rough, sharp, porous, hard and ponderous sort of Substance, not unlike white Coral, which they call *Aiquy*, and make use of in boiling it with Cocoa Water, for 'tis that which forms their Sugar or Honey. A great Part of these Islands are uninhabited, and produce nothing but Trees and Grass, others are only a moveable Sand, without any Green, and others again are overflowed at high Water.

The rest are covered all over with great Crabs called *Caccane*, and Cray-fish, or else with the Fowls called *Penguins*, inasmuch, that one cannot place a Foot in any part without treading upon their Eggs and young ones, or upon the old Birds themselves, which do not fly far upon the Approach of a Man. This Fowl is as big as a Pheasant,

with black and white Feathers, and is excellent Meat, tho' the Natives do not eat it. The uninhabited sandy Islands appear at a Distance as if they were covered with Snow; for the Sand, which is as fine as that of an Hour-Glass, is extremly white, and withal so very hot, to hatch the Penguins Eggs. These sandy Islands afford little or no fresh Water, but the covered Islands, which are inhabited or not, enjoy that Benefit, abating for a very few, the Inhabitants of which are forced to have recourse to the neighbouring Islands for Water, and make use of certain Inventions for the receiving of Rain Water.

The Water of some Islands is better than that of others: their Well-Water is neither very sweet, nor very wholesome, but it is very plentiful, and very fresh, even within four Paces of the Sea-Side; for they dig not above three or four Feet, and where the Sea makes frequent Inundations. This Water is very hot in the Night-Time, and extremely cold in the Day, especially about Noon. To return to the thirteen *Atollons*, the first beginning from the North, is called *Tilla Dow Mais*, i. e. the high Point in 'tis lies the Head or Cape of the same Name, called by the *Portuguese*, *Cabeza de las ilhas*, situated in N. L. The second is called *Milla one Marone*, the third *Padyelo*, the fourth *Malafmadon*, the fifth *Aratellon*, the sixth *Male Atollon*, in which lies *Male*, the head Island of the *Maldives*; the seventh *Pentifloer*, the eighth *Milney*, the ninth *Nilandans*, the tenth *Cillmadon*, the eleventh *Aloumais*, the twelfth *Sonaden*, the thirteenth *Aden*, the fourteenth *Polo Molubque*; these two being reckoned last, on account of their Smallness. Each *Atollon* is separated from the adjacent Provinces by an Arm of the Sea, which is in some Places narrow, and in others broad. There are only four of these limiting Channels, that being the broadest, are navigable by great Ships; the rest are not without Danger, especially in the Night, by reason of their Flats and Rocks, which are marked very exactly in some Sea Charts, which I saw in that Country. The Natives have a wonderful Dexterity in avoiding the dangerous Places: I have seen them sail so nimbly, as to pass upon rocks on both Sides, without any Damage.

Both the Rich and the Poor are inured to the Storms of their Infancy, and fear not to encounter the most turbulent and foaming Seas, in little Boats and Barks, the Number of which is unaccountable; for the poorest Man that has one, and the Rich have several. They never sail at Night, or out of Sight of Land, unless it be when they undertake some great Voyage; and accordingly, the Provisions they have on Board, are calculated only for a few Days. The greatest Part of the Islands comprehend one *Atollon*, are surrounded with a common Flat or Reef, that is only passable at one or two narrow Places, which are not easily observed, and for that Reason it is needful for them to be very expert in the Management of their Boats, or Barks, since the least Slip is certainly followed with Shipwreck, and the Loss of their Goods; as for their own Persons, indeed, they have no great Reason to fear for all of them swim admirably well. Notwithstanding that wonderful Dexterity in Sailing, they keep their Barks, which is occasioned by the Currents and *Ouvacous*, which run East and West, six Months upon the East Coast, and six Months upon the West, but with such Uncertainty, that the Change happens sooner or later, at one Time than another. Though the Winds are frequently fixed, as well in the Currents in East and West Quarter, yet they sometimes shift to the North and East.

8. It is to be observed, that the *Atollons* lie all in a Line, the End of the one facing the End of the next, and that they have two Entrances, or accessible Places, each Side, which is a wonderful Convenience; for it was only one Landing place at each End, the Impetus of the East and West Currents would break the Communication with one another, or, at least, it would be impossible to practise it at all Seasons. The Necessity of Landing-places in each *Atollon* will be evident, if we consider the following Instance; suppose a Landing-place on the East Coast, almost directly opposite to the End of the same *Atollon*, and another on the West Coast, that of the adjacent *Atollon*; if the Current runs from

to West, we cannot cross directly from Entrance to Entrance, but set out from the East Coast, which is then the Head of the Current; and taking it Sideway, steer for the West Entry of the other *Atollon*. In order to return, we set out from the East Entrance, and over-thwarting the Current, make to the West Entry of the other *Atollon*. When the Current changes its Course, we observed the same Contrivance in setting out from the Head of the Current, and entering the other *Atollon* at the Place which lies under the Current of these Entrances. Some are broad; and some narrow, but the widest is not above two hundred Paces over, and some of them are less than thirty; each Entrance hath an Island on each Side, and if Cannon were planted on these Islands, it would be easy to hinder any Ships to enter.

Of the Channels that part the *Atollons*; there are only four broad ones, which are navigable by great Ships, and frequently visited by Strangers, when the Currents carry them in against their Will. To begin from the North Side, the first of the four washes the *Atollon* called *Malos Madou*, and it was in this that we were cast away. The second, called *Caridou*, has *Male*, the greatest of all these Islands in the midst of it. The third, called *Addou*, lies to the South of *Male*. The fourth, called *Souadon*, lies directly under the equinoctial Line, and in regard that it is the broadest of them all, being twenty Leagues over, the Natives don't fail upon it without a Compass, though they never use any in the Channels. Besides these, there is a narrow Channel, which separates *Male* and *Poulifon*, in which the Sea appears as black as Ink, but the Water taken into a Vessel, looks like other Water. That Sea boils like Water over a Fire. It swells into great black Surges; but is not moved from one Side to the other, which renders it very terrible. The *Maldives* lie so near the Equinoctial, on both Sides; that their Climate is extremely hot. Their Day and Night are always equal, and their Nights are very cool and dewy, which renders the Heat of the Sun more tolerable, and nourishes exceedingly their Herbs and Trees. Their Winter commences in *April*, and continues till *October*, at which Time the Summer begins, and lasts likewise six Months. In Winter they have perpetual Rains; but no Frost, and the westerly Winds are very boisterous. In Summer their Winds are easterly, with an excessive Heat and no Rain.

9. It is said, that the *Maldives* were in former Times peopled by the *Cingala*, or Inhabitants of *Ceylon*; but it is observable, that the *Cingala* are black and ugly, whereas the Inhabitants of the *Maldives* are handsome, well made, and of an Olive Complexion; though after all, 'tis possible, that the Climate, and Length of Time may have altered the Complexion and Shape to their Advantage; besides; that a great many Foreigners being cast away on their Coast, are blended with them by Intermarriages; and by this Means it comes, that those who live about *Male*, between it and the North Cape, where most Shipwrecks happen, are more polished and civilized than those on the South Coast, who are not only blacker, but much coarser in their Language, Customs, and the Shape of the Body; nay, many of their Women, especially such as are poor, go naked, with only a small Cover for their Privities. This North Side of the Island is not only richer, and more civilized, as being the common Passage for all Ships, but the Seat of all the Nobility and Men of Fortune, and when the King punishes a Criminal with Banishment, he only sends him to the South Parts. The Soldiers are all raised in the North Parts; but after all this Difference, I must say, that the Inhabitants of the South Parts are naturally as lively and quick-witted as those of the North. In general, the *Maldivians* are very ingenious, they apply themselves with great Industry and Success to all sorts of Manufactures, and also to Letters and Sciences, after this Manner, especially to Astrology, which they hold in great Esteem. They are a very wise, cautious People, and very sharp in their Merchandize and Way of Living; they are brave, and well skilled in Arms, and their Policy is very regular.

Their Women are very handsome, abating for their Olive Colour, and some of them as white as the *Europeans*. Their Hair is black, which is reckoned a great Or-

namet, and in order to turn it extremely black, several Women keep their Daughters Heads shaved till they are eight or nine Years old, leaving only a little Hair on the Forehead, to distinguish them from Boys, who have none at all: I have seen some Children have half flaxen Hair, which has turned very black by being shaved every eight Days. Both Sexes affect black Hair, but the Women take a Pride in having theirs thick and long, which they wash and dress very frequently. They wash their Head and Hair with Water and Lye made for that Purpose; after which their Hair hangs dishevel'd in the Wind, till it dries, and then they rub and perfume it with an odoriferous Oil, which renders their Head always moist and oily. Both Sexes anoint their Bodies after washing; but tho' they wash their Bodies more than once in a Day, their Hair is not washed above twice or thrice a Week. They may wash their Hair when they please, but they are obliged to do it on *Fridays*, which is their Sabbath for the Women, and Festivals for the Men. After the Women have washed, rubbed and perfumed, they stretch all the Hair from before backwards, without leaving so much as one straggling Hair, and tie it behind, in a great Tuft, or Knot, which they enlarge by a Perriwig of Man's Hair, made in the Form of a Horse's Tail; nay, some of them have two such Perriwigs, besides which, they add odoriferous Flowers.

As for the Men, none but Gentlemen, and the King's Officers and Soldiers, are allowed to wear long Hair, and these, indeed, wash, perfume, and dress their Hair after the same Manner with the Women, excepting that they make the Tuft not behind, but on the Crown of the Head, or on one Side, and they wear no Perriwigs. Their Hair grows much faster than ours, by reason partly of the washing and perfuming, and partly of the excessive Heat which occasions thick and strong Hair; and for the same Reason their Hair is black. They have no Combs, but they have Sciffers of cast Copper, and copper Looking-Glasses; which they make use of in shaving themselves, with steel Razors made after another Fashion than ours. There are no Barbers in the Country, every one therefore shaves himself, excepting the King, and some Lords; who are served by Persons that are proud of that Honour, without any Prospect of Gain; so that in all those Islands both Men and Women are provided with Utensils for shaving, and are very nice in taking off their Hair, when it begins to be uneasy to them.

The Girls have their Heads shaved once a Week, from their Infancy to the eighth Year of their Age, at which Time their Hair is suffered to grow to its full Length and Dress, for then is the Season here of looking out for Husbands. Before that Age they have no Cloaths, but only a Cloth that hangs down from the Middle to the Knees; and the Occasion of their being clothed afterwards proceeds from the rising of their Breasts, before which, they are looked upon as Children, and 'tis not allowable to discourse to them of Love Matters. The Cloth hangs down from their Middle to the Knees as soon as they begin to go, but the Boys have none till they are seven Years old and circumcised. Their Beards are of two Sorts; Ecclesiastical Persons, and those who have performed Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, wear long Beards, shaving under the Throat, and upon the upper and lower Lips, all round their Mouth. The other sort of People have little Beards, without Mustaches, being shaved round the Mouth, and under the Chin. They are very careful in saving the Parings of their Nails, and the Shavings of their Hair, which they wrap up in Cotton, and bury in their Church-Yards, with a little Water, from a Notion, that they being Parts of the Body, require Interment as well as the Whole, and for that Reason many of them chose to be shaved in the Porch of the Temples, for they would not for any thing in the World either trample upon these Excrements, or see them thrown in the Fire.

10. In order to give a particular Description of the *Maldives*, we shall begin with their Fertility. It produces great Plenty of *Millet*, called there *Pura*, and another little Grain called *Brinby*, which resembles *Millet*, but is black like Rape-feed. These two sorts of Grain they sow, and reap twice a Year; they make a sort of Meal of them, of

which they make Pottage, with Milk, Cocoa, Honey, as well as Cakes and Fritters. The Country produces likewise several sorts of Roots, which the Inhabitants feed upon, particularly one called *Nellipou*, which grows wild, being round, and as big as one's two Fists. They bruise it upon a rough Stone, and then expose it to the Sun, upon which it turns to a white sort of Meal that eats admirably well in Pottage or Cakes, only it must be very fresh, or it is apt to lie heavy upon the Stomach. Another Root that grows there plentifully, and eats well, is called *Alas*, which must be sown and cultivated, and is commonly as big as a Man's Thigh. Some of these sorts of Roots are red, and others white; the Inhabitants boil them several Ways, and make them the most of their Food, keeping them for a whole Year, for they come to Maturity only once a Year, viz. in September. They have no Rice but what is exported from the Continent; however they have it pretty cheap, and use much thereof, either boiling it with Water or mix'd with Spices, boiled with Milk and Sugar of Coconuts, with Pullets, Fish, or turned into Meal after drying and bruising, and then made into Cakes and Fritters, with Eggs, Honey, Milk, and the Butter of Coconuts.

This Country is likewise furnished with Herbs and Trees, some of which bear Fruit, and others not; though the Natives eat their Leaves, they being sweet and well tasted. As for Fruit, they have infinite Plenty of Citrons, Pomegranates, and Oranges of *Bananas*, called by the *Portuguese* *Indian* Figs, and by the *Maldives* *Quellu*, which is a large, delicious, and nourishing Fruit, inasmuch that it serves their Children instead of Broth. The most profitable Tree is the Cocoa, or *Indian* Fruit, called by them *Nea*, which is more plentiful in the *Maldives* than any other Part of the World; so that the Inhabitants know how to manage it better than others. This Tree alone might supply all the Necessaries of Life, for it affords Wine, Honey, Sugar, Milk, and Butter; besides that its Kernel may be eat as Bread, of which they have none in that Country. Further, most of their Utensils are made of the Wood, Bark, Leaves, and Nut-shells of this Tree. In fine, the whole Country is shaded, and refreshed with Trees, many of which serve for no other Use but burning; so that there is no Occasion to buy Fire-wood. Besides that, there are whole Islands covered with Trees, from whence they fetch what Fire-wood they please.

11. It is very remarkable, that though all the thirteen *Atollons* are in the same Climate, and all very fertile, yet they produce such different Commodities that one cannot live without another; for what is plentiful in one, is scarce in another, or, at least, is not so good. This occasions a Necessity of mutual Commerce; and the Inhabitants have likewise so divided themselves, that one Province cannot live without another; for the Weavers repair all to one Island, the Goldsmiths to another, and so on. Now, to render the Communication easy, these Artificers have little Boats with Cheeks, where they work, sleep, and eat, while they are sailing from one Island to another to vend their Manufactures; and sometimes they are a Year out before they return to their fixed Habitation. As for Animals, they have prodigious Numbers of wild Pigeons, which are sold for a Penny a Piece, and the same Price will fetch three Dozen of Eggs; next to Fish, this is the most of their Food. They have a great Plenty of Wild-Pigeons, Ducks, Rays, Birds resembling Sparrow-Hawks, black and grey Mufkets, living not upon Prey, but upon Fruit, &c. As for domestick Fowl they have none. The Crows are here very troublesome, for they are so numerous and so bold, as to take Things out of their very Houses before the Peoples Faces. Their Bats are as big as Ravens, and their Gnats, or *Muskets*, bite more feverely than in any other Part of the *Indies*.

But they are most incommoded by Rats, Dormice, Pigmies, and other sorts of Vermin, which over-run all their Houses, and spoil their Grain, Provisions, Fruit, and perishable Commodities. To obviate this Inconvenience, they build Granaries and Warehouses on Piles, or Stakes in the Sea, at the Distance of two or three hundred Paces from the Land; and most of the King's Magazines are built after the same Manner. They have no poisonous Animals, except Snakes, of which a very dangerous kind

frequent the Sea. Cats, Pole-cats, and Ferrets, are likewise found there; but there are no great Beasts, either wild or tame, save a few Sheep, and some three or four hundred Cows and Bulls in the Island of *Male*, which belong to the King, and of which they never eat but on Festival-Days, and solemn Occasions, for their King imports from the Continent. They have no Dogs, as they abhor them so much, that when the King of *Perak* sent two as a Present to the King, he ordered them to be drowned immediately. The Sea affords Plenty of sorts of Fish, especially between the *Atollons*, where the Sea is shallow and calm; the Fishery is the most constant Exercise of the Natives, who feed mostly upon Fish when fresh, with Rice, or other Meats fried with the Oil of Coconuts, or boiled in Salt-water, and dried for keeping. They send every Day Ships loaded with Fish for *Sumatra*, *Achen*, and other Places. Many of the Fishermen have lost Arms and Legs that have been bit off by a sort of great Fish frequent in those Seas. This great Plenty of all Necessaries causes an easy Purchase; four hundred coconuts cost but a *Larin*, which is Eight pence; the same Price will purchase five hundred Bananas, a dozen Fowls, or three hundred Weight of Roots, or a hundred large Fish, &c.

In fine, there is no Part of the *Indies* where a Stranger can get an Estate so soon as here, for it lies convenient for Trade, and requires but an inconsiderable Charge of Maintenance. The Natives, it's true, don't grow rich, and that I take to proceed from their cheap and easy Living, which encourages them to Negligence and Idleness. *Male*, the principal Island, gives Name to the rest, *Dives* signifying a Cluster of little Islands. This Island stands almost in the Middle, and is one League and a half in Circumference; it is the most fertile of them, the Staple-port and Magazine of all the rest, and the Residence of the King and the Court. By this Means it is better peopled, but, at the same time, it is not so healthy for which the Natives give this Reason, viz. The King and the Court having resided there Time out of Mind, and the Corps of all that died being interred apart, the whole Surface of the Island becomes a continual Series of Graves, from whence the perpendicular Rays of the Sun extract pernicious Vapours; and accordingly the Weather is here so bad, that the King and Persons of great Quality tend for Water to other Islands.

12. In all the Islands, even in *Male* itself, there is no Thing as enclosed Towns, but the Houses lie scattered here and there, though not without some Order and Distinction of Streets. The Common-People's Houses are built of Coconuts-wood, and covered with Coconuts-leaves sewed double one within another. Persons of Quality and Fortune have Houses built of Stone taken out of, and laid under the Flats and Rocks. This sort of Stone is very fine and white, and somewhat hard to cut, but when it is wet with Rain, or fresh Water, it loses its Hardness, and last, becomes all over black. The Manner of taking them out of the Sea is very remarkable. There grows that Country a sort of Tree called *Candou*, which is as big as a Walnut-Tree, and resembles the *Aspin* in its thick Leaves and Whiteness, but is extremely soft, and bears no Fruit, and is not proper for burning; when it is they saw it into Planks like our Fir-Deals. This Wood is lighter than Cork. Thus premised, we come to show they draw out the Stone: Being the expertest Swimmers that can be, they dive under Water, and having put upon a Stone fit for their Purpose, fasten a great Cable to it, then they take a Piece of the *Candou*-wood, and boring it, run it along the Cable quite up to the Stone; after this, they run on such a Number of Pieces as will have Occasion for, till the light and floating Wood is up along with it a Stone of 100000 Pound Weight, was by this Contrivance the Natives took up the Cables and Anchors of our Ship that was cast away, and I saw with my own Eyes, and with the same means, in the Space of fifteen Days, the Harbour of *Male*, which was choked with great Rocks, inasmuch that no Ships could come in. When the *Candou* wood is once raised out of the Water, it must be dried in the Sun before it be used, otherwise it will not float.

Ferrits, are like great Beasts, either three or four of a Male, which never eat but on these Kine are never no Dogs, says the King of Persia ordered them to be Plenty of all *Indians*, where the most constant fish upon Fifth, dried with the Oil dried for keeping. Fish for *Sumatra*, the Fishermen have cut off by a sort of great Plenty of four hundred Co-pence; the same bananas, a dozen of pots, or a hundred

where a Stranger it lies conveniently considerable Charge for don't grow rich, air cheap and easy Negligence and gives Name to all little Islands. This is one League and fertile of them all, rest, and the Refi- By this Means it is it is not so healthy, viz. The King time out of Mind, entered a-part, the continual Series of our Rays of the Sun rightly the Water one of great Quality

self, there is no such Houses lie scattered from some Order and on- People's Houses with Cocoa-leaves fons of Quality and ren out of, and from Stone is very smooth but when it is wet Hardness, and, at Manner of taking e. There grows in *don*, which is as big e Afon in its shak- nely soft, and bears ing; when it is dry ale. This Wood is come to show how expertest Swimmers and having pitched ten a great Cable to ou-wood, and have ate up to the Stone er of Pieces as they floating Wood drag Pound Weight. It took up the Cannon ft away, and I was same means, in the t Male, which us that no Ship could ever talked in Wa- it beated, otherwise

Upon other Occasions they take five or six large Pieces of Wood, and having ranged them all in a Line, raise Planks on them of the same Wood, to sit upon, and so pass from one Island to another: And it is by this Contrivance they generally manage their Fishery. In the Canals that run between the *Atollons* one Man can work these Instruments of Navigation, though they are not proper for the Sea; for they know how to trim their Deal-leats so well, that there is no fear of overfetting; and if that happens, their Plank will always swim: All the Danger lies in disjoining the Pieces; and this sort of Float is called *Candou patis*, from the Wood of which it consists. The Candou-tree has yet another strange Property, namely, that when one Piece of it is struck against another they will extract Fire; and this serves them in the Place of Tinder-boxes.

13. Our Method directs us, in the next Place, to speak of their Language, which lies in two Channels; the first is the *Maldivian*, properly so called, which is very copious; the second is the *Arabick*, of the same Use as *Latin* in a Popish Country, being the Language of their devout Addresses. I pass over the *Cambaya*, *Guzaretta*, and *Portuguese* Tongues, which are derived from their Commerce, and shall only take Notice that, in the Southern Parts they speak a coarse unpolite Language, which, after all, is the common Tongue of these Islands. Their Religion and Ceremonies come next to be considered. All the Inhabitants are *Mohammedans*, and the greatest Part of the Foreigners, viz. *Arabians*, *Malabars*, and *Sumatrans*, are the same. Their Temples, or Moschs, are built of good Stone, well cemented, and have a thick Wall. They stand in the Middle of a square walled Inclosure, where they bury their Dead, except those who desire a separate Sepulchre. Their Temples are square, and face the West, as pointing to *Mohammed's* Tomb. They have three Doors, each of which is faced by a broad Wall with Steps, the Bottom and Sides of which are lined with polished and flat Stones, the Floor of the Temple being covered with Mats and Tapestry; whereas the Church-Yard is nothing but Sand. Their Temples are kept so clean, that if they want to spit or blow their Nose, they must either do it in their Handkerchief or get out of Doors.

The Roof or Ceiling of the Temples is of Wood, admirably well polished, and the Walls are wainscoted, both of them being firmly joined without Nails, Pegs, or any other visible Artifice. Upon the Walls of the Temples we met with large Tables of Stone, or of Wood, with *Arabick* Inscriptions. They have a particular Place for the King and his Court, and Galleries for the Guards, and separate Apartments for certain Dignities, Qualities, and Ages, inasmuch that any Person who takes up an improper Place, is fined accordingly. They constantly burn Lamps, for which End certain low Trees are consecrated. Some of the Islands have nine or ten Temples; but that in which they solemnize a general Festival is built and supported at the common Charge, under the Name of *Ou coura Mequiste*: Each Mosche has its Priest called Moudin, and each Island that has forty Persons above the 15th Year of their King's Age is dignified with a Catibe or Curate, who assists as Principal at all publick Exercises, and governs the inferior Priests. He pronounces the publick Prayers, and by Sermons and Exhortations explains and recommends the Law of *Mohammed*; under him the Moudins teach Children to read and write their Mother Tongue, and that of *Arabic*, for which Service their Parents give them a Reward. Every Day in the Week all above fifteen Years of Age repair, before Break of Day, to the Temple, and declare their Creed, viz. That the World is flat, and not round, that 'tis surrounded with a Wall of Brass, which prevents it being drowned in the Waters that encompass it: That the Devil, the general Enemy of Mankind, endeavours every Night to break through and undermine this Wall, and that he is not much short of compassing his End when the Day-light arrives. Upon this Belief they all join in Prayer, at the Break of Day, to prevent the Destruction of the World, which, as they believe, would otherwise ensue.

They repair to the Temple four Times a Day besides, at Noon, at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, at

Sun-set, and at Ten o'Clock at Night, remaining each Time half an Hour. Those that have no mind to go to Church may say their Prayers at home, or none at all if they please; but if it be known that any Person neglects their Duty of Prayer altogether, no body will eat or converse with him; from whence it comes to pass, that almost all of them, whether Trademen or others, spend a great Part of their Time in publick Service. They make use of Beads as well as the Papists; but they have no Crosses. Before they enter the Temple they wash their Feet, Hands, Ears, Mouth and Eyes, observing at the same time certain Ceremonies, and pronouncing Prayers suitable to the Sin they repent of. They are so scrupulous, that no Temptation in the World can oblige them to forbear this solemn way of washing, upon the Apprehension that it certainly purges them of all Sin and Pollution. The greatest Indecency of their Worship is, that they wash and bathe publickly and promiscuously, and offer their penitential Prayers with a loud Voice, and so discover to all the World all the secret Transactions of their Lives. At this rate all the secret Adventures of Man and Wife are laid open to the World by the publick Prayers of both Parties; for the Women pray aloud as well as the Men, only they do it in their Houses, in regard that they never go to Church.

14. The Male Children are circumcised when they are seven Years of Age, and upon that Occasion the Parents and Relations divert themselves with Musick and publick Feasting fourteen Days. They have particular Operators for Circumcisions, who apply themselves to nothing else, and the Ceremony is after this manner: For six or seven Hours before the Circumcision the Child is bathed in the Sea, in order to make the Yard shrink, and to render the Skin soft and tender. When the Hour comes the Child is brought to a Lodge built on purpose, and held by two or three Moudins or Priests, who in the mean time chant Verses and Prayers suitable to the Occasion. Then the Operator having drawn over the Peppuce, and tied it with a String, cuts it with a Razor; after which he heals it in fifteen Days; before Circumcision they alledge that the Child is innocent, and cannot sin, and for the same Reason they do not cover the Privities of the uncircumcised Children. As for the Girls, their Circumcision consists in drawing two or three Drops of Blood, when they are two Years of Age; but 'tis attended with no Solemnity. When the Children are grown up, they pay a profound Deference to the Operator that circumcised them, and call him Master.

They celebrate several Festivals in the Course of the Year, particularly every Friday with them is a Day of Feasting, at which all the Males above fifteen Years of Age are present, but no Females. On the preceding Eve they pray in their Houses, some for their Health, others for the dead, and for that end send for the Priests to their Houses, where an Entertainment is provided, and as the Priests have no Stomach for eating; they choose rather to absent, for if they come they must eat, though against their Appetite. On Friday Morning the publick Crier goes round the Island, with a sort of Bell in his Hand, and a Hammer of Wood to beat it withal: He is assisted by three Trumpeters, who sound often to give the People notice of their Duty. Upon this Warning the People throw aside all Work for that Day, and after washing and bathing, and putting on their best Cloaths, repair to the Temple. In the mean time the King's Musicians play before his Palace on divers Instruments, and soon after the King's four Priests, who are Men of Quality and Learning, and never absent but at publick Solemnities, ascend a high Stone Edifice adjoining to the Temple, where they clap their Hands upon their Ears, and with a loud and fearful Voice cry thrice, *Alla, Alla, Aquabar!* i. e. Great God, and then they add something of *Mohammed*. This done, they repair to the King's Palace, and pronounce the same Words after the same manner. Upon which, if the King has a Mind to be seen, as he commonly is, he lends a Carpet of Silk to be spread on the Place where he means to sit. Then the Moudins do the like at the Catibe's House, and he comes and waits upon the King, who walks in great Magnificence to the Temple, his Head being covered with a white Veil above a great Turban, so that he cannot see, but is led by one of the Moudins. The King comes last to the Church, and immediately says his Prayers.

Prayers; after which the Catibe being mounted on a raised Place at one end of the Temple, takes a naked Sword in his Hand with the Point downward, and flourishing it about, recites his Prayers. In the mean time the People pray without ceasing, putting themselves in various Postures, and observing several apish Gestures.

The Catibe has a new Prayer for every Friday in the Year, and when that Year is expired, makes use of the same Prayers for the next. He repeats all without Book, and if he happens to be out in one Word, Syllable, or Letter, the Moudins reprimand him publicly, and the Feast is thought to be ineffectual. This Service lasts about two Hours, and after it is over, the People saluting one another, and the King returning in great State to his Palace, entertains 'em at his own Expence. They observe the like Solemnity on the Day of every new Moon, and rejoice when they see it. Upon this Occasion they clean their Houses, Courts and Streets, garnishing the Entries of the Churches, and the Gates of their Houses with Cocoa Shells cut in the middle, and filled with white Sand, and burning Coals, upon which they burn almost all Night sweet-scented Gums and Woods, at the same time the Insides of their Houses, their Beds, &c. are perfumed after the same manner.

Though the *Maldians* celebrate every new Moon, yet they observe four beyond the rest. Particularly in *December*, or thereabouts, they have a Fast called *Ramedan*, which commences at the new Moon, and lasts till the next new Moon. They take their Measures not from the real Change, but from the Appearance of the new Moon; by which means it so falls out, that some Islands begin the Fast sooner than others. The first Night of the *Ramedan* Feast the Men and Women visit one another apart, and divert themselves with Feasting, Dancing, &c. till 'tis near Day, having prepared themselves for eating by fasting the preceding Day, in which Custom they are so superstitious, that for that Day they will not only avoid the tasting of any, but even the washing of their Mouth, or putting their Fingers therein, or swallowing their Spit. The Prohibition of swallowing their Spit puts them to a great Inconvenience when they are in the Church, because it is not allowed to spit there, and so upon every Turn they are forced to run out of Doors. Nay, such is their Superstition upon the Feast-day, that the Men, who are allowed to bathe, are prohibited to plunge their Heads in the Water, lest some Drop of it should enter their Mouth or Ears; and the Women are forbid to bathe at all. Half an Hour before Sun-set, all above fifteen Years of Age repair to the Temple, and in the Space of that half Hour cleanse their Mouths, and pick their Teeth very nicely, being furnished by the Moudins with Pick-tooths, and other cleansing Instruments made of Cocoa-wood. This done, the Moudin makes his Cry three times, and enters the Temple at the Head of the People, who then say their Prayers, the Women at the same time being employed in saying theirs at home. When that Service is over they feast and make merry with one another. During the *Ramedan* the King entertains all the People at several times, inviting only Persons of the same Quality at a Time; for they are such religious Observers of their Quality, that they will not eat with any Person of a different Rank. The Nobles, &c. entertain their Friends in like manner; and thus do the Men and Boys feast; but the Women, who are not allowed to go to these Feasts, send only Presents at Night one to another.

The Women bathe themselves in the Evening, at which Time the Men are enjoined to avoid Bathing; during the whole Course of the *Ramedan* they fast after the above-mentioned manner in the Day time, and avoid Sin and Pollution as much as they can. If any one breaks any one of the Fast-laws, he is obliged to fast as many more after the End of the *Ramedan*. In this Month no body will work but they ever so poor. The *Pandiar* preaches every Day at Three in the Afternoon in the King's Palace, or in the Church, or in his own House. After the Sermon is over they divert themselves with the Exercise of Arms, and several sorts of Plays, particularly at Foot-ball. At the same time the Women and Girls visit one another, and have particular sorts of Plays and Diversions suitable to their Sex. Intrigues run louder in this Month than in any other, and

the Courtship consists in sending to one another Songs and Verses, inscribed with Bodkins on Cocoa Leaves, which are as white as Paper.

The Youths likewise present their Mistresses with lands of sweet-smelling Flowers, and receive in return Presents of Betel nicely dressed. In fine, they take all possible Measures to heighten their Mirth and Diversion. Three Days before it ends the Bellman and the Trump go round the Island, requiring all the Inhabitants, whether Men or Boys, Women or Girls, to send their Names Writing to the Naybo of their respective *Attellon*, to pay an Offering of half a Larrin a Head, which the People pay very willingly as a Tribute to God and *Moham*. For they imagine that without the paying of that Tax their Fasting would not avail them. In this Tax the Parents pay for the unmarried Children, and for their Servants and Slaves; and if any poor Person has not the Money lay down, the King, or any rich Person, pays for very willingly. The Money arising from this Tax is laid in the Hands of four Receivers, one on the Behalf of the King, a second for the Clergy, a third for the new converts, and a fourth for the Poor. One-third of it goes to Ecclesiastical Persons, another to the Profelites, and the remaining third to the Poor. About *August* and *September* they have a Solemnity of two Days, in which they about to one another-boiled Wine, with Honey and Milk. This Festival is said to take its Rise from a Miracle that *Mohammed* wrought on that Day.

15. There remains yet another very solemn Night festival called *Moulade*, which happens about the Month of *October*, being the Night on which *Mohammed* died. On this Occasion they have a large House, or Hall of Worship in several Parts of the Island, which is hung within with the finest and richest Tapestry. The Floor of which is covered with white Sand, and Mats above it, and the Ceiling adorned with white Cotton Cloth, supported with Strings, that run along it like Stripes. In this great Hall hang up so many Lamps, that 'tis as light as Day, and the Smell and Smoke of the Perfumes that they burn, fill the Air. In the midst of the Hall there is a Table covered with several sorts of Meat and mixed Liquors. The Women do not assist at this Solemnity, but the Men repair thither about eight o'Clock at Night, and sit down in Order according to their respective Stations, there being Officers appointed to rank them. All the Night long the Priests and other Ecclesiastical Persons sing what they call the Psalms of *David*. When Midnight approaches, the whole Assembly fall down flat upon the Ground, as in an Extasy, and continue in that Posture for some time; after which the diare and the Catibes start up of a sudden, and all the following their Examples, skip about, and leap upon one another as if they were mad.

The People are served with Betel well dressed, Drink, by fifty Persons chosen into that Office, which is reckoned very honourable; when the Night is almost over the Priests give over singing, and say Prayers; after they all go to the Middle of the Hall, where the Priests stand, and every one takes a Plate of Meat, and some matted Liquors, which they carry home with them in esteem very much. After their religious Rites, it is proper to subjoin the Ceremonies of Marriage and Funerals. Upon a Design of Marriage they address themselves to the *Pandiar* or Naybes, who, after being sufficiently informed that things really are as they are represented, takes them by the Hand, and asks him if he is willing to take the Woman on the Conditions proposed, and the Woman always being absent, he likewise questions her Parents for their Consent. If they all agree he marries them, and the By-standers to witness their Consent. Then the Company waits upon the Woman home, and several Persons visit her. All the Visitors being entertained with Feasting, Musick, Dancing, &c. the new-married makes Presents to the King, and the Great Lords, and the Bride pays the like Complements to the Queen, and other Ladies; both make Presents likewise to their relations; but when the King is married, he does not receive Presents from all his Subjects, viz. Cloths, Turbans, Victuals, Fruit, Flowers, &c. but these Presents, which arise to a great Value, being

new-married Queen. A Man may have three Wives if he can maintain them, but not more; and if all three live in one Island, he is obliged by Law to bestow as many Nights upon one as upon the other. Tho' after all this Law is not observed, and indeed it is a hard Law in that Country, where the Women are so lascivious.

The Bridegroom receives no Dowry with his Wife, and is obliged, not only to be at the Charge of the nuptial Solemnity, and to maintain her, but to settle upon her a Jointure equal to what her Mother and other Ancestors had. They are so nice on this last Condition, that if the Priest apprehends the Husband cannot afford such a Jointure, he refuses to marry them, notwithstanding both Parties require it; but after all, the Bride may renounce either whole, or part of the Jointure, after Marriage, and indeed, that is frequently practised. Brothers and Sisters, first Cousins, and those who by way of Friendship and Intimacy have used to call one another by the Names of Son or Daughter, Father or Mother, Brother or Sister, these, I say, are prohibited to marry. The Males may marry when they will, but a female Orphan cannot marry till she is fifteen Years of Age; indeed, if her Father be alive (for the Mother has no Power) he marries her at ten or eleven Years of Age, and that to the first Suitor, whether old or young, provided his Quality is in some Measure suitable to hers; for they reckon it a great Sin to keep the Daughters unmarried. A Man may turn away his Wife, but unless she consents to the Separation, he may demand her Jointure: Tho' after all, that Demand is seldom made, as being reckoned a mean Action, and a Sign that the Woman fears that her Merit will never procure her another Husband.

On the other Hand, the Woman cannot part from the Husband without his Consent. This sort of Divorce, which is very frequent, must be attested by Witnesses, or they cannot have the Benefit of a second Marriage. The divorced Parties frequently repent of their Separation, and marry again a second, third, or fourth Time; but after three Divorces, such re-marriages are not allowed; tho' such is the Levity of the People, that they frequently desire them, and in order to elude the Law, they have a common Trick of getting some profligate Fellow to marry the divorced Woman, and lie with her one Night without touching her, after which he quits her before Witness, and to the is married again to her former Husband. Such is the Frequency of those Divorces, that a Man shall have an hundred Wives, and the Woman look upon the Multitude of separated Husbands as a Point which entitles them to future Marriages. When a Woman is separated from her Husband by Death, she must mourn four Months and ten Days before she can marry again; and if the Separation is accomplished by Divorce, she must remain three Months single before she offers to marry. This Caution is used for fear she should prove with Child by her former Husband.

16. Their funeral Ceremonies are superstitious to a great Degree; in the first Place, the Corps is washed by Persons of the same Sex, who buy that Office of the Kings, and are paid for their Service; then they are wrapped up in Cotton, and covered with fine white Cotton Cloth, which goes afterwards to the Priest, the Right-hand of the deceased Person being laid upon his Ear, and the Left upon his Thigh. This done, the Corps is laid upon the Right-side in a Coffin of *Candou* Wood, and carried to the Burying-place, by six Relations and Friends, attended by the Women-waithers, who cry and howl most hideously. Every Man in his Life-time provides for himself a Burying-place, and all the other Necessaries; nay, they are so superstitious, that they will rather starve than touch the Money they have laid up for that Purpose. Besides the six principal Mourners, the other Relations and Neighbours are present without Invitation, and upon the March from the House of the deceased Person to the Grave, they scatter Shells for the Benefit of the Poor, to whom they likewise distribute Sacks of Rice and Millet, at the same Time they give to the Priest Pieces of Gold and Silver, the Number of which is proportionable to the Estate of the deceased Person, and these Pieces are distributed by the Priest to those who have assisted in praying for the

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deceased Person. The Priests sing continually during the whole Course of the Ceremony, and in the Procession, a Person of Quality sprinkles the Assistants with Water made of sweet Flowers.

The Grave is covered with a large Piece of Silk, or Cotton, which, on the Interment, goes to the Priests of the Temple. When the Corps is laid in the Grave, they turn the Face of the deceased Person to the Quarter that faces *Mohammed's* Tomb, and then fill up the Grave with fine white Sand, sprinkling it with Water. When the Ceremony is over, the Relations entertain all the Company with Victuals, and the three following *Fridays* they pray over the Grave, where the Priests sing, eat and pray every Day, till the third *Friday* passes, after which, a general Feast is prepared for the Relations, Friends, and Priests, who pretend, that the Soul of the deceased Person is then conveyed to Paradise. This Feast is prepared every Year, and on *All-Souls* Day they throw fresh white Sand on the Grave, and perfume it with burnt Incense: The Grave is surrounded with wooden Pails, for they reckon it a great Sin to walk over it. They never bury two Corps in the same Place; for they have such a Reverence for the Bones of the Dead, that even the Priests dare not touch them. If a great Lord dies, the Priests sing for him a whole Year, and are entertained every Day with Dishes of Meat and Betel; but if a King or Queen dies, the Ceremony is continued to the Death of the next Successor.

In this Country, the Mourners make no Alteration in their Habit, only they go bare-headed to the Grave, and continue so for a few Days after the Interment. Those who die fighting with Persons of a contrary Religion are buried upon the Spot where they fall, without any Ceremony; and in regard that they are accounted Holy and Happy, neither the Priests, nor their Friends, pray for them. They never transport Corps from one Island to another, and even the King himself is buried where he happens to die. If any Person dies at Sea, they wash the Corps, and put them into a Coffin, which they place upon a Float of *Candou* Wood; within the Coffin they put Silver, in Proportion to his Circumstances, and a written Paper, describing his Religion, and withal, praying those who meet with the Corps to take the Money, and bury it handsomely.

17. We come next to their Apparel: The Men tie about their Privities a great Swath of Cloth, which comes round about, to prevent any Discovery in Working, or walking about; next that they have a Piece of blue, or red Cotton Cloth that reaches to their Knees, and then a larger Piece of Cotton, or Silk, reaching to their Ancles, and girded with a square Handkerchief, embroidered with Gold and Silver, which is spread upon their Backs, and tied before. Above these they have a little Piece of Party-coloured Silk, which reaches only to the middle of their Thighs. At last they gird themselves with a great fringed silk Girdle, the Ends of which hang down before; within this Girdle, on the Left-side, they keep their Money and Betel, and on the Right-side a Knife. These Knives are made of excellent Steel, the Sheaths being of Wood, and the Shafts of Fish-bone, for the Bone of a Land-creature they will not wear. The richer Sort have both their Hafts and Sheaths of wrought Silver. Every one wears a Knife, and esteems it much, as being his only Arms, for none but the King's Officers and Soldiers are allowed to wear any other. These, indeed, have a wrought Dagger at their Side, and when they walk along the Streets, a drawn Sword in one Hand, with a Buckler, or Javelin, in the other. The *Maldivians* place their chief Ornaments in their silver Chains, which hang about their Girdle, and of which every Boy or Girl has more or less, in Proportion to their Means; but 'tis only Persons of Quality and Fortune that shew them openly: In these they place their chief Treasure, and commonly they appropriate them for the Charge of their Funeral.

The common People are naked from the Girdle upwards, except on the Festival-Days, on which they wear Cotton and silk Jerkins and Waistcoats with gilt copper Buttons, the Sleeves of these Coats reach only to their Elbow; for they alledge, that if their Wrists were tied up

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like ours, they could not have the free Use of their Arms. Persons of Quality commonly wear such Coats; but some have a Custom of covering their Skin from the Girdle upwards, with an odoriferous Pachte, made of the Powder of Camphire and Sanders, beaten upon a smooth Stone, and incorporated with the distilled Water of sweet-scented Flowers. They make their Wives or Friends anoint their Backs, &c. with this Paint, and draw various Figures upon them; however, they must not appear with that Piece of Popery before the King, or be seen in his Palace. The Men of this Country wear upon their Heads red or party-coloured Turbans, some of which are of Cotton, for the meaner sort of People, and others of Silk, for the Persons of Quality. The King's Officers and Soldiers have frequently embroidered Handkerchiefs on their Heads, which other Subjects are not allowed to wear. Their Feet are always naked, excepting that within Doors they use wooden Sandals, which they pull off when visited by a Person of superior Rank; often times their Legs are likewise naked.

The Women wear a Coat of Cotton, or Silk, which reaches from their Middle to their Ancles; above that they have a long Robe of Taffaty, or fine Cotton, reaching to their Feet, without any Slit besides the Neck, where it is fastened with two little gilded Buttons. This Robe they pull quite up to suckle their Children. Their Arms are loaded from their Wrist to the Elbow with Bracelets of Silver, inasmuch that sometimes they have three or four Pound of fine Silver upon them; though indeed the poor sort alloy the Silver with Brass. The Women of Quality have many Chains of Gold, or Strings with little Pieces of Gold about their Necks, and rich Pendants in their Ears. They have their Ears pierced when they are young, not only in the Cap, upon which there hangs an Ear-ring, but in twenty-four Places up the Gristle, in which they put as many gilded Nails, with precious Stones or Pearls on the Heads of them. When the Women walk in the Streets they cover their Heads with a Veil, and are very cautious in shewing their Faces before Men, though in the Presence of Women of superior Rank, they take off their Veil. They are not allowed to wear Rings, Jewels, Bracelets, or Ear-rings, or Chains of Gold, till they ask and obtain Leave of the Queen, as the Men do of the King, for the same Privilege, which commonly costs them Money.

The different Quality of the Women is distinguished by the Nature of their Ornaments. For none but Queens and Princesses are allowed to wear Gold-Bracelets, or Gold-Rings on their Arms or Legs; besides, the Queens put Rings on their Fore-fingers, the Princesses and Persons of the first Quality upon their Middle-fingers; so that all other Women have their Rings upon the Ring-finger and Little-fingers, and the Men have theirs upon their Thumb only. If a Man's Wife begins to wear richer Ornaments than she used to do in former Times, the Man's Taxes are raised, unless he be one of the King's Officers, or an Inhabitant of *Male*, for these are exempted from all Taxes on Apparel; Foreigners and their Wives are also free, for they may wear what they please, as well as the Clergy. The Women place a great Part of Beauty in painting red the Nails of their Fingers and Toes, which they effect with the Juice of a certain Tree. In a Word, they are very handsome, and are very careful in setting themselves off with a genteel Habit, and with frequent washing and perfuming: Generally speaking their Complexion is an Olive Colour, though some of them are brown, and others very fair.

The People of this Country have many peculiar Customs with reference to eating; they reckon it is very dishonourable for a Person of superior Rank to eat with his Intimates; and indeed they seldom regale one another, unless it be at some Festivals. If they mean to complement a Friend, they lend a covered Table with several Dishes of Meat to their Friend's House, who is thereby much honoured; but, in their own Houses they are cautious of eating in the Presence of others; before and after eating, they say Prayers; and their Table is the Floor, covered with a fine Mat, upon which they sit cross-legged; they feed so nicely that they will not drop one Crumb, nay, not so much as a

Drop of Water, though they wash their Mouths before and after. Instead of Table-cloths and Napkins they use Banane-Leaves: Their Dishes are made of Earthen, or of Porcelain, which is very common in that Country; gold or silver Vessels being prohibited by Law. They all round like Boxes, with an earthen Cover, over which they put a Piece of Silk, for the Pismires are there numerous and troublesome that it would be impossible to keep Meat without a Cover upon it; and the People so nice, that they will not taste any Meat that has been touched by a Fly, Pismire, or any Insect or unclean Thing, but give it to the Fowls. As for the Persons whom they look upon as the Servants of God, they feel to offer them what they will not eat themselves, and entertain them with the best Victuals they have. If they find the least Crack in a Dish, they eat no more out of it, nor is it polluted.

All Spoon-meat they eat with their Fingers, but with so much nicety, that they let nothing fall, that being accounted a very natural Piece of Decency. If they have Occasion to cough or spit at time of eating, they rise from the Table, and walk out; they never feed themselves with their Left-hand, because they make use of it in Washing their Privities. They choose to begin their Meals with eating a Cocoa-nut half ripe, and drinking the Water of it, which they say loosens the Body. While they eat, they are all silent, and make quick Dispatch, for it is considered an unmannerly Thing to be long eating. They are for a Piece of Rudeness and Incivility to drink, after having done eating, and even then they drink but once, either Water or Cocoa-wine fresh drawn. They drink of Copper-cups well wrought, with Covers to them: After eating and washing, they serve up a Plate of Biscuits of Sweet-meats, for the Fruit is served with the Meat. They have no set Meal-times, but eat when their Appetite provokes them; and Victuals is dressed only by Women, for the Men despise the Character of a Cook in such a Manner that they will not converse with a Man who cooks, or admit him to a Share of their Exercises, being doomed by his Trade to the Company of Women.

When they kill a Beast for Food, they turn their Faces towards *Mohammed's* Sepulchre, and so cut it in Pieces in a particular Place; after which they superstitiously abstain from the touching of it till it is quite dead. Their Beds must be ancient, and the Fathers of Children. When awake out of their Sleep they presently wash their Faces, and rub them with Oil, and blacken their Lids and Eye-Brows, for before the Performance of their Duty, they must not speak, or bid any one Good-morrow. They are very careful in washing and cleansing their Faces to the end that the Betel and Areca may not more easily impress their red Colour upon them, which they are very fond of. They are always chewing Betel, and they continually carry about with them in the Place their Girdle, and mutually present to each other upon formal Salutations. They bathe before they enter the Temple, and wash with their Left-hand after natural Evacuations. When they bathe at home, they plunge their Bodies three Times under the Water; and in regard that they always bathe and pray in publick, and that the religious Crimes have peculiar Ceremonies, calculated for the expiation of every Man's Crimes or Misdemeanours are thus exposed to the publick View: When they set out upon a Voyage, they avoid touching or meeting any body, for if any untoward Accident betails them, they impute it to the Person they have touched them. When they go a fishing they must salute any, or bid them Good-morrow. From Sunday till three or four a-Clock next Morning, they suffer nothing to be carried out of their Houses, but receive all that is brought in.

If they fall out one with another, they never raise if they did all the World would fall upon them. If they are crossed at Sea, they address themselves to the King of Winds, (for they do not call him a God); and in the Island there is a desolate Bye-place, called *Stave*, where those who have escaped Danger make Offerings of Boats and Ships, made on purpose, and loaded with Perfumes, Flowers, and odoriferous Woods. They then set fire to the Boats and

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them a-drift, so that they float up and down till they are quite burnt; and this they take for a Sacrifice that is acceptable to the King of the Winds. But when they cannot easily get their Boats and Gallies afloat, they kill Hens and Cocks, and throw them into the Sea right after the Ship they mean to sail in. They likewise pay a superstitious Dederence to the imaginary King of the Sea, and dare not spit to the Windward of the Ship, nor look behind them.

All their Boats and Ships are devoted to the Prince of the Winds and Seas, and they keep them as neat and clean as Temples. They place a wonderful Virtue in certain Characters called *Cavide*, which they wear under their Garments in little Boxes, and sometimes under their Arms, Necks, Girdles, or Feet, according to the Seat of the Distemper; for, their imaginary Virtue is said to consist in curing or easing Diseases, procuring Love, Hatred, Safety, or Danger, &c. These they buy of the Magicians, who are their only Physicians. They impute Death, Sickness, and all Affliction to the Devil; and, in order to pacify him, make him Offerings of Flowers and Banquets in a certain Place, where they let them consume, unless some poor body has the Sense to take them. With the same View they offer him Cocks and Hens, which they kill with their Faces directed towards *Mohamme's* Tomb.

20. To give a short Account of their most common Distempers; the first is a Fever, which is dangerous to Strangers. An epidemical and contagious Disease called *Curadin*, and not unlike the Small-pox, visits them once in ten Years, and sweeps off a great many. They are liable to Disorders of the Eyes; many of them are quite blind, and most of them have little Eyes. When they have Occasion to be long in the Sun, in the Height of the Day, they sometimes lose their Sight when the Sun goes down, and for a Cure of that Infirmary, they take the Liver of a Cock boiled, and after the writing of certain Words and Charms upon it, swallow it just before Sunset; by this Remedy both I and my Companions received a considerable Benefit, though we omitted the magical Part. They are very subject to the Itch, which they heal with the Oil of Cocoas, and some of them are covered all over with incurable Tetters, which is owing to their feeding mostly upon Salt-fish, and their pouring salt Water upon their salt Meat.

In the Winter, as they go barefoot, notwithstanding that it rains continually, a sort of Worm breeding in the Mud feizes upon the Soles of their Feet, and the Intervals of their Toes, where they raise Wheals that degenerate into Ulcers, so that they cannot walk; their whole Body is likewise infested with these Worms. Commonly their Spleens are large, and liable to Obstructions, and their Bellies are apt to swell, and be hard, which they believe proceeds from their unhealthy Water. In all external Inflammations, or Aches, they apply Fire, which raises a Scar, and upon that they lay Cotton steeped in Cocoa-Oil, which proves very successful; their Ulcers, which happen chiefly in their Legs, are perfectly cured by the Application of Plates of Copper. As for their Wounds, they cure them very dexterously, by the Application of Ointments, without any Bandages or Tents; they are sometimes troubled with Catarrhs, Disfluxions, and Pains in the Bones. Venereal Diseases are frequent among them; however, they cure them with China-wood without Sweatings, and those Distempers are communicated to them from the Europeans. They are altogether unacquainted with the Tooth-ach, which they owe to continual chewing of Betel, for that fortifies the Gums. As soon as the Children come into the World they wash them for a considerable Space of Time, six times a Day in cold Water, and then anoint them with Oil. When they void their Excrements they wash their Privities with Water. All Mothers, even the Queens themselves, suckle their own Children, and besides the Breast-Milk, feed them with a sort of Pap made of Millet bruised, and steeped in Water, and afterwards baked in Milk and Sugar of Cocoas. Though they never swaddle their Children, yet I never saw any of them deformed, they rock them in Hammocks of Cord, or in little Chairs hung up in the Air, which they swing to and again. At the Age of nine Months the Children begin for to go,

and when they are nine Years old they commence the Studies and Exercises of the Country.

Their Studies consist in learning to read and write, to understand the *Alcoran*, and to know their Duty. They have three sorts of Letters, viz. the *Arabick*, the *Maldivian*, and a third sort, which is commonly made use of in most Parts of the *East-Indies*. Their Lessons are wrote down on white Tables of Wood, which they clean and whiten again after they have got their Lessons by Heart; for durable Writings are on Paper made of the Leaf of a Tree called *Macore Quenn*, that Leaf being a Fathom and a half long, and a Foot broad. To teach the Children to write, they make use of no Paper, but make Draughts of Letters with a Bodkin upon smooth, plain Boards of Wood, covered with fine white Sand. The Children have such a profound Veneration for their Masters, that they cannot marry them any more than their own Parents. Some of them, especially the *Moudins*, *Nabey*, and *Catines*, carry their Studies a great Length, and acquire great Skill in the *Alcoran*, and other Treatises of the Law. The Mathematicks are much esteemed in this Country, and especially that Part called Astrology; for they always consult Astrologers, not only upon Nativities and Births, but upon all Undertakings whatsoever, as Travelling, Building, &c.

As for their Exercises, they have Schools for learning the right Use of a Sword and Buckler, of a Bow, of a Gun, and of a Pike; and the Masters who teach them are much respected. They have no sort of Diversions but that of the Foot-ball, which they tols very dexterously. Many of them apply themselves to Manufactures, for Household-Goods and other Commodities, which they make very ingeniously; but the most universal and the most considerable Exercise they have, is that of Fishing, which is so common an Exercise all over the *Maldives*, that there's no such thing as a particular Trade of that Nature; for Gentlemen, and even their Kings, pursue Fishing as we do Hunting in this Part of the World. Every Man there enjoys the natural Liberty of Fishing where and for what he pleases. The Fish which are taken in the deep Sea about six or seven Leagues off the Bars of the *Atollons* are large, and of seven or eight sorts, such as *Bonitos*, *Albacores*, *Guilt-heads*, &c. which are all much of the same Taste, and have no more Scales than a Mackerel. The Instruments with which they catch them are a Line of a Fathom and an half of great Cotton Thread tied to a Cane, together with a Hook that in Form resembles the Letter h. The Bait is not fastened upon the Hook, but thrown about into the Sea; for they drag after their Boat a Quantity of small Fish like our Roaches, which are very numerous among the Banks and Sands, and which are preserved alive in Purfennets of Cocoa-thread; and when they come to the deep Sea they cast these little Fishes about, and throw in their Line. Upon which the great Fishes perceiving an unwonted Quantity of little Fish crowd upon them in Shoals, greedily swallow the whitened Hook, taking it for one of the little Fish. The Fish that swallows the Hook falls off as soon as the Line is brought into the Boat, and so the Line is thrown in again. At this rate they will fill their Boat with Fish in three or four Hours Time, and, which is very strange, the Boat is all along under Sail. The Fish thus taken are all black, from whence they are called *Cobolly Masse*, i. e. the *Black-fish*. They have another way of fishing in the Night-time upon the Banks that surround the *Atollons*. At every full and every new Moon they convey themselves to the Banks upon Hurdles, and the Fishing lasts three Days every time. 'Tis performed by Lines of hard, coarse Cotton Thread, some of which are fifty or sixty Fathom long, and are blackened over with the Bark of a Tree that serves instead of Pitch, in order to preserve it from Corruption. At the End of this Line they have a Hook with a Bait fastened upon it, after the same manner as is usual among us: By this means they catch a prodigious Quantity of large red Fish, such as I never saw elsewhere, which eats most deliciously, and is by them called, *The King of the Sea*. In fine, they have such Plenty of several sorts of Fish, and different ways of taking them unknown to us, that 'tis impossible to distinguish them; for besides the Lines above-mentioned, they have all sorts of Nets of Cotton, Twine, Wheels, and other Instruments for Fish-



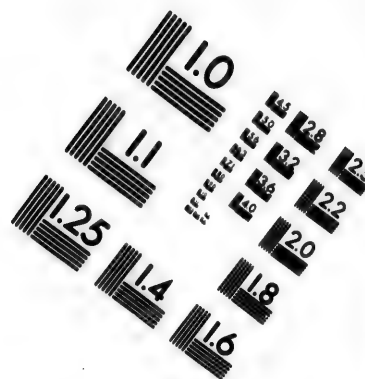
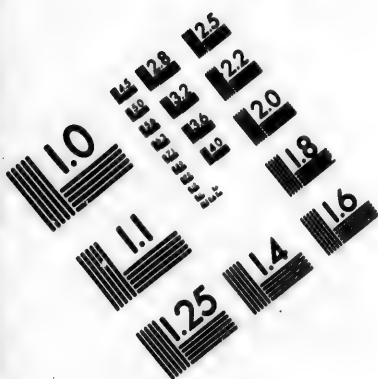
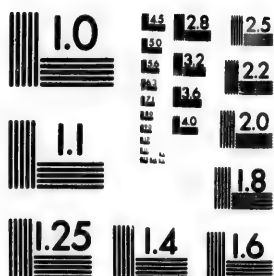


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ing. Upon the Flats near the Shore they catch small Fish like Pilchards with Casting-nets.

At the two Equinoxes they have a general Fishing, which is very remarkable: At these two Periods of the Year, as the Tides flow beyond their wonted Bounets, so they ebb more than usual, and discover several Rocks and Flats, which at other times continue under Water. Upon this Occasion the *Maldivians* pitch upon several dry Corners, which they encompass with Stones raised like a Wall to a great Height, being forty Paces in Circumference, with a Door or Entrance left that is three Paces wide. This done, thirty or forty of them stretch out, all round the Flats, a large wide Circle of the great Cocoa-cords at each Fathom, of which they tie a Piece of Cocoa-shell dried, and that supplies the Place of Cork, making the Line float. Now the Fish inclosed within the Circle are so scared with the Shadow of the Floating-line, as if it had a Net underneath it, that instead of making their Escape by swimming, they fly from it, and, by the gradual Contraction of the Line, are brought into the Inclosure, the Entry of which is thereupon stopped with all Expedition with Faggots of the Boughs and Leaves of Cocoa compacted together of the Bigness of a Man; after all the Sea runs out, and leaves the Fish on the dry Land. This Fishery, which continues fifteen Days together, produces commonly ten or twelve thousand Fish. To conclude, I know of no Place in all the *East-Indies* that can vie with the *Maldives* for a rich and plentiful Fishery.

21. After having thus dispatched the Learning and Exercises of the *Maldivians*, it will now be proper to take a View of their Temper and Inclinations; they are a lively, brisk, and at the same time a sober and wise People, and very discreet in most of their Actions. They love Arms and Exercise, and are not destitute of Courage. They display a great deal of Industry in Arts and Manufactures, and are polite enough in their Manners. They are religious to a very high degree, and superstitious beyond measure, tho' at the same time they are extremely given to Wantonness and Debauchery. Adultery, Incest, and Sodomy, are their common Actions. Notwithstanding the Severity of their Laws, Fornication is accounted no Crime, and a young Woman suffers no Affront for obliging a Friend before Marriage. The Impudence of the Women is unparalleled, and the Men are as vicious as they, though indeed they cannot outdo them if they would. The Men bend all their Thoughts upon their supporting of Nature, and would give their whole Estates for a Receipt to corroborate drooping Lust. Their amorous Feats engross all their Discourses, and their Wives or Whores are their inseparable Companions.

Though they are impudent to the last Degree, yet the Regard they have for their Parents and Relations stifles it in their Preference; and if a Man talks a little jocularly to a Woman before any of her Relations, they will resent it so far as to prosecute him at Law, and oblige him to own in Court, that he takes them for Persons of Honour, unless he declares he did not know of their Affinity to the Lady. A Man must not enter where a Woman bathes, or is present without her Garment; tho' she never takes off the Cloth that supplies the Place of a Petticoat. When a Man is in Company with a Woman, if another Man meets them, he must not ask if she be his Daughter, or Wife, but if she be his Kinswoman, and what Degree of Affinity or Consanguinity she stands in to him: For, if the Woman be really the Man's Daughter, and the other ask if she is his Wife, he will take the Question for an Imputation of Incest.

As I intimated above, the Women seldom stir abroad in the Days, so that they make all their Visits at Night, being accompanied with a Man who walks before, and when he sees any one approaching, calls out thrice *Gas*, i. e. take care. Upon this Signal the Man betakes himself to the other Side of the Street, without seeming to see or know the Woman: Nay, if one Woman meets another, she takes to the other Side of the Way, and does not salute her unless she be very intimately acquainted with her, the outer Gate of the Houses being always open till eleven o'Clock at Night, at which Time every body is at home. The Visitors have no Occasion to knock, and indeed the Gates have no Knockers. After entering the Outer-gate, and ap-

proaching to the Door of the Houses, which is always open, and spread with Tapestry of Cotton Cloth, or some other Stuff, they cough once, upon which the People of the House come out. In the Island of *Male* the King's Officers and Soldiers cough frequently, to give Notice to one another in the dark Streets, for fear of receiving mutual Wounds from their Arms, which are always naked in their Hands.

22. We shall in the next place take a View of their Government, which is an absolute Monarchy, for the King is feared and revered by all, and every thing depends upon his Pleasure under him. Each *Atollon* has a Naybe or Governor, who is a Priest, and Doctor of the Law. The Naybes govern the inferior Priests, and are intrusted with the Administration of Justice, and the Management of religious Concerns. The *Cansons* or *Atollons* being subdivided into many Islands, each of these Islands that contain above forty-one Men, is allotted a Doctor called *Cantibe*, who presides there in religious Matters, and rules over the particular Priests of the Mosques. All the Priests are employed in instructing the People in the Law, and live upon a certain Portion of Fruits collected from every Inhabitant, and a Salary allowed them by the King, in proportion to their Dignity.

The Naybes indeed are likewise employed in the Administration of Justice; nay, they are the only Judges both in civil and criminal Cases; and it is for the sake of Justice, as well as the promoting of Religion, that they make four Circuits in the Year, through all Parts within their Jurisdiction. When they go these Circuits they gather their Dues, and receive Presents from an Infinity of Persons, so that the Circuits furnish by this means the best Part of their Incomes. The Naybes, or thirteen Judges, are under the Direction of a superior called the *Pandiaré*, and in *Arabick* the Cady, who resides in the Isle of *Male*, and is not only the supreme Judge in all Causes, but likewise the Head of the national Church. He receives Appeals from the Naybes, but does not pass Sentence without taking the Advice of four or five Moncoris, i. e. Doctors learned in the Law, and divers other Sciences, who are universally honoured and respected, there being only fifteen in all the *Maldives*. The Judgment pronounced by the *Pandiaré* may be reversed by appealing to the King himself, who upon such Occasions orders Justice to be done by the principal Officers, of whom there are six Counsellors of State.

The *Pandiarés* make a Circuit once a Year through the Isle of *Male*, as every Naybe does in his respective *Atollon*, and condemns all to be whipped that cannot say their Creed and Prayers in the *Arabick* Tongue, and construe them into the *Maldivian*. When he goes along the Street the Women must not shew themselves; for if he spies any unveiled, he orders their Hair to be shaven. Each *Atollon* has, besides the Naybes, a Collector of the King's Revenues. Justice is dispensed in the House of the Naybe, or else at the *Pandiaré's* House in *Male*, and sometimes, in Cases of Moment, in the King's Palace. The Defendant is summoned by Serjeants called *Devaints* to come before the Naybe, by Virtue of a special Letter or Writ from the Naybe; but if he lives out of the Naybe's Jurisdiction, he is summoned by Letters from the *Pandiaré*, which enjoins him to come from any Part of the Realm to the Island of *Male*.

The *Pandiaré's* Writ is served publicly upon the Defendant by the *Calibe*, or Superior of the Island, and if he does not appear at the Place appointed, he is not only excommunicated, and excluded from eating and drinking with his Neighbours, or coming to Church, but seized by a Party of Soldiers. If either Plaintiff or Defendant suspects the Partiality of the Naybe, they have Recourse to the King, who orders the Cause to be tried before impartial Judges. The contending Parties plead their own Causes; in the Business of Right or Title they are judged by the Law; and in Allegations of Matter of Fact the Plaintiff must have them attested by three Witnesses, or else the Defendant's own Oath will bring him off. In administering an Oath the Judge holds up the Book of the Law, and the Evidence is obliged to touch it with his Hand, and that not superficially, but so that every one may observe

of the Houses, which is always open, of Cotton Cloth, or some other, upon which the People of the Island of *Male* the King's Office, frequently, to give Notice to one another, for fear of receiving mutual injuries, which are always naked in their

next place take a View of their Government, an absolute Monarchy, for the King is all, and every thing depends upon him. Each *Attollon* has a *Naybe* or Priest, and Doctor of the Law. The inferior Priests, and are intrusted with justice, and the Management of religious Matters, and rules over the *Mosques*. All the Priests are eminent People in the Law, and live upon presents collected from every Inhabitant, whom by the King, in proportion to

are likewise employed in the Administration, they are the only Judges both in Civil and Criminal Cases; and it is for the sake of promoting of Religion, that they make fear, through all Parts within their Circuit, they gather these Presents from an Infinity of People, which furnish by this means the best Part of the *Naybes*, or thirteen Judges, are of a superior called the *Pandiaré*, and who resides in the Isle of *Male*, and is Judge in all Causes, but likewise the Church. He receives Appeals from all, and does not pass Sentence without taking the Advice of the *Moncoris*, i. e. Doctors learned in the other Sciences, who are universally respected, there being only fifteen in all the Kingdom pronounced by the *Pandiaré* appealing to the King himself, who orders Justice to be done by the *Attollons* there are six Counsellors of State. The *Attollon* Circuit once a Year through the *Naybe* does in his respective *Attollon*, he whipped that cannot say their Creed in the *Attollon* Tongue, and confine them into the *Attollon* he goes along the Street the Women themselves; for if he spies any unwelcome air to be shaven. Each *Attollon* has, a Collector of the King's Revenues, the House of the *Naybe*, or else at the *Attollon*, and sometimes, in Cases of the King's Palace. The Defendant is summoned by a special Letter or Writ from the *Attollon* out of the *Naybe*'s Jurisdiction, he comes from the *Pandiaré*, which enjoins every Part of the Realm to the Island of

rit is served publicly upon the Defendant, or Superior of the Island, and if he is not in Place appointed, he is not only excluded from eating and drinking, or coming to Church, but seized by the *Naybe*. If either Plaintiff or Defendant fails of the *Naybe*, they have Recourse to the *Attollon* Cause to be tried before impartially-contending Parties plead their own Cause of Right or Title they are judged in Allegations of Matter of Fact the *Attollon* them attested by three Witnesses, or their own Oath will bring him off. In all Cases the Judge holds up the Book of the Law, and is obliged to touch it with his finger, superfluously, but so that every one may observe

observe a real Contract. Whatever is adjudged to the Plaintiff, a twelfth Part of it goes to the Serjeant, but nothing to the Judges.

If Women are called as Witnesses, three of them are equivalent to one Man. Slaves can neither witness, nor plead, and the meanest of them, called *Allo*, have but one Wife, whereas the rest are allowed three. By Slaves they understand such only as voluntarily sell themselves, or are imported as Slaves from foreign Places; for a Shipwreck'd Stranger, that was not a Slave before that Misfortune, continues in the Enjoyment of his Liberty. The Punishment of beating a Slave, is half of what they inflict for beating a Freeman.

23. An insolvent Debtor is obliged to become a Servant to his Creditor, but not a Slave, and he and his Children after him continue in the Service till the Debt is worked out. If he thinks himself ill used, he may turn himself over to another Master, provided he lays down the Money due to the former. If a Man be murdered, his Wife cannot prosecute the Malefactor, but the Judge obliges him to maintain her Children, and bring them up to a Trade, till they are of Age, at which Time they are qualified either to forgive, or prosecute the Murderer; for the State takes no Cognizance of personal Injuries unless the Party aggrieved complains of them. The ordinary Punishment for Criminals is Whipping, which, indeed, is very severe, and frequently mortal; but in some Cases they are banished to the southern desert Islands, and in others, they are doomed to the Loss of a principal Member. The Whips are made of Thongs of thick Leather, which are a Fathom long, two Fingers thick, and four Fingers broad, five or six of them being fastened together in a wooden Handle. Whipping is the Punishment for Sodomy, Incest, Adultery, Perjury, and Rapes; but over and above that Punishment, an Adulterer has her Hair cut off; a perjured Criminal pays a pecuniary Mulct for the Benefit of the Poor, and a Ravisher is obliged to give a Dowry to the injured Woman.

The stealing of any thing of Value is punished with the Loss of a Hand, and the disobeying of the Law, with publick Penance; for they are of Opinion, they can never come into Paradise without satisfying the Demands of the Law. The Sentences pronounced by the Judge are executed by the Serjeants, for they have no Hangman or publick Executioner; tho' Death is by Law the Punishment of Homicide, they never condemn a Prisoner to die, unless the King expressly requires it, which seldom happens; and when it does, the King sends his own Soldiers to execute the Sentence, for he reserves the Power of Life and Death to himself; whereas the inflicting other Punishments lies in the Hands of the Judges. Their Tenderness in not sentencing Criminals to die, is grounded upon Pretence of not dispeopling the Country, there being too great a Number of Criminals who justly deserve Death. When the King is personally offended, he makes the Criminal lie upon the Ground, flat upon his Belly, his Arms and Legs being held by four Men, while his Back is soundly beat with a *Bengala* Cane, called *Ratan*, which takes off the Skin, and leaves a perpetual Mark.

Indictments, Depositions, or Sentences, are never put in Writing, being all very short; nay, in civil Matters, the Allegations are never written, unless it be in a Suit for Land of Inheritance, or Cocoa Trees, which are reckoned immoveable; then, indeed, the Judges give Letters sealed with Ink (Wax they do not use) for an Evidence of the Person's Right, to be transmitted to Posterity. The Inhabitants of this Country are divided into four Classes, namely, the Royal Family, Persons invested with Dignities and Offices, the Nobility and Gentry, and the common People. The third Rank is distinguished from the fourth by their Birth, and the Distinction is so nicely kept up, that the latter dare not sit in the Presence of the former. If a Noble Woman marries a Plebeian, she retains her Rank, and upon her Account, the Children are reckoned Noble; but a Woman of the lowest Form cannot enoble herself by marrying a Nobleman.

Besides the Nobles by Birth, there are some enobled by the King, who, upon such Occasions, gives them Letters, ennobling them to that Privilege, and sends an Officer round the Island to make Publication of the Promotion.

The first Rank comprehends the King, who is called *Rofquan*, the Queen is called *Reneguallagat*, the Princes and Princesses of the Blood are called *Callans* and *Camanaz*, and all who are descended of the King's Predecessors. The next Station is allotted to the great Officers of the Kingdom, particularly to the *Quillagat*, or the King's Lieutenant-General, who commands in the King's Absence; the *Eudequerry*, who always attends the King's Person, as chief Counsellor; the *Velanas*, who takes Care of all Strangers, and takes the Rudder off all Ships that arrive, for fear they should set sail without taking Leave; the General of their Forces, called *Dorimenaz*; the *Mampas*, or Chancellor, who affixes to all Letters the King's Seal, i. e. the Impression of his Name in *Arabick*, engraved on Silver; the Secretary, called *Carrans*, &c. These Officers have, besides the Rents of certain Islands allotted them, the King's Rice for their Provision (which is a great Honour, allowed likewise to the Soldiers) and the Toll of the Ships that trade to the *Maldives*. The Officers and Soldiers are so much esteemed, that a Nobleman is not respected, unless he be an Officer, and a Gentleman will hardly pass for such, unless he be lifted into the King's Service.

The King's Guards consist of six Companies, of one hundred Men each, commanded by the six Counsellors, called *Moscoulis*: Besides these, there are ten Battalions, commanded by ten of the *Grandees* of the Country, which serve the King not in Fighting, but in the Launching of Ships, building of Palaces, and such other Work, being called together by the Sound of a Bell. In five of those Companies none but Gentlemen are received, but the other five take in common People. Slaves are always excluded, as well as those who work in a mechanical Way, as the dressing of Cocoa Trees, &c. and particularly such as serve others, or cannot read or write. Whoever is lifted as a Soldier, pays twenty *Larins* to the King, and for ty to be distributed among the Company, in which he is to serve. To conclude; all Offices are bought of the King, and much coveted, on account of the Honour and Power that attends them; but the Persons invested with these Offices can neither sell nor resign them.

24. The Islanders have but one Name, such as *Mabammed*, *Haby*, *Hassam*, *Affan*, *Ibrahim*, and are distinguished by their Stations as Noble, Prebican, &c. added to their Name, and sometimes by the Addition of the Island in which they live. The royal Palace is of Stone, one Story high, and has a great many fine Apartments, without the Ornaments of regular Architecture. It is surrounded with Gardens, in which there are great Fountains and Cisterns of Water walled in, and paved with large smooth Stones, and guarded continually, to hinder People from wading in them, as being solely reserved for the King and Queen's Use. The Palace is divided into several Courts, each of which has a Wall in the middle, paved with fair white Stones; and in one of these Courts the King has two Magazines, one for Ordnance, and the other for Ammunition. At the Palace-Gate there's a Guard, with many Pieces of Ordnance, and other Arms. The Portal is made like a square Tower, and on Festival-Days, the Musicians sing and play upon the Top of it. Passing on from the Gate, you first come to a Hall, where the Soldiers wait, then to another great Hall, where the Noblemen and Gentlemen attend; for none but the Officers of the Household, with the King and Queen's Slaves, or Servants, are allowed to go farther. The Floor of these Halls is raised three Feet high from the Ground, to avoid the Ants, being neatly boarded with Wood, and covered with a sort of party-coloured Mats, which they make in these Islands, and which have several Characters, and other Figures wrought upon them.

The Walls are hung with silk Tapestry as well as the Ceiling, which has pretty Fringes hanging about it. The Noblemen sit down cross-legg'd on the Mats which cover the Floor of the Hall, observing punctually the Order of their Dignities. The Gentry of the Island of *Male*, and the ordinary Courtiers who are obliged to salute the King every Day after Noon, sit in an outer Hall till his Majesty comes forth. The Gentry of the other Islands come likewise to wait on the King in the same Manner, and always bring Presents along with them, for no one salutes the King

King without one. The Chambers and inner Apartments are hung with silk Tapestry, and enriched with gold Flowers and Branches of several Colours. The Beds of the Palaces, and those of the great Men, are hung with Cords upon a Beam, supported by two Pillars, and so the Person is rocked to Sleep. It is usual among the better Sort of People, to make the Servants rub and chafe their Bodies when they lie down, and to give them little Slaps, or gentle Blows, with both their Hands, from an Apprehension, that it promotes Sleep, and expels the Spleen.

The King is generally clothed in a fine white Robe, or Coat of Cotton, reaching to the Girdle, or a little lower with white and blue Edgings, and made fast before with massy gold Buttons. Then he has a Piece of red embroidered Tapestry reaching from the Girdle to the Heels, and fastned with a long large Girdle of Silk, fringed with Gold, and a great Chain of Gold before, upon which their hangs a large Jewel, as big as ones Fist, composed of the finest precious Stones; he wears likewise a Knife, made after the Fashion of the Country, and it is richer than ordinary. Upon his Head he has a Cloth of Scarlet, that Cloth being so much esteemed in that Country, that none but the King presumes to wear it. This Cap is laced with Gold, and has on the Top of it a great gold Button, with a precious Stone. The Grandees and Soldiers wear their Hair long, but the King has his Head shaved every Week. His Legs are naked, after the Fashion of the Country, and his Feet is covered with Slippers of gilt Copper, imported from *Arabia*, and made like Sandals, which none besides are allowed to wear, but the Queen and the Princes of the Royal Blood.

25. When the King goes Abroad, the chief Mark of his Dignity is a white Umbrella, which none are allowed to use but Strangers, who may have what they will. Upon the same Occasion he has three Pages near his Person, one carrying a Fan, another his Sword and Buckler, and a third a Box full of Betel and Arequa, which he chews every Hour. He is likewise attended by a Doctor of Law, who reads in his Presence, and puts him in Mind of Religion. This King does not pursue the Diversions of going Abroad, and Fishing, as his Predecessors were wont to do, but shuts himself up in his Palace, and spends his Time in caressing his Queen, giving Audience to his Courtiers, and seeing a great many Mechanicks and Artificers work; for he keeps in his Palace Painters, Goldsmiths, Embroiderers, Cutlers, Joiners, Turners, Armourers, &c. and finds them Work; nay, he works frequently with his own Hands, and looks on it as a Sin to be idle. He is a Man of a lively quick Apprehension, and very curious to learn mechanick Trades. He encourages all Strangers that practise Arts unknown to his People, and makes Enquiry after those that excel in their Way.

On a Friday he goes in great Pomp to the Temple, being attended by his Guards, consisting of an hundred Men, and his ordinary Officers, with a complete Band of Musick of Drums, Flutes, and Trumpets. After Service is over, he returns with the same Retinue, the Soldiers leaping all the Way at the sound of Musick, and striking their Swords on one another's Bucklers, and that in such a successive Manner as to avoid Confusion. He is likewise attended, in his Return from Church, by all the People of the Island, and regales with a Dinner the Pandiars, Naybes, Catibes, Moudins, Gentlemen, and Soldiers. After Dinner he hears Causes, and administers Justice. These Islands afford neither Horse nor Beast, and therefore the King walks abroad on Foot, unless he be carried in a Chair upon Slaves Shoulders, which happens but seldom, for he is a brawny strong Man, and chooses rather to go on Foot. In speaking to the King, or Queen, or Princes of the Royal Blood, and in speaking of them they have peculiar Expressions, that they dare not apply to others; as when they say of another Man, he is asleep, in talking of the King, they say, he takes his Rest.

The Queens wear the same sorts of Habits with the other *Maldivian* Women, only their Cloaths are richer. The Noblemens Ladies and Daughters are obliged to wait upon them every Evening: And when the Queens go abroad (which happens but very seldom) all the Women in the

Island run to meet them in their respective Districts Presents of Flowers and Fruits, the *She-Slaves* give Notice, at a great Distance before them, for all Men get out of the Way upon that Occasion. Four great dyes carry over the Queen's Head a Veil of white reaching to the Ground, so that she is not seen. Queens bathe frequently in the Sea, as well as other men, such being the Custom of the Country, which reckon very conducive to Health. For this End have an Inclosure in the Sea, covered with Cotton-Cloth and upon the Shore a little House, with a Fresh-Bath, which they use as they come out of the Sea. Light is never seen in the Queen's Chambers, or those of the Ladies of Quality, for their only Light is Lamps burning continually; and the Place of the Room where they usually retire is blocked up with four or five Rows of Tapestry, the innermost of which neither Man or Woman dares to pull up without coughing or hemming, and telling who they are. When they undress, they off only their Robe, for neither Men nor Women in *Maldivius* dare to throw off the Cloth that is tied round Middle.

26. As for the King's Revenue, he has many Islands, which are Crown-Lands, besides a fifth Part of all the Grain, Fruits of the Country, and a Tax on dried Fish, Salt, called Bely, and Cords of Cocoas, which he lays upon them according to their Circumstances, for he has Taxes paid him in Money, abating what is paid as a chafe for Titles and Offices, or for Licences to wear Apparel. He obliges his People to make him every as much Cotton-Cloth as cloaths his Soldiers, for he pays them Cloaths as well as Pay. This Revenue is further larged by his Claim to the Goods imported by Ships for a Ship no sooner arrives, than the Owners repay him, and give him an Account of their Cargo, out of which he takes what he pleases, at low Rates, and obliges his Subjects to take them of him again at what Price he pleases, by way of Exchange, for such Things as he wants, and often fits out Ships laden with the Commodities of his own Country.

All Wrecks found on the Sea-Shore are immediately brought to the King, for no Subject dares keep that same is done with Ambergreete, called by the *Indians* Gomen, which is more plentiful here than in any Part of the *Indies*, and which is so narrowly looked at that whoever appropriates it to his own Use loses a Part. In a Word, whatever the Sea casts upon the Shore of the King's, particularly a sort of Sea-nuts, called Tanacars, as big as a Man's Head, which they fancy to grow on under Water. The *Portuguese* call them Cocoas of *Maldivius*. They are used in Physick, and very dear. Money is Silver only, and but of one sort, called Lari, however, all Gold and Silver is current here by Weight it is all over the *Indies*. Before they take it, it is tried by the Fire, and every Man keeps Weights for that Purpose. There is a sort of Metal called Cabin, resembling much esteemed in the *Indies*, but not current there. Money passes no where in the *Indies* but in the Dominion of the Prince that coined it, having but one sort of money they are forced to cut it, by which they lose a Part. Instead of small Coins they use sometimes 12000 of which make a Lari, and a Lari is about eight Sols, being long, like one's Finger folded; the King's Name is set upon those Folds in 24 Letters. Their Gold and Silver is all imported abroad, but in their own Markets they often barter one Thing for another. The *Maldivians* are well acquainted with Merchants, and the Commodities they send are chiefly the Cocoas, with which they load about hundred Ships yearly. Of this the Cordage is made, serves all the Ships of *Arabia*, *Malabar*, and all the *Indies*. They make also Oil and Honey of that Tree, weaving the Leaves of the Tree make Sails. They also little Shells, that contain a Creature in them Bignets of the End of one's little Finger, white smooth, and glittering. They fish for them but Month, three Days before and three Days after the Moon, and so before and after the Full-Moon. The men gather them in the Sands and Flats of the Sea

meet them in their respective Districts with Towers and Fruits, the She-Slaves giving great Distance before them, for all Men to Way upon that Occasion. Four great La- the Queen's Head a Veil of white Silk, Ground, so that she is not seen. The frequently in the Sea, as well as other Wo- the Custom of the Country, which they conducive to Health. For this End they are in the Sea, covered with Cotton-Cloth, Shore a little House, with a Fresh-water use as they come out of the Sea. Day- teen in the Queen's Chambers, or those of Quality, for their only Light is Lamp- ally; and the Place of the Room where is blocked up with four or five Rows of innermost of which neither Man or Wo- full up without coughing or hemming first, they are. When they undress, they pull robe, for neither Men nor Women in the to throw off the Cloth that is tied round their

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s found on the Sea-Shore are immediately King, for no Subject dares keep them, lone with Ambergreete, called by the Mal- which is more plentiful here than in any dies, and which is so narrowly looked after, appropriates it to his own Use loses a Hand. whatever the Sea casts upon the Shore is ularly a sort of Sea-nuts, called Tanacars, as s Head, which they fancy to grow on Trees. The Portuguese call them Cocons of the ey are used in Physick, and very dear. Their er only, and but of one fort, called Larins, Gold and Silver is current here by Weight, as the Indies. Before they take it, it is tried in every Man keeps Weights for that Purpose. sort of Metal called Cabin, resembling Tin, ed in the Indies, but not current there. Iron- no where in the Indies but in the Dominions that coined it, having but one sort of Coin; ed to cut it, by which they lose a twelfth d of small Coins they use sometimes Shells, which make a Larin, and a Larin is worth Sols, being long, like one's Finger, and King's Name is set upon those Folds in Arabic their Gold and Silver is all imported from in their own Markets they often barter one another. The Maldives are well frequented nuts, and the Commodities they send abroad s Cocons, with which they load above one s yearly. Of this the Cordage is made that Ships of Arabia, Malabar, and all the Indies, also Oil and Honey of that Tree, and by Leaves of the Tree make Sails. They vend shells, that contain a Creature in them, very the End of one's little Finger, white, very glittering. They fish for them but twice e Days before and three Days after the n- to before and after the Full-Moon. The We- them in the Sands and Flats of the Sea, find-

ing up to their Middle in Water. These go only to Ben- gal, the Inhabitants of which esteem them so much that I have seen thirty or forty Ships laden, without any other Commodity, bound thither. Though in Bengal they have enough of other Metals, yet these Shells pass there as Mo- ney, and the King and Noblemen hoard up prodigious Quantities of them, accounting them their Treasure. They give twenty Measures of Rice for a Fardel of Shells, each Fardel containing 12000. They have, besides these, a sort of Tortoise-shell, called Cambe, which is black and smooth, and has many natural Figures; it is found no where but there and in the Philippines, and goes off best in Cambaya. Here they make fine Reed-mats, and Cloths of Cotton and Silk; in Exchange the Merchants export some Cotton and Silk-Cloths, a sort of Oil, Arac, Iron, Steel, Pieces of Porcelane, and, in short, all the Necessaries of Life; yet every thing is cheap, because of the Number and Frequency of Ships. They import all their Gold and Silver, which they never send out again, but lay it up among their Wives Jewels as their chief Treasure.

27. After following our Author through his large Description of the Maldives, we are next to recur to his personal Adventures, in order to acquaint the Reader how he recovered his Freedom, and escaped from thence to the Continent of India, from whence he returned to his native Country. The Fact, as he relates it, runs thus; He says, That in the Beginning of the Month of February, 1607, he dreamed that he was set at Liberty, and found a Passage home to Europe, which made a very great Impression on his Mind, inasmuch that it induced him to make a Vow of going in Pilgrimage to the Shrine of St. James of Galicia, in order to return God Thanks, if this Dream should prove true; at the same time, he was exceedingly perplexed in his Mind, and endeavoured to discover how this could be brought about. All his Conjectures proved vain and fruitless; but two Nights after the Thing discovered itself, by the unexpected News that the King of Bengal was preparing to invade the Maldives with a Fleet of sixteen Sail of large Gallies. On the first receiving of this Intelligence, the King of Male issued his Orders for fitting out, with all imaginable Expedition, the large Ships, and all the Gallies, Barks, and Vessels in his Dominions; but before this could be accomplished, the Enemy's Fleet appeared in Sight; upon which the King suddenly altered his Resolution, and determined to fly to the Southern Islands, in Hopes of taking Shelter there, till such Time as he could assemble a Force sufficient to expel the Invaders. His best Goods were immediately embarked, as also his three Queens, each of whom was carried by a Gentleman in his Arms, as if they had been Children, covered with Veils of Taffety of different Colours; as soon as they were on Board the King followed them, leaving his Capital altogether defenceless, and the Streets full of Women crying and lamenting the Danger to which they were exposed. The Enemy no sooner arrived than they divided their Forces, sending eight of their Gallies in Pursuit of the King, with whom the Wind failing, they very speedily came up, engaged his small Fleet, and having killed the unfortunate Monarch of the Maldives, who fought very bravely in his own Defence, made themselves Masters of his Ships, Wives and Treasures. As soon as these People landed in Male our Author surrendered, and put himself into their Hands, declaring to them in what Manner he came thither, and how he had remained Prisoner there for several Years. They treated him very kindly as soon as they were satisfied that he was not a Portuguese; for had he been of that Nation they would, without any Ceremony, have put him to Death. The Conquerors remained about ten Days on the Island, in which Space they carried on Board their Vessels all the Plunder of the King's Palace, with every thing of Value they could find, particularly one hundred and twenty Pieces of Cannon, and then prepared for their Departure, leaving every body at Liberty, excepting only the King's Brother-in-Law, whom they carried with them, and our Author, who went of his own Accord, and who with some Difficulty got to Bengal, where he had leisure to contrive, the best he could, the Means of finding a Passage back to Europe. While he remained in Bengal, the Mogul declared War against that Prince, who immediately assembled a

prodigious Army, in order to withstand him, amounting, as our Author was informed, to several hundred thousand Men, and some thousands of armed Elephants; which military Preparations did not incline him to remain any longer than till he found an Opportunity of withdrawing himself, and this in a short Time he obtained.

28. He retired from Bengal to the Malabar Coast, inhabited at that Time for the most Part by Pirates, from whence he proceeded to Calicut, where he remained eight Months, waiting for a Dutch Ship; but at last was persuaded by the Jesuits to go to Cochim, where, on his first Arrival, he was imprisoned as a Spy, and suffered great Hardships. At Goa also he was a Prisoner with those who remained of seventeen English taken at the Bar of Surat. The Jesuits had brought one Master Richards and four other Englishmen from the Mogul's Court; some Hollanders also were there, and they all were Prisoners together; but the Jesuits undertook for them, and procured their Liberty, viz. Thomas Stevens an Englishman, and Rector of Margon College in Salsete, Nicholas Trigaut a Walloon; Stephen Crox a Frenchman of Roan, with Gaspar Almano a Spaniard. This Thomas Stevens procured the Liberty of the Englishmen also, four of which became Catholics, and two of them died there. Don Louis Lorenzo d'Establa arrived at Goa with the Title of Viceroy to the People's great Grief, with the more desired Don Andrea Furado: Ten Months after his coming four great Carracks arrived, each about two thousand Tuns; five had departed from Lisbon, but they knew not what was become of the fifth, which was separated by a Tempest at the Cape, in each were embarked a thousand Persons, Soldiers, Mariners, Jesuits, and other Churchmen, with Merchants and Gentlemen; but when they arrived at Goa, there were not above three hundred in each, by reason of the Sickness and Miseries they endured in eight Months at Sea without Sight of Land. These brought an Edict from the King, forbidding the English, French, or Dutch Commerce in his Dominions; and if there were any such there, to send them away, upon Peril of their Lives. On the 26th of December 1609, he embarked for Lisbon, and on the 15th of March 1610, they arrived at the Isle of Diego Rodriguez in 20°, about forty Leagues East from Saint Laurence. After a cruel Storm there five Days together, they reached the Cape, St. Helena, Brazil, the Azores, the Berlins, and having paid his Vow to St. James in Galicia, he arrived at Rochel the 16th of February 1611. Thus we have brought this Voyage to a Conclusion without taking in the Author's Travels through the rest of India, which would have swelled the Section to a great Extent, and would have contributed little to the Reader's Satisfaction, as containing nothing which may not be met with elsewhere, in as good, or in a better Dress, as the Reader will perceive in the next Section, wherein we shall give one of the exactest and best written Voyages to the East-Indies that is any where extant. But with regard to the Maldives, Pirard's Account is beyond a Question preferable to any for the Reasons we have assigned at the Beginning of the Voyage. It may not, however, be amiss, considering our Author went thither one hundred and forty Years ago, to conclude the present Section with some Remarks on the State those Islands are now in, that we may give the Reader, as near as possible, a compleat View of the Subject at once, without fatiguing him with needless and impertinent Repetitions; for want of which Caution, most of our old Collections of Voyages swell to such bulky Volumes, and at the same time are, in many material Points, extremely defective.

29. One would imagine from the Account given us by this Writer, that in the Course of so many Years as have elapsed since his being shipwrecked on those Islands, many of them must have been swallowed up entirely, and many more rendered uninhabitable and desert, which, however, does not appear to be the Case. On the contrary, the Island of Male, according to the latest Accounts we have, is in a better Condition than ever, and the Dutch carry on there a very considerable Commerce, the Natives themselves also trading in their own Vessels to Ceylon, where they are well used by the Dutch, and make a very great Profit of those little Shells which are called Cauris, Coris, and by our Seamen Cowries. Of these there are prodigious Quantities,

ties, not only on the Shore of the *Maldives*, washed thither by the Waves of the Sea, but also dug up in the very Heart of some of the Islands, as being very probably left there at the Time these Lands were deserted by the Ocean. As the Measure of Things, which we call Money, is altogether arbitrary, and depends solely on an Agreement amongst Men, that this or that shall stand for, and be regarded as a common Measure, so in many Countries, both of *Asia* and *Africa*, these Shells, by a certain tacit Agreement, are fixed as such a common Measure, and are consequently esteemed, and have the Currency of Money. It is that gives them a Value even with such as despise those who trade with and receive them as Money, without reflecting, that Shells are to the full as capable of being constituted Money as either Gold or Silver, and without remembering that they are compelled to practise what they themselves so much condemn, and to take these paltry Shells for Money. At *Bengal* two thousand four hundred Cowries were, in the Year 1740, valued at a Rupee, or about half a Crown of our Money.

But the great Use of them is on the Coasts of *Africa*, and particularly on those of *Guinea*, where the Negroes esteem them to the full as much as Gold and Silver, and where they pass under the Denomination of *Bougias*. We may guess at the vast Consumption of this Commodity or Money, by the *French* Merchants in the Kingdom of *Fidab*, who give for a Piece of the common Cloth made by the Natives, commonly eighty Pound Weight of Cowries, and so in proportion for the richer Commodities of that Country, such as Wax, Ivory, Gold, &c. The *Dutch* usually furnish other *European* Nations with this kind of Negroe Coin, if I may be allowed that Expression, and the Reader will easily conceive from thence how beneficial that Trade is which they drive with the *Maldives*. It might be wondered how this Demand for these Shells is kept up upon the Coast of *Guinea*; but in order to account for this, we are to understand that, like Gold and Silver, these are not only the Measures of Commerce among the Negroes, but likewise the highest Mark of their Finery, since they wear them as Necklaces, Collars and Bracelets, strung upon Hair, or Silk, either in single or double Rows, which indeed make an odd, but at the same time no disagreeable Figure on the Necks and Arms of the Natives, the snowy Whiteness of the Shell appearing to great Advantage, when compared with their jet-black Skins.

Heretofore about twelve thousand Pound Weight of Cowries was sufficient to purchase a Cargo of five or six hundred Negroes; but at present the Market is raised, and the Proportion between Man's Flesh and Baubles so altered, that a Ship Load of Slaves cannot be bought for less than twelve or fourteen Tun of Cowries. As there would be a great deal of Trouble in adjusting Payments made in this kind of Money, the Negroes, though so stupid as to sell themselves for Shells, have invented a kind of Copper Ballon of such Size and Shape as to hold about one hundred and eight Pounds of these Shells, which is a great Ease to the Merchants. We must not, however, imagine, that these Shells are not to be found any where else but in these Islands, since it is certain, that they are likewise met with on the Coast of the *Philippines*; but these are of an inferior Nature, and much below the Cowries of the *Maldives* in Whiteness and Lustre. The principal Mart in *Europe* for these Shells is *Amsterdam*, where they have of them large Magazines, and where they are purchased both by *French* and *English* Merchants, for the Convenience of exporting them to *Africa*.

But to return to the Trade of the *Maldives*, which is far from being so inconsiderable as some of our modern Writers would have us believe, and that for no better Reason than this, because the *Europeans* have not settled amongst them; whereas from this Account, it is most evident, that it is impossible for them to settle there for a Multitude of Reasons, which must naturally occur to every judicious Reader. But there is notwithstanding a great Trade carried on there, inasmuch that some hundred Sail of Ships are laden annually with the Product of their Cocoa Trees, that is, with the Oil, Honey, Cordage and Sails made from this kind of Palm-Tree, which grows no where either in such abundance, or to such Perfection, as on these Islands; neither

do they want other valuable Commodities, particularly the finest Tortoise Shells in the World, stained naturally with very beautiful Figures, and wrought up by them in Cabinets, Combs, and other Curiosities. But what plainly proves the Riches and Industry of the People is, on the one hand, the Cheapness of Cotton, Silk, Oil, Iron, Steel, Spices, and *China*-ware, with other foreign Goods, which could not be brought about, if their own Manufactures did not enable them to balance the Account with the Foreigners, who import them; and, on the other hand, that Plenty of Gold and Silver which has been always visible in those Islands, and which must have been very soon carried away, if ever the Balance of Trade had been against them.

It seems also to be no small Honour to the Country, that neither the Force of the *Portuguese*, the Ambition of the *English* on their first coming into the *Indies*, or the Frauds of the *Dutch*, have deprived the Inhabitants of these Islands of their Liberty. It is true, that from the Account our Author has given, this does not appear to be a very difficult Matter, since the King of *Bengal* was able to make so great an Impression with so small a Force; but, at the same time, we ought to reflect, that this Conqueror thought fit to abandon the Island of *Male* as soon as he had reduced it, which appears to me a very plain Proof that he thought it impracticable to keep it; and, indeed, where a whole Nation are so much used to live at Sea, as well as on Shore, it will be always found a very difficult, if not impossible Matter, to reduce them. The great Policy of the Legislator of these Islands, whoever he was, very plainly appears in his adjusting so nicely as he has done, the Nature of their Constitution to the Situation of their Country, and that Course of Life, which from thence they are obliged to follow. To this we may justly ascribe the long Continuance of their Monarchy, the Force of which does not seem to be at all impaired by the Settlements made by the *Europeans* in those Countries; but, on the contrary, the People have encreased their Riches, and the King has extended his Power, by falling into Trade with them, which is more than can be said of any other Country in the *Indies*.

It must, however, be allowed, that very few Travellers or Voyage-Writers, have taken the Pains to describe the *Maldives*; so that if we had not this Account of *Pirard's*, we should scarce be able to say any thing about them, the Reason of which is very easily assigned; for these Islands have no Mines, either of rich Metals or precious Stones; nor do they abound with Spices, or any other highly valued Commodities; but it appears very clearly, that notwithstanding the Want of these Advantages, they are much more populous, and enjoy, beyond comparison, more Liberty than those People do who are richer, and consequently more esteemed. But as these Islands lie only in the Entrance of the *Indies*, it must appear requisite to furnish some Descriptions of the principal Places mentioned in the foregoing Histories, by such as have visited them in Person, and that too within such Periods of Time as may afford the greatest Lights to those Histories; from which Consideration we have been led to make Choice rather of Voyages than Travels, because the latter belongs strictly and properly to the succeeding Volume, in which the most curious and best esteemed to all Parts of the *Indies* shall be included: At present we shall give a general Voyage to the *Indies* by a *French* Officer and Commander in Chief, whose Work has been always esteemed more accurate in its kind than any other written by that Officer himself, who, like our *Sir Francis Drake*, was capable of performing every Office in his Ship, and of whom his own Pilot declared, that he was at once the most skilful and the most careful Man in that Profession, with whom he was ever acquainted. His Knowledge, however, was not bounded by his maritime Skill, but, on the contrary, was every Way as correct in other necessary Branches of Science, so that he was as capable of writing the Description, or History of the Countries he visited, as of carrying his Vessel to them.

These singular Properties, and the Consideration that we have not room for a Multitude of Voyages, led to the Choice of this, which may serve instead of many, and which

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which the original Publisher, the celebrated Mr. Thevenot, declared, he made publick with no other View, than that it might serve as a Model to his Countrymen, not in Point of Science only, but of Method also, esteeming the Author as considerable in that Character as in the Quality of a Commander. This Apology I thought necessary, that the Reader might not suspect me of Partiality, and in the succeeding Sections we shall put that Point farther out of Dispute, by doing the like Justice to English, Dutch, and the eminent Sea-Officers of other Nations, who have not only benefited those they served, but have likewise transmitted Testimonies of their Skill to Posterity.

I cannot dismiss this Subject without observing, that it

is to be wished our own Countrymen would be more careful in this Particular, since, as there are not better Seamen, or better Officers in the World, it is very hard their great Actions should not be communicated to the Publick, with all the Advantages that may be derived from Method and Language; both which might be acquired with as little Labour as is requisite to get over the Difficulties in keeping a Sea-Journal; and therefore we may well hope, that in an Age which discovers greater Curiosity in regard to these Subjects, than has been shewn in any other, Gentlemen will have that regard to their own, and their Officers Characters, as not to let them suffer for want of a candid Representation.

SECTION XXV.

The Expedition of Commodore Beaulieu to the East-Indies; containing a curious and accurate Description of the Sea-Coasts and Commerce; as also Abundance of curious Observations on the Manners of the People, the Nature of their Governments, and the Means of establishing Colonies amongst them.

Written by M. Beaulieu himself, and published by M. Thevenot, in his large Collection of Voyages.

1. An Introduction to the Voyage, with an historical Account of its Author and his Work.
2. Their Departure Octob. the 2d 1619, and Occurrences in their Voyage to Cape Verd, on the Coast of Africa.
3. Remarkable Accidents and Proceedings at Cape Sierra Lione, where they touched for Refreshments.
4. Remarkable Observations in those Seas, with the Sentiments of the Author concerning them.
5. A very curious and accurate Description of Table-Bay, under the Cape of Good-Hope.
6. A very candid and circumstantial Account of the Hottentots, their Customs, &c.
7. An Account of some remarkable Letters found there, and the Author's Resolution on reading of them.
8. A Description of several remarkable Animals, and other Curiosities met with here.
9. A very entertaining Relation of what passed between Commodore Beaulieu and the Negroes in the Bay of S. Augustine, during his Stay there.
10. A farther Account of this Matter, and of the Close of his Transactions with those People.
11. A succinct History of the Government, Language, Manners, &c. of this Negro Nation.
12. The Author sails along the Coast of Africa, and observes several notorious Errors in the Sea-Charts.
13. A large and curious Description of the Comorro Islands, and their Inhabitants, with his Reception there.
14. Remarkable Occurrences at the Island of Nangassia, and some Remarks on the Arabian Shipping.
15. The Author prosecutes his Voyage for the Cape of Guardafu, and meets with a great Storm in his Passage.
16. An exact Description of this Coast, and of the Difficulties met with in procuring Refreshments.
17. A very singular Method of obtaining fresh Water, which may be of great Use in long Voyages.
18. An Account of the Country about Cape Guardafu, and the Author's Resolution to steer directly for the Coast of Malabar.
19. Their Arrival upon that Coast, and their taking a Moorish Ship richly laden.
20. They double Cape Comorin, and obtain a Pilot, who conducts them to Ticow.
21. Their Arrival there, and the News they received of their Vice-Admiral, and other Transactions.
22. A large Relation of what passed during their Stay in that Port, and of the Behaviour of the Inhabitants.
23. A Description of the Country, its Products, and the Nature of the Commerce there, with other Observations.
24. The Author's Arrival at Achen, with a copious Description of that Country and its Commerce.
25. The Author's Audience of the King of Achen, and of what passed upon that Occasion.
26. A very curious and exact Account of the State of that Country, the Character of its King and his Subjects.
27. A farther Account of our Author's Proceeding there, and of the many Difficulties he met with.
28. Obtains a Licence to buy Pepper, and yet finds it extremely difficult to procure his Lading.
29. Our Author obtains a Letter from the King of Achen to the King of France, in Answer to one he presented.
30. Other Transactions during the Time of his Stay in that Country, and his Resolution to sail to Queda.
31. Occurrences in his Voyage thither, and his Proceeding there, in order to obtain a Lading of Pepper.
32. A Description of the Island of Pulo Lada, or, Pepper-Land, on the Malacca Coast.
33. A very curious and exact Description of the Manner of cultivating Pepper, and of the Value of that Commodity.
34. A succinct History of the Revolutions of Queda, and of the Reduction of that Kingdom by the Monarch of Achen.
35. The Author's Return to that Country, and the Reception he met with there the second Time.
36. A large Account of what happened to the Vice-Admiral, and of the Difficulties the French met with in establishing a Trade in these Parts.
37. The Author presents a rich Diamond to the King of Achen, and obtains from him a Licence to trade at Ticow.
38. A Description of the Island of Sumatra, its Climate, Soil and Produce, with other Particulars.
39. The Islands upon the Coast of Sumatra, and their respective Products, together with an Account of the different Kingdoms in Sumatra.
40. The Character of the People of Achen, their Government, Customs, Laws, &c. as observed by the Author.
41. The military State of that Kingdom, and of the Forces and Power of the Monarch then on the Throne.
42. The Nature of his naval Establishments, and of the Means made use of by him to support them.
43. Of the Riches of the King of Achen, his Houses, Slaves, Revenues, and several Methods of raising Money.
44. The ancient State of the Kingdom of Achen to the Accession of the reigning King's Grandfather.
45. The civil Wars that hap-

pened from that Time, and the dreadful Consequences attending them. 46. The Manner in which the King of Achen mounted the Throne, and his Character. 47. The Author sails for Europe, and meets with a pleasant Passage as far as the Island of St. Helena. 48. A Description of the Island of Ascension, and a farther Account of the Voyage to their Arrival at St. Vincent. 49. An exact Description of that Island, its Climate, Soil, Product, and other Particulars. 50. Continuation of the Voyage to the Author's safe Arrival at Havre de Grace, Dec. the 1st 1622. 51. Some farther Memoirs of Commodore Beaulieu, to the Time of his Decease.

THE following Voyage was not only undertaken, but written also by one of the best Officers that ever was in the French Service, of whose Character and Adventures we shall say somewhat at present, and supply the rest at the Conclusion of the Section. *Augustin de Beaulieu* was descended of a good Family at *Rouen*, which has been always considered as one of the principal Ports in France. He addicted himself from his Youth to the Sea, and studied with great Application all the Sciences necessary to make him an able Man in his Profession, and more especially Geography, Astronomy, and Navigation. His first Expedition was to the River *Gambia*, on the Coast of *Africa*, under the Command of the *Chevalier de Brisquille* of *Normandy* in 1612. The Design upon which they went was to erect a Fort, and establish a Colony; but failing unluckily a little too late in the Year, they lost the best Part of their Men before they were able to accomplish any thing, and were therefore obliged to return Home, *reinfatig*, after a vast Expence, to very little Purpose.

In this Expedition our Author commanded a Sloop, and tho' he got nothing by the Voyage in Point of Profit, yet he improved himself exceedingly, and established a just Reputation for Courage, Diligence and Application. About the Year 1616, the French formed the first Notion of trading to the *East-Indies*, and some Merchants at *Paris* and *Rouen* agreed to furnish a Joint-Stock for that Purpose. They fitted out two good Ships, the Command of the biggest of which the Title of General was given to Captain *de Nett*, who at that Time served the King in the Marine. The lesser Ship was bestowed upon our Author, who had no other Recommendation than his Merit. The Voyage was in all respects fortunate, and well conducted, though in the End it did not turn to any great Account; for the Dutch President in the *Indies* having published an Order, requiring all the Subjects of the States-General that were on Board those Ships, to quit them immediately; which Order they obeyed: The two Captains found it thereby out of their Power to bring Home both the Vessels, and therefore, that which had been commanded by Captain *Beaulieu* was sold to a little Prince of the Island of *Java*, and all their Effects brought home on Board the largest; notwithstanding which Misfortune, and the great Expence with which this Undertaking was attended, they managed so prudently, as to make a saving Voyage.

It was his Care and Diligence in this Expedition, that recommended him to that Command of which he has written the following Account. He was extremely careful in the Choice of his Men, that he might not run the risk of failing in this, as he had done in his former Voyage; and that Posterity might be the better for the Pains he was obliged to take, he provided, before he left France, all the necessary Instruments of Navigation in the highest Degree of Perfection, and constantly observed the Variation of the Needle every Morning and Evening, on four or five different Compasses, that he might be the less liable to Mistakes. At his return Home, he not only transcribed his Sea-Journal, which is still preserved, but composed likewise the following History of the Voyage from his Papers, with a Design to have committed them to the Press, but by some unforeseen Accidents, and by his premature Death, of which more shall be said hereafter, this was prevented, and these Papers remained for twenty Years afterwards in private Hands, till such Time as the famous *M. Melchisedech de Breze* formed his noble Design of publishing a curious Collection of the best Voyages, when these Memoirs were put into his Hands by *M. Dohu*, to whom they had been consigned by the Relations of the Author.

That great Man was charmed with the Preface, and no Wonder, since he seriously professes it appeared to him as perfect a Performance as ever came to his Notice, notwithstanding the Multitude of Portuguese, English and Dutch Memoirs that he had occasion to see, while employed in making that curious and excellent Collection. The principal Reason of his valuing it so much, was the high Character the Author had born in Point of Integrity as well as Abilities; so that as he related every thing that was worth relating in the Course of his long Expedition, all he relates may be very safely depended upon, as being exactly agreeable to Truth, and to the Lights which he received. One may safely affirm, that the Work it carries along with it enough to justify all that has been said in its Favour, since there are so many visible Marks of the Writer's Sincerity, in those Passages which regard his own Conduct, that the most scrupulous Critick must be obliged to confess, there is not the least Ground to suspect he could entertain any Design of imposing on his Reader. The Variety of Events, the curious Description, the just and weighty Remarks with which it abounds, sufficiently enhance the Value of this Performance, which, therefore, we have given the Reader in his own Words, and must at the same Time own, that it would be no easy Task to make Choice of better, since his Style is exactly suited to his Subject; and he relates every thing with so much Modesty and Freedom, that it is hard to determine whether his Memoirs are more instructive or entertaining.

I sailed *Octob. 2, 1619*, from *Honfleur* Road with three Ships; the *Montmorancy* of 450 Tuns, carrying 102 Men, 22 Guns, and 20 *Padereroes*, the *Ilope*, of 400 Tuns, 117 Men, 26 Guns, and 20 *Padereroes*, and the *Hermitage*, an Advice-Boat, of 75 Tuns, 30 Men, 8 Guns, and 8 *Padereroes*, all victualled for two Years and an half. The seventeenth we came in Sight of *Madera*, and at Night its western Point lay about 7 Leagues off to the S. E. and a quarter East. The 18th we stood South with the Wind at East, expecting by that Course to descry the Island of *Palma*. *Madera* lies very high, but the Weather was, as it is commonly, so foggy, that we could scarce descry it. The Commodore's Ship being deep laden, and embarrassed with an unwieldy Rudder, that two or three Men could scarce manage, we resolved to make the best of our Way to *Cape Verd*, in order to have a new one made, or to put the old one to rights, which was encumbered with too much Wood.

On the first of November we made the Coast of *Africa*, between the River *Senegal* and *Cape Verd*, which lies very low, running N. E. and S. W. and is washed by a sandy Sea. Next Day, about Eight in the Morning, we doubled *Cape Verd*, and coasted along the Shore, in order to get into *Ruffique* Road; at which Place, in the Afternoon, we saw three French Ships at Anchor, and a small Bark, which had Captain *Drouet's* Equipage on Board, and lay off of that Place waiting for him. In the Evening I cast Anchor within a Cannon-Shot of the three Ships, for the Wind being contrary, I could not come up with them, and the rainy Season in that Country was scarce over.

The fifteenth, having resolved to send the Advice-Boat to the *Idol* Islands, to buy up Provisions, I furnished it with *Kassade* and *Knives*, which were proper Commodities for that Place, and reinforced its Complement with Captain *Soyer* and six Soldiers, ordering Captain *Ridel*, who commanded the Pinnace, not to treat with the Natives without Hoftages, and withal, not to stay there above three Days at most, but to come with all possible Expedition to rejoin us at *Tagrin*. When she parted from us, we were in the

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the Lat. of 10° 30'. From the Time we passed Cape *Verd*,
we had but little Wind, and the Tides run against us W.
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The nineteenth about Noon, we descried the Idol
Islands, about eight Leagues off to the E. N. E. and our
own Pinnace making into the Shore. These Islands lie in
9° 30' N. L. They are covered with Wood, and bating
Tagrin, are the highest Land between Cape *Verd* and Cape
Sierra Liôna. Great *Idol* being the largest and most south-
ern of those Islands, affords Water, and several Sorts of
Fruits and Fowls; but its Inhabitants, who are very nu-
merous, are not to be dealt with without Hostages. The
Idol affords likewise Water: Besides these two, there
are other smaller Islands, which are so inconsiderable, that
they are not distinguished by any Name. The Names of
these two are taken from a River so called in the Continent,
the Mouth of which lies opposite to them about three or
four Leagues off. The King of this Country resides up
that River; the Natives are Negroes, Idolaters, great
Hunters, and Eaters of Elephants. They have no Com-
merce with the Continent, and it is hard to get ashore up-
on them, because their Coast lies very high: I believe they
put off their Elephants Teeth in the River of *Tagrin*. At
Night we lost Sight of those Islands, which are distant 25
Leagues from Cape *Sierra Liôna*, or *Tagrin*. Next Day
we saw, about a Quarter of a League off, several Spouts,
or Guts of Wind, whirling about upon the Sea, and forc-
ing up the Water with great Violence, two of which were
very formidable. As soon as we perceived them, we fur-
led all our Sails, for fear of any Mischief from them.

3. We arrived November the 23d, at Cape *Sierra Liôna*,
and cast Anchor at *Tagrin*, where several Negroes coming
on Board, gave me to understand, that there was an *Eng-
lish* Vessel about four Leagues off at *Safana*, the Residence
of the King of *Tagrin*. On the 28th I caused the Rudder
to be taken off the Stern-post, and hauled ashore, where
having posted a strong Guard, and fortified the Place with
felled Trees, I set the Carpenters to work. Having walked
a little further into the Country, I found it very pleasant.
At the Bottom of the Creek there was a small Brook of
sweet and clear Water, the Banks of which, towards the Sea,
were decked with great Quantities of Citron Trees, Wil-
lows, and pretty thick Woods. I likewise found some
Plains good for Pasture; but the Soil is nothing but Stone,
or Iron-coloured Rock. Their Houses are infinitely better
than those at Cape *Verd*. The Natives, who are Negroes,
worship little horrible Images resembling Devils, and small
Lumps of black Earth in the Form of Sugar Biscuits, which
I understood to be the Nest of Ants. To the left they offer
Fruits, the Heads of Monkeys, Baboons, and other Beasts.

They call the Idols *Gigris*, which Name I take to be de-
rived from the *French*; for they commonly salute one an-
other in these Words, *Tout, Haut*; but when they salute a
White, they cry *Tu*. As Men, they are a much better
sort of People than the other Negroes, though they begin
now to improve their Cunning, by conversing with the
People of several Nations that touch there. The Place
where we lay being the third Creek from Cape *Sierra Liôna*,
is very convenient for taking in Water, Wood, Citrons,
Oranges, and Hoops for Water-Casks, which are all to be
had for little or nothing. There we had very good Rice
in Exchange for equal Quantities of Salt. It affords no
Flesh, unless Pullets, which are very scarce, and has little
Accommodation for Hunting; but all its Creeks are well
stored with several sorts of Fish.

The Cape lies in 8° of North-Latitude, and the Needle
varies there 2° 45' North-East. One of our Trumpeters
that could not swim was unfortunately drowned in a little
River near this Place, which was nine or ten Foot deep.
'Tis presumed he was deceived by the extream Clearness of
the Water, which represented the Bottom of the River to
be nearer the Surface than it was, and that thereupon going
to wash himself, but not meeting with the expected Ground,
was so frightened with the Surprise, that he neglected
taking hold of the Banks of the River, which was not above
ten Foot broad. December the 3d two Negroes came on
Board, one of whom was armed with a Bow, Arrows,
Sword, and Knife; the other, who was the Interpreter, told
me, that he who bore the Arms was sent by the King to

acquaint me that the *Portuguese* up the River had murdered
the Captain and the whole Crew of a *St. Malo's* Bark: That
his Master was sorry such a thing should happen near his
Territories, and that if I had a mind to resent it, he would
furnish me with Negroes to conduct me to the Place where
the *Portuguese* had lodged the Bark. This I understood
to be about seven or eight Leagues above the *Safana*, whi-
ther the *St. Malo's* Captain had gone to buy a sort of Wood
not unlike that of *St. Mariba*, which in *France* might be
worth eight or nine Livres a hundred Weight.

When I first heard the News, I suspected that the *Por-
tuguese*, understanding that my Rudder and many of my
Men were ashore, had contrived the Message to induce
me to send a Detachment out of the Land Guard, and so
give them an Opportunity of possessing themselves of the
Rudder and Water-Casks that were ashore; but upon se-
cond Thoughts, calling to mind the Humour of the *Portu-
guese* in that Country, and the Weakness of the *St. Malo's*
Ship, I concluded the Account not improbable, and
withal saw that the slightest such Intelligence might lessen
the Reputation of the *French* in that Country. At last,
having resolved to send out a Detachment, pursuant to the
King's Message, the Interpreter, with several other Ne-
groes, offered to go along with my Men to the Place, say-
ing, they would go any where to have an Opportunity of
killing *Portuguese*. To carry on this Affair with more
Security, I ordered the Rudder to be brought aboard, for
the Carpenter's Work being then finished, there wanted
nothing but the Iron-work, which might be done on Board,
by setting up a Forge in the Ship.

I reinforced the Land Guard with ten Men, ordering
them to plant Barriades of Water-Casks before the prin-
cipal Avenues of the Place where they lay, and to suffer nei-
ther White nor Black to come near them in the Night-
time, and got Captain *Pile* to accompany my Men in the
Expedition. Accordingly, the next Day I sent up the
River our Sloop, with an Addition of ten Men to her
Complement, together with Captain *Pile's* Bark manned
with his own Men, and the *Hope's* Long-boat, with twenty
Men and four Padereroes, all under the Command of
Monsieur *Montcurier*. December the 28th, Captain *Datel*
of *Dieppe* arrived in the Bay, and told me, that at the Isle
of *St. Vincent* he met a *Dutch* Ship of four hundred Tuns,
manned with *Dutch* and *English*, bound for *Bantam*, in
order to convey thither the News of the Agreement between
those two Nations. At Three of the Clock in the After-
noon M. *Montcurier* returned with the *Hope's* Long-boat,
and Captain *Pile's* Bark, our Pinnace not being able to
keep up with their Oars, and reported that he had been ten
or twelve Leagues up the River, where, finding the River
very narrow and rocky, inasmuch that the Bark struck
several times, and having no Commission from me to ven-
ture the Loss of the Bark, he returned back without meet-
ing any *Portuguese*, or their Vessels.

4. On the 31st we were in 3° 30' North-Latitude; after
our Departure from *Tagrin* the Weather was various, some-
times stormy, and sometimes very calm, as it uses to be in
those Seas, and we found our Rudder much more service-
able than before. January 1st, 1620, at Sun-rising we
found the Needle 3° 30' North-East, and the Latitude 3° 5'
North. The 6th we crossed the Equinoctial Line, and
celebrated the usual Custom of throwing Sea-Water upon
those who had never passed it. From the third of this
Month we had the Wind at South-East and South-South-
East, and sailed close to the Wind, in order to raise the
South Pole, pursuant to the common Course of Naviga-
tion. The 24th we were under the Tropick of Capricorn,
and the Needle varied 13° to the North-East from our
passing the Line; we had the Wind at East and East-South-
East. On the 1st of February we began to have the
westerly and other variable Winds, being then in 13° South
Latitude, and the Needle varying 13° 30' North-East.

The 3d, being becalmed, I observed at the Sun-rising
that the Needle was 13° N. E.; whereas at my last Obser-
vation, when I was almost a Degree farther from the an-
taretick Pole, it was 13° 30'; so that instead of increasing it
decreased, upon which I concluded its Variation to be irre-
gular, and that it is not fixed on two Meridians cutting the
World in four Parts, as the *Portuguese* and others imagined.

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During this Calm we saw two great Fish with long Snouts, or Beaks, which seemed to be of that sort that are known to pierce lined Ships. I could scarce have credited the Story of their penetrating through Ships, if the Governor of *Dieppe* had not shewed me a Piece of the Beak or Horn of such a Fish found in the Side of a *Dieppe* Ship, when it was laid up to be caulked after an *East India* Voyage; the Captain of which had found something strike against his Ship, as he failed from the Coast of *Bresil* to the *Cape*, but did not know what it was till that Discovery happened. This Piece of Horn resembled the Tooth of a Sea-Horse, only it was flatter all along, and of the Colour of Ivory. Its Thickness was an Inch and half Diameter. It had run five Inches into the Wood, and was broke off, where the Lining joined the Wood, probably by the struggling of the Fish, which could not recover it without breaking. Several Persons have met with the like Adventure in their Voyages: But I shall only mention one more of a *Dieppe* Captain, who upon a Voyage to those Parts had his Boat flayed to Pieces by a Blow from one of these Fishes; for the Fish endeavouring to withdraw its Horn, disjointed all the Planks. Those which I saw on this Occasion seemed to be of the smallest sort, one of them that came just under me appeared to be ten Foot long, besides its Beak. It was a fleshy Fish, though not so big proportionably to its Length as a Porpoise. Its Colour was a dark blue, and its Fins and Tail, which were very large, represented a bright Azure in the Sea. It had a pretty high Lump upon its Back, resembling that of a Rechen, or *Indian* Sea-Calf, which sometimes rises above Water. Its Head was not unlike a Porpoise, only it was longer, and instead of a Snout had this Horn, or Bill, which was very sharp at the Point, and almost two Foot long, and as thick as a Boy's Wrisk. It is a very stiff and twist Fish, for I have seen it fly at Bonitoes, with which it wages continual War. I have often observed Bonitoes and Albacores wounded by this sort of Fish, and the Sea tinged with the Blood. I am certain there are some of this sort much greater than those I saw this Day, which attack the Whales, and probably 'tis their mistaking a Ship for a Whale that occasions their encountering with a Ship. However, I doubt not but a great Ship may be endangered by the splitting and galling of its Planks, occasioned by this Fish endeavouring to withdraw its Horn after it has struck.

While the Calm and the excessive Heat continued, we saw a certain white thing about the Bigness of an Ostrich-Egg floating upon the Water, which sunk when the Ship came within fifty or sixty Paces of it; our Pinnace's Crew said they saw a great many of them. It resembled a Man's Head without Hair, and some say they observed two black Eyes and a Mouth upon it: We likewise saw a strange sort of Fish, about as large as an ordinary Lamprey, and equally round, with a large Fin or Crest, which seemed to be above a Foot high over its Head, and sloped in a continued Series down to its Tail. It swims upon one Side, so that the Fin, together with the Body, represents a large Fish in a triangular Form, and it makes its Way by shifting from one Side to the other; but when it catches its Prey, the Fin is straight, and appears above the Water to be of an ashy Colour, though the Body of the Fish is as white and as round as a Tallow-candle.

5. On the Tenth we were in $31^{\circ} 45'$ S. Lat. the Needle varying $12^{\circ} 20'$ N. E. the Twentieth our Lat. was 24° , and the Variation $9^{\circ} 30'$. Here we saw a great deal of Wreck, or Sea-grass, of a reddish Colour, which some say comes from the *Triton de Acuna-Islands*. The next Day there happened a violent Storm, the Wind at West, which had almost broke down our Masts, our Topmast-Sails being then out. Such Storms are common, and very violent in those Seas in Winter; but it was then Summer there, and the Autumn was just approaching. On the 8th of March our Lat. was 34° , and the Variation no more than $20'$, which I took for a certain Sign that we were not above seventy or seventy-six Leagues off of the *Cape of Good-Hope*.

The 11th we saw Tramps, or Sea-weeds, about three or four Fathoms long, Cormorants, Sea-Bears, and the Fowls called by the *Portuguese* Alcatras, which are white

all over, only the Tips of their Wings are black; and all these were certain Signs of our approaching to the Land. We likewise saw innumerable Shoals of Porpoises, and a great many Whales; towards Night we discovered Land, and found the common Navigation to be very just, being then in 33° Lat. which is over-against the Bay of *de S. daigna*. We resolved to steer our Course to the *Table-Bay*, which lay from us about twenty Leagues S. E. a Quarter S. in order to take in Fresh-water; but the Wind being contrary, that is, S. and the Tides being N. N. W. we did not arrive at the *Table-Bay* till the 15th at Night, at which Time we cast Anchor there, having lost only one Boy in the Voyage. The next Day I sent fifty Men on Shore with Sails to make Tents of; when the Boat returned, they told me they had found several Corpses of dead Men and Cleaths scattered up and down, and a small Fortification of Earth, which we guessed to be built by the *Dones*, for one of the Natives that spoke a sort of Jargon of broken *English*, gave us to understand, though more by his Signs than his Language, that five Ships had failed from thence to the Eastward about three Months before.

The 19th it continued to be very stormy, with a North-East Wind. Some Musketters, whom we had sent in Quest of a Soldier who had straggled from us, reported, that they had passed along the South-Side of an Inland Mountain, joining to the *Table* Mountain, where they saw an Infinity of very large Baboons and Monkeys; and from thence continued their Course along the declining Part of the Mountains that bound the Western-Shore, till they descended the Sea about half a League off, which I took to be another Bay between this and the *Cape of Good-Hope*, that then they turned back, and when they were upon the Mountains, descended the Sea to the Southward, which must be that to the Eastward of the *Cape of Good-Hope*. That they had a plain View of other Mountains, between which and these they were upon, there lay an open Plain about ten or twelve Leagues broad, the Soil of which was very good, and capable of producing several Fruits, the Plain terminating upon the Sea, without any Mountains between *Cape-Falso* and the *Cape of Good-Hope*. That at the Foot of the Western Mountains they met with Woods and large Trees, like Apple-trees, which bore no Fruit, but were very hard Wood; and in the same Place were very pleasant Pastures, and some Cattle, and excellent clear Water.

This Report inspired me with a Curiosity to see the Country; accordingly, the next Day, I walked out by the Back of the *Table* Mountain, and when I was got three Leagues into the Country, observed very good Grounds, sprinkled with Grass and pleasant Flowers, with a small Rivulet of Fresh-water gliding along the Plain, and losing itself in the Sea at the Foot of the Bay, at a Place where there is no great Confluence of Water, which we call the River. This Rivulet rises out of the Mountains that lie between the Point of the Cape and this Bay, and serve for Boundaries to the Western-Sea. I likewise observed that this Rivulet makes several Fens to the Northward, along the Downes or Banks of Sand, that terminate the Bay and to that Place which we call the River, where Barks of fifty or sixty Tun may enter at High-water. I returned along the Mountain, and, at the Foot of the *Table* Mountain to the Southward, met with a great many Trees, some of which afford Planks a Foot broad, and eighteen or twenty Foot long, their Trunks being straight like that of a Pear-tree, their Leaves whitish and small; their Bark about two Inches thick and reddish; the Heart of the Wood white and hard, and the whole Tree full of Sap.

I likewise observed Herbs of the same Nature with those in our Country, such as Sorrel, Fern, Broom, &c. From this Mountain I saw *Cape-Falso*, and the Sea that washes the East-side of the Cape, which forms a large Bay as far as the Cape, where a great many Rocks shoot out into the Sea, that must needs be dangerous to Ships on a Southern Wind. Upon the Side of the Mountains of *Cape-Falso* there runs either a great River, or an Arm of the Sea, that shoals very far up; and I observed the like upon the Inland Side of the Mountains upon the *Cape of Good-Hope*. Upon all these Mountains there are great Quantities of Goats, Fallow-deer as big as Harts, Partridges, and all Sorts of Fowl; Baboons, Monkeys, Lions, white Wolves, Foxes, Por-

Vings are black; and all approaching to the Land, of Porpoises, and a light we discovered Land, in to be very just, being faint the Bay of de S. Course to the Table-Bay, leagues S. E. a Quarter S. but the Wind being coming N. N. W. we did not at Night, at which Time only one Boy in the Voy. Men on Shore with Salt returned, they told me dead Men and Carbs all Fortification of Earth, the *Dunes*, for one of the of broken *English*, gave his Signs than his Land from thence to the East-

ry stormy, with a North- whom we had sent in gged from us, reported, South-Side of an Inland Mountain, where they hoons and Monkies, and urle along the declining the Western-Shore, till League off, which I took the Cape of Good-Hope, when they were upon the Southward, which must be of Good Hope. That they ans, between which and an open Plain about ten Soil of which was very several Fruits, the Plain any Mountains between Hope. That at the Foot et with Woods and large ore no Fruit, but were Place were very pleasant excellent clear Water. h a Curiosity to see the Day, I walked out by the and when I was got three ved very good Grounds, Flowers, with a small Ring the Plain, and losing the Bay, at a Place where of Water, which we call out of the Mountains that and this Bay, and serve ea. I likewise observed Pens to the Northward, and, that terminate the Bay the River, where Banks of high water. I returned Foot of the Table-Moun- a great many Trees, some ad, and eighteen or twenty raight like that of a Pear- all; their Bark about two Heart of the Wood white ll of Sap.

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Porcupines, Ostriches, and other Animals, unknown to me. In this Day's Journey I saw one of the Natives, they having retired for fear of us.

6. Those who lived towards the Point of the Cape, are the most miserable Savages yet discovered, for they neither sow nor cultivate the Ground; neither do they fish, or venture themselves two Steps into the Sea. They are of a very low Stature, especially their Women, and are so meagre that they always look as if they were dying for Hunger. Their common Food is some white Roots, about the Bigness of Chestnuts, which have a Stalk like a Leek, only a little narrower, and not indented, that bear a white Flower. If they find any Cockle-fish, or Whales, or any other dead Fish upon the Shore, tho' never so much putrified, they throw them upon a Fire, and then feed heartily upon them; nay, when the very Skins, Heads, and Entrails of the Sea-Bears and Penguins, which our Men fed upon, were thrown out of the Tents, and had lain for seven or eight Days, till their Stench obliged our Men to remove their Tents, and feared the Wolves and other Wild-Beasts from touching them: Even then, I say, the Savages would take them up, and after having put them under the Ashes and squeezed them between two Stones, would eat up every Bit of them.

When they meet an *European*, the first Thing they do is, to shew their Stomach, which they throw into their Body, so that makes a Hollow, or great Pit upon their Breast. They have Wars one with another, probably upon account of their Cattle, which they do not eat, unless these are ready to die through Leanness, Age, or any other Accident. They cover their Privities with Sheep's Tails, and wear the Skin of a Sheep, or some other Animal, over one Shoulder, like a Scarf. The better sort have dried Tripe about their Necks, upon which there hangs a little Knife shaped like a Lance, in a Wooden-sheath; and this I take to be the Instrument with which they cut off one of their Testicles at ten or twelve Years of Age, that being a Custom among them, perhaps to qualify themselves for running, in which Exercise they outdo all the Nations that ever I saw.

Some hang upon their Necks a Plate of Copper, as thin as a Teltoon, and about a Hand long, and four or five Inches broad; others wear Bracelets, being Pieces of Copper or Iron, with a Hole in the Middle. Those who seem to have some Command over the rest, have commonly a Stick in their Hands, with a Fox's Tail at the End of it. I could not perceive any Religion among them. They marry indeed, and dance, and their common Salutation to us is dancing to a Song, which, from the Beginning to the End, is nothing else but *Hantiou*. Their Arms are an *Attagay*, with a weak Sort of a Bow and a Quiver, which they hide under some Bushes when they come to our Tents. They are very apt to steal any thing of Iron or Copper, but Linnen or Cloaths they do not covet.

They are Negroes, and have frizzled Hair, as well as those in *Guinea*, but they wear no Ornament upon it. They have no Cottages to live in that I could perceive; but in the Night-Time they shelter themselves, with their Wives and Children, with Bushes, and have some Skins, stretched like an Umbrella, upon two Sticks laid a-crois, with one in the Middle to fasten it in the Ground, under which they lie buried in the Sand quite up to their Belly. They are altogether ignorant of Agriculture and the making of Canoes; whereas could they but tack some Pieces of Wood together to convey them to the Islands just by the Continent, they would find vast Quantities of Penguins and Sea-Bears (which to them are most delicious Food) not only for their own Suttenance, but for Sale among their Neighbours.

This *Table-Bay* lies in 34° Lat. the Needle varying 1° 45' N. W. Its Air is very wholesome. Sometimes you may treat here with the Natives for Beef and Mutton, but that is very uncertain. It is a secure Road to anchor in, and has about six or eight Fathom Water: There is more Rain and Wind in the Bay than ashore, for the high Mountains stop the Clouds and Vapours, which being driven by the Wind, break and fall down in Hurricanes upon

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the Bay. The Height of the *Table-Mountain*, from the Sea-Side to the Top, is 1350 Foot perpendicular.

7. Some of our Men going ashore, happened to light upon a great Stone, with two little Packs of pitched Canvas, underneath which we afterwards found some *Dutch* Letters. When we opened them, we found, first, a Piece of pitched Canvas, then a Plate of Lead wrapped round the Packet, under that two Pieces of fresh Cloth, then a Piece of red Frize, all wrapped round a Bag of coarse Linnen, in which were the Letters very safe and dry. They contained an Account of several Ships that had passed by that Way, particularly of an *English* Advice-Boat that was gone to *England* to acquaint the Company with the Injuries the *Dutch* had done them in the *East-Indies*. They also gave Notice to all Ships that passed that Way, to take care of the Natives who had murdered several of their Crew, and stole some of their Water-casks. Farther, they contained Advice that the *Dutch* had besieged *Bantam* with thirty-five Ships, and that the *English* were forced to abandon it for want of Provisions; that the King of *Bantam* and the *Dutch* committed several Acts of Hostilities, and many other Things too long to be inferred.

Having read this Letter, I was at a Loss whether I should go to *Bantam* or not, for I readily imagined that *Bantam* being blocked up by the *Dutch*, they would not suffer us to enter, and far less to traffick there; since they always endeavoured there to keep the Trade out of our Hands: Besides, I was apprehensive they might carry the Place, in regard that Prince *Mataran*, who called himself Emperor of all *Java*, and abbeiges, that the King of *Bantam* revolted from him, would readily join with the *Dutch* in reducing the Rebel King. Upon these Considerations I resolved to steer my Course to the Coast of *Cormandel*, to put off some Good is that were proper for that Coast, and buy up others that should be saleable at *Achen*, and upon the Coasts of *Sumatra* and *Java*; and, a feriall, to take in at *Java* a Ship's Loading of Pepper; after which, if the Siege continued, to leave there a Factory with the Pinnace to trade up and down the Coast; but, if the Siege was raised, I designed not to settle any Factory at *Achen*, but to send one of the Ships back to *France*, and the other, together with the Pinnace to *Bantam*, where we might get two or three hundred *per Cent.* upon the Coal-goods, and there to load the Ship, and leave a Factory, together with the Pinnace.

In the mean time I called to mind that the Directors intended I should go frait to *Bantam*, and send at least one of their Ships back to *France* that Year, which I could not do if I touched upon the Coast of *Cormandel*: Besides, if the Siege should happen to be raised, I was apprehensive the Company would blame me for not following their Orders; but even that Consideration was counterpoised by this, that I could not at any rate send back one of their Ships that Year, since I could not reach the Coast of *Sunda* till *August*, nor get out from thence till *October* or *November*, by reason of contrary Winds, and upon that Score I should be obliged to spend the whole Year without doing any thing, and eat up all my Provisions, which in that Country are so scarce, that the *English* are forced to spread themselves along the Coast to be supplied; not to mention that I should be exposed to the Discretion of the *Dutch*, who never meant us well. Having maturely weighed all these Considerations, I asked Advice of the principal Deputies, some of which said they would submit to my Judgment, and others told me, that since I had a positive Commission for *Bantam*, and since *Bantam* was a Place of too great Importance to the *Dutch* to be long at Variance with the King, I had best steer my Course thither. These different Opinions put me upon another Expedient of sending the *Hope* to *Bantam*, and giving her Captain, Mr. *Grave*, an ample Commission.

8. On the 3d of *April* we weighed Anchor, and being becalmed, about two Leagues off from the Bay, were driven by the great Waves coming from the South, and the Tides running North upon a little Island, and cast Anchor within a League of it in twenty Fathom Water, the Ground being muddy Sand. The life lay from us North one Quar-

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ter North-East, and the Southerly Waves made us roll prodigiously, so that every thing in the Ship cracked. This Island is almost round, and about a large League in Circumference; within it affords nothing but Sand, and some Bushes, under which the Penguins hatch their Eggs; a great many Rats and Adders live in it, as well as Chamæleons and Lizards. Upon its Rocks, by the Sea-Side, we saw a great many Sea-Bears, which bleat like Sheep, some of which are very large, and have a Skin as thick as a Wolf's, with very soft Hair. Both these and the Penguins taste very rank of Oil, of which a great Quantity might be taken from them if one were at the Pains. They have two Paws before, and two Fins behind; they cannot stay long under Water without taking Air; they live upon Fish, and in the Night-time retire to the Rocks.

The Penguins are Fowls without Wings, which have two Fins, and two broad Paws, upon which they walk upright, and with which they dig the Ground to make their Nests. They are a little bigger than a Cormorant, having a white Belly, a black Back, a very thick Head, and a Bill like a Raven. In the Morning they repair to the Sea, where they swim, and feed upon Fish, and at Night they return to their Nests; they have nothing of the Taste of Flesh, and for my Part I take them to be feathered Fish. While I was ashore there was such a Storm from the South-East, that I could not reach the Ships, but was forced to stay upon the Island all Night, notwithstanding that it was a perfect Calm where the Ships rode; on the 7th it thundered and lightened violently, and the next Day the Westerly Winds began to swell, besides that the Fog was so thick, that we could not see from one End of the Ship to the other: Upon which, having given a Signal for the other Ships to follow me, by the Sound of Trumpets and Drums, I returned founding all the way, and cast Anchor in *Table Bay*. On the 12th we weighed Anchor again, and all that Day but little Wind, and that very variable: However, on the 14th we doubled the *Cape of Good-Hope*, and the 15th were in 36° Latitude.

The Day following we had a violent Storm from the North-East at full Moon, which we foresaw the Night before; for at Sun-setting reddish Rays ascended from the Sun, and underneath him was a Bank of the same Colour; towards the Wind there appeared, as it were, a Circle from the Centre, of which there proceeded great Rays; under the Wind there appeared a great blackish Cloud, and in the Middle of it we saw what the *Portuguese* call the Ox's Eye, which is generally taken notice of as the Forerunner of a great Storm. When the Moon came low, the Sea swelled mightily, and the Storm was indeed very great, notwithstanding that the Air was so clear, that in the Night-time we saw the rising and setting of the Stars. The Storm parted me from the other two Ships till the 17th, that the Wind abated, and became southerly; after which I perceived our two Ships about a League before, and found, to my great Admiration, that none of them had sustained any Harm: However, this wonderful Deliverance made me resolve not to part with the *Hope*, but to go all in Company to *Bantam*, pursuant to my Orders; accordingly I dropped all my former Projects, and sailed East and South-East directly for *Bantam*; but on the 12th of April, in 36° Latitude, and 12° North-West Variation of the Needle, a violent Storm overtook us, and not only broke my Bow-sprit, but damaged the Pinnacle's Mast; upon which I was obliged to take up my former Resolution of sending Captain *Grave* with the *Hope*, Strait to *Bantam*, designing to carry my own Ship and the Pinnacle to *Madagascar*, in order to have them refitted.

9. On the 1st of May I parted with the *Hope* in 37° 30' South Latitude, and 18° Longitude, reckoning the *Cape of Good-Hope* for the Meridian. The 17th in the Morning we descried *Tillac* about ten Leagues off, which is a running Coast that appears very high, and that Night had Sight of *Augustine's Bay*.

The 17th we were opposite to the two little Islands of Sand, which lie about three Leagues from the Bay, which having no Trees upon them, lie very low; but in the Night-Time the contrary Winds carried us West-North-West, where finding none, and not being able to make the Bay, I resolved to stand for the Islands of *Comorro*. During

the light Quarter of the Moon, in these Seas the Surface is very plain and smooth, and the Air very clear. While we stood for these Islands the Wind turned North, upon which I tacked about for the Bay, and arrived there on the 21st, anchoring in seventeen Fathom Water upon a Clay about a Quarter of a League from Shore. On the 22d I went with two Long-boats, and fifteen Musketeers, to observe the River: Upon our Approach to the Shore we observed nine or ten of the Natives upon a Point of Sand, who made a Signal to come to them: Upon this we went ashore, and though we were armed, they joined and talked with us above an Hour, signifying by their Language and Signs that they were very well pleased with us, and would visit us next Day on Board. They were very curious in observing what Things we had about us, and one of them, who seemed to be a leading Man, spying a Silver Whistle with a Chain to it that my Mate had about him, begged it very earnestly. I ordered the Mate to shew it him, though I was sorry for the Discovery, for fear they should inflict upon having that, and no other Commodity, in Exchange for theirs, and for that Reason had cautioned all our Men to hide them. However, they all liked it mightily, and the chief Man among them promised to give for it an Ox, which might be worth twenty Crowns at least: Upon which I made him understand that we could not sell it, because we had Use for it; but if any of them would come aboard, I would shew them things that they would like as well.

Without farther Deliberation, this principal Man and three others embarked with us, desiring that so many of our Men might be left ashore, which I agreed to. In the mean time, at one Cast of a Scan, we drew up an infinite Number of little Fish, resembling Herrings both in Form and Taste; but I could not make any material Remarks upon the River, only that it was very great, and very rapid. The Natives of this Place are the handsomest Negroes that ever I saw; they are large, and well shaped, they feed well, and are neither flat nosed, nor thick lippled, neither do they think like the *Guinea* Negroes. They are very curious in their Hair, which is long, frizzled, raised upwards, and made up in Wreaths at the Top. Their Teeth are very white, even, and small, and they rub them every Minute with a small Piece of Wood; their Garment is a Cotton Cloth all woven, of two or three Colours, with which they cover their Privities, the rest of their Body being naked. As for their Ornaments, he whom we took to be the chief Man, had a large Plate, like a Piece of Bone or Ivory, perfectly white upon his Forehead, a large Ring of Copper at his Ears, about his Neck a Collar of Raffade, besides Glass Beads of several Colours, and a Necklace of fine yellow Amber, which he esteemed very much; the rest had Ornaments corresponding to all his, excepting the Trinkets on his Forehead. As soon as we came on Board of the Ship the Natives were surprized at its Size, and mightily taken with the Sound of the Trumpets and Drums: I presented them with some enamelled Rings, and others of Pearl and false Amber, and entertained them with Discourse till Supper was ready.

But in the mean time they were seized with the Sea-Sickness, inasmuch that they would needs go upon Deck, and lie upon a Sail. One of them who was not so sick as the rest, did nothing but jeer his Companions all Night, and imitated every Word that the Men upon the Watch said to one another. In a word, there are very jolly Negroes, and have nothing in them that is brutish; they readily apprehend what is said to them, and in my Opinion are much preferable to all other Negroes. Next Morning, by Break of Day, I went to look for my Guests, and found them upon their Legs, and much better than before: Then I shewed them several little things I thought they would like, such as Coral, yellow Amber cut fine, Raffades of all Colours, (they liked the blue, red and green, but not the white) Knives, Razors, Combs, Iron, Tin Vessels, a Copper Baton, and red Cloth, as well as Cloth of other Colours. They seemed to like every thing, and desired the Gift of them.

But when I spoke of their Bees, they always came back to the Silver Whistle and the Chain. Finding I could make nothing of them, I sent them ashore again, as well as some of our Men, with several of the above-mentioned Goods,

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to try what they could do with the other Natives. One of the Natives offered a fat large Ox, with Bunches upon his Shoulders (like to those on Camels Backs) in Exchange for a Copper Basin; but he that bore the Trinket on his Forehead spoke to him, upon which he gave back the Basin, and asked for a Silver Whistle with a Chain to it. In fine, I found they resolved not to truck with me for any thing else but Silver Chains. The next Day, hearing that the Natives were come down to Shore with their Cattle, I sent our Men ashore with Chains of Steel, Lattin, Copper, Jet, and other things resembling Pearl, ordering them to conceal the Silver Chain, and not exchange it till they had tried if any of the former would do; for I had no mind to make them acquainted with that Metal; but after all, they gave me to know, that they would deal in no other thing but the Silver Chain, and would give no more than one Cow for as much of it as would go round the Neck of the tallest of them, and meet with two Ends at his Navel.

Being unwilling to part with the Silver Chain, and at the same time in great Want of their Cattle, because we could not live upon Fish, I resolved to have a Chain made of Pewter, by a Goldsmith that we had on Board, and for that End melted a Platter, hoping to do as much with a Pewter Chain as with a Silver one; for when I offered them Silver and Pewter Spoons in a Heap together, they chose the Pewter ones, because they were new. In like manner, when I offered them a large Silver Basin, and Silver Cups, and even a Chain of Gold, they would give me nothing for them, but still wanted the Chain that was along with the Whistle. The next Day they came aboard without Hostages, and brought with them some Hens and Capons, a pretty deal of Milk, some Pease, and some Horn Spoons, made after their Fashion. These were very fond of our red Raffade, but we had but very little of it; however, we exchanged what we had at a pretty good rate, for they gave us a large Capon, or some such Poultry, for every String of it. These Natives lodged all Night on Board of us, and were not sick as the others were; they fed heartily, and eat a great deal of broiled Fish, and thrice as much Bread as any of our Men. The Pease they fold us were white, and as large as a Musket-Ball, and the best I ever saw; they eat them raw, and next to their Milk I believe they are their best Food.

10. On the 26th, I sent some red Raffade and the Tin Chain ashore, but they quickly perceived that the Chain was not the right; they gave us Fowls for half a String of Raffade a Piece, as well as a Weather for one String, and Assagays and Darts very well made for half a String a-piece. These Natives work very prettily in Iron and Copper, and to my Mind, their Iron, of which they have great Plenty, is as good as any in Spain. They fold us a small Quantity of Rice, which they valued very high. When our red Raffade was all gone, I showed them some red Coral, Chrifal, and other pretty little things, but they did not like them. On the 27th they brought down as many Cattle as covered a Quarter of a League, and still demanded the Silver Chain for an Ox, the red Raffade for their Sheep and Pullers, and the Blue for their Milk, of which they brought great Quantities for the Silver Chain. I demanded three Oxen and a Sheep for two Strings of red Raffade. In the mean time their King, or Governor, sent me word to come ashore (for I marketed in my Long-boat) and shew him the Chain, but I gave him to know that I could not come ashore; but if he would be pleased to come on Board, he should be very safe, and I would send some of my Men ashore for Hostages.

After some Deliberation he came on Board, and I was sorry I had no nice thing to present him with; however, having four Strings of red Raffade in my Hand, though I thought them too mean a Present for him, yet finding he looked upon them with an agreeable Eye, I complemented him with them, which he accepted with Pleasure, and gave me a Sheep for my Recompence. I had a great mind to have given him the half of the Silver Chain, which was five Foot and an half long, and weighed three Ounces and an half; but considering, if I was prodigal of the Chain, I should have nothing to fetch Beeves, or else I should be obliged to rob the Mates of their Silver Whistles, I put it off till the next Opportunity. But some time after the

King reflecting upon the Chain, sent one of the stateliest Oxen I ever saw, which we bought for half the Chain; but we had a great deal of Trouble in bringing it aboard; for though it received in its Head two Pistol-Shot, one Harquebuse, and one Musket Shot, yet it was so strong, that we were forced to stifle it under Water, and give it several Blows on the Head with an Axe before we could get it on Board: Such an Ox might be worth an hundred Livres in France. These Oxen are neither high, nor so large as those in our Country; but they are short and thick, their Head is small, their Neck short, with a large Bump or Lump of Fat upon the joining of the Neck to the Shoulder, which at a Distance appears as if it were a Burthen tied upon that Part. Their Sheep resemble those of Barbary as to their Head and Wool; but their Ears hang down like a Hound's, and their Tail contains ten or twelve Pound of pure Fat, which does not disturb the Stomach as the Fat of the Body does; their Fowls are large, fat, and well tasted. In a word, their Men are in so good a Case, and the Cattle so fat, that the Island must needs be a very good Country. As to their Fruit, I question whether we were there in their Season, at least they brought us none but a little Rice, some Beans, and very large white Pease.

They have a great many Gourds and Bottles made of them, in which they put their Milk. The 28th I was to see a little Island in the Mouth of the River, and then returned to the Place of Barter, where the Natives waited for us with a great Number of Cattle. This Day I bargained to double the Advantage of what I did Yesterday; but having allowed some of our Men to go ashore and treat for themselves, whether they spoiled the Market by being too prodigal of their Commodities, I cannot tell; but so it was, that the Natives all of a sudden demanded four Strings of red Raffade for a Sheep; whereas they had fold me several for two apiece but just before; upon which I called all my Men into the Boat, for I always marketed in my Long-boat from the Commencement of the Treaty.

I had no sooner recalled my Men, but the Governor of the Natives, whom they call *Aurea*, appeared in a Passion, and ordered all the Natives to retire. Left our mutual Friendship should be thus broke, I made a Signal that I would speak with the Governor, upon which he came down to the Shore Side, and I going ashore, presented him a Cut-lafs with a Silver Hilt, assuring him that I was his Friend, and earnestly desired that I and my Men should live in perfect Amity with him and his People. This done, he expressed a great deal of Satisfaction, the Negroes made loud Acclamations of Joy, and I causing the Trumpets to sound, and the Drums to beat, ordered a Party of our Men to come ashore, who joined in and shook Hands with the Natives; in the mean time the Governor made me sit down by him, and admiring the Trumpets and Drums, offered me an Ox for one of either; but I told him I could not part with them. After that we fold the rest of our Silver Chains for two Heifers, and a String of Coral Beads for an Ox, and then we returned on Board, giving the Natives to understand, that within four or five Days I should be gone, which they heard with Grief. The next Day one of our Officers went on Shore and fold four Ounces of a Silver Chain for six lusty Oxen, which I ordered to be falted.

11. On the 1st Day of June I went into our little Skiff with twelve Men, designing to reach the Mountains by a small Creek, and from thence to descry the Vallies where the River runs; but finding the Creek very inaccessible, and surrounded with Bushes, steep Rocks, and also Plants, I left it, and rowed about half a League up an Arm of the River to the Southward, where I found a Landing-Place. Having walked up a third Part of the Mountain, I discovered that the other Arm of the River to the Northward was yet greater, for it appeared as broad as the *Seyne* a League below *Roan*. Upon the Sea-side, and for two Leagues up the River, there is nothing but thick and black Woods; but beyond that, there are very pleasant Fields. This Bay is so covered with Flats to the North and South, that it is only accessible by the N. W. and W. N. W.

I do not believe the great Storms do ever reach it, for the Coast does not seem to be much beaten by the Waves; and all the fifteen Days I observed but one Cloud in the Zenith;

Zenith; neither is the Heat excessive, being tempered by the Land Breezes, that never fail blowing from the Sun-fetting to Ten or Eleven o'Clock in the Mornings, and the Sea-gales that blow from that Time to Sun-fetting. I found the Air of that Bay very healthy, for we had not one sick aboard, to which the Abundance we had of fresh Meat and good Water contributed not a little. As for the adjacent Country, the Valley is very pleasant, and affords excellent Pasturage, being watered with a large River, which would render the Ground very fertile, if it were cultivated. The Sea swells the Mouth of the River to ten or twelve Foot running Water, so that ordinary Ships might enter it. The Mountains are a dry Rock, the Surface of which looks as if it were burnt. The low Country is clad with an Infinity of Bushes and Shrubs, and the greatest Quantity of Tamarinds I ever saw, as well as with Ebony, and Aloe-Roots.

Their Tamarinds were not then ripe, but I met with another Fruit, almost ripe, that resembled a large Walnut, having a green Rind, which, when I opened it, gave a fragrant Smell, and the Fruit within it was black, and full of little Stones, like *Coffia Fistula*, and the Pulp being of the same Taste and Colour, though not so thick, was, as I take it, of the same Qualities. This Fruit is called Tamborins, and said to resemble Poppy-Heads, but without any Reason. We saw, in the Hands of the Savages, some small Cucumbers, which seemed to be better than ours, which they eat as we do Pears, a great many Gourds, some Beans, very good Peas, and a little Rice, and only one Citron. The Natives are jolly, proper, handsome Negroes, they are very friendly one to another, and obey one Sovereign, called *Aurea*, and he was only his Deputy, to whom I made a Present of the silver Cutlery, for they told me, with great Concern, that their *Aurea* had been stabbed. I could not perceive them guilty of any brutish or inhuman Action, for they dealt with us very friendly and honestly; they did not steal the least odd Thing, or offer the smallest Injury to our Men.

One Day, when one of our Priests was saying Mass, and had but very few Auditors, twenty-five or thirty of the Natives came about him, and being desired to kneel did so, and behaved themselves very respectfully till the Sermon was over. As for Religion, I could perceive none they had amongst them: Indeed they are circumcised, and though the Institution came to them time out of mind, yet I believe they had it from the *Mohammedans* upon the Coast of *Ethiopia*, who have long had, and still have, Traffick with that Country. Their Language sounds pretty smooth, for they pronounce it very glibly. They do not reckon beyond Ten in Computations, and their ten Numbers are thus expressed in Order, *Issa, Kotwa, Tello, Efad, Linne, Euning, Frutto, Virello, Sinoy, Fonso*. As for their Women, and their Houses, I saw neither. Some of our Men told me, they left their Women about half a League off in the Woods, and that they saw three or four of them that were very handsome, being covered from their Breast to their Knees with a party-coloured Cloth of Cotton, and having their Ears pierced in many Places, with a great many Ear-rings and Bracelets hanging upon them.

Having refitted our Ships, and furnished ourselves with fresh Provisions, Wood, and Fresh-water, and rode fifteen Days in this Bay, which is a very proper Place for taking in fresh Provisions, and sheltering distressed Ships, and might be made as useful for those who trade to the *Indies* as *Mozambique* is to the *Portuguese*. Having rode, I say, fifteen Days in this Bay, which lies in the Island of *Madagascar* or *St. Laurence*, under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, we weighed Anchor and stood North-West to avoid the Flats; and, having sailed all the Day with little Wind, at Night the Bay lay about ten Leagues off S. E. a Quarter E. at which Time we perceived another Bay about six Leagues off to the Eastward; the Coast runs N. and S. as far as we could see, and appears high, smooth, and all of a Piece, like the Coasts of *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and *Bretagne*.

12. June the 9th we came in Sight of the *Terra firma*, between *Sophala* and *Mozambique*, and, at Night, being 5° 10' Lat. and sailing N. E. a Quarter E. were in Dan-

ger of being cast away, because our Sea-Charts are very defective in those Parts, for the Pinnace being ordered to sail a-head and sound, and, if she apprehended any Danger, to give us a Signal of three Guns; about an Hour and a half before Day, the Signal being given, we immediately tacked about and dropped an Anchor; and when Day came, perceived that if we had gone a little farther we had run our Ship a-ground, for, about a Quarter of a League off there lay a little Island, scarce a Mile in Circumference, covered with Bushes and Greens, having two tall Trees together upon its Western Point, and to the W. N. W. of this Island, which has a long Bar before it; there lies another of the same Bigness very low, and covered all over with Trees.

The Continent lay about four Leagues from the first Island to the S. W. We saw a high and sandy Coast with a woody Country behind it, and to the West we descried a low Land, with large Trees upon it, as if they had been planted in the Sea. I was surprized to see the Continent so near me, taking my Measure from the Sea-Charts; for over Night, when we saw the *Terra Firma*, and the Islands, we took them, according to the Latitude in the Charts, to be what the *Portuguese* call the *Primieras*, and reckoning these three Leagues to the Westward of us, the Course laid down in the Charts from these Islands to a large Flat, lying in 16° 30' about twelve Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, being N. E. and S. W. and the last of the *Primieras* Islands being placed in 17°, above ten Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, we resolved to stand N. E. a Quarter E. thinking to sail nearer to the Flat than the *Primieras* Islands, but we were mistaken, for the *Primieras* Islands are not above two or three Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, from which the Coast runs away E. a Quarter N. E. Besides, the Charts have no Flats or Islands along that Coast, unless it be those of *Angosa*, which are placed more to the Southward, viz. 16°; though after all, I saw that Morning a String of Islands distant one from another, and lying 16° 40', which I took for them; so that the Charts misplaced them also two thirds of a Degree. Being at a Loss to know what little Islands these were, and finding the Chart so much out, I resolved to stay there no longer, accordingly I weighed Anchor, and sailed between the two Islands, the Pinnace founding a Head of me.

We sailed close by the Land-Side of the first Island, where we had ten or twelve Fathom Water, with a good Ground of muddy Sand, and no Banks, so that this Side, together with the Bar, affords a very good Road for Ships; then standing E. S. E. with a fresh southerly Gale, we got clear of the second Island, between which and the Continent I doubt not but there is a good Passage, for I observed not any Banks or Shallows. Having passed this second Island, we descried a third of the same Bigness with the former, which convinced me that these were the Islands of *Angosa*. The next Day it was as much as we could do to see the Land to the North-West of us, being then about six Leagues off; but, according to the Charts, we should have been above twenty.

13. The thirteenth we descried one of the Islands of *Comorra*, which is very high, and as conspicuous as *Madagascara*. The next Day we perceived another not so high, which is called *Majotta*, and abounds with all sorts of Provisions and Fruits, lying about ten Leagues from the Island that is nearest the *Terra firma* of *Mozambique*, the South Point of which we made the next Day, but could find no Convenience of coming to an Anchor. Notwithstanding it is inhabited all along the Shore, this last Island is very cool, moist, and full of Verdure, by reason of its Height, which gathers a great number of Clouds that break upon it. It has a great many Brooks of Water running down from the Top, which, in my Opinion, does not spring from the Rock, but are occasioned by the continual Vapours and their Condensation. The sixteenth we made the North Cape, which is fifteen or sixteen Leagues distant from the South. Having doubled the Cape, we perceived a sandy Creek, which appeared like an old ruinous Castle, where two Ships may ride at Anchor, in six Fathom Water, upon a sandy Ground: We thought to have rode there, but the Tide carried us by it.

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Having doubled the Point of this Creek we came before an inhabited Place, furnished with Houses like those of our own Country, where we thought to come to an Anchor; but finding no Bottom but from fifty to thirty Fathom Water, upon a rocky Ground, we stood to Sea, despairing of Anchorage upon that Island. In the mean time the Tide carried us Westward along the Coast, to a Point where we came in Sight of a Ship, and having sent out our long Boat with ten Musketeers, we understood it to be a *Missa* Ship of forty Tuns, that upon our Appearance upon that Coast, had run all their Goods on Shore, taking us to be *Dutch* Ships. The Captain shewed me two Letters, one from an *English* Captain called *Martin*, and another from Captain *Bannar*, intimating to all their Countrymen, that they had taken in several Refreshments at that Place, especially Fruits, but little Meat; that they had found no Water there; that linnen Cloth and Paper was a proper Commodity for that Place, and advising them to take Care of disoblighing the Islanders, who tho' they appeared friendly enough, were capable to do them a great deal of Injury.

Having asked the *Arabian* Master where I could find the best Conveniency for coming to an Anchor, he told me, the Place of Anchorage lay to the Windward of their Ship, but withal, advised me to fetch a Pilot from the Shore, by reason that the Road is surrounded with Rocks and Banks, and the Inhabitants of the Island being great Sorcerers, and having the Wind at their Command, could, upon Occasion, change it to our Disadvantage. Pursuant to his Advice, I sent my Boat ashore along with him, and in the Afternoon he returned with two of the Inhabitants, who were Negroes, and brought our Ship safe to Anchor before Sun-set. In the mean time I sent the *Arabian* Master back to his own Ship, with full Assurances of the Innocency of our Design, and the friendly Disposition of the *French*, together with a Letter to the same Purpose, addressed in *Spanish* to the King.

Upon the seventeenth, the King sent some of his chief Favourites to assure us of his Friendship, and Readiness to supply us with the Product of his Country. I acknowledged my Obligations to the Prince, and sent him a Present of a silver-hilted Hanger, a couple of very pretty Knives, a Ream of Paper, and a Looking-glass, which he received with Pleasure, and returned me a Complement of a young Kid and some Fruit. At the same time I desired the *Arabian* Captain, who was then ashore, to buy some Provisions for me, promising to send such Commodities as were proper to be given in Exchange; but the Captain sent me Word, that the Inhabitants of that Island were of such a particular Humour, that they would not strike a Bargain of half a Rial Value in a Day's Time, for that they would not buy half a Yard of Cloth without calling all their Relations and Neighbours to concert the Measures of the Bargain. I was likewise informed by a *Portuguese*, that a *Portuguese* Carrack had been lost upon that Island about three Years before, and by that Means the Inhabitants were so over-stocked with Rials, that they put no Esteem upon that Coin.

Accordingly I found, that tho' they had vast Quantities of Fruits, they would not sell them to our Men for Money, but only for Paper, white Cloth and Knives; in fine, I perceived, that it would cost me a Fortnight's Attendance to make up two Pipes of Pease, which I wanted, tho' I did not design to stay above three or four Days. The eighteenth, having desired a couple of Ships of that Country, I brought the Cadetains a Board, who acquainted me, that they came from the Island of *Mojotta*, were laden with Rice and dried Flesh, and bound for *Monbaze*. Next Day they supplied me with as much Rice, Pease, and hung Beef, as would serve us for four Months, and I was glad of the Opportunity, for I could buy nothing from the Inhabitants without an infinite Loss of Time; besides, I began to suspect the Honesty of their Intentions, for the Day before, when we were founding for Anchorage, some of the Inhabitants gave us a Signal to come to a Place where we spied a long Ridge of Rocks, and had certainly been lost, if we had answered the Signal; and upon that score, I presumed, that the Advantage they had made by the

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Shipwreck of the *Portuguese* Carrick tempted them to wish us the like Fate.

The twentieth I thought to have taken up some fresh Water on Shore, but finding it blackish, and hard to be put on Board, by reason of the great Waves, and observing withal, that the Ship rode in the midst of Shelves, I dropped that Design, and weighed Anchor on the twenty-first by break of Day. The *Arabian* Captain understanding that I designed to double Cape *Comorin*, had advised me to stop at the Isle of *Socotora* for six Weeks, to avoid the usual Storms upon the Coast of *Malabar*. I would gladly have taken one of their Pilots along with me, to shew me the Coasting of that Island, but they pleaded the Difference of the Religion, and our Mens eating of Pork, for an Excuse.

14. This Isle of *Nangassja* extends itself from North to South about fifteen or sixteen Leagues, with about three or four Leagues in Breadth. We could observe no Anchorage round it but that where our Ship rode, which lies upon the N. N. W. Point in $11^{\circ} 80' S$. Lat. but the middle of the Island is in 12° . In that Place we rode at 25 or 30 Fathom Water, upon a Ground of Sand; but within a Pistol Shot of us there lay Flats, which had not above two Feet Water at low Water, and rocky Ground all about. It is a very dangerous Road, and hard to be found by Strangers. Indeed, among many Inconveniencies, it has these Advantages, that the Tide always runs against the Wind, so that the Ships ride easy, and that causes a kind of perpetual Calm at Sea, because the Wind then takes the Land. Besides the Inconveniency of Anchorage, it is likewise a very improper Place to take in fresh Provisions, for its Water is very bad, and the Inhabitants are so over cautious, that they will be two Hours in marketing to the Value of Five-pence; so that *Mojotta* is upon that score infinitely preferable to it.

The Island itself affords a pleasant Prospect, especially to the Northward, for on that Side the Mountains rise gradually, being covered with several sorts of Trees, and below, upon a clear Creek of Sand, along the Sea-shore, there stand a great many Houses, sheltered from an infinite number of Cocoa, Orange and Citron Trees. Their Oranges are very small, but very sweet and delicious, resembling both in Shape and Taste those of *China*. The Inhabitants are Negroes, and call their Island *Nangassja*. They are all very zealous *Mohammedans*, and marked with a hot Iron, upon the Temples, and middle of their Forehead. They are neither so handsome, nor so well shaped as the Negroes of *St. Laurence*. The Island is governed by fifteen petty Kings, of whom the King of the Place where is the Anchorage, is the strongest, and best allied. These Kings war with one another, and sell their Prisoners of War to the *Portuguese*, and other Nations.

Their Fighting consists in throwing of Stones, beating one another with Sticks, burnt at the End, and flinging Sand in one anothers Eyes. We saw no Arms among them but what the King had, and those were Fuzes and Pistols, with which the *English* presented him sometime ago, which he valued mightily. They are reckoned great Sorcerers, but are civil and respectful enough to Strangers, unless it be when they see a Stranger stand upright and make Water, for then they ridicule him with a prodigious Shouting. The *Arabian* Ships, which they call *Pengays*, are strangely built, for the Planks are neither nail'd nor caulk'd, but sewed together with a sort of Thread made of the Rind of Cocoa Tree, and tarred, or pitched above the Seams, so that they are very leaky, and there are always five or six Men employed to heave out the Water; besides, that they always observe the Trade-Winds, so as to fail right before the Wind, for they wont venture to set their Side to the Windward. They are undeck'd, and carry about fifty or sixty Tuns. When we weighed Anchor in this Road, we stood N. N. E. and without the Points of the Land met with violent Tides, bearing to the Westward, i. e. S. S. W. At Night we desired another small Island to the Sea-ward, which must be that called in the Maps *Juan de Castraval*, and lies fifteen Leagues N. E. and a Quarter N. from *Nangassja*.

15. The twenty-eighth we crossed the Equinoctial Line, and 'till the first, the Wind blowing very high, we failed fifty-five Leagues in twenty-four Hours, notwithstanding that most of our Sails were furl'd, which gave me to understand, that upon that Coast the Tides ran rapidly before the Wind. Next Morning we discovered a clear and rocky Coast, with good Ground, a great Way from it, for at three Leagues Distance we had thirty Fathom Water, upon a fine white Sand. On the second of July we stood against the Wind, hoping the Storm would abate upon the Change of the Moon; but by our Latitude found, that the Tide and Storm had carried us thirty-eight Leagues, tho' in the Night we stood to Sea, and by Day towards the Land, which seem'd very wonderful.

The fourth we made Cape *Orpin*, which in the Maps is placed in ten Degrees Latitude, and dropped two Anchors, the Storm still continuing. The eighth it blew so very hard, that a Man could not walk upon Deck. Upon which we tried all the Inventions imaginable of lowering our Topmast, running out above one hundred and eight Fathom Cable to every Anchor, &c. and our Pilots declared us lost. At the same Time our Pinnace was drove from two Anchors, the Ropes being cut by the Rocks. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, it blew still harder, inso-much that the Pinnace was obliged to quit the Coast, but the seventeenth she returned, and cast Anchor nearer the Shore, at six Fathom Water, upon very good Ground.

The high Winds continued without Intermision till the third of August, during which Time we could neither send our Boats ashore, nor hoist up a Sail. However, I resolv'd to stand for Cape *Guardafu*, in order to consider the State of our Tackling, as well as to take in fresh Water, and receive Directions from the Natives about our Coasting on *Socotera*, where none of us had ever been. With this View I fitted out our Long-boat with Provisions for three Days, ordering the Men, by all Means, to make the Land, and know of the Natives where they might come at fresh Water.

16. They returned on the twelfth, and reported, that they had coasted along the Shore to the Eastward of the Place, where we rode under steep Mountains, on the Tops of which they saw Persons in mean *Arabian* Habits, who seem'd to be Negroes, and threw so many Stones on them from the Tops of the Mountains, that they were oblig'd to steer off; for, notwithstanding all the Signals they could make of Peace and Friendship, the Natives seem'd to intimate by their Swords and Aflagays, that if they came ashore, they would cut their Throats. Upon which they steer'd to that Part of the Coast which was opposite to our Anchorage, where some of them got up the Precipice, by a Gap, and found an open champaign Country, as far as they could see, without any Trees, except it was some wither'd Bushes, and some Herbs, burnt up by the Sun: They saw likewise two or three of the Natives, who fled further into the Country.

Having lain that Night under the Precipice, they steer'd next Day two or three Leagues to the Westward, and saw some Natives along the Shore, who march'd up Hill as soon as the Boat offer'd to come near them. After they had doubled the Cape, from which a Ridge of Rocks shoots above half a League into the Sea, and there found a large Bay, three Leagues broad, and shooting very far into the *Terra Firma*, but very shallow; for about two Leagues from the Mouth of it they found but three and four Feet Water, the Ground, Sand and thick Gravel, with a great deal of Wreck, and an Infinity of Fish. In the Bay they found two of the Natives a fishing, who fled as soon as they made up to them. Our Men went ashore to meet them, and met with a great many of the Inhabitants, who, notwithstanding all the Signals they could make of a white flag, still fled from them, crying aloud, *Illa, Alla, Illa* (which is *Mohammedan*), which is the *Mohammedan* Confession of Faith.

Upon the Shore they found an *Arabian* Boat with two Men in it, a little further in the Country they met a little Hut, and a little Lodge, with two or three Mats in it, which they did not touch. When they return'd they saw the Natives peep

out again, but could find no Opportunity of treating with them either by Friendship or Force. Upon this unfavourable Report, I resolv'd to weigh Anchor as soon as the Storm abated. This Anchorage in which we encountered this Season, and which is, indeed, the Winter of that Country, lies in 10° 30' N. Lat. the Needle varying 17° 40' N. W. and the Coast running E. and W. I would not advise any one to pitch upon that Place to lie in till the proper Season of Coasting upon *Malabar*, for not only the Land is desert and inaccessible, by reason of the continual Violence of the Wind, which never varies farther than from S. S. W. to S. W. but it affords no Water, either from Earth or Heaven, as being altogether destitute of Rain.

17. The Storm being abated, we weigh'd Anchor the seventeenth, and the eighteenth came within a League of Cape *Guardafu*. That Night we tack'd about, and stood to the Seas, steering E. a Quarter S. E. and S. S. E. in order to make the Isles of *Garia* and *Muria*, which lie between the Isle of *Socotera* and the Cape, and affords good Water. But missing of them, we return'd next Morning, standing for the Cape, and in the Afternoon came into an Anchor within Cape *Guardafu*, in nine Fathom Water, upon good Ground, within one-fourth of a League of the Island, that runs away N. W. a Quarter W. Next Morning I sent one Boat's Crew in quest of some Spring of fresh Water, falling from the Mountains into the Sea, on its S. Side, and another to coast along the Shore, N. W. three Quarters W. which extends to the Mouth of the Red-Sea, in order to find Water, or to speak to some of the Inhabitants. At the same Time I sent out the little Skiff, to try what Conveniency they could have for Fishing.

The Skiff brought back Word, that all along the Shore, for twenty or thirty Paces, the Ground was so rocky, that they durst not venture to bend their Scan. Those who went in Quest of Water to the Southward return'd, and gave me an Account that they had travelled four or five Leagues into the Country, which was extremely desert, dry, and unfruitfully hot, the Sun being in the Zenith of the Horizon, and there being no Shade or Wind. The other Boat's Crew reported, that about three Leagues West-North-West from us they came to a Place which seem'd to be pretty green in Comparison of that dry Country, where they went ashore, and meeting with ten or twelve Negroes, asked them where they could have Water to drink? That one of the Negroes asked a Piece of Cotton Cloth that one of the Seamen had, as a Reward for the Discovery, and upon having it, shew'd him some Ditches and Wells dug out of the Ground, in which was abundance of Water; and that the said Negroes asked them, if they were *Englisb*, and promised to give them Cattle in Exchange; upon this Report we weigh'd Anchor, and set Sail for that Place.

The 22d, about Noon, we came to an Anchor at six Fathom Water, bad Ground, about four Leagues from Cape *Guardafu*, over-against some Bushes and Greens, which are not common upon that Coast. Having set thirty Men ashore to dig for Water, I found that the Water, which came in great abundance, after they had digg'd but one Foot deep, was at first sweet, but after we had fill'd a Barrel or two, the rest came very salt, inso-much that for twenty-two Tun of Water we were oblig'd to dig in above seventy Places, which we did in four Hours, the Soil being Sand; while we lay here it was insufferably hot, without any Wind.

18. Cape *Guardafu* lies in 12° Degrees Latitude, the Needle varying 17° 45' North-West; 'tis the highest Land upon all this Coast, and rises to a Precipice. All this Coast is wonderfully desert, scorched by the Sun, inso-much that I do not believe there is a hotter Place in the World. We saw no Appearance of Houies, but there appear'd to us some Negro Men wandering upon the Shore, who were so large, that we should have taken them for Rocks, if we had not seen them move. I saw one of their Bows, which by its Largeness and Strength spoke the huge Stature of the Owner. I was mightily surpriz'd to find no manner of Wind when we lay close by this Cape; whereas it had blown very hard but a few Leagues off, in the Latitude of 10° 30'.

portunity of treating with force. Upon this unhappy Anchor as soon as the in which we encountered the Winter of that Country, varying $17^{\circ} 40' N. W.$ I would not advise to lie in till the proper for not only the Land of the continual Vision of the Water, either from no Water, either from other destitute of Rain. we weighed Anchor the same within a League of tacked about, and stood S. E. and S. S. E. in and *Maria*, which lie beyond Cape, and affords good we returned next Morning in the Afternoon came *ardafa*, in nine Fathom in one-fourth of a League W. a Quarter W. Next a quest of some Spring of Mountains into the Sea, on along the Shore, N. W. to the Mouth of the or to speak to some of time I sent out the lity they could have for

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Degrees Latitude, the ft; 'tis the highest Land precipice. All this Coast the Sun, inasmuch that ace in the World. We ut there appeared to us the Shore, who were to them for Rocks, it we one of their Bows, which like the huge Statue of Cape; whereas it had off, in the Latitude of

The Reason I imagine to be this, the Point of Land lying in $10^{\circ} 30'$, being a Peninsula not above three or four Leagues broad, serves for a Shock to heighten and inflame the Wind, which runs along the Coast North-East and South-West; whereas Cape *Guardafu* is very high, and the Wind passing over a long Tract of dry and hot Land, in Conjunction with the Rays of the Sun, does so heat its Surface, that the Wind is waisted above it. The 27th we weighed Anchor, and as we advanced found the Wind grow brisker; after we had sailed about twelve Hours, we fell in with great Tides running out of the *Red-Sea*, and a few Hours after that found the Sea very much troubled, and stained with red Spots; some took it for Flats, but we could discover no such thing by sounding. My Sense of the Matter was, that we then being in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, and that being the Day of the Moon's Conjunction, some great Floods joined to the Pressure of the Sun and Moon, occasioned this Violence of the Tides.

Next Day a Consultation of the Pilots being called, it was resolved that we should run seven or eight Days to and again in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, for fear the Wind we then had should wait us too soon upon the Coast of *Malabar*; pursuant to this Resolution, we steered North towards the Coast of *Arabia*. August the 31st we came within two Leagues of the Coast of *Arabia*, we were then in $14^{\circ} 20'$ Latitude, over-against a Bay, in which, according to the vulgar Maps, there should be some Islands called *Caramberumma*, and *Xael*, which produce great Quantities of Frankincense. I thought to have made *Caramberumma*, but the contrary Winds and Tides prevented me. I understood that there came to that Place every Year a great many *Mohammedan* Pilgrims, some of whom continued there a long time.

In the Entry of the *Red-Sea*, and along the Coast of the *Coffins*, or *Guardafins*, there is a prodigious Quantity of Fish, especially Thornbacks, some of which are as long as a Boat, and proportionably thick; some of our Men struck at them with a Grapple, but it pierced their Skin no more than if it had been Iron. This Coast of *Arabia* is sandy, and in some Places low; but in the inland Parts there are very high Mountains, which were covered with Fogs all the Time we were there. The Calm obliging me to stay in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea* till September the 10th, I began to be apprehensive we might come too late to double Cape *Comorin*, and for that Reason stood North-East with what East and East-South-East Wind we had, till we fell in with the South-West Winds, and so steered our Course South.

Having called a Consultation of the Pilots and other Officers, in order to determine what Course we should steer to Cape *Comorin*, whether through the Channel of *Mammale*, or along the Coast of *Malabar*, it was alledged, that passing through the Straights of *Mammale* at that Season, would abridge our Voyage; but on the other hand the Tides running South-West, were against us, and to stand to South-East we should be obliged to sail close by the Wind, so that the Ship would make but little Way; and for that Reason it was alledged, that we might sooner make the Coast of *Malabar* than the Latitude of that Channel, and for my part, I was apprehensive of being becalmed on that Coast, upon which we had a hundred and twenty Leagues to sail before we could double Cape *Comorin*. It was likewise alledged, that we could not reach the Latitude of that Channel, which was 9° , without falling in upon the *Terra Firma*, by reason that standing South-East would make more than an East Course; others again pleaded, that South-South-East would do our Business.

In this Difference of Opinions, I resolved to put the Case to a Trial, by standing South-South-East, and remarking from the Latitudes what Way we made: Accordingly we steered South-South-East till the next Day at Noon, and then having taken the Latitude, found that our Way was no better than East-South-East. After this I called together the Pilots again, the Majority of which agreed that we should go directly in quest of the Coast of *Malabar*, in the Latitude of $13^{\circ} 20'$. The chief Reason they insisted upon was, that the Channel of *Mammale* lying in $9^{\circ} 30'$, it would be a long Time before we should reach it; besides, that in that Course we should be in Danger of fall-

ing in with the Flats to the Northward of the Channel. Though I was very apprehensive of being becalmed on the Coast of *Malabar*, yet I yielded to the Plurality of Votes, and stood East-South-East.

19. The 26th we came in Sight of the Coast of *Malabar*, which is very high and mountainous; within the Country, the 27th, we descried Mount *Deli*, about eight Leagues off, which lies between *Cranganor* and *Mangalore*, and appears at that Distance like an Island. In that Place the Needle varied $15^{\circ} 15'$ North-West; having spied a Galliot about a League off, and the Wind varying about to the North, we gave her Chace, but could not come up with her. The 28th, being becalmed, we saw a Ship two Leagues to the Windward of us, and I sent Mr. *Monteaurier* with twenty-three Men in the Long-boat, ordering them not to board the Ship, but to command the Captain to send his Pilots and Purser aboard of us, and to acquaint him that I designed them no Harm, but only to know if it was not too late to double Cape *Comorin*; sometime after I saw our Long-boat board the Ship, and some Muskets fired, and after that a Boat came off from the Ship, and made towards us.

The Calm continuing, and the Boat advancing but slowly, I sent our Skiff to know their News, which I was in Pain to hear: Upon its Return I understood that the People in the Boat were five of our Men, three of whom were dangerously wounded. When these came aboard they recounted a tragical Story, viz. that upon their Approach to the Ship, which was a large one, M. *Monteaurier* gave them Notice to lower their Sails, that they not obeying, he fired upon them two Brass Guns, and a Broad-side of Musket Shot, that thereupon they struck, and told him he might board them if he would; upon which our Men boarded them upon the Quarter-deck, and having killed all the Men abatt, thought themselves entirely Masters of the Ship, when of a sudden sixty or eighty Men started up in the Fore-castle, and with Shields and Hangers in their Hands, fell upon our Men with such Fury, that they obliged them to retire to the Boat. But there happened an unlucky Mischance, the Boat was so belayed that they could not disengage her, so that most of our Men were killed with Pickaxes, Arrows, and Hand-Granades, which were thrown into the Boat, and the rest being forced to leap into the Sea, one of them swam to the *Moor's* Boat, and having cut the Cable, saved himself, and the other four Men, without staying for the rest, who in all probability were drowned.

Next Morning I made all the Sail I could to come up with the Ship, and having boarded it, found no body on Board but fifteen poor old Wretches with white Beards reaching to their Girdle, who with Tears and Lamentations threw themselves at my Feet, and raised my Compassion more than Revenge; besides that, the five Men who were saved, unanimously assured me, that they did not see them in the Engagement. The Account I had from these Men was, that the Ship having carried a Cargo of Pepper to *Mecca*, was upon her Return to *Panama* near *Calicut*, to which Place she belonged, that themselves were poor People coming from *Mecca* to beg upon that Coast, that the Owners of the Ship, in Number eighty, had gone off the Night before in our Boat, with the Gold and Silver, and the Boat being almost over-laden, had left them behind.

Upon the whole, I considered that those poor Men were innocent, and that the Ambition and Avarice of our Men was the Cause of their Death, since the *Moors* had struck, and designed them no Harm, till our Men fell upon them; for these Reasons I spared the poor old Men. I found aboard of the Ship a great Quantity of Salt, Dates, Wine, two Puncheons of Opium, some hundreds of Pounds of Coral, some Cotton Cloth of small Value, Rose-water, and Knives, and I understood from the old Men, that if our Men had not boarded the Ship, the Owners would have furnished me with forty thousand Ducats of *Cairo*, which is a Golden Coin worth about four Livres apiece.

20. October the 2d we were off Cape *Comorin* in $7^{\circ} 50'$, the Needle varying $14^{\circ} 20'$, the Tides bearing to the South, having carried us farther off than we designed. After that, being advised by our Pilots to stand for *Ticow* rather than *Aben*, I steered South-East, and South-East a Quarter East. The 11th we had a violent Gult of Wind, which lasted

lasted for two Hours, and soon after had another, which broke our Fore-mast, being then in $1^{\circ} 20'$ S. Lat. The 12th being in $1^{\circ} 10'$ S. Lat. we saw a few Land-Fowls, which made us hope to see the Land in a short Time; and most of my Ship's Crew, as well as that of the Advice Boat, being then sick, November the 11th we came in Sight of Land in $1^{\circ} 40'$ N. Lat. but the Frequentness of the Calms, and the Sickness of my Men, retarded me mightily, for the Pinnace had not above two or three Hands fit for Business; and, in our Ship, there were not eighteen that were able to work; besides, both our Surgeons were dead. I despatched several Ships of that Country under Sail, and put out a white Antient to make them steer towards us; at last, finding they would not come, I sent out my Skiff to speak with one that stood between us and the Shore, and tho' they endeavoured to run ashore, yet the Skiff came up with them, and agreed to give thirty-five Pieces of Eight for a Pilot to conduct us to *Ticow*.

They were of *Prioman*, a Town about eight or ten Leagues to the Southward of *Ticow*, and told our Men that *Ticow* lay about seven or eight Leagues off, beyond some Islands a-head of us. Our Pilot carried us nearer the *Terra Firma* than we were; and when we came to be off of the above-mentioned Islands, made us put back to Sea. Having passed these Islands, we came in Sight of a high Promontory of the *Terra Firma*, which had two Banks, one about half a League before its outmost Point, and another about two Leagues to the S. E. of it; and we had certainly run foul of the last, if one of our Men had not given us Notice of it from the Main-Top-Mast, for we could not spy it upon Deck, and our Pilot had told us nothing of the matter. Having weathered this dangerous Place, and standing S. S. E. we saw another a-head of us, about the same Distance from the last. We steered between these two, which lie S. E. and N. W. sounding all the Way, and had all along sixteen Fathom Water, the Ground muddy, with a little Sand.

The Night overtaking us, we were obliged to drop an Anchor between them. This Shoal lies off of a Place called *Pogeman*, just under the Equinoctial, which affords a great deal of Pepper, making a large Creek, the Bottom of which is a low Country, covered with Woods, but in the inland Parts there stands an high Mountain, pointed like a Pike, which is seen above twenty Leagues off, and runs S. E. a Quarter E. Having weathered the Point of this Creek, we defenced the three Islands of *Ticow*, and, at last, having spent two Months upon a Voyage that is commonly performed in eight Days, landed at *Ticow* the 11th of December. Between that Time and the 2d of October I had lost twenty-five Men, and if the Calm had continued but fifteen Days longer, I believe I had lost all the Men in my Ship.

21. We cast Anchor at *Ticow* between the greatest of the Islands and the *Terra Firma*, at four Fathom Water, and the Ground muddy, and sent our Skiff ashore, which brought us one *Pedra*, who had been Interpreter to the *English* Factory in that Place. This Interpreter told me, that the *English* and *Dutch* had been expelled by the King of *Achen* two Months before, and that there was a great deal of Pepper, but we could not buy it without a Licence from the King of *Achen*, who was Lord of all that Coast. He likewise acquainted me that the *Hope*, our second Ship, had touched upon the Coast about twenty Leagues off, in the latter End of July, and had sent their Long-Boat with fifteen Men to this Place, to take in fresh Provisions, which they wanted mightily. That upon the Boat's Arrival, a *Dutch* Ship in the Road fired upon them, but, upon Complaint, excused themselves, pleading that they took them to be *English*. That the fifteen Men having met with a kind Reception, and taken in what Provisions they wanted, set out in search of their own Ship, but could not meet with it; upon which they returned to this Place, where seven of them died in October; four went for *Achen* in a *Dutch* Ship, three for *Bantam* in another *Dutch* Ship, and one continued in the Country, and earned his Bread by gathering of Pepper.

I was infinitely grieved to hear that Captain *Grave* had been so inconsiderate as to send his Long-Boat so far from

him, especially when I was informed that, among the fifteen Men he had lost, there were two principal Commissaries and a Pilot. Upon further Enquiry, *Pedra* informed me that the Place where the *Hope* had cast Anchor was a great Island, about twenty Leagues to the Westward of that Place; that he was assured they had not suffered Shipwreck, either upon that Island or along the Coast, since the Prows (so the Ships of that Country are called) going to and fro had never discovered any Wreck. That the two Commissaries, before they died, were of Opinion that the Ship had been drove from her Anchors by Storm, and not being able to make her former Station, made the best of her Way to *Bantam*, expecting that I would touch at this Place, according to my Promise, and take up her Men. As to the Affront offered them by the *Dutch*, he told me, that the *Dutch* knew them to be *French*, having spoken with them before they fired: That the News of the Peace between the *Dutch* and the *English* was arrived before this happened: That the *Dutch* had represented to the Governor and the Inhabitants of that Place, that the *French* were Robbers, and meant only to observe the Landing-place, in order to sack them: That they would not assist our two Commissaries any manner of way, whether in Health or Sickness, nor give the least Relief to any of our Men, bating some few Sailors that they stood in Need of; and that the *English* had served our Men to the utmost of their Power. He added, that the Governor was very sensible of the Malice of the *Dutch*, who meant only to engraft the *Indies* to themselves, and had but lately abused the King of *Jacatra*, and usurped his Territories, for which Reason the King of *Achen* thought fit to dislodge them from *Ticow*.

As to the Death of our Men, he said, it had been a very sickly Year in that Place as ever was seen; but, after all, the *Dutch* were suspected to have shortened their Days, considering those who died were the Persons they hated most, and were not the first who had received Poison from their Hands, witness the Death of several *Englishmen*, occasioned by that Means. I questioned him about the Injury done by the *Dutch* to the King of *Jacatra*, and whether they had laid Siege to *Bantam*; he assured me that it was still besieged, inasmuch that there was no Commerce nor Traffick with that City; that the *Dutch* had possessed themselves of *Jacatra*, and expelled the King; that they had razed the ancient City, and built a strong Fort and City after the Fashion of their own Country, which they had peopled with all sorts of Nations; and, in fine, that they were at that Time Masters of the Strait of *Sunda*, where no body could sail without their Passport. Having maturely weighed all the Particulars of this Advice, I resolved to send both to *Achen* and to *Bantam*, at any rate, to have some Account of Captain *Grave* and his Ship, for whose Condition I was greatly concerned.

22. December the 2d the King and Governor allowing me to come ashore, I carried some Presents along with me, without which one will scarce be made welcome in that Country. Upon my landing, the Governor and principal Officers gave me an honourable Reception, under a Roof, or, as they call it, *Baly*. Having told them my Country and Business, they informed me that I was free to buy up what Provisions I wanted, provided I paid for them in Rials and Knives, and no other Commodity. But, as for Pepper, and the other Commodities of the Country, they could not dispose of any without a Licence from the King; but if I would go to *Achen* and obtain Leave of the King to erect a Factory with them, they would be glad to deal with us. I asked Leave to hire a House in the City, to accommodate my sick Men, and to remain ashore to buy up Provisions; but they replied, they could not answer for the Safety of my Men ashore, there being so many Rogues about the Town; but, if I pleased, I might leave two Men to buy up Provisions, and that only for the Space of a few Days.

The next Day I sent a Letter to *Achen*, directed for *Monf. Grave*, Captain of the *Hope*, if he was there, having obliged the Master of a Prow bound thither, by some Presents and Promises of a Reward, to carry it to the Captain. I agreed with the Master of a Prow that lived at *Ticow*, to give him a hundred Rials to carry one of my Men

ed that, among the five principal Commissioners Enquiry, *Pedro* in the *Hope* had cast Anchors twenty Leagues to the westward of that Island, and that the *Hope* was assured they had not that Island or along the coasts of that Country are discovered any Wreck, nor they died, were of the *Hope* drove from her Anchors, and made her former Station, *Bantam*, expecting that I would, to my Promise, and that the *Dutch* front offered them by the *Dutch* knew them to be before they fired: That the *Dutch* and the *English* opened: That the *Dutch* and the *Inhabitants* of the *Robbers*, and meant to, in order to sack them: To Commissaries any manner of Sickness, nor give the *bating* some few Sailors and that the *English* had of their Power. He advised of the Malice of the *Indies* to themselves, and the King of *Jacatra*, which Reason the King of *Ticow*.

he said, it had been a never was seen; but, after we shortened their Days, the *Perions* they hated had received Portion from several *Englishmen*, occasioned him about the Inhabiting of *Jacatra*, and when he assured me that there was no Commerce with the *Dutch* had possessed the King; that they built a strong Fort and own Country, which they called *Sunda*, of the Strait of *Sunda*, their Passport. Having heard of this Advice, I returned to *Bantam*, at any rate, and *Grave* and his Ship, for my concern.

g and Governor allowing some Presents along with me to be made welcome in *Bantam*, the Governor and his Honourable Reception, un-*lately*. Having told them I was informed me that I was wanted, provided I paid and no other Commodity, other Commodities of the *Indies* of any without a Licence to *Achen* and obtain Leave with them, they would be to hire a House in *Sunda*, and to remain but they replied, they of my Men ashore, there Town; but, if I pleased, up Provisions, and that

to *Achen*, directed for *pe*, if he was there, having bound thither, by some *ed*, to carry it to the Captain of a Prow that lived at *Rials* to carry one of my Men

Men to *Bantam* or *Jacatra*, in quest of the *Hope*, provided he returned in twenty Days. The Articles of Agreement were drawn up in Writing, and lodged in the Hands of *Pedro*, the *English* Interpreter; and both he and the Master of the Prow desired that his Voyage might be concealed from the Governor and Inhabitants of *Ticow*. The Governor having sent me a Buffalo and some Fruit, I went to return him Thanks, and, by Virtue of some Presents I made him, obtained Leave to hire a House, in which I lodged forty-three sick Men, with three Surgeons, a Priest, and three more to attend on them. In the mean time, I had several Presents made me of Fruit and young Kids, particularly from the Governor of *Priaman*, who pressed me earnestly to make him a Visit: I returned him Thanks, together with some Presents, and a Promise to wait upon him the first Opportunity.

The 8th an *Achen* Galliot arriving, assured me that no French Ship had touched at *Achen*; upon which I concluded that our Comfort must, of necessity, be either at *Bantam* or *Jacatra*. The 10th there arrived three Gallies, belonging to the King of *Achen*, with an Elephant and three hundred Men in each of them; and the Inhabitants of *Ticow* acquainted me, that they expected a further Reinforcement of Elephants and Men, in order to carry on a War against a Prince that had revolted against the King of *Achen*. Upon this News, considering I had fifty Men at *Ticow*, and fifty more at the Island, with the Water-Casks, besides eight or ten that were always out with the Skiff; so that I had but few Men left on Board, tho' at the same time, I used to have eighty or a hundred of the Natives on Board, some by way of Visit, and others to sell their Eggs, Fruit, Pullets, Fish, and other Provisions. Upon these Considerations I nailed down the Hatch, and run a Rail between the great Mast and the Fore-Mast, which was fortified by two great Padereroes mounted on Wheels, and five more upon the Bittacle, together with a Guard upon the Deck, and two Musketeers, with as many Halberdiers standing at a Door in the said Rail, which I never suffered to be opened but when I received a Visitant into my Cabin; so that two hundred Men upon the Deck could do us no Injury, while our Men were upon their Guard.

The 13th I went ashore, and found my Men recovering by degrees; being to wait upon the Governor to ask Leave to stay fifteen Days longer, he granted my Request, but withal entreated me to go to *Achen*, and obtain a Licence of the King for erecting a French Factory, which would be infinitely more acceptable to the Inhabitants than that of any other Nation. He likewise advised me not to be jealous of the Inhabitants, or fear any Injury from them, which it seemed I did, since I had made a Fortification in my Ship, and mounted more Guns than before.

I made answer, that my coming so carelessly ashore, and leaving fifty sick Persons in their Hands, was a sufficient Evidence of the Confidence I put in the Natives; that the Design of the Barrier in my Ship, was only to keep out those I did not know from running into my Cabin, that so I might be capable of distinguishing an Oran-*kay*, or a noted Gentleman, from a Fisherman; and that I had not mounted so many Pieces of Cannon, if I had not heard that two Dutch Ships were expected here, of whom I had Reason to be jealous. Upon this, he told me, that I had a great deal more Reason to mistrust the *Dutch* than them, and that, if I pleaded, he would forbid the Natives to go on Board of me: But I assured him, they should be at all times very welcome, and that I did not at all mistrust them. After that, I visited the Captains of the three Gallies, who assured me a-fresh, that there had no French Ships come lately to *Achen*.

23. The nineteenth the King of *Ticow's* eldest Son visited me on Board, with a great Retinue, and I gave him the best Reception I could. That Night the Prow I had sent to *Bantam* returned in eleven Days, and the Master made the following Reports. Four Days after they had put to Sea, they arrived at the Port of *Surabaya*, which lies on the Coast of *Sumatra*, in 4° S. Lat. there being a Dutch Ship in the Road. M. *Isaac*, the Man whom I had sent on Board the Prow, in quest of the Vice-Admiral,

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would needs speak with them, tho' he dissuaded him. The Dutch Captain acquainted him, that *Bantam* was blocked up, so that no Ships of any Nation could get in; that the *Hope*, which was then at *Jacatra*, had been in great Distress upon that Coast, there being only four or five Men on Board, till a Dutch Vessel reinforced her; and that the Straights of *Sonda* were infested with the *Java* Praws and *Coracaus*, they having, from the King of *Bantam*, a Sum of Money for every Head they kill'd, of what Nation soever.

Upon this Advice, M. *Isaac* thought it not safe to go further in a Prow, but took the Opportunity of a Vessel, the Master of which promised to land him in *Jacatra* in five or eight Days. The Master of the Prow brought also a Letter from M. *Isaac* concerning the foregoing Account. This News vexed me more than the former, for I had positively ordered *Isaac* not to stop for any Ship, but to go straight on. After mature Consideration, we resolved not to go to *Bantam*, where our Ship and Cargo might be in Danger, in a Time of War; besides, that we should be obliged to spend *January* and *February* in going thither, and managing the Traffick of the Place, and *March* would be too late a Season for returning along this Coast to *Achen*. At the same Time we dispatched the Advice-Boat with a Reinforcement of twenty Men for *Jacatra*, in order to assist and supply Captain *Grave*, whom we ordered to return to *France*, if he could get his Lading at *Bantam*, or if he fail'd of it there, to return forthwith to *Achen*, where he would find us.

Ticow lies in twenty Minutes S. Lat. The inland Country is very high, but towards the Shore it falls very low, being covered with Woods, and watered with several little Rivers, which render it marshy. It is chequered, with several pleasant Meadows, well stored with Buffaloes and Oxen, which may be purchased for four or five Rials a-piece. It affords Plenty of Rice, Cattle, Poultry, Ducks, and several sorts of Fruits, such as Durions, Ananas, Potatoes, Mangoes, Pomegranates, Oranges, Citrons, Water-melons, Cucumbers, &c. The Riches of the Country consist in Pepper, which it produces plentifully, and which is much more esteemed than that of *Bantam*; as for other Rarities, Drugs and Manufactures, it affords none. The City of *Ticow* is but a pitiful Place; it lies about half a League from the Sea-side, upon the Shore, opposite to the little Island where the Ships ride; there are some Houses, but both the City and Suburbs do not contain eight hundred Houses, which are built of Reeds, and are neither strong nor convenient: However, the Country is very populous, especially at the Foot of the Mountains, where the Pepper grows.

The King of *Ticow* is subject to the King of *Achen*, who puts in a new Governor every three Years, without whom the King of *Ticow* cannot do any thing of Importance. So the Foreigners have more Business with the Governor than with the King; nay, the very Inhabitants pay more Respect to him, calling him *Bangaran Lima*. The Inhabitants of the City are *Malayans*, and no other Language is spoken all along that Coast. The inland Parts are possessed by the Natives, who disown the King of *Achen's* Authority, having a peculiar Language and King of their own. These are Idolaters, and eat humane Flesh. They have rich gold Mines, but do not know how to manage them, for they only gather the Gold out of some little Ditches, which are not very deep, and out of the Caverns made by Floods. This Gold they exchange with the *Dutch*, or the Inhabitants near the Shore, for Pepper, Salt, Iron, Cotton, Cloth dyed red, and *Surat* Pearl, which they esteem mightily; but among the *Malayans* Gold is as dear as in *France*, and in *Achen* it is dearer.

These *Malayans* are all of them very superstitious *Mahomedans*, but withal, great Robbers, inasmuch that the People are not safe in their Houses in the Night-time, and far less in the Fields. They are of an olive Colour. Their Women are all kept up, and not suffered to appear in the Streets. From *July* to *October* the Air is very unhealthy, being attended with Fevers that seldom admit of a Cure; inasmuch that if it were not for their Pepper, no body would venture to come near them. They gather

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Pepper

Pepper at all Times, but especially in *December, January, and February*. No Trade can be carried on at this Place without a Licence from the King of *Achen*, which they call *Chappa*, or *Chop*, and if you have that, neither the Governor, nor the King, can disturb you. For want of it, I could neither sell any Commodities, nor buy any Pepper, excepting about 8000 Pounds that was brought by Night from *Priaman*, and sold me at a reasonable Price.

The *Surat* Commodities go off very well here, as well the *Mallupatan* Commodities. Rials are current enough, but the Money of *Achen* does not pass. All their Money is some small Pieces of Gold that come from the Mine, which they weigh with Scales; and sell their Pepper by Bahars, a Weight containing 115 Pounds *Averdupois*, and the King of *Achen* has 15 per Cent. of all that is sold, that is 7 and an half for the Export of the Pepper, and 7 and an half for the Import of the Rials, or Commodities given in Exchange for it; this Custom is either paid in Commodities, or in Rials, ever valuing the prime Cost. Beside the above-mentioned Impost for every hundred Bahars, we pay twenty-five Rials to the King of *Ticow*, and a quarter Part to the Weigher, and some inconsiderable Allowance to ten or twelve Persons more. But above all, one must make the Governor his Friend, and have a watchful Eye over all the *Malayans*, who are apt to wet the Pepper, or to put Sand and little Stones among it.

24. *January* the first 1621, having brought on Board my sick Men, who began to recover apace, I weighed Anchor, and steered for *Achen*. The fourteenth we were off of *Borros*, one of the most considerable Places on that Coast belonging to the King of *Achen*, where no Person can traffick without the King's Leave. This Place is half Way between *Ticow* and *Achen*, and affords Plenty of Benjamin, which serves the Natives for Money. It is a pleasant Country, abounding with all sorts of Wines and Fruits, but bears no Pepper. It affords Plenty of Camphire, which is worth fourteen or fifteen Rials the Catti, or twenty-eight Ounces. Rials will scarce pass there, but the *Surat*, or Coast Commodities, go off very well. Both the Inhabitants of the Coast, and the *Dutch* and *English*, buy up their Camphire to carry it to *Surat*, and the Strait of *Sonda*. The twenty-third we desiered the high Lands of *Achen*, and the Islands that lie to the Sea-ward of that Road. We stood directly for these Islands, but it was eight Days before we could make them, notwithstanding that we were but four Leagues off; for, wanting a Pilot, we took the Channel that lies nearest the Land, where the contrary S. E. Winds incommoded us very much; at last, with much ado, we weathered them about a League and a half from the Road, which lies opposite to the Mouth of a River, upon which there stands a Fort, very remarkable for its Mosque.

The thirtieth I came to an Anchor just by an *English* Ship of 600 Tuns, that rode there. Immediately a Boat came off from Shore with several of the King's Officers, and one of his Eunuch's, carrying a Chappe, as they call it, which is a Dagger with a gold Handle and Scabbard, belonging to the King, made use of for a Badge, or Sign, that the Person who bears it is commissioned by the King. After a profound Silence, he who carried the Chappe welcomed me in the King's Name, and ordered me to come forthwith ashore. Accordingly I made myself ready, but before I could come off, I was obliged to pay the Officers Dues, which amounted to above eighty Rials, besides a great Looking-glass for the Eunuch, and another for a Friend of his, and some small ones for his principal Officers. This done, I came ashore, where the Captain of the *English* Ship invited me very kindly to Dinner, and to lodge in his House. I accepted his Invitation to Dinner, and was very handsomely entertained. After Dinner I went to look upon a House, and offered forty Rials a Month for it, but could not have it under fifty-four. In the mean Time, the *English* Captain complained heavily of the King, that he would not let them have the Pepper under fifty-four Rials the Bahar, tho' thirty Rials was as much as it was worth. Finding that I could not speak with the King that Day, and that the King had sent his Eunuch twice for an Emerald I wore on my Finger, and

would not be satisfied with my Promise of bringing it the next Day, I went on Board again.

On the first of *February* I came ashore again, and by the Way met some *Portuguese*, whom the King of *Achen* had laid in Irons, and who told me, that the *Dutch* and *English* had a Design to poison me. I told them, I did not believe the *English* would do me any harm; however, I would be upon my Guard. They replied, that if I went to dine with the *English* Captain that Day, I would never return, and very affectionately begged me to avoid it, because they had no Hopes of being delivered from their Captivity, but through my Means. But after all, pursuant to my Promise, I went and dined with the *English* Captain, Mr. *Roberts*, who treated me very kindly and handsomely, and gave me nothing to eat or drink but what he and the rest of his Company took Part of. After Dinner the Kings Officers came for the Emerald, which I gave them, and told me, I could not speak with the King till the Day after. Then considering that I was troublesome to the *English* Captain, and that it was not my Interest to lodge with him, I agreed to give fifty Rials a Month for a House.

On the second I was taken with a violent Looseness and Vomiting, and being apprehensive of what the *Portuguese* had told me, took some *Maldiva* Cocons, with Bezoar, which in that Country are reckoned a sovereign Counter-poison. Next Day I went ashore, where I met with bad News, viz. that the *Dutch* and *English* had taken the Hope off of *Bantam*, and shared the Cargoes, and murdered most of the Men, and that they would do as much to me if they were able. This Discovery came from a *Dutchman*, who being disoblged by his Countrymen, had taken Protection under us and lodged in one Apartment of the House I had taken. I was unwilling to take this Man on Board, by reason that in a former Voyage I was challenged at *Bantam* for having *Dutchmen* on Board, and tho' I had, who were the most useful and necessary Officers in my Ship, were taken from me; but after all, finding that the Fellow was ready to turn *Moor*, and that he spoke the Language of the Country naturally, and might be useful to me as an Interpreter, I told him, if he would lie close, without giving any Notice to the *Dutch*, or *English*, till I was ready to sail, I would do my utmost to convey him on Board; for *Pedro*, the *English* Interpreter whom I had brought from *Ticow*, had then left my Service, being checked and threatened by the *English* Factor for entering into it, and hated by the King's Officers, who upon my scrupling at first to pay the Duties, thought he had suggested to me something to their Disadvantage.

In the mean Time, one of our Men, that had been drinking with the *English* Seamen, pumped out of them, that their Ship, in Company with the *Dutch* Ship, had given Chase, in the Strait of *Sonda*, to a Vessel which they took to be *French*, and the *Dutchmen* falling behind, was mad that he could not come up with her, but their Ship being the better Sailor, made up to them, and found it was an *English* Vessel, upon which they left her; that before I came into the Road, they hearing I had not twenty found Men, had a Design to take me; but finding, upon my Arrival, that I was so strong, they dropped their Design.

The *English* Captain told me, that the *Dutch* Admiral assumed the Authority of King of *Jacaira*, and shewed me a sort of Money, half Silver, half Copper, that he had coined in that Country, bearing on one Side a Lion with a Hanger in one Hand, and Arrows in the other, and on the Reverse *Trajellum*, in Roman Letters, with the Date of the Year underneath. The fourth I kept on Board, and received Advice from the Shore, that a Draught was a brewing for me in the *English* Ship. The sixth I was invited to Dinner on Board the *English* Ship, where *Resembant* the *Dutch* Factor was to be present. I returned Thanks for all their Civilities, and promised to wait upon them, if I was not obliged to go ashore to an Interview of the King, or if I was, to send Captain *Riddle* to supply my Place; next Morning I went ashore betimes, and sent my Excuse to the *English* by Captain *Riddle*, whom I acquainted with the Reason of my Absence, and cautioned him to be upon his Guard.

...wife of bringing it d-
...ashore again, and by
...the King of *Achen*,
...that the *Dutch* and
...I told them, I did not
...any harm; however, I
...replied, that if I went
...that Day, I would never
...me to avoid it, be-
...g delivered from their
...But after all, persua-
...dained with the *English*
...d me very kindly and
...to eat or drink but
...any took Part of. Af-
...me for the Emerald,
...I could not speak with
...considering that I was
...in, and that it was not
...greed to give fifty Rials

...th a violent Looseness
...tive of what the *Portu-
...drea* Cocoa, with Be-
...reckoned a sovereign
...it ashore, where I met
...*Dutch* and *English* had ta-
...shared the Cargoes, and
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...This Discovery came
...ged by his Countrymen,
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...men on Board, and those
...nd necessary Officers in
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...ly, and might be use-
...ful him, if he would lie
...to the *Dutch*, or *English*,
...to my utmost to convey
...*English* Interpreter whom I
...left my Service, being
...*English* Factor for enter-
...g's Officers, who upon
...Duties, thought he had
...Disadvantage.
...our Men, that had been
...pumped out of them,
...the *Dutch* Ship, had gi-
...to a Vessel which they
...men falling behind, was
...with her, but their Ship
...to them, and found it
...that bearing I had not twenty
...me; but finding, upon
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...that the *Dutch* Admiral
...of *Jacatra*, and shewed
...half Copper, that he
...ing on one Side a Lion
...d Arrows in the other,
...Roman Letters, with
...The fourth I kept on
...the Shore, that a Draught
...*Ship*. The sixth I
...the *English* Ship, where
...to be present. I return-
...d promised to wait upon
...shore to an Intervew of
...tain *Riddle* to supply my
...re betimes, and sent my
...*Riddle*, whom I acquaint-
...ed, and cautioned him to

25. As soon as I was ashore, I cleaned and prepared the
Present I designed for the King of *Achen*, and withal,
meaning to oblige him as much as possible, took a blank
Letter which I had by me, with the King's Seal affixed to
it, and having addressed it, To our dearest Brother the King
of *Achen*, sealed it with red Wax, bearing the Impression
of the Arms of *France*. That my Present might not be
unworthy of my Prince, in whose Name I designed to pre-
sent it, I set apart the following things for that Use; the
complete Armour of a Horseman carved and gilded, a *Ger-
man* Langer, with a carved and gilt Hilt; upon which
hung a Pistol, six Muskets, the Barrels of which were partly
carved, and partly gilt, the But-ends enriched with Mother
of Pearl, two Heads of Pikes enamelled and gilded, a very
large Looking-Glass, which was broken; but I pretended I
had received it entire, and that I durst not but deliver it at
any rate, having received the King's Orders to that Ef-
fect; two large Flasks full of excellent Rose-Water, and
two Pieces of watered Camblet of a Crimson Colour.

The Captain of the *Surat* Vessel came to see it, and told
me it was so magnificent a Present, that it was more fit for
the Great Mogul his Master, than for the King of *Achen*.
The King's Officers came also to our House to take an In-
ventory of what I designed to present to their Master, and
gave me to understand, that they feared the Present I de-
signed was not considerable enough for their Prince, who
was a great Sovereign, and had but few Equals in the *In-
dies*. I replied, that I was not unacquainted with the Gran-
deur of the King of *Achen*, and at the same time I knew
the Value of the Present, which did not come from a pri-
vate Man, but from a puissant Prince, and merited a Recep-
tion from any Potentate whatever; and withal, that my
Master had given me nothing else to present. The 8th I
was conducted to an Audience to the King by the Saban-
dar, and four of the principal Orankays, with two Ele-
phants, and that with the following Ceremonies: Upon a
great Elephant sat one of the principal Orankays in a cover-
ed Pulpit, who sent me a great Silver Dish covered with a
Cloth, embroidered with Gold and Silk of divers Colours,
in which I put the Letter, and then gave it to him. By
his Command one of the Orankays mounted the other Ele-
phant, and after him the Sabandar, then I, and after me
another, so that four of us rode upon one Elephant, and I
sat between two Persons.

The other two Orankays rode upon *Arabian* Horses be-
fore the Elephant that carried the Letter. Before them
were fourteen or fifteen Men, each of them carrying a Piece
of the Present covered with yellow Cloth, without which
nothing could be presented to the King; six Trumpets,
six Drums, and six Hautboys led the Van, which sounded
till we arrived at the Castle, about a League off. In the
Rear followed three Sabandars, and all the Officers of the
Albandeque on Foot; when we arrived at the Castle, we
alighted at a great Palace before it, and when we entered
the outer Gate, all the Men were obliged to retire: Then
we passed two other Gates; I was ordered to put off my
Shoes, without which Ceremony I could not have Audi-
ence of the King; some time after the Royal Chappel was
brought, and being first put into my Hands, then raised
above my Head, and re-delivered to him that brought it,
I was ordered to follow it, being accompanied by a Saban-
dar and an Orankaye.

We waited some time at the King's Chamber-Door,
which was covered with Silver Plate: At last an Eunuch
came out, who gave the Sabandar to understand, that tho'
the King was more indisposed that Day than usually, yet,
as I was so near, he should bring me in; upon which I was
led into the Chamber by two Men, one holding me by each
Hand, and set upon a *Turky* Carpet with my Legs acrois,
according to the Custom of that Country. Then the two
Men retired, and I saluted the King in the usual Form,
viz. by joining my Hands, and lifting them up to my
Forehead, bowing my Head a little. The Custom does
not oblige one to take off ones Hat, but I being unac-
customed to appear before People of that Quality with
my Hat on my Head, chose to put it off. The King sat
upon a Place about two Foot higher, and informed me by
the Sabandar, that he was infinitely obliged to the King of
France for the Present he had sent him, which he esteemed

more than ten Bahars of Gold. Then he opened the Let-
ter, and gave it to me to interpret to the Sabandar, who
understood a little *Portuguese*: But his Knowledge of that
Language was so very imperfect, and the Style of the Let-
ter so uncommon among them, that I could not make him
understand it; for the very first Word, viz. *Most Illustri-
ous* put him to a stand; upon which I turned it to *dearest*
Brother, which the King liked mightily, saying, that he
knew very well Christian Princes used to usher in their Let-
ters by such Expressions.

At last, since I could not make the Sabandar understand
every Word of the Letter, I repeated the Substance of it
in short, viz. That his most Christian Majesty desired his
Mightiness to grant me a free and undisturbed Traffick in
his Territories, and promised, in like manner, to protect
his High Mightiness's Subjects, if any of them should hap-
pen to come into his Kingdom: That he desired nothing
more than that a Commerce between his Subjects and those
of *Achen* should bring him to the Knowledge of so great a
Prince, and that he had sent him a Present of Arms, a
Pattern of the Manufacture in which his Subjects excelled.

This done, the King acquainted me by the Sabandar,
that I was both welcome and safe in his Territories; that
as to the Business of Trade, the *Dutch* and *English* used
heretofore to have Pepper in his Country at an easy rate;
but now that they had shewn such flaming Ingratitude, in
making War upon the King of *Bantam*, who had formerly
vouchsafed them a kind Reception, he had thereupon
caused all the Pepper Plants to be cut down, for fear here-
after they should prove the Occasion of Trouble; that by
this means the Price of Pepper was raised to sixty-four Rials
the Bahar, and that even at that Price he did not much care
to let them have it, knowing them to be an ill sort of
People, that would rob and pillage, and do any thing in
order to engross the Trade of the *Indies* to themselves.

I replied, that the Insolence of that Nation, in offering
to dethrone Kings that have shewn them Civilities, would
be a surprizing Piece of News in *France*; that for my part
I was struck with Amazement to find that a People, who
pretended to nothing but fair Merchandize, and whom the
King of *France* had long protected against the *Spaniards*,
should on this Side of the World fight us, and use all
means to do us Injuries; and that in regard I had no
Commission to use any manner of Violence, or to fortify
any Place, but only to sell and buy in a fair Way, I thought
not to be ranked with a Nation whose very Conversation
I avoided. Upon this the King ordered some Sallad to be
given me in a large Gold Vessel, and a Suit of his Cloaths
laid upon a Silver Platter, which he ordered me to put on.
Having retired to the next Chamber, and put on his Cloaths
above my own, I returned to his Majesty, who told me,
the Arms my Master had sent him would be very service-
able to him in the Siege of *Malacca*, which he had in his
View, and asked me, if I would accompany him thither?
I replied, I should place my supreme Happiness in doing
him any manner of Service: Then he put several Questions
to me about the Age, Puissance, &c. of my Master, and
when I told him that my Master was in Peace with all the
World, particularly with the Grand Seigneur, he said he
would enter into a strict Alliance with the King of *France*:
This done, I was mounted upon an Elephant, and con-
ducted home.

One thing happened upon my first setting out, in order
to an Audience of the King, that I must not omit; just as
I was mounted upon the Elephant, the *Dutch* and *English*
Commisaries, with twenty or thirty of their Dependents,
having hid themselves in a Porch of the *English* House that
was just opposite to mine, seized upon the *Dutchman* I
mentioned above, whom I designed to make use of as an
Interpreter to the King. Being then upon the Elephant, I
could not conveniently get down, but I represented to the
Sabandar the Impudence of those Men, in offering to lay
Hands upon one that was carrying Presents from his Ma-
jesty of *France* to the King of *Achen*, and pressed him to
order the *Dutchman* to be released. The Sabandar replied,
he would take care of it, but could not stop at that Time.
When I had Audience of the King, I importuned the Sa-
bandar to let the King know my Remorsement of that Ac-
tion, but he told me it was not a proper Time, and the

King

King perceiving I wanted to say something, asked the Sabandar what it was? who replied, he did not understand me.

Upon this I went next Day and visited the Orankay *Laxemane*, a great Favourite of the King's, and made him a Present of two Arquebuzes, a Piece of watered Camblet, a gilded Head-piece, a Looking-glass, six Ear-pendants, and two Glass Chains. He received me very graciously, and after some Discourse I mentioned to him the Story of the *Dutchman*, whom I pretended to have entertained, because he said he had been formerly under the Orankay's Protection; but the Orankay told me, that if the *Dutchman* said any such thing, he was a Cheat and a Villain. Next Day, to prevent all further Correspondence with the *English*, I shut up the Gate of our House that was opposite to theirs, for they haunted the House perpetually, so that I could not do or say any thing without their Knowledge; besides, they frequently visited my Commissaries and Purfers, which made me suspect that they designed either to do them an Injury, or to pump out of them an Account of my Designs.

26. On the 11th, being called to speak with the King, he shewed me the two Pike-heads I had presented him with, which above the carved Work were at first covered with an Enamel Colour, but the King having given them to one of his own Goldsmiths to be carved and gilded, the Paint went off as soon as the Goldsmith put them in the Fire, so the King wanted to know if I could think of any body that could put them to rights as they were. I told him I knew none; upon which he caused the poor Fellow's Hands to be cut off that had put them into the Fire.

Then the King told me, he heard I had a Goldsmith on Board, and desired I would order him to enamel a large Gold Ring of his that weighed above an Ounce, which he desired to me. This Prince was very curious in all Lapidary and Goldsmith's Wares, for he had above three hundred Goldsmiths that wrought daily for him, and he shewed me a great Number of Stones, some set, some not, which for the most part were bored at the Ends, several Necklaces and Chains of large Emeraldis, Caffacks or Garments after their Fashion, embroidered with Jewels, great Vessels of Gold, covered with Jewels, a great many Swords, Hangers, and Daggers, covered all with Jewels, both upon the Hilt and Scabbards, and a vast Number of Gold Clapps to put upon the Caffacks, and told me that he had above three Bahras of Gold in Caffacks and Clapps, and that six Days would not suffice for taking a View of all his Jewels and Stones.

Whether he said this out of Ostentation or not I cannot tell; but the greatest Part of what I saw were rather Stones of Shew than Value: Tho' after all, I must own, he shewed me some that were very rich, particularly three Diamonds that might weigh from fifteen to twenty Carats apiece, two very large Rubies, and an Emerald that he got in the Conquest of *Pera*, which was one of the loveliest Stones I ever saw. After that I set our Goldsmith to work for the King, and was sorry I had one on Board, being apprehensive that if the King liked his Work, he would retard us to get his Jewels enamelled.

Having occasion to build a Long-boat to supply that I had lost, I went to the Orankay *Laxemane* to desire he would obtain me a Licence for the cutting of Wood in the Islands opposite to the Road, and let me have his Boat, which carried about fifteen Tun, to bring the Wood ashore. He granted my Request, upon the Consideration of paying him twenty Rials a Month for his Boat, which was indeed extravagantly dear; but I was obliged to give it, or else I had not had the King's Licence so easily.

The 10th the King sent a Sabandar to invite me to Dinner; when I came, I found the King in a square Hall, the Floor of which was covered with a *Turky* Carpet, upon which he made me sit down; and after he had ordered some Salad to be given me in a large golden Dish, the Cover of which was set all over with Emeraldis, and asked some Questions concerning the Grandeur and Puissance of Christian Princes, there came about thirty Women, each of which had a large silver Dish in her Arms, which they set on the Ground on the Carpet; each Dish was covered with a Cloth of Gold, or half Silk, half

Gold, with Jewels, trailing upon the Ground. After these Women had stood for some Time, the King ordered them to set Dinner before me, upon which they uncovered the Dishes, each of which was as big as a large Basin, and together with the Lid were about two Foot and an half deep. Out of each of these Dishes they drew six Plates of Gold, full of Confitures, Meat, and Pasty, after their Fashion; so that, in less than a Minute, I found myself surrounded with golden Dishes, some containing Water, others Sauces, and one, which was very large, full of Rice, besides two other Dishes of *Tomback*, which they esteem more than Gold, containing Rice, (made use of for Bread all over the *Indies*) of which the King ordered me to eat, and I found it very good, for its Taste resembles our *March-pane*.

After that, by the King's Order, an Eunuch brought me some Drink in a gold Cup, set in a large gold Basin: I drank to his Highness's better Health, and thought to have drank it up, but the Liquor was so very strong and fiery, that it quickly baulked my Tip, and put me into a great Sweat. The King told me, as I had drank to his Health, I should drink it out; and that if he were to drink the King of *France's* Health he would not leave a Drop of it: But, upon my Request, they exchanged the Liquor for a weaker sort. They pressed me mightily to eat and drink; but, at last, being quite tired by sitting with my Legs a-crois, I prayed the Sabandar to pris me to eat no more; upon which the King ordered all the Dishes to be removed, and bid me drink his Health once more: This done, they brought a very fine Carpet, done upon a Ground of Gold, and laid between me and the King.

Then came fifteen or twenty Women, who ranged themselves by the Wall Side, and each of them having little Drums in their Hands, ferg their King's Conquests, making their Voices answer the Drums; after that there came in at a little Door two little Girls, very oddly dressed, but very handsome, and whiter than any I ever saw in so hot a Country. Upon their Head they had a sort of Hat, made of Spangles of Gold, which glittered mightily, together with a Plume about a Foot and an half high, made of the same Spangles. This Hat hung down upon one Ear. They had large Ear-Pendants of Spangles of Gold, hanging down to their Shoulders. Their Neck was covered with Necklaces of Gold, and, upon their Shoulders, was a sort of Jacket of Gold, curiously engraved, under which was a Shift, or Waistcoat of Cloth of Gold, with red Silk, covering their Breasts, and a very broad Girdle, made of gold Spangles. Their Girdle was tied above the Haunches, from which there hung a Cloth of Gold, with straight Breeches underneath, which were likewise made of Cloth of Gold, and did not pass the Knees, where several Balls of Gold hung upon them.

Their Arms and Legs were naked, but, from the Wrist to the Elbow, were adorned with Bracelets of Gold and Jewels, as well as from the Ankle to the Calf of their Leg. At their Girdle each of them had a Sword the Hilt and Scabbards of which were covered with Jewels; and in their Hands a large Fan of Gold, with several little Bells about it. They advanced upon the Carpet with a profound Gravity, and, falling upon their Knees before the King, saluted him, by joining their Hands, and lifting them up to their Head; then they began to dance, with one knee upon the Ground, making several Motions with their Body and Arms; after that they danced upright with a great deal of Agility and Cadence, sometimes putting their Hands to their Swords, another Time making as if they shot a Bow, and sometimes as if they had a Shield and Hanger in their Hands. This lasted about half an Hour; after which they kneeled before the King, and, in my Opinion, were pretty well tired, for each of them had above forty Pound Weight of Gold upon her. However, they danced with a very good Grace, and if our *French* Dancing-Masters had seen them, they would have owned their Performance not to have been what we account barbarous.

At last it grew late, and, upon my Request, the King suffered me to go, having first presented me with two hundred Pieces of Gold of his Coin, which they call *Mas*, and are worth about Ten-pence a Piece; then the Sabandar

Ground. After these the King ordered them to be uncovered, the large Balon, and together with an half deep, six Plates of Gold, by, after their Fashion, and myself surrounded with Water, others Saucers, full of Rice, besides which they eleven more of for Bread all over me to eat, and I resemble our March-

er, an Eunuch brought in a large gold Balon: health, and thought to was to very strong and trip, and put me into a as I had drank to his mind that if he were to sh he would not leave a ft, they exchanged the pressed me mightily to quite tired by sitting Sabandar to press me the King ordered all the drink his Health once very fine Carpet, done between me and the

Women, who ranged each of them having lute ing's Conquests, making alter that there came in y oddly dressed, but very ever law in to hot a had a fort of Hat, made ered mightily, together an half high, made of ng down upon one Ear. pangles of Gold, hang- their Neck was covered on their Shoulders, wa, engraven, under which of Gold, with red Siks, broad Girdle, made of ed above the Haunches, of Gold, with fragrant likewife made of Clo's eers, where several Bells

ed, but, from the Wrist Bracelets of Gold and to the Cuff of their Leg, a Sword the Hilt and with Jewels and in their several little Bells about arpet with a profound Knives before the King, and hitting them up to dance, with one knee Motions with their Body plight with a great deal; utting their Hands to g as if they that a Bow, and I hanger in their an hour; after when I, in my Opinion, were had above forty Pound ver, they danced with a Dancing-Masters had their Performance not arous.

my Request, the King presented me with two, which they call Mos, Piece; then the Sabandar con-

consulted me home by Water, and assured me he never saw the King shew so much Respect to any Stranger, especially in suffering his Women to dance before me; for, during the Entertainment, the whole Company shut their Eyes, it being a capital Crime to look upon the King's Women, though, indeed, I looked upon them very earnestly all the while, presuming that they were not brought thither to make me shut my Eyes. This Prince told me he had above a hundred Bahars of Gold, i. e. 18,000,000 of Livres, besides his Silver, Jewels, and other Treasures, but then he keeps it close, and has no Occasion to spend it. Besides, the Royal Treasure has been handed down from Father to Son; for *Achen* was never pillaged or sacked by any Nation, and the King often boasts that he fears no Prince but the Grand Seigneur, who, according to ancient Prophecy, handed down by Tradition, shall, one Day, conquer that Place.

On the nineteenth of February an Orankay and two Sabandars came aboard in the King's Name, to demand two Swords that I had, one of which I had promised him. Before they boarded me, they were in some Danger in the Mouth of the River, where there lies a very dangerous Bar, especially towards the Evening, when the Sea-Breezes break the Water upon it. I gave them both my Swords, but withal, prayed them to acquaint his Majesty, that I had no more; and it being an unwonted thing in *France* to go Abroad without a Sword, I hoped he would let me have one of them again. Next Day he returned one of them, with a Present of a Dagger made after the Fashion of the Country. He who brought it said, the King liked the one mightily, because it did not bow when they offered to bend it, and that if this had not bowed, I had never seen it again. After that I went ashore, and addressed the King, that he would please to order some of his Officers to make some Overtures about the Price of his Pepper, to the Merchants that were with me. He gave me no Answer to that Point, but asked me what sort of a Ship the *Hope* was, that I had sent to *Bantam*, and what the Cargo might amount to. I answered him as near as I could; upon which he assured me, she was taken by the *Dutch*, and that in a short Time I should have certain Intelligence of it.

He told me withal, that while I continued in his Road, he would secure me from receiving any Injury at their Hands, the *Dutch* and *English* Factory being worth more than my Ship; but that without the Road he would not interest himself in the Quarrel. It seems the King had mentioned the taking of the *Hope* at my first Audience, but the Sabandar did not make me understand it; and indeed, I was at a great Loss both in that and many other things, because I could not make use of an Interpreter of my own, for without a particular Licence from the King it is not to be done. Besides, no Interpreter is fond of appearing before the King, for if he makes but the least Trip in his Discourse, or says any thing that the King does not like, he is ordered to speak it, he is in Danger of being cut to pieces.

An Instance of this we have in one *Pedro Lorenzo*, a Native of *Achen*, and defended of a very good Family, who being Interpreter for the *Dutch*, and having spoke something by their Orders that displeased the King, was ordered by his Majesty to be cut in two alive, and the Orders had certainly been put in Execution, if the *English* had not interceded very earnestly by their Prayers and Presents on his Behalf. All this while I could do nothing in the Pepper Concern, for no body durst sell a Grain till the King had sold his, and it was not proper for me to press the King much upon it, because he was out of Humour with some of his Grantees, having put three of them to Death for appropriating to their own Use some Jewels they had met with in the late Conquest of *Pera*, and condemned the Sergeant-Major for retaining some Booty in the War with *Queda*, who with much Intercession got off for 1200 Rials. Whenever the King was in these Humours, no body durst speak to him, upon any Subject, and the People of that Country imagine, that he is more subject to them about New Moon, than any other Time.

NUMB. L.

37. On the seventh of March, about an Hour before Sun-rising, we had a great Earthquake at Full Moon, which the Natives said, was predicted about four or five Days before by the Cady, or Bishop of *Achen*, whom they believe to be the wisest of Men. I am informed, there are commonly three or four Earthquakes in this Place every Year. On the ninth I waited upon the King with some Presents, in order to obtain Leave to buy up Pepper from private Persons, which he would not allow till his own was sold off, which he always kept up half as dear again as the other. The next Time I waited upon him I found him at a Cock-fighting, and laying very high Wagers with his Orankays. Upon my Entrance, he presented me with a Dagger, which had about five or six Livres of Gold about the Handle; but I found him so intent upon his Bet, that it was not proper to mention my Affair at that Time. I could not but take Notice of one Instance of the King's Avarice, and his Readiness to sacrifice all things to his covetous Temper. It was this; One of the Company pitched upon a middle-sized Cock, offering to bet upon his Head against any other of what Size soever. Upon which an Orankay, that had some of the King's Cocks in keeping, presented a very large Cock, and upon this the King betted very high; but the little Cock beat the great one, and so the King lost his Money. Being fretted by the Loss, he asked the Orankay, how it came to pass, that the little Cock had more Strength than the great one? The Orankay answering with all possible Humility, that he could not conceive how it was, the King replied, he could conceive it very easily, that it proceeded from the Cock's being ill fed, and that he had given the Cock's Rice to his Whores, or else eat it himself. This said, he ordered his Right-hand to be cut off, which was immediately put in Execution.

Next Day the Sabandar came to my Houle, and acquainted me, that the King asked for his Pepper 64 Rials the Bahar: I told him, I could not buy it at that Rate. Then he asked me what I was willing to give. I answered, I could not pretend to set a Price upon the King's Goods, but would gladly treat with his Subjects, if his Majesty would give me Leave. Upon which he let me know, that could not be granted till the King had told his. At that Time the King kept up his Pepper at 64 Rials, the private People would have sold it for eight Rials in Gold. The common Value of a Tael is four Rials, but since we arrived in this Place, the gold rose, and the Rials fell; whereas we used to have sixteen Mas for four Rials, now we cannot have above fourteen. This Alteration is occasioned by the King's engrossing all the Gold in his own Hands, coming lead Money to circulate among the People, who put it off at any Rate for Gold. Besides, Rials would have no Circulation in that City, were it not for those of *Surat*, and *Aryshapatan*, who supply this Place with Commodities, that they cannot be without, and export nothing but Rials, upon which they gain considerably. Now there being no *Surat* Ship there, at this Time, to take off the Rials, their Value sunk apace, which was an infinite Loss to me, who had nothing else but Rials, at a Time when the *Dutch* and *English* had Gold enough in their Hands. To return to the Sabandar: He told me after all, that the King, out of his particular Affection to me, would perhaps let me have his Pepper at the same Price that the *Dutch* had offered, viz. forty-eight Rials the Bahar. I replied, that the King had given several Instances of his Affection to me, that I would take Care to report to the King of *France* the Respect that his Majesty of *Achen* had shewn to his Letters, and that the Obligation I lay under to the King of *Achen*, would be much strengthened, if he would allow me to take in my Lading at *Ticow*, since I could not do it at *Achen*, where the Pepper was so very dear, unless I had a Mind to return to *France* with half my Lading.

Then the Sabandar asked me, what Present I would make to the King for that Favour, and what I would give him for procuring of it? I told him, I would consider of the Matter, and acquaint him with my Resolutions that Night. Having communicated the Motion to our Merchants, it was unanimously agreed, that *Ticow* would be

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a Place of more Profit for us, tho' it cost us 3000 Rials for a Licence to trade there. Thereupon, I sent one to sound the Sabandar, in order to know what his Demands might be. The Sabandar told him, the *Dutch* and *English* had offered the King two Ships laden with Goods, for the Privilege of an eight Years Factory at *Ticow*, and that if I would give him four thousand Rials, and make the King a Present of 20,000 Rials, he would procure me a Factory for two Years. Hearing this extravagant Demand, I perceived the Sabandar to be a Villain, and resolved to make my Address to Orankay *Laxemane*. Accordingly I gave him a Visit, and presented to him, that I had been along Time there, without making any Progress in my Business; that the Pepper was so dear at *Aben*, that I could not buy it there without a considerable Loss; that *Ticow* was the most proper Place for me within the King's Dominions. That inasmuch as I could not Trade at *Ticow*, without the King's Licence, I thought it the safest Way to have recourse to him, knowing, that if he favoured me, the King would certainly grant it, and that out of a grateful Sense of such Favours, I would make him a Present of 400 Rials, and another to the King, of four iron Guns, weighing 3500*l.* each. Upon this he advised me not to desire any such thing of the King, who had a great Affection for me, and was desirous of Lading my Ship with his own Pepper. I replied, that I was infinitely obliged to the King, but could not come up to the Price that the *Dutch* had offered him. Then he told me, that I did not know what the King would do on my Behalf, and that the Guns I mentioned were not a proper Present for the King, who had more already than he knew what to do with.

The twenty-third I interceded with the King for the Redemption of four *Portuguese* Christians, that were his Captives at *Negapatan*. Their Ransom came to 650 Rials, 128 of which I was forced to advance, retaining one of the Men for my Security, the rest of the Money being gathered by a charitable Contribution from the People of *Negapatan*. There were five of those Slaves for whose Redemption I interceded, but the King would needs detain one to bleed him, or any of his Family upon Occasion; for all of them not only knew how to open a Vein, as indeed most of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies* do, but likewise practised some sort of Surgery to earn their Bread in the Time of their Captivity. The Sabandar and an Eunuch came next Day to acquaint me, that the King wanted to speak with me. In Obedience to his Commands I went, and found him very much out of Humour, and giving Orders for torturing five or six Women. To my great Mortification, I saw these poor Creatures tortured in his Presence, to the last Degree, for three Hours, and the King's Wrath increasing in Proportion to their Torment. After the torturing was over, he ordered their Hands and Legs to be cut off, and their Bodies to be thrown into the River. The Occasion of this Execution was as follows:

On the preceeding Night there being five or six of his Women in a Room adjoining to his, one of them gave a hideous Scream, upon which the King enquired into the Matter, and at first they all told him there was nothing in it: But after many Threats, she that had cried out, confessed, that some body came in the Night-time, and pricked her in the Thigh with a Dagger, through the Reeds, upon which they lay. Upon which she said, she cried out, and awaked the rest; but the rest did not agree in their Answers, some saying that they heard a Noise, and others that they heard nothing. However, the Dagger was found, but no body would own it. After all, the King having asked them who it was that came with the Dagger, and why they did not tell him the Truth at first, and finding they would give him no Answer, was led into the Supposition of a Design against his Life, carried on by his own Mother, who, as he imagined, had alarmed these Women, that their Outcry might induce the King to come out of his Chamber, which would have afforded a favourable Opportunity to the Assassins. Thinking to exert a whole Confession of the Matter by Torture, he put all the Women upon the Rack; but their Relolution, and the Constancy was invincible, so that with-

standing the King's frequent Offers of Pardon, in case they would discover the Plot, and the repeated Intreaties of the Cady of *Aben*, and the whole Court, who begged of them to be kind to themselves, yet they did not shrink or relent. One of them being very old, and swooning away from Time to Time, the King took Compassion upon her, and graciously ordered her to be put to Death. Upon which she assumed a gay Countenance, and thanked the King for his Grace and Mercy, wishing him, in Recompence for his Favour, a long and happy Life of one thousand Years. In a word, all of them stood out undaunted to the last Gasps, and even after their Hands and Legs were cut off, one of them had the Courage to say, that for the Space of ten Years they had longed for this happy Hour, that delivered them from the Drudgery of the Cattle. When the Execution was over, the King asked me what I thought of it? Tho' the Spectacle was very mortifying to me, yet I dissembled upon the Matter, and answered, that without the Execution of Justice no Kingdom could subsist.

Then the King told me in a long Discourse, that if the last Night's Action had passed with Impunity, his very Life had been in Danger. That his Orankays were foolish and unthinking Men, who charged him with Cruelty, not considering that it was their Wickedness that drew upon them the Anger of God, who made use of him as an Instrument to punish their Impiety; that they had no Occasion to complain of him, who suffered them to possess their Wives, their Children, and Slaves, and competent Estates to maintain them, who maintained their Religion, and preserved them from the Captivity of neighbouring Kings, and the Robberies of Strangers: That in former times *Aben* was a Nest of Murderers and Robbers, in which the weaker were oppressed by the stronger, and no Man was safe, all of them being obliged to keep off the Robbers with Arms by Day, and barricade themselves in their Houses by Night; whereas at present they had no Occasion neither for Arms in the Day, or Doors to their Houses at Night. That his Nobles hated him because he suppressed Extortion, Massacres and Robberies; that they longed to set up Kings at Pleasure, and murder them when disoblige: That his Mother was in the same Interest, and wanted to make away with him, in order to prefer another that would give way to their Intolerance.

This he delivered with so much Vehemency and Passion in his Looks, that all his Courtiers threw themselves upon the Ground, imploring his Mercy, and among them even the Cady, a Man of above eighty Years of Age, for whom every body had a vast Veneration, and who could boast of the noblest Descent in *Aben*. In fine, the Cruelty of this Prince is unparalleled; notwithstanding that all his Tortures could extort no Discovery, yet he imprisoned his own Mother, and put her upon the Rack, and put to Death five of the principal Lords of his Court, whom he suspected of favouring his own Mother. He barbarously murdered his own Nephew the King of *Jobor's* Son, saying, his Mother meant to prefer that young Prince to the Throne. He put to Death the Son of the King of *Bantam*, as well as the Son of the King of *Pan*, who were both his Cousins.

He has not left one of the Royal Family but his own Son, who has been thrice banished the Court, but now begins to return in favour, and is only safe for being more cruel than his Father, and by being hated by all the World. He has extirpated all the ancient Nobility, and raised a new Set of Orankays, who, in my Opinion, would live much happier in a meaner Capacity. In fine, his Cruelty is without a Parallel; he takes Advice of no body, and never lived a Day, while I was at *Aben*, without the Execution of one, and sometimes several of his People.

28. The 28th the King sent for me to see two Elephants fight: After I came two Elephants were brought into a large Court, each of them having a Cable fastened about their hind Feet; then came several Men with long Pikes, barbed at their Heads. The two Elephants fell upon one another with a prodigious Roaring; but all of a sudden the King was taken ill, and the Fight was interrupted on account of that Accident. Having presented the C. anky *Laxemane* with an enamelled Ring, which he again pre-

Offers of Pardon, in case the repeated Intreaties whole Court, who begged, yet they did not shrink very old, and swooning King took Compassion upon her to be put to Death, Countenance, and thank-Mercy, wishing him, in long and happy Life of all of them stood out even after their Hands and had the Courage to say, they had longed for this from the Drudgery of tion was over, the King ? Tho' the Spectacle was Trembled upon the Matter, the Execution of Justice no

Discourse, that if the last Impunity, his very Life Orankays were foolish and him with Cruelty, not condemns that drew upon them of him as an Instrument y had no Occasion to com- m to possess their Wives, and competent Estates to d their Religion, and pre- f neighbouring Kings, and in former times, till they were, in which the weaker and no Man was safe, all off the Robbers with Arms selves in their Houses by y had no Occasion neither to their Houses at Night, cause he suppressed Exor- that they longed to fet- ter them when disobliged: e Interest, and wanted to prefer another that would

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sented to his Majesty, I at last obtained leave to buy up Pepper in the City. Being sensible of this Favour, and meaning to oblige the King as much as I could, I proffered to buy six hundred Bahars of his own Pepper; but he replied, he was my Friend, and would not put it upon me, since it was too dear, in regard he had made an Oath not to sell it under sixteen Taels the Bahar. Next Day I made a Publication of the King's Licence, that the Inhabitants might not scruple to sell their Pepper; but at the same time the King was buying up Pepper for himself, and the Inha- bitants feared, that if they sold me any, he would alledge they had preferred my Custom to his.

To stifle this Apprehension, I first bought some of the Sabandar, thinking his Example would exort their Fears; but by an unlucky Accident, before he had delivered me any, the King took him up, and laid him in Irons, for not having some enamelled Work ready, which he had committed to his Care to get done by our Goldsmith by a prefixed Day, at which Time he had promised it to a She Favourite; though after all, it was not the Sabandar's Neg- ligence, but the Goldsmith's being taken ill, that occasioned the Delay. After this, notwithstanding I had the King's Licence, they would not sell me one Bahar, some pretend- ing they durst not, while the King bought, others refusing to take Rials, or any other Coin but *Aenas*, which is a Gold Coin current in the Country. In the mean time I sent Don *Francisco Carnero a Portuguese* to the Court of the Great Mogul, by the Way of *Muslipatan*. His Errand at that Court was to obtain leave from the Great Mogul to settle a French Factory at *Surat*, the Sovereignty of which belonged to him.

The Design of that Factory was to render a Factory at *Achen* more useful to us; for there being no Access to *Ban-* tam, there was a Necessity of having a Factory at *Achen*, since the Rials and French Commodities would not be put off at *Achen* without Loss; whereas at *Surat* the Rials are pretty high, and some French Commodities may be put off at *Cent. per Cent.* Profit, so that it would be our Interest not to fail directly from *France* to *Achen*, but to *Surat*, where we might put off our Commodities at a good rate, and buy up some Commodities at *Surat*, that the People of *Achen* can as little do without as the very Rice they eat; and this would fetch us the *Achen* Pepper at an easy rate. This *Carnero* was an everlasting Gamester, and won great Sums by the Help of some false Dice he had brought from *France* with him, particularly from the Sabandar, whose Losses at Gaming made him very hungry in his De- mands upon me, and yet I could not take off the *Portu-* guese from playing with him. One time when *Carnero* was playing, he happened, by beating his Hand against the Table, to break one of his false Dice, upon which there run some Quicksilver out of it, that quickly slipped thro' the Chinks of the Table; this put his Company into a hor- rid Confutation, for *Carnero* quickly hid the Pieces of the broken Dice, and they imagined there was some Magick in the subtle Spirit that appeared and disappeared so suddenly.

On the 15th of April I made a Discovery that the King had played me a Trick, and that no Recommendation or Presents whatsoever would get the better of his avaricious Temper; for he only gave me the Licence to amuse me, and keep me from leaving the Place, as I had threatened to do before. He knew very well, that his buying of Pepper at the same time would stifle my Market, and if any one had told me Pepper, he would certainly have punished him under pretence of preferring my Custom to his. Be- sides, the true Reason of the Sabandar's Confinement was not the Business of the King's, but his misunderstanding the King's Design, in giving me the Licence; and the Saban- dar lent to intreat me to intercede with the King that he might not be disgraced, for that he had exposed his Life to Danger by doing me Service. Next Day I went to inter- cede with the King on the Sabandar's Behalf; but he inter- rupted me, by asking, if I had bought any Pepper? I an- swered, that I had not endeavoured to buy any, nor would, till his Majesty's Market was over. Then he laughed, con- trary to his Custom, and told me, he would sell me some cheap. I ordered the Interpreter to offer him a Catti, or thirty-two Rials a Bahar: But the Interpreter durst not men-

tion the Sum, and pretended he did not understand me; upon which I told it myself in the *Malagas* Language. The King was silent for some time; after which he gave me to un- derstand, that tho' he had sworn that whosoever offered him less than sixty-four Rials for his Pepper should lose his Favour; yet he would overlook it in me, and that the *English* and *Dutch* had offered him forty-eight Rials, and at that Price I might have what I would. I made answer, that the *Dutch* and *English* had a larger Purse than I, and dealt in several Branches of Trade that compensated the Dearth of the Pepper, and that in fine, I had not so much Money to give. However, being informed that unless I took some of his Pepper, they durst not sell me a Grain in the City, and considering what that *Bantam* being blocked up, there was none to be had but in his Dominions. Upon these Considerations I offered to take four hundred Bahars at forty Rials; but the King would not abate any thing of his Price, saying, he had used me more kindly than the *Dutch*, since he would not let them have it at the same Price. Finding him resolute, I offered to take three hundred Bahars at his Price, provided he would give me a Licence to buy three hundred more at *Ticow*; at last he agreed to it, and ordered the three hundred Bahars to be delivered. I pressed him to sign my Licence for *Ticow* out of hand, in regard he was about to take Physick for his Illness, so that I could not have Audience of him for some time; but he told me that would be over before I was ready to go.

Notwithstanding the King's Orders, it was a long time before I could get the Pepper which the King had ordered me, by reason of the Avarice and Villany of his Officers, who always found out some Trick or other to put off those they have to deal withal, till they are sufficiently bribed. For, besides that they have no Salary, they are obliged to make the King a rich Present once a Year. As for dealing with private Persons, I found them all unwilling to take Rials, and for that Reason employed a Broker to make a Proposal to the *Dutch* and *English* of giving them my Rials at the current Price, in Exchange for Gold; but the Broker acquainted me, that they were so far from listening to the Proposal, that they had a great Hand in sinking the Value of the Rials, in order to spoil my Market, and pre- vent my trading at all. Being disappointed on that hand, I made my Address to the Orankay *Laxemane*, offering him the Rials at Ten per Cent. Discount. At first he agreed; but next Day when I came with the Rials, he retracted, and said he would give but three Mas and an half for them; since they went for no more in the City, find- ing I could not mend myself, I condescended to let them go; but after all, when I came to deliver the Rials, he retracted again.

The notorious Perfidiousness of this Nation made me think of leaving them in Time before the bad Season was farther advanced. In the mean time the Officer of the *Alfandaque* stopped twenty-one Bahars of Pepper for the the King's Duty. It was a great Surprise to me to hear that the King demanded Duty for the Pepper he had sold me himself, especially considering that before I made the Bargain, my Interpreter assured me he never did. But when I represented the Matter to the Orankay, and de- sired Access to the King, in order to complain of the In- jury done me, he told me, that I was obliged to pay Cu- stom for it, that the *Dutch* had always paid it, and that such a Complaint would be very disagreeable to the King; and suspecting that my Interpreter had misinformed me upon the Matter, would have tied him to a Post, if I had not brought him off as one of my Domesticks.

At last I found my Interpreter to be one of the Spies of the *Alfandaque*, and perceived he had discovered all my In- trigues to the King's Officers. Though this Fellow was born of Christian Parents, and professed Christianity for forty Years when among Strangers, yet he instructed his Children in the *Mohammedan* Religion, a certain Evidence that he was worse than a true *Mohammedan*, and had neither Religion nor Conscience. The Duties upon the Pepper that I was obliged to pay were Seven per Cent. to the King, Ten per Cent. of the King's Duties to the Officers, and a Mas for every Bahar to the Weigher. When I paid this Duty to the Officers they seized upon the Interpreter, who had made me believe there was none due, and having tied

tied him to a Post beat him soundly, and made him pay more than he had got in my Service to get clear.

On the 5th of May I could have had Pepper enough for eight Taels and a Quarter in Gold, which, as Rials went then, came to thirty-seven Rials and an half; so that the Loss upon Rials was unsufferable. Another Misfortune that galled me mightily was, that their Mas, or Gold Coin, is often clipped by the *Chinefe*, and that there are a great many of a false Coin; for at *Achen* they are so nice, that that if the Edge be but any ways thrunk or broke, they will not meddle with it; so that in the Payment of any Sum they will return a third Part, or a half. However, I bargained with one Man for three hundred Bahars at thirty-eight Rials the Bahar. The Chapman I dealt with called himself *Xerif Nepun of Jesus Christ*; he was a *Mohammedau*, and a great Doctor in the Law of *Mohammed*: He bore the Character of a Prophet, and came to this Place to make some Remonstrances to the King of *Achen*, who was so little moved with his Remonstrances, that he ordered him to keep within Doors, and not to meddle with his Deportment, so that the Oracle was struck dumb all of a sudden.

When I came to have my Pepper weighed, the Prophet alledged that I bargained with him for thirty-nine Rials, and offered to appeal to the Broker; but I told him roundly, that I had promised no more than thirty-eight, and that my Word was as much to be taken as either his or his Broker's. After some wrangling he yielded; but when we had weighed about one thousand two hundred Bahars, I began to perceive some black Sand among the Pepper, and returned it; he pleaded for his Excuse, that some of his Domesticks had mixed Sand with the Pepper without his Knowledge, and though I might have done him an Injury, in regard that the King of *Achen* cuts off their Hands and Feet, without any Mercy, who are found guilty of that Trick; yet considering his Credit upon the Place, I was willing to overlook it. After that we continued to weigh till I observed the Pepper wet; upon which I stopped, and would have no more, alledging only that his House was faulty, and that some Rain had fallen upon the Pepper. What for a Doctor or Prophet this may be I cannot tell; but both he and most of his Followers seem to place their Goodness in cheating a Christian, especially about *Achen*.

29. On the 22d one of our Men washing himself by the Ship's Side, had all the fleshy Part of his Leg, and both his Hands bit off by a great Fish, or Sea-Calf, which the *Portuguese* call *Tiburou*, and immediately expired. By this Time the Pepper was become very scarce; for not only the King continued to buy, contrary to his Promise, but an *English* Vessel that lately arrived from *Surat*, laden with Cotton-Clutch, trucked their whole Cargo for Pepper, not to mention the *Dutch* and *English* upon the Place, who having the Advantage of Gold and Commodities vendible in that Country, full bought it up underhand.

June the 4th there happened a great Fire in the City, which, in an Hour's Time, consumed two hundred and sixty Houses; and the King caused the Women in whole House it began to be impaled alive. On the 10th I had Audience of the King, and represented, that since the Pepper was become very scarce and dear, I wanted to be gone, and prayed that he would allow me to buy three or four hundred Bahars at *Ticow*. The King replied, that I might have some more of his, which he had sold me at a lower Rate than any Body else. I told him that his Pepper was so dear, and the Loss upon it would be so great, that, if I offered to take it at his Rates, it would discourage the *French* from coming again to kiss his Hands. His Majesty replied, that the *French* might hereafter make a more profitable Voyage, by bringing Gold, or Commodities vendible in the Country, that being infinitely more valuable to him than Silver, which he esteemed no more than Dirt. As for the Business of *Ticow* he made me no Answer, neither durst the Interpreter remind him of it, because he found he did not like the Motion. However, I represented to him, that since I had no more Business in that Place, I hoped he would give me Leave to be gone: Upon which he said, he would first write a Letter to the King of *France*.

On the 15th we had a violent Storm of Wind and Rain from S. W. and W. S. W. commonly for three Days before and three Days after the New-Moon and Full-Moon. We had heavy Rains and Floods, that swelled the River mightily, together with violent Gulls of Wind called *Samatra*. The 19th one of my Merchants died of an uncommon sort of a Dittemper, who, in my Opinion, was poisoned by the *Dutch*. In this Place we lost fourteen Men, most of whom were seized with a violent Vomiting and the Bloody-Flux, which no Remedy could stop. In earnest, this Climate is so much hotter than *France*, that one can scarce avoid Sickness at first: But a regular Diet goes a great Way, if not in preventing, at least in abating the Sickness. For my part, I eat little or no Roast-meat, but mostly Fish, and drank Cider, or, for want of that, fair Water first boiled and then cooled. But the unwary Sailors filled their Bellies with Beef, and drank a great deal of Arrack besides other Liquors, and when they were out of Order, drank Water and slept with their Stomachs, exposed to the Air; by which means the Stomach being at once overcharged, Vomiting and Fluxes ensued. The Cure for this Dittemper is to be let blood, and take some cooling Medicines, and to abtain from Meat, Wine, and Arrack.

The 27th the King sent his Letter for the King of *France* to our House, with a great deal of Splendor, the Letter being carried upon a great Elephant by one of the principal Orankays, after which followed three of the principal Officers of the House upon another Elephant, with all the Officers of the *Atendague* on Foot. Before the Elephant went four Drums, and four Trumpets, and four large Umbrellas surrounded it. But all this Splendor was to my Cost; for I was obliged to satisfy not only the principal Orankay, who brought the Letter, but all those who accompanied him. The Letter was carried in a silver Basin in a red velvet Bag, with gold Strings, being written in the *Achen* Language in Letters of Gold, upon very smooth Paper, with several Gildings and Colourings round it. The Form of it was thus:

"The Letter of the *Grand Siri Sultan*, Subduer of all the Countries that lie to the East and West; to the King of *France*, by God's Assistance, of several Kingdoms, King of *Achen*, and, by the Divine Favour, of all the Countries that lie to the East and West; to the Eastward the Kingdom, Territories, and Sovereignities of *Debi*, the Kingdom of *Ichor*, with its Lordships and Territories; the Kingdom of *Pabam*, the Kingdom of *Queda*, and the Kingdom of *Pera*, with their Lands and Seignories. To the Westward the Kingdom and Territory of *Priaman*, the Kingdom and Territory of *Ticow*, the Kingdom and Territory of *Possuruma*, to be delivered to the Great and Potent King of *France*. May the King of *France* know, that the Letter he sent me by Commodore *Beaulieu* was delivered, and that I have seen all that was written in it. And forasmuch as he recommended the said Admiral, I have done him a great deal of Honour, both in the Matters of Traffick, and in allowing him the Quality and Rank of my principal Gentlemen. As for the Offer made me, in case I have any Business in *France*, I send a Memorial by the said Commodore, to shew how much I esteem it; saying, further, that if God bring this Letter safe to hand, I expect an Answer by the Ships that shall come to trade in this Place, which to me will be a great Satisfaction. So I pray God preserve the States of the King of *France*. And since God hath made us Kings in this World, it seems reasonable we should live in Friendship, and correspond one with another. For a Token of Friendship I send eight Bahars of Pepper, which is the Product of this Country. God preserve the illustrious Person of the King of *France*." Given in the Month *Raab* (or *June*) in the Year 1030.

On the 28th my Goldsmith asked Leave to stay at *Achen*, promising to find another to supply his Place that would be more serviceable than himself; and though he could not find one according to his Promise, yet, considering

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Letter for the King of
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h followed three of the
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it. But all this Splendor
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and *Siri Sultan*, Subduer
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King of *France* know, that
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dering that he was blinded by the Promises of the King
and the Orankay *Laxamane*, who were mightily taken
with his Work, and that he had a great Mind to stay, I
left him in the *English* House, wishing I had never
brought him from *France*, or turned him off sooner, for
the King of *Achen* retarded my Affairs upon the Account
of having more of his Work.

30. On the 1st of July the *Portuguese* Captives and
some others, having advised me to go to an Isle near
Queda, upon the Coast of *Malacca*, about two hundred
Leagues from hence, where I might have Pepper cheaper
than any where else, viz. at sixteen Rials the Bahar, I
resolved to follow their Advice, considering that I had no
Prospect of a Licence to trade at *Ticow*; that, here at *Achen*,
the Dearth and Scarcity of Pepper, the Charge of keep-
ing House, and living on Shore, the costly Presents and
Bribes that the King and his Officers exact out of the Profit
of the Trade, made it impracticable, that I had no Hopes of
seeing our second Ship or Advice-Boat there, the last being
gone from me above seven Months, and there being no Po-
ssibility of hearing from *Bantam* or *Jacatra* till October, by
reason of contrary Winds; that the present westerly Winds
stood fair for *Queda*, and in October, when they began to veer
to the East, they would favour my Return. That tho' the
King had lately conquered the Place I was bound for, and
prohibits all Persons to go there without his Consent, yet
I might manage it so as not to displease him, by pretend-
ing to be forced in by the Winds which blow right upon
it. Besides, the *French* having no Factory in *Achen*, and
he having used me unkindly, I had no great Reason to
fear his Displeasure.

These Considerations induced me to resolve upon a
Voyage for that Island, where I might live more securely
till the westerly Winds were over, as well as make a bet-
ter Bargain for Pepper. To this End I resolved to give
two hundred and fifty Rials, by way of Ransom, for two
Portuguese Captives, one of whom having been in that
Island, would serve for a Pilot, and the other had been a
Merchant at *Pera*. The Number of my Men being re-
duced by Sicknesses and Detachments, to a small Comple-
ment, I likewise redeemed seven more Christian Slaves for
three hundred and sixty-one Rials, that had formerly
served the *Portuguese* at Sea. Some *Englishmen* offered to
serve me, but, not having Leave of their Superiors, I
rejected them.

The 15th I had Audience of the King, at which time
the *Dabul* and *Surat* Captains presented their Ladea, i. e.
a Present of the Commodities of their Country, comput-
ed to be worth 1500 Rials. After these Captains had so
done, the King asked me if the King of *France* was
subject to the King of *England*? I answered, that *France*
was inferior to none of the Christian Monarchies, having
continued for 1300 Years under the Government of their
own Kings, without submitting to any foreign Power
whatsoever. Upon which he told me he had seen a Letter
from the King of *England*, in which he assumes the Title
of King of *France*. But I shewed him how slender a
Right he had to that Title, which proceeded from a Spite
that one of our Kings had against his Successor. After he
had put several Questions about the Grandeur of Christian
Princes, I humbly requested he would suffer me to put in-
to *Ticow* for one Month, in order to buy two hundred
Bahars of Pepper, and to send a Prow from thence to *Ban-
tam*, to enquire after my two Ships, adding, that such a
Favour would be a lasting Obligation upon the *French*
Nation. He answered me very coldly, that I might dis-
course that Subject with the Orankay *Laxamane*. This
done, I took leave of his Majesty, who wished me a good
Voyage.

After that I went to wait upon *Laxamane*, who told me
that the King had sworn never to suffer any Nation to
trade at *Ticow* after the *Dutch*, and that it was a Sign he
had no mind to give me a Licence, since he had put it off
by sending me to him: However, I pressed him to speak
to the King about it, and let me have his Answer. After
some Time he sent me Word, that the King would allow
me to put into *Ticow* for a Month, provided I gave him
half a Bahar (i. e. 3200) of Rials. At last, being so much
provoked by the insatiable Avarice and Ingratitude of this

Nation, that notwithstanding all my Presents, gave me
such Usage, I resolved to steer for *Ticow*, and if they
would not deal with me in an amicable Way, to stop the
Ships that were to come from thence, and take out of
them what Pepper I wanted, allowing for it the Market-
Price at *Ticow*: But if I could not weather the Point of *Ti-
cow*, as it was probable I might not, by reason of the violent
Winds and Tides from the West, I designed to sail for *Pulo
Lancabuy*, or *Pulo Lada*, (so the Pepper-Island near *Queda*
is called) notwithstanding the King had sent, about two
Days before, three large Gallies, and thirty Sail of other
Ships to *Pera*, with Orders to return by that Island, and
to cut down all the Pepper-plants.

31. On the 24th having taken in seven hundred Bahars
of Pepper at *Achen*, I set sail for that Road, which lies in
5° 30' N. Lat. the Needle varying 5° 30' N. W. The
25th we weathered the Isles of *Gomispola* and *Polloway*,
which fence in this Road on the North Side. In this Sea-
son the Trade-Winds blow S. W. with which I endea-
voured to double the Cape of *Achen*, in order to reach
Ticow, steering our Course W. N. W. but the Tides still
bringing me right before the Wind, I was obliged to steer
directly for *Pulo Lancabuy*, though the Calms were so
great that I could not make it till the Seventh of August,
whereas it is commonly but four Days Sail with that Trade-
Wind.

The next Day after my Arrival, the Pangoulow, or
Governor of the Island, came on Board, and told me that
he would not suffer me to trade with the Inhabitants
without a Licence from the King of *Queda*, which, he
doubted not, but I might have, especially if I assisted him
with some Artillery. On the 12th the Governor, accom-
panied with two of my Men, (in lieu of whom he had
left me his own Son, with one of the principal Men of the
Island, for Hostages) went in Person to acquaint the King
with my Arrival. At that Time the King of *Queda* had
retired from *Queda* to *Perleys*, about three Days Journey
farther into the Country, for fear of the King of *Achen's*
Army. The 20th I received a Letter from *Sieur d'Espine*,
(one of our Company that went along with the Governor)
acquainting me, that he understood the King of *Queda* had
but little Pepper, and that this Island had not much. To
my infinite Regret I found this Intelligence too true; for
I found that we came too late for the last Year's Pepper,
and too early for that of this Year's, which is not gathered
till December. September the 2d *Sieur d'Espine* sent me
Word that he could not come to speak to the King, who
had retired into the Woods, under the Apprehension that
we were employed by the King of *Achen* to do him an In-
jury; but, in the mean time, he had ordered all the Pepper
that could be had to be gathered in, in order to buy
some Cannon of me, if I would sell them.

Upon this Advice I sent positive Orders to *Sieur d'Ef-
pine* to inform himself particularly of what Quantity of
Pepper might be expected in that Place; and if it was un-
der a hundred Bahars, to return immediately, without
troubling himself about it; or, if it was above that Num-
ber, to solicit the King to send a Commissioner with full
Power to treat with me, and that without any Delay.
The 9th *Sieur d'Espine* returned in Person, and reported
that the King had but very little Pepper in *Queda*, but had
a mighty Mind for my Cannon, offering, if I would stay
till December (which is the Season for gathering the Pe-
pper) to give me twice as much Pepper for my Cannon as I
had asked; and farther, to furnish me with a thousand
Bahars more if I had Occasion for them; and if I had a
Mind to establish a Factory there, to furnish it every Year
with 2000 Bahars, and exclude all other Nations from
trading in his Territories. The King sent me a Letter,
impowering me to trade freely with the Natives, and de-
siring two of my Cannon for thirty Bahars of Pepper,
which he said was all he had. In the mean time they had
detained my Purser at *Perleys*, about seven or eight Leagues
from this Island, thinking I would come and lie off of
that Place to establish a Factory in the same: But I un-
derstood that the Channel between this Island and that at
Perleys was embarrassed with Shelves and Flats; and at
the same time observed that my Ship did not answer the
Helm as it used to do; upon which I resolved rather to

continue where I was, threatening to set Sail with the Hostages I had on Board, if they would not return me my Man.

On the first of *October* the Purser was returned, and I delivered them their two Hostages. He reported that the King had only twenty Bahars of Pepper, and desired to pay the other ten in Rials, at the Rate of twenty Rials a Bahar. That the Country was very poor, and the Rice extreme dear. That upon the Arrival of every Prow the People fled into the Country, thinking them to be the Partizans of the King of *Achen*. That about eight or ten Days before, they had received Advice that seventy Sail had arrived at *Pera*, with the King of *Achen's* Army on Board, and by yet fresher Intelligence that the King of *Achen* was dead. Upon this Report, though I had resolved not to let them have any Cannon, because I meant to return by the Way of *Achen*, yet I thought fit to amule them with fair Words, till I had taken in fresh Water; and with that View sent back the Purser to acquaint them that I was very much disposed to deal with them.

That I could not bring my Ship to *Perley*, because my Rudder was out of Order; and that to shew my Willingness to oblige them, I was ready to send one of my Cannon on Shore, provided they gave me two Hostages to insure the Delivery of twenty Bahars of Pepper within eight Days, or else deliver the Pepper itself. This Offer pleased them so well that they sent me Word there were no Occasion for giving Hostages, or putting a Cannon ashore till the Pepper was got ready, which would be in six or seven Days. In this Place I did nothing to the Purpose, only I caused to be cut down for me a Main-Top-Mast, a Mizzen-Mast, and Bolt-Sprit, which I could not have else where. If I could have stayed there till *January*, I could have loaded my Ship with Pepper at a quarter of the Price it cost me at *Achen*, besides that, at that Time the Trade-Winds came E. and so would have stood fair for returning directly to *France*, but the Men I had were so few, and were so discouraged, that I could not think of waiting.

32. This Island, called by the Inhabitants *Pulo Lancheby*, and by the Natives of *Achen*, *Pulo Lada*, i. e. the Island of Pepper, lies in $6^{\circ} 15'$ N. Lat. the Needle varying $20^{\circ} 30'$ N. W. It has about fifteen or twenty Leagues in Circumference, and is mountainous in some Places, especially where it faces *Pulo Betton*, where it lies three Leagues off to the Westward. In the middle of the Country there is a high Mountain, divided into two by a very narrow Valley, which is not observable but on the South-side. The Pepper grows at the Foot of this Mountain as well as in the intervening Plain, which extends itself three or four Leagues in Length. The Pepper Plants are dressed after the same Manner as our tall Vines. Were this Island more cultivated, it would produce many more than it does, for there are not, at present, above a hundred Persons in the Island, whereas formerly it was inhabited by above seven hundred.

The Soil of the above-mentioned Place is very convenient for all sorts of Drugs, Fruit, Rice, and Cattle, being enriched with excellent Pasturage and plenty of Rivers and Springs. The rest of the Island is covered with very thick Woods in which, especially upon the Mountains, there are some Trees exactly straight, of an incredible Height and proportionable Thickness. On the South-Side the Shore it is frequently intersected with Arms of the Sea, leaving little Islands and Rocks, covered with Woods. On the North there lies a large Island about a League off. On the East it has a Bay, covered with a little Island, in which Ships of two hundred Tons may ride with Safety, and be sheltered from all Winds. In a Word, there is a very safe Anchorage all round the Island, and any Part of it affords excellent fresh Water. From the Beginning of *July* to the End of *October*, the Winds are there westerly, at which Time it rains very much, and the Climate is unhealthy, as it happens in all other Places of the same Latitude.

33. The Pepper ripens in *November*; its Harvest is from the Middle of *December* to the End of *February*. At present this Island produces every Year 300,000 Pound Weight of excellent, large, and dry Pepper, which is preferable to that of any other Place in the *Indies*. This Island is subject to the King of *Queda*, without whose Per-

mission no Trade can be carried on there. The *Portuguese*, who reside at *Malacca*, come there every Year to trade, and continue there from *December* to *February*. The Commodities they bring are *Guzurat* Plush, Salt, Rice, and a few Rials, which go all of them well off there, by reason of the Vicinity of the *Chinese*, a good Number of whom are settled at *Palavi*, a Town situated on the opposite Coast.

They sell their Pepper by Measure, and not by Weight, which is better for the Buyer, since, at that Rate, he cannot be so easily injured by wetting it, or deceived by the putting Stones or Sand into it, as they commonly do at *Achen*. They sell it by the Nali, which contains sixteen Gaults, each Gault containing four Chuppas, fifteen Nali make a Bahar, which is four hundred and fifty Pound *Averdupois*; so that the Measure in this Island is greater by one quarter than in the King of *Achen's* Territories. The common Price of a Bahar is sixteen Rials. The Pepper-Plants grow in a fat free Soil. They are planted at the Root of every Tree, round which they creep and twirl like Hops. The Way is to take a Shoot or Sprig of an old Pepper-Plant, and plant it under some Shrub, taking care to clean the Ground, and weed out all the Herbs about it; it will bear no Fruit till the third Year, after which it bears every year six or seven Pounds Weight of Pepper. Its first, second, and third Years Crops are much at one, but the fourth, fifth, and sixth decrease one third both in the Quantity and Size of the Pepper; and in the seventh, eighth, and ninth, the Pepper becomes very small and scanty, so that after its twelfth Year it bears no more, and a new Shoot must be planted in its Room; for the first three Years the Ground about them must be kept very clean, or they will not bear, and even that requires a great deal of Pains, for the Climate is extreme moist, by reason partly of the Rains and partly of the Dew, which is so great, that if one walks among Trees or Grass before the Sun-rising, they will be as wet as if they waded through Water. When the Plant begins to bear, the Branches of the Tree, through which it creeps, must be lopped off, lest they intercept the Rays of the Sun, which, above all Things that Plant stands most in need of. When the Clusters of this Fruit are formed, Care must be taken to support them with Poles, lest the Weight should draw down the Plant, which of itself is tender enough. Care must likewise be taken that no Buffaloes, or Oxen, or large Animals get in amongst them, lest they should be entangled among the Branches, and so break them.

They must be planted at a convenient Distance one from another, that one may get round them with a Ladder to prune them after their Fruit is gathered, for, otherwise, they would grow too high, and so bear less Fruit. Commonly this Plant has a white Flower in *April*; in *June* this knots, in *August* it is large, green, and strong, and the Natives make use of it for Sallad, or make a rich Pickle of it, and other Fruits in Vinegar, which they call *Achar*, and which will keep for a Twelve-Month. In *October* it is red, in *November* it begins to grow black, in *December* it is all over black, and consequently ripe. This is the most general Method, though, in some Places, it is ripe sooner or later than in others. When the Fruit is ripe, they cut off the Clusters and dry them in the Sun, till the Grain falls off from its Stalk, which it does not in less than fifteen Days, though the Sun is very hot; and during that Time they must be turned from Side to Side, and covered up in the Night-Time. There are some of the Grains that neither redden nor blacken, but continue white, which are made use of physically, and sold for double the Price of the other. Of late Years the Inhabitants observing that Foreigners wanted these for the same Use, have found out a Way of whitening the black ones, by taking them when they are yet red, and washing off the red Skin with Water and Sand, so that nothing remains but the Heart of the Pepper, which is white.

By this Account we may perceive the Pepper does not grow so easily as many are apt to imagine, and that the Pepper-Plants require a great many Hands to dress them, which at present is mightily wanted in this Island, both it and the Country of *Queda* being laid desolate by the King of *Achen* within these three or four Years, inasmuch that

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the King of *Queda* is now obliged to put himself under the Protection of the King of *Siam*. The Inhabitants are *Malayans*, but not so crafty and roguish as those of *Acben*; their Habit is much the same, but not so rich. They are very zealous *Mohammedans*, and in their Customs and Way of Living differ but little from the Inhabitants of *Acben*. They have a fort of Coin not unlike our *French* Sols, but of a little better Alloy, which they call *Tras*, and thirty-two of these make a *Rial*. They reckon by *Taels*, but one of their *Taels* make four of those of *Acben*.

34. *Queda* is a good marshy Soil, cut by several Brooks, taking Rise from a large River, in which are many large and dangerous Crocodiles. In former times the Country was well peopled, and abounded with all sorts of Provisions, especially Rice and Cattle, and *Queda* was resorted to by all sorts of Merchants from *Pegu*, *Aracon*, *Bengal*, *Jerislin*, the Coasts of *Coromandel* and *Surat*, besides the *Portuguese* residing at *Malacca*, and even the Merchants of *Acben*. The Customs and Imposts at this Place were very moderate, till the Father of the present King came to reign, who was a perfidious and cruel Tyrant, and by Divine Vengeance (as the Natives will have it) was carried off in Captivity by the King of *Acben* about three Years ago. This Place, to say the Truth, bears several Marks of Divine Wrath; for about four Years before it was subdued, two-thirds of the Inhabitants, amounting to above forty thousand Souls, were carried off by a Plague. The next Year after that a Murrain seized upon the Cattle, and carried off all the King's Elephants, and seven-eighths of their other Cattle. The third Year there was such a Scarcity of Rice, and all manner of Fruit, that they underwent a terrible Famine.

The Year after that the King of *Acben*, who always lies in wait to pillage his Neighbours, laid Siege to *Queda*. The City held out three Months, and then the King with his Family and Retinue, consisting of a hundred and twenty Men, retired to his Palace, which he had fortified, and where he was reduced to the last Extremity of Want, till about two Months after that the King of *Acben's* Officers persuaded him to surrender, by alleging that the King admired him for his Valour, and would certainly reinstate him in his Throne, if he trusted to his Clemency. This Siege was carried on by the *Acben* Army with a great deal of Vigour, inasmuch that they fought when up to the Middle in Water in Winter; for the King had sent them word that he would cut them all in Pieces if they did not bring him the King of *Queda*; at last, having demolished the City and the Cattle, they carried the King and his Family, and about seven thousand of the Inhabitants, to *Acben*.

The King of *Acben* gave the Captive King a tolerable Reception, till he had drained him and his Friends of all they had; after which he put to Death not only him and his Children, but the principal Men among the other Captives, confining the rest to a remote Part of the City, where most of them were killed by Misery and Want, and the sorry Remainder, amounting to about five hundred Souls, work at present in little Huts one half of the Week, for their own Maintenance, such as it is, and the other half in the building the King of *Acben's* Houses, and manuring his Grounds. The present King of *Queda*, the Son of this miserable Predecessor, was shut up with his Father in the Castle of *Queda* before it was surrendered; but finding that his Father was inclinable to surrender, and carry all his Children and Treasures to *Acben*, to procure a better Reception from the King; he made his Escape privately without his Father's Knowledge.

35. On the twelfth of October I weighed Anchor, and stood for the Road of *Acben*, in order to try if I could hear any thing of our Ships; soon after the Tides carried me upon the Isles of *Pulo-Botton* about five Leagues off, where I was obliged to drop an Anchor to keep clear of a Rock. These Islands are three in Number, but there are also a great many small ones. They are inhabited and covered with Woods, in which there are some Trees fit for Masts of Ships; they afford good Anchorage all round about, and the largest of them has good fresh Water upon a sandy Creek. Next Day we came in Sight of *Samatra*. The 27th we came within two Leagues of the Island of *Pooloway*, and I designed to double it, in order to cast Anchor on the

West Side of the Road of *Acben*, where I might easily get off, in case the King of *Acben* should use me otherwise than well.

But the Tides were so strong, and the Winds blew so hard from West and West-North-West, that I was drove above six Leagues before the Wind, and obliged to put into a small Creek of Sand about half way between *Pador* and *Acben*. That Evening a Prow came up to me with a Commission from the King of *Acben* to know who I was, whence I came, and whither I was going; for it seems the King had heard of a Ship cruising upon his Coast fifteen Days before I came to an Anchor in this Place. By this Commissioner I understood that a small *French* Ship had arrived in the Road of *Acben* about eight Days before. It happened that the King's Commissioner knew me to be the Person that had been at *Acben* before, and when he asked me whence I came, I ordered my Interpreter to say, that when I went from *Acben* I was bound for *Bantam*, by the way of *Ticow*; but having lost two of my Masts by a Storm, I was forced to put into an Island to refit. I designed to conceal the Name of the Island, knowing that the King would be angry at my going thither without his Leave, and to pretend that I knew not the Island, and could meet with no Inhabitants upon it to inform me; but my Interpreter precipitately told him, I had been at the Island of *Pulo-Lambobuy*.

Next Day a Prow came on Board with an *Achen* man in her that I knew, and he assured me there was a small *French* Vessel in the Road, and some *Frenchmen* that said they belonged to me, adding withal as a Secret, that the King of *Acben* detained them there against their Will. In the mean time I sent my Long-boat on Shore for some fresh Provisions, but the People would sell none, alleging that the King had prohibited them to sell without his Command. Upon the whole, I was apprehensive that the King of *Acben* might stop our Advice-Boat (for I took the *French* Ship in the Road of *Acben* to be it) to prevent their coming to an Interview with me, and thereupon I weighed Anchor, and stood for the Road of *Acben*; but the Wind being contrary, and very high, I was forced to come to an Anchor at the Point of a large Bay, and sent by Land one of the Men I had redeemed at *Acben* in a *Moor's* Habit, to carry a Letter to the People belonging to the *French* Vessel in the Road of *Acben*, promising him his Freedom if he brought me an Answer in two Days; for we were then but four Leagues off *Acben*, and he knew the Way exactly well, for which Reason I sent him ashore in the Night-Time, ordering him to walk it before Day, lest any body should meet him, or enquire after his Business. The next Day a large Ship with *English* Colours made up to us, and when they came within a Quarter of a League, put out their Long-boat, which brought on Board of me *M. du Parr*, one of the Men belonging to our second *the Hope*.

36. The State of poor Captain *Grave's* Affairs, according to *du Parr's* Report, was as follows: This great Ship was an *English* Ship of six hundred Tuns, and thirty-two Guns, and had on Board Captain *Grave*, the Captain of *the Hope*, who was very sick, and not finding me at *Acben*, was going to *Jacatra* to find some Passage for *France*. After the *Hope* parted from me, they came to an Anchor at a long Island about twenty Leagues from *Ticow*, and sent their Long-boat to *Ticow*. Twelve Days after the Departure of their Long-boat they stood for *Ticow* themselves to put ashore *M. Talier* the first Commissary, who was then ill; but the Winds and Tide being contrary, they not only lost the Men in the Long-boat, but even those they had on Board were all sick, except the Captain and five or six more. In this disastrous Condition they met with a *Dutch* Ship of one thousand two hundred Tuns, called the *Leyden*, and commanded by *William Schooten*, and Captain *Grave* went on Board them to desire their Assistance; he was no sooner on Board, but the *Dutch* Captain sent sixty Men in two Long-boats to board our Ship, which accordingly they did without any Opposition, and not only plundered the Ship, but used our sick Men most barbarously, turning them out of their Hammocks, and throwing them upon the Deck.

In the mean time the *Dutch* Captain having detained Captain *Grave*, told him both he and his Ship was a good Prize,

Prize, and if they met with me, they could serve me the same way. Some few Days after this they met another Dutch Ship that had a great many sick aboard, and was going to put them on Shore on the Isle of *Nassau*. Captain *Grave* desired his Men might likewise be set ashore at the same Place for the Recovery of their Health, which indeed they did, but with so much Cruelty, that one would think that Nation had neither Humanity, Religion, or Conscience; for they threw the sick Men like so many Logs of Wood out of the Ship into the Boat, and some they dragged through the Water with a Rope fastened to them, particularly one, who being so dragged, expired immediately upon the Rocks on the Shore. In the mean time the Commissary of the *Leyden* being sensible of his Crime, told Captain *Grave* they were mistaken, and that upon a Review of his Commission he found he had no Authority to take any French Ship, so that he was at liberty to return to his own Ship.

Captain *Grave* considering that he stood in need of their Assistance, answered with a great deal of Complaisance, that the Commissary was not the first who had been mistaken in Matters of as great Consequence, and desired he might have some of their Seamen to man his Ship; the Commissary granted his Request, upon a Proviso that the Captain should forget what had passed, and give something to that Effect under his Hand. Captain *Grave* receiving this Reinforcement, went on Board of his own Ship; but the Dutch Seamen threatened every Day to throw him and his Crew over-board, and he believed they had certainly done it, if the other Dutch Ship, called the *Horn*, had not been in Company: Sometime after they fell in with three Dutch Ships near *Selibar* upon the Coast of *Sumatra*, one of which having a Flag upon its Mast like an Admiral Ship, Captain *Grave* went on Board of her; but as soon as Captain *Grave* was on Board, that Admiral's Ship fired upon his Ship, in order to make them take down their French Colours; upon which the Captain sent back his Boat with Orders to take them down.

This done, they sailed all together for *Jacatra*, where they arrived in *December*, and Captain *Grave* went to wait upon the Dutch Admiral, and desired he would assist him with some Seamen to conduct his Ship to *Bantam*, pursuant to his Commission. The Admiral promised to assist him, and to allow him to go to *Bantam*, provided he would there buy up all the Pepper he could get at a limited Price, viz. two Rials a Sack, and distribute two-thirds of it to the Dutch and English in that Road. The Captain considering his miserable Condition, was forced to submit, and sign an Obligation of buying fifteen thousand Sacks of Pepper, five thousand of which should be given to the Dutch, and five thousand to the English. In the mean time the Pinnace I had sent in quest of him arrived at *Jacatra*, but the Bargain being struck before its Arrival, Captain *Grave* was obliged to go to *Bantam*: Accordingly he went, and arrived there the End of *January*, where the King gave him a welcome Reception, but would sell him no Pepper under four Rials a Bag.

In the mean Time, the Dutch, contrary to their Promise, sent out armed Barks up and down *Bantam* Road, in Pursuit of the *Javanese*, within Cannon-Shot of their Walls, returned always on Board our Ship the *Hope*, in order to make those of *Bantam* believe, that the French gave Shelter to their mortal Enemies. However, the King of *Bantam* resented it no otherwise than by keeping the Pepper at the first Price; upon which Captain *Grave* resolved to take it at the current Price, and when he had got his Lading, to return to *France*, he offered Part of what he had got to the Dutch, but they would not have it at that Price: The English, indeed, took 150 Bags of him, but never paid for it. The Dutch and English paying him no Money, he had not enough to pay the King of *Bantam* for the 15000 Bags he had bargained for, and therefore desired he would let him have only 2000 Bags more; but the King refused to let him have any, unless he would take all that he had bargained for.

At last the Commissary of *St. Malo's* Company at *Bantam* supplied him with as much as would compleat his Loading, taking the *Hermitage* Advice-Boat as a Pledge for 1500 Rials in Part of Payment. This done, he re-

solved to return directly for *France*, but three Ships that lay just by him commanded him to go to *Jacatra*; accordingly he went, and was there ordered to unlade two Thirds of his Cargo, and notwithstanding that he shewed Letters under the Dutch President's Hand, importing, that they would not stand to the first Bargain, yet they arrested the Captain on Shore, and made seven or eight of their Ships ride at Anchor round the *Hope*, and began to unload the Pepper themselves, tho' none of Captain *Grave's* Crew put their Hands to it. In the mean Time Captain *Grave* entered a Protest against the Injustice of the Dutch, declaring, that all Damages issuing from that Action should be put to their Account. Soon after, in a very dark Night, a Prow was seen to come from the Place where the Dutch Ships lay at Anchor, and to make up to the Stern of the *Hope*, near which it continued for a little Time, and after that putting off, one of their Men cried out in the *Malayan* Language, that the *Hope* was on Fire; immediately the Dutch Ships were seen under Sail, having weighed Anchor before, which was a certain Proof that they knew of the Design; and when the President of *Jacatra* received the first Advice that a Ship was on Fire in the Road, he replied, without any Concern, that he knew it was the French Ship. In the mean Time, the French Seamen finding the Fire too far advanced to be extinguished, came off in the Long-Boat, and abandoned the Ship. Next Morning Captain *Grave* sent six Prows to save something in the Ship, but the Dutch kept them off, so that they saved all the Pepper and Artillery, and put them in their own Magazines, and sold the Hulk of the Ship by Beat of Drum.

This done, Captain *Grave* hearing I was at *Achen*, set out for *Achen* in the French Commissary at *Bantam's* Pinnace, and the rest of the Men came in another Bark; but as soon as he arrived there, the Bark, and all that was in it, was stopped by the King of *Achen*, and Captain *Grave* being taken ill, and not meeting with me there, took the Opportunity of returning to *Jacatra* by the English Ships above-mentioned. Having heard this fatal Account of our Affairs, I sent a Boat for Captain *Grave*, and received him on Board. November the fifteenth we weighed Anchor, and making the Road of *Achen*, came to an Anchor among five more Ships that were in that Road, in order to be in a Capacity to force the King of *Achen* to deliver up my Men, if he would not do it with good Will.

Immediately upon our Arrival, the King sent an Eunuch on Board to welcome me, and desire me to come ashore. I made Answer, that I could not trust myself ashore, since the King had imprisoned my Men like Robbers, and seized upon the sorry Remains of a burnt Ship, contrary to what might have been expected, after the Services offered him by the King of *France*, and by me in Particular. The Eunuch replied, that the King took them to be Portuguese, that had ravaged his Coasts, and as soon as he was undeceived, had set them at Liberty, and returned them their Money. That it was true, he had hindered them from going on Board the English and Dutch, for fear they should come to any harm from their mortal Enemies, designing to put them into the Hands of the first French Captain that should have arrived in that Place. To this I answered, that the French were easily distinguished from the Portuguese, and that tho' I understood the King had returned them some Rials, yet he had not returned the Value of 2500 Rials he took from them, in Musk, Jewels, Bezors, Coral, and other things. The Eunuch told me, the King would certainly pay that.

But after all, I gave him to understand, I was firmly resolved not to come ashore till all my Men were on Board, after which, I would come and receive his Commands. Then they demanded the Duties of the King's Chappel, besides 400 Rials of Anchorage for the King, and 200 for the Officers of the *Alfandegue*, a late Impolition laid upon all Ships that should come into that Road; but I told them, I did not come to traffick, and therefore would not pay a Farthing. Sometime after the Chappel returned, and brought all my Men on Board; upon which, pursuant to my Promise, I went ashore, when I waited upon the King, who complained heavily that I did not come to see him sooner, and told me, that the Dutch and English

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rates, but as soon as he understood they belonged to me,
he immediately set them at Liberty. That he was afraid
the King of *France* might have taken it ill, if he had put
his Subjects into the Hands of the *English* and *Dutch*,
who were their mortal Enemies, and that he only waited for
the Arrival of a *French* Ship, in which he might send
them Home. But after all, when I thanked him for
sending the Men on Board, he told me, he had only sent
them to visit me, but not to stay with me, for that they
being Ship-wreck'd and lost Men, belonging to him, into
whole Port they came.

This, as I took it, he said to prevent me from asking for
what he had taken from them, the Value of which a-
mounted to very near 2000 Rials. However, I resolved
to play him a Trick for it, and with that View desired M.
Limmony (so the first Commissary of the *St. Male's* Com-
pany at *Bantam* was called) who was now Proprietor in
the Pinnace, to retire from *Acben* as soon as he could, to
avoid the Danger he might incur through the Infolence
and Perfidiousness of the King. But *Limmony* made An-
swer, that he had some Goods to put off, which would re-
quire some Time, and he being of another Company, I
could not force him to act as I would have had him. Up-
on this Answer I resolved to put in for a Licence for *Ti-
cow*, and for that Purpose I offered Orankay *Laxemane* a
Diamond if he would procure it me. The Orankay told
me, it might be done, provided I made a Present of some
fine Diamond to the King, who was then passionately fond
of Diamonds.

I shewed him a rough Diamond weighing 12 Grains,
which I designed for the King, and another cut of five
Grains for himself. Next Day he acquainted me, that he
had shewn the Diamonds to the King, but the *English*
having very lately presented him with large ones, he did
not value mine; but after all, that if I could find any ex-
traordinary Rarity, I might certainly obtain my Request.
Upon this Advice, I bought of *Parib* the *Portuguese*,
who was lately returned from *Muslipatan*, two Diamonds,
one weighing 18 Grains, cut Lozenge-wise, and very
prettily set, which cost me 550 Rials, and another of
nine Grains, cut Point-wise, which cost me 120 Rials. I
shewed them to *Laxemane*, who advised me to present
them myself; upon which I desired *Zyglin* the Goldsmith,
who was my Interpreter, and who used to speak very bold-
ly to the King, to acquaint him, that I had some Jewels
to shew his Majesty, without telling him whether I meant
to sell them or give them to him.

37. Accordingly, after some Time, the King sent for
me, and desired a Sight of the Diamonds he heard I had.
I shewed him the large one, which he looked upon, and
when he asked the Price of it, I told him, it was at his
Service, if he would allow me to buy 300 Bahars of Pe-
pper at *Ticow*. His Answer was, that if the *Dutch* should
offer him 30000 Rials for that Liberty he would not
give it them; but to me he would give a Licence of stay-
ing at *Ticow* twenty Days, provided I gave him another
Diamond like that. I told him, I had none such, nor
could possibly find any. Then he desired I would present
him with a Cannon in the room of it, but I begged his
Majesty's Pardon. Upon which he said, all other Nati-
ons had presented him with Cannons, and I ought not to
refuse him. I prayed him to excuse me, in regard I had
to many Enemies, and that there were some Ships near
Ticow. He replied, I need not fear the *Dutch* at *Ticow*,
since they had a Factory at *Acben*, which was more va-
luable than my Ship. After all, finding he was lo bent
upon the Gun, I agreed to let him have it.

Upon which he called for the Orankay *Laxemane*, and
ordered him to give me a Commission to trade at *Ticow*.
After that, he began to question me very particularly concern-
ing M. *Limmony's* Circumstances, the Force of his Ship, the
Value of his Cargo, and at last, advised me to carry him
and his Pinnace along with me, and not leave him exposed
to the Discretion of the *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, *English*, and
even the *Moors* themselves, who would be easily tempted
to fall upon to smail a Vessel, repicenting, that his Af-

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fection to the King of *France* moved him to give that
Advice; and that tho' M. *Limmony* was not under my
Command, yet out of Respect to my Countrymen and
Acquaintance, I ought to rescue them from the Danger
they were in. December the 5th, having asked *Laxemane*
often for my Commission, and finding he only shuffled
and put me off, I complained of him to the King, who
bid me give him a Diamond, as if that had been agreed to
at first. To make short of my Story, I very soon discovered
that the Orankay *Laxemane* could do nothing, for that the
King dispatched all his Commissions himself, and that the
Design of turning me over to him, was to worm out of
me another Diamond for the King's own Use. On this
Discovery, I gave him another Diamond that weighed
about 6 Grains, and at last, after many Stops and Delays,
I received out of the King's own Hand a Letter impow-
ering me to traffick in *Ticow* for twenty Days, and order-
ing the King and Governor of that Place to assist me in
carrying on the Trade of Pepper, for which I was to pay
the usual Duties.

At the same Time, the King ordered me to pay the
Duty of some Goods that I had bought up in order to sell
at *Ticow*, which I thought to have been excused from, in
regard I meant to put them off within the Territories of
the King of *Acben*: However, I was forced to pay it. I
had frequently desired my Interpreter to desire Restitution
of the King for what he had taken from my Men, but
the Interpreter would not venture to mention it, because
he found it was disagreeable to the King.

After all, I pressed Orankay *Laxemane* to represent my
Request to the King, which at last he did, and then gave
me to understand it was in vain to expect it; that the
King had a Title to all the Goods of those who were ship-
wreck'd upon his Coast, and that the King had been very
favourable in delivering the Men themselves. On the fix-
teenth we weighed Anchor, and arrived in the Road of
Ticow, the last Day of this Year. January the first
1622, I shewed the Inhabitants of the Island the King
of *Acben's* Letter, who received it with Pleasure. In this
Place I bought above four hundred Bahars of Pepper,
which cost me about 25 Rials the Bahar, including the
Charges of my Commission, and the Presents I made at
Acben. February the 1st we weighed Anchor in the
Road of *Ticow*, in order to return Home, having on
Board 75 Men, all in good Health, and Provisions for
nine Months. But before I proceed farther, I will give
here a succinct Description of the Island of *Sumatra*.

38. The Island of *Sumatra* is larger than *Great Bri-
tain*. It extends 11 Degrees in Length, running S. E.
and N. W. i. e. from the Point of *Acben*, which lies in
5° 30' N. Lat. to the Strait of *Sunda*, the Lat. of which
is 5° 30', so that its Length may be computed 300 *French*
Leagues. Its South End is broader than the North, but
one with another its Breadth will make about 70 Leagues.
The Coast for the most Part lies low, tho' there are very
high Mountains within the Country. Its Vallies afford
excellent Pasturage, and are fertile in Rice, and all other
Fruits. It is watered with many noble Rivers, some of
which are very great; for Instance, *Cinguel*, *Baares*, *Dava*,
Acben, *Pedir*, *Jambi*, and *Ripoura*, besides several small
Rivers and Infinity of Brooks, by which Means it is ren-
dered very moist, and in some Places marshy; besides, it
is subject to frequent Rains, for the Equinoctial cuts it di-
rectly in the middle.

It bears very large Trees, which retain their Verdure
all the Year round. The Air is unhealthy for Strangers,
especially near the Equinoctial Line, as in *Ticow*, *Pessa-
man*, &c. nay, the very Inhabitants of *Acben* don't care
to live in those Places during the wet Season, which lasts
from *June* to *October*, and in which the westerly Winds,
mixed with Whirl-winds, Rains, Tempests, and sudden
Calms, blow upon the Coast. In these Calms, the Air be-
ing unmoved, and the Ground soaked with constant Rain,
the Sun, by its perpendicular Rays, attracts very stinking
Vapours, which occasion pestilential Fevers, that carry
Strangers off in two or three Days, or at least terminate
in obdurate Swellings, and Dropsies. The City of *Acben*,
situate on the North Point, is more temperate. It stands
upon a great River, about half a League from the Sea,

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in the midst of a great Valley, that is six Leagues broad. The Soil is very proper for all sorts of Grain and Fruit, but the Inhabitants sow nothing but Rice, which is their principal Food, together with Coconuts, with which the Island abounds.

This Place is well stored with Fruit-Trees, which bear in their proper Seasons, for there is not a Month in the Year without some ripe Fruit here. They sow no Pulle or Pot-Herbs, but they have excellent Pasturage, and Abundance of Buffaloes, which they employ in manuring the Ground, and in drawing, or carrying. They have Plenty of young Kids, and Horses of a small Breed, but their Sheep are good for nothing. The Peasants breed up great Number of Hens and Ducks, in order to sell their Eggs. Hunting is a Sport they are much accustomed to, for they have an infinite Number of wild Boars, tho' not so large and furious as they are in France, and their Stags and Does are larger than ours. They have but few Hares or Roebucks, but in the Woods, and at the Foot of great Mountains there are Numbers of wild Elephants. Upon the uninhabited Mountains and Hills there are great Numbers of Tygers, some Rhinoceroses, Porcupines, wild Buffaloes, Civet Cats, wild Cats, Monkeys, Adders, large Lizards, and in some Rivers poisonous Crocodiles.

The better Half of this Island is possessed by the King of *Achen*. If you go along the Coast to the Eastward of *Achen*, about 12 Leagues from it you meet with *Pedir*, a large and populous City, and after that *Pocem* and *Dely*; about twelve Leagues to the Westward of *Achen* lies *Daya*, a considerable City, and then the King of *Achen's* late Conquests, viz. *Labo*, *Cinquel*, *Barros*, *Baitam*, *Pajaman*, *Ticow*, *Priaman*, and *Padang*; the other half of the Island is possessed by five or six Kings, who tho' they are Lords of very good Countries, yet if you put them altogether, they are not so considerable as the King of *Achen*. Upon the East-side, near the Equinoctial, lies the little Kingdom of *Andrigrri*, and beyond that *Jambi*, the richest of them all, and a little farther *Palimbat*. To the Westward of *Padang* lies the Kingdom of *Manimcabo*, and beyond that *Andriponra*. The rest of the Coast extending to the Straights of *Sunda*, is woody and uninhabited; that Part of the Coast that faces those Straights is subject to the King of *Bantam*.

Thus you have an Account of the whole Coast of *Sumatra*, the Inhabitants of which are *Malayans*, so that they all understand the *Malayan* Language. The inland Parts of this Island is inhabited by *Aborigines* that speak a different Language from the *Malayans*, and are under the Government of several petty Kings, of which the richest and most powerful is one that resides between *Ticow* and *Manimcabo*, as being possessed of all the Places where the Gold of this Island lies.

It is very certain, there is a great deal of Gold to be found in this Island, but the Inhabitants are altogether ignorant of working of Mines, and what they gather, is only in Torrents and little Ditches, that they dig in the Places where the Floods discharge themselves. This Gold the Natives truck with the Inhabitants of *Manimcabo* for Rice, Arms, and Cotton Cloth, and with those of *Priaman* for Pepper, Salt, *Surat* Cloth, and *Muslipatan* Steel. *Ticow*, and the other Kingdoms they have but little Commerce with. As for Strangers, they have no Dealings with them, but murder and eat them where-ever they catch them, as well as their Enemies; for when they are at War with one another, they never ransom Prisoners, but eat their Flesh raw with Pepper and Salt. Tho' they have no Religion, yet they have some Polity relating to Marriage, Justice, and their Duty to their King, which they observe with an inviolable Respect.

Upon the West Coast of *Sumatra* there are a great many Isles, some of them large, about eighteen or twenty Leagues off, and others but small, about three or four Leagues from the Continent, which do not belong to any of the abovementioned Kings. Those which are inhabited are possessed by the original Natives, whom the *Malayans* never expelled, because these Islands were not for their Purpose. Upon the South Side of *Sumatra*, in the Latitude of 5° lies the Island of *Engane*, inhabited by barbarous Savages that spare nobody, but massacre all that come upon their Shore, whether white or black. They go

naked with long Hair, and have Canoes, in which they fish. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows. Upon the same Coast, in the Latitude of $3^{\circ} 30'$ lies a long Island called by the *Dutch*, *Noffaw*, which may contain about fourteen or fifteen Leagues in Length, but is not inhabited; about four or five Leagues from this, near the Equinoctial, we meet with another uninhabited Island about seven or eight Leagues long; then we come to a great Island in the Latitude of $1^{\circ} 30'$, called *Monthey*, above twenty Leagues long, the Inhabitants of which are clothed, and trade with those of *Ticow*, though they speak a different Language.

Under the Equinoctial there are twenty or twenty-five Islands, some great, some small, some inhabited, some not. Having crossed the Line, we met with the Island *Pulo Nyas* in 2° North Latitude, which is fifteen or sixteen Leagues long, and inhabited by a good sort of People that hurt nobody unless they be injured, and traffick with the People of *Barros*, and Strangers, to whom they sell their Children and Slaves. In $3^{\circ} 30'$ there are several other inhabited Islands, many of which are covered with Palm-trees that bear Coconuts, which the Inhabitants of the maritime Towns carry off in their Ships, and make Oil of; others are covered with very high Trees, and differ much from those of *Europe*.

To return from the great Island of *Sumatra*, and take a circumstantial View of what it produces, the Kingdom of *Andrigrri* affords a considerable Quantity of Pepper, but very small. Gold is cheaper there than in any other Country possessed by the *Malayans*.

The Kingdom of *Jamby* produces a great deal of Pepper, which is much better than that of *Andrigrri*. The *English* and *Dutch* have a Factory in it, as well as the *Portuguese* of *Malacca*. The City, which is very unhealthy, lies fifty or sixty Leagues up a River, which one must row up with a Boat. The Inhabitants drive a great Gold Trade, not only with those of *Manimcabo*, but with the Natives of the Country. The Kingdom of *Polimban* abounds in Rice and Cattle, and affords but little Pepper; 'tis a pleasant Country towards the Shore, and is possessed by the King of *Bantam*. *Andriponra* is seated on a rapid River in $3^{\circ} 30'$ South Latitude, and furnishes every Year two or three Ships Loading of such Pepper as we have in *Jambi*. The Inhabitants trade likewise in Gold with those of *Manimcabo*. Next lies that Kingdom which shoots into the Country, but has some Harbours upon the Sea-side, particularly *Caratanga*, where the *English* and *Dutch* come often; they have little Pepper, but a great deal of Gold, which is not above thirty or thirty-five per Cent. cheaper than in France, because they deal with so many Countries in that Commodity; they sell it by the Tael, of which one and a half makes barely two Ounces; it is in Dust, and small Pieces, for they make but few Bars of it.

As for the Dominions of the King of *Achen* the Territories of his principal City is not sufficiently cultivated for maintaining the Inhabitants, so that a great Part of their Rice comes from abroad. In former times it produced a great deal of Pepper; but one of the Kings observing they minded nothing else, and neglected the manuring the Ground, cut down all the Pepper-Plants, so that at present it does not produce every Year above five hundred Bahars of Pepper, and that of the smallest sort. Six Leagues from *Achen*, towards *Pedir*, there is a high Mountain that furnishes great Quantities of Sulphur as well as the Isle of *Pesolway* in the Road of *Achen*, which supplies in a manner all the *Indies* with Sulphur to make Gunpowder. The Territory of *Pedir* being very fertile in Rice, is called the Granary of *Achen*. This Place affords pretty large Quantities of yellow and hard sort of Silk, part of which is by the Natives made into Stuffs that are esteemed all over *Sumatra*, and the rest they sell to the Inhabitants of the Coast of *Coremandel*. At *Dely* there is a Fountain of Oil which is said to be unextinguishable when once it is set on Fire, and with which the King of *Achen* burnt two *Portuguese* Gallies near *Malacca* about eight or ten Years ago.

Daya abounds in Rice and Cattle; *Cinquel* affords every Year a large Quantity of Camphire, which the Inhabitants of *Surat*, on the Coast of *Coremandel*, buy up very eagerly for fifteen or sixteen Rials the Catty, or twenty-eight Ounces. *Barros* is a pleasant Place seated upon a pleasant River,

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there are several other in-
are covered with Palm-
Inhabitants of the mari-
Ships, and make Oil of,
n Trees, and differ much

nd of *Sumatra*, and take a
roduces, the Kingdom of
Quantity of Pepper, but
e than in any other Coun-

duces a great deal of Pe-
that of *Andriagi*. The
y in it, as well as the *Por-*
which is very unhealthy, lies
r, which one must row up
drive a great Gold Trade,
Abu, but with the Natives
in of *Polimban* abounds in
little Pepper; 'tis a plea-
is, and is poss'ed by the
is seated on a rapid River
urnishes every Year two or
pper as we have in *Jamen*.
n Gold with those of *Ma-*
om which shoots into the
rs upon the Sea-side, par-
English and *Dutch* come
but a great deal of Gold,
ty-five per Cent. cheaper
deal with so many Countries
by the Tael, of which one
Dunces; it is in Dust, and
few Bars of it.

King of *Aben* the Terri-
not sufficiently cultivated for
that a great Part of their
former times it produced a
of the Kings observing they
glected the manuring the
per-Plants, so that at pre-
Year above five hundred
smallest fort. Six Leagues
ere is a high Mountain that
alphur as well as the Isle of
which supplies in a manner
to make Gunpowder. The
ertile in Rice, is called the
affords pretty large Quan-
Silk, part of which is by
t are esteemed all over *Su-*
the Inhabitants of the Coast
is a Fountain of Oil which
when once it is set on Fire,
Aben burnt two *Portuguez*
ight or ten Years ago.

little; *Cinquell* affords every
hire, which the Inhabitants
andel, buy up very eagerly
the Catti, or twenty-eight
place seated upon a pleasant
River,

River, in an open and well cultivated and champaign Coun-
try, about a League from the Shore. The Benjamin of
this Island is much esteemed, and serves the Inhabitants for
a Measure in all their Bargains, for they have no other Mo-
ney. This Place affords likewise Plenty of Camphire.
The Camphire of *Bataban* is reckoned the best, but there
is very little of it. *Passaman* stands at the Foot of a very
high Mountain, that may be seen in a clear Day thirty
Leagues off. It has excellent large Pepper, being the first
Place on this Coast where we meet with Pepper-Plants.
Seven Leagues from this Place stands *Ticow*, which is yet
more fertile in Pepper. *Priaman* has not so much Pepper,
but has a better Air, and very well peopled, and plentifully
furnished with all sorts of Provisions, and drives a great
Gold Trade with the Inhabitants of *Manimaba*. The
Dutch had a Factory there for a long time, but the last
Year the King of *Aben* expelled them. *Pudang* has little
Pepper, but deals pretty much in Gold, and has the Con-
venience of a fine River, where great Ships may come up
and ride safely. All these Places are well peopled and cul-
tivated, and some of the Inhabitants are rich, and live
happy, by virtue of their Remoteness from the tyrannical
Court of *Aben*.

40. The Inhabitants of *Aben* are a worse sort of People
than those of *Ticow* and *Priaman*, and the other Places
along the Coast; they are proud, envious Men, of no Faith
or Conscience, especially in their dealing with Christians,
treacherous, and given to robbing and poisoning. They
despise their Neighbours, and take all other Nations but
themselves to be brutal; they are very prodigal in their
Cloaths, and would be the same in their Houses, Slaves,
and other things, if the King did not cramp them. They
speak well in their own Language, and some of them set
up for Orators. They are very fond of Similes, and happy
enough in applying them; but the Frequency with which
they use them would be nauseous and impertinent in any
other Country. They compose some Poems and Songs,
and apply themselves to Writing, and the *Arabian* Anthi-
metick, which differs but little from ours. Some of them
are very good Mechanicks, especially for the building of
Galleys, and they make all sorts of Iron-work as well as
any where else, though they do not work with the same
Facility and Dexterity as the *Europeans*. They work very
well in Copper and Wood, and some of them are skilled in
casting of Artillery.

The King entertains three hundred Goldsmiths in his
Castle, besides a great many other Artisans. Since this
King came to the Throne, the Subjects of *Aben* have got
the Name of the best Soldiers in *India*; for they endure
Fatigue wonderfully, and are excellent Pioneers, as ap-
peared in the Sieges of *Queda* and *Dely*, the last being a
Place of great Strength, fortified by the Assistance and Con-
tinuance of the *Portuguez*, and defended by a Person of
great Valour and Reputation, which nevertheless the King
of *Aben* took in six Weeks Time by cutting Trenches,
and gradually advancing them. They live very soberly,
and for the most part upon Rice, to which the richer sort
may add a small Matter of Fish, and a few Herbs; and
he must be a great Lord indeed that in a Day's Time eats
a Hen boiled or broiled upon the Coals. It is a custom
lying among them, that if there were two thousand Chris-
tians in that Country, all their Beef and Fowls would
quickly be consumed. They pretend to be very strict *Mo-*
ammedans, but are great Hypocrites and Dissemblers,
especially in their Respect to the King, whom they would
see hanged if they could. If they suspect, though with-
out Reason, that any one does not love them, to prevent
his being in a Capacity to misrepresent them to the King,
they'll form an Accusation against him before the King,
and it is the Frequency of these Accusations that makes the
King so cruel; forasmuch as it persuades him that there
are more Conspiracies against him than there are.

In fine, they are such a wicked sort of People, that
it is a common thing among them for one Brother to ac-
cuse another, or the Son the Father, and if you charge
them with Inhumanity, and Want of Conscience, upon
that Score, they'll tell you that God is far from them;
but the King of *Aben* is near at hand. Pursuant to the

Law of *Mohammed*, they marry as many Women as they
are able to maintain, one of which is entitled to a Prefer-
ence before the rest, her Children being reckoned the law-
ful Heirs. They suffer their Slaves and Concubines to go
abroad, but not their Wives; if a Man marries a young
Woman, he commonly pays some Money for her to her
Relations, and allots her a Jointure upon his own Estate.
If a Woman has any thing of her own, she lodges it in
the Hands of her Husband, and takes from him a Note,
entitling her to the Recovery of it in case of Separation, or
bad Husbandry; and if the Husband dies first, this Note,
together with the Jointure stipulated in the Contract of
Marriage, must be first satisfied out of the Goods of the
deceased, to the Prejudice of all Creditors; if the Woman
dies first, the Husband is entitled to all that she brought
him. Man and Wife may separate when they will, pro-
vided they both agree to it; for the Consent of one Party
is not sufficient. In *Aben* Usury is prohibited, and the In-
terest of Money is limited to twelve per Cent. per Annum
without Pledges, whereas in *Bantam* they will give five
per Cent. a Month, and a Pawn besides. If the Debtor
refuse to pay, he is cited before a Court of Justice, where,
if the Debt be made appear, he is condemned to pay it
in a little time, and if he does not pay it in the appointed
Time, he is cited a second time, and must either pay it in
Court, or else have his Hands tied behind his Back with
a Wyth, in which Posture he continues (for no body dare
to untie him) and is obliged to appear before the Court
every Day that it sits, till he satisfies the Debt. At last, if
the Judge perceives that he appears every Day, and is not
capable of satisfying the Debt, he delivers him up to the
Creditor to serve him as a Slave, empowering the Creditor
to carry him home, or sell him, or to do with him as he
pleases, so as he does not put him to Death.

This Court sits every Morning, except *Friday*, under a
great Bali near the great Mosque, and one of the greatest
and richest Orankays presides in it. Under another Bali,
by the Castle Gate, there sits the Criminal Court, in which
several of the principal Orankays preside by Turns. Under
the Cognizance of this Court are all Quarrels, Murders,
Robberies, &c. committed in the City. Any Criminal
may be stopped, or taken up, by a Girl or Child of four
or five Years of Age; for whenever Hands are laid upon
him, he dares not but stand like a Statue, and suffer his
Hands to be tied, in order to be dragged before the Court,
where Justice is immediately put in Execution. I have seen
great lazy Scoundrels dragged in that Fashion by little
Children, and condemned to receive thirty Lashes of a Wyth
upon the Shoulders, for stealing the Value of a Farthing.
After the Execution is over, neither Criminal or Informer
dare complain; nay, sometimes they return together equally
unconcerned. I saw a Man tried there for having peeped
through a Hedge to see his Neighbour's Wife washing her-
self, and condemned to receive thirty Lashes upon the
Shoulders; but after the Sentence was pronounced, the
Criminal capitulated publicly with the Executioner, and
after some Words gave him twenty Maes in open Court, in
Consideration of being only whipped above his Cloaths.

It is a common Custom in that Place to bargain with the
Executioner for mitigating the Punishment; for there's
never a Day but the King orders a Nose, Eye, Ear, Hand,
Foot, or Testicle to be cut off from some Body or other;
and upon these Occasions the Executioner gets Money for
doing his Business handsomely, and with little Pain; for if
the Criminal does not come up to his Price, and pay him
in ready Money upon the Spot, he will cut the Nose, for
instance, so deep, that the Brain may be seen through the
Wound, or mangle a Foot or a Leg in two or three Pieces,
&c. In all these cruel Mutilations, and even Gelding itself,
scarce any one dies, though some of the Persons thus
maimed are above fifty or sixty Years of Age; and the
only Remedy they use is, to put the wounded Part imme-
diately into Water, and after it has bled a little, wash it
and bind it up with Linnen Cloths. After a Criminal has
thus suffered Justice, whether by the King's Command, or
by the Judge's Sentence, all the Ignominy of his Crime
is wiped off, and if any one upbraids him with it, he may
kill him with Impunity.

There

There is another Court, in which the Cady or Bishop presides, that takes Cognizance of all Infringements upon their Religion. In the Alfandague likewise there is a Bali for determining Differences among Merchants, whether Natives or Foreigners, the President of which is the Orankay *Laxemant*, who in a manner governs the whole City. In this Alfandague they keep an exact Account of all the Customs, Gifts, Fines, and Commodities belonging to the King, with a particular List of all the Persons Names that buy of the King, or pay the Duty, or make him Presents, to the end they may be capable to give his Majesty a satisfactory Account how every Thing is disposed of, for if their Accounts be perplexed they can expect nothing but Death. Besides these, there are four Officers called Pangoulow Cavallo, who take Cognizance of all Things done in the Night-Time, such as running the Goods without paying the Duty, Robberies, &c. Each of these has a quarter of the City under his Jurisdiction. Farther, each of the Orankays hath a Province or Country-District under his Jurisdiction, where he gives Orders, and administers Justice to the Inhabitants.

Some of the principal Orankays residing near the City, are obliged to give Orders for a Watch of two hundred Horse that patrolls every Night in the Country and along the Shore. As for the Castle, or King's Palace, the inner Part is filled with three thousand Women, which he keeps partly for a Guard, and partly for other Uses. These Women come seldom out of the Castle. They have a Market-place of their own, and traffick with one another in such Manufactures as they make. They are ranged under several Captains, and have their Civil-Judges, and Night-Officers as well as the City. None are allowed to enter into their Apartments but the King's Eunuchs, who are said to be in Number about five hundred. Besides these the King has a great many Wives and Concubines; and of these his Wives, twenty are the lawful Daughters of the King's whom he has pillaged. The last Wife that he had by such Means was the Queen of *Pera*, who is said to be very handsome, and from whom he contracted a Disease that is likely to carry him off, unless the Vigour of his Age, which is now in its Prime, be able to overcome it.

By all these Wives he has but one Son of eighteen Years of Age, who is yet more cruel than himself. This Prince has only the Quality of a simple Orankay, and is always confined to the Castle, except when he goes to the Mosque, and then he has a pompous Retinue. Some time ago his Father gave him the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Pedir*; but his Government was so cruel and licentious, that the King called him home and put him to strange Torments, from which Time he hath still kept him with himself. In the great Court, where the King's Apartments are, the Eunuchs keep guard; besides which there are a Guard of an hundred and fifty Slaves at one Gate, and another of the like Number at the outer Gate of all. These Slaves are mostly Foreigners taken in young, and bred up in the Exercise of Arms and Shooting. They are confined within the Castle, and allowed to converse with no body; so that the King makes use of them to over-awe his own Subjects, and fright them from treasonable Designs. All the Punishments inflicted in the Castle are put in Execution by these Slaves.

To put the Orankays in the Custody of those Slaves, he ranges them in three Companies, one of which is obliged to keep Guard in the Castle Day and Night, without Arms, in a Court surrounded by Slaves; so that every third Night every Nobleman comes upon Guard; and if any suspicious Plot should be discovered, the King has always a third Part of his Nobility in his Hands. If any of the Orankays fail to observe the third Night, he undergoes the Loss of his Life, together with the Confiscation of his Goods, Wives, Children and Slaves. The Orankays dare not converse familiarly, or have frequent Interviews one with another, for the King suspects all Familiarity among them; so that they never converse together, unless it be upon an accidental Rencontre that they salute each other with a great deal of Complaisance. Whenever they, or any body else, enter the Castle, they are obliged to take off

their Sword, and put it into the Hands of the Guard at the second Gate.

41. The City of *Achen* is more like a Village than a City, being an open Place without Walls, and the Castle is no more fortified than any ordinary Gentleman's House. It has about half a League in Circumference, of an oval Figure, surrounded with a Ditch of twenty-five or thirty Foot deep and broad, the Banks of which are almost inaccessible, by reason of their Steepness and being covered by Thickets. Before the Castle the Earth is cast up in Banks, which serves for a Wall. On the Top of this Bank there grows a great many large Reeds as tall as Ash-trees, and planted so thick that one cannot see through them. It is present Death for any one to touch the least Branch of these Reeds; for the King of *Achen's* Ambassador to *Holland*, upon his Return home, having forgot this Order, and unluckily pulling off a small Twig, was immediately put to Death. These Reeds enjoy a perpetual Verdure, and cannot be set on Fire. I could observe no Flanks or Battlements round the Castle but upon the Side which faces the Mosque; I saw the Beginnings of several Ramparts, but nothing yet finished. Before the Gates there are neither Ditches nor Draw-bridges, but on each Side of every Gate there is a Stone-wall about ten or twelve Foot high supporting a Terrace, on which a Couple of fine Brass-Guns are planted. The Gates are as high as the Wall, and are made of a strong sort of Wood, being shut on the Inside with two great Cross-bars fixed in the Wall, besides other Bolts. Through the Middle of the Castle there passes a small River, that descends from the Mountains, the Water of which is very cool, and agreeable. Upon the Banks of this River there are Steps for People to go down and wash themselves.

Before we come at the King's Apartments we pass four Gates, from one of which there runs a high Wall, backed with a Terrace, with several Brass-Guns upon it, within which, as I take it, is the King's Arsenal. This Rampart incloses Part of a very long Court fronting of the Houses, in which I have seen three hundred Elephants at a time. The other Part of this Court is enclosed by four great Pavilions, and a fort of a Stone-Rampart, which commands the Terrace, being fortified with a Parapet. As for the inner Part of the Castle, I can give no Account of it, being denied Access. To conclude, the Fortifications of this Place are inconsiderable, but its Avenues are very difficult, for the Country about it is full of Rivers, Marshes, Trees, and very close Thickets. Where the Rivers enter the Castle, there is a Stone-Fort, consisting of a large Raftion, and two Courtines, with several Guns mounted upon them. Upon the Land-side these Courtines are joined by a Rampart made of Turf, in which there is a Gate, but without either Ditch or Draw-bridge, these being wanting to the whole Fort. The Walls both of the Bastion and Courtines are eighteen Foot broad and twenty Foot high. Before this Fort the King has a Pleasure-house, by which there are several Fish-ponds and pleasant Walks, the whole being inclosed with an Intrenchment made of Turf, the Breadth of which is ten or twelve Foot high, and moated about, where two or three thousand Men may lie. Before this Intrenchment is a small Fort, covered with Thickets, and ditched about, upon which there are several Pieces of Cannon.

The Country round all these Forts is so full of Marshes, Ditches, and Trees that they call Nippiers, that it is almost impracticable to march through it. Palling Eastward from the Castle along the Shore, we met with several little Forts of Turf, surrounded with Thickets, and placed at a Musket-shot Distance one from another; on each of which there are two or three Pieces of Cannon, but so covered with Bushes that they are not visible. In these Forts there is no Guard by Day, but in the Night-Time the Horse-watch, as before-mentioned, patrol round them; the Western-Shore is more accessible and destitute of Forts. About a Pistol-shot from this Shore is a Canal above forty Foot broad, and very deep, that rises out of the great River, and runs along the Shore to the Side of the Mountains. Having passed that, we met with a plain open Country, free from Ditches and Trenches.

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It is computed that *Achen* and the adjacent Places in that Valley, are able to raise 40000 Men; but they have no Fire-Arms or Powder, for the King keeps those up in the Castle, as well as his Artillery. That Prince has above two thousand Brass-Guns in his Gallies, Forts, and two Houses, where they are heaped one above another. He is likewise well furnished with Firelocks, but they are short, and ill mounted.

But his greatest Strength he places in 900 Elephants, which are bred to tread Fire under their Feet, and to be unmoved at the Shot of a Cannon; and likewise to salute the King when they pass by his Apartments, by bending their Knees and raising their Trunks three Times. The King gives a Name to each Elephant, and confers many Honours on such of them as are most stout and docile, for he orders Umbrellas to be carried before them as they pass the Streets, for some six, for others four, and for others two, in Proportion to their Merit. Now there is not a Man in *Achen* besides the King, that is allowed the Privilege of an Umbrella. He matches the Male-Elephants with their Females, and to some that are dearest to him, he allows several Concubines. The Elephants that the King commonly makes use of, have a great deal of Honour paid them, for as they pass along every body stops and makes Way for them; for which Purpose a Boy goes before them with a copper Instrument in his Hand, with which he makes a Noise to give the People Notice. When the Oil drops from their Ears they are furious, and it is not safe to come near them; and at that Time the Boy runs above two hundred Paces before them, to give the People earlier Notice, for they will steal upon a Man strangely; and notwithstanding their huge Bulk, make no more Noise when they walk than a Rat; though, at the same time, upon that marshy hollow Ground, the Trot of a Horse makes the Earth in a manner tremble.

Sometimes the King is out of Humour with his Elephants, as well as with his Subjects, and shews his Displeasure by robbing them of their Wives, Concubines, and other Honours, and inflicting corporal Punishments in the Presence of the rest; for exemplary Correction has the same Influence upon them as upon Men, as appears by the following Instance. The King having ordered the Embarkation of an hundred Elephants for the Siege of *Diby*, when the Elephants were brought down to the Shore, not one of them would enter the Ship. The King being acquainted with the Matter (which some took to be an ill Omen) came in Person to the Shore, and having checked and chid them with a great deal of Passion, and upbraiding them with the Breeding and Honour he had bestowed upon them, caused one of the principal Elephants to be cut in two before their Eyes, threatening the rest with the same Usage if they did not embark immediately. This done, they embarked very peaceably, and were extreme tractable during the whole Voyage.

There never was a Prince in *Achen* that had such a Dexterity in managing these Animals; he will stand upright upon their Backs while they run a full Speed: For my part, I had rather run ten Stages on Foot than ride four Leagues upon an Elephant, for it is a very uneasy Posture to those who are not accustomed to it, especially if one sits behind, for the Forepart of the Shoulders is the softest. When the King was well, he used to hunt every other Day. In his Stables he has about two hundred Horses, fifty of which might be worth five hundred Crowns a-piece in *France*. All of them have rich and magnificent Trappings.

42. The King of *Achen* is stronger by Sea than any of his Neighbours, for he has about an hundred great Gallies, of which a third Part is much larger than any we build in Christendom. I saw the Keel of an ordinary one that was an hundred and twenty Foot long, all in one Piece. They build their Gallies very prettily in that Country, but they are too heavy, for they are broader and higher than they ought to be; besides, their Rigging is too weak for their Bulk. Their Oars have neither Length nor Weight sufficient, being only Poles, with a Piece of Board at one End. They put but two Men to an Oar, who stand upright when they row. Their Sails are not made like *Mizen*-Sails, but square, like those of a Ship. The Sides or

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Planks of these Gallies are six Inches thick; so that considering their Dolours, one of our *European* Gallies might beat ten of them.

They have commonly three good Pieces of Cannon, of which that planted in the *Bourley* is not less than a Battery-Gun, for some of them will carry a Bullet of forty Pound: Besides these they have several Falconets, which they plant before and abaft. The largest Gallies have commonly six or eight hundred Men. Their Crew consists not of Slaves, but of poor People, that row very well. The King's Wars are not very chargeable to him, for all his Subjects are obliged to march at his Command upon their own Charges, and carry Provision with them for three Months. The King gives them Arms, of which a Register is kept, they being obliged to restore them at their Return. Their Wives, and Children, and their Parents, if they have any, are answerable for their Behaviour; for if they shrink, or give way before the Enemy, not only themselves but these, their innocent Relations, suffer for it. By this means the King has brought them to be good Soldiers, and the Terror of their Neighbours. If they continue above three Months in the Field, the King is at the Charge of Rice to maintain them.

His Gallies cost him as little as his Land Armies, for he divides them among his principal Orankays, obliging them to fit them out, take care of them when they return, and repair them at their own Charges, and orders a certain Number of People to be ready upon the Command of such and such an Orankay, to assist at these Services. The Orankays are very careful of the Gallies, for if these fail, they either lose their Lives, or build new ones in their room. For that reason, when the Gallies come into the River to be laid up, they cleanse the Dock very carefully, and then lay great Pieces of Wood across it, which are ten Feet distant from one another, and lie upon an exact Level, lest the Gallies should bow when they lie upon them. When the Tide comes in the Elephants draw the Gallies up upon these Sommers, which lie above ten Feet from the Ground, that they may get underneath to view and caulk the Ship's Bottom. This done, they run a Dyke of Turf, Stone, and Planks between it and the River, and then fill the Dock with Water, to the upper Surface of the Sommers; this they do, that the Gallies may be refreshed by the Water, but so as not to dip into it, lest Sea-Worms should breed in them. Having laid up the Sails and Rigging, they cover the Masts very carefully with Palm tree Leaves, so that neither Rain nor Sun can hurt them; besides, they have a great Roof that they bring entirely over the Galley. After that, they put Water into it, to the Depth of four or five Feet, to keep the Planks fresh, and prevent their being split by the Heat.

All this is done in five or six Days, and one cannot imagine how well they preserve the Galley, and how readily they launch it again: For, the Dock being full of Water, there is no Occasion for caulking, and the Rigging is at Hand, and the Roof is taken off in a Minute. The Water in the Galley being thrown out into the Dock, augments the Water there, which sets the Sommers afloat, so that they are easily removed; upon which the Water rushing into the River, carries the Galley along with it. Every Morning and Evening, upon the opening and shutting of the Castle Gates, the King causes a Gun to be fired, and if any of the neighbouring Kings should offer to do the like, he would declare War against him, alledging, that being the Inventor of that Custom, he has a Right to engross it, as a Mark of his Grandeur: He prohibits the shooting of Muskets, or Firelocks, in the City, on any other Days but *Mondays* and *Thursdays*.

43. From what has been said, it is manifest, that this King cannot but be very rich, for in War he is only at the Charge of Arms, Powder, Lead, and Rice, which is very inconsiderable, and in Peace he spends yet less; for as to the Maintenance of his Family, he has more Rice, Flesh, Fish, Fowl, Oils, Sugar, and Herbs, paid him by his Subjects, than is consumed in the Castle, and the Surplus is sold in the Market for his Advantage: Besides, he allows his Servants nothing but Rice; if they eat any thing else, they must purchase it by their own Labour and Industry. He amasses together great Quantities of Rice

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every

every Year; for, having large hereditary Countries, he parcels them out among his Subjects to be manured, obliging them to furnish him with a certain Quantity of Rice every Year, whether the Crop be good or bad, and he calculates the Product of his Land so very nicely, that the Farmers cannot be idle if they maintain themselves, and pay the King, who never bates them a Grain. The Rice he puts into his Magazines, and keeps it up till the latter End of Autumn, at which Time it fetches a double Price, and drains all the poor People of their Money; if it be a plentiful Year in *Achen*, he sends it to some neighbouring Country where Rice is scarce.

He has vast Herds of Cattle kept by his Slaves. His Elephant cost him nothing, for he gives them no Rice, only the Trunks of *Banana Trees*, which being cut, a Sprout comes up next Year that bears Fruit. As for his Cocks, they cost him nothing, for the *Orankays* take more Care of them than their own Children. He is at no Charge for his own or his Womens Cloaths, for one certain Day of the Year, all that have any Offices, or Places in *Achen*, are obliged to make him a Present of one or more Garments, according to the Incomes of their Places, or else of Stuffs for cloathing the Women, and every one strives to out-do another in the Magnificence of his Present, in order either to procure a better Place, or to secure what he has. If he does not like the Garments, or Stuffs, he returns them back, and the Officer that gave them is sure to be turned out of his Post, unless he quickly accommodates the Matter by a large Sum of Money; or if he be a Man of Riches, he shall be charged with some Male-Administration in his Office, and perhaps put to Death.

He causes a great many Houses to be built of rough Stone, which cost him but very little, tho' they would be very chargeable to another, because he has such large Numbers of Slaves. Tho' these Houses are reckoned inimitable in that Country, yet they are infinitely short of what we have in *Europe*. His Slaves indeed have a better Life than any Slaves I know, for he does not chain them, unless they endeavour to escape, or to rebel against their Masters; and out of eight Days he allows them four to work at what Work they will for their own Livelihood; and thus the King pays nothing for their Maintenance. He employs them mostly in cutting of Wood, making of Mortar, labouring in the Quarries and Buildings. There are three or four Overseers of their Work, who are maintained by the Slaves; for those who understand any Trade may live very handsomely, and be excused from working for the King, for Five-pence a Day, which is received by Commissaries appointed for that Purpose, and goes towards the Maintenance of the Overseers, the buying of Iron, and all other Materials.

The King gives the Model of his Building himself, and very often, if a Window, or a Door, or any such thing be not exactly to his Fancy, down goes the House, and another must be built in its Place. He appoints them a certain Time in which the Work must be finished, which is commonly but very short; for in the six Months that I was at *Achen*, I saw more Buildings reared up and pulled down again, than I could have imagined to have been done in two Years. These Slaves may redeem themselves, but their Ransom rises according to their Quality. The King is Heir to all his Subjects that die without Male Issue, and if they leave any Daughters then unmarried, he puts them into the Castle, which occasions his Women to be so numerous. In that Country, Daughters have no Titles to any Heritage; and not only the People of *Achen*, but even all the *Mohammedans* are so loath to part with their Money, and so buoyed up with the Hopes of having male Children by one of their many Wives, that they seldom or never give any thing to their Sons-in-Law in their Life-time, and after their Death they cannot have it; nay, even in their Life-time, if the King's Spies observe them, it may do them more Injury than Good.

The royal Treasury is likewise considerably enlarged by the forfeited Estates of those whom he puts to Death every Day; for to prevent their alienating their Estates, or Goods, he takes them at a Surprizal, and has their Wives, Children, Slaves, Cattle, Money, and all sorts of Move-

ables lodged in the Castle before they know their Sentence. While I was there, I saw the Jewels, Gold, Silver, and all the moveable Goods belonging to his Mother, brought in upon the same Occasion. The Persons he thus puts to Death, are commonly the *Orankays*, or great Lords, and that for one of their two Reasons, viz. either their Reputation and Interest among the People, or their Riches; the former giving him Occasion of Jealousy, and the latter awakening his covetous and avaricious Temper.

The King is Heir to all Foreigners that die within his Territories; for as soon as a Foreigner sickens, the King's Officers presently take Possession of his House, and upon his Death, remove his Effects to the Castle, and very often his Servants, Friends, and Slaves, are put upon the Rack, to discover where his Gold, Silver, and Jewels are, or where any thing is due to him; but the *English* and *Dutch* having Factories here, are exempted from this Law, as we were, while we staid there, by the King's Concession. The King has another bad Custom of appropriating to his own Use all the Men and Goods of all Ships that suffer Shipwreck upon his Coast. No Foreigner can enter the Castle without making a Present to the King; it is true I went without any, being allowed the Quality and Privilege of a principal *Orankay*, but at the same Time I never could have Audience upon my own Affairs but when I ushered it in with a Present; nay, if either Foreigner or Native put in any Request to the King, the former is not heard, and the latter is punished; and after all, the Request will not be granted, unless the Present be liked; for I have seen the *Dutch* and *English* Presents frequently returned, and in that Case they were obliged to make more valuable Gifts, such as would please the King, before they obtained their Desire. No Foreigner can enter the King's Chamber without the Chappel, for which he pays a Rial to the Officers that bear it.

When a Ship comes into the Road of *Achen*, none of their Crew must go ashore till the Chappel comes, and till the Duty of that be paid, which amounts to fifty or sixty Rials, according to the Bigness of the Ship, and upon their Departure from the Road, they are obliged to pay about half as much. The *Moor*s pay nothing upon the Export of Goods, but upon the Import the Duty is very heavy; for they pay 10 per Cent. in Gold upon the Entry of all Goods which are appraised by the Officers of the *Alfandeq*, and commonly over-rated 50 per Cent. The *Dutch* and *English* pay as much, but then they pay it in the Commodity itself, and not in Gold. But the greatest Damp upon the Trade in that Place is, that the King engrosses it all into his own Hands; for what Commodities he buys, he must have them under a Market Price, and what he sells rises to 50 per Cent. above it; so that if he continues to carry on his Commerce at this Rate, the *Dutch* and *English* will be obliged to abandon this Place, and it is with that View, as I take it, that he does it; for at present, he is very jealous of their Strength. From what has been said, we may safely infer, that the King of *Achen* is infinitely rich, especially if we consider, that over and above the before-mentioned Articles, he had an opulent Exchequer left him by his Father.

44. To understand how this present King of *Achen* came to the Crown, we must know, that before the Reign of his Grandfather, the *Orankays* being never oppressed by their Kings, nor pillaged by other Nations, were very rich in Lands and Houses, besides Gold and Silver, and gave a licentious Range to their insolent and proud Tempers. In those Days the City was six times greater than it is now, and so crowded with People, that one could scarce pass along the Streets. No City in *India* had so flourishing a Trade. The *Alfandeq* required no Customs but that of the Chappel; Merchants might unload and load again in 15 Days-time.

The *Orankays* lived in large stately Houses, with Cannon at their Gates, and great Numbers of Slaves, both to serve and guard them. They had magnificent Garments, and pompous Retinues, and were much respected by the People. This Grandeur and Authority of the *Orankays* not only lessened the King's Authority, but was often fatal to his Person, inasmuch that it was a great

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great Matter if a King enjoyed his Crown two Years, and if
he did, it was with so much Trouble and Dependence upon
the Orankays, that nothing but the Title of his Dignity
was left him. Things continued at this rate till the Ex-
tinction of the ancient Royal Line, which happened about
forty Years ago.

Upon that the Orankays met, in order to chuse a King,
but every one affecting the Dignity for himself, they could
not agree upon the Matter, and resolved to decide it by
Force. In this Ferment the Cady, or Great Bishop, by
his Authority and Remonstrances, persuaded them to listen
to an Expedient that would remove all their Jealousies;
namely, to put the Crown upon the Head of a certain
Orankay, who in all these Divisions had not stirred or af-
fected any thing for himself or his Family, but had lived
in the Reputation of a wise, experienced Man, being then
seventy Years of Age, and descended of one of the noblest
Families in *Achen*. The Orankays accepted the Proposal,
in regard it did not sink their respective Pretensions, since
they only entitled him to a Preference by reason of his
Age and Prudence. But after all, the old Nobleman de-
sired to be excused, alledging that he had retired for some
time from the Affairs of the World, and desired to pass the
Remainder of his Life in Peace. Upon this the Orankays
fell together by the Ears; but at last, finding that every
thing run in Confusion, they endeavoured to threaten the
old Orankay into an Acceptance of the Crown; but both
their Threats and Intreaties were equally ineffectual.

At last they came all in a Body to his House, the Cady
carrying the Crown, and one of the Orankays a naked
Sword. There they represented to the old Gentleman that
they could not possibly find any other Remedy for their pre-
sent Calamity, but that of making him King: That as
they had frequently importuned him to accept of the Crown,
so they came now once more to make the last Offer, and
that if he refused it, they were determined to cut him off
immediately, to prevent their inflicting any longer on an
useless Expedient. The old Orankay finding himself in a
Dilemma, told them, that tho' he had firmly resolved to
finish his Days without the Disturbance of publick Affairs,
yet since nothing but his mounting the Throne could pre-
vent a pernicious War, he accepted their Offer with this
Proviso, that they should respect him as a Father, and he
should treat them as his Children, and they should receive
his Correction as from the Hands of their own Father. This
said, they all thanked him, promising not only to honour
him as their Father, but to respect him as their Sovereign
Lord, and invested him instantly with the Royal Dignity.

45. After his Coronation he took Possession of the Castle,
and invited all the Orankays to a Feast upon an appointed
Day, and made such vast Preparations for their Reception,
that the Orankays were struck with Admiration. The
Orankays were drawn up in Order in a Court near the King's
Apartment, and conducted by the Chappes into a Hall;
but as every Man entered the Hall he was immediately
seized, and dragged into another Court behind the Build-
ings, where the King had caused a deep Ditch to be dug,
upon the Brink of which their Throats were cut, and then
their Bodies were thrown into it. In the mean time the
Musick played, and nothing but Songs and Mirth was heard
in the Hall; and the Matter was carried on so warmly,
that one thousand one hundred were cut off before those in
the Rear could perceive any thing of the Matter; at which
Time the small Remainder slipped softly out of the Castle,
without knowing distinctly the Occasion of their Mistrust
till the next Day that the principal Orankays were missing.

The King having thus cut off all he suspected, and for-
tified himself with a good Body of Men in the Castle, he
published a Declaration, setting forth, that this great Exe-
cution was necessary for the Safety of his own Person and
the State; that as in former times the Orankays had made
and dethroned many Kings at Pleasure, and extinguished
the ancient Line, so when they were at the Point of cut-
ting one another's Throats, they could find no other
Remedy than that of making him King by Force, in
order to use him as they did the former Kings upon
Occasion; that since he was King he would not be exposed
to the inconstant Humours of the Orankays, who, after
they had massacred him, would have relapsed into their for-

mer Animofities, and made the People suffer by their Quar-
rels; and in fine, that all his Design was to preserve the
general Peace, to reign in Equity, and execute severe Ju-
stice upon Offenders.

After this Declaration, when he saw that no body stirred,
and none came near him to pay him their wanted Respects
in the Castle, he demolished all the Houses of the executed
Orankays, and lodged their Cannon, Arms and Goods in
the Castle. He prohibited any to build with Stone, or to
have Cannon or Intrenchments about their Houses; he or-
dered the Trenches that then were to be filled up, and the
Stone Walls to be pulled down. He enjoined, that all
their Houses should be but one Story high, and their Walls
be made of Mats, as they are at this Day. He conferred
the Quality of Orankays upon his Favourites and Abettors,
allowing them part of the Lands of the executed Lords.
He put to Death the ancient Orankays, and those of the
People that testified any Dislike to his Conduct, inasmuch
that in the first Year of his Reign he put to Death twenty
thousand Persons, and in the second some thousands more.

This Prince reigned a long time, and reduced the City
to the Condition that it is now in. He used the *Moorish*
Merchants very unkindly, but was extream civil to the
English and *Dutch*, who settled there in his Time. He
brought up this present King, who is the Son of his own
Daughter, and for whom he had a particular Love. He
died in the Year 1603, aged ninety five Years, leaving be-
hind him two Sons, who were already advanced in Years.
To the eldest of these he left the Kingdom of *Achen*, and
all his Territories along the Coast of *Sumatra* to the West-
ward, and to the other the Kingdom of *Pedir*, with the
Territories upon the East Coast of *Sumatra*. The two
Princes were of too meek and humble a Temper for their
Subjects, so that Murders, Robberies, Oppression, and an
Infinity of Disorders, reigned in want of a severe
Execution of Justice. The King of *Achen* happening to
give some slight Rebuke to his Nephew the present King,
whom he entertained at his Court, the young Prince made
his Escape out of the Castle, and fled to his Uncle the King
of *Pedir*, who gave him a very kind Reception. The
King of *Achen* desired his Brother to send his Nephew to
Achen; but his Brother made Answer, that he would not
offer Violence to a young Prince whom their Father had
recommended to their Care. Upon this the two Brethren
declared War one against another, the Forces of *Pedir*
being commanded by the Nephew, who is now King. In
this War above sixty thousand Men were killed between
them, and the Nephew had oftentimes the Advantage;
But at last the Forces of *Achen* being more numerous, those
of *Pedir* refused to march. Upon which their King was
obliged to deliver up his Nephew into the Hands of the
King of *Achen*, who immediately put a strong Guard upon
him, and laid him in Irons.

Some time afterwards the *Portuguese* made a Descent
upon *Achen*, and carried the first Tur Fort at the Entry of
the River, but could not master the Stone one. In this
Juncture the young Prince desired his Uncle would let him
go and fight against the *Portuguese*, remonstrating that he
had better die in Battle with the *Cafres* (so they call the
Christians) than lie in Chains to no Purpose. The King of
Achen being at that Time in Contemnation, released him,
and suffered him to go upon that Design. The young
Prince behaved himself with so much Bravery in two or
three Engagements with the *Portuguese*, that he acquired
a great Reputation among the People of *Achen*.

46. Upon this his Mother being an active ambitious
Woman, formed a Design of making him King of *Achen*,
and furnished him with large Sums of Money to be distri-
buted among the principal Orankays; with the same View,
the young Prince was very familiar in his Conversation,
whatever he had was common to his Friends and Courtiers;
he refused nothing that was asked of him; in a Word, he
shewed himself liberal to the Orankays, affable to the Rich,
a Companion to those that professed Arms, and extream
courteous to the common People. In the mean time the
King of *Achen* died suddenly; at the Hour of his Death
the young Prince gets into the Castle, bribes the Guards,
makes vast Promises to the Officers, advances a large Sum
of Money to the Governor of the Castle, distributes Money
among

among the principal Orankays, and threatens the Cady, who scrupled to crown him.

In fine, he managed the Intrigue so happily, that he was proclaimed King that very Night, to the great Joy of all the People who had conceived great Hopes of his Liberality, Courtesy and Familiarity, as well as his Valour. *Peidir* being twelve Miles from *Achen*, the King of that Place was quickly acquainted with his Brother's Death, and came the next Day to receive the Investiture of his Patrimony; but as he approached the Cattle with a small Retinue, he fell into the Hands of his Nephew the King of *Achen*, who, forgetting his former Favours, kept him a Month Prisoner in the Cattle, and then, pretending to send him to a more agreeable Retreat, at a Distance from the City caused his Threat to be cut by the Way. Those who put the Crown upon his Head were not better used; for he began with the Maraja, or Governor of the Cattle, who had taken most of his Money, and ended with those that received the last. In a Year's Time they found a great Alteration; for instead of being humane, he was very cruel. Instead of Liberality, he displayed an extream Avarice, and his familiar, meek Temper, became austere and inextorable.

In fine, he has shed more Blood than his Grandfather did in his whole Reign. He has dispeopled the whole Territory of *Achen*, and drained not only the Natives, but the Foreigners that reside there, of all their Money. It is true, he endeavoured to re-people this City with his Conquests, or rather Ravages (properly speaking) for having ruined the Kingdoms of *Jor*, *Dehly*, *Paban*, *Lyeda*, and *Pera*, he transported from thence to *Achen* about twenty-two thousand Persons; but at present there are scarce one thousand five hundred of them left: So that this Policy served rather for an Instance of his Cruelty, than any other thing; for the People being brought naked to *Achen*, and allowed not a Grain of Rice for their Maintenance, died of Hunger in the Streets. Hitherto this King hath been successful in all his Enterprizes, inasmuch that some take him for a Sorcerer.

For my part I regard him as a Man of great Judgment, one that undertakes nothing rashly, or unreasonably, but after a mature Deliberation, and upon very probable Conjectures. He never assaulted one of his Neighbours but when they were reduced to some Extremity. All his Preparatory Measures are incomprehensible, till the Design is put in Execution; for he never asks or receives Advice of any, and being invested with an absolute Authority, his Commands are immediately put in Execution; so that all this may be done without the Assistance of Devils. Besides, I have often heard that Sorcerers are poor, sorry Wretches; but I am certain that this King is by far greater and richer than any of his Neighbours.

47. February the 3d we were in Sight of the Island of *Montabay*, the 5th we came to an inhabited Isle that lies between *Nassaw* and *Montabay*; the 6th we passed between *Nassaw* and another Island not marked in the Charts. This Channel is four or five Leagues broad; all these Islands lie very low, whereas the opposite Coast of *Sumatra* is very high and conspicuous. I would advise all Sailors rather to put into *Sumatra*, than into any of these little Islands; for the former is peopled all along the Shore with Persons acquainted with the Conversation of Strangers, whereas the Inhabitants of these are barbarous Savages, that have no Communication with any other People, and consequently not to be trusted.

April the 20th, in 33° 40' Latitude, the Needle varying 7° 45' North-West, we descried a smooth and uniform, but rocky Coast, upon which we stood to Sea, and next Day encountered a violent Storm, that lasted to the 23d of May; the 1st we perceived the Land between Cape *Aguilles* and Cape *Falfe*, and on the 5th we came to an Anchor in *Table-Bay*; our sick Men did not recover at this Place as I expected, either by reason of that extream Cold, or because I could not take in such fresh Provisions as I had a Mind to, there being some Dutch Ships in the Bay that I mistrusted. I believe the Cold was the great Cause of it; for all the Dutch Sick died as well as mine. The Wind continued at West-North-West from my first Arrival in this Bay to the 24th, that I weighed Anchor, and passing

by the North-East, was becalmed within Cannon Shot. The 30th we set Sail, the Wind at South-South-East.

On the 21st of June we descried *St. Helena*, about fifteen Leagues West-North-West of us: Next Day I came to an Anchor over-against it, and sent our sick Men on Shore, who were something benefited by the Air. This is a very convenient Place for the refreshing Men, not only in regard to the Temperance of the Air, but by reason of the Plenty of young Kids and Hogs, the Facility of coming at good Water, the Conveniency of Fishing in the Road, and upon the Shore, the Abundance of Oranges and Citrons, which are excellent Remedies against the Scurvy, besides several good Herbs, such as Purslain, a sort of Tarragon, in large Quantities, some Fenugreek, Tobacco, and the Herb Mayoe: Not to mention the Partridges, Pigeons, and, as some say, Oxen, that this Island abounds with; for though the Country be mountainous, and very steep, and the Grails withered-like, yet on the Top there's a great deal of Moisture, and there is not a Valley without a Brook or Rivulet, the greatest of which runs in the large Valley, where a large Chapel is built, though it is not above a hundred and fifty Paces broad, and one thousand long. At the End of this Valley there's a ragged Cleft Ridge of Rocks, upon which there falls down a Stream of Water from a very high Mountain, inasmuch that it is beat as small as Rain before it falls. This Isle lies in 16° South Latitude, the Needle varying 5° 45' North-East, and always has the Wind South-East.

48. On the 16th of July we saw the Isle of *Ascension*, about twelve Leagues North-East of us. It is very high, and its Anchorage lies over-against a sandy Creek. This Island has neither Wood, nor Fresh-Water, nor any Herbs, being nothing but a hard Rock; yet it affords some Hogs, and a great many Fowls, such as can live without Fresh-Water, upon the Rocks, and in the Road it has abundance of Fish and Tortoise. Its Circumference may make about eight Leagues, which is as much as that of *St. Helena's*. It lies in 8° S. Lat. After we had crossed the Equinoctial, we had such Calms and drizzling Rains that most of our Men were seized with Dropsies and Tumours, upon which there ensued great Mortality in the Ship.

August the 6th the Calms and drizzling Rains continuing, there came a sudden Whirl-wind that lasted for two Minutes, and broke all our Sails, carrying the Main-Top-Sail quite off. The next Day we saw some Swallows and Butterflies, which signified that we were near Land. The 13th we saw an Island to the North, in 16° Lat. which we knew to be *Saint Nicholas*, one of the *Cape-Verd* Islands. The 16th we made the Isle of *Saint Vincent*, and cast Anchor at five Fathom Water. The 17th I sent my sick Men ashore, who were very numerous, and in a sorry Condition; but, when they came upon Land, they recovered apace.

49. The ordinary Anchorage of this Island lies in 17° 20' Lat. the Needle varying 2° 15' N. E. It affords at this Season great Plenty of Tortoises, which they call Free-Tortoises, and are distinguished from the others they call *Cohouanes*, by the Smoothness, Plainness, and green Colour of the Shell, the Largeness of their Body, and the Smallness of their Head, and the Form of their Snout, which resembles the Teeth of a Saw. The Flesh of these eat as well as that of a young Heifer, and some of them are so large that they weigh 300 Pound. They come out in the Night-Time, and lay their Eggs upon the Sand, which they bury a Foot deep. Those who have a Mind to catch them watch them at that Time, and getting behind them turn them upon their Back; after which they cannot turn themselves to get upon their Feet, and so lie there till the Morning. Most of them have 250 Eggs shelled, and as many unshelled in their Bellies, which are very good.

In this Island we met with an Herb that in some measure resembles Spinnage, but it is infinitely better; we used it both in Salad and Soup, and both it and the Tortoise Fish kept our Bellies open, and cured our Men of great Dropsies, without any other Purgation in eight Days, which perhaps could not be cured in *France* in a Month.

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Month. It is also well stocked with young Kids, but you
are not sure of catching them, unless you have Dogs.
We saw no Fruit in it but wild Figs, which were all
spoiled with Worms. To the Eastward, under a high
Mountain, there are vast Quantities of Purlain. Com-
monly the Water of this Isle is brackish; but upon the
S. W. Part of the Bay, where the Anchorage is, there is
a small Spring, that if it was cleaned and dug deep,
would afford pretty good Water.

It is furnished with a considerable Quantity of wild
Pines, which may serve for Firing; besides which it has
no Wood, except some Shrubs, that cast forth a white
milky Juice, that is very dangerous and painful to the
Eyes if it touches them. There is very good Fishing
along the Rocks, and especially at a little Rock at the
Entry of the Bay, about a quarter of a League from the
Anchorage. In two Hours Time seven or eight may
there catch Fish enough for two hundred Men. In fine,
it is not inferior to *St. Helena* for a Place of Refreshment,
except that its Water is not so good. In Compensation
of which Defect, it is all over accessible, and furnished
with pleasant Walks; whereas the other is the most in-
accessible Country I ever saw. This Isle is about nine Leagues
in Circumference, and while we were there the Wind was at
N. E. it has several pleasant Bays; but that towards the
Isle of *Antibony* is the best Road for Ships that can be,
for we rode at five Fathom Water, on an excellent sandy
Ground, and were sheltered from all Winds. We saw
neither Men nor Houles, though we travelled over most
Part of the Island.

50. After our Departure from *St. Vincent* (which hap-
pened September the 15th) we had several violent Storms.
October the 12th we desiered the *Azores-Islands*, but it was
the 17th before we could weather them. The 19th we
had a violent Storm from N. W. that broke our Mizzen-
Mast, and obliged us to bring our Main-Top Mast upon
the Deck. The 30th we were 55° Lat. and had seventy
Fathom Water, upon which most of our Pilots agreed
that the *Sorlingues-Islands* lay about twenty Leagues to
the West of us. November the 3d we desiered the *Lizard-
Point in England*; and December the 1st came safe to *Ha-
vre de Grace*, having been out thirty-eight Months.

51. The Difficulties our Author met with, and the

Misfortune of losing two of his Ships, did not hinder
his making a saving Voyage even of this, which would
have proved highly advantageous to his Owners, if the
Hoppe had not been lost, since it is computed that she, at
the Time of her being burnt, had on Board a Cargo worth
seventy-five or eighty thousand Pound sterling. There
are few Pieces that let us more effectually into the Secret
of Trade than this, which shews us perfectly the Meth-
ods made use of by the *Dutch*, to exclude all other Na-
tions from the Commerce of the *Indies*, and very fully
justifies what we have occasionally delivered upon that
Subject. It is really wonderful that the Subjects of the
States-General should venture, at that time of Day, to
treat the *French* in such a Manner, to whom they had not
only considerable Obligations for the Countenance they
had given them in the Infancy of their Commonwealth;
but were also in great Danger from their Power in *Eur-
ope*. But however this might affect the States, the
East-India Company, it seems, gave themselves very little
Concern about it; which shews how dangerous it is to
leave the absolute Administration of their Affairs in these
distant Parts of the World to any Company, without hav-
ing some Check upon them from the State, which must
be answerable to other Powers for the Excesses committed
by the Agents of such a Company.

As for *Commodore Beaulieu*, after his Return to *France*,
he was taken into the King's Service, and behaved ex-
tremely well in the Affair of the Island of *Rbe*, when the
English, under the Command of the Duke of *Buckingham*,
made a Descent upon that Island, and during the long
War against the Protestants. This recommended him to
effectually to the famous Cardinal *Richelieu*, that he in-
trusted him with the Command of one of the best Ships
employed in the Squadron commanded by the Count de
Harcourt against the Islands of *St. Margaret*, and *St. Ho-
norat*, in which he likewise behaved with Reputation; as
also in the Expedition against *Sardinia*, at his Return from
which to the Port of *Toulon*, he was unfortunately seized
with a burning Fever, which carried him off in the Month
of September, 1637, at the Age of 48; so that he may be
said to have died in that Season of Life when he was most
capable of serving himself and his Country.

SECTION XXVI.

*The Remarks and Observations made by John Albert de Mandelsloe, in his Passage from
the Kingdom of Persia through several Countries of the Indies.*

Translated from the Original, written by himself.

1. An introductory Account of the Author, and of the Design of this Section.
2. His Departure from Ispahan, in order to go to Gambron, or Bandar Abassi.
3. A curious Description of the Ruins of the ancient Persepolis, now called Tchelminar.
4. The Author continues his Journey to Laar, and from thence to Gambron.
5. His kind Reception, and generous Entertainment, by the English Merchants there.
6. A curious Description of the City and Port of Gambron, with the Country adjacent.
7. A concise History of the City and Kingdom of Ormuz, and of the Manner of its being annexed to the Empire of Persia.
8. An Account of the Author's Passage from Gambron to Surat, with Remarks.
9. His Arrival at the last mentioned City, and the Reception he met with there.
10. A succinct View of the Dominions of the Great Mogul, as they stood at that Time.
11. A Description of the City of Surat, with a large Account of the Commerce carried on there.
12. The Author's Journey from thence to Amadabat, with his Adventures by the Way.
13. A View of that City, and of the Country adjacent, with various Remarks and Observations.
14. An Account of some memorable Transactions which happened during the Author's Stay there.
15. His Passage from thence to Cambaya, with a Description of that City, and its Inhabitants.
16. His Journey to Agra, with a large Account of that Capital of the Mogul Empire.
17. A very full Relation of the Mogul's Court, and of the State of the Empire of Indostan.
18. The Author's Journey back from Agra to Surat, with many curious Particulars.
19. A succinct History and Description of the Kingdom of Guzurat, and Provinces adjacent.
20. A compleat View of the Religion, Customs, Manners, &c. of the Banjans, or native Indians.
21. A Continuation of that Account, together with a Description of the other Nations that now inhabit the Indies.
22. Of the Commodities, Manufactures and Commerce of these Countries.
23. Of the great Plenty of all sorts of Provisions, and of the People's Manner of living.
24. Of their Ships, their Trade to the Red-Sea, Persian Gulph, and Coast of Malabar.
25. Remarks upon the foregoing Section.

1. **T**HE Accounts afforded us in the foregoing Sections are excellent in their kind, so far as they go; but as it is necessary to our having a thorough Comprehension of the Affairs and Commerce of *India* that we should proceed still farther, and take a complete View of the several Countries in which this Commerce is carried on, so of consequence it becomes as necessary on parting with our old Guides to look out for new. He, with whom we are next to travel, has been allowed to have all the Qualities requisite to such a Guide, that is to say, Knowledge, Diligence, and Fidelity. He was born *A.D.* 1615. of a good Family in the Dutchy of *Mecklenberg*, in the *Lower Saxony*, and received from the Care of his Parents a liberal Education, having before received from Nature an happy and inquisitive Genius. These good Qualities recommended him to the Notice first, and then to the Confidence of the Duke of *Holstein*, in whose Family he lived as a Domestick.

When that Prince formed a Design of sending an Embassy into *Persia*, in order to promote a Project he had formed of establishing an *East-India* Company in his Dominions, our Author was chosen to accompany those Embassadors in a very honourable Quality: But before his Departure, he presented to his Master, that though the Reasons which determined him to send his Ministers no farther than *Persia* were in themselves very just, and well founded, yet it would be extremely requisite to the Accomplishment of his main Design, that a Person of their Retinue should make the Tour of the *Indies*, which was what he was strongly inclined to do, and therefore begged his Permission to gratify that Desire, by taking his Leave of the Embassadors when arrived at the *Persian* Court, and pursuing his Travels as Occasion offered.

The Duke's Leave thus obtained, he set out with the Embassadors, in the Year 1636, and accompanied them to *Ispahan*, or, according to the *Persian* Pronunciation, *Spabatur*, the History of which Journey, and of their Negotiation, was written at large by their Secretary, and is esteemed one of the most perfect Works in its kind; for which Reason it will claim a Place in the second Part of our Undertaking. At present we are concerned only with *Mandestoe's* Account of his Travels, after he left the Embassadors, and prosecuted his intended Design of viewing the Countries of *India*, which he executed very happily, and has no less faithfully recorded.

There have been few Travellers who have set out better furnished than our Author; for he had, previous to his Journey, taken great Pains to acquaint himself with all that had been written of those Countries he was to visit, by the best Authors ancient and modern, as manifestly appears by his excellent Performance. But though he was a Scholar, and a Gentleman, yet as the Design he went upon was the Improvement of Trade, he kept that Design constantly in View, and lost no Opportunity of making such Enquiries as might enable him to make a just and satisfactory Report at his Return to the Prince, by whom he was employed. It was with this View that he kept a regular and exact Journal of his Travels, and took Care, in every Place where he came, to make the nicest Enquiries in his Power; and it is for this Reason that his Writings have been so much esteemed, and have been always considered as the most curious and correct Accounts that had been published to his Time.

He began them, as the Reader will perceive, in the Month of *January* 1638, and having happily achieved them, returned safely to the Court of *Gotting*, and made a Report of what he had observed in them. At the Close of the next Section we shall say somewhat as to the Consequences of them, and of the Causes which hindered the Projects of the Duke of *Holstein* his Master from taking Effect, notwithstanding they were so wisely laid, and so far as our Author had any Concern in them, happily executed. As much, however, may suffice by way of Introduction, the rather, because the Author himself has been so clear and so methodical in his Relation, and has taken such Care to avoid Obscurity on the one hand, and Politeness on the other, that there is no need of detaining the Reader any longer from his Performance, which we shall deliver in his own Words as near as may be.

2. The Embassadors of *Holstein* having left *Ispahan*, and being not long after followed by *Manuchi Eschibangesi*, a Native of *Karabath*, who was sent in Quality of Embassador from the King of *Persia*, to the Duke of *Holstein*, I, according to the Permission I had obtained from the Duke my Master, prepared for my Journey into the *Indies*, and being on the 12th of *January* 1638, introduced to a particular Audience of the Shah, he permitted me, with much Kindness, to kiss the Hem of his Garment. I set out from *Ispahan* the 16th of the same Month, with a Retinue of four Persons, viz. a Surgeon, a Footman, a Groom, and one *Persian* Servant, being conducted out of Town by Mr. *Honywood*, the English Agent, and several English and French Merchants. I took my Leave of them a League from thence, and travelled eight more the same Day, to the Village of *Mejer*, where I stayed the next Day, and continued my Journey to *Kamjiba*, the whole Road being one continued Walk of Trees made by the adjacent Gardens. The Caravanera I lodged in, had nothing but bare Walls, but that wherein I was lodged the next Night, at the Village of *Machjud*, six Leagues from *Kamjiba*, had convenient Lodging-Rooms and Stables.

The 20th I came to the Village of *Hannabath*, seated upon the Defcent of a very pleasant Hill. The 21st I travelled ten Leagues, in very flowy and windy Weather, and lodged in a Caravanera called *Jurgishan*. Between this Place and *Surma*, there being neither Village nor Caravanera, I was forced to travel the 22d 12 Leagues, and the 23d was obliged to go 12 more, before I could reach the Village of *Gusti*, where we met with very indifferent Accommodation, scarce meeting with a House we could put our Heads in, or preserve our Horses against the bad Weather. The next Day being the 24th proved rather worse, for being forced to travel 12 Leagues through the Mountains covered with Snow, and that in very bad Weather, we, with much a-do, very late at Night, reached the large and famous Village of *Mejibad Maderre Sulaiman*, so called from a Sepulchre which is within half a League of it.

This Sepulchre is to be seen within a little Chapel of white Marble, the Tomb itself being erected upon a high Square of Free-Stone, unto which you may go up by Steps on all Sides. The Air and Rain has penetrated through the Walls in several Places, and diverse Pillars round the Structure are almost consumed by Time. Upon the Walls of the Chapel, I found in *Arabian* Characters, these Words, *Mader Sulaiman*. The general Opinion of the Inhabitants is, that this is the Sepulchre of *Soliman's* Mother, but the *Carmelite* Friars at *Sebiras* informed me, with much more Probability, that the Mother of *Shah Sulaiman*, the 14th King of the Posterity of *Ally*, was interred here. *Elmacinus* gives her the Name of *Wallada*, and informs us, that she was the Daughter of *Abbas Abbajcam*. He tells us also, that this *Sulaiman* lived in the Year 715, and that being a very handsome Person, and viewing himself one Day in a Looking-Glass, he was so taken with his own Person, that he said, he might with the same Right pretend to the Title of the King of Youth, as of the Kingdom of *Persia*; which being over-heard by one of the Ladies of his Scraglio, he answered, that provided it was in his Power to insure to himself any Continuance of what by the Laws of Nature he might not be able to enjoy long, he might justly lay Claim to such a Title. This struck such a Damp upon his Spirits, that he died within a few Days after. We met here with an *Armenian* Caravan.

3. I travelled on the 26th five Leagues to *Siwan*, and the 27th as many more to *Nardafsch*, one of the most famous Villages of those Parts, on account of the Antiquities that are to be seen near it, which obliged me to take a full View of them. They are the Ruins of a very ancient Structure called *Tchilminar*, i. e. forty Pillars by the *Persians*, who affirm, that this most magnificent Palace was built by *Szamfard Padjiba*, Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great by the Mother-Side, tho' some among them make *Solemon*, others *Darius*, the last *Persian* King, its Founder; but the *Carmelites* of *Sebiras* assure me, that

in having left *Ispahan*, by *Manali Eshikan*, was sent in Quality of *Perfia*, to the Duke of *Alion* I had obtained from my Journey into the of *January* 1638, intro- of the *Shah*, he permit- to kiss the Hem of his a the 16th of the same Persons, viz. a Chirur- one *Perfian* Servant, be- *Honywood*, the *Englyb* *ench* Merchants. I took m thence, and travelled Village of *Mojar*, where continued my Journey to Kan- continued Walk of Trees The Caravanfara I lodged but that wherein I was Village of *Machjud*, fix venient Lodging-Rooms

of *Hannabab*, seated alant Hill. The 21st I owy and windy Weather, ed *Jurgikban*. Between g another Village nor Ca- the 22d 12 Leagues, and e, before I could reach the with very indifferent Ac- with a Houfe we could or Horfes againft the bad g the 24th proved rather 12 Leagues through the and that in very bad Wea- late at Night, reached *Mejibud Maderre* Sala- e which is within half a

within a little Chapel of eing erected upon a high h you may go up by Steps in has penetrated through dverfe Pillars round the Time. Upon the Walls Characters, these Words, Opinion of the Inhabi- of *Solomon's* Mother, *Perfas* informed me, with e Mother of *Shah* *Sol-* terity of *Ally*, was interred Name of *Wallada*, and in- ghter of *Abbas Abafajam*. n lived in the Year 715. Perfon, and viewing him- self, he was fo taken with he might with the fame the King of Youth, as of eing over-heard by one e answered, that provided himself any Continuance e might not be able to enjoy m to fuch a Title. This pirit, that he died within e with an *Armenian* Ca-

ve Leagues to *Sizwan*, and *disfch*, one of the mult- n account of the Antiqui- which obliged me to take the Ruins of a very an- i. e. forty Pillars by the s most magnificent Palace Grandfather to *Alexander*, tho' some among them the last *Perfian* King, its of *Sciras* assure me, that

it was the general Opinion of the Learned, that this was the Place where the ancient *Perfopolis* had stood, and that these were the Ruins of that famous Palace built by *Cyrus*. The Foundation or Ground-Work on which this vast Structure was erected, is raised twenty-two Geometrical Feet, having at each of its four Corners a Pair of Stairs of white Marble of ninety-five Steps, so flat and broad, that twelve Horfes may go up together a-breast. Before you come to the main Body of the Structure itself, you pass through a Square, where you see the Ruins of a Wall, and the Remainers of two great Gates, each of which have a Horse garnished and saddled, after a very antique Manner, carved on one Side, and on the other two Creatures resembling a Horse, except that they have Wings on each Side, and the Head is crowned like that of a Lion.

On the one Side you see the Ruins of nineteen Pillars of white and black Marble, the least of which are eight, and some ten Ells high, without the Bais; but whether they had been intended for the Support of some large Hall, or were built in the open Air, is not to be distinguish'd at this Time. The Inhabitants thereabouts told me, that not many Years before, there were forty of these Pillars standing. As you go on further, you meet with the Ruins of two Rooms indifferently large, as may be judged by the Doors and Windows, but every thing is of the finest Marble. Several Figures of Men of an extraordinary Size are to be seen on both Sides the Doors, some in a sitting, others in a standing Posture, their Hair falling down carelessly over their Shoulders, and their Garments reaching down to their Heels, with very wide Sleeves, and a Girdle round their Waists. They had very long Beards, and round Caps on their Heads. Not far from thence are two other Chambers much of the same Bigness with the former, but so ruined, that nothing but the Doors and Cross-Bars of the Windows are left.

This Structure seems to have had this in common with most of the Buildings of a modern Date in *Perfia*, that it had many Doors, which is done here to give the more free Passage to the Wind to cool the Rooms. Hard by these two last Chambers, you find unknown Characters engraved upon a square Pillar, which have no Resemblance to the Greek, Hebrew, Arabick, or any other Language, being triangular, or rather pyramidal, not unlike Obelisks. There are twelve Lines of them, so well proportioned, and nicely engraven, that they have not the smallest Sign in them of Barbarism. Some believe them to be Telefins, and to contain certain Myfteries; besides these before-mentioned Rooms, there is, upon the same Ground-Work, a large Court of ninety Paces square, with two Gates on each Side, some of which are six, others only three Paces wide. They are of the finest Marble; each of the Pieces are eight Feet long, and three in Breadth; you see also in another Court, very curious carved Work in Marble: Battles, Triumphs, Olympick Games, every thing in its due Proportion.

Upon each of the Gates you find a graceful Person carved sitting with a Globe in the one, and a Scepter in the other Hand, tho' it is certain that the Kings of *Perfia* never sat in that Posture. My Curiosity led me to get up on high, where I saw a King represented paying his Devotions to the Sun, Fire, and a Serpent. As the Inhabitants at this Day carry from thence a great Quantity of Marble to carry on their private Buildings thereabouts, this, with the Length of Time, has so defaced, or rather ruined this noble Structure, that it is impossible to determine whether its Architecture was of the Ionick, Dorick, or Corinthian Order; notwithstanding which, even its Ruins are so furprising, that these would find Work for a very good Painter for above six Months.

If we trace the ancient *Perfian* History, we find, that according to *Alian*, the Grand *Cyrus* laid himself the Foundation, and built a most magnificent Palace at *Perfopolis*, as *Darius* did at *Susa*. Perhaps the Ruins belong to the famous Palace mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, being encompassed with three Walls of Marble, the first whereof was 16, the second 32, and the third 60 Ells high; and all the Gates and Balconies of Bricks, all which, together with the innumerable Treasure it contained, was in a few Hours reduced to Ashes by *Alexander* the Great, at the

Request of a Harlot. Having spent a whole Day in viewing these Antiquities, I continued my Journey the 28th of *January*, and travelled that Day ten Leagues to the City of *Sciras*. Here I met with four *Carmelite* Friars, *Italians*, who were possessed of a goodly Monastery, and had the free Exercise of their Religion allowed them. Not many Years before, the *Portuguese* had here likewise a Convent of *Augustin* Monks, but they were forced thence, as well as all the other *Portuguese*, after the taking of the City of *Ormuz* by the *Perfians*.

Sciras is the Capital City of the Province of *Fars*, situate at the Foot of a most pleasant Mountain, upon the River *Sendomir* (heretofore called *Araxes*) which discharges itself into the *Perfian* Gulph. This City lies in 29° 36'. It contains about 10000 Houses; but the Ruins of a great Wall, at two Miles distance from the City, shew its Extent to have been much larger than it is at this Time. It may be truly said, that whatever Nature is able to produce, either for Conveniency or Pleasure, is centred in this Place, and that in great Plenty; as Wheat, Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Almonds, Dates, Pistachoes, &c. The Wine which grows hereabouts is the best in all *Perfia*; which being transported hence all over the Kingdom, and looked upon as the best Entertainment they can give to their Friends: This makes it to be sold at a dear Rate at *Ispahan*, where you cannot have a Pottle of good *Sciras* Wine under Half-a-Crown. Its Taste is not unlike that of *Canary*, but is more sprightly, and has a more pleasant Flavour; this City being so much celebrated through all *Perfia* for Wine and Women.

The *Perfians* are wont to say, that if *Mohammed* had been sensible of the Pleasures of *Sciras*, he would have begged of God Almighty to make him immortal there.

The Sheep hereabouts are of an ash-grey Colour, with one white Eye, their Wool curled, and their Tails of such a Bigness as to weigh sometimes eighteen or twenty Pounds. The Woods hereabouts afford great Store of Mastick, which is gathered in Dishes fastened to the Tree, and is green at first, but afterwards turns brown. After a Stay of eight Days at *Sciras*, I left it the fifth of *February*, and proceeded ten Leagues that Day to a Caravanfara; the sixth I travelled seven Leagues, through very bad Roads; but the Prospect I had of the many Villages, and a vast Number of Date-trees, made me some Amends for the Toil of the Day.

The 7th I travelled ten Leagues to the little City of *Sharim*, seated in the Middle of a Date-wood. The 8th we could make no more than five Leagues, the Ways betwixt the steep Rocks on the one Side, and the Precipices on the other Side being so rough and narrow that one cannot pass them without great Danger, of which I had an Instance in my Passage, for my Horse's Hoof (which I was leading by the Bridle) being filled with Snow, he slipped and tumbled upon me, which forcing me out of the Way, I had infallibly tumbled down the Precipice, had I not by good Luck caught hold of a wild Almond-tree which stood there. I was forced to take up my Quarters that Night at a Caravanfara, where there was not any Provision either for Man or Beast.

The 9th, after I had travelled three Leagues, I came to a Caravanfara, where we had the Opportunity of refreshing our Horfes, and having gone five Leagues more in the Afternoon, I overtook the *Armenian* Caravan; and, in their Company, rode two Leagues farther to the Village of *Berry*, near which I lodged in one of the best Caravanfaras I met with in my whole Journey.

4. The 10th I travelled through very bad Ways, and came late at Night to the City of *Laar*, situate in a spacious Plain at the Foot of a Mountain. There is no Wine hereabouts, but Dates in abundance. The Air is very unwholesome here, and the Water very muddy, which breeds in them that drink it certain Worms, betwixt the Skin and Flesh, of which we shall have Occasion to speak more at large hereafter. They say that this City owns for its Founder *Pilates*, the Son of *Siroes*, whose Successor was *Gorgion Melech*, the first King of *Laar*, and that the thirty-second Successor was one *Alr. Kam Khan*, who was dethroned of the Kingdom in 1002, by *Shah Abbas*, King of *Perfia*. It contains about 4000 Houses, built of Brick baked in

in the Sun, but is without any Walls or Gates. The Citadel, which is built by the *Persians*, since their Conquest, and advantageously seated upon a steep Rock, is very well fortified with a Rampart of Free-stone, and commands the whole City.

The Garrison at that Time consisted of no more than 100 Men, a sufficient Number to defend it against any sudden Attack. The Way which leads to it being cut out of a Rock, and so narrow, that scarce two Horses can go abreast; but they have a Magazine of Arms for 3000 Men: The worst is, that the Water within the Fort being brackish, they must, in case of a Siege, live upon Rain-Water, which falls plentifully there at certain Seasons, and is preserved in Cisterns. After a Stay of twenty-four Hours at *Laar*, I was going to leave it the twelfth, but was stopped by the Custom-house Officers, who demanded half a Tumain, or forty-five Shillings for my Baggage; but having sent my Letter of Recommendation from the Shah to the Governor of *Gambron*, or Commandeur in chief of the Citadel, he ordered my Departure without paying any thing; and I went that Day no less than fourteen Leagues, which great Day's Journey, together with the muddy Waters I had used, and the excessive Heat, put me into a violent Gripping and Looseness, which made me continue in this little Village, in hopes of getting a Litter; but no such Thing being to be had, I was forced to get upon the Sumpter-Horse, where I had a Convenience made to rest my Back, and so continued my Journey the 9th to a large Village within twelve Leagues of *Gambron*.

The same Evening we met here with two *English* Merchants, one of whom was to succeed the *English* Director at *Ispahan*, who not only recruited my almost lost Spirits with some *Spanish* Wine, and other Refreshments, but also gave me Letters of Recommendation to an *English* Merchant at *Gambron*, desiring him to receive me into the House of their Company there, and to assist me in every Thing that might conduce towards the Prosecution of my Journey to *Surat*. They continued their Journey the same Evening, whereas my Indisposition detained me till the 22d, when I proceeded six Leagues to a Caravanera, where having rested myself a little, till the Heat of the Day was somewhat abated, I travelled three Leagues farther to another Caravanera, and found myself all that Night in a burning Fever; but there being no Stay for me here, I made the best of my Way to *Gambron*, where we arrived the 23d of *February*.

The *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* there, took such effectual Care of my Distemper, which was by this Time changed into a Blood-Flux, and accompanied by a violent Fever, that I was pretty well restored in four Days, and found myself in a Condition to pay a Visit to the Governor, unto whom I had sent Shah *Sefi* Letters of Recommendation immediately after my Arrival there. He no sooner heard of my Recovery, but he invited me to Dinner, and entertained me very courteously, in Company of several *Dutch* Merchants. The same Evening arrived at *Gambron* a Vessel from *Surat* of six hundred Tuns, belonging to the Governor of *Surat*, that brought hither a certain Dowager Queen, Mother to the King of *Golconda*, who falling in Love with her Daughter, his own Sister, would have married her; but the Mother refusing to consent to such an incestuous Match, had been banished the Kingdom with her Daughter, who came along with her; and as it was reported, is to be married either to the King of *Persia* himself, or one of the chief Princes of the Kingdom.

5. *March* the 11th, being the *Naurus*, or New Year of the *Persians*, the Governor invited me again to Dinner upon this solemn Occasion, with several *English* and *Dutch* Merchants. The same Day returned to *Gambron* Mr. *Chapman*, whom I had met, with the *English* new President near *Laar*; he brought along with him another *English* Merchant, with whom, having contracted a familiar Acquaintance before at *Ispahan*, I was extremely pleased to meet in this Place, because the *Dutch*, though in outward Shew very obliging to me, had opposed our Negotiation at *Ispahan*. *March* the 13th I was entreated by the *English* to take up my Lodgings at the House belonging to their Company, which I did accordingly. The 21st, one

Mr. *Hale*, an *English* Merchant, arrived at *Gambron* with two hundred and thirty-three Bales of Silk, valued at 150,000 Pistoles, which he had received on Account of the Moiety of the Custom at *Gambron* due to the *English*, of which I shall give a particular Account hereafter.

The same Day my Surgeon died of a Fever, the Loss of whom was no small Affliction to me, he having been a great Traveller, and attained the Knowledge of the *Spanish*, *Indian*, *Polish*, and some *East-India* Languages. As I was walking abroad one Day to amuse myself a little with some *English*, I met with one of these Trees mentioned by *Quercus*, the Branches of which spring out of the Trunk of the Tree, and bowing down to the Earth, had taken Root there, and growing up afresh, had produced a new Tree fifteen or twenty Foot high, which casting forth other Branches in the same manner as before, made rather a small Forest than a Tree; that which I saw being two hundred and fourteen Paces in Circumference, capable of affording Shelter for two thousand Persons. The *Portuguese* call it *Arbo de Rey*, and it is generally known by the Name of the *Indian* Fig-tree, by reason of its Fruit, which in Bigness, and the Abundance of its Grains, resembles that Fruit; but its Taste is more unflavoury, luscious, and its Colour red; the Leaves of the Tree are like those of Quince Trees.

Near the Head Trunk of this Tree we saw a small Chapel, and within the Sepulchre of a certain *Banjan*, we found the Tomb strewed all over with Beans of divers Colours, and several Lamps, which burn Night and Day, hanging over it under a Canopy. These *Banjans* adhering to the Opinion of *Pythagoras*, that the Souls of the deceased retreat into Beans, which Opinion is generally received among the *Pagans* both in the *Indies* and in *China*. Of the Religion of these *Banjans* we shall have Occasion to say more hereafter. The Guardian of the Sepulchre treated us with some Almonds, Nuts, and Dates. An Envoy from Shah *Sefi* being come to *Gambron* to assure the Governor of the Continuance of his Favour, I, in Company with several *English* and *Dutch* Merchants, invited for that Purpose by the Khan, saw him go unarmed a Mile out of the City, where meeting with the said Envoy, he received the King's Letter, the Garment, and Turbant, with a great deal of Submission.

6. The City of *Gambron*, or rather *Bandar Gambron*, i. e. the Port of *Gambron*, is by the *Persians* and *Arabians* put at 25°, but erroneously; its true Latitude, according to the Computation of the *Hollanders*, whose Footsteps we follow in this Point being 27°, most of the Maps of *Persia* being hitherto very defective, which proceeds from hence, that by placing the *Caspian* Sea too high, they extend the Breadth of *Persia* from North to South, beyond its true Bounds; for they put the City *Resb* at 41°, whereas it is in 37°; so that the whole Breadth of *Persia* from *Gambon* to *Resb* is no more than ten Degrees, which plainly shews the Mistake of *Belerus*, who makes the Extent of *Persia* eight Degrees, whereas, if according to their own Computation, we should grant *Ormuz* to be in 25°, the Breadth of *Persia* could amount to more than 12 Degrees.

It is not many Years since this City was a mere Village, inhabited by a few Fishermen; but since the Reduction of *Ormuz*, the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Indian* Ships have found out the Convenience of this Harbour, and the Traders of *Ispahan*, *Surat*, and *Laar*, bring thither their Silk, and other Manufactures, which they exchange for *European* and *Indian* Commodities. Its Situation is upon the *Persian* Gulph. The Entrance of the *Harbour*, in which Ships may safely ride at Anchor without the least Danger, in five or six Fathom Water, being defended by two strong Castles, and a square Redoubt. The Castle is fortified with some old round Bastions, but well provided with Artillery. The Houses of *Gambon* are of Brick, made of a Mixture of stiff Clay, and chopped Straw, and Horle-dung, whereof, having set one Layer, they cover it with a Layer of Straw, or Faggots, and so alternately, till they have raised it to six or seven Foot high; then they set it on Fire, and burn it to Brick. Their Mortar is a Composition of the same Ingredients, mixed with Salt-water, and some Lime, which very soon becomes as hard as the Brick itself. The Houses of Note are the Sultan's Palace, and the Ware-houses, where

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and produced a new Tree
which casting forth other
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is generally known by the
reason of its Fruit, which
its Grains, resembles that
flavory, delicious, and its
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where the *English* and *Dutch* are lodged, which are so near
the Sea-side, that at High-Tide the Water comes up to
the very Walls of them. The lower Rooms being em-
ployed for the laying up of their Merchandize, and the upper
for Lodgings, being the most convenient for the free Pas-
sage of the Air. The poorer sort cover their Houses only
with the Sprigs and Leaves of Date-Trees.

The Streets of this City are very narrow, irregular, and
not kept clean, which, together with the excessive Heat of
the Climate, and the Changeableness of the Winds, ren-
ders the Air very pernicious here: For, in the Morning
they are sufficiently sensible of a cold East Wind, which to-
wards Noon changes to the other Extrem, viz. a very hot
South Wind. The waste Wind, which blows towards
Night from the Sides of *Arabia*, continues the Heat of the
Day till Midnight, when a cold North Wind coming from
the Mountains, introduces a sudden Alteration. Besides
this, it rains so seldom here, that in 1632 they ordered a
publick Thanksgiving for a plentiful Shower of Rain, after
a continual Drought for three Years.

This is the Reason that all about the City you see no
Grass, or other Herbs, except what is produced with in-
credible Labour in some Gardens, where they have Gar-
lick, Onions, Chibols, Radishes, and Cucumbers; but
these must be watered twice or thrice a Day. It is the Isle
of *Kismick* which chiefly furnishes this City with Pulse
and Fruits; it lies three Leagues from *Gambron*, being fif-
teen Leagues in Length, and three in Breadth. In *June*,
and the rest of the Summer Months, this Island produces
Grapes, Damsons, Peaches, Mangoes, Quinces, Oranges,
Lemons, and Pomegranates, both red and white: And in
October, Melons, Citrons, Cucumbers, Radishes, Onions,
Turnips, Almonds, Pistachoes, Apples, Pears, and divers
other Fruits, and that in such Quantities, that they are sold
here at an easier rate than at any other Place in *Persia*,
whence it comes, that the Inhabitants feed for the most part
on Pulse, Fruits, and what Fish the neighbouring Sea fur-
nishes them with, the Meat hereabouts being, by reason of
the excessive Heat, not very well tasted, and of little Nou-
rishment, though otherwise they have sufficient Store of
Cattle, such as Oxen, Cows, Sheep, but especially of
Goats, which are sold at the rate of six or eight Shillings
apiece. They have here also a kind of Rams with four
Horns, but no wild Fowl. Amongst other Fish, Pilchards,
Smelts, Oylters and Crabs are caught here in vast Quan-
tities. Their ordinary Drink is fair Water, which being
brought to the City two Leagues Distance, is very dear
sometimes; they drink also Arrack, or strong Water, made
of Rice or Dates.

Persons of Note, and the best Merchants, have their
Cloaths made after the *Persian* Mode, but the common
People take no more Care than to cover their Privities.
The Women look upon it as their chief Ornament to have
many Rings of Silver, Bras, or Iron, according to their
respective Abilities, about their Arms and Legs. To their
Hair, which hangs down over their Foreheads, they fasten
a kind of Bodkin of Silver, gilt, or Bras, and wear in
the left Nostril of their Nose a gold Ring, with a Tur-
quoise, a Granate, or perhaps only a gold Knob enamelled
or plain. Their Pendants are so weighty, as to draw their
Ears down almost to their Shoulders. Their winter Sea-
son being from *October* to *May*, when the Heats are less
violent, this is their chief Time for trading, when the *Per-*
sians, *Arabians*, *Banjans*, *Armenians*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*,
come hither with the Caravans, which set out at certain
Times from *Aleppo*, *Bagdat*, *Isfahan*, *Shiras*, *Labor*, *He-*
rat, and *Bajfara*, under the Convoy of certain Guards.

The *English* and *Dutch* commonly come hither by Sea,
and besides their ready Money, bring diverse Commodi-
ties both out of *Europe* and the *Indies*, which they ex-
change for *Persian* Tapettry, raw Silk, Cotton, Rhubarb,
Saffron, and Rose-water, which is made in vast Quantities
about *Shiras*, either by Infusion, which they call *Gullab*,
and look upon it as the best, or by Distillation, and this
they call *Arka-gull*, i. e. the Sweat of Roses: Both Kinds
are much used all over the *Indies*, where they mix it with per-
fumes, and they use it to sweeten their Rooms with it. Here
are also Abundance of Callicoes made in portable Looms,
which the Weavers fasten to a Tree, or some other Place

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without the City, and having finished their Day's Work,
carry it Home again, without any Trouble, being compo-
sed only of Canes fastened to the Woof of the Cloth.

They have here a certain copper Coin which they call
Bejorg, six whereof make a *Pays*, ten *Pays* a *Cbay*, which
is equivalent to Five-pence *English*; two *Cbays* make a
Mamoudy, two whereof make an *Abas*, and three *Abas*'s a
French Crown; an hundred *Mamoudys* make a *Tumain*,
which is worth five *French Pistoles*; but *Spanish Rials*
and *Rix-dollars* are preferred before all the other Coins in
Persia, by reason of the vast Advantage they make of
them in melting them down. As to their Weights, a
Man is six Pounds, a *Mancha* twelve, and the *Manjurats*
thirty Pounds.

The Pearl Trade is also one of the greatest in *Gambron*,
and is carried on near the Isle of *Babram*, six Leagues from
the City. The Fisherman's Head is inclosed in a Bag of
oiled Leather, which has a Pipe reaching up above the
Water to fetch Breath through; he rakes together all the
Shells he can meet with at the Bottom, and having filled
his Bag, which hangs about his Neck, at a certain Signal
given by him, he is drawn up into the Boat, which is wait-
ing for that Purpose.

The Governor of *Gambron* has the Dignity of a *Sultan*
annexed to his Office, and has under him a *Vizir*, or Se-
cretary, and a *Couteval*, or Captain of his Guards; be-
sides these, there is a *Sabandar*, or a Receiver of the Cus-
toms; tho' the *Hollanders*, pursuant to a Privilege grant-
ed them by *Shah Abas*, pay none, and the *English* are so
far from paying any Duty here, that they ought to have
a Moiety of all that is received, but are forced to be
contented with about a tenth Part, the *Persians* thinking it no
Crime to defraud Strangers, especially if they be Christi-
ans, when their Prince's Interest is concerned. As the
Persian Horse are incomparably better than the *Indians*,
the *English*, as well as the *Dutch*, pay fifty Crowns Cus-
tom for every Horse they export. However, the *English*
have the Privilege of transporting twelve Horses yearly,
without paying any Custom for them, an indifferent *Persian*
Horse being worth 400 Crowns in the *Indies*. The In-
habitants of *Gambron* are, generally speaking, *Persians*, *A-*
rabians, and *Indians*, who all speak the *Portuguese* Lan-
guage, which was introduced into those Parts whilst the
Portuguese were Masters of *Ormuz*; tho' ever since the
Conquest of it by the *Persians*, they are not permitted to
come to *Gambron*, which is open to all other Nations,
Christians, *Jews*, *Pagans*, and *Mohammedans*, being per-
mitted to trade here, which is the Occasion they live in
open Hostility with the *Persians*; take their Ships as Prizes,
and frequently land in the neighbouring Islands: Unto one,
which is about three Leagues off the Continent, the King
of *Spain*'s Subjects are permitted to come and traffick,
paying certain Duties to the Governor of the Castle that
commands the Island.

7. The City of *Ormuz* was seated in an Island of the same
Name, about two Leagues from the Continent, and six
Leagues in Circumference, being composed of nothing
but salt Rocks, not producing the least fresh Water, but
it was the Advantage and Goodness of its Harbour and Situa-
tion, which made it so famous for Commerce, that it was a
Proverb among the *Arabians*, that if the World were a
Ring, *Ormuz* ought to be considered as the Diamond.
According to *Texira*, *Shah Abas*, a Native of *Arabia*,
having in the tenth Century made himself Master of the
Provinces bordering upon the *Arabian Gulph*, passed over
into the Island, where he built the City of *Ormuz*. *Sba-*
bedin Mohammed, of the Posterity of *Mohammed* the 11th
King of *Ormuz*, died 1228, and he who reigned in 1608,
when it was conquered by the *Portuguese*, was named *Saf-*
sedin, a Tributary to the King of *Persia*.

For *Albuquerque* having been sent to visit the Coasts of
Arabia, being informed that the People of *Ormuz* lived
in no good Understanding with their King, by reason of
the Mismanagement of his chief Minister, came the 25th
of September before the City; and after having defeated
their Fleet, obliged the King of *Ormuz* to acknowledge
the King of *Portugal* for his Sovereign, to pay a certain
Tribute, and permit *Albuquerque* to build a Citadel where
he should think it most proper, which was performed ac-
cordingly.

ordingly, and the Chapel called *Our Blessed Lady of Victory*. The *Moors*, soon after repenting of their Bargain, made several Efforts to rid their Hands of these unwelcome Guests; but they being constantly upon their Guard, not only frustrated all their Designs, but also engrossed all the Commerce of those Parts to themselves, only permitting *Saffeddin* to live in the Isle, at a good Distance from the Citadel. *Shah Abbas* being provoked by their Insolence, and especially by their having given Protection to a certain *Italian*, named *Gabrieli*, who was fled out of *Perfia*, engaged the *English* to join with him in reducing this Place, which was attacked and carried in 1622, and put into the Hands of the *Persians*; the Wall of the City being demolished, and *Gambren* raised upon the Ruins of *Ormuz*.

The *English*, as a Reward for their Service, had not only an Exemption from all Duties granted them at *Gambren*, but also a Moiety of all the Customs that should be received there. By this Time an *English* Ship, called the *Swan*, Burthen 300 Tuns, carrying twenty-four Guns, being arrived in the Harbour of *Gambren*, bound for *Surat*, Mr. *Honywood*, the chief Agent for the *English* Company, recommended me to the Captain, to carry me, and delay all my Charges thither; but what proved very vexatious to me was, that out of eight Horses which I had brought along with me, and could have sold for an hundred and fifty Crowns a-piece at *Surat*, I could carry no more than two, being obliged to sell the rest at *Gambren* for half what they cost me.

8. I embarked the 6th of *April* with Mr. *Manley* and Mr. *Hall*, two *English* Merchants, and went from *Gambren* to *Surat* in nineteen Days; during which Time I was very civilly entertained by the Captain, who resigned his own Bed to me, and being very plentifully provided with Fowl, Mutton, good Sack, *English* Beer, *French* Wine, and other Refreshments: This with the Use of a Pusan made of Cinamon, and the Rhind of Pomegranates, and of a good Quantity of Tea, restored me to perfect Health. The Wind proving contrary that Day, we were obliged to lie at Anchor till the next, when we took our Course towards the Isle of *Ormuz*; but, being surprized by a Tempest from the West, were forced to come to an Anchor in Sight of this Island. The 8th we endeavoured, by labouring with a West-Wind, to pass between the Isles of *Ormuz* and *Kishmishet*, which are four Leagues distant from each other. The same Day one of our Seamen, who, died of the Bloody-flux, being thrown over-board, and I being as yet afflicted with the same Distemper, the Sight of it caused very melancholy Speculations in me. The next Night having passed between the two Islands, we coasted it along the Sea-Shore of *Arabia*, which is very safe thereabouts.

The 10th being in the open Sea, we discovered a Pirate, who sometimes came pretty near us, but finding we endeavoured to get the Wind of him, he made towards the Isle of *Socotra*, situate in $21^{\circ} 40'$, at the very Entrance of the Red-Sea. To the W. and N. E. it has *Melinda*, or *Ethiopia*, and to the S. the Continent of *Arabia*, from whence it is not above sixteen Leagues distant. Its Length is about twenty-five Leagues, and the Breadth ten, having very good Harbours and safe Anchorage on all Sides. The Inhabitants, who are governed by a Sultan, under the Jurisdiction of a King of *Arabia*, are of a mean Stature, inclining to Leanness, of a black Complexion, but very hardy. They feed chiefly upon Fish and Fruits; they live very friendly with their Wives, who are chiefly *Arabs*, but do not permit them to be seen by Strangers. They are very crafty in their Dealings, and adulterate their few Commodities they have, so they are always mistrustful of others. They use the Pulse of Dates instead of Bread. The Island affords some Oranges, but none of the best; Tobacco and Citrus, as also some Cocoa-Trees, but the Fruit seldom comes to Maturity, by reason of the fony Grounds. Their chief Commodity is Aloes, the Juice of which is gathered in Bladders or Goat-skins dried in the Sun. They are also well stored with the Gum called Dragon's-Blood, and keep abundance of Civit-Cats; so that Civit may be bought there for three or four Crowns an Ounce; but the worst is, that they adulterate it with Claret. They have no wild Fowl, and but very little

tame; yet are not destitute of Cattle, such as Camels, Asses, Oxen, Cows, Sheep and Goats, the Hair of which about the Thighs are curled as our Satyrs are painted.

The Residence of the Governor is called *Tamary*, being defended by a Fort not above a Cannon-shot from the Sea-side. They make use of Broad-swords with large Hilts, without a Guard. Their Pointiards, which they wear constantly on their Girdles, have Blades of near three Inches broad near the Hilts, but very sharp towards the Points. They also understand the Management of Fire-arms, but don't keep them well; and are very expert in the Use of their small B. klers, wherewith they defend themselves against their Enemies. They have no other Shipping than a few flat-bottomed fishing-boats. The Torrents which fall down from the Mountains into the Sea, like a River, furnish all the Ships that come into that Road with sufficient Quantities of fresh Water. They eat no Swines Flesh any more than other *Mohammedans*, but have no Mosques, or any other publick Places of Devotion, which consists chiefly in adoring the Sun every Morning, and at the rising and setting of the same, which they repeat three or four Times a Day, besides muttering out certain Words as they make their Reverence.

The 14th of *April* we were in $23^{\circ} 24'$; the 15th at $22^{\circ} 40'$, and the 16th at $22^{\circ} 40'$; the 17th at $21^{\circ} 55'$, when our Captain fell sick of a Fever. The 18th at $21^{\circ} 8'$; the 19th at $20^{\circ} 42'$; the 20th at $20^{\circ} 50'$; the 22d $20^{\circ} 50'$; the 23d at $20^{\circ} 18'$; and the 25th arrived safely in the Road of *Surat*, where we call Anchor within two Leagues of the Shore, because the Captain not intending to stay here, would be sure of the Convenience of going away when he pleased; besides, that from *May* to *September* there is no safe riding at Anchor in this Road, by reason of the frequent Tempests; whereas on the Eastern Coasts of the *Indies*, in the Gulph of *Bengal* the Season is very fair and calm all that Time; for, it is to be observed, that the Year here has only three Seasons. In the Months of *February*, *March*, *April*, and *May* it is excessive hot; in *June*, *July*, *August*, and *September*, there is nothing else but Rain, with Thunder and Lightning; and the Months *October*, *November*, *December*, and *January* are cold, as far as is consistent with that Climate.

9. *April* the 26th the Captain having sent Advice of his Arrival, the chief Director of the *English* Company at *Surat*, sent two young Merchants on Board to desire us to come to *Surat*; so that after having testified my Acknowledgements to him for his many Civilities by a small Present, I left the Ship the 29th, and no sooner entered the River *Tape* or *Tynde*, upon which *Surat* lies, but we had a very agreeable Prospect to many pleasant Gardens and Summer-houses all white, and surrounded with green Trees. It is so shallow at the Entrance, that it will scarce carry a Bark of seventy or eighty Tun. We landed near the Sultan's Palace, and from thence went straight away to the Custom-house to have our Things searched, which is done with so much Rigour here, that they spare not your Cloaths or Pockets; and what is worse, the Sultan, nay, and chief Custom-house Officers have a Custom to oblige Strangers to part with any thing they like best at such a Price as they please; accordingly the Sultan having seen an Amber-bracelet and a Diamond among my Things, would needs cheapen them both; but I telling him that I was no Merchant, and intended not to sell them, but to keep them for the Sake of those who had presented them to me, I saved my Diamond, but he would needs take the Bracelet, under Pretence that he would restore it to me whenever I should honour him with a Visit.

By this Time the *English* Governor, having sent his Coach, drawn by two white Oxen, I went to the House belonging to their Company; at the Entrance of which I was received by the Director himself and his Deputy, one Mr. *Heming*: As the Director understood *Dutch* very well, he accosted me in that Language, telling me, that in such a Country as this, he thought all Christians were obliged to give Assistance one to another; but that to me he was obliged to do it more particularly, in return for the Affection I had expressed to some of his Countrymen at *Batavia*. Having returned the Compliment, I was conducted into a Room where a Collation was ready for me;

attle, such as Camels, rats, the Hair of which Satyrs are painted.

is called *Tamary*, be- Cannon-shot from the Road-fords with large Pointards, which they have Blades of near three every sharp towards the Management of Fire- and are very expert in wherewith they defend

They have no other ed Fishing-boats. The Mourtaus into the Sea, as that come into that of fresh Water. They an other *Mohammedani*, er publick Places of De- adoring the Sun every ting of the same, which Day, besides muttering their Reverence.

23° 24'; the 15th at 25° 17'; the 17th at 21° 55'; ever. The 18th at 21° 20th at 20° 50'; the 22d and the 25th arrived safely the east Anchor within two Captain not intending e Convenience of going that from May to Sep- Anchor in this Road, by whereas on the Eastern h of *Bengal* the Season is ne; for, it is to be only three Seasons. In the *ril*, and *May* it is excel- and *September*, there is under and Lightning; *ember*, *December*, and *January* with that Climate.

in having sent Advice of the *English* Company at is on Board to desire us to ing testified my Acknow- Civilities by a small Pre- and no sooner entered the h *Surat* lies, but we had any pleasant Gardens and all furrounded with grea entrance, that it will fearc by Tum. We landed near thence went strait away to things searched, which is that they spare not your is worse, the Sultan, nay, have a Custom to oblige g they like best at such a ly the Sultan having sen mond among my Things, but I telling him that I al not to tell them, but to e who had presented them at he would needs take the he would restore it to me with a Visit.

Governor, having sent his en, I went to the Houe be- Entrance of which I was f and his Deputy, one Mi- stood *Dutch* very well, he telling me, that in such a Christians were obli- I to ; but that to me he was atly, in return for the At- of his Countrymen at h- Compliment, I was con- sultation was ready for me.

we were no sooner sat down, but having understood my Intention was to return to *Germany* within twelve Months, he invited me very engagingly to stay with him five or six Months, because no more Ships would come into that Road this Year, advising me to spend what Time I had in viewing the Country, and offering his Recommendation to the *English* Merchants living in those Places thro' which I was to pass.

His engaging Expressions obliged me to choose my Chamber in the same House next to that of the Deputy's; in the Evening several Merchants came thither to conduct me to Supper in a spacious Hall, where I found the Minister and about twelve Merchants more. After Supper the Minister brought me into an open Gallery, where we found the Director and his Deputy taking the Benefit of the cool Breezes of the Sea-Air, which was our ordinary Rendezvous after Supper. At Dinner we had commonly fifteen or sixteen Dishes, besides the Defeat. Every thing was carried on in this House with extraordinary good Order and Decorum. We had Prayers every Day twice, and three Times on *Sundays*. On *Fridays*, after Evening Prayers, we had a certain Club, where we drank our Wives and Friends Healths beyond the Seas in Sack or Punch, being a Mixture of *Aqua Vita*, Rose-water, Juice of Citrons and Sugar. At our ordinary Meeting we, as well as the *Dutch*, were entertained with Tea, instead of which the *Persians* use Coffee.

The *English* have a very fair Garden without the City, where we used to take a Walk on *Sundays* after Sermon, and oftentimes on other Days. Our Exercise was Shooting at the Butt; and I made a shift to get near five Pounds Sterling a Week among them. We seldom went away without a good Collation, and often bathed ourselves in a Cistern which had five Foot Water. My chief Affliction was, that not understanding the *English* Tongue, I could not converse with any of them to my Satisfaction, except with the President, who spoke *Dutch*. But before I proceed to give you any farther Account of what I observed at *Surat*, and in my Voyage, it will not be beyond my Scope to give you a short View of the Mogul's Country.

10. The Country which properly challenges the Name of *India* (called *Indostan* by the *Persians* and *Arabians*) begins on the West-side from the River *Indus* or *Hindo*, and reaches to the River *Ganges*. It was known among the Ancients by the Name of *Carmania*, and it hath a Haven called *Gucader* in 25°. The *Persians* and *Indostans* themselves have given the Name of *Pangab*, i. e. five Waters, to the River *Indus*, because it is joined by so many Rivers before it discharges itself into the Sea. The first is the River *Bugal* or *Begal*, whose Source is near *Kabul*; the second is called *Chenab*, which rises in the Province of *Qujmir* or *Cashmir*, fifteen Days Journey to the North above *Labor*; the third is that of *Raty* or *Ravee*, which rises not far from *Labor*, and runs by it; the two others, viz. the Rivers *Via* and *Ofind*, have their Sources at a vast Distance, their Confluence being near *Bakar*, which lies at an equal Distance betwixt *Labor* and the Sea. Some Authors have confounded this River with that of *Diul*, and placed it at 24°. The vast Empire of the Great Mogul borders to the East upon the Kingdom of *Mavy*, to the West upon Part of *Persia*, and the South-Sea; on the North-side; it is enclosed by Mount *Caucasus* and *Great Tartary*; and to the South it has the Kingdom of *Decan*, and the Gulph of *Bengal*. It comprehends in all thirty-seven Provinces, which anciently were as many Kingdoms. The Province of *Candabur*, which has given its Name to the Capital City, borders upon *Persia* as the Province of *Cabul* has received its Name from its Metropolis, and borders upon *Great Tartary*. Here rises the River *Begal*, of which before.

The Province of *Multan*, with its chief City of the same Name, extends along the River *Indus* to the East, as the Province of *Haca-Cban*, or *Hangi-Cban*, has the same River to the West. *Baibar*, or *Buchar*, lies on both Sides of the River *Indus*. The Province of *Tatta* is a Congeries of many Islands made by the same River. *Sorri* is a small Province extending from the Sea-side to the East, as far as the Province of *Guzarat*. The Province of *Silmer* is enclosed betwixt the Provinces of *Serai*, *Ba-*

char, and *Tatta*. The Province of *Attach* is seated upon the River *Nibal*, and is by it divided from the Province of *Haca-Cban*; that of *Pangab* is the Chief of all the Kingdom: Its capital City is *Labor*. The Province of *Chifmer*, or *Quexmer*, lies upon the River *Bezal*, or *Badt*, which after it has made a vast Number of Islands in this Province, joins its Current with the River *Ganges*. The Province of *Bankish* borders to the East upon that of *Chifmer*, and the Province of *Jengopar*, or *Jemipar*, lies between the Cities *Labor* and *Agra*. The hilly Province of *Jenba*, or *Jamba*, borders to the West upon that of *Pangab*. The Province *Delly* lies between that of *Jenba* and *Agra* on the River of *Gemini*, which falls into the *Ganges*, the capital City bearing the same Name with the Province, was formerly the Metropolis of all *Indostan*. The Province of *Bando* lies on the West-side of the City of *Agra*.

The Province of *Malwa*, or *Makwa*, has for its capital City *Ratapore*, within half a League of the River *Cepra*, which falls into the Sea in the Gulph of *Cambuja*. The Province of *Chitor* borders to the East upon that of *Candish*, and to the South upon that of *Guzarat*. It was formerly a very flourishing Kingdom, its Metropolis bearing the same Name with the Province, being sixty Leagues in Compass, which was laid desolate by the Great Mogul *Achobar*, Great-grandfather of *Shah Chiram*. The Province of *Guzarat* (called *Cambaja* by the *Portuguese*, from its capital City) where they drive a considerable Trade, is one of the noblest and most powerful Provinces in all the Mogul's Country. The Province of *Candish*, the Metropolis whereof is *Bursampour*, or *Brampour*, is divided into the Country of the Prince of *Partappa*, a Vassal of the Great Mogul, by the River *Tabet*, or *Tapte*, which disembogues in the Gulph of *Cambaja*. The Province of *Berar* extends to the South to *Guzerat*, and the Mountain of *Rana*.

The Province of *Gualor*, or *Guallar*, is famous for the Tower, or Castle, whither the Mogul commonly sends his Prisoners of State, and lays up Part of his Treasure. The Province of *Agra*, and its Metropolis, claims now the Precedence before all the rest. The Province of *Sambel*, or *Sandel*, is divided by the River *Gemini*, which falls into the *Ganges* from that of *Narwar*. At the Confluence of these two Rivers, near the City of *Hallebas*, they make a kind of Isle, which has given the Name of *Doab*, i. e. *inter aquas* to this Province. The Province of *Bakor* extends along the western Bank of the *Ganges*, as that of *Navor* is divided by a very large River, which joins its Current with the *Ganges*. The Province of *Nagracut*, or *Nakarkut*, is one of the most northern Provinces in the Mogul's Dominions; its chief City bears the same Name, where, in a sumptuous Chapel, the Floor covered with Plates of Gold, is kept the Figure of a Monster called *Matta*, unto which the *Indians* who flock thither from all Parts, offer a little Snip which they cut out of their Tongues. Near the City of *Kalamaka*, belonging to the same Province, arises a certain Spring out of the Rocks, which casts forth Flames, and for that reason is revered by the Pilgrims that come thither from all Parts. The Province of *Siba* is famous for the Source of the River *Ganges*. Both this and the Province of *Makarkut* are very mountainous, as well as that of *Kakares*, which is divided from great *Tartary* by the Mountain *Caucasus*.

The Province of *Gor*, which is also very mountainous, gives its Rise from the River *Derselis*, which joins its Current with the *Ganges*, as does the River *Kanda*, which divides the Province of *Pitan*, or *Parian*, bordering upon the West upon that of *Jamba*. The Province of *Kandua-na*, which, together with that of *Gor*, are the most northern Provinces of the Mogul's Dominions, extends on both Sides of the River *Inderalis*, the Province of *Perena* being enclosed between the four Rivers of *Ganges*, *Perfolis*, *Gemini*, and *Kandach*, is very fruitful. That of *Jewal* is famous only for its City called *Rajapour*, or *Rajapor*. The Province of *Neual*, a barren Country, extends from the *Ganges* to the East. That of *Voelja*, or *Vozza*, is the uttermost Province in the East. The Province of *Bengal*, which imparts its Name to the Gulph in which the *Ganges* exonerates its Waters, challenges the first Place among all the rest under the Mogul's Jurisdic-

tion. It is subdivided into several Provinces, the chiefest of which are *Pula*, and *Palan*, which have formerly been dignified with the Title of Kingdoms. *Texeira* mentions a certain Province called *Urat*, but gives us no more than the bare Name; and what he says of the Kingdom of *Cacbe*, viz. that it lies near *Cambaya* to the North, and is famous for the excellent Breed of Race-horses it produces, can be understood of no other than the Province of *Candish*.

The whole Extent of the Mogul's Territories is from East to West 600 French Leagues, and from North to South 700, its uttermost Frontiers to the South being at 20°, and to the North 43°. The Province of *Guzarat* lies Westward along the Sea-side, in the Form of a Peninsula, having on each Side a Gulph, or Bay, one whereof is eight Leagues broad at the Entrance, and grows narrower and narrower for forty Leagues. Thence it is bounded to the North by the Provinces of *Soret*, *Quisner*, and *Bando*, to the East by those of *Chitor* and *Bando*, and to the South by the Kingdom of *Decan*; tho' its Extent was much larger formerly, yet does it comprehend above 20,000 Cities, Towns and Villages, the chiefest whereof lying near the Sea-side, are *Surat*, *Broitchia*, *Gander*, *Goga*, *Cambaya*, *Din*, *Patapatan*, *Mangelor*, *Gondor*, *Nassary*, *Gandevi*, and *Balfara*. It has three noted Rivers, viz. the *Nadabat*, which passes near *Broitchia*, the *Tapta*, and the *Waset*; two of the best Harbours of the Indies, viz. that of *Surat*, and of *Cambaya*. For Fertility this Province may also challenge the Precedency before any of the Indies, most of the adjacent Provinces being supplied thence with Fruits and Provisions. Tho' the great Drought in 1640, and the ensuing Rains did almost lay this Province desolate, which however it has sufficiently recovered since; but it is Time to return to our Relation.

11. The *Persian* Servant, whom I had brought along with me from *Ispahan*, being born of Christian *Georgian* Parents, had given me some hopes of returning to the Christian Faith, which was the Reason that I treated him with more than ordinary Civility, and allowed him four Crowns Wages *per Month*; but I was much surprized to understand that the young Fellow, in hopes of getting better Preferment by the Assistance of an Uncle of his, who was Master of the Horse to the Great Mogul, was gone to *Agra*, and could not but be persuaded that his Intention of leaving me thus on a sudden, was in part to betray me into the Hands of the *Indians*, he being not ignorant of what had happened betwixt them and our People at *Ispahan*; but I had afterwards great Reason to admire God's Providence in sending him, as it were, on purpose thither to save me; for without him I had certainly been lost at *Agra*, as will appear by the Sequel of this Relation.

In *May* we received News that the Khan of *Candabar* had revolted, and surrendered the Place to the Mogul, who had sent five hundred thousand Crowns as a Reward for him and the Garrison. *June* the 16th we went a Hunting with a *Dutch* Merchant, and another *Englishman*, cross the River to a Place called *Reneal*, where the *Dutch* have a Warehouse, and being nobly treated there that Night, went the next Day to a Village called *Bedick*, where we killed divers wild Ducks, and a *Hern*; we saw also a great Number of Deer with gray Skins, but chequered all over with white Spots. Their Horns very fair, and had several Brow Antlers; some were inclining to a dark brown, chequered likewise with white Spots, with very fine Horns, and of the Bigness of our Roe-bucks; some are of Opinion, that they are of the kind which produce the *Bezoar*.

All the Fields have a small Dike raised about them here to keep in the Water, the Rice requiring abundance of Moisture. Here we also drank some Liquor they draw out of the Palm-tree, by making an Incision in the Bark on the Top of the Tree, unto which they fasten an Earthen Vessel, into which the Liquor distils; it is very sweet, but soon turns sour.

The City of *Surat* lies in 21° 42' upon the River *Tapta*, which arising near *Barampour*, falls into the Sea four Leagues below *Surat*, which is built four-square upon the very Banks of the River. It has no Fortifications on the River Side, but is provided with a good Stone Rampart on the Land-side, and the Castle is all of Free-stone. It has three Gates,

one leading to the Village of *Briou*, the second to *Barampour*, and the third to *Nassary*. All the Houses are flat on the Top, and have generally good Gardens. The Castle has no more than one Gate, which looks into the Great Market-place; not far thence is the Governor's Palace, and the Custom-house. The Governor of the Castle has not the least Dependence on the Sultan, whose Business is the Administration of Justice, and to look after the Customs. All Merchandizes exported or imported pay three and an half *per Cent.* here, except Silver coined or uncoined, which pays no more than Two *per Cent.* Both the *English* and *Dutch* have very fair Houses called Lodges, well provided with Chambers, Halls, and Galleries.

The Harbour of *Surat* is about two Leagues from the City, near the Village of *Subahy*, where Ships are unladen, and Commodities brought thence to *Surat* by Land-Carriage. The Haven lies in 21° 50' upon the Course of North-East and South-West; the Entrance is narrow, and at high Water not above seven Fathom deep, at low but five: The Harbour itself being not above five hundred Paces broad, a sandy Bottom, with sharp and steep Banks, which are almost dry at low Water; it is, however, safe anchoring here, there being no Danger but from the South-West Wind, except from *May* to *September*, when there is no staying here by reason of the furious Tempests. Most of the Inhabitants of *Surat* are either *Banjans*, *Bramins*, or *Moguls*; the last are more respected than the rest, as being *Mohammedans*, and because they always apply themselves to Arms, as on the contrary, the *Banjans* make Traffick their chief Business, and are much addicted to Religion, of whom we shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

Besides these, some *Arabians*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, *Turks*, and *Jews*, are Inhabitants here, but the most considerable of all Foreigners here are the *English* and *Dutch*, who have their Settlements, Directors, Merchants, and Clerks; especially the *English*, who have made this the chief Place of their Trade in the Indies. All the other Factories they have at *Agra*, *Ispahan*, *Muslipatan*, *Cambay*, *Amadabat*, *Brodra*, and *Broitchia*, having a Dependence on that of *Surat*, and are obliged to be accountable to their chief Director residing in this City; and there is scarce an *English* Ship, which either going, or coming into these Parts, does not touch at *Surat*. The Country round about this City is very delightful, being adorned with a vast Number of Gardens and Fruit-trees, and among the rest, I observed hereabouts one of those Trees, the Branches of which take Root afresh in the Ground mentioned in the Description of *Gambren*. Among other things, I saw a large Cistern of Free-stone, eight square, having at each Angle a Pair of Stairs, and in the midst of it a most sumptuous Sepulchre, in which the Founder is buried; this Cistern is so large, that it supplies the whole City with Water.

About the 12th of *September* then the Tempest began to cease, two *English* Ships arrived in the Port of *Surat*, called the *Discovery*, and the *Mary*, the first 1600 Tuns Burthen, 28 Guns, and 190 Men; and the second of 1200 Tuns, carrying 48 Guns. We were very generously entertained aboard them for eight Days together, our constant Employment being to go ashore every Day a Hunting, and to return on Board at Night. The 24th of the same Month arrived two other Ships, one a *Dutchman* of 1400 Tuns, bound from *Batavia* to *Holland*, the other an *English* Vessel called the *Swan*. We were likewise very generously entertained on Board them, the *Dutch* Vessel being both the biggest and the best contrived of any Ship that ever came out of *Holland*; with these, and such like Diversifications, I passed my Time pleasantly enough at *Surat*: But understanding it would be several Months before the *English* would be ready for their Departure, I resolved to take the Opportunity of a certain Caravan, sent by the *English* to *Amadabat*, under a Convoy of some *English* Soldiers, to take a View of the Great Mogul's Court.

12. Thinking myself thus sufficiently guarded against the *Rashpoots*, I left *Surat* the last of *September*, and joining with the Caravan, we took our Way towards *Broitchia*, crossing the River at the Village of *Briou*. Four Leagues thence, we passed by *Cattoiera*, and afterwards by *Enirehijer*, where we killed abundance of wild Ducks,

the second to *Baram*. All the Houses are flat on Gardens. The Cattle has nooks into the Great Mar- governor's Palace, and the of the Cattle has not the whole Business is the Ad- look after the Customs. I pay three and an joined or unjoined, which t. Both the *English* and Lodges, well provided ries.

two Leagues from the ly, where Ships are un- thence to *Surat* by Land- 50' upon the Course of Entrance is narrow, and Fathom deep, at low but not above five hundred th sharp and steep Banks, ater; it is, however, safe anger but from the South- 5 *September*, when there is furious Tempests. Most ther *Banjans*, *Bramins*, or ed than the rest, as being always apply themselves the *Banjans* make Traffick uch addicted to Religion, to say more hereafter.

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and other Water Fowl, as also Roe-bucks, Deer, and wild Boars being in such Plenty thereabouts, that one need not be long in want of Provisions, especially at this Time, when we had a good Cook along with us. Before we came to *Broitschia* we crossed a deep but narrow River, and were no sooner arrived, but the *English* Secretary invited us to Dinner. The City of *Broitschia* lies in 21° 56' twelve Leagues from *Surat*, and eight from the Sea-side, upon a River, which coming out of the Mountains, is the common Boundary betwixt the Kingdom of *Decan* and that of *Baldagat*.

As it is situate upon a steep Hill, and provided with Walls of Free-stone, it is accounted one of the strongest Fortresses in the *Indies*. It has two large Gates to the Land-side, and as many lesser ones upon the River. All Merchandizes that pass through it pay two per Cent. It is very well peopled, but for the most Part with Callicoe Weavers, who make the best here of any in the whole Province. The Fields for six or seven Leagues round the City are very flat, which, as well as the Mountains beyond them to the South-West, called *Pindajoke*, are fertile in Rice, Barley, and Cotton. These Mountains produce Abundance of Agate, which is so celebrated for its *rope*. Four Leagues below the City the River divideth itself into two Branches, which after they have made an Island of two Miles in Circumference, fall into the Sea by two different Channels, eight Leagues beyond *Broitschia*. Upon the Way leading to *Camboy* is the Village of *Jamboufar*, or *Jamboufar*, famous for the great Quantity of Indigo it produces. And in the Way to *Jambabab*, is to be seen the Sepulchre of a certain Mohammedan Saint, whither they come in Pilgrimage with Padlocks on their Mouths, and Chains on their Arms, till they have performed their Vows.

We left *Broitschia* in the Evening, and travelled all that Night, and Part of the next Day, till the excessive Heat obliged us to seek Refreshment near a standing Pool, where we passed the Remainder of that Day, and Part of the Night following. The 17th of *October* we came to *Brodra*, where the *English* Merchants that belonged to our Caravan, and myself, were lodged, and most nobly entertained in the *English* Houle, and among the rest, had the Diversion of Women Dancers, who being very curious to see my Cloaths made after the *German* Fashion, would fain have had me stripped myself naked, offering to do the same, which I refusing to do, they went away discontented at it. The City of *Brodra* is seated in a large sandy Plain, upon a small River called *Wasset*, about 15 Leagues from *Broitschia*. It was built of late Years by *Rajab-gi*, descended from Sultan Mohammed Bergeran, the last King of *Guzarat*, out of the Ruins of the old *Brodra*. It is indifferently well fortified after the old Way, and has five Gates, one whereof is dammed up. The City, but especially the western Suburbs, are for the most Part inhabited by Callicoe Weavers, Dyers, and other Workmen belonging to that Manufacture, which are made somewhat narrower here, and the Pieces shorter than at *Broitschia*. The Governor of *Brodra* has no less than 120 Villages under his Jurisdiction, sixty-five of which are assigned for the Payment of the Garrison, and the other 135 allotted for Pensions to certain Officers belonging to the Mogul's Court, and by their Assignments his Officers are maintained.

Among these there is a Village called *Sindickera*, which produces every Year 25,000 Pounds of Lacque: This Lacque is a red Gum, which comes from a Tree resembling our Plumb-tree, which being dried and beaten to Powder, they give it what Colour they please, and make it into Sticks, to seal Letters with, or for lacquering of Cabinets, &c. This Country affords also Abundance of Indigo. I went the same Day to join the Caravan, which I found at a Corner of a Grove of Cocoa Trees, without the City, and one of the *English* Merchants of *Brodra* would needs accompany us as far as *Wasset*, an old ruined Castle, upon a very high Mountain, where is kept a Garrison of 100 Horse, who are maintained out of the Customs paid there; but we having a Pass from the Mogul, and consequently not thinking ourselves obliged to pay it, this occasioned a Contest between them and us,

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which was very likely to have ended in a bloody Engagement; for we forcing our Way, and having crossed the River, where we staid that Night, they would have attacked us, but a *Dutch* Caravan coming to our Assistance, after the Exchange of some small Shot, the Matter was composed, and the Garrison forced to be contented with a Present of three Crowns. Thence we passed two Leagues and a half further through the Village of *Ammenogii*, and three Leagues and a half further, through that of *Sejuntra*, and so to the small City of *Niriad*, or *Niriand*, nine Leagues from *Brodra*.

13. *October* the 12th, after we had travelled 5 Leagues, and passed in our Way by *Canis*, *Batera*, and *Jassampour*, got safe to *Amadu*; but we were met in a Garden within half a League from that City by Mr. Benjamin Roberts, the chief Merchant of the Factory there, who carried me in his Coach drawn, after the *Indian* Fashion, by two white Oxen, which were as full of Mettle as the best Horses, into the City, ordering the two *English* Merchants that were my Fellow-travellers to wait there for the coming up of the Caravan. The *English* Factory is a very fair Structure, in the very Heart of the City, fitted with very convenient Apartments, and several Courts for the Disposal of Merchandize. Mr. Roberts gave me a Collation in his own Chamber, which looked into a Flower-Garden, and was very richly furnished. We supped in a spacious Hall, where the *Dutch* head Factor, with some of his Merchants, came to pay us a Visit.

After he was gone, I was conducted by the whole Company into my Lodging-room, which I had chosen myself. Mr. Roberts kept me Company there till Midnight, and to give me all imaginable Diversion, sent for six Women Dancers of the Country, telling me, if I liked any thing in them besides their Singing and Activity, I might command it; which Civility I refused with a Complement. They were mightily taken with my Cloaths, and Hair, and would scarce be persuaded that I was not a Woman in Disguise. Two Days after my noble Host carried me in his Coach to view the City. The Market-place is called *Meydan-bab*, or the Royal-market; it is at least 1600 Feet long, and above 800 broad, planted all round with Palm and Date-trees, intermixed with Orange and Citron-trees, of which there is great Plenty in the Streets, the Sight, Smell, and Shadow whereof are very desirable and pleasant. There are besides these four *Basars*, or publick Places for the Sale of Merchandizes. Not far from the *Meydan* we saw a Houle built of Brick, which is the King's Palace, the Apartments whereof were sumptuously furnished and adorned with many Pictures, more remarkable for their Diversity of Colours, than any Exactness of Proportion, according to the *Indian* Way. Over the Gate of this Palace was a large Balcony for the Musick, consisting of Violins, Hautboys, and Bagpipes, to play there three times a Day, viz. in the Morning, at Noon, and Night, a Custom observed in most of the *Mohammedan* Countries.

The Walls of the City were tolerably well built, with twelve Gates, and many Towers; but the Ditch, which is 16 Fathom broad, was ruined and dry in several Places. We took also a View of the Castle, which is very large, and built altogether of Free-stone. The chief Temple of the *Banjans* is one of the finest Structures that ever I saw, it being but lately built, and stands in the Centre of a vast Court, surrounded with a very high Wall of Free-stone, about which is Piazzas, divided into Cells, in each of which stands a Statue, either white or black, representing a naked Woman sitting with her Legs under her, according to the Eastern Fashion. Some of these Cells have three Statues, viz. a great one betwixt two little ones. As soon as you enter the Temple, you see two Elephants of black Marble, done to the Life, and upon one of them the Effigies of the Founder, a rich *Banjan* Merchant, whose Name is *Santides*.

The Temple is vaulted, and the Walls adorned with Figures of Men and other living Creatures. There was not the least Thing to be seen within this Edifice, except three Chapels, which were very dark, and were divided only by wooden Rails, wherein were placed Statues of Marble, like those in the Cells, the middlemost having a

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Lamp

Lamp hanging before it. We saw the Priest busy in receiving from such as were performing their Devotions, and who presented him with Flowers, Oil, Wheat and Salt; with the first he adorned the Images, his Mouth and Nose being covered with a Piece of Callicoe, for fear of prophaneing the Mystery by the Impurity of his Breath; the Oil was intended for the Lamps; and the Wheat and the Salt for the Sacrifice. He muttered out certain Prayers over the Lamp, and ever and anon put his Hands in the Smoke of the Flame, out of an Opinion they have that Fire having a greater Power of purifying than Water, they may, after this Cleaning, without Offence, lift up their Hands to God.

Amadabat, the Capital City of the Province of *Guzurat*, is seated upon a small River, which, not far from thence, joins its Current with the River *Indus* at 23° 32', eighteen Leagues from *Cambaya*, and forty-five from *Surat*. It comprehends in its Circuit (including the Suburbs) near seven Leagues. Its Streets are very spacious, its private Buildings and Mosques very noble, especially the Governor's Houle. The Mogul keeps constantly a good Garrison here to bribe the *Badures*, a sort of People living not above twenty-five Leagues distant thence, who make frequent Incursions into the Country. It may be safely said, that there is scarce any Nation in the World, or any Commodity in *Asia* but may be seen in this City, where there is also a vast Manufacture of Silk and Callicoes, as also of Gold and Silver Brocades, but they are slight and dear, which is the Reason the Inhabitants consume mostly *China* Silks, which are both finer and cheaper. At the Time of my being here they had invented a new kind of Stuff of Silk and Cotton with gold Flowers, which was sold at five Crowns per Ell. They also deal much here in Sattins and Velvets, Taffeties, Carpets, Sugar candied, or in Powder, Cummin, Honey, Lacque, Opium, Borax, Ginger, Myrobolans or *Indian* Plumbs dried and preserved, Preserves of all Sorts, Salt Petre, Sal Armoniac, and Indico. They also sell Diamonds here, which are brought thither from *Vishapour*, and *Ambergreece* and Musk, which they have from *Pegu*, *Bengal*, *Mojambique* and *Cabo Verde*, and is sold here for eight Crowns per Ounce.

Some would have the *Ambergreece* to be the Seed of the Whale congealed, but without the least Probability; others would make it the Product of certain natural Mines like the *Naphte*, but with as little Likelihood of Truth, it being certain it is found nowhere but by the Sea-Side, and grows like our Mushrooms in the Bottom of the Sea, whence it is torn off and cast ashore. *Peter Van Bruck* assures us, that, in his Time, there was found a Piece of *Ambergreece* at *Cabo Verde*, near the Mouth of the River *Gambri*, which weighed eighty Pounds, of which he bought a Piece. The Musk is, by the joint Opinion of all Naturalists, the Product of a certain Protuberance or Swelling, rising about the Navel of a certain Animal, which some make only of the Bigness of a Fox, others like a Roe-Buck. Some call this Creature a Gazel. But the greatest Conveniency of Traffick at *Amadabat* is, that the *Banjans* have a general Correspondence in all Parts of *Asia*, even to *Constantinople* itself, which makes Trading by Way of Exchange, both very easy and very advantageous. Add to this the Exemption from all Customs of Merchandizes exported or imported, the King's Receiver having no more than Fifteen-pence by Way of Present for every Waggon, and the Liberty allowed to all Strangers to deal in what Commodities they please, except that of the Exportation of Lead and Salt-Petre, without the Governor's Licence, is forbidden, which, however, is obtained by a small Present.

The City of *Amadabat* having under its Jurisdiction twenty-five large Towns and 2998 Villages, its yearly Revenue amounts to above six Millions of Crowns, which the Governor disposes of in maintaining a certain Number of Soldiers for the King's Service, and for clearing the Highways, which are very unsafe hereabouts. The Court, or his Deputy, commands under him, and has the Administration, as well of the Government as of the Courts of Justice, in Conjunction with the Kadi, or Judge of the Place. Among divers noted Sepulchres which are near the City, is that of a certain Kadi, built by a King of *Guzurat*, in

the Village *Zirktes*, a League and an half from the City. The whole Structure is of Marble, being sustained by an hundred and forty Pillars thirty Foot high, with in which are to be seen the Tombs of three Kings that were buried there: At the Entrance of it is a large Cistern full of Water, the Wall about it having several Windows on all Sides; and about a League thence there is a fair Garden and Houle, the Work of the Mogul, built in Memory of a Victory obtained by him over the last King of *Guzurat*. About a League and a half on the other Side the City, we were shewed another Sepulchre, erected in Memory of a certain Moor, a rich Merchant, named *Hojan Majan*, who, being in love with his own Daughter, and having by fraudulent Means obtained the Kadi's Consent, would have married his Daughter; but she refusing to comply, he ravished her, for which he had his Head cut off; whence it is called to this Day *Beti Coub*, i. e. the Daughter's Shame discovered.

A little Way without the City of *Amadabat*, you may discover the vast Mountains of *Marsya*, extending above seventy Leagues towards *Agra*, and above an hundred towards *Oneyu*, where the Rajah *Rana* had his Residence in the Cattle of *Gurubito* among the inaccessible Rocks; so that the joint Forces of the Mogul and the King of *Pattan*, were scarce able to reduce it. The *Pagan Indians* retain still a great Veneration for that Prince, who, as they say, was able to bring 120,000 Horle into the Field. In the Mountain betwixt *Amadabat* and *Trappe* lives such another Prince, who by reason of the Inaccessibleness of the Woods and Deserts, maintains his Sovereignty against the Mogul; and the Rajah *Inder*, tho' he is his Vassal, yet oftentimes refuses to execute his Commands. Among many noble Gardens which are about this City, that of *Shah-bag*, or the King's Gardens in the Suburbs, called *Bogampour*, claims the Precedency, being enclosed with a noble Wall, within which stands a most beautiful Summer-house richly furnished.

I passed thence over a very fine Stone-bridge, four hundred Paces in Length, into another Garden called *Nicoim-bag*, i. e. the Jewel, which, they say, is the Work of a beautiful rich Lady. The Houle, as well as the Garden, is not so remarkable for their Bigness, as the most admirable Prospect it has from the Deficent on which it lies into a fine champaign Country. It has a very large Fish-pond, which, during the Winter-season, is supplied with Water by the Rains; but, in the Summer, it is filled out of certain deep Wells, the Water of which is drawn up by Engines turned by Oxen. You can scarce ever come into this Garden but you will find some Ladies bathing themselves there: They would not allow the *Indians* to see them, but gave us the Liberty to come in and talk with them. The whole Country round *Amadabat*, and the City itself, is so full of Gardens and Trees that, at a Distance, it resembles a great Forest. There is among other remarkable Things here, a Walk planted with a double Row of Cocoa-trees on each Side, which reaches to a Village six Leagues from the City; but that which reaches from *Agra* to *Barampour* is an hundred and fifty Leagues in Length, and surpasses this beyond all Comparison.

These vast Numbers of Trees are the Receiptacles of Multitudes of Apes, some of which are as big as Greyhounds, yet will rarely assault any body unless provoked. They are generally of a brown Colour, inclining to a green, having white long Beards and Eyebrows. They multiply beyond what can be imagined, because the *Banjans*, who are more numerous than the *Mohammedans*, believing the Transmigration of the Soul, and looking upon these Creatures as having the greatest Resemblance in all Respects to Mankind, are so far from killing them that they cherish them. Hence it is that you shall see the Apes come in great Numbers into Peoples Houses; for at one time I remember, I counted no less than fifty in the *English* Lodge, and I used to give some Almonds and Dates to two or three of them, which made them duly attend every Morning at my Chamber-door, in Expectation of their Breakfast, which they would take out of my Hand; sometimes I used to catch hold of one, which made the rest stare till I had let go their Companion.

The Trees also harbour abundance of Wild-Fowl, and an incredible Number of Parrots of all Kinds, the biggest

an half from the City, being sustained by an at high, with in which Kings that were hanged Cistern full of Water, several Windows on all there is a fair Garden, built in Memory of the last King of *Guzerat*. On the other Side the City, we are directed in Memory of a named *Hojan Majum*, daughter, and having by his Consent, would have us to comply, he railed out off, whence it is, i. e. the Daughter's

of *Amadabat*, you may see *Marica*, extending above an hundred toads, had his Residence in the crevice of Rocks; so that the King of *Pattan*, were *Indian* retain till a who, as they say, was able to hold. In the Mountain, which another Prince, who of the Woods and Demant the *Mogul*; and the, yet oftentimes refuses many noble Gardens *Shah-bag*, or the King's *gampour*, claims the Prebible Wall, within which house richly furnished.

A Stone-bridge, four hundred Garden called *Nicozafay*, is the Work of a, as well as the Garden, it is, as the most admirable on which it lies into a line, a very large Fish-pond, is, is supplied with Water. Summer, it is filled out of, which is drawn up, you can scarce ever come find some Ladies bathing, not allow the *Indians* to come in and talk round *Amadabat*, and the and Trees that, at a Distance. There is among other planted with a double Row which reaches to a Village at that which reaches from red and fifty Leagues in and all Comparison.

These are the Receptacles of which are as big as Grey, any body unless provoked, colour, inclining to a green, eyebrows. They multiply because the *Banjans*, who are *Indians*, believing the Transferring upon these Creatures as in all Respects to Mankind that they cherish them. The Apes come in great, for at one time I remem-ber in the *English* Lodge, and and Dates to two or three of attend every Morning at my of their Breakfast, which I hand; sometimes I used to e the rest scarce till I had let

undance of Wild-Fowl, and of all Kinds, the biggest

of which are called *Indian* Crows, being all white, or of a Cream-colour, with a Tuft of Feathers of a Cornation-colour on the Head: They are so common all over the *Indies* that they build their Nests under the Eaves of the House as our Swallows do: But the lesser sort of Parrots build their Nests in the Woods on the Extremity of the Top-branches of the Trees; and though they do much Mischief to the Fruits and Rice, the *Banjans* look upon it as a Crime to hinder them from eating it. They do the like as to the Wild-Ducks, Herons, and Cormorants, of which there are abundance in this River. Having had Occasion to speak of them before, I will only add in this Place, that they swallow Mussels till they open through the Heat of the Stomach, and cast them out again to eat the Fish. This Country likewise abounds in all kinds of Wild-Fowl and Venison, but Fallow-Deer, Roe-Bucks, Wild-Goats, Wild-Boars and Hares are in vast Plenty here. And as they are sufficiently stored with tame Creatures, such as Buffaloes, Oxen, Cows, and Sheep; and the River furnishes them with Fish in abundance. I scarce know any Place in the World where a Man may indulge himself with more Ease than here.

The only Thing they want is Wine, instead of which they generally make use of the Liquor of the Cocoa-tree; and their Water is most excellent; besides that, out of Rice, Sugar, and Dates, they make a kind of *Aqua Vita*, which exceeds that made in *Europe*. But as they are sufficiently furnished with beneficial Creatures, so they have their Share of others that are as mischievous. Crocodiles are found here in abundance, which often surprize Men in the River, where they lie lurking among the high Grass. I am positive, that those in the Duches of *Pegu* were of above thirty Foot long; they did so much Mischief, that scarce a Day passed but some or other were killed by them; notwithstanding which, the *Banjans*, who believe that such as are devoured by them go straightway to Paradise, will not destroy them. The King having ordered one in particular, which did more Mischief than all the rest, to be killed, they found a Woman with all her Cloaths in his Belly. They lay about thirty Eggs, which they cover in the Sand, where being hatched, they kill most of their young ones, without which they would multiply infinitely.

Johnson tells us, that near *Panama*, in the *West-Indies*, are Crocodiles of an hundred Foot in Length; but I will ingeniously confess, I saw none that were above twelve or fifteen Foot long; the Scales on their Back being Mullet-Proof, they must be wounded in the Belly. This Country produces also abundance of Serpents and Snakes, and, among the rest, some with two Heads, as they told me, though, I must confess, I never saw any of them, which has induced me to believe that this Error has been introduced by such as have seen Serpents, that, contrary to the Nature of Reptiles, were as big towards the Tail as towards the Head. The Woods are likewise full of Lions, Leopards, Tigers, and Elephants; but the most troublesome Creatures all over the *Indies*, are a certain kind of Bats, as big as our Crows, nay, some of our Hens, which oblige the Country-People to keep constant Watch in their Gardens.

The City of *Amadabat* is obliged to maintain out of its Revenues 1200 Horse, and fifty Elephants, under the Command of their Sultan, who has the Quality of Rajah, or a Prince annexed to his Dignity. *Arub-Khan*, a Person of sixty Years of Age, was Governor of this City at that Time, and, as I was credibly informed, had amassed a Treasure equal in Value to fifty Millions of Crowns. Not long before my Arrival his Daughter was married to the *Mogul's* second Son, when her Father, at her Departure, sent her with an Equipage of twenty Elephants, and one thousand Horse to Court, besides six thousand Waggon laden with Riches. His Attendants consisted of five hundred Persons, four hundred of which were his Slaves: The Expence of his House-keeping amounted to five hundred Crowns a Month, not including his Stables, where he maintained constantly five hundred Horses and fifty Elephants for his own Use. The chief of his Attendants were generally sumptuously clad, though himself seldom wore any thing but Callicoe, except when he appear-

ed in publick, when he was carried in a rich Chair of State upon an Elephant, being attended by a Guard of two hundred Men, with many *Persian* Led-Horses, and Standards, and Banners before him.

14. *October* the 18th I went with an *English* Merchant to pay a Visit to the Khan, whom we found in a Tent looking into a Garden. Having understood from the Merchant that Curiosity only had led me into that Country, he asked my Age, and I having told him, that I was twenty-four Years old, three of which I had already spent in travelling, he wondered at my going Abroad so young, as well as at my Habit, which I still wore after the *German* Fashion. After an Hour's Discourse, I was entertained with a very noble Dinner, served up after the *Persian* Way, and at parting, he was pleased to tell me in the *Turkish* Language, which I had told him I understood pretty well, *Senni dabe kurini, i. e. We shall see you again*. Being encouraged by this obliging Invitation, we went the 20th a second Time, when having changed my Cloaths to the Mode of the Country, I found him very well pleased with it. We found him in the same Place, busy in dispatching some Orders, and taking a View of certain Companies of Horse and Foot, which made us take our Leave of him; but he would needs make us stay to Dinner with him.

His Discourse ran much upon *Shah Seff*, concerning whom he asked me several Questions, and especially whether he still continued his Cruelties? Unto which I having answered, that his Age had moderated much of his youthful extravagant Temper, he replied, that Tyranny and Cruelty was an Inheritance, derived from his Grandfather *Abas*, and that was the only Reason why lately the Khan of *Candabar* had put himself under the *Mogul's* Protection. He then was for exaggerating the prodigious Wealth of the *Mogul*, in comparison with that of *Persia*, asking my Sentiments upon that Score. Unto which I replied, that it must be confessed, that the Wealth I had seen in the Great *Mogul's* Country, was without Comparison much greater than what could be expected in *Persia*; but that on the other hand, it must be acknowledged, that *Persia* had one thing which was to be valued above all the Riches of the World, viz. that great Number of brave *Kisibachs*, with whose Assistance he might be able to conquer all *Asia*. Knowing the Khan to be a *Kisibach* by Descent, out of the Province of *Schirvan*, I said this on Purpose to please his Fancy, which took so well with him, that he not only agreed to what I said, but also told some of his Officers that stood hard by him, I believe this young Gentleman is brave, because he speaks so advantageously of those that are so.

After Dinner we took our Leave of the Khan, who would have staid us, and given us the Entertainment of the Women Dancers; but he being called aside about earnest Business, and we not very eager to see more of what we had seen so often before, we returned his Offers with a Complement. For the rest, the Governor was a Person of extraordinary Judgment, but very rigorous in his Government. One Day, having invited the two chief Directors of the *English* and *Dutch* Factories to Dinner, and desirous to give them the Diversion of the Women Dancers, they came accordingly, who, according to the Cadence of the Hautboys and Timbrels, danced with great Activity through Hoops, with great variety of Postures; which done, he sent for another Band, but these being employed elsewhere in the City, sent an Excuse, that being sick they could not come; but the Khan not thus contented, sent a second time, ordering his Servants to bring them along with him, who returning without them, upon the same Pretence, he ordered them to be cudgelled immediately. These poor Wretches finding themselves in such Danger, cast themselves at the Khan's Feet, acknowledging, that it was not any Sickness, but the Hopes of Lucre, that had made these Women refuse to obey his Commands, at which he laughed; but instantly sent some of his Guards to fetch them, who no sooner had brought them into the Room, but he ordered their Heads to be cut off immediately, which was executed in an Instant. The Governor perceiving that the Strangers were startled at his Severity, fell a laughing, and told them, that if he did

not by such Examples maintain his Authority, he should not be long Governor of *Amadabat*.

19. October the 21st I left *Amadabat*, in the Company of a young *English* Merchant, and travelled that Day to the Garden of *Tschirbag*. The 22d we made seven Leagues to the Village of *Sergunira*, and the 23d five Leagues further to *Cambaya*, where I was very well accommodated at the House of a certain *Mohammedan*, the *English* Head Factor being from home. The City of *Cambaya* lies sixteen Leagues from *Broitschia*, upon sandy Grounds near the River, which makes there a very great Bay, into which the River *May* discharges itself. The Haven is none of the best; for though at high Water there be seven Fathom Depth, yet at low Tide the Ships are almost swallowed up in Sand and Mud. It has a Wall of Free-stone, with twelve Gates, large Houses, strait and very broad Streets, and is ten Leagues in Compass. The Inhabitants are *Pagani*, *Banjani*, and *Raspoos*, the last of whom apply themselves to the Exercise of Arms, as the *Banjani* do to Commerce. Their chief Trade is at *Achin*, *Diu*, *Goa*, *Mecca*, and into *Perfia*.

Taking a Walk out of the City, I saw there, among several other very curious Gardens, one, that for its Situation and Prospect to the Sea, and into the fairest campaign Country that could be to the Land-side, deserves the Precedency of any that ever I saw before. It was surrounded by a very high Wall, which had within its Compass two very fine Structures, and in the midst of the Garden was a Sepulchre of a *Mohammedan*, who was the Founder of it. Whilst I was contemplating the Tomb, some *English* Merchants came in to reprove me for the Affront I had put upon them, as they interpreted it, of preferring a *Mohammedan* House before theirs to lodge in; and as a Reparation, asked me to go along with them the next Morning to a Place where an *Indian* Widow was to burn herself; her Husband, who was a *Raspoos*, having been killed two hundred Leagues from thence.

We went accordingly to the Place of this voluntary Execution near the River-side, where we saw the Woman, who was scarce twenty Years of Age, coming up with so cheerful Countenance as is scarce to be imagined. It is to be observed, that the Governor, who was a *Mohammedan*, and consequently would willingly abolish this barbarous Custom of the *Pagani*, had for a long Time opposed her Resolution, under a Pretence that her Husband's Death might be uncertain at so great a Distance, in hopes that Time might have changed her Resolution; but finding her immovable, he gave at last his Consent. In the Front of the Procession marched the Musick, consisting of Hautboys and Timbrels; these were followed by a great Number of Maids and Women dancing and singing before the Widow, who was dressed in her best Apparel, and had many Rings and Bracelets on her Fingers, Arms and Legs: In the Rear came a confused Multitude of Men, Women, and Children. She had washed herself before in the River, and coming near the Funeral Pile, which was made of the Wood of Apricot-trees mixed with some Sanders and Cinamon, she stopped a little, and looking over it with a great deal of Carelessness, took her last Farewell of her Kindred and Friends. I was very near on Horseback, and the perceiving perhaps by my Countenance that I had Compassion of her, she cast me one of her Bracelets, which I keep to this Day, distributing the rest among her Friends. So soon as she had placed herself on the Pile, and perceiving that they had set Fire to it, she poured a Vessel full of perfumed Oil over her Head, which the Fire taking hold of, burnt her to Ashes immediately, without shewing the least Sign of Reluctancy, whilst all there present filled the Air with their Shouts and Acclamations.

This Custom, it seems, was first introduced into the *Indies*, to prevent the Jealousy of the Women created by Polygamy, which had this dismal Effect, that they used frequently to poison their Husbands, it having been found by Experience, that in one Year there used to be four Men buried to one Woman; to prevent which, it was thought convenient, that a certain Law should be introduced for all Women that would be accounted honest, to accompany their

Husbands at their Deaths, as the only Way to make them careful of their Lives; yet was no Punishment inflicted upon such as did not think fit to comply with this rigorous Imposition, except that they were looked upon as infamous ever after.

This Ceremony being over, I paid a Visit to *Myrjag*, one of the chief *Mohammedan* Merchants in that City, unto whom I delivered the Letter of Recommendation from the Director of the *English* at *Amadabat*. As he understood that Language, so he complemented me with all imaginable Expressions of Civility, endeavouring to persuade me to remain for some time at *Cambaya*, and proffering his Service in every thing that might tend to my Satisfaction. Whilst I was returning his Civilities, came up to us the King's Lieutenant, or Deputy-Governor, who, with a very engaging Air, entreated me to make him a Visit, which I promised to do. I went home, and had scarce eat my Dinner, when the before-mentioned Merchant sent me two Sheep, twelve Capons and Pullets, besides some Fruits, and a fine Vessel of *Agar*. I sent back the Bearer with a small Present, telling him, that I would return my hearty Thanks to his Master the next Day; but I was scarce got out of my Bed, when he came and told me, that the Fear of parting with me without taking his Leave, had made him come so early. I thanked him, and as a Pledge of the good Will I bore him, presented him with a very fine *English* Pocket Pistol, which he at first refused to accept, excusing himself, that it was not handsome to receive a Present from a Stranger, were it not that his Refusal might be misinterpreted by me to his Disadvantage; upon which Score he could not forbear to accept of what I had been pleased to bestow upon him with so much Kindness.

I thought fit to make particular mention in this Place of these Civilities, to convince the World that Barbarism, which the *Indians* are so often branded with by some Authors, is not so deeply rooted among them, but that they understand and practise Civility as well as some other Nations, who challenge the Preference upon that Account before all others, but fall short in that Sincerity which is natural to the *Indians*, who are as good Friends to those to whom they have promised their Friendship, as they are irreconcilable to their Enemies. I caused a Box of Beetle to be presented to the Merchant, a Drug as commonly used in the *Indies*, as Snuff is in *Europe*, of which he having taken a little, took his Leave. Soon after, as I was going to call at the Deputy-Governor's House, I met him in the Street in his Coach, and he no sooner espied me, but he obliged me to go back with him to his House, built in one of the most pleasant Parts of the City; he treated me with some Beetle, and some Palm-Wine, and sent one of his Servants to give Orders at the Gates to let me pass unmolested, without paying any Customs.

I staid not above half an Hour, and immediately proceeded on my Journey; but being pretty late before I could reach *Sergunira*, the *Banjani*, who burn no Lights for fear of hurting the Flies, or other Insects, would not open the Shops to sell us Forage for our Beasts, being a certain Paste of Sugar, Meal, and some Butter, which is used here for want of Oats and Hay; but at last were prevailed on to let us have some, because we threatened to break open their Shops. We travelled five Leagues the next Day before Noon to a great Village, where having baited our Beasts, we continued our Journey to the Garden of *Tschirbag*.

This Garden, which we had occasion to mention before, is looked upon as one of the most considerable of all the Empire, not only in respect of its noble Buildings, and the vast Quantity of excellent Fruits, but especially for the Conquest of *Gazarat*, in Memory of which it was founded; and thence has got the Name of *Tschirbag*, i.e. the Garden of Victory. The Walks of this Garden are planted with Fruit-trees, such as Oranges, Citrons, Pomegranates, Dates, Almonds, and Mulberry trees; besides many of these that bear Mangoes, Coconuts, and some that were unknown to us. Having taken a short View of it whilst our Beasts were baiting, we continued our Journey, and came that Night to *Amadabat*. We were not a little troubled in the Way by Apes, of whom I shot two with my Pistol, which so incensed the rest, that about twenty of the largest

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any Mischief, if they durst approach us.

16. At *Amadabat* I met with a Caravan of *English* and
Banjan Merchants bound for *Agra*, and being recommended
to them by the Director of the *English* Factory of *Amada-
bat*, I set out with them the 28th of *October*. We met in
five Days Journey with no more than one Village worth
mentioning called *Paingot*, and came the 6th Day after
our setting out of *Amadabat* to the small City of *Heribath*,
fifty Leagues thence; it is without Walls or Gates, which
have been destroyed by the famous Conqueror *Tamerlane*,
as well as the adjacent Castle, the Ruins of which are to be
seen near a high Mountain.

Between this City and that of *Damtiges*, which is fifty
Leagues from *Heribath*, we met a Caravan of *Banjan* Mer-
chants, who told us, that they had been set upon by two
hundred *Rafspoots*, who had forced them to pay a hundred
Ruppes, upon which we ordered our Waggons to be fa-
stened together, and disposed our Guards in such a manner
as we thought might make them most serviceable; neither
was it long before we got Sight of fifty of the same Gang
that were sent without Question to view us; but finding us
too well guarded, let us go unmolested. We travelled fifty
Leagues farther before we came to the Village of *Suedeck*,
which has a strong old Castle. As we were travelling in a
Bottom ten *Rafspoots* surprized some of our Waggons that
were got about six hundred Paces before the rest, and
wounded two *Banjan*s; but two of our Guards being sent
to their Relief, the Robbers were forced to betake them-
selves to their Heels, and to leave the Booty behind them.

After this Rencontre we met with no farther Disaster,
and arrived safely at *Agra*, where I was received with the
same Civility by the *English* as I had been in all other Places
through which I had passed. The City of *Agra* is, with-
out Comparison, the noblest of all *Indostan*, and the ordi-
nary Residence of the Great Mogul. It is seated in 28°
on this Side of the Line, in the Province of *Indostan*, upon
the River *Gemini*, which joins its Waters with the *Ganges*,
above the Kingdom of *Bengal*. It being twice as big as
Isipahan, a Man can scarce ride round it on Horseback in
a whole Day. Its Fortifications are of red Free-stone, and
the Ditch is above thirty Fathom broad; the Streets are
fair and large, there being some vaulted, which are a Mile
in Length, and are furnished with Shops of all sorts of
Trades, each of which have their peculiar Streets and Quar-
ters assigned them. It contains fifteen Meydans and Ba-
sars, the most spacious of which is before the Castle; in the
midst of it stands a high Pole, where the Mogul himself
shoots sometimes at a Wooden Parrot fastened to the Top
of it. Eighty Caravanferas are appointed for the Recep-
tion of Foreign Merchants and their Merchandizes; they
are provided with noble Apartments, and convenient
Shops, Vaults, Stables, and other Conveniences.

As the Mogul and the chiefest of his Court are *Moham-
medans*, so there are a vast Number of Mosques throughout
the City, of which seventy are remarkable for their Big-
ness, and six of them appointed for their Devotions on
Holy Days; these last they call *Matschididine*. In one of
these they shew you the Sepulchre of a certain Saint named
Sander, of the Posterity of *Ally*, and in another the Tomb
of a Giant Saint, being thirty Feet in Length, and sixteen
in Breadth. This Tomb is surrounded on all Sides with
little Banners, or Flags, as so many Tokens of his heroic
Achievements; whence it is, that his Sepulchre is fre-
quented by a vast Number of Pilgrims, who bring thither
daily their Offerings, out of which, and the ordinary Re-
venue belonging to it, are maintained such a vast Number
of Poor, that in those Respects it is not inferior to the Se-
pulchre of Sheik *Sefi* at *Ardebil*.

These Mosques, with their adjacent Courts, are so many
Sanctuaries both in criminal and civil Cases, the Mogul

himself never presuming to take any Criminal, tho' never
so great an Offender, thence, out of a Veneration all the
Mohammedans have for their Saints. In the City of *Agra*
are above eight hundred publick Baths, which pay a con-
siderable Sum yearly to the Mogul; for as Purification is
one of the main Ingredients of the *Mohammedan* Religion,
so these Baths are daily frequented by a vast Number of
People. The great Lords of the Court, who bear the
Title of *Rajas*, or *Princes*, have many of them, very fine
magnificent Houses both within and without the City, where
the King also has many Gardens and Summer-houses to
retire to upon Occasion, with the Women Dancers, who
dance before him stark naked.

17. But his Palace, which stands upon the River *Ge-
mini*, and is four Leagues in Compass, surpasses all that I
ever saw of that kind before or since. It is surrounded
with a Wall of Free-stone, and a broad Ditch, having a
Draw-bridge at each Gate; the Gate at the West Side lead-
ing to the *Bazar* is called *Cistee*; under this Gate is kept the
Court of Judicature, and in an adjoining spacious Hall the
Prime Vizier, or Lord-Chancellor, dispatches all Mat-
ters relating to Civil Affairs, where the Original Records are
kept. Immediately within this Gate you come into a very
spacious Street, with Shops on both Sides, leading directly
to the Mogul's Palace, the Gate of which is called *Akbo-
barks Desvage*, i. e. King *Akubars* Gate, through which
all the great Lords of the Court, except the King's Sons,
are obliged to go in on Foot; this being the Quarter
where the dancing and singing Women are lodged.

There is another Gate leading to the River, where the
Mogul every Morning pays his Devoirs to the Sun at his
rising. It is on that Side that great Men pay their Res-
pects to the King from a certain Eminency, where the
King can take particular Notice of them. The Com-
manders of Horse also stand on that Side, but at a great
Distance, at a Place where the Mogul sees the Engage-
ments every Day betwixt Lions, Elephants, Bulls, &c.
except *Fridays*, a Day dedicated to their Devotions. There
is also another Gate, which brings you into the Guard-
Hall; through this Hall is a Passage into a paved Court,
at the farther End of which you see a Row of Silver Pil-
lars under a Piazza, where is kept another Guard to prevent
the common People from entering. Here I met with my
Persian Servant who had left me at *Surat*, he offered me
all the Service he was able to do me, and would fain have
brought me within these Pillars, but that the Guards would
not permit it; this being the ready Way to the Mogul's
Apartment, where is a Row of Golden Pillars of a lesser
Size, and within them the Royal Throne of massy Gold,
enriched with Diamonds, Pearls, and precious Stones; and
above it a Gallery, where the Mogul appears every Day at
a certain time to hear and determine the Complaints of his
Subjects: But this Trial is so dangerous, that if you do
not prove the Matter of Fact by undeniable Evidence, you
run the Hazard of your Life.

None but the King's Sons, who fan him, and keep off
the Lies, are admitted within the Compass of those Golden
Pillars; neither is any other Person admitted into the
innermost Parts of the Mogul's Lodgings, except the Eu-
nuchs, who being one thousand two hundred in Number,
wait on the Ladies of the Seraglio. There is another
Apartment in the Castle very remarkable for its Tower,
which is covered with Gold, and the Treasure it contains,
having eight large Vaults filled with Gold, Silver, precious
Stones, the Value of which is inestimable. I had it from
very knowing and very worthy Persons, that Shah *Cheram*,
who reigned in my Time, had a Treasure which amounted
to one thousand five hundred Millions of Crowns. I had
from the same Hands an exact Inventory communicated to
me of the Treasure which was found at the Death of Shah
Akubars his Grandfather, which I will faithfully communi-
cate to the Reader.

An Inventory of the Treasure of Achobar (See Achobar in the History of the Mogul Emperors) at the Time of his Decease.

	Crowns.	Pence.
In certain sorts of Money coined by the special Order of the said Achobar	148,790,000	
In another kind of Money, called from his Name, Achobar Rupies	50,000,000	
In another sort of Money, called Paytes, sixty whereof make a Crown	383,333	10
In Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds, Saphires, Pearls, and other precious Stones	30,026,026	
In Statues of Gold of divers Creatures	9,503,370	30
In Household-stuff, Gold - Plate, as Dishes, Cups, &c.	5,866,895	5
In Bras and Copper Utensils	25,612	30
In Porcelain, or China Ware, and other Earthen - Vessels, to the Value of	1,253,873	30
In Brocades, and other gold and silver Stuffs, and in Silk and Calicoes	7,654,989	30
In Woolen-Cloths	251,626	
In Tents, Hangings, and Tapestry	4,962,772	30
Twenty-four thousand Manuscripts richly bound, valued at	3,231,865	30
In Artillery and Ammunition	4,287,985	30
His Magazine of Small-Arms, Swords, Bucklers, Pikes, Bows, Arrows, &c.	3,777,752	30
In Saddles, Bridles, and other Gold and Silver Accoutrements to the Value of	1,262,824	
In Covering-Cloths for Horses and Elephants, embroidered with Gold, and Silver, and Pearls	2,500,000	

All which together amounts to 274,113,793 : 15

This, tho' in itself an immense Sum, yet falls very short of fifteen hundred Millions, which is esteemed the Amount of the Mogul's Treasure at present. Neither is it at all improbable that it may be so; for though it may be true, that the ordinary Revenue of the Crown is not considerably encreased, yet by the rich Presents made annually at stated Times by his Grandees, and his being Heir-general to all the Officers in his Service throughout his extensive Empire, there is no Doubt that the gross Amount of his Receipts must be exceedingly augmented since that Time.

As there is no Inheritance of Estates belonging to the Children of great Persons, so they can claim no Share in their Fathers Dignity. The Title of Rajah being no more inheritable there than that of the Khan's in Persia, the only Advantage they have is, that they are entrusted with lesser Charges by the Mogul, till, by their Merits, they can raise themselves to the highest Dignity. The chiefest Officers of the Court are the Vizir, or Prime Minister, the chief of the Eunuchs, or Lord High Steward of the Treasury, Principal Secretary of State, General of the Elephants, and Surveyor of the Household-Stuff, Tents, and Jewels. These are constant Members of the Mogul's Privy Council, unto which is also sometimes called the Couteval, who is both Chief Justice, and Commander in chief of the Mogul's Guards. The Council commonly sits in the Night-time from seven till nine.

The Mogul appears every Morning at Sun-risings, and the Lords come to pay their Veneration to him about Noon, when he comes to see the Fighting of the Wild-Beasts, and about Evening when he appears at a certain Window to see the Sun-setting. According to the Roll of

the Kingdom, the Provinces of Candabar, Delhi, Bengal, Orissa, and some others, bringing in a yearly Revenue of Eighty-seven Millions, two hundred and fifty thousand Crowns, the Province of Guzarat is able to raise Ninety thousand Horses, Cambaya Twelve thousand, and Cabul as many; Orissa Eighty thousand, and Delhi One hundred and fifty thousand; besides those of the other Provinces, of which I could learn no Certainty. His Militia is divided into certain Brigades of twelve or fifteen hundred Horses, commanded either by the King's Sons, or the chiefest Lords in the Empire, some of whom have also under their Command certain Regiments of 2000, 3000, and 4000 Horses. Certain it is, that then the present Mogul went in Person into the Field against Khan-Kabasa in 1630. His Army consisted of 144,500 Horses, divided into four Brigades, besides a vast Number of Elephants, Camels, Mules and Artillery-Horses. The Arms used in their Camp were mostly Bows and Arrows, a Javelin, which they dart with great Dexterity, a Cymitar, Pointard and Buckler, which hang about their Necks. The Horsemen use no Fire-arms, but their Infantry use the Musquet tolerably well; their Pike-men have Pikes of ten or twelve Foot long, which they dart at the Enemy, instead of opposing the Horse with them as we do in Europe, some use Coats of Mail, reaching down to their Knees, but are without Head-pieces. They understand nothing of martial Exercises; the Van or Rear, Front and File, being Things never heard of among them; but fight without any Method or Order. Their chief Trust lies in their Elephants, on the Backs of which are fixed certain wooden Towers, carrying three or four Harquebuses, with as many Men to them, and the Elephants serve them instead of Bulwarks, to hinder the Enemy from breaking in upon them: But the worst is, that these Beasts being terrified by artificial Fire-works, or some other such like Means, make a greater Havock among their own People than the Enemy. They commonly have a great Train of Artillery, and some very large Pieces. They also make Gun-powder, but not so good as ours. Their Copper-trumpets and Timbrels, make a Noise that is not unpleasant in the Field. Their Armies never march above five Leagues in a Day. As in their Encampments they take up a vast Circumference of Ground, so they observe a very good Order in them, every thing being as well regulated there as in a City; and it is observable, that the Mogul and the General of the Army, always have their Tents pitched without the Reach of Musquet-shot from the rest.

His ordinary Guard is 12000 Men, besides the 600 that have the Title of the Guard of his Body, and are always attending his Person. The Mogul sometimes confers the Dignity of Rajah or Prince, upon his chief Vizir, who has the supreme Management of all civil and military Affairs throughout the Kingdom: He is not permitted to take the least Present, but his Clerks are so little conscientious in this Point, that for Money a Man may know every thing that passes through their Hands. The Rajahs and other great Men, pay a most profound Veneration to their Monarch; they never approach or speak to him without many Bows and Reverences, and when they are going away they do it backwards, bowing their Heads down to the Ground, putting their Hands over their Eyes, and afterwards upon their Breasts, to shew their Humility. The Mogul never stirs abroad out of the City or otherwise, without a Guard of ten thousand Men, at the Head of which march one hundred Elephants covered with Scarlet, Velvet, and Brocades, each having two Men on his Back, viz. one who guides the Beast, the other carries a Banner of Silk; upon seven or eight of the foremost are mounted the Musicians, who play upon the Timbrel. The Mogul is either mounted upon a fine Persian Horse, or is carried in a Coach drawn by two white Oxen, or carried in a Chair. The chief Men of the Court follow immediately after, and after them the Baggage. He commonly pitches his Tent in the Field, the better to enjoy the Convenience of the cool Air in the Summer, and to choose the warmest Place in the Winter, which is the Reason he commonly leaves Agra in April, and passes the Months of May, June, July and August, at Lahr, or in some other northerly Province.

andahar, Delhi, Bengal, in a yearly Revenue of five hundred and fifty thousand is able to raise Ninety thousand, and *Cabul* as and *Delhi* One hundred of the other Provinces, His Militia is twelve or fifteen hundred the King's Sons, or the of whom have also un- of 2000, 3000, that then the present field against *Khan-Kabaa* 144,500 Horse, divided Number of Elephants, Arrows, a Javelin, a Cymitar, Poni- about their Necks. The Pike-men have Pikes they dart at the Enemy, with them as we do in Eu- reaching down to their Pieces. They understand Van or Rear, Front and of among them; but fight Their chief Trust lies in of which are fixed certain or four Harquebuss, with Elephants serve them in the Enemy from breaking is, that these Beasts being, or some other such like among their own People only have a great Train of Pieces. They also make as ours. Their Copper- Noise that is not unplea- never march above five Encampments they take und, so they observe a ve- thing being as well regulat- observable, that the Mo- Army, always have their ch of Musquet-shot from

Men, besides the God of his Body, and are al- the Mogul sometimes con- vince, upon his chief Vizir, ent of all civil and military n: He is not permitted to erks are so little conscienci- ey a Man may know every Hands. The Rajahs and ofound Veneration to the h or speak to him with- and when they are going wing their Heads down to ds over their Eyes, and at- new their Humility. The the City or otherwise, with- ten, at the Head of which overed with Scarlet, Velvet, o Men on his Back, viz. e other carries a Banner of e foremost are mounted the Timbrel. The Mogul is an Horse, or is carried in a oxen, or carried in a Chair, low immediately after, and commonly pitches his Ten- by the Convenience of the o choose the warmest Place, season he commonly leave. Months of May, June, July, the other northerly Provinces.

The City of *Agra* is so populous, that it is able to raise two hundred thousand fighting Men. Most of the In- habitants are *Mohammedans*, but there is scarce any Nation in the World but what trade thither, and all Commodi- ties, whether imported or exported, pay 10 per Cent. Cust- tom. This City has under its Jurisdiction forty small Ci- ties, and three thousand five hundred Villages, its Terri- tories extending above sixty Leagues about. The adja- cent Country is very fertile in Indigo, Cotton, Salt-petre, and several other Commodities. The Festival of the *Nau- rus*, or New-year's-day, is celebrated in this City with a great deal of Ceremony. Before the King's Palace a Theatre, or Scaffold, richly adorned, is erected, surrounded with small Pillars in the Nature of a Balcony, where the King is seated upon richly embroidered velvet Cushions, being attended by his seven Ministers of State, the Empress be- ing not far off in a Gallery where she can see the whole Ceremony, but cannot be seen by any body. Near the King's Scaffold is another erected, painted and embellish- ed with Mother of Pearl, whither the principal Lords come out of their Tents, pitched and furnished with their most precious Moveables, in the outermost Court in the Palace, to pay their Veneration to the King; which done, he leaves the Theatre, and being seated on his Throne, he receives the Presents of his Subjects, and this he con- tinues for eighteen Days successively. Towards the Conclu- sion of these eighteen Days, the King, in return of the Presents the Lords and others have made him, bestows upon them his Presents, which are certain Employments and Honours proportionable to the Gifts he has received from their Hands.

The Mogul's Birth-day is also celebrated here after a peculiar Manner. The Day is begun with all manner of Diversions, which done, he shews himself to the Queen-Mother, if living, in her own Apartments, where the great Lords are obliged to appear, and to bring along with them considerable Presents. After Dinner he puts on the richest Apparel that can be contrived, laden all over with Gold, and precious Stones. Thus he goes into a Tent, and in the Presence of the chief Lords, weighs him- self in a Pair of Scales of massy Gold, the Chains where- of being of the same Metal, are set with precious Stones. He is set in one of the Scales, and in the other are put se- veral Bags of Silver, one of Gold, some precious Stones, certain Pieces of Silk, Stuffs, Calicoes, Pepper, Cloves, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Wheat, Pulse, and Herbs, and an exact Account is kept of the Difference of his Weight from one Year to the other. This done, the King gives the Money with his own Hands to the poor *Mohammedans*, and the rest is distributed among certain *Barjans*. Then being seated on his Throne, he orders to be call among the Lords of his Court, Nuts, Pistachoes, Almonds, and di- vers other sorts of Fruit of Gold, but so slightly made, that one thousand of them scarce weigh thirty Crowns, which tho' it may seem incredible, yet it is certain that it has been tried by Experience, that a whole large Balon full of this kind of wrought things, have not amounted to above ten Crowns, and it is computed, that all this great Mo- narch bestows upon this Occasion, would not amount to above the Value of one hundred Crowns. The Day is concluded with a great Feast at Court, unto which are in- vited all the principal Lords in waiting, who pass the Night with the Mogul in Drinking.

They also celebrate another Festival, which begins ten Days after the New-moon of the Month of *July*. This is observed to perpetuate the Memory of two Brothers named *Janze* and *Jawze*, who being holy Men or Saints, went on Pilgrimage to the Court of *Coromandel*, and were there killed by the *Bramans*, and other Pagans. They carry Coffins covered with Bows, Arrows, Turbants, Cymitars, and Garments of Silk, through the City, the People fol- lowing in whole Troops with great Lamentation, some casting their Arms till the Blood issues forth plentifully. In the Evening they make diverse Figures of Straw repre- senting the Persons who murdered them; at these they shoot their Arrows, and at last burn them to Ashes. They perform this with so much Animosity, that no Pa- gan dares to appear about that Time in the Streets. The *Indian Mohammedans* also celebrate the Feast of the Sacri-

fice of *Abraham*. It is held in *June*, when they kill a He-goat, which serves them to entertain their Friends with that Day. The Great Mogul deduces his Off-spring from the famous *Timur*, or *Tamerlane*, in a direct Line, the said *Tamerlane* being descended from the Family of *Zingis- Khan* of *Tartary*. *Shah-Choram*, who reigned at the Time of my Travels into these Parts, usurped the Crown from his Nephew Prince *Polagi*, whom, as we told you, we saw at *Gassnis*.

The Mogul was then about sixty Years of Age. He had three Sons, the eldest was about twenty-five; but his Affections being most for the youngest, he intended to bestow the Crown upon him, and to make the other two contented with the Government of certain Provinces. The Beginning of his Reign had favoured not a little of Cru- elty, and even afterwards he could not but betray his In- clinations, by putting such as were guilty of High Treas- on to unheard of Torments; for the rest, he was of a pleasant Humour enough, taking much delight in Musick, and the Women Dancers dance naked before him. Of these I heard the *English* relate a pleasant Story, that a certain Person of Note belonging to the Court, in whose Conversation the Mogul took particular Delight, being missing at Court, the Mogul asked the Reason of his Ab- sence, and being answered, that he had taken Physick, the Mogul ordered his Women Dancers to go to his House, to strip themselves naked, and to ease themselves before him. The Gentleman hearing of their Coming, and hav- ing got some Scent of what their Errand was, asked them immediately after their coming into the Room, what the King had commanded them to do, and being answered, that they were to ease themselves there, he told them, that they might put the King's Commands in Execution as soon as they pleased; but asking them at the same Time, whether they had any further Commands, they having answered no, he bid them have a special Care not to transgress the Orders laid upon them; for, said he, if any of you piss but one Drop, I will have you all soundly whipped, which put them into such a Fright, that not daring to run the Hazard of the Lash, they returned to the Mogul, who understanding by what Invention the Gentleman had di- verted them from what they were ordered to do, laughed very heartily at his Ingenuity.

His daily Diversions were to see the Lions, Elephants, Tigers, Leopards, and other wild Beasts fight one with ano- ther. He also often delighted in seeing Men engage with those savage Creatures, but never forced them against their Will, there being not wanting those, who in Hopes of ob- taining thereby the Mogul's Favour, would hazard their Lives upon that Score. I remember the Mogul on his Son's Birth-day being present at the Combat between a Lion and a Tiger, which were both very much hurt, he ordered Proclamation to be made upon the Spot, that whoever had so much Courage as to fight with one of those Beasts with Sword and Buckler only, should be, if he vanquished, honoured with the Title of *Khan*. It was not long before three *Indians* appeared to accept the Challenge, and having laid by their Coats of Mail, one engaged with a furious Lion, and for some Time made his Party good very courageously, but the Beast pressing very hard upon his Left-hand, in which he held his Buck- ler, the Weight whereof at last forced the Buckler out of his Hand; so that seeing himself in unavoidable Danger of his Life, he thrust a Dagger which he wore in his Girdle into the Lion's Jaws, who thereupon let go his Hold, and was marching off; but the *Indian* followed him, and with a Blow cros his Head, laid him dead upon the Ground. The Acclamations of the People were loud upon this Oc- casion, but the Mogul was so far from being pleased with the Action, that on the contrary, being highly incensed at his having made use of any other Arms except his Sword and Buckler, he commanded the Fellow's Belly to be rip- ed up, and the Body to be exposed to the View of the whole City. The second *Indian* made up with no less Courage than the former, to a Tiger brought in for that Purpose, but this fierce Creature was so dexterous and nim- ble, as to seize him by the Throat, and so killed him. The third *Indian*, tho' a Person of a mean Stature, and worse Aspect, nothing dismayed at the Misfortune of his

Comrade, engaged the same Tyger with unspeakable Bravery, who was for playing the same Game with this, that he had done with the other: But as he was going to fasten on the *Indoſtan's* Throat, he cut off both his Fore-paws at one Blow, and ſoon after diſpatched him; at which the Mogul was ſo well pleaſed, that he preſented this Man (whole Name was *Geily*) with a Garment of Brocade with his own Hands, and beſtowed the Dignity of a *Khan* upon him.

18. I ſhould not have left *Agra* ſo ſoon, had not an unhappy Accident made me alter my firſt Reſolution; for as I was talking one Day in the Streets with my *Perſian* Servant who left me at *Surat*, an *Indoſtan*, of a very goodly Aſpect, came up to me, aſking me what I had to do in thoſe Parts? to whom I made anſwer, that I was a Native of *Germany*, whom Curioſity had brought thither. He told me, that unleſs he was very much miſtaken, I was the Perſon that had killed his Kinſman in the Engagement at *Iſpahan*, betwixt the *Indoſtans* and *Germans*. As I was convinced in my Conſcience that he ſpoke Truth, ſo I was not a little amazed at it. But two *Engliſh* Merchants that were along with him, proteſting that I was lately come from *England* by Sea to *Surat*, made me perſiſt poſitively in it, that I had never ſet Foot in *Perſia*. This would, perhaps, however, have ſtood me but in little ſtead, had not the ſame Servant declared, and ſworn by his *Mohammed* and *Hoſſein*, that he knew me, and that I ſaid nothing but Truth: So that with much ado we got rid of the *Indoſtan* at that Time.

But as his Sight was not very agreeable to me, ſo I made it my Buſineſs to take the next Opportunity of leaving *Agra*, which I did accordingly, taking the Advantage of a Caravan that was going thence to *Labor*, 60 Leagues further into the Country, all which Way we travelled thro' one continued Viſto of Palm, Date, Cocoa, and other Fruit-trees, which, with the Company of two *Dutch* Merchants, and ſome *Banjans*, made this Journey very pleaſant, tho' theſe laſt were not very well pleaſed with the Diſſerſion I took in ſhooting at the Apes, Parrots, and ſome other Creatures, and among the reſt, at a Serpent, a thing much eſteemed by them. The City of *Labor* is ſeated upon the River *Roxy*, one of thoſe that with four more join their Waters with the *Indus*. It lies in 32° 30' having many fair Gardens on the River ſide, and the Country about it being fertile in Fruits of all ſorts, but eſpecially in Wheat and Rice. The royal Palace, which lies in the middle of the City, is ſurrounded by a very high Wall, beſides that, it contains many other Palaces, belonging to ſuch Perſons of Note as generally attend the Mogul, where-ever he goes, and a great many Moſques and publick Baths. I had the Curioſity to go into one of theſe Baths, which I found to be exactly after the *Perſian* Faſhion, with ſeveral Partitions made half round, within narrow at the Entrance, and wide at the Bottom, each having its peculiar Door, and two Cifters for receiving the Water, which is let in by brazen Cocks, more or leſs, according as thoſe who bathe are pleaſed to order it. After bathing, I was deſired to lie down upon a Stone ſeven or eight Feet long, and four broad, where being ſoundly rubbed firſt upon my Belly, and afterwards all along the Back-bone, down towards the Side; the Fellow would have rubbed the Soles of my Feet alſo, with ſome Sand, which I not being able to endure, he aſked me immediately whether I was a Chriſtian, and I having told him that I was, he gave me the Hair-Cloth to rub them myſelf.

In this Journey to *Labor*, I rode upon four ſeveral Creatures, that is to ſay, a Camel, a Mule, an Elephant, and an Ox, which trotted ſo hard, that he carried me fix or ſeven Leagues within four Hours. Having received Letters from *Agra*, that the *Engliſh* Director was preparing for his return from *Surat* for *England*, I took the Convenience of a ſmall Caravan of *Indian* Merchants, that were going to *Amadabat*, where I was no ſooner arrived, but I underſtood that he expected only the coming of the Caravans of *Agra* and *Amadabat*, in order to his Voyage to *England*, deſiring me to make what haſte I could to *Surat*, being very deſirous I ſhould be preſent at the Reſignation of his Preſidentſhip, which was to be performed in a few

Days. Whilſt I was at *Amadabat*, I ſaw the *Mohammedans* celebrate a Feaſt. All the Windows of the Houſes round the great Market-place were filled with Lamps, before which ſtood glaſs Veſſels full of Water, of all ſorts of Colours, which afforded a very delightful Proſpect at a Diſtance, and the Night was concluded with Feaſting and fine Fire-works, compoſed of Squibs, Crackers, and many ingenious Inventions of that kind; among the reſt, they had faſtened certain Lamps to Wheels, which being turned round with great Violence, made a pleaſant Shew.

The Caravan of *Agra* was no ſooner arrived at *Amadabat*, but I prepared to go along with them to *Surat*. The firſt Day we travell'd fix Leagues to *Amadabat*, but the next Day the *Engliſh* Director and his Deputy, being deſirous to be at *Surat*, at the Reſignation of the chief Director there, myſelf and another left the Caravan, taking twenty-four Soldiers along with us for Guards. We croſſed the River *Waſſet* with our Banners, according to the *Indian* Cuſtom, where Perſons of any Note always have Banners, not unlike our Cornets, carried before them. At Night we took our Quarters in the Fort of *Saiſapour*, where meeting with the *Engliſh* Factor of *Brodra*, we ſlaid in that Place all the next Day, but continued our Journey in the Evening, and were lodged next Night in a Garden, whence we proceeded the next Day to a noted Ciftern for freſh Water called *Sambord*, which being at that Time guarded by a Troop of Country People, who pretended to keep us from fetching the Water we had Occaſion for, a Diſpute aroſe betwixt them and ſome of our Soldiers, which at laſt came to Blows; for whilſt our People were drawing up their Water, the Country Fellows wounded five of them with their Arrows, which ſo exasperated the reſt, that they killed three of the Country People.

But before next Day appeared, we met with another Encounter, which was likely to have proved fatal to ſome of us; for the *Dutch* Caravan (which we had overtaken on the Road) going away about Midnight, we followed ſoon after, but were not gone far before we heard one of thoſe Trumpeters, who in the *Indies* commonly march before the Caravans found his Intrument in an adjacent Wood; as we had been already forewarned of the *Rajpoots*, who had committed ſeveral Robberies, and killed divers Perſons hereabouts the Day before, ſo we did not in the leaſt queſtion, that this was the Signal of our coming given to thoſe Rogues; neither was it long before we found our Gueſs verified by their coming out of the Wood with Pikes, Bucklers, Bows and Arrows; but the beſt was, that they had no Fire-Arms. We had ſcarce Time enough to put ourſelves in a Poſture of Defence; but the *Engliſh* Merchants and I getting on Horſeback, we beſtowed the four Firelocks we had among thoſe of our Company, who were in a Coach, reſerving three Cafe of Piftols for our own Uſe on Horſeback. Our Agreement was not to fire till we were ſure of doing good Execution, and the *Rajpoots* gave us a fair Opportunity to employ our Fire-arms to the beſt Advantage; for as they were coming towards us in a very cloſe Body, we diſcharged our Firelocks, which were charged with ſquare Pieces of Iron, among them, which made three drop at once; but truſting in their Number, they puſhed forward, killed two of our Soldiers, ſhot an Arrow into the Pommel of my Saddle, and another into the Turban of the *Engliſh* Merchant: Nay, they came ſo near us, that I received two Thrulls with their Halt-pikes upon my Buff Collar, which I was beholden to for my Life at that Time. Nay, two of the *Rajpoots* got hold of my Horſe's Bridle, and were juſt going to carry me off, when the *Engliſh* Merchant came in very reaſonably to my Relief, ſo that I made ſhift to kill one of them by a Piſtol Shot, and to get clear of the other. By this time ten Soldiers belonging to the *Dutch* Caravan came in to our Aſſiſtance, and the Caravan itſelf being not much behind, the *Rajpoots* did not think it convenient to ſtay much longer, but made the beſt of their way to the Wood, leaving fix of their Comrades killed upon the Spot, beſides ſeveral others deſperately wounded, whom they carried off. We had only two Foot Soldiers killed, and about eight wounded Perſons. We expected another Viſit from them, but we heard no more of them, and ſo arrived about Noon at *Brenſickia*, and travelled eight Leagues more the ſame Day

I saw the *Mohammedans* of the Houses filled with Lamps, be-
f Water, of all sorts of
lightful Prospect at a
ded with Feasting and
ibs, Crackers, and ma-
and; among the rest,
to Wheels, which being
made a pleasant Show.
oner arrived at *Amada-*
th them to *Surat*. The
of *Amadabat*, but the next
deputy, being desirous to
the chief Director there,
van, taking twenty-four.
We crossed the River
g to the *Indian* Custom,
have Banners, not un-
em. At Night we took
Jaipour, where meeting
t, we staid in that Place
our Journey in the Even-
at in a Garden, whence
a noted Cistern for fresh-
ing at that Time guarded
who pretended to keep us
Occasion for, a Dispute
of our Soldiers, which at
our People were drawing
Fellows wounded five of
so exasperated the rest,
entry People.

We met with another En-
ve proved fatal to some of
which we had overtaken on
Midnight, we followed
far before we heard one of
odies commonly march be-
bitriment in an adjacent
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beral Robberies, and killed
y before, so we did not in-
s the Signal of our coming
was it long before we found
ing out of the Wood with
ows; but the best was, that
had scarce Time enough to
Detence; but the *Eng-*
oriback, we bestowed the
house of our Company, who
three Cafe of Pillols for our
Agreement was not to fire
Execution, and the *Ra-*
ty to employ our Fire-arms
they were coming towards
charged our Firelocks, which
ces of Iron, among them,
; but trusting in their Num-
ber two of our Soldiers, shot
my Saddle, and another into
rchant: Nay, they came to
thrills with their Halt-pikes

I was beheld to for my
o of these *Respects* got hold
re just going to carry me off,
me in very seasonably to my
kill one of them by a Pistol
other. By this time ten Sol-
Caravan came in to our At-
being not much behind, the
venient to stay much longer,
ay to the Wood, leaving fix
on the Spot, besides several
whom they carried off. We
illed, and about eight wound-
another Visit from them, but
and to arrived about Noon at
Leagues more the same Day

to the Village of *Onclaffor*, and the next Day, being the
26th of December, to *Surat*.

19. The Day after my Arrival at *Surat*, I was present
at the Resignation of Mr. *Merwold*, the then chief Direc-
tor of the *English East-India* Company to Mr. *Fremling*,
who had been his Deputy before; there were present at it
five Consuls, or Head Factors of that Nation in the *Indies*;
three Ministers, two Physicians, and twenty-five Merchants.
After he had given them Thanks for their Fidelity to the
Company, and for the Affection and Respect they had
shewed to his Person, he begged of them to continue the
same both to the Company and Mr. *Fremling*; and thus
with a short Complement he commissioned the said Mr.
Fremling; after which he gave us a very magnificent Entertain-
ment, there being not any thing wanting that the Sea-
son afforded; besides that we had a good Share both of
the *English* and *Indian* Musick, as well as the Women
Dancers. December the 28th the new Sultan or Governor
of *Surat* made his publick Entry through that Place, having
carried before him a certain Number of *Palanquins*, followed
by one hundred and twenty Foot Soldiers, twenty of which
carried Banners after the *Indian* Fashion. His Name was
Myrza Mohammed, and was mounted on a most excellent
Persian Horse. Almost all the Persons of Note of the Pro-
vince, and among the rest the chief of the *English* Mer-
chants, conducted him to his Palace. Immediately after
the Establishment of the new *English* Chief, the Factors
and Merchants returned to their respective Places of Resi-
dence, and the two *English* Ships then in Harbour there,
called the *Mary* and the *Swan*, were ordered to dispose
every thing for their Voyage, the latter being to sail ten
Days before the other, and to expect our coming at the *Cape*
of Good Hope.

But before we take our last Farewel of *Surat*, it will be
requisite we should discharge ourselves of our Promise of
giving you some Account of the Province of *Guzarat*, in
which it lies. The Occasion of the Kingdom of *Guzarat*
being incorporated with the Mogul's Empire, happened thus:
The *King*, a Favourite of Sultan *Mohammed* King of
Guzarat, who died 1545, and constituted Guardian to the
young King his Son, who was then not above eleven Years
of Age, finding himself uneasy in this Station, by reason
of the Jealousy of the chief Lords of the Kingdom against
him, craved the Assistance of *Achobar* the then Great
Mogul, or Emperor of *Indostan*, to maintain him in his
Dignity, offering the City of *Amadabat* to him as a Pledge
for his Fidelity; the Mogul, willing to accept of so fair an
Opportunity, not only possessed himself of *Amadabat*, but
also of the whole Kingdom, carrying both the young King
and his Guardian away into Captivity. The King being
afterwards come to Age of Maturity, found means to make
his Escape, and to repass some Part of his Dominions; but
the Mogul was so close upon his Heels, that in less than
a Twelve-month's Time he chased him thence, and the
King of *Guzarat*, finding himself a second Time fallen into
an Enemy's Hands, from whom he expected no good
Treatment, cut his own Throat.

Ever since that time this Province is governed by a Sul-
tan or Viceroy, who has an absolute Authority here in ma-
naging both the publick Affairs of the Government, as
well as all the Revenues thereunto belonging, which are very
great, and formerly amounted to eighteen Millions of Gold,
besides the Customs of *Broitichia* and *Brodra*, which pro-
duced eighteen hundred thousand Crowns per Annum, the
rest arising for the most part out of the third Part of the
Arable Lands which belong to the King's Revenues,
which are assigned to the Governor for the Maintenance of
a certain Body of Horse and Foot, to bridle the Insolence of
certain petty Princes inhabiting the Mountains, and to clear
the Highways from certain insolent Robbers, who illue
forth out of the Woods in Troops of three or four hun-
dred, and make the Roads very unsafe. But as the Num-
ber of Troops that are kept thus falls very short from what
they ought to be, this, with the absolute Disposal of Jus-
tice, which the Governor is intrusted with, gives such an
Opportunity of amassing prodigious Wealth as is almost in-
conceivable. His ordinary Residence is at *Amadabat*, and
his Court and Equipage so splendid when he appears in
publick, that scarce any Court in *Christendom* is to be com-

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pared with it; but as these Governors are merely depend-
ing on the Mogul's Pleasure, so they are sure to make the
best Use they possibly can of their Time to enrich them-
selves at any rate. Hence it is, that he who complains to
them first, and knows how to back it with Money, shall
seldom go off a loser; neither is any Crime so great, but
what may be bought off with Money.

The Couteval, or Governor's Deputy, has, however,
the Privilege of giving Judgment in Affairs of less Mo-
ment, and it is he who directs the Brothel-houses, and re-
ceives their Taxes; for as they look upon Murder and
Adultery (especially if committed with a Woman of Qua-
lity) as the greatest Crimes, so they not only allow,
but also protect Prostitutes, and that with so much Circum-
spection, that it is both without Danger and Blame that
People frequent those Houses. Having given you before
a short Account of those Cities we passed through in our
Journey to and from *Agra*, we will here also say something
of the rest of the Cities belonging to this Province. *Goga*
is an open Place thirty Leagues from *Cambaya*, situated upon
the Gulph, where it is so narrow, that it rather resembles
a River than an Inland Sea. It is chiefly inhabited by *Ban-*
jans; the *Portuguese* Ships keep there their Rendezvous, in
order to convey their Ships to *Goa*. *Pattepatan* and *Man-*
gerol, two large Towns, nine Leagues from *Goza*, are in-
habited by Calico-Weavers; the City of *Diu* lies upon the
Southern Frontiers of the Kingdom; the *Portuguese* have
three considerable Forts there. The City of *Bisantagan*
contains above twenty thousand Houses, and is consequently
one of the biggest of the whole Province. The Fertility of
the adjacent Country in Rice, Wheat, Cotton, and Pa-
stures, and its Situation, which is in the Centre of the Pro-
vince, has raised it of late to what it is, it being formerly
but an inconsiderable Village. The City of *Pattan* was for-
merly one of the most considerable of those Parts, having
six Leagues in Circumference, and encompassed with a
good Wall of Free-stone, which is now decayed in many
Places.

Since the Trade of this Place has been destroyed by a
certain kind of Thieves, which so infest the Roads there-
abouts, that the Merchants durst not venture their Persons
and Commodities thither. The Inhabitants live now, for
the most part, by weaving Silk Stuffs, and Calicoes; but
the last are very coarse. The Governor has his Residence
in a very noble Castle; and in the very Centre of the City
is one of the most sumptuous Mosques of all the East, the
Roof being sustained by one thousand and fifty Pillars, most
of Marble. *Cheytepour* is a small City garrisoned only by
a hundred and fifty Men for the Security of the Caravans,
six Leagues from *Pattan*, and twenty-two from *Amadabat*,
situate upon the Banks of a small River. The Inhabitants
are *Barjans*, who live on weaving of Calicoes, and
making of Cotton-yarn. *Messana* is an open Place, but
maintains two hundred Horse Soldiers in an old ruined
Castle, for the safe Passage of the Caravans. Some Cali-
coes are made here, the Country being very fertile in Cot-
ton. The three small Cities of *Vassari*, *Gaudin*, and *Bal-*
sara, are under the Jurisdiction of *Surat*, the first lying
six Leagues, the second nine Leagues, and the third four-
teen Leagues thence, and all three not above two Leagues
Distance from the Sea. Their Trade is in coarse Cottons,
which are made in great Quantities here: The Country
thereabouts also affords great Plenty of Timber for the
building both of Houses and Ships.

20. The Descendants from the ancient Inhabitants of
this Province are still *Pagans*, and are called *Hindou*, or
Indou. The *Mohammedan* Religion was first introduced
here by *Tamerlane*, and is since encreased by the great
Concourse of Strangers of the same Religion; this Coun-
try being inhabited by *Persians*, *Arabsians*, *Armenians*, and
several other Nations; but you seldom meet with any
Chinese or *Japanese* here. As most of the *Mohammedans*
here profess the same Religion with the *Persians*, so their
Language is as current here as the *Indian*. The *Indian*
Mohammedans indeed adhere to the Opinion of *Hembili* and
Maleki, whereas the *Persians* admit of no other Exposi-
tions of the Alchoran but those of *Haly* and *Tzazerjaduck*,
but they both, with the same Zeal, reject that of the
Turkish Interpreter *Haniff*. They are generally of an

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olive or yellowish Complexion, though those to the North are not quite so dark as those living more to the South. The Men are commonly strong and well made, with large Faces and black Eyes. They shave their Heads and Beards, excepting only the *Mughaboos*, like the *Persians*; and the *Mohammedans*, are clad after the same Way, except that they pleat their Turbans in a different Fashion; and the *Indostans* wear the Opening of their Garments under the Left-arm; whereas the *Persians* wear it under the Right. The former tie their Girdle before with the Ends hanging down, and the latter wind it several Times round the Waist, and twist the Ends within it: To those they fasten their Daggers, which are about a Foot long, broad towards the Handle, and very narrow towards the Point. Some Swords there are worn here, but the Soldiers generally wear Cymitars.

As the *Indian* Horses are not very valuable, and yet very scarce, so their Oxen are frequently used instead of them, which are as swift as Horses, I have seen whole Bodies of these Ox-Troopers. Their Women are short, but well shaped; they wear their Hair hanging down over their Shoulders, and on their Heads a kind of a Cap of Lawn, interwoven with Gold, the Ends of which come down quite to their Knees. The richer sort are very sumptuous in their Apparel, have Pendants of Pearls and Diamonds in their Ears, and very fine Necklaces of Pearls, which make the fairer Show upon their Necks, which are of a brown Complexion. They sometimes also wear Rings in their Nostrils. Breeches and Drawers are common to both Sexes, and are generally made of Taffaty or Calicoe, and that of such a Length as they would cover all the Body were it not for certain Strings that are fastened to them, that they can draw them together in Picats like Mens Boots, though above the Ham they lie close to the Body without any Folds: Over these they wear their Shifts, which, however, reach scarce to the Navel; and over these again a Petticoat of Taffaty or Calicoe, but so thin that you may see thro' it. Their Shoes are flat soled and narrow towards the Toe, and commonly of red *Spanish* Leather. Their Breasts and Arms, as far as their Elbows, are bare, but covered with Bracelets. Women that value their Reputation here, never appear abroad with their Faces uncovered; and those of Quality scarce ever go out of Doors.

The Women of the *Banjans* are clad after a quite different Manner, for they, as they don't shave their Heads, so they don't wear their Hair very long; neither do they cover their Faces, but wear Pendants and very rich Jewels, especially in their Ears. Black Teeth are a singular Ornament among them, which is the Reason they call us *Europeans*, in Derision, *Bendia*, i. e. Apes. They also wear no Breeches, but, instead of them, a Piece of Silk, reaching down to their Hams, over which they put their Smocks, and over them their upper Garments, which are fastened round their Waist with a kind of Girdle: Some of them wear small Waistcoats, the Sleeves of which come no farther than the Elbow, being naked from the Brest down to the Navel. During the Summer-season their Shoes are made of Wood, only fastened with Straps to their Feet; but in the Winter they have Shoes of Velvet, Brocade, or gilt Leather, the Quarters of which are very low, that they may put them off and on with more Convenience; when they are going in, or coming out of a Room, the Floor of which is covered with Tapeltry. Children of both Sexes are kept naked till they are five Years old. For the rest, the *Banjans* live with a great deal of Circumpection among the *Mohammedans*, who treat them contemptibly, and much after the same Manner as the *Jews* are looked upon with us, in those Places where they are suffered to live. Notwithstanding which they are more ingenious and crafty than the *Mohammedans*, which is the Reason both the *English* and *Dutch* employ them as their Brokers, it being next to an Impossibility that any Stranger should be able to find out all their Impositions without the Assistance of some of their own Gang.

Their Children, especially their Daughters, they marry at seven, eight, nine, or ten Years of Age, it being very rare that they stay till the twelfth; for as the *Indians* arrive sooner at Maturity than other Nations, they are of Opinion, that if a Maid stays any Time beyond that Age,

she must be subject to some Infirmary. The Day for the Consummation of the Marriage being come, the Parents of both Parties sit round a good Fire in a spacious Room, the Bride and Bridegroom take three Turns about them, whilst the Braman gives them his Benediction. If a *Banjan* Bridegroom happens to die before he has taken his three Turns thus, the Bride may challenge the Privilege of marrying another, the Widows of the *Banjans* being not allowed a second Marriage upon any Account, though their Husbands should chance to die before the Consummation of the Marriage: So that those who cannot dispense with a single Life, associate themselves to the Women-Dancers. The *Banjan* Women are not obliged to burn themselves with their dead Husbands (as the Wives of the *Bramans* and *Rajpoots* are) unless they will do it voluntarily. The Men are permitted not only to marry a second or third Time, but may have two or three Wives at a Time, provided the first or second prove barren; but the first challenges, and retains the Precedency. The Sons only inherit the Father's Estates, but are to maintain the Mother, and are to provide Husbands for the Sisters. As they use neither Baptism or Circumcision, they must be numbered among the *Pagans*: And though they acknowledge one supreme Being, the Creator and Preferer of all Things, yet they pay worship to the Devil, for this Reason, because that God having constituted him to govern the World, he ought to be appeased by Offerings.

The Figure under which they adore him, is to be seen in all their Pagodas or Temples, some of Gold and Silver, some of Ivory, Ebony, and Marble, and others of Wood, or common Stone. The Head, which has four Horns, besides a Triple-crown in the Shape of a Crown, or Mitre, with a grim Countenance, and two great Teeth coming out of the Mouth, like the Tusks of a Wild-Bear, and a great rough Beard all over the Chin. The Arms hang down carelessly on both Sides, and the Breasts are extended as low as the Navel, under which, betwix his Thighs, you see another Head, with two Horns more deformed than the first, thrusting out of the Mouth a very ugly large Tongue: The Feet are like Paws of ravenous Creatures, and behind a Cow's Tail. This Statue is always fixed upon a Stone-table, which is the Altar where the Offerings are made to the Idol. On the Right-side of it stands a Cistern, in which those that come to sacrifice purify themselves before-hand; and on the Left-hand a Chelt, into which they put their Offerings, which are always made in Money. There is another Vessel not far from the Cistern, out of which the Braman, or Priest, takes a certain yellow Mixture, made of Water and Sandal-wood, and therewith marks the Foreheads of such as have performed their Devotions. The Braman's ordinary Place is at the Foot of the Altar, but he rises from thence frequently to say his Prayers, and before he goes away, he is sure to purify his Hands, by rubbing them over in the Flame of the Lamps, which are placed before and about the Altar, and furnish their Pagodas with Light, and consequently are kept continually burning, being the chiefest, if not the only Ornaments of these Temples, which look more like Caves and Holes of Darkness than Places of Devotion, there being nothing to be seen on the Walls of them but the Figures of Beasts and Devils: Notwithstanding which these poor Wretches pay their Devotions with more Respect and Zeal than is observed in most Christian Churches.

They are like the *Mohammedans*, much addicted to corporal Purifications, which they seldom fail to use every Morning before Sun-rising. The Bramans deduce their Original immediately from their God *Brama*, and say that they are the Product of his Head, whereas the rest came out of his Thighs, Feet, and other more ignoble Parts. Mr. *Abraham Rogers*, who lived ten Years in the *Dutch* Service, on the Coast of *Cerromandel*, says, that the *Bramans* acknowledged for their supreme God, one *Wishnu*, or *Esuora*, and that out of his Navel sprung forth a Flower called *Tamara*, which produced *Brama*; the first of all Men who had Power given him, not only to create the World, but also to settle what Order and Government he thought best. They further say, that this *Brama*, being God,

city. The Day for the being come, the Parents fire in a spacious Room, three Turns about them, Benediction. If a *Ban-* before he has taken his challenge the Privilege of the *Banjans* being not any Account, though die before the Consummation those who cannot dedicate themselves to the Women are not obliged dead Husbands (as the *Shpoots* are) unless they are permitted not only, but may have two or the first or second prove, and retains the Precedence of the Father's Estates, but are to provide Husbands their Baptism or Circumcision among the *Pagans*: And the Supreme Being, the Creator, yet they pay worship to him that God having condescended, he ought to be ap-

adore him, is to be seen in some of Gold and Silver, and others of the Head, which has four the Shape of a Crown, or two great Teeth the Tusks of a Wild-Boar, over the Chin. The Sides, and the Breasts, under which, between two Horns more out of the Mouth a Feet are like Paws of a Cow's Tail. This Statue, which is the Altar the Idol. On the Right side those that come to fish, and on the Left side their Offerings, which there is another Vessel not made of Water and Sand the Foreheads of such as the *Braman's* ordinary, but he rises from thence and before he goes away, by rubbing them over in which are placed before and their Pagodas with Light, continually burning, being the Elements of these Temples, and Holes of Darkness than nothing to be seen on the Figures of Beasts and Devils: poor Wretches pay their Devotion and Zeal than is observed in

Bans, much addicted to convey seldom fail to use every The *Bramans* deduce their God *Brama*, and say that dead, whereas the rest came from other more ignoble Parts. lived ten Years in the *Dutch* *Comandant*, says, that the *Braman* Supreme God, one *Wijah*, or *Navel* sprung forth a Flower *Brama*; the first of all men, not only to create the Order and Government he say, that this *Brama*, being God's

God's Vicegerent, has distributed the Administration of the Universe among eight Licutenants, the chief of whom they stile *Deiwendra*, and say he commands all the rest of the Governors, who govern eight distinct Worlds, such as ours are, all which they are of Opinion swim upon the Surface of the Water like so many Eggs.

They say farther, that there have been divers Worlds before that which is now in being, and others will be after it; though, they tell us, that the World we live in, is to continue a Million of Ages, since that in the Year 1693, there were no more than 4739 Years of the fourth Age of the World elapsed; and that the first Age had lasted 17290 Years. That in the first age of the World all Men were just and good to such a Degree, that the Devil, who was then created, had no Power to injure them; that in the next following Age, the fourth Part of Mankind became depraved; that in the third there was an equal Mixture of good and bad; and that in this last Age of the World, the Number of the good amount only to one fourth of the whole. But let this suffice concerning the Theology of these *Pagans*; we will only add, here, that the *Bramans* have by their Austerity of Life and Abstinence, gained a great Advantage over the *Pagans*, who look upon their Expolitions of the Mysteries of their Religion as so many sacred Oracles; for which Reason also, generally, they entrust them with the Education of their Children. They are distinguished from the other *Banjans* by a peculiar kind of Linnen Coiffure; besides that, they never cut their Hair, and wear three Strings of Packthread next their Skins coming from their Shoulders cross their Breasts to the Waist; and as this is the Badge of their Order, so they never lay it aside: They believe the Immortality of the Soul, and its Transmigration from the Bodies of Men into those of Beasts, before they can be capable of the Enjoyment of the Blessings of the other World; for which Reason it is that the *Banjans* will not allow the killing of any living Creatures, even down to the Insects; and they are so careful in this Point, that they will not keep any Fire, or lighted Candles in the Night-time, for fear the Flies should burn themselves; and when they do at other Times, they make it in Pots under Ground. Their charitable Inclinations to all living Creatures are so great, that they redeem such Birds as are caught by the *Mohammedans*, to be killed; nay, they have certain Hospitals appointed for sick and wounded Birds.

Among the *Malabars* these *Bramans* are in such Veneration, that they have the First-fruits of all the Brides, and by the richer Sort are invited to perform this Task with very considerable Presents; nay, there is scarce any body of Note there, when he is to be absent from Home for any Time, but recommends his Family, especially his Wife, to the Care of a *Braman*, to supply his Place.

The *Banjans* are accounted to have thirty-eight principal Casts among them, not to speak here of the lesser ones, which are not to be numbered; they have four general Sects, under which all the rest are included, viz. those of *Couravath*, *Samarach*, *Bishnow*, and *Googay*. Those of the first Sect are very precise in the Preservation of living Creatures, for which reason their *Bramans* have their Mouths covered with a Piece of Calicoe, for fear any Insect should get into and perish in their Mouths; they for the same reason sweep their Rooms continually, and will not sit down before they have looked, for fear of sitting upon them; neither do they keep any Fire or Candle in their Houses. They are distinguished from the others by a white Staff they carry in their Hands, and walk always bare-headed and bare-footed. Their Clothing is only a Piece of Calicoe coming down from the Waist to the Knee, the upper Part of their Bodies being covered only with a woollen Cloth. They don't believe an infinite Being as the rest do, but attribute the Events of all Things to Chance, and know of no other good Deeds but Fasting and Giving of Alms. In Consequence of this Opinion, they acknowledge in the Sun, Moon, Stars, the Earth, in all Creatures, nay, in Trees, and in Metals, and all visible Things, the inherent Causes of their Production. They allow two Suns, and as many Moons, which they say relieve each other alternately every Day. They believe nothing of Heaven, or any Mansion of the Blessed,

tho' at the same Time, they acknowledge the Immortality of the Soul, and its Transmigration, which they say, does, after the Separation from the first Body, go into another, either of Man or Beast, according to the Behaviour of the Deceased in this World; they say it always makes Choice of a Female that it may return into the World, though in another Body. Their Temples are all four-square, with flat Roofs open to the East-side, under which are the Chapels of their Pagods, or Idols, raised ten Feet from the Ground, in the Form of a Pyramid, with Stairs leading up to them, on which you see certain Figures of Wood, Stone, or Paper, representing some Persons among them who have rendered themselves famous by their extraordinary good Fortune. The chiefest Time of their Devotion is in *August*, when they mortify themselves, especially by Abstinence to such a Degree as would pass for fabulous, were it not that even their professed Enemies in the *Indies* have unanimously born Testimony to the Truth of it; that some have been known for the Space of fifteen or twenty-one Days, nay, some for a Month, or six Weeks, not to take any other Nourishment than Water mix'd with the Shaving of a certain bitter Wood. In this Month they have their general Assemblies in their Temples, whither they resort to hear the *Braman*, who sits in the Center of them, and reads certain Legends of the Lives of their Saints. Immediately after they come into the Temple they put their Offerings of Money into a copper Basin, placed there for that Purpose, in return of which the *Braman* bestows upon them the yellow Mark, either on their Foreheads, or Cloaths: Whilst they are hearkening to the *Braman* they are entertained with Music.

If any aged Person dies, they burn the Carcass, but Children which die before they come to three Years of Age are buried. Their Wives are not obliged to burn themselves with their deceased Husbands, but must live in perpetual Widowhood, and there is none belonging to this Sect, but what is capable of being received into Priesthood, to reach which he has no more to do, than to change his Habit, vow Chastity, and follow the same Austerity of Life prescribed to their Order. Women are not even excluded from this Function, but they must be above twenty Years of Age, whereas Males may come in at seven, eight, or nine Years of Age; nay, if either of the married Couple embraces Priesthood, the other is engaged to Celibacy for Life. Some of them make a Vow of Chastity in Marriage, but this is not so well kept as made. This Sect is an Abomination to the other *Banjans*, to such a Degree, that they will not eat, drink, or converse with them: Nay, if they happen to touch them, they are obliged to a very strict Penance.

The second Sort among the *Banjans*, which consists for the most Part in Locksmiths, Farriers, Carpenters, Taylors, and most other sorts of handicraft Men, as also some Soldiers, Officers, and Clerks, have scarce any thing in common with the first, except that they allow not the killing and eating of any living Creature, believing for the rest, that the Universe owes its Origin to a first Cause, which also preserves it by certain and unchangeable Rules. They give the Name of *Permiser* to this supreme ruling, and affirm, that it governs the World by three Deputies; the first they call *Brama*, and attribute to him the Management of Souls, according to the Direction of *Permiser*, in order to their Transmigration into the Body of Men, or Beasts. The second named *Buffuma*, is appointed to instruct the World in their Duty to God, and manages the Wheat, Herbs, and Pulse, in the Fields and Gardens. The third called *Mais*, is the chief Manager of the Dead, being *Permiser's* Secretary, who after having taken an Account of the good and bad Actions of the Deceased, makes a report of it to his Master, who, according to every one's Deserts, sends the Soul into the Bodies of certain Beasts, where they must do more or less Penance, before they can be purified from their Sins. In this kind they look upon the Cow as one of the best, having some thing divine in it above all the rest. They burn the dead Bodies of their Friends, except those of their Children under three Years of Age, whom they bury near some River, or Brook, none of the *Indian* Women accompanying their Husbands with so much Cheerfulness in their

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last Journey, as those of the Sect of *Samarath*; for as they are persuaded, that such as die with their Husbands shall live with them in the other World seven times as long, and enjoy with him seven times more Pleasure there, they are so fond of so plentiful a Blessing, of which they have to stender a Share in this World, that they are ready to sacrifice their Lives in order to attain it.

The Sect of *Bisnow* agrees with the two preceding in this Point, that they do not feed upon any thing that hath Life. They are also much addicted to Abstinence, and keep their general Assemblies in their Temples in *August*, where they sing and dance to a Consort of Musick, consisting of Drums, Pipes, and Copper Balons, before their Pagod called *Ramram*, singing Hymns in his Praise. They represent him with his Wife in Statues, adorned on their Festivals with Gold Chains, and Collars of Pearl and precious Stones, with many Lamps, and lighted Wax Candles before them. This God acts without any Deputies; they feed upon nothing but Herbs, Pulle, Fresh-Butter, Milk and Curds, and are great Admirers of a Pickle made of Ginger, Mangoes, Citrons, Garlick, and Mustard-seed; and their Drink is Water. None but Women or Priests dress their Meats, and use Horse-dung mixed with Straw, and made up into a kind of Turf instead of Wood, for fear some small Worms, or other Insects, should be burnt with it. Most of this Sect are Merchants, Factors, or Brokers. They have this Custom peculiar to themselves, that they will not permit their Widows to burn themselves with their deceased Husbands, but oblige them to continue Widows. Not many Years ago the younger Brothers among them were obliged to marry their elder Brother's Widows, to raise up Seed to him; but this is now abolished.

They commonly wash themselves every Morning in some Cistern, or a River, if any be near them, where they wallow and swim in it, whilst the Braman, who stands hard by, mutters out certain Words, and imparts to them his Benediction, and at their coming out gives them the Mark in their Foreheads, or in some other Place; for which he is paid with Wheat, Rice, or Pulle. Those belonging to the Sect of *Gorephy* are a kind of Hermits, neglecting all publick or private Affairs, and dwelling in solitary Places, and ruined Houses, or Woods, shun the Conversation of others; they worship a God whom they call *Bruin*, and his Servant *Mecis*; but have no particular Temples, or any other publick Assemblies, to perform their Devotions in. As they are forbidden to have any Possessions of their own, so they have nothing but a Piece of Calicoe to cover their Privities; they never speak to any body, or will give an Answer to any, or ask for any thing, though they were in the utmost Extremity, but will take what is given them; they rub their Bodies all over with Ashes, and especially their Hair, which makes them look very strangely. They are in great Veneration among all the other *Banjans*, except the Sect of *Courawath*, who abhor them.

They believe that their God is the Creator of all things, which he preserves by his own infinite Power, by which he is able to reduce all to nothing; that he is not to be described under any Shape, being a Light, which, as it is the Cause of the Sun, his Brightness is not to be seen by our Eyes. They differ from all the other *Banjans* in this; that they don't believe the Transmigration of Souls; but that they are immediately, after they have left their Bodies, transferred to God, and united to that infinite Light. They are so strict Adherers to their Rules, that they admit no *Mohammedans* into their Sect, or re-admit such of their own as have been Prisoners among the *Mohammedans* and *Christians*, and have eaten Meat without a most severe Penance, which is, to eat for six Months together Cow-dung mixed amongst their Victuals. Nothing can be conceived more superstitious than the *Banjans* in general; they never stir out before they have paid their Devotions, and if in going out of their Houses they meet with any thing which they look upon as ominous, they return, and undertake nothing further that Day.

The *Rakpoots* are by some reckoned among the Number of *Banjans*, who allow them a Place with those of the Sect of *Samarath*, as believing the Transmigration of the Souls; besides several other things affirmed and maintained by that Sect, they are further of opinion, that the Souls of

Men transmigrate particularly into Birds. Their Widows are obliged to burn themselves, unless the contrary be provided for in the Marriage Contract; for the rest, they are not of that reserved Temper as most of the *Banjans* are, who abhor the Effusion of Blood, even of that of irrational Creatures; whereas these live upon Rapine, eat Flesh, and addict themselves altogether to warlike Exercises; and as they are a daring Generation, so they are employed by the Mogul in his Armies. Some Compassion they have for Birds, which they will feed and cherish. They, like other *Banjans*, marry their Children very young, which, as I have mentioned before, proceeds from hence; that the *Indians* of both Sexes come sooner to Perfection in this respect than any other Nation in the World. There is besides these another sort of *Pagans* in *Guzarat* called *Parfis*, descended from the *Persians* of *Fars* and *Cherasan*, who left their native Countries in the seventh Century, to avoid the Persecution of the *Mohammedans*. They dwell for the most part along the Sea Coast, and live upon planting of Tobacco, and making of Arrack or Aquavite out of Teddy; though many of them addict themselves also to Trade. They believe one God, the Creator and Preserver of the Universe, who acts by his own Power, but has committed the Administration thereof to his seven Servants, whom they represent thus: The first named *Hamasla*, has the Government of Men; the second called *Babman*, the Sovereignty over all Beasts and living Creatures; the third *Ardabagh*, takes care of the Fire; the fourth named *Sarywar*, has the Charge of Metals; the fifth, whose Name is *Ispander*, takes care of the Earth, as *Awaradath* the sixth, doth of the Water; and the seventh called *Ammadath*, hath the Precedency over Fruit-trees, Herbs, and Pulle, yet under God's Direction, unto whom they are accountable for their Transactions.

Besides these seven Head Servants, God, say they, makes use of twenty-six others, each of which has his peculiar Function assigned him. The Business of the first is, to take Possession of the Soul immediately after its Departure out of the Body, which he carries before two Judges called *Meer Refus* and *Sares*, who taking care to have the good and evil Works put into two Scales, pronounce Sentence according to their Weight, and deliver the Soul up either to the good Angels to be carried into Paradise, or to the evil Spirits to drag them to Hell, where they are to be tormented to the End of the World, which, according to their Opinion, will be renewed in one thousand Years. The fourth, called *Beraw*, has the Administration of all military Affairs. The fifth, *Carrafada*, is the Sun. The sixth, *Awra*, the Water. The seventh, *Ader*, manages the Fire. The eighth, *Maba*, is the Moon. The ninth, *Tiera*, or *Rain*. The tenth, named *Gas*, has the Management of Cattle. The eleventh, *Farwardy*, the Custody of the Souls in Paradise. The twelfth, *Aram*, imports Joy or Sadness to Mankind. The thirteenth, *Goadra*, is the head Manager of the Winds. *Dien*, the fourteenth, is he who is to instruct and to infuse into Mankind the Law of God. The fifteenth, *Apisfanich*, is the Giver of Riches, as *Ashaz*, the sixteenth, has the Disposal of Understanding and Memory. The seventeenth, called *Ajamant*, is chief President of Commerce; and *Gamigat*, the eighteenth, has the Government of the Earth. The nineteenth, called *Marrispan*, is Goodness itself. And the twentieth, named *Amiera*, the Manager of ready Money. The twenty-first, called *Hoem*, has the Management of Generation of Men, Cattle and Fruits. The twenty-second and twenty-third, called *Dima* and *Borse*, are looked upon as two Genii appointed to watch all Men; and the three remaining, *viz.* *Depbader*, *Depbomer*, and *Depbaden*, are God's constant Attendants, who employ them in what Affairs he pleases, without Distinction. As the *Parfis* are of opinion, that God has left the Administration of the respective Affairs in relation to their Station to their Disposal, they adore them in case of Necessity. Their Teachers are in much Veneration among them, some of whom engage themselves in Traffick and other Employments.

They have no publick Places of Devotion, but perform the same in their Houses, sitting without any Motion of their Bodies. They have no peculiar Days set aside for their religious Worship, except that they observe particularly

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their Months consisting of thirty Days, they add five
Days to the last Month to make up the Year three hundred
and sixty-five Days. Their Teachers are not distinguished
from the rest by their Habit, which they have in common
with the *Parfi*'s, and the other Inhabitants of the Country
being known only by a certain twisted Girdle of Wool, or
Camel's Hair, which comes twice round the Waist, and
ties with two Knots behind; this being the certain Badge
of their Religion, and so essential to them, that he who
loses it must not either eat or drink, or sit from the Place
where he is before he has bought another from the Priest.
The Women also are allowed to wear them after the twelfth
Year of Age. They live very meanly in little dark Houses,
poorly furnished, and affect much to live near one another.
They have the Liberty of choosing two of the most con-
siderable Persons of the Nation for their Judges. Fire is
so sacred a thing among them, that they would not extin-
guish it with Water, though the House were in Flames,
looking upon it as the most lively Representation can be
made of the Divine Light; for which Reason it is, that
they will rather smother their Fire with Earth, nothing
being more irksome to them than to see their Fire extin-
guished at any time. They early engage their Children in
Wedlock; but the Marriage is seldom consummated till
the fifteenth or sixteenth Years of their Age, and in the
mean time they are committed to the Care of their respec-
tive Parents. As they look upon Adultery and Fornica-
tion as the most heinous Crimes in Nature, so they allow
their Widows to marry a second time to prevent them.

They are very particular in their Burials; for so soon as
the Patient is given over, they lay him upon a little Bed of
green Turf, where he yield up the Ghost, which no
sooner happens, than five or six Grave-makers come, take
him from the Bank of Turfs, put a Shroud about him, and
lay him upon an Iron Grate made like a Bier, and so carry
him to their Burying-place, a League without the City,
which is divided by a Wall into three Parts, viz. one for
the Men, the second for the Women, and the third for the
Children. Over their Graves are laid Iron Bars like Grates,
upon which they leave the Corps till the Birds have eaten
all the Flesh, and the Bones drop into the Grave under-
neath. The Friends accompany the Corps till they come
within five hundred Paces of the Grave, where they stay,
and make most doleful Cries, till the Grave-makers have
laid it upon the Grate. A Month or six Weeks after the
Burial they carry the Turfs upon which he died, as things
polluted, to the Burying-place, and every Month entertain
the nearest Friends with a Collation, in Memory of the
deceased.

If any one happens to touch a dead Carcass, or the
Bones of a dead Beast, they are defiled, and must under-
go a Penance of nine Days. They reckon those damned
whose Bones happen to fall into the Water. They are for-
bidden to eat, of any living Creature; yet in Time of
War, they will make now and then bold with a Sheep,
Goat, some tame Fowl, or Fish, and eat it; but never
kill any Camels, Elephants, Horses, or Hares; and as to
the Ox, and Cow, they are so far from killing them, that
they have a Proverb, that they would rather feed upon
the Flesh of their Fathers and Mothers, than upon an Ox,
or a Cow. Though they are not forbid the Use of Wine
and Teddy, their Law enjoins them a severe Penance for
Drunkeness, and upon that Score, the drinking of *Aqua
Viva*. They are but middle-sized, but of a much clearer
Complexion than the Natives of the Country, and especi-
ally their Women, who, in this Point, much exceed the
Mohammedan Indostans. The Men have great Beards,
but somewhat round; some cut their Hair, others wear it
without cutting; the first leave only a Lock of an Inch in
Comps, on the Crowns of their Heads. They are very
industrious, and an over-reaching Generation; and were it
not for their avaritious Temper, would be much better
natured than most of the *Mohammedans* are. They have
two other sorts of Pagans in *Guzarat*, viz. the *Ilindos* and
Jentives; the first are descended from the Province of
Multiban, and the Parts about *Affinean*. They are so far
from being *Banjans*, that they wont admit them to be
present at their Meals, which they eat within a Ring, and

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they eat of all sorts of Beasts, except the Ox and Cow.
They apply themselves for the most Part to the Wars.
The *Jentives* deduce their Origin out of the Kingdom of
Golconda, being a sort of poor ignorant Wretches, who
pin their whole Faith upon the Sleeves of their Bramans.
Their Belief is, that originally there was but one God;
but as in Process of Time Men deserved well of him by
their great Actions, he communicated to the best of them
some Share of his Power: These are their chief Saints
whom they worship in their Temples.

There is another sort of People here called *Theirs*, be-
ing neither *Mohammedans* or *Pagans*, living without any
Religion; their Employment being the cleansing of Wells,
Sinks, Common-sewers, and the flaying of dead Beasts,
whose Flesh they eat. They are also frequently employed
as Executioners, which is the reason they are avoided by
all other *Indians*, for fear of being defiled by them, and
are not permitted to live any where but in the Suburbs.
As the Religion of the *Mohammedan Indostans*, some few
Points excepted, approaches very near to that of the *Turks* and
Persians, we will not enlarge here upon that Head, but
will proceed to give you some Account of the manner of
Life of these *Mohammedan Indians*, so far as the
same is very different both from the *Turks* and *Persians*.
To begin with their Marriage Ceremonies, they are per-
formed thus; On the Day appointed for the Wedding,
the Bridegroom mounted on a Horse, whose Main and
Crupper are adorned with Flowers, and a Net over his
Head, rides from his House accompanied by his Friends
and Kindred, with a Concert of Musick before him, and cer-
tain Fellows are appointed to cast Squibs and Crackers to the
Bride's House, where having given her the Diversion of Mu-
sick, and Fire-works for half an Hour, he dismounts, and
sits himself down in the House upon Tapestry, laid upon
the Floor for that Purpose; soon after the Bride, with her
Friend the *Molla* and *Kadi*, or Judge of the Place, come in.
The *Molla* having read certain Passages out of the *Turks*
and taken the Bridegroom's Oath, that in case of
Divorce, he will make Provision for his Wife, he gives
them his Blessing and departs. The rest of the Company
who stay behind, are entertained with Beetle and Pills of
Amphion, or Opium, which they use instead of Wine,
and produce very near the same Effect. If the Bride
proves an undefiled Virgin by the Marks upon the Sheets,
the Friends assemble for five or six, and sometimes eight
or ten Days after: But if the Passage be found not so
well guarded as it should be, the Bridegroom takes his
Leave of her, and returns her to her Friends. On the
other hand, if the Bridegroom finds her so strait laced, as
that he cannot enjoy her in three or four Days, and
consequently is suspected of want of Ability, one of the
nearest Kinwomen to the Bride lends him a Distaff, with
this Message, that not being made for Man's Work, she
has thought fit to furnish him with some Womens Busi-
ness. The Marriages of the *Indian Mohammedans* are not
so strict as those of the other *Mohammedans*, who can't be
divorced unless both Parties be heard, and Sentence pro-
nounced by a Judge. But here they may be divorced with-
less Ceremony, upon a bare Averfion, or Distaste, with
this Proviso, however, that pursuant to what they pro-
mise at the Marriage, the Men are obliged to provide
for the Sustainance of their Wives, who, therefore have no
other Dowries here, but as for the Jewels they bring a-
long with them, they cannot reclaim any thing of that
Nature. The Women of any Quality sit but seldom
abroad, and that either in a close Coach, or *Indian* Lit-
ter; and if they happen to ride on Horseback, their Face
is covered with a Scarf, none but the meaner sort, or
common Prostitutes, being to be seen on Foot, and with their
faces bare, in the Streets. The *Indian* Women have generally
a very easy Deliverance, it being a great Rarity to hear of
a Woman that is above two or three Hours in Labour.

Their Children they educate with extraordinary Care in
Schools, where they are taught to read and write; and
such as are not able to do it, they send either into the Wars,
or into the Service of great Persons, where their Allow-
ance is so slender, that they lead but an unhappy Life.
It is generally observed, that the *Indian* Children have a
very tender regard for their Parents, to such a Degree,

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that they would starve themselves to preserve them. Most Persons of Note are very careful to build themselves Houses in very handsome Gardens, which serve them and their Families for Sepulchres; these Houses have many small Windows on all Sides. They use the following Ceremonies at their Burials; immediately after the Decease of the Patient, the Kindred with great Lamentations come to ask him what made him die; whether he wanted such and such Conveniences, which they name to him. This done, whilst the Corps is washed and put into a Coffin, the Friends divert their Sorrow by making good Cheer. Three or four *Mollas* remain constantly near the Body (which is wrapped in a perfumed Sheet) to pray for the Soul, till it be carried to the Burial-place, whither the Coffin with the Corps covered with Calicoe, Velvet, or some other precious Stuff, is carried by ten or twelve Men, the *Mollas* singing all the while their Hymns, and the Kindred accompanying it to the Grave. Here the Body is laid down upon the Right-side, with the Face to the West, the Feet to the South, and Head to the North, the Coffin being covered with a Board, for fear the Earth should defile the Corps. It is let down smoothly into the Grave, whilst the Kindred mutter out certain Prayers, and so return to the House of the Deceased, where the same *Mollas* continue their Prayers for several Days after, during which Time, not a Spark of Fire must be seen in the House. They stile themselves *Mussulmans*, or true Believers, looking upon all other Religions as Hereticks and damnable; but as they have a singular Aversion to Images, so they shew more Hatred to the *Roman Catholics* than *Protestants*, on the score of their Images.

They are generally of a good Stature, without any natural Defects. They have all lank black Hair, tho' those they call *Mogollies* have a clearer Complexion than the rest. They don't admire flaxen Hair, but hate red-haired People, out of an Opinion they have, that they are leprous, a Distemper very common here; one reason of which is, that the Pox being seldom cured as it ought to be, by Degrees affects the Blood afresh, and turns to a Leprosy. The *Mollas* let their Beards grow, but all the rest shave their Beards as well as their Heads, leaving only a Lock on the Crown, by which, they say, *Mohammed* is to pull them up to Heaven. There is no Distinction in the Drefs of Men and Women. They make their Garments of Calicoe, Silk, or Brocade, according to the Abilities of those that wear them. They lie close to their Bodies above their Waist, like ours, but grow wider and wider downwards to the Small of their Leg, where abouts their Breeches, which reach to their Shoes, are gathered by a String into many Plaits. Their Shoes are of *Spanish* Leather, Silk, or Brocade, with very low Quarters, because they have frequent Occasion to pull them off when they go into Rooms, where the Floors are covered with rich Tapestry. Their Head-dress comes nearer to that of the *Turks* than the *Persians*, being commonly of thin Calicoe, or Silk, interwoven with gold and silver Thread. They lay it by when they go to Bed. They have over their Garments a kind of Cloak to defend themselves against the Injuries of the Season. Their Garments are tied round their Waist with a silk Girdle wrought with Gold, and over this they have a kind of a Sash of fine Calicoe. In these, Persons of Quality wear their Daggers, the Handle and Sheath of which are generally of Gold, and set with precious Stones.

Their Houses are but slightly built, the Walls being nothing but Plaster-work made of a Mixture of Free-stone powdered, some Lime, Gum and Sugar, which being very white and smooth, makes no disagreeable Shew at a Distance. They are also indifferently furnished, especially the Kitchens, where, besides a few Dishes and Stoves, you see very few other Utensils, tho' for the rest, the Houses of Persons of Quality are very large, and divided into convenient Halls, Apartments, Chambers and Closets; in the two last of which the Women take great Delight to set them out with their gold and silver Plate. When they are to receive Visits, they place themselves in the Hall, upon Pieces of Tapestry. They salute each other at their first coming in with their Salam, and an Inclination of the Head, and if the Person be of greater

Quality, they put their Right-hand to their Heads, to shew their Readiness to submit to them. If they are of an equal Condition, no further Ceremony is observed, but a mutual Inclination with their Bodies. Sometimes they touch one another's Locks, adding these Words, *Grazie mes*, be it to you according to the Prayers of the Poor. He who receives the Visit, never stirs from his Place, the Visitors being set on his Right and Left-hand. Their Visits are made with a great deal of Reservedness, no such thing as the least loud Discourse being to be heard, or any Gestures made with their Hands, or Heads. If they whisper to any body, they are sure to hold to their Mouths a Napkin, or some such thing, for fear of offending with their Breath him to whom they speak.

Their greatest Expence is in Cloaths, Eating, and Women; for as by the *Mohammedan* Law, they are all allowed to pursue their sensual Pleasures to the utmost, as far as may be done without Detriment to their Neighbours, they indulge themselves in this Point to the Extent of their Power. They keep a numerous Retinue of Servants, each of which hath his Business assigned him. Their Footmen have great Plumes of Feathers on their Heads, and two little Bells on their Breasts, and are so hardy, that they will travel fifteen or sixteen Leagues a Day, without much Difficulty. They have all their board Wages, and some Vails, but both are so small, that they can scarce keep themselves from starving. The many Women the *Mohammedans* marry, are very chargeable to them, together with their Eunuchs, for they are very extravagant in their Cloathing, Jewels, and Furniture; the chief Amends they have for this is, that each Woman endeavours by all imaginable Art to gain her Husband's Affection and Enjoyment before the rest, there being nothing to be contrived, but what they will make use of to excite him to Voluptuousness. The common handicraft People are but in a very poor Condition here, for as every Piece of Work passes through several Hands before it is finished, they can scarce get Six-pence a Day, and the worst is, that the Children must be bound to no other Trade than that of their Fathers.

Hence it is that they are forced to live upon Bean-flour and a little Rice boiled in Water, in the Nature of a Hasty-pudding, into which they put a little melted Butter, and their poor Houses are suitable to their Way of Living. Merchants live here in Plenty enough, and would be sufficiently happy, were it not for the Danger they lie under of being fleeced by the covetous Governors of the Places in which they live, under some Pretence or other, as soon as they begin to discover their Wealth: So that the only Way to keep any thing, is to appear to have nothing.

21. Though all the *Mohammedans* in the *Indies* profess the same Religion, yet are they distinguished into diverse Sects, such as the *Patans*, *Moguls*, and *Indostans*, besides several others, which, as well as their several Tempers, arises more from the different Dispositions of those Countries from whence they came, than from any religious Account. Thus the *Patans*, or *Padars*, are a most daring, cruel, and barbarous Generation, who without any Consideration, will thrust themselves into hazardous Enterprises. The *Moguls*, or *Mogulies*, on the other Hand, deduce their Origin from the Natives of *Great Tartary*, are complaisant and discreet, which gains them great Respect among the other *Mohammedans*. The *Indostans*, or *Industans*, are somewhat barbarous, and though covetous, yet are not crafty enough to deceive without being found out. They are the true ancient Inhabitants of *Gyzerat*, and may be easily distinguished from the rest by their Complexion, which is much more inclining to black than the two former.

There is another sort of People in the Province of *Hata-Khan*, who, as they are very hardy and bold, so they are employed chiefly in carrying Merchandizes; they are called *Blottions*, their chief Employment being to let out Camels, and to conduct the Caravans, which they do with so much Fidelity, that they would rather sacrifice themselves, than suffer any thing to be lost. All over the *Mogul's* Country, as well as in this Province, no such thing is to be seen as publick Inns, except that in the Cities, and some Villages, are erected certain publick Buildings out of Charity

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Charity for the Conveniency of Travellers, and these Cara-
vaneras have no other Accommodations but four bare Walls,
and a Covering over Head. They travel with Camels,
Horses, Mules, and Oxen. They make use also of a
certain kind of Coaches, drawn by Oxen, which will tra-
vel ten or twelve Leagues a Day; they are covered with
Velvet on the upper Part, but those for the Women are
so covered on all Sides. Persons of Quality travel for the
most Part on Elephants, or are carried in Palanquines, or
Litters, carried by two Men upon their Shoulders, with a
Bar. They are very careful in breeding up their Ele-
phants. Hawking and Hunting is their chief Sport.
Their Greyhounds are less than ours, but they make use
of tame Leopards, and Tygers in Hunting, which are the
best in the World at surprizing a wild beast, but never pur-
sue it. They catch Water-towl by the Skin of a wild
Duck, filled with Hay, which being tied to the decoy
Duck, they swim up the Water till they get insensibly
among the reed without frightening them. Their Bows
are made of wild Ox Horns, and their Arrows of Cane,
and they manage them with so much Dexterity, that they
kill Birds flying. Their Games are Chess, and some at
Cards. They are great Lovers of Mulick, though theirs
be so rough; but judicial Astrology has got such an Af-
cendant among them, that nothing of Moment is to be
undertaken here without first consulting those who profess
it. They are not quite destitute of Books, *Aristotle's*
Works, or at least most of them, are to be met with
here, translated into the *Arabian* Tongue; as likewise cer-
tain Treatises of *Avicenna*, who is in great Request with
them, as being born at *Samarcand*, under the Jurisdiction
of *Timur*, or *Tamerlane*: Their Writings are not despic-
able, and have something of Rhetorick in them; and their
Annals are so well, and exactly kept, as to furnish suffi-
cient Matter for a good History.

Though their Language be divided into several Dia-
lects, yet it is to be learnt without much Difficulty; they
write from the left-hand to the right; the *Persian* is the
Court Language in *Indofian*, and some have likewise a
Tale of the *Arabick*, which is the learned Language.
The Bloody-flux and Fevers are the most common Dis-
eases in the *Indies*, against which they use scarce any other Re-
medy but Abstinence. They don't want Physicians, but
have no Surgeons. Their Barbers let Blood, and apply
Leeches, which is all the Operations they use. The Win-
ter begins in *Guzarat* in *June*, and holds till *September*;
but the Rains are not as at *Gion*. There are but two
Winds which reign on this Coast, *viz.* the North and
South Winds, which blow each for six Months without
Interruption. Their greatest Heat is in *April* and *May*,
and the Beginning of *June*, but the Sufferings of the Sea-
son is somewhat tempered by the frequent Breezes, which,
however, brings this Inconveniency along with them, that
they raise the Duit to such a Degree, as robs you of the
very Sight of the Sun at Noon-day.

22. The chief Commodities at *Guzarat* are Calicoes,
and silk Stuffs, as Satins, Tattanes, Potolas, Comerbands,
Orris of Gold and Silver, used for Veils for Women, Bro-
cades, Tapestry, striped Carpets, Quilts, Tents, Bed-
steads, and Cabinets, lacque Beds, Chains, Buttons, and
Rings, of Ivory, Amber, Rock Chryttal, and Agat.

In a Village called *Cherchets*, near *Amadabat*, is the best
Indigo made. The Herb is like that of a yellow Parsnip,
but somewhat shorter and more bitter. It sprouts forth
into Branches like a Reed, and sometimes rises six or seven
Feet high. Its Flower is like that of a Thistle, and
its Seed resembles Pennywort; they sow it in *June*, and
cut it in *November* or *December*. It is sown but once every
three Years; the first Year they cut off the Leaves
within a Foot of the Ground, and after they have clear'd
them from the Stalk dry them in the Sun, and afterwards
lay them a soaking in a stone trough, which has six or seven
Feet Water in it, stirring it very frequently, till they
think the Water has sufficiently extracted all the Colour
and Virtue of the Herb; then they draw that Water off
into another Vessel, which being well settled all Night,
they take it off the next Day, and the Settlement in the
Bottom is strained through a coarse Cloth, and dried in the
Sun. This is the best Indigo, which is adulterated by the

Inhabitants by the Mixture of a certain Earth of the same
Colour, and some Oil, to make it swim upon the Water,
the Goodness of this Drug being commonly judged by its
Lightness.

The Stalks left the first Year produces Leaves the
next; but these are not to be compared in Goodness to
those of the first, tho' they exceed those of the wild Indigo.
The second Year is that which produces the Seed;
the Product is never transported beyond the Seas, but
kept by the Country People for their own Dying. The
best Indigo, which they call *Anil*, is inclining to a
let Colour, and has somewhat of that Smell if burnt. They
always let the Ground lie fallow after the three Years are
expired, for twelve Months.

There is also a great deal of Salt-petre vended at *Surat*,
which is made at *Asmer*, sixty Leagues from *Sagra*, out of
the fattest Ground. After it has lain fallow for a consi-
derable Time, they dig certain Trenches, which after they
have filled with salt Earth, they let in as much Water as
is sufficient to reduce it to the Consistency of thick Mud, and
to soak it the better, they frequently tread it with their
Feet. When they judge the Water has dissolved all the
saline Substance that was in the Earth, they draw up the
Water into another Trench, where in some time it thickens,
when they boil it like Salt, skimming it continually, and
afterwards put it into earthen Pots, where the Dregs settle
to the Bottom; they take it out again, and dry it to a
hard Substance in the Sun. Borax, well known for its
Usefulness in refining of Gold and Silver, is found near a
Mountain in the Province of *Purber*, upon the Borders of
Great Tartary, which Country also produces Spikenard,
Quicksilver, Musk, and Copper, and a certain Colour
which dyes the most beautiful Brown in the World. The
Borax grows like Coral, in the Bottom of the River *Jan-*
kenkar, which coming down from the Mountain, joins
its Stream with the River *Majnoor*, which passes through
the said Province, and furnishes it with this Drug. The
Indofians call it *Jankenkar*, from the before-mentioned
River, and keep it for its Preservation in Bags, made of
Sheep-skins, filled with Oil.

The greatest Part of our *Assafetida* is brought from
Persia; but that which is brought from the Province of
Utrad, in the *Indies*, is preferred before it. There are
two kinds of this Plant; one grows like a Shrub, with
small Leaves like Rue, the other has Leaves as big as
Turnips, and in Colour resembling Fig-tree Leaves. It
grows commonly in sandy and stony Ground. Its Gum
comes forth in the latter End of Summer, and is gathered
in Autumn. The *Banians* in *Guzarat* are such Admirers
of it, that they use it in their Sauces, and rub their eat-
ing and drinking Vessels with it. There is abundance of
Amphion, or Opium, brought from *Cayro* into *Europe*;
that which comes from the Province of *Gualer* in *Ind-ian*,
and is vended all over the *Indies*, is only the coagulated
Juice of Poppy, which is gathered by making an Incision
therein, when it begins to be ripe. All the Eastern Na-
tions are so addicted to the Use of it, that those who can-
not come at the Juice, will make and use the Decoction
of Poppy. The *Persians* boast themselves to be the first
Inventors of it. They take every Day the Quantity of a
small Pea of it, made up into a little Pill, not so much
with an Intention to make themselves sleep, as to raise Vi-
gour in them, more especially in the Exercise of venereal
Acts, for which Purpose it is chiefly used by the *Indians*.
They use themselves to it by taking a little and a little by
Degrees, without attending to which it is mortal. It draws
this Inconvenience after it, that it quite stupifies the Sen-
sles, unless they continue it for ever.

Of Lacque we have said something before, and shall
say more hereafter. The Province of *Guzarat* produces
abundance of Cummin, Ginger, and Mirobalans, which
they preserve with brown Sugar, besides which they have
several physical Drugs. Diamonds are likewise one of the
chief Drugs of this Province, but not many, yet they
have Abundance of Pearls, Emeralds, Garnets, Agats,
Alabaster, red Marble, and Jasper-stone, which are better
polished here than any where else.

They use but one kind of Weight all over *Guzarat*,
which is called *Maon*, and contains forty *Ceters*, in the
whole

whole thirty Pounds and an half, at the Rate of sixteen Ounces in the Pound, a *Ceer* containing ten *Peys*, a kind of brass Money weighing twelve Ounces. Their Ells are of two kinds, the lesser amounts to no more than half a French Ell, and a sixteenth Part, and nineteen of their large Ells make thirteen Ells and three Quarters of the same Measure. They have also no more than two sorts of Money, viz. the *Mamoudies*, and *Roupees*, the *Mamoudies* being coined of Silver, of a base Alloy, go no farther than *Surat*, *Brodra*, *Broischaia*, *Cambaya*, and those Parts, and are worth about one Shilling Sterling; but the *Roupees Chagams*, which are worth about a French Half-Crown, and made of very good Silver, pass current all over the *Indies*. The *Peys* we spoke of are their Copper Money, twenty-six of which make a *Mamoudy*, and forty-five a *Roupee*. They count also with Almonds, thirty-six whereof make a *Peys*, and with certain Shells, found by the Sea-side, eighty whereof make a *Peys*. They account Spanish Pieces of Eight and Rixdollars equivalent to five *Mamoudies*, because they make great Advantage of them in their Mints. The *Persian Lari's*, which are very good Silver, are also much esteemed here. They have a golden Coin called *Xeraphins*, worth about thirteen *Roupees*. The *Chequins* and *Venetian Ducats* are current here, and are reckoned to be worth eight and a half, or nine *Roupees*, according to the rising or the falling of the Change.

As there is abundance of counterfeit Money here, and all over the *Indies*, so scarce any Sum is received but in the Shops of the Changers called *Xaraffa's*, which are at the Corners of every Street. These secure the Receipt of the Money for a small Matter, and are so expert, that no counterfeit Money can escape their Hands undiscovered. Their Way of computing Sums is by *Lacs*, which consist of 100,000 *Roupees*, and two of these *Lacs* make a *Crore*, or *Caroo*, and ten *Caroo's* an *Arab*; a *Theil* of Silver makes eleven, twelve, or thirteen *Roupees*, one *Majlas* and an half, a *Theil* of Silver, and ten of these a *Theil* of Gold. No Coin, whether Gold, Silver, or Brass, must be exported out of the Kingdom, on pain of Death. Besides what we have said of the Products of *Guzarat*, it is very fertile in Wheat, Rice, Pease, Beans, Barley, Miller, *Turky* Wheat, Flax, Mustard-seed, Oil, Butter and Cheese, the last of which is somewhat salt and dry. Their Wheat is larger than ours. They don't bake their Bread in Ovens, but upon iron Plates, and the *Banjians* in Frying-pans.

23. Their Beans and Peas are less, but much more delicate than ours, especially their red Chiches, wherewith in many Places they feed their Horses, Oxen, and Buffaloes, instead of Oats, a Grain not much used in the Eastern Parts. They sow in May, and their Harvest is in September and November: They cut no Grass, but consume it green. As the Mogul is the sole Proprietor of all the Lands in his Empire, so the Peasants, when Seeding-time appears, must make their Application to the Governor of the Province, and agree with him for so much Ground as he thinks he is able to sow for that Year, for the Use of which he pays a third Part, and sometimes an half, which is the Reason that most of the Grounds lie fallow, there being but few that think it worth their while to manure them at so an expensive a Rate. Their Gardens are well stocked with Pot-herbs of all sorts, as Lettice, Succory, Sorrel, Parsley, Radishes, Cabbages, Cucumbers, Citruls, Garlick, Onions, Parsnips, and, above all, with the most delicious Melons in the World.

They don't value their Flowers here so much for their Scent as their Colour, the Rose only excepted, the Scent of which is much admired. The Flowers called *Mogaci* and *Scampe*, have also a very agreeable Smell; notwithstanding which they are admired by the Women for their Colour, the first being a delicious white, and the latter yellow: They hold all the Year round, as does the Grass here, unless it be dried up by the excessive Heat of the Summer-heat. Besides their Lemons, Citrons, Pomegranates, and other Trees sufficiently known in *Europe*, they have those called *Anana*, *Bananes*, *Jaccas*, *Cecos*, and *Indian* Fig-trees. They have also a kind of Vines about *Surat*, the Grapes of which are not so big as those of *Persia*, and are sold at a dear Rate.

Their Forests in these Parts harbour, among other Creatures, a kind of Wild-dogs, called *Jacalls*, no body dare hurt them no more than any other Beasts that are yellow or black, under pain of Death, they being reserved for the King's Sport, or the Governor's of the Province. The *Indian* Horses are in no wise comparable to those of *Persia* and *Arabia*, yet they are very careful in keeping them; they commonly feed them with those Pease they call *Chiches*, which they bruise and boil every Morning and Evening, and give them a Palle made of two Pound of Barley-meal, half a Pound of Butter, and as much Sugar.

Their Oxen are not different from ours in Shape, except that they have a large Bunch betwixt their Shoulders. The poorer sort of *Mohammedans* eat abundance of Beef and Mutton; but the better sort feed upon Kids, either roasted with a Pudding of Rice, Almonds, and Raisins in the Belly, or stew them with Butter and Pepper. They also have *Persian* Sheep with fat Tails, but they are very rare and used seldom; but at great Entertainments they have Fowls, Capons, Geese, Wild-Ducks, Peacocks, Teal, Partridges, Pidgeons, Sparrows, to which we might add, Eagles, Falcons, Hawks, and other Birds of Prey. They are not destitute of River-fish, such as Carps, Eels, &c. but their Salt-fish is extraordinary good and cheap there, because the *Mohammedans* prefer Flesh before Fish, and the *Pagans* don't eat it at all: They have also Oysters, Crabs, and Prawns. It is observable, that whereas in *Europe* all sorts of Shell-fish are best at the Full-moon, here they are best at the New-moon, and empty at the Full-moon.

24. Their Vessels are generally slightly built, and their great Guns kept above Deck. They seldom venture any farther than to *Java* and *Sumatra*, or to *Alex* and to *Meca* upon the Red-Sea, whither they go with a vast Number of Pilgrims in the Beginning of March, and return not till the Middle of September, for fear of the Tempests, which from June till that Month are very violent in that Coast, whereas otherwise this Voyage might be performed in two Months. They carry to the Coast of *Alex* Calicoes, Indico, Camphire, Tobacco, Allum, Sulphur, Benjamin, Pepper, and many other Spices, Mirobalans, and many other Preserves; in lieu of which they bring back Coral, Amber, a certain red Dye called *Muliet*, Coffee-berries and Opium; but their best Returns are in ready Cash.

Their Coasting Vessels, which go to *Cambaya* and *Broischaia*, and sometimes to *Persia*, go away in January and February, and return in April or May, and bring along with them Brocades, Silk, Stuffs, Velvets, Camblets, Pearls, Almonds, Raisins, Nuts and Dates, but especially Rose-water. Their Ships that go to *Jeken* in the Isle of *Sumatra*, are of two or three hundred Tons Burthen, carrying thither the Products of their Country, in lieu of which they bring back Brimstone, Benjamin, Camphire, Porcelain, Tin, and Pepper: They sail in May, and return in October. The *Malabars* can also drive a great Trade at *Surat*, *Cambaya*, and *Broischaia*. They bring thither Bark of Cocoa-trees, which is used for making Cordage, the Pith of the same Tree, *Arreca* and *Betle*, a kind of Wood which dyes Red, called by them *Parang* and *Harpas*, which they use for caulking their Ships, besides Rice and other Provisions. These they exchange for Opium, Saffron, Coral, Calicoes, and other Stuffs. They come to the Coast of *Surat* in December, and return in April. Formerly the *Portuguze* used to be the sole Masters of the Trade of *Guzarat*, by means of their Forts at *Daman*, *Diu*, and *Goa*; but since the *English* and *Dutch* have made their Settlements in these Parts, they have been forced to confine their Trade to *Goa*.

25. These Travels and Voyages will sufficiently justify the Character we have given of them and of their Author, at the same time that they will fully answer our Intention in affording a clear, instructive, and entertaining Description of one of the finest Countries in *India*, as well as of the several Nations that inhabit it. There is a Freedom and Plainness in our Author's Style, that as they are inimitable from, so they are the truest and most incontestable Signs of Truth, which, in Works of this Nature, is of great Value.

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that go to *Aden* in the lle
three hundred Tons Burthen,
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tone, Benjamin, Camphire,
They sail in *May*, and re-
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ikaisa. They bring thither
s used for making Cordage,
Arreca and Betle, a kind
called by them *Patang* and
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These they exchange for
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in *December*, and return in
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oyages will sufficiently justify
of them and of their Author,
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Value than any other Quality whatever. As the Writer often refers to the ancient History of India, and the Customs of the People before they were at all intermixed with Foreigners, the former Part of this Work will enable even the unlearned Reader to understand all these Things perfectly, and to reap a new Pleasure from perusing this Performance, as we have placed it, since he is already possessed of all the Lights that are necessary to illustrate it. By comparing the historical Passages that occur in relation to the Mogul Empire with the succinct History we have already given of that Government, these Travels will become a Supplement to that Reign in which the Author visited *Indoستان*.

We cannot have a better Account of the general Situation of Trade, or of the particular Circumstances of the fe-

veral European Nations concerned in the Commerce of the *Indies*, for the Time in which he wrote, than our Author has given; and, therefore, as his Work is elucidated by what is contained in the preceding Sections, so his Accounts will serve to throw Light upon the following Sections, and deliver the Reader from the Toil of running thro' a dry Discussion of Facts, which, though tedious in itself, would otherwise make a necessary Part of this Performance. As to the References that occur in these and in the subsequent Relation to our Author's Travels through *Persia*, they will be cleared up by recurring to those Travels in the subsequent Volume. At present we shall proceed with his Voyages through and Remarks on the rest of the *Indies*, which will be found no less curious and improving than those we have already perused.

SECTION XXVII.

The remaining Voyages of John Albert de Mandelsloe through the Indies, including, his Descriptions of Countries, historical Remarks upon several Nations, and his Observations on the Commerce of the Portuguese, English, and Dutch at that Time.

Translated from the Author's original Voyage, written by himself.

1. An introductory Account of the Design of this Section.
2. The Author's Departure from Surat in the Year 1639.
3. He arrives in the Port of Goa, and gives us a particular Account of that City, and of the Reception he met with there.
4. A complete View of the Government, Manners, Customs, and Commerce of the Portuguese.
5. Continuation of his Voyage, including an Account of the Malabar Coast, and its Inhabitants.
6. A succinct History of the Island of Ceylon.
7. A particular Description of that Island, and the Commodities it produces.
8. The Informations he received from the Portuguese Jesuits as to the Countries he did not visit.
9. A very large and particular Description of the Coast of Coromandel, together with the Kingdoms of Pegu and Siam.
10. The Kingdoms of Cambodia, Malacca, Patapan, and Johore described.
11. A View of the great Island of Sumatra, and its Inhabitants.
12. A distinct Account of the Island of Java, its several Principalities and their Inhabitants.
13. Of the Islands of Celebes and Amboyna; together with an Account of the Spice-Islands, and their Commerce.
14. An Account of the Philippines, and of the Spanish Government there.
15. The History of Japan, and the adjacent Islands, as delivered to the Author by the Missionaries.
16. A very singular Description of the Island of Formosa, and its Inhabitants.
17. A succinct Account of the mighty Empire of China.
18. The Author's Voyage to the Cape of Good-Hope.
19. Observations made there, and in his Passage to Madagascar.
20. A very full Relation of the Island of Madagascar, and its Inhabitants.
21. An Account of the Portuguese Settlement in the Island of Motambique.
22. The Author prosecutes his Voyage to the Island of St. Helena.
23. The Author's Observations upon that Island, the Island of St. Thomas, and other adjacent Islands.
24. An historical Account, together with the Author's Remarks on the Portuguese Settlements in Africa.
25. That Subject continued, with a succinct Description of these Colonies at that Time.
26. An Account of Cape-Verd and the adjacent Islands.
27. Remarks on the Azores, Madera, and Canary-Islands.
28. Occurrences in their Voyage from the Azores to the Port of London.
29. Observations made by the Author during his Stay in England.
30. His Return through Holland to Holheim.
31. Remarks and Observations on the before-mentioned Voyages.

THE great Kindness and many Civilities shewn to Mr. Mandelsloe by the chief Director of the English Commerce at Surat, naturally inclined him to lay hold of the Offer that Gentleman made him of returning to Europe in an English Ship, which he the more readily accepted, because it put it in his Power to execute his Commission fully of gaining the best Intelligence he could as to the Commerce of the East. The English Director was to make a trading Voyage, which particularly required his visiting the Portuguese Ports, where he had many Affairs to settle; and this could not but be agreeable to a Man who travelled from such Views as our Author had, inasmuch as it gave him an Opportunity of seeing whatever he wished to behold, and afforded at the same time the fairest Occasions for examining all he saw. We shall discern, from the subsequent Section, that he improved these Advantages to the utmost, and that he carried back with him to his Mother the clearest and most circumstantial Account of the *Indies* that had till that Time appeared in Europe.

I cannot but observe, with respect to this Detail of Facts, that he is, of all Writers, the most unsuspected, and therefore the most worthy of Credit. An English, a French,

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or a Dutch Writer, can never divest himself entirely of the Prejudices imparted to him by his Country; but this Gentleman could have none of those Prejudices, and therefore we may safely rely upon what he says of any, or of all these Nations. He had not only an Inclination, but an Interest also in pursuing Truth. It was this, and this only, that could recommend him to his Master, and therefore of this he never lost Sight. The German Probiety appears so where with greater Lustre than in his Writings; and it was the singular Felicity of this great Traveller, that with a Capacity equal to his Undertaking, he joined a Candour altogether unblemished. Let us then resume the Thread of his Narration, and after travelling with him through *Indoستان*, embark with him at Surat for the Voyage of the *Indies*.

2. The English chief Director having taken Leave of the Governor of Surat, the First of January, 1639, who received him with extraordinary Civility, and presented him with a Garment of Brocade, besides many other Rarities; and having spent two Days more in taking our Leaves of our Friends, we went on Board the third in Company with the new President, and all the other English Merchants, where we feasted for three Days, and

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last failed the Fifth in the *Mary*, and came the same Night in Sight of the City of *Daman*, where we met with one of our Ships that had staid for a *Portuguese* Vessel that was to go with us to *Goa*. The Governor of the City sent us a large Vessel with Wine, and divers Refreshments; for though the City was then besieged by the King of *Decan*, yet the Harbour being open, they had sufficient Supplies brought them by Sea. The Kingdom of *Decan*, or *Cuncam*, by some called *Vishapour* from its capital City, extends all along that Coast from *Indediva*, which is within twelve Leagues of *Goa* to the South, as far as *Siffardo*. The chief maritime Places belonging to it are *Gatapour*, *Rassapour*, *Carrapalar*, and *Dabul*; but *Vishapour* the capital City, lies eighty Leagues from *Dabul*, and eighty-four from *Goa*. This City is about eight Leagues in Circumference, being encompassed with a very high Wall of Freestone, and a broad Ditch, and many Out-works, provided with a thousand Pieces of Iron and Brass Cannon. The Royal Palace is in the very Centre of the City, three thousand five hundred Paces in Compass, being divided from the Body of the City by two Walls, and as many Ditches. The City has no less than five Suburbs, where most of the Merchants live; and in the Suburb *Champour* most of the Jewellers have their Habitations. The Inhabitants are for the most part Natives of the Kingdom of *Decan*, the rest are *Banjians*, *Moguls*, and *Gentives*.

The City of *Dabul* is seated on the River *Helewacko*, in $17^{\circ} 40'$ on this Side of the Line, being one of the most ancient Cities in the Kingdom of *Decan*; but is without either Gates or Walls, defended only on the River-side by two Batteries. As you enter the River, you see to the left Hand a Wood, and near it a Castle, as also a white Tower, which serves for a Pagod; but is a good Direction for Pilots. Its Entrance being none of the best by reason of a long Sand Bank at the very Mouth of it, which at low Water is quite dry; the only safe way to escape it is to keep to the South Side; there, at low Water, you have five or six Fathom Water, though at the very Mouth you have not above twelve or fourteen Foot; within a League before you come to the River is very safe riding for Ships, though the Road, in the Bay of *Zanquizaro*, four Leagues thence is incomparably better. The Harbour of *Cratapour*, the most excellent on all that Coast, lies twelve Leagues thence, the Vessels being sheltered here by an adjacent Island against all Winds. It lies in $17^{\circ} 10'$, and twenty Leagues from *Goa*. Three Leagues from the said Harbour lies the City of *Rassapour*, one of the best maritime Towns of the Kingdom of *Decan*; and nineteen Leagues thence is the Bay of *Wingurla*, a very convenient Haven. It lies three Leagues from the *Illas Quemadas*. We will now come to its Inhabitants, which are either *Banjians*, or *Mobammedans*.

The chief Trade of the City of *Dabul* is in Salt and Pepper brought thither from *Oranbammara*. They used formerly to drive a considerable Traffick to *Perfia*, and the *Red-Sea*; but they send but few Ships thither now. The ordinary Custom paid here is $3\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* but the *English* pay only one Moiety of it. Though the greatest Part of the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Decan* or *Cuncam* are *Banjians*, yet are they not so averse to Flesh as the others in the *Indies*; for they will feed upon any Flesh, except that of an Ox, Cow, Buffalo, and Swine; for the last they have an absolute Abomination, and the Ox and Cow are in great Veneration with them. In their Life and Conversation, Marriages, Purifications, and other Ceremonies, they follow the Footsteps of the other *Banjians*.

Their Habitations are only Cottages of Straw, the Doors being so low, that one can't go in without stooping. Their Furniture amounts to no more than a Mat to sleep upon, and in the midst of the Hut you see a Hole in the Ground, wherein they beat the Rice. They don't differ in their Habit from the other *Banjians*, except that they wear mostly Wooden Shoes tied up over the Insteps with Leather Straps; but their Children go naked, till they are seven or eight Years of Age. Their Arms are the same with the *Indians*; most of them are Goldsmiths by Trade, though some also profess Physick and Surgery; they have also some Carpenters, Masons, and Barbers among them.

The chief Commerce of the Kingdom of *Decan* consists in Pepper and Provisions. The first is transported thence

into *Perfia*, *Surat*, and *Europe*, as also abundance of *Cacao*; with the latter they furnish the Provinces of *Indostan*, *Golconda*, and *Coromandel*, who fetch good Quantities of Stuffs there. In the Mountains of *Balagata* much Lacque is made, but does not approach in Goodness to that of *Guzarat*. At *Vishapour* are abundance of Jewellers that deal in Pearls; but they are not so cheap here as in some other Places. The *Portuguese* have a considerable Trade in this Kingdom, its Frontiers reaching within four Leagues of *Goa*. There are a sort of People called *Ventars* in *Decan*, whose chief Business is to buy up vast Quantities of Wheat and Rice here, and then carry it in great Caravans of one thousand Beasts at a time to *Indostan*, and other neighbouring Countries. They carry their Families along with them, their Wives being so expert in managing of the Bow, that they served them for a Guard against the *Rafspoots*, and other Robbers.

Two sorts of Money are current in *Decan*, the *Laris*, or *Laris*, which come from *Perfia*, and the *Pagodas*; eight of the first make a *Pagoda*, which is equivalent to ten *Laris* of *Dabul*; their Copper Coin is called *Barjarinques*, nine whereof go to a *Piece*, and eighteen of these to a *Laris*; besides which, each City, nay, each Village of Note, has its peculiar Coin, which, together with the Counterfeit Coin, breeds no small Confusion. Their Weights are the same with those of *Guzarat*, except that twenty *Maons* of *Surat* make twenty-seven in *Decan*, the ordinary *Maon* consisting of forty *Cerers*, and one *Coppys* make twenty-seven Pounds, each of which has two Marks; they have a particular Weight for Pepper called *Geomy*, weighing twelve *Maons*, four of which make an hundred Weight, and twenty a *Canday*.

The King of *Decan*, or *Vishapour*, is tributary to the Great *Mogul*, though it be supposed he can raise two hundred thousand Men; and these Kings have had considerable Wars with the *Portuguese*, from whom they took twice the City of *Goa* in 1580; but at last, finding the War destructive to their Commerce, came to a Composition with them, which lasted till 1638, when the *Portuguese* having seized some of the King of *Decan*'s Ships, which, contrary to their Agreement, were carrying Pepper to *Mecca* and *Perfia*, they came again to Hostilities. The King of *Decan* is famous for his great Artillery, of which he has more than any of the *Indian* Princes, and among the rest one great Piece of Brass Cannon, the Ball whereof weigheth eight hundred Weight, and requires five hundred and forty Pounds of fine Powder. The Engineer who call it was an *Italian*.

3. But to return to our Voyage, early in the Morning, January the 7th, we came before the City *Baccin* belonging to the *Portuguese*, where we staid some Hours in Expectation of a certain *Jesuit* we were to carry to *Goa*; but he not coming, we continued our Course, but were scarce got a League before we saw a *Portuguese* Frigate come after us; we back'd our Sails till she came near us, and found her to be a Vessel that came on purpose to go along with us under *English* Colours, for fear of being interrupted by the *Dutch*; she brought us some Presents, viz. three Oxen, some Sheep, Oranges, Citrons and Bread from the Governor. The 9th we sailed with another Wind by the Isles of *Bandera* and *Hombay*, which stretched along the Coast from *Baccim* to *Vishapour*; the last has a good Road for Anchorage, and is of a pretty large Extent. On the 10th we sailed by *Rassapour* within twenty one Leagues of *Goa*, and in the Afternoon by the City of *Vingurla*, where the *Dutch* have a Settlement four Leagues from *Goa*, and in the Evening came in Sight of the Isles about *Goa*, and of two Isles that secure the Harbour. On the 11th we came to an Anchor under the Fort de *Guarda*, which lies not above a Mile from the City of *Goa*; we saw six Gallies and a Carrack in the Haven; soon after came aboard us a *Portuguese* Captain to complement the *English* President in the Viceroy's Name, and immediately alter the Commodore of the Gallies. The Harbour of *Goa* was then blocked up by twelve *Dutch* Ships, notwithstanding which we saw coming in a Caravan, consisting of three hundred small coasting Vessels laden with Pepper, Ginger, Cinnamon, Sugar, Rice, Fruits, and Preserves, besides abundance of Provisions.

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The *English* President, whose Business here was chiefly
with the Director of the *Exchequer*, went to pay him a
Visit, his Trumpets sounding all the way as he went up
the River, who received him with great Demonstrations
of Friendship, because they had known one another long
before; being carried thence to his Lodgings, he desired,
and had Audience given him immediately by the Viceroy.
His Palace lying on the River-side, we found divers of his
Gentlemen there to receive and conduct us into the Hall of
Audience, in the Anti-chamber of which Palace we saw his
Guards standing in two Files. The Viceroy himself was
dressed in black, and so were all his Courtiers, and at the
coming in of the President rose out of his Chair till the other
was sat down: After some stay the President was re-con-
ducted to the Water-side by the same Gentleman that
brought us thither; as we passed along we were shewn
twelve of the Viceroy's Horses, richly accoutered, and a
Bigger, a Creature much about the Bigness and Colour of
a Rain-deer. Its Head like an Horse, its Main like an
Ass, with black cloven Feet, and two black Horns on his
Head.

We had scarce dined when we were crowded with Visi-
tants, most of the Persons of Quality among the *Portu-*
guez, and the Deputies of all the Monasteries coming to
complement us, the ten Days we staid at *Goa* being spent
in nothing but Feasts and Visits. The most magnificent
Entertainment of all we received from a certain *Portuguese*
Lord, who was then Governor of *Mozambique*; each Course
consisted of four Dishes, but we had so many of them, and
such Variety of Meats, Fruits, and Preserves, that I scarce
ever saw the like in my Life; and to add to the rest, we
were served at the Table by four very handsome *Malacca*
Maids. The 16th we were invited to the professed House
of the Jesuits; it consisted of an hundred and fifty Fathers,
and as many Students; but the Structure, which was four
Story high, and very spacious, could have contained a
much greater Number. We passed through the Hall,
where we found Tables set all along the Walls with Trench-
ers, Drinking-Cups, and Earthen Pots. In the midst of
the Hall we saw another square Table, intended for such
of their Society as were bound over to penance, upon the
account of some Delinquency or other. Towards the
Entry stood a Pillar, from whence issued out a Spout of
Water for the Convenience of washing their Hands; we
were thence conducted into a noble Apartment, richly fur-
nished, and adorned with Tapestry, where a Table stood
ready prepared for us in the midst of the Room, covered
with Fruits and Bread in Porcelain Dishes, which is here
preferred before Silver.

The Father Provincial having placed the *English* Presi-
dent on his right Hand, set down, and so did the rest of
the Company; so that betwixt every two sat two Jesuits to
entertain us. The Meat was likewise served up in Porce-
lain Vessels, as well as the Dessert. After Dinner we were
brought into several Chambers to take our Repose, accord-
ing to the Custom of the Country; after which we passed
into another spacious Hall, where we had the Diversion of
Dancing, by certain *Indian* Children brought up in the Ro-
man Catholick Religion; there were among other Shews
an Entry made by fifteen Persons, having in their Hands
some Pieces of a broken Pillar, and divers Garlands of
Flowers, wherewith they adorned the Pillar, after they had
with exact Observance of the Cadence, each in their several
Turning put it together; and soon after we saw at the Top
of the Pillar came out a Tulip, which opening of itself by
Doors, produced the Image of the Blessed Virgin, with
our Saviour in her Arms; besides which, the Pillar opened
in several other Places, and cast forth perfumed Waters;
after which the Dancers took the Pillar to Pieces again, and
carried it off dancing as they had brought it in. We had
another Entry of twelve young Lads, each playing upon a
peculiar Instrument, some Morris-dancers, and the Ball
was concluded with another Entry of twelve Boys dressed
like Apes, who imitated those Creatures in their Leapings
and Gestures to the Life. They farther told us, that they
used these Inticements to bring over the *Pagans* and *Mobam-*
medans to the Church, and to divert their Disciples after
their Studies.

January the 18th we dined with the Jesuits at their Col-
lege called *Bon Jesus*. The first thing we observed in their
Halls were the Pictures of many Princes and Persons of
Quality that had been of this Society, and the History of
their Martyrs; among whom we found those of that Fra-
ternity that were engaged in the Gunpowder Plot in *Eng-*
land; upon which Account they made us an ample Re-
lation of the Sufferings of their Brethren in *Japan*, and the
unheard-of Cruelties exercised against them as well as the
Japanese Christians. Thence they brought us into their
Church, which for its Greatness and Sumptuousness may,
without all Comparison, challenge the Preference before any
Church the Jesuits are Masters of in *Asia*. The high Altar
was one of the most magnificent that ever I beheld of that
kind; but that which was dedicated to *Saint Francis Xavier*,
whom they stile the Apostle of the *Indies*, exceeds the other
in Riches.

Here we saw his Image drawn to the Life, upon Wood,
and they were pleased to tell us, that his Body was yet to be
seen in the same Church as intire as it was the first Minute
after his Death; nay, they farther told us, that the Body of
this Saint being hid in the Isle of *Ceylon*, was discovered by
its odoriferous Scent, which was perceived many Leagues at
Sea; in which the good Fathers were not a little deceived,
since the Scent, which is smelled at a great Distance from
the Island of *Ceylon*, proceeds from the vast Number of
Cinnamon Trees which are all over that Island. Besides,
that this Story does not agree with what *Maffeus*, one of
their Authors, tells us concerning this Saint, viz. that
having preached the Gospel in the *Indies*, he came to
China, where he died immediately after his landing; and
that the Master of the Vessel having put his Body into un-
slacked Lime, in order to carry his Bones away, this cor-
roding Matter did not exert its Virtue upon it, but the
Body remained entire and uncorrupted, and had a very
odoriferous Smell; whereupon it was resolved to carry it
to *Goa*, which was done accordingly. As we were going
from the Church to the Refectory, they forgot not to en-
tertain us with the Miracles of this Saint, of his raising the
Dead, commanding the Sea and Winds, as well as the
Sun, the last of which he brought back an Hour after
Sun-set.

We saw in the Hall here Tables for above two hundred
Persons, but only the most considerable dined with us, the
rest waited: Our Entertainment was much the same as in
the other College, but we had most excellent Canary given
us; and though these Fathers have the Reputation of ex-
traordinary Sobriety, yet out of Complaisance to our Com-
pany, they were not backward in making the Cup go
round when they perceived we liked the Wine. They also
carried us up into the Steeple, whence we had a full View
of all the City, the Sea, the River, and the adjacent Coun-
try, as far as the Mountains. The next Morning two of
the Fathers came to our Lodgings to shew us the Hospital
which is under the Inspection of the Jesuits. It is a very
large and noble Structure, containing as many Chambers,
Halls and Galleries, as will conveniently lodge and accom-
modate one thousand sick Persons; each Bed is marked
with a particular Number, and such as are not taken up are
distinguished by a particular Mark. The Kitchen and
Apothecary's Shop are well worth Observation. I found
the chief Distempers of the Sick here to be the Bloody-flux
and the Pox. They have this Custom, that as soon as any
Patient is past all Hopes of Recovery, he is shut up in a
private Room with a Priest, that the rest may not be dis-
turbed by the Groans of the dying Person.

Hence we went to the Convent of our Lady belonging
to the *Austrian* Friars, which being built upon rising Ground,
makes a most glorious Shew at a Distance. I delivered to
them the Letters of Recommendation I had received from
their Brethren at *Ispahan*, which made them treat me with
more than ordinary Civilities, shewing me all the rich
Copies and Vellments belonging to the Monasteries, and
offering me all that lay in their Power for my Service.
The President having by this time received nine thousand
Pounds due, and a Promise of the Payment of the rest to
such of the *English* Merchants as were to stay behind at
Goa, he gave a splendid Entertainment to all such as had
shewed

shewed us any Civilities, and after having taken his Leave, the Governor and Commodore of the Galleons sent him a Present of Cinnamon, Canary, Sheep, Fruits, and among the rest a Bottle of Oil made of the Flowers of Cinnamon.

4. On the 20th we left Goa, and upon the River met with an hundred small Vessels which came from the Coast of Malabar; we were no sooner got out of the River, but we made Strait to the Portuguese Fleet, and went aboard the Flag Galleon called *Bon Jesus*, carrying sixty-four Guns, and six hundred Men; she was a very noble Ship, and we were entertained with extraordinary Civility by the Commodore, who shewed us likewise all the other Ships; at parting we had the usual Salute from the whole Portuguese Fleet, as also from the Fort de Guarda. As soon as the President was come on Board, he returned them twenty Guns, which the Commodore answered with as many, and so came to an Anchor in the Road betwixt the Portuguese and the Dutch.

But before we take our Leave of Goa, it will not be amiss to say something of what we found most remarkable in a Place, which is the Capital of all belonging to the Portuguese in the Indies. It lies in the Kingdom of Decan, 15° on this Side the Line, in an Island of the same Name, which is divided from the Continent only by a River. The Portuguese conquered it the 16th of February 1510, but lost it again the 30th of May following, and regained it once more the 12th of November in the same Year, when they took it by Storm. It was at that Time a very considerable Place of Trade, though it has much increased since the Portuguese have been Masters of it. On the South Side is the Island of Salsetta, likewise divided from the Continent by a small River, as is the Isle of Bardes to the North, where there is safe Anchorage for Ships with all Winds. The Fort de Guarda is built at the Foot of a Rock, upon which is erected a Tower in Form of a Redoubt, which in the Night-time serves for a Beacon to Mariners; from the Mouth of the River to the Harbour is about two Leagues, but it has the same Breadth all along, though in some Places it is so shallow, that in a dry Season there is not above two Foot Water.

The Island of Goa is so barren, that it produces nothing fit for the Sustainance of Men or Beasts, except a few Fruits in the Gardens, and a slender Share of Grass for Lambs and Goats; notwithstanding which, they are so plentifully furnished with Provisions from the two before-mentioned Islands, and the Continent, that in spite of the Blockade of the Dutch, a Hog was then sold for a Crown, six sucking Pigs, ten Pullets, or eight Wild-ducks, for the same Price; but Beef and Mutton is a great Rarity here. There is a Fountain representing *Lucretia*, out of whose Wound issues forth as much fresh Water as supplies the whole City. The Ships provide themselves with fresh Water out of a Rivulet, which coming out of a Rock falls into the other River near the Castle. The City has no other Defence but the River, having neither Gates nor Walls; the Buildings are generally very handsome, and Persons of Note shew a great deal of Magnificence here both in their Buildings and Furniture.

The Inhabitants are of two sorts, either *Castizos*, or *Mestizos*; the first are such as are born here of Portuguese Father and Mother; the second, those who were begotten by a Portuguese, or an Indian. The last are inclining to an olive Colour, and in the third Generation becomes as black as the Natives of the Country, which is also observable in the fourth Generation of the *Mestizos*, though there is not the least Mixture among them. The Portuguese are distinguished into several Ranks; *Titulados* are those in publick Employments; *Fidalgos da casa del Rey*, are Gentlemen in ordinary to the King's Household; *Mocas Fidalgos* are the Sons of the *Titulados*, admitted to Gentility by the King, the *Cavaleros Fidalgos*, and *Escuderos Fidalgos* are also Gentlemen; those called *Mocas da Camra*, or Grooms of the King's Chamber, pass also for Gentlemen. All the rest are *Hombrés*, *Homrados*, and *Soldados*; the first of which are Merchants, and appear as well as any Gentlemen, there being scarce any thing here, except Taylors and *Armenians*, but what are served by Slaves; no Person of Quality ever goes on Foot, but either on Horseback, in

a Litter, or Gondola, one Slave among the rest constantly attending him with an Umbrella.

The Portuguese have always had the Reputation of being a very proud Nation; but those of Goa are so to such an Excess both in their Gestures and Actions, as is scarce to be expressed; however, they are very ceremonious to one another, to such a Puntilio, that if for instance in a Visit any thing should be omitted that is judged customary, and belonging to the Person that requires it, such a Stain could not be wiped off without a Cudgeling, or Blood-shed; with the first they are very liberal towards inferior Persons, if they think them to have been wanting in Respect due to those of a better Rank.

The South-west Winds, which begin to blow here towards the End of June, bring the Winter Season along with them, which continues for four Months all along that Coast, from *Diu* as far as the Cape *Comerin*, at which Time the frequent Tempests make the Sea so turbulent, that there are but few Havens where Ships can ride with Safety. This is the more to be admired, inasmuch as in the same Months the Coasts of *Coromandel*, which extend along the same Peninsula on the other Side, and lies under the same Degree of Latitude, nay, in some Places are not above twenty Leagues distant from the Coast of Malabar, is blessed with the most pleasant Season of all the Year.

This is manifest to those who travel from *Cochin* by Land to *St. Thomas*, when they must cross the Mountain of *Balagatta*, which divides this *Demi-Isle* (as the *Appennine* do *Italy*) and no sooner come to the Top of the Mountain, but they see on one Side a most clear and temperate Air, and the Country on the other Side covered with Waters, by the continual Rains and Fogs. The Ships that go from *Ormaz* to the Cape of *Rossalgate* have made the same Observation; for no sooner have they passed the Cape, but the fair Weather that has attended them thither changes on a sudden into dreadful Tempests, so that it is evident there are but two Seasons in this Country, and the East and West Winds rule alternately once a Day; for the Therentes, or Land-winds coming from the East, blow from Midnight to Mid-day, but don't reach above ten Leagues into the Sea; whereas the Sea Winds coming from the West (called *Virafons*) blow all the rest of the Day.

This so sudden Change of the Season, as well as constant Variation of the Winds, prove the Occasion of many Distempers, especially that called *Mordexin*, which kills without Delay, besides Fevers and Bloody-flux, the only Remedy against which here is Bleeding. The Plague is not so much as known in the Indies; but the Pox destroys a great Number, and above all among the Portuguese; for though the Country itself furnishes them with Remedies against this Distemper, yet the Inclinations betwixt the Sexes are so strong and violent here, that they wont afford themselves a proper Time for the Cure of this Disease, which is thus propagated beyond all Bounds. As the Women in these Parts have an excessive Inclination to white Men, and are always kept under Constraint, they will venture very hard to encompass their Ends; and to pursue this End, frequently make use of the Herb *Doutro*, *Doutry*, or *Datura* (as it is called by the Indians) to stupify their Husband's Senses to get an Opportunity of enjoying what they so much delight in. This Herb, called by the Turks and Persians *Datura*, is a kind of *Stramonium*, according to the *Garfias de Horta*, and *Christophor de Aosta*, being somewhat like our Bears Foot, and grows in the Indies in shady Places; of this they extract the Juice, whilst it is green, or only take the Seed beaten to Powder, and mix it either with Preserves, or in the Drink of those they intend to stupify, which it does effectually for twenty-four Hours after he has taken it, being deprived of all Sense and Motion, though with his Eyes open, unless some cold Water be applied to the Souls of his Feet, which recover him, as it were, out of a sound Sleep.

Scarce any Portuguese or *Mestizo* Women are seen to walk in the Streets; but if they go abroad upon necessary Occasions, they are carried in Palanquins, or Litters, and so closely guarded, that it is impossible to speak to them. They appear abroad richly drest in Velvets, Silks, and Brocades, adorned with Jewels, though the

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they go at home in their Hair only, with nothing over them
but a Calicoe Smock, reaching down to the Navel, and a
painted Calicoe Petticoat. Their Fare is not much better,
being Rice soaked in Broth, Fish, Mangoes, and such-like
Food. They have certain black Earthen Drinking-Ves-
sels called *Gorgollets*, which have Pipes coming up as high
as the Brim, by which they suck the Water out of the
Bottles. As Chastity is a Virtue here among the Women,
produced rather by Necessity than Inclination, so their
Husbands are extremely jealous of them; notwithstanding
which, they will contrive all possible means to have their
Satisfaction, in spite of the Danger that attends it. This
must be in a great measure attributed to an idle Life, hav-
ing nothing to do to spend their Time but in chewing
of Beetle, Cloves, and Nutmegs. A remarkable Instance
of this Affectation is the Love the *Indian* Women bear to the
Children begotten by an *European*, which is such, that they
would rather die than part with them.

The Soldiers at *Goa* live at a very odd rate, being not
listed under any certain Companies, or Officers, unless in
Time of War; but in Time of Peace at Liberty to seek
their Fortune where they can, as having no other Pay but
what perhaps their former Officers allow them voluntarily
towards their Subsistence, that they may keep them at
hand upon all Occasions. You shall see ten or twelve of
them live in a Hut, having not above two or three Suits
of Cloaths among them all, which they wear by Turns,
when they go abroad a begging, or seeking their Liveli-
hood where they can meet with it. The *Portuguese*
shew a deal of Magnificence in their Marriages and Christ-
enings. The Bridegroom, accompanied by all his Friends
and Relations, goes to Church on Horseback, the Bride
following him in a Litter; both have two Godfathers, who
presents them to the Priest, after the Benediction is
given, they return in the same manner to the House; but
none are permitted to enter with the young Couple except
the Godfathers, who go all together into a Balcony to give
the Company Thanks for this Favour. Their Christenings
are performed with the same Pomp, save that they carry
also an Ewer with a clean Napkin, a Saltcellar, a Silver
Bason, surrounded with Flowers, and a Wax-Candle, in
which is put a Piece of Gold or Silver for the Priest; but
the Godfather or Midwife are always carried in a Litter.

The *Portuguese* entertain a great number of Slaves of
both Sexes. These they employ both in their Retinue,
and about all other Business: As for instance, in selling of
Fruits and other things, when they will be sure to pitch
upon handsome Wenches, which draw sooner the Cus-
tomers to them, and consequently sell at a dearer Rate.
All that the Slaves get belong to their Masters, even their
Children, whom they keep, or sell like Cattle, unless the
Fathers redeem them within eight or ten Days after they
are born. They keep them at a very easy Rate, their
Diet being miserable, and their Cloathing being only a
little coarse Calicoe to cover their privy parts. The In-
habitants of the neighbouring Country are *Pagans*, and ge-
nerally *Banjians*, who dwell in straw Huts, with little
Doors, which serve also for Windows. Their whole Fur-
niture consists of little Mats made of Rushes, which serve
both for Beds and Tables, a Drinking-Cup and Pitcher
made of Fig-leaves, their daily Food being Rice. They
are so superstitious, that if after they have said their Pray-
ers, they go abroad and meet with a Crow, they return
home, and stir no more abroad that Day. Upon the
Roads they constantly pay their Devotions to the Pagods,
which the *Portuguese* connive at, their Inquisition going no
farther than to Christians, or such as have been so.

Their Ceremonies and manner of Living are the same
with those of *Decan*. One thing is remarkable among
them, that their Physicians are in so great Esteem at *Goa*,
that they are generally preferred before the *Portuguese*
themselves, and are permitted to have their Umbrella's
carried along with them, a Privilege allowed here to none
but Persons of Quality. They will not eat with any bo-
dy except their own Sect, not even in a Journey, though
they should be driven to the greatest Extremity. There
lives at *Goa* many *Dicanius* and *Canarins*, who keep Shops
there, and exchange their Provisions and other Commodi-
ties they bring, for Porcelain, Velvet, Damasks, *China* Com-

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modities, Silks and Calicoes. They have also many Jew-
ellers, Goldsmiths, Gravers, and other Artizans of this
kind at *Goa*, who exceed all the *Europeans* in that kind.
The *Canarins* live either upon Husbandry or Fishing.
Some maintain themselves by managing the Cocoa Trees,
some by washing and whitening of Calicoes. The Hus-
bandmen furnish the City with Fowl, Milk, Fruit and
Eggs. Their Wives are so hardy, that they never make
use of a Midwife, and are no sooner delivered, but they
wash the Child themselves, wrap it up in a few Fig-leaves,
and go about their Business again as before; which makes
them so strong and healthy, that they frequently live to
an hundred Years of Age. They are so excellent at Swim-
ming, that nothing is more common than to see them over-
turn in their Boats, which hold no more than one Person,
and swim ashore without any harm or loss of the Boat.
They burn their Dead, but their Women are under no
Obligation to burn themselves with their Husbands, but
only make a Vow of Widowhood. Here are two sorts
of *Jews*, either born in the *Indies* both by Father and
Mother-side, or that come hither from *Palestine*, the last
of which commonly speak good *Spanish*: They enjoy a per-
fect Liberty of Conscience, and have their own Syna-
gogues. The *Mohammedans* here deal most in Spices from
the *Red-Sea*.

The *Portuguese* traffick to *Bengal*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *Chi-
na*, and *Cambaya*, in *Guzarat*. From Seven o'Clock in
the Morning till Nine, when the Heat begins to encrease,
you see all Persons of Quality and Gentry meet in the
Market-place to divert themselves, partly with hearing of
News, or else to see what is to be bought and sold there.
Merchants and Tradefmen have their peculiar Streets, or
Stations assigned them, according to their different Profes-
sions; but their greatest Profit is in exchanging and buy-
ing or selling of Money, especially the *Spanish* Rials, and
Persian Lari's; also their Coin is of diverse Sorts.
Their smallest Money is of Tin, having a Globe on one
Side, and on the other two Arrows cross-wise. Eight
of these *Basorinques* make a *Ventin*, five whereof make a
Tange; five *Tanges* make a *Serafin* of Silver, which makes
300 *Reis*; six *Tanges* goes to a *Pardai*. The *Serafin* has
on one Side *St. Sebastian*, and on the other a Quiver full of
Arrows. There is also a *Serafin* of Gold, coin'd former-
ly at *Ormuz*, the Metal of which exceeds in Fineness any
other Coin in the *Indies*. They have also *Santemes* of
six *Tanges*, and *Pagods* of fourteen, fifteen and sixteen
Tanges. Foreigners are obliged to pay eight per Cent. on
all Commodities exported or imported, but great Modera-
tions are used in the Taxations; besides, that if a Mer-
chant happen to export the same Commodities for want of
Sale, they are allowed to export them without paying any
further Custom. They have also a Way of entering the
Commodities they buy at *Goa* under the Seller's Name,
and so they pass Custom free.

The Viceroy who was there at our Time was one Don
Pedro de Silva, who was of no great Aspect, but was for the
rest served in the same State as a King. This Office is ne-
ver continued above three Years in one Person, which is
sufficient to enrich him even to a very high Degree; for
he has the Management of the King's whole Revenue,
is at the Charge of keeping his Court, and, in the Progress
he makes once a Year, for sixty or eighty Leagues round,
he receives vast Presents from the neighbouring Princes
and Governors; for though he has his Council of State,
and Courts of Law and Equity, yet is he the sole Judge
of all civil Causes, unless they be of very great Conse-
quence, when an Appeal lies to the King; but in criminal
Causes no Appeal is admitted, if the Person be under the
Degree of a Gentleman; for these must be sent with the
Information brought against them to *Peringal*. The Vice-
roy at his Arrival always lands first in the Isle of *Barles*,
from whence he sends his Deputies to his Predecessor, who
thereupon quits the Place.

5. On the 22d the *English* Director having sent away
the two Ships that came along with us to *Surat*, to carry
thither the Money he had received at *Goa*, we hoisted
sail. In the Evening we saw the whole *Dutch* Fleet under
Sail, whence we judged that the Admiral, whose Name was
Coulon, would have come on Board us, as he had promised

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he would, but we lost sight of them by Night. On the 23d we had sight of them again, and supposed that they steered their Course towards *Ceylon*, to assist the King against the *Portuguese*. About Noon we found ourselves out of sight of the Land, in 13° Lat. We intended to steer for the Coast of *Malabar*, upon Information that an *English Ship*, richly laden, coming from *Bantam*, was taken by these, after a brave Defence, in which it had blown up above 1200 of the *Moors*, after they were entered the Ship. Our Intent was to redeem the Master and the Mate with fourteen Prisoners that were taken aboard her; but coming to an Anchor the same Night in the Harbour of *Cananor*, we found three *English Ships*, the *Dragon*, the *Catherine*, and the *Seymour*, commanded by Captain *Waddel*, a very experienced Sea Officer, who had served at the taking of *Ormuz*, by whom being informed, that most of those Prisoners were set at Liberty, we resolved to leave the Coast of *Malabar*. The City of *Cananor* is inhabited by *Malabars*, a People that inhabit that Coast from the City of *Goa* as far as the Cape of *Comorin*, but the *Portuguese* have a good Fleet at *Cananor*.

All that Tract of Land is very fertile in Spices, but especially in Pepper, which is esteemed better even than that which is brought from *Sumatra* and *Java*. They go for the most part naked, except that they cover their privy Parts, have Holes in their Ears, and are like the *African Moors*, except that their Lips are not quite so thick. Their Hair they tie in a Knot upon the Crown of their Heads, and let the Beard grow without any trimming, which makes them appear more like Monsters than Men, neither is their internal Disposition unanswerable to their external Appearance, being in Effect a very uncivilized and barbarous Generation, and making for the most part Profession either of Piracy or Soldiery. They are rather fierce than brave, handle their Bows and Arrows, and hold their Swords and Bucklers, with sufficient Dexterity. They have their particular King, who being of the Sect of the *Bramans*, is also their High-Priest, and styles himself *Zamorin* or Emperor of *Cananor* and *Calicut*. The *Nyers* are the Gentlemen of the Country, who by their Bracelets and Rings are distinguished from the *Polya's*, or vulgar sort, these last being obliged to go out of their Way, and pay them a peculiar Respect as they pass by. I was told, that at the Time of the first Settlement of the *Portuguese* in those Parts, the *Nyers* pretended to have the same Honours from the *Portuguese* which these (who were no less proud than the other, refusing to comply with, it was agreed, the Difference should be decided by a single Combat betwixt a *Portuguese* and a *Nyer*, in which the first having got the better, the *Nyers* ever since pay the same Respect to the *Portuguese* as the *Polya's* do to them.

They have among other Privileges this, that they may freely enter the Houses of their Comrades, and please themselves with their Wives and Daughters, the Signal being to leave their Sword and Buckler at the Door; which done, no body, not even the Master of the House, will enter to disturb them; but a *Nyer* will never degrade himself so far, as to have any Commerce with the Wife of a *Polya*. The *Malabars* use Bodkins, with which they write upon the Bark of Cocoa trees, their Characters being quite different from those of the other *Indians*, are understood only by the *Bramans*. The King of *Calicut* never eats or drinks any thing but what has been presented before to his Pagod, or Idol. The Inheritance to the Crown does not fall to the Son, but his Sister's Son, since, as the *Bramans* here have the First-fruits of the Bride's Virginity, the Children are supposed to be begotten by them. As to the City of *Cochin*, Notice must be taken, that there are two of that Name in the same Kingdom of *Cochin*, one whereof is inhabited by *Malabars*, and lies upon a great River; the last of which we now speak, lies upon the Coast, and is under the Subjection of the *Portuguese*, having the Sea to the West, and being surrounded on the Land-side with a Forest of certain black Trees, which the Inhabitants hollow out, and make Boats of, and will go with them as far as *Goa*.

The Entrance of the Harbour is rocky and dangerous. The Rains of the winter Season which swells the neigh-

bouring Brooks, forces so much Earth during that Time into the Mouth of the Harbour, that it is stopped up and quite unpassable, till the Wind, which changes with the Season, carries the same into the Sea. The *Portuguese* buy the Pepper here from the King at a certain Rate, who is one of the most potent Princes of all those Parts, being able to bring into the Field 100,000 Men, most *Nyers*, who are obliged to appear in Arms at their own Charge. His Subjects are something more civilized than the other *Malabars*, but observe the same Rule in their Marriages concerning the *Bramins*, and consequently in respect of their Succession. The chief Trade of *Cochin* is in Pepper, Ginger and Cinnamon. The *Malabars* had formerly but one King, till *Sarata Perymal*, who alone commanded on all that Coast from *Goa* to *Comorin*, having embraced the *Mohammedan* Religion, and resolved to spend his Days near the Sepulchre of the Prophet, divided his Dominions among his nearest Friends, under Condition that the Kings of *Cananor*, *Cochin* and *Chani*, should pay Homage to the King of *Calicut*, upon whom for that reason he bestowed the Title of *Zamorin*, or Emperor; but notwithstanding this the King of *Cochin* is much more potent than he.

6. On the 26th we left *Cananor*, and the next Day discovered eighteen Sail of Ships, which, making up towards us, we began to suspect them for Pirates, as indeed they proved. We had just Time enough to put ourselves in a Posture of Defence, when they began to come pretty near us, but did not think fit to attack us till Midnight, when the Moon shined very bright, they surrounded us on all Sides, but were so warmly received, that we sunk two and disabled three or four more, which made them think of retreating. We passed that Night in Sight of the Fort of *Cochin*, and the 28th saw no more than fourteen of these Pirates following us at a Distance; we continued our Course with a fair Gale in Sight of the Cape of *Comorin*, to the S. E. of us, being the most southern Part of the *Indies* known among the Ancients by the Name of *India* on this Side the *Ganges*. The next Night the *Malabars* made a Shew as if they intended to venture the other Brush with us; but a Volley of Shot, though without Bullets, sent them a going, so that we heard no more of them.

The 29th we came within Sight of the Island of *Ceylon*, at the very Point of which we were becalmed for three Weeks. This Isle extends from the South-East to the North-East, between the two Capes of *Comorin* and *Negapatam*, about ten Leagues from the Continent; its Length being sixty Leagues, and its Breadth forty; its Circumference two hundred and fifty; and, according to the Report of the Inhabitants, its Compais was much larger before the Violence of the Sea carried away a large Part of Land on the Side towards *Comorin*. It is the richest and most fertile of all the *Indian* Islands, which I suppose to be the *Taprobana* of the Ancients, though I am not ignorant that some of our modern Geographers make it the Isle of *Sumatra*, of which more hereafter. I did not, without Reason, call the Isle of *Ceylon* the richest and most fertile of all the *Indian* Islands, it being unquestionable that it has not only great Plenty of every thing that other Islands produce, but besides this whole Forests of Orange, Lemon, and Cinnamon-trees, which diffuse their fragrant Smell at a great Distance into the Sea. Besides that, there is no precious Stone but what it affords, except Diamonds: Pearls they take there in abundance, but not altogether so fine as those of *Babaram*; in recompence of which it affords the finest Ivory in the World. The first Discovery of it is owing to the *Portuguese* in 1506, when *Laurence*, Son of *Francisco Almeida* made a Treaty with one of the Kings of the Island; since which Time they took Care to fortify themselves in the Town of *Columbo*, but were chased thence, and consequently from the whole Island, by the *Dutch*, in 1657.

The *Dutch* did not trade here till 1602, under the Reign of *Timala Derma Suriada*, King of *Candy*, the most potent, and in a manner the only Sovereign Prince of the whole Island, who ascended the Throne in a very extraordinary manner; for the Throne of *Candy* being become vacant by the Death of *Derma*, who, from

Earth during that Time that it is stopped up and which changes with the Sea. The *Portuguese* buy at a certain Rate, who is of all those Parts, being 1000 Men, most *Negars*, as at their own Charge. The civilized than the other Rule in their Marriages consequently in respect of Trade of *Cochin* is in *Pephe Malabar*: had former *Perimal*, who alone com- *Goa* to *Comorin*, having tion, and resolved to send the Prophet, divided his Friends, under Condition *in and Chani*, should pay but, upon whom for that of *Zamorin*, or Emperor; *g of Cochin* is much more

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ght of the Island of *Ceylon*, e were becalmed for three om the South-East to the Capes of *Comorin* and *Ni-* from the Continent; its and its Breadth forty; its d fifty; and, according to its Compais was much lar- Sea carried away a large vards *Comorin*. It is the *Indian* Islands, which I of the Ancients, though I our modern Geographers which more hereafter. I the Isle of *Ceylon* the richest Islands, it being unquesti- Plenty of every thing that ides this whole Forests of n-trees, which diffuse their out into the Sea. Besides out what it affords, except ere in abundance, but not *ibaram*; in recompence of in the World. The first *Portuguese* in 1506, when *meida* made a Treaty with ; since which Time they in the Town of *Colombo*, but esequently from the whole

ere till 1602, under the *ada*, King of *Candy*, the e only Sovereign Prince ended the Throne in a or the Throne of *Candy* Death of *Derma*, who, from

from a *Bastard*, was advanced to that high Dignity, the *Portuguese* took this Opportunity to establish them- selves in *Ceylon*; but *Fimale Derma Surinda*, Son of one of the chief Men in the Kingdom, who had been edu- cated among the *Portuguese* and baptized, and by their Interest advanced to the Dignity of High-Contable, dis- liking the Encroachments of a Nation whom he knew would be in a little Time for grasping at all, had so gained the Affection of the Soldiery, that he prevailed with them to kill all the *Portuguese* in the Town of *Candy*, and to declare open War against them; which, being done, he was by the *Cingalese* declared King. The *Portuguese* had among them a certain Prince, the next Heir to the Crown, who was baptized, and named *Katbarina*. *Pedro Lopez de Souza* being the General of *Malacca* for the *Portuguese*, resolving to enter the Country with a good Army, strength- ening his Interest, brought the said *D. Katbarina* along with him, and having caused her to be declared lawful Heiress to the Kingdom of *Candy*, made himself Master of the capital City of the same Name; but being closely blocked up by *Fimale Derma*, who intercepted his For- gers, and cut off his Provisions, found himself constrained to come to a Battle in 1590, in which he was put to the Rout, himself killed upon the Spot, and *D. Katbarina* taken Prisoner by *Fimale*; who afterwards, to strengthen his Title to the Crown, married her. Four Years after the *Portuguese* made a second Attempt against *Candy*, but not with much better Success; for though they were not absolutely routed, yet were they so harassed that they did not think fit any longer to continue the War with him.

The *Dutch*, at their first Settlement, had not much bet- ter Fortune; for though the King received in the Year 1604 their Admiral with a great deal of Civility, yet in the next following Year, having commanded their Vice- Admiral with fifty of his Men to be put to Death, the *Dutch* laid aside their Design of trading there, till having found an Opportunity of gaining the Fort of *Punto de Gallo* from the *Portuguese*, and fortifying the Harbour of *Negambo*, they began to establish themselves there, and at last accomplished it by taking of *Colombo* from the *Portu- guese*. The King of *Candy* is the most potent and most absolute of all the other Princes in the Isle of *Ceylon*. He takes great Delight, as well in the *European* Way of Building, as in their Fortifications. The Kingdom is situ- ated all along upon that River, upon which lies the City of *Vintain*, which serves for an Harbour to the King's Ships. The Inhabitants resemble the *Malabars*, but that they are not quite so black. They generally go naked, except that some use *Portuguese* Doublets. They all wear Pendants in their Ears and Poiniards at their Sides. The Women likewise go with their Breasts uncovered; but for the rest, they are very modest both in their Clothing and Covera- tion, dressing their Heads much like the *European* Wo- men, with their Hair close behind, and tied in Tresses. They appear in gold and silver Garments, with Rings upon their Hands, Feet, and Legs, set with precious Stones. They live conveniently enough in their Houses, their Wives being good Housewives, and especially well skilled in Cookery. The *Cingalese* are so much addicted to an idle Life and Effeminacy, that they are neither fit for War nor any thing else.

7. *Ceylon* is, as I said before, beyond all Dispute, the most plentiful Isle of all the *Indies*; nothing can be named either of Provisions or Fruits, but what is very cheap here; though they are *Pagans* they eat of every thing in general, even Pork (abstaining only from the Flesh of an Ox or Cow.) The *Mohammedans* enjoy a full Liberty among them; and the *Pagan* Inhabitants abstain from Wine as well as they. They have a great Veneration for their Bramans; they marry their Maids at ten or twelve Years of Age, and burn their Dead. *Fimale Derma*, whom we spoke of before, had got as much Christianity as could be expected among the *Indian Portuguese*, which he soon laid aside; so that his Successors continued in their Idolatry. Some of the Inhabitants worship the Head of an Elephant cut in Wood or Stone, who, they say, outdo Mankind in Judgment, and therefore pray for Wisdom to them.

They lay up every Day a certain Share of their Provi- sions in a Basket kept for that Purpose for their Pagods,

and hold it as a Point of Faith, that the World will not perish as long as their grand Temples, which may be dis- covered at a great Distance at Sea betwixt *Punto de Gallo* and *Monte Carlo*, shall remain standing. They have another Opinion concerning a certain Mountain in this Island, named *Pito d'Adam*, where they say the first Man was cre- ated, and that the Spring on the Top of the Mountain arose from the Tears that *Eve* shed for *Abel*; and that the Isle of *Ceylon* was the terrestrial Paradise. This Tinc- ture of Christianity gives us sufficient Hopes, that among a People, docile enough in themselves, the Christian Re- ligion might be established, if People were as forward in the Work of Salvation as to gain Riches. There is scarce any other King in the Isle of *Ceylon*, except him of *Candy*, but what pays some small Tribute by way of Ac- know ledgment to the *Portuguese*, of which the King of *Mateale* pays no more than fifty Ducats per Annum.

Ceylon affords very good Pepper, but their staple Com- modity is Cinnamon. The Kingdom of *Candy* hath cer- tainly both Gold and Silver-Mines, but are not wrought by an express Inhibition from the King; neither must their precious Stones be sold to any but the King; but, as they have such Plenty of them that they are found among the Gravel that is washed down from the adjacent Moun- tains, and carried along with the Current of the Water; so it is impossible to prevent their being sold under- hand to Strangers. This Isle also furnishes sufficient Store of Timber and Stone for Buildings; of Corn, Oil, and Wine, if they would take the Pains to cultivate the Vines, Cotton, divers Roots for the Use of Dyers, Ginger, Car- damom, Mirabolanes, Corcoma, Nutmegs, and divers medicinal Drugs, and of Rice they have such Store that they furnish the whole Coast of *Coromandel* with that Commodity. The *Dutch* buy the Cinnamon here at the rate of an hundred and twenty-eight Livres the Hundred Weight.

8. While we were becalmed near this Isle, I had the Opportunity of making an Enquiry of our President and some Jesuits, who were on Board us, and had spent most of their Days in the *Indies*, concerning those Parts I had not seen, according to whole Relation I thought fit to insert the following Account. Near the Cape of *Comorin*, along the Coast of *Malabar*, for a Tract of near an hundred and forty Leagues by Sea, extended the Isles (by some account- ed One thousand, called *Maldives* by the *Portuguese*, hav- ing the Cape to the North, some of which being so very low that they are often subject to Inundations, are not inha- bited, others are. The *Malabars* are of Opinion that they were torn from the Continent by the Violence of the tem- pestuous Waves of the Sea, which, in some Places, is at so slender a Distance from the Continent, that a brisk ac- tive Fellow might leap over it. The capital City which has given its Name of *Maldives* to all the Islands is built upon four small Isles, being the Residence of the King, who commands over all the rest, and a Place of good Trade, though they produce naturally scarce any thing but *Cocoas*; but the Industry of the Inhabitants supplies, in some measure, the Defect of Nature here, there being not any Nation in the *Indies* more ingenious in making Garments of Silk and Thread than they. The Coast of *Coromandel* being in the most Eastern Part of the *Indies* this Side of the *Ganges*, is divided from the *Malabar* Coast by the Mountains of *Balagatta*, its Extent being one hun- dred Leagues along the Coast from *Cape Comorin*, or rather the Point of *Negapatan*, as far as the River *Nagund* and the Town of *Myslipatan*, which, as it has excellent Har- bours, and the best Roads for Anchorage in the *Indies*, so it serves for a safe Retreat for such Vessels as are by the tempestuous Winter-season forced from the Coast of *Guz- zurat* thither, where the Climate and Weather is very calm at that Time.

The *Portuguese* are Masters of the Town of *St. Thomas*: On this Coast, they say, that when they first possessed them- selves of *Cochin* and *Cranganor*, the Inhabitants of this Coast, who were Christians of the *Greek* Religion, implor- ed the Protection of the King of *Portugal*. To back this Tra- dition, they affirm, that *St. Thomas*, one of the twelve A- postles, after he had taught the Gospel in the Kingdom of *Narfinga*, petitioned the King to give him Leave to build a Chapel

Chapel for the performing of Devotion, which being strongly opposed by the *Pagan* Priests, it happened that a prodigious Piece of Timber being lodged at the very Entrance of the Harbour of the City of *Maliapour*, which hindered the free Passage of all the Ships, a Trial was made by Elephants, and all other Ways, even by consulting the Magicians themselves, to remove it thence, but in vain; whereupon the King issued his Proclamation, by which he offered a considerable Reward to such as would undertake to clear the Harbour. *St. Thomas* offered his Service, reserving to himself no other Reward than the Piece of Timber. The Day appointed for this Purpose being come, and the Saint appearing without any other Instrument to effect it than his Girdle, which he fastened to the Beam, all there present laughed at his Endeavours; but he no sooner began to pull than that vast Piece of Timber, which could not be moved before by the Strength of of so many Elephants, followed without the least Difficulty; at which the King being surprized to the highest Degree, permitted him to build the Chapel according to his Request, which so incensed the Bramans that they set certain People to murder him whilst he was at his Devotions in the said Chapel. *Maffeus* says, that by the special Command of *Jehn King of Portugal*, the Bones of this Saint was searched for, and found on the Coast of *Coromandel*, and thence transferred to *Gua*, where a very fine Church was erected to his Memory.

On the other hand, both *Rhynus* and *Socrates* affirm, that *St. Thomas* suffered Martyrdom at *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia*, and that they used to go on Pilgrimage to his Sepulchre there. The Town of *St. Thomas*, though none of the biggest, yet is well built, most of the Houses being of Stone. The Church has no Steeple; it contains about six or seven hundred Inhabitants, *Portuguese*, and *Mestizes*, and some *Armenian* Merchants, the *Indians*, *Pagans*, and *Mohammedans*, living at a Place called *Maliapour*, seated upon a Rivulet two Leagues to the North of *St. Thomas*, which was formerly the capital City of the Kingdom, but is now reduced to a very indifferent Condition.

9. From *April* to *September*, whilst the S. and S.W. Winds blow upon this Coast, the Road here is very safe, but all the remaining Part of the Year small Vessels are obliged to shelter themselves within the River of *Paleacaste*, and the greater in the Harbour of *Negapatan*; there is five Fathom Water within Cannon-shot of the Town, but makes a very ill Landing-place, by reason of the Roughness of the Sea. The *Dutch* have considerable Traffick on this Coast, but especially at *Pellapouli*, or *Negapatan*, and at *Paleacaste*, where they have the Fort *Guldria*. This whole Country was formerly divided into three separate Kingdoms, i. e. of *Coromandel*, *Narfinga*, and *Bijnagar*, which is now subject to one Prince, whose Residence is at *Bijnagar*, and sometimes at *Narfinga*. The Kingdom of *Orixia* begins above the Town of *Muslipatan*, extending from the River of the same Name to that of *Guenga*; the *Dutch* include this in the Coast of *Coromandel*. *Muslipatan* and *Colonda* are its two chief Cities; the first is considerable for its Commerce, the last for being the ordinary Residence of its Kings. It produces abundance of Salt, and some Diamonds, among which all that weigh above five Carats belong to the King. To the North of *Orixia* lies the Kingdom of *Bengal*, whence the Gulph, known to the Ancients by the *Sinus Gangeticus*, has got its Name. Their Traffick is Rice, Sugar, Cottons, Calicoes, but especially in Silks, which, for Goodness, exceeds all others in the *Indies*. Hence also are brought the finest Canes; and they have another sort of Canes, out of which they make Drinking-vessels, and being lacquered, will hold Liquid as well as Cups of Metal. Here grows a certain Herb, the Stalk of which is of the Thickness of a Man's Thumb, having on the Top a large Button like a Tassel; this is spun out and furnishes Materials for an excellent kind of Stuff, much esteemed by the *Portuguese*, who call this *Surubi Herba de Bengala*.

The Inhabitants are *Pagans*, leading a very barbarous kind of Life, Thieving and Adultery being their ordinary Vices, though severely punished. They worship the *Ganges*, out of an opinion, that its Water cleanses them from all their Impurities, which is the Reason that the King

of *Narfinga* sends for the Water he washes himself with from that River. The Kingdom of *Pegu* borders to the East upon *Bengal*, owing its Name to its Metropolis; there the King keeps his constant Residence. *Gaspard Balbi* tells us Wonders of this Kingdom, which I had not the Opportunity to see; and since others also have given us an Account of what they themselves have observed well, I will only add, that the City is divided into two Parts, viz. the new and old City; the first of which is inhabited by Merchants, the second is properly the Residence of the King and his Court, which is exactly four-square, surrounded with a broad Moat, in which Crocodiles are kept for its better Security. The Palace Royal is said to be as big as *Venice*, and separated from the City by its peculiar Fortifications, which have no more than two Gates; he keeps above eight hundred Elephants within the Cattle, among which those for his own Use pay him Reverence, being trained to it.

If we may rely on *Balbi's* Testimony, this King is next to the Emperor of *China* the most potent upon Earth, being able to bring 1,500,000 Men into the Field, and eight hundred Elephants, who are for the most part maintained at the Charge of his Lords. Among other Idols they have in their Temples, there is one of massy Gold in the Chapel within the Palace, with a Crown set with precious Stones on his Head, and one only of the Bigness of a Plumb on his Forehead, with Pendants of an inestimable Value in his Ears, a Scarf about the Waist, and a Crois on the right Shoulder, and under the left Arm a Chain made all of Diamonds, and other precious Stones. The same Chapel has two Silver Idols of the same Shape, but two Foot higher than the former, with Crowns set with Gems, and a fourth, which exceeds all the rest, besides a fifth made of Copper and Brass, valued at more than the other four. *Pegu* affords more Elephants than all the rest of the *Indies*; they are taken by means of the Females, who entice them out of the Woods into the Stables, where they have Penns that hold but one of these Beasts, where they are kept till they are tamed. The Arms of the *Peguans* are generally Half-pikes made of Canes, short and Broad-Swords and Bucklers, and Helmets made of boiled Leather laid double, and gummed over with a certain Gum called *Achiran*. The People are *Pagans*, believe one supreme God, who has a great many Vicegerents under him, whom they also acknowledge for Gods; and that they are the Authors of all Good that happens to Mankind, as on the other hand the Devil is the Author of all Evil, whom for that Reason they worship, to appease his Wrath. The Day on which they hold their Devotions is *Monday*; they celebrate five Feasts in a Year, called by them *Sapan*. The first, called *Sapan Giacchi*, is celebrated by a Pilgrimage, by the King and whole Court, twelve Leagues out of Town, with the utmost Magnificence. The second, called *Sapan Carana*, is celebrated in Honour of the Statues in the Royal Chapel; as is also the third, called *Sapan Graiama Segianon*; the fourth, called *Sapan Daiche*, is celebrated by the King and Court, by casting Rose-water at one another; and the fifth, called *Sapan Donon*, is a kind of Race of Boats upon the River, in the Presence of the King and Queen.

When the King dies they join two Boats together, and putting a Table in the Middle of one, they lay the Corps upon the Table, under which they make a Fire of Sandal Wood, Storax, Benjamin, and other sweet-scented Woods and Gums, which being sent down the Stream, the Priests attending, rejoice and sing, till the Flesh be burnt to Ashes, which they mix with Milk into a Paste, and so cast it into the Sea at the Mouth of the River; but the Bones they preserve and lay up in a Chapel built for that Purpose. The Priests carry an empty Bottle at their Girdle, are clad in red Vestments, coming down to their Heels, with a Cloak reaching to their Hams, and wear a Hat to shelter themselves against the Sun-beams, their Heads being shaved. They go bare-footed, live by Alms, like our Mendicant Friars, eat but once a Day, and sleep in the Forests in hanging Mats fastened to the Boughs of Trees. They lead a very exemplary Life, and on *Monday* Morning early go about to invite the People to their Devotions; and in their Sermons they exhort their Auditors to Morality. They have no Aversion to those who turn Christi-

he washes himself with
of *Pegu* borders to the
Name to its Metropolis;
stant Residence. *Gasp*
kingdom, which I had not
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selves have observed well,
is divided into two Parts,
first of which is inhabited
perly the Residence of the
exactly four-square, sur-
which Crocodiles are kept
Royal is said to be as big
City by its peculiar For-
than two Gates; he keeps
within the Castle, among
pay him Reverence, being

stimony, this King is next
potent upon Earth, being
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the most part maintained
among other Idols they have
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set with precious Stones
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People to their Devotions;
their Auditors to Mora-
to those who turn Christi-

ans, but exclaim against the worshipping the Devil, a Cu-
tom so deeply rooted among the *Pegans*, that with all
their Arguments they are not able to dissuade them
from it.

They are in great Veneration among the most sensible
Men of the Nation. Their Corps are burnt like their Kings,
with sweet Woods, the Ashes cast into the River, and their
Bones preserved. *Pegu* has no other Corn but Rice, which
it produces in such Plenty, that great Part of it is sent to
the neighbouring Provinces. Sodomy was heretofore
grown to general here, that one of the Queens of *Pegu*, to
obviate this Vice, ordered a small Pin to be fastened betwixt
the Skin and the Flesh, by way of Incision; she command-
ed also, that all the Boys, whilst young, should be paint-
ed of a blue Colour on their Posteriors, thereby to create an
Aversion to them, as on the other Side, the Women take
all imaginable Pains to provoke the Men to Venerie. Men
and Women delight in black Teeth. The King is sole Heir
to all that leave no Children behind them, and even one-
third Part of the Estates of those that have Children belong
to him. *Pegu* affords no other Spice but Ginger, and
scarce any other Commodity is exported, except Rice and
Silver, in Exchange for which they bring thither Stuffs
and Calicoes, Pepper, Cinnamon, Nutmegs, Opium, and
Sandal Wood. They will pledge their Children to bor-
row Money; but if the Creditor enjoys them carnally, they
are free, and the Debt is paid.

Siam, one of the next considerable States in the *Indies*,
confines to the North upon *Pegu* and *Ava*, to the West
upon *Bengal*, to the East upon *Patana*; whence the Coast,
in which I comprehend the Gulph of *Siam* runs North to
13° 30', and turning to the South to twelve Degrees, ex-
tends at a great Distance from the Sea, making a Semi-
circle of four hundred and fifty Leagues. The Country is
both very woody and mountainous, except towards the
Sea-side, where it is very fertile, and has several convenient
Isles and Harbours, besides some Islands in the Gulphs.
The River *Menam* may vie for Largeness with any other
River of the *Indies*; for though its Breadth is not very
great, its Length is such, that hitherto its Source has re-
mained undiscovered. It runs from North to South thro'
the Kingdoms of *Pegu* and *Ava*, and afterwards through
Siam, where it falls by three several Channels into the Gulf
of *Siam*: It yearly, like the *Nile*, overflows the adjacent
Country for five Months, which renders the Rice-fields
very fruitful. Its Eastern Channel, which lies in 13° 30'
eleven, is most proper for Navigation, were it not for a
Shelf a League in Length, which lying just at the Entrance
of it, has five or six Foot Water at low Tide; but at
high Water, fifteen or sixteen; and in *September*, *October*,
and *November*, seventeen or eighteen Foot; for which Rea-
son it is, that Vessels of any Burthen anchor in the Road
two Leagues from the Shelf; but such as may venture
over the Shelf with a high Tide, may go freely up the Ri-
ver as far as the Castle of *Banckock*, six Leagues from the
Sea, and thence as far as the City of *Judda*, twenty-four
Leagues from the Mouth of the River, except in the
before-mentioned Months, when the River is unna-
vigable.

This Kingdom is very populous, especially those Provinces
bordering upon the Seas. The most considerable Cities are
Judda, or *Oulya*, the Metropolis of the whole Kingdom;
next *Cambaya*, *Campaa*, *Sinapura*, *Picelouck*, *Lyger*, *Borda-
long*, and *Tanasserim*, where the *Portuguese* drive a consider-
able Trade; *Banckock*, *Pipry*, *Mergy*, &c. The City of
Judda is built upon an Island in the River *Manmu*. It is
the ordinary Residence of the King of *Siam*, having sever-
al very fair Streets, with spacious Channels regularly cut.
The Suburbs are on both Sides of the River, which, as
well as the City itself, are adorned with many Temples
and Palaces; of the first of which there are above three
hundred within the City, distinguished by their gilt Stee-
ples, or rather Pyramids, and afford a glorious Prospect
at a Distance. The Houses are, as all over the *Indies*, but
indifferently built, and covered with Tiles: The royal
Palace is equal to a large City. *Ferdinando Mendez Pinto*
makes the Number of Inhabitants of this City amount, im-
probably, to 400,000 Families. It is looked upon as im-
pregnable, by reason of the over-flowing of the River at

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six Months End. The King of *Siam*, who takes amongst
his other Titles that of *Preau Salsu*, i. e. sacred Member
of God, has this to boast of, that next to the Mogul, he
can deduce his Descent from more Kings than any other
in the *Indies*. He is absolute, his Privy Counsellors, called
Mandarins, being chosen and deposed barely at his
Pleasure. When he appears in Publick, it is done with
so much Pomp and Magnificence as is scarce to be ima-
gined, which draws such a Veneration to his Person from
the common People, that even in the Streets, as he passes
by, they give him god-like Titles and Worship. He mar-
ries no more than one Wife at a Time, but has an infinite
number of Concubines. He feeds very high, but his
Drink is Water only, the Use of strong Liquors being se-
verely forbidden, by their Ecclesiastical Law, to Persons
of Quality in *Siam*. As the Thirds of all the Estates of
the Kingdom fall to his Exchequer, so his Riches must be
very great; but what makes them almost immense is, that he
is the chief Merchant in the Kingdom, having his Factors
in all Places of Trade, to sell Rice, Copper, Lead, Salt-
petre, &c. to Foreigners. *Mendez Pinto* makes his year-
ly Revenue rise to twelve Millions of Ducats, the greatest
Part of which being laid up in his Treasury, must needs
swell to an Infinity in Process of Time.

Each City has its peculiar Court of Justice, from whence
an Appeal lies to the chief Court in the City of *Judda*,
consisting of a Lord Chief Justice and twelve Judges, and
sometimes to the Privy Council itself, if the Parties will
be at the Charge of it. They have their Counsellors, At-
tornies and Solicitors, and the Causes are pleaded in the
Presence of both Parties. In criminal Cases they proceed
much after the *French* Way; for upon an Information giv-
en, the Party accused is committed and examined after-
wards, and for want of sufficient Evidence put to the
Rack, if there be very strong Circumstances; after which
the Judges, either upon Confession of the Fact, or suffi-
cient Evidence, give Sentence, which is confirmed by the
King, unless he is pleased to pardon the Offender. Their
Punishments are so severe, or rather cruel, that such as are
used among us are not so much as known here, for the
lightest Crime is thought to deserve Banishment. Theft is
punished with the Amputation of Hands or Feet. The com-
mon Way of executing Criminals, is to cast them alive into
boiling Oil.

They have three sorts of Trials for want of sufficient
Evidence, by Fire, Water, and Oil. In the Water-trial
both Parties are let down to the Bottom of the River,
along a great Pole, and he who can stay longest under
Water obtains thereby his Justification, as does he who
can hold his Hand longest in boiling Oil, in the Trial of
Oil. In the fiery Trial they are to make five or six Steps
through a great Fire, very slowly, two Men leaning very
hard upon their Shoulders. But that which they look up-
on as the most dreadful of all is, when, in order to their
Justification, they take a Pill of Rice only, over which
the Priest has pronounced a certain Malediction: If the Cul-
prit swallow it without spitting, he clears himself to all
Intent and Purposes, and his Friends carry him off in Tri-
umph.

The Forces of *Siam* consist chiefly of the Militia of the
Country, all Subjects being obliged to take Arms when
called upon, so that as occasion requires, he can summon
the 100th, the 50th, the 20th, the 10th, or 5th Mar-
who, as well as the Noblemen with their Attendants, serve
at their own Charge as long as the War lasts. The Infan-
try are pretty well disciplined, but want the Use of Fire-
Arms, being provided only with Bows, Arrows, Swords,
Pikes, and Bucklers; their Horses are also but indifferently
mounted. Their chief Strength consists in their Elephants,
which are very well trained to the Wars, and carry each
three armed Men. They are not destitute of Cannon, but
have but little Skill to manage them to the best Advan-
tage. They have also great numbers of Frigates and Gal-
lies, well provided with Guns, but the Gunners and Ma-
rines are so unexpert in the Management of them, that
they cannot encounter any *European* Fleet with the least
Hopes of Advantage; for which reason, since of late
Years the *Siameses* have lived in continual Enmity with the
Portuguese, they have highly courted the Friendship of

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the

the *Dutch*, who were always ready to give them Assistance against their Enemies. The King of *Siam* knowing that his chief Strength consists in his Elephants, keeps a greater Number than any other *Indian* Prince, the Elephants of *Siam* being both for their Strength and Quickness of Apprehension esteemed above all the rest. They take them after the same Manner as they do in *Pegu*, by sending divers Females into the Forests, who decoy them into the Stables, where they are tamed, either by putting them into Pens exactly fitted to the Bells of their Bodies, or by tying their Legs to three or four tame Elephants.

It is to be observed, that sometimes they meet with white Elephants in *Siam*, but they are so rare, and so much admired in those Parts, that in 1568, the King of *Pegu* being informed that the King of *Siam* had two white Elephants, he sent an Ambassador to desire he might have one of them, at what Price he would be pleased to set upon it; which the King of *Siam* refusing to accept, the King of *Pegu* entered *Siam* with a vast Army, and conquered it, making the King his Tributary, tho' with the Loss of no less than 500,000 Men. The *Siamse* call the white ones the Kings of the Elephants, and attribute to them something of Divinity; for which reason also the King of *Siam*, when he meets with one, causes him to be served in Vessels of Gold, allows him a good Attendance, and a Canopy to be born over his Body. The King and his Subjects are *Pagans*, and have an infinite Number of Idols, of Gold, Silver, Stone, Wood, and other Materials, some twenty, some thirty, and others forty Feet high. Their Temples have gilt Towers, or Pyramids. Their Ecclesiasticks are composed of a kind of Hierarchy, under the Direction of a High-Priest, residing in the City of *Judda*, where are at least 30,000 Ecclesiasticks, that wear Garments of yellow Calicoe, and have their Crowns shaved. The most learned among them are chosen for Priests to preach in their Temples, and to sacrifice. They are under a Vow of Chastity, upon Pain of Death, but may change their Professions, and marry whenever they think fit. Each Temple has a kind of a Convent to it, for the Entertainment of a certain Number of Priests who attend the Service every Day Morning and Evening.

They live for the most Part upon Alms, like our Mendicant Friars. They have also a kind of religious old Women, but these are not bound by any particular Discipline. They believe one Creator of the Universe, who governs the World by diverse inferior Gods. They say that the Soul is immortal, and after it is purified by passing through several Bodies, is either condemned to eternal Torments, or enjoys Beatitude. They tell you, that this has been transmitted to them by Tradition, Time out of Mind; for the rest, they hold that good Deeds, and especially Charity, are the chief Means to attain Salvation, which is the reason they extend their Charity even to the Beasts, such as Birds and Fish, which they buy to set them at Liberty, as believing the Transmigration of the Soul. This is the Reason why they never condemn any other Religion, or dispute with them: But their Ecclesiasticks preach without Intermision against the old Custom of invoking the Devil, which is still retained among the vulgar sort. They have abundance of Lamps hanging before their Idols in the Time of Service. These they set out with Garlands of Flowers, and in some of them they have certain Days, each Quarters of the Moon, appointed for their general Devotions, and a Lent of three Months.

Their dead Corps they shave, wash and perfume, and afterwards burn them near a Temple, where the Ashes are buried under a Tomb, or Pyramid. The Relations mourn for their Friends by shaving themselves, by giving Alms and Benevolences to the Priests, to pray for them at their Obsequies. The Corps is attended with Musick and Fireworks. The *Siamse* are strong limbed, and well proportioned, but their Courage is not answerable to it, which makes them use their Victims with a great deal of Indulgence. They are bafe, and very crafty in their Dealings. They are so much addicted to Idleness, that they leave all Toils to their Wives and Slaves. They wear a painted Piece of Calicoe from the Middle down to the Knees, tho' the Men have also Shirts with Sleeves hanging down to the Elbows. The Women cover their Breasts with a Piece

of Calicoe fastened about their Necks; there is so little Difference in the cloathing of the People of Quality and those of the inferior Rank, that they are not to be distinguished but by their Train of Slaves. Their Houses are built either of Timber, or Canes, covered with the Leaves of Cocoa-tree, and raised three or four Foot from the Ground; each Apartment has several Windows for the more commodious Passage of the Air; they know of no other Furniture but what is absolutely necessary for their Convenience in the Chambers and Kitchen.

They feed commonly upon Rice, Fish, and Pulse; their ordinary Drink is Water; but they don't refuse strong Liquors, if they are invited to them. Persons of any Fashion here make no use of Priests for the Confirmation of their Marriages, which, after the Parents Consent is obtained, and Agreement made, they consummate and live together as long as they like one another; and in case of Separation, all the Goods and Children are divided betwixt them, and both Parties are at liberty to marry again; but the Concubines are tied to the Pleasure of their Masters, who consider them no otherwise than as Slaves, their Children having but a slender Share of their Father's Estates, which, after their Death, is divided into three Parts; one goes to the King, the second to the Priests, who are to bear the Funeral Charges, which are very great, and the third to the Children, who have an equal Share, except that the eldest is allowed some small Advantage. People of an inferior Rank purchase their Wives, notwithstanding which both Parties are at liberty to be divorced. They don't take the least Care for the Education of their Children till they are six Years old, when they put them to their Ecclesiasticks to be instructed in Reading and Writing, afterward breed them either to manual Arts, Commerce, or the Court.

The Peasants lead a miserable Life, by reason that Provisions are so cheap here, that they can't gain any thing by their Labour. The chief Trade of the City of *Judda* lies in Stuffs brought thither from *Sarat*, and the Coast of *Coromandel*, in all sorts of China Commodities, Precious Stones, Gold, Benjamin, Wax, Copper, Lead, Indigo, Calamba-Wood, Brasil-Wood, Cotton, and Deer-Skins, of which they export fifty thousand every Year to *Japan*; and their Rice is transported in vast Quantities to all the neighbouring Countries. The King himself is a Merchant here, and has his Factors at *Pegu*, *Java*, *Jangama*, on the Coast of *Coromandel*, and in *China* itself. The Money is very good, being of three different sorts, viz. *Tical*, *Mases*, and *Toanges*; two *Toanges* make a *Mase*, and four *Mases* a *Tical*, which is equivalent to a French Half-Crown; four of these *Ticals* go to a *Tael*, twenty of which make a *Catta* in Silver. Their smallest Silver Money is the *Toang*; but Provisions being so very cheap here, they make use of certain Shells brought thither from *Manilas*, eight or nine hundred of which go to a *Toang*.

The *Portuguese* being sufficiently sensible what prodigious Advantage they were able to reap from this Kingdom for supporting their Traffick to the *Moluccas* and *Philippine* Isles, the Viceroy of *Goa* were always very careful to cultivate a good Correspondence with the King of *Siam*, who in return granted them many Privileges, till such time that the *Dutch* got Footing there at the Beginning of this Age. The *Portuguese* were so alarmed thereat, that they not only obstructed the Trade of the *Siamse* to *St. Thomas* and *Negapatan*, but also attacked a *Dutch* Vessel in the River *Menam*, which, with some other Outrages, served only to incense the King of *Siam* against them, who ever after encouraged the *Dutch* in their Settlement and Commerce, which is very advantageous to them in respect of the Isles of *Java* and *Sumatra*, of which they are now in Possession.

10. The Kingdom of *Cambodia* borders to the North-West upon the Kingdom of *Siam*, being inclosed by the Sea on the other Side; the capital City is seated upon a River sixty Leagues from the Sea-shore, which rises out of a Lake, as do all the other Rivers of this Kingdom. That which runs by *Cambodia* overflows every Year like the *Nile*; its first Rise is in the Beginning of *June*, increasing by degrees to ten or twelve Foot, and in *July* or *August* it overflows the Country to that degree, that it is quite unnavigable; for which reason it is that the City of *Cambodia*

Necks; there is so little People of Quality and those are not to be distinguished Their Houses are built either with the Leaves of Cocoa- nut from the Ground; each for the more commodious- know of no other Furniture for their Convenience in the

Rice, Fish, and Pulse; their they don't refuse strong Li- Persons of any Fashion here Confirmation of their Mar- Consent is obtained, and mate and live together as and in case of Separation, divided betwixt them, and marry again; but the Concu- of their Masters, who con- slaves, their Children having ther's Estates, which, after three Parts; one goes to the s, who are to bear the Bur- great, and the third to the share, except that the eldest ge. People of an inferior nowwithstanding which both forced. They don't take the their Children till they are them to their Ecclesiasticks Writing, afterward breed commerce, or the Court, e Life, by reason that Pro- t they can't gain any thing Trade of the City of Judda om *Sarat*, and the Coast of ina Commodities, Precious x, Copper, Lead, Indigo, Cotton, and Deer-Skins, uland every Year to Japan; in vast Quantities to all the King himself is a Merchant *Agua, Aca, Jangoma*, on the China itself. The Money is different sorts, viz. *Ticals, ges* make a *Maso*, and four nt to a French Half-Crown; h, twenty of which make a Silver Money is the *Tang*; cheap here, they make use of rom *Manila*, eight or nine

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Jolia is built upon a rising Ground, having but one large Street. The Trade of the *Portuguese* here consists chiefly in *Malacca* Stuffs, which they exchange for Benjamin, Lacque, Wax, Rice, Brafs Vessels, and Bars of *China* Iron.

The King of *Cambodia* is only a Vassal of the King of *Siam*, being not able to bring above thirty-five thousand Men into the Field. The Nobility or Officers of the Court are divided into four several Ranks, viz. into *Ockinas, Ternimas, Tenimnas, and Nampres*; the first of which are the only Men of Consideration, they being admitted into the King's Presence, and he confers with them concerning the Management of publick Affairs. The *Portu-* guese are so firmly settled here, that the *Dutch* have never been able to get any Footing. Provisions of all sorts, Veni- son, Beef, Pork, Goats, Kids, Hares, Cranes, Herons, and in short, all manner of Poultry; as likewise Oranges, Citrons, Mangoes, and Coconas, are sold excessively cheap; there being such Plenty here of every thing, and especially of Rice, that those of *Quinam* alone export yearly two thousand Copangs of Rice, five of which make eight Tons, at seventeen or eighteen *Tahs* the Copang.

That Neck of Land which extends in the Form of a Demi-Island, from the Kingdom of *Siam* to the S. E. to the N. W. of the Equinoctial Line, betwixt the Gulph of *Bengal* and *Siam*, is called the Isthmus of *Malacca*, and contains the Kingdoms of *Jabore* and *Patapan*. This Country was first discovered by the *Portuguese* in 1511, who established themselves there to that degree that no body hath been able hitherto to dislodge them. The City of *Malacca* is situated upon the Strait, which separates the Isle of *Suma-* tra from the Continent, at two Degrees thirty Minutes on this Side of the Line, at the Foot of a Mountain, which is wholly taken up by the Town, and is about 1800 Paces in Compas, 600 whereof extend along the Sea-Coast, fortified with a good Wall, as likewise to the River-side, which incloses another third Part of the Town, being strengthened to the Land-side by four regular Bastions; that of *St. Domingo* on the Point of the River-side, that of *St. Jago* on the Sea-shore, and those called *Madre de Dios*, and of *Eleven thousand Virgins*. Betwixt those two the *Jesuits* College, called *St. Paul's*, stands upon the Hill, and upon rising Ground, in the Plain without the City, a Convent of *Jacobins*. The River runs N. W. is very broad and brackish at High-water, but fresh at Low- Tide; there is a Bridge over it.

It rains constantly here two or three Times a Week, except in the Months of *January, February* and *March*; the Shore is so muddy that there is no landing at Low-water. The two Isles called *Ilha de Naos*, and *Ilha de Pedra* lie not much above a Cannon-shot from the City, the Channel betwixt these two Islands affording as safe a Harbour for the Gallies and bigger Vessels, as that betwixt the City and the *Ilha de Naos* for the Vessels of a middle Size; but small Barks may enter the River. In the City of *Malacca*, its Suburbs, and adjacent Towns, under the Juris- diction of the *Portuguese*, are computed to be about 1200 Inhabitants, and among them, not above 300 fighting Men, and scarce 200 *Portuguese*, the rest being either *Mestizes* or *Malayans*. The *Portuguese* are in Possession only of the City of *Malacca*, and its Suburbs to the Town of *Nossa Senhora da Guadalupe*, five Leagues thence upon the same River, the Territories of the King of *Jabor* be- ginning half a League thence. This City being so com- modiously situated for the Trade of *China* and the *Moluc-* cas, the *Portuguese* had, in all Probability, made this one of the chief trading Places in the *Indies*, if the *Dutch*, who besieged it in 1606, and laid great Part of it desolate, had not prevented them; and being by their Settlements in *Ceylon* and *Java*, become Masters of these Seas, quite ruined the Commerce of the *Portuguese* to *China* and the *Moluccas*.

The Kingdom of *Patapan* is not of so large an Extent, but much more populous than that of *Jabore*, the King of *Patapan* being, according to the Computation of the *Hollan-* ders, able to raise 180,000 Men; the capital City bearing the same Name, is seated upon the Sea-side, though its Har- bour be above 2000 Paces thence. The Houses are hand- some enough, being built of Timber and Canes. The Royal

Palace is fortified only with Palisadoes, their great Temples are of brick. The City is able to raise 10000 fighting Men. The Inhabitants are rather inclining to a brown than olive Colour, generally well shaped, and proud in their outward Deportment, but obliging enough in their Con- versation with their Friends. The Natives are, for the most part, employed in Husbandry and Fishing, and drink nothing but Water; Wine, and strong Liquors, being odious to them. The only Pleasure they delight in is that of Women; so that each Man, besides four or five Wives, maintains as many Concubines as he is able: As they look upon Fornication as a slender Trespass, so they punish Adultery with the utmost Severity, though nothing be more common among them than this Crime.

Their chief Wealth consists in their Slaves, whom they feed at a small Charge upon Rice and Fish. The Foreign- ers are the only People here who apply themselves to Traf- fick and Navigation. The Air of *Patapan*, though ex- ceeding hot, as lying near the Equinoctial, yet is not un- wholesome. They have but three Months Winter, viz. *November, December*, and *January*, when it rains without Intermission: The rest, from *February* to *October*, is their Summer. They sow nothing but Rice, and till the Ground with Buffaloes. Fruits are here in such Plenty that every Month produces a new kind. Hens lay twice a-day; and Provisions are in such Quantities as cannot be imagined, as Rice, Oxen, Goats, Deer, Geese, Ducks, Hens, Capons, Peacocks, Hares, and all sorts of Venison. Hogs they breed none; but the Forests are full of Wild-Boars, and though they eat them not, they kill them, because they are so pernicious to the Rice. The Tigers, and great Apes, which are in the Forests here, do also considerable Mischief; but the Wild-Elephants do no Damage at all; they hunt them with Tame Elephants, and whilst they are engaged with them, find Means to tie their hinder Feet together, and afterwards tame them by Hunger.

The King of *Patapan* is a Vassal to the King of *Siam*. *Jabore* is the utmost Point of Land of that Peninsula, called by the Ancients *Aurea Chersonesus*, reaching to the Straights of *Sincopura*. Its chief Towns are *Linga, Bintam, and Carymon*, and its Metropolis is named *Batusabur*, which is however divided into two Cities, situate upon the River *Jabore*, six Leagues from the Sea, the first of which is called *Batusabur*; the second *Cottasabrang*; one having about 1300 Paces, the other 500 in Compas. As the Houses are all built of Free-stone along the River-side, and raised on Piles eight or ten Foot from the Ground, they make a glorious Prospect as you come up the River; for this City contains at least 4000 Inhabitants fit for Service in the Army. The King of *Jabore* is Proprietor of all the Grounds which he bestows on any that desire them, to be manured: But though the Grounds are extremely fertile, such is the Slothfulness of the *Malayans*, that they seldom cultivate them. The *Malacca*, or *Malayan* Language, as it is the most elegant of any in the *Indies*, so it has gained as much Reputation there, and is as generally used as the *French* is in *Europe*; and having no Inflections in either Nouns or Verbs, it is not very difficult to learn.

11. We will now look over the Continent to the Isle of *Sumatra*, ten Leagues distant from the *Malacca* Shore; it extends from about 5° on this Side to 6° beyond the Line, containing 165 Leagues in Length, and about 60 in Breadth; so that those who inhabit the Middle of the Island have the Equinoctial Line directly over their Heads; whence it may be easily conjectured, that the Heats are excessive here, which together with the vast Multitude of Lakes, makes the Air very unwholesome: This Defect is recompensed by its vast Riches in Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, and Brafs, (whereof they make as good Artillery here as in any Part of *Europe*) besides Rice, Millet, and Fruits in prodigious Quantities, even in the very Forests. Add to this its Wealth in Diamonds and other precious Stones, and its Product of Silk, Spices, Wax, Honey, Cotton, Camphire, Cassia, and divers other medicinal Drugs. Of white Sandal they have whole Woods, and in the Centre of the Isle is a Burning-mountain, like that of *Vesuvius*, which they say is constantly supplied by a River of Pitch.

The whole Island is divided into ten Kingdoms, of which those of *Achen*, *Peder*, *Pacem*, *Camparom*, *Zonde* and *Manambe*, lying on the Sea side on this Side the Line, are only known to foreigners. Those who have travelled thither, more for Profit than Curiosity, having made but little Search into its inland Provinces, of which the *Portuguese* give us an Account only of two, viz. that of *Andigidan* and *Aruman*. The *Dutch* have also discovered the Kingdom of *Pejmbam* beyond the Line, where they have settled themselves at present. The Kings of *Achen* are also Masters of *Peder* and *Pacem*, which includes all the Northern Coasts of the Isle. The City of *Achen* is seated in a spacious Plain, upon a broad, but shallow River, being scarce passable by small Boats. It has neither Fortification nor Gates; their Houses are built upon Piles, and covered with the Leaves of Cocoa-trees. The Royal Palace stands in the Centre of the City, which being well palisaded and flanked, commands the whole Town, and has seven Gates. The Natives are of an olive Colour, and very flat faced; their Garments are only a Calicoe Gown, a silk Shirt, and a Turban on their Heads of the same Stuff. The King is served by Women and Eunuchs, and is a *Mohammedan*, as well as all the rest of the Inhabitants near the Coast of *Sumatra*. They begin their *Lent* at the New-moon in the twelfth Month, which ends at the same Time in the next. They have no Corn, but Rice in great Plenty, as also Bees, Buffaloes, Goats, and Sheep; the last of which no body has the Privilege to breed except the King. They abound also in Oranges, Lemons, Bonanas, Tamarinds, Bitals, Radishes, Spinage, and Lettices. Their ordinary Drink is Water, but they make a kind of *Aqua Vita*, or Arrack of Cocones.

The Isle of *Sumatra* produces a peculiar Tree called *Singadi* by the *Malayans*, and *Arbor tripli de Dio* by the *Portuguese*. It is full of Branches with Knots, and sprouts forth two Leaves like Plumb-leaves, except that they are small like Sage, and are covered with a whitish Down: Each of these Leaves hath its Bud, which thrusts forth small Heads, having four round Leaves; each Head produces five Flowers in a Cluster, the fifth being exactly in the Middle; they are as white as Snow, of the Bigness of an Orange-flower, and blow in the Twinkling of an Eye, as soon as the Sun is set; and when it rises again the next Morning, the Flowers, which have continued all Night, drop in an Instant. Thus the Tree continues till Sun-set again, when it opens, and produces the Flowers in the same manner as before, and casts them again at the first Appearance of that Planet, which invigorates all other Vegetables. The Cocones, of which there are four kinds, are very common in this Island. The Tree which bears the Cocoa-Nuts grows very high, but not above a Foot Diameter in Bulk. It has not a Branch but at the Top, where it spreads like a Date-tree, and these don't produce the Fruits, which grow ten or twelve in a Cluster out of the Body of the Tree. The Flower resembles that of a Chestnut. This Tree is of universal Use in the *Indies*. In the *Maldives* Islands they build whole Ships without any thing but what is furnished by the Cocoa-tree. The outward Rind affording them a kind of Hemp for their Cordage and Cables, and the Leaves with Materials for Sails, and the Covering of their Houses; besides that, they use them for the making of Umbrella's, Fans, Tents, Mats and Hats. The Fruit is of the Bigness of an Ostrich's Egg, and the outward Rind, which resembles that of our Walnuts when dried, affords the Hemp we spoke of before. If they gather it before the Nut is come to full Maturity, it affords about a Quart of very pleasant Liquor, which it kept in the Shell, by degrees turns to a kind of a Kernel, which becomes yellow, and is of a very good Taste, and exceeding wholesome.

Their Toddy, or Palm Wine, they draw from the Tree, whilst it is in Blossom, and pulling off the Flower, they fasten it to an Earthen Vessel well stopp'd, into which runs a Liquor, resembling in Taste and Colour our Whey: This when boiled is called Toddy, and set in the Sun, turns to Vin-pag immediately; and if distilled, makes a kind of *Aqua Vita*. The Pith of the Tree, as it is very white, furnishes the *Indians* with Paper. The second kind is called by the *Portuguese* *Arrequeira*, and is used for

duces. The Bananas, or *Indian* Fig-tree, is also very common in this Isle; it may rather be called a Shrub than a Tree, as having no Body, but grows to a Man's Height. It brings forth Leaves before it comes to a foot high, but these wither and fall, and others sprout forth in their stead, till such time the Plant arrives at its full Growth, and the Fruit to its Maturity, which is in Shape and Colour like our Figs, being of a yellow green, which being gathered, and hung on a Nail, will ripen in four or five Days. In the Middle of the Leaves comes a Flower of a Violet Colour, of the Bigness of an Ostrich's Egg, whence sprouts forth a kind of a Branch not unlike a Cabbage-Stalk, laden with a Bunch of Figs: One Stalk produces no more than one Bunch (but of near an hundred Figs) at a Time; but being cut close to the Ground, another springs out, and bears Fruit in one Month, and continues to do so through the whole Year. The Leaves of the Tree are six Foot long, and a Foot and half broad, and the Fruit seven or eight Inches long, and as big as a good Cucumber; the Figs are inclosed in Husks, which are very nourishing, and eat instead of Bread.

The Pepper of *Sumatra* is next to that of *Cochin*, the best of all the *Indies*; it is commonly planted at the Root of Trees, or propped up with Canes as we do our Hops; the Leaves are not unlike that of the Orange-tree, but somewhat less. The Fruit grows in little Bunches like Juniper-berries. It is green whilst upon the Tree, but grows black after it is dried, which is done in *December* and *January*. The white Pepper does not grow in such abundance here, and *Bengal* is the only Country that produces long Pepper. It is certain, there is more Pepper consumed in the *Indies* than in *Europe*, because the *Indians* put Handfuls of it in their Sauces, but not beaten or ground.

12. The Island of *Java* Major is divided from *Sumatra* to the South-East only by the narrow Streight of *Sunda*: Its Length is fifty Leagues, and some fancied it part of the Continent, which extends to the Streights of *Magellan*, commonly called *Terra Australis*. *Julius Scaliger* was not in the Wrong of it when he called it the Epitome of the World; it being certain, that there is no Animal, Fruit, Metal, or Drug, but what is found here in greater Plenty than in any Part of the Universe.

The Inhabitants deduce their Origin from the *Chinese*; and, to speak truth, their large Foreheads and Brows, and little Eyes, resemble much that Nation. Each Town of Note in *Java* has its peculiar Prince, and now they are all Sovereigns independant one of another. The Kings of *Bantam* and *Pallambam* are at present the most potent, the last of which has given the Name to the Streight that divides the Isle of *Java* and *Bala*. Ten Leagues to the North is the City of *Panaracan*, near which is a burning Mountain. The King of *Panaracan* and *Pallambam* are *Pagans*; but the King of the City of *Passaracan*, six Leagues from *Panaracan*, is a *Mohammedan*. Ten Leagues to the West is the City of *Jeariam*, noted for its convenient Harbour upon a River, where the Ships going from the *Moluccas* to *Bantam* commonly touch, to take in fresh Water and Provisions. Upon the same River lies the City of *Gerici*. The City of *Sarabaca* has its proper King, under whose Jurisdiction is also the City of *Brandam*, six Leagues thence to the West. He keeps his Court at *Sidaya*, which is well fortified, but destitute of a safe Harbour. Ten Leagues more to the West lies the City of *Yaboon*, next to *Bantam* the most considerable of the Isle, and five Leagues farther to the North-West the City of *Cajam*. *Mandalicaan* is inhabited only by Fishermen. Five Leagues farther to the West is the City of *Japara*, upon a Neck of Land, which runs out three Leagues into the Sea. Twenty-five Leagues hence, and forty-five from *Bantam*, lies *Matram*, or *Matawam*, a great City, and the Residence of a powerful King, who once pretended to the Sovereignty over all the rest of the Island, and still styles himself Emperor of *Java*.

Five Leagues to the West of *Japara* lies the City of *Paia*, and three Leagues farther that of *Dauma*, both under the Jurisdiction of the King of *Matram*, as well as that of *Tagal* in the same Bay. The next is the fair and strong City of *Charabaan*, seated upon a River, by which you pass to the Cities of *Dannago* and *Monucadon*, and to that the

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the Foot of a Mountain about twenty-five Leagues from the
opposite Coast of the Island of *Sumatra*. Three Rivers rise
out of this Mountain, two surrounding its Walls, and the
third passing through the Middle of it. The Houses are
miserably built, and the Walls very wretched, as well as
the Gates, though at every hundred Paces provided with a
great Piece of Cannon, which are of little Use in a Place
where the Curtains are not defensible, and have, instead of
Towers, only Scaffolds. The whole City has only three
principal Streets which are not paved, but sandy, the Chan-
nels which run through them being very stinking and foul,
which send forth a very nauseous Smell all over the City.
At each Corner of the Streets stand Guards, as also at the
Prison Gate near the Palace, and each Person of Note keeps
a Guard of ten or twelve, for his own Security, in his House.
Their Houses are meanly built, upon Piles; they are com-
monly of Reeds and Canes, and the Partitions all of Bam-
boes, or Canes slit very thin. All the Foreigners here live
without the City, and the Merchants meet daily in one or
other of the three great Market-places belonging to this
City.

The Bazar, or Exchange, is chiefly frequented by Fo-
reigners, who meet there at Break of Day, and continue
till nine of the Clock. The second Market-place faces
the Grand Mosque, where the Women buy and sell Pepp-
er, Beetle, Areca, Bananas, Melons, Chiches, &c. and
white and yellow Sandal Wood. The Armourers, who
sell Arms, Guns, Pistols, Swords, &c. standing higher up
to the Right; and to the Left, the Confectioners with their
Sweetmeats: Near them is the Place where they sell all
sorts of Beans; and next to that the Onion Market, where
the Cloth-sellers and Usurers have their Meeting. Hard
by this you see the Poulterers, who deal in Geese, Kids,
Pigeons, Parrots, and all sorts of tame Fowl. Thence
you see three several Ways, one leading to the *Chinese*
Shops, the second to the Herb-market, the third to the
Shambles. Among the *Chinese*, to the Right, the Jewel-
lers, who deal in precious Stones, have their Station; and
the *Bengalians* with their Toy-shops, on the Left. The
Sale of all these things lasts only till Nine o'Clock, when
the Markets for all sorts of Provisions are opened before
the Palace, and about Noon the *Chit* Market begins.
The City of *Tuban*, or *Tuban*, challenges the next Place
after *Bantam* in the Isle of *Java*, being stronger than all
the rest, and tho' not so large, yet better built than *Ban-*
tam. Its Palace is very spacious, and remarkable for the
many Apartments made here for divers sorts of Beasts that
are kept with more than ordinary Care; such as Elephants,
Fighting-cocks, and Parrots, the last of which are much
more beautiful than those transported into *Europe*, because
they are too tender to endure the Fatigues of so long a
Voyage. Their chief Traffick lies in Pepper, which they
exchange in the Isle of *Baly* for Calicoe, Cotton, and Silk,
and carry those Commodities to *Banda*, *Ternate*, and the
Philippine Isles, to truck for Cloves, Mace, and Nut-
megs.

The Natives live mostly upon Fish. They have no
other Garments but a Piece of Calicoe wrapped round
their Loins, except that the better Sort wear a kind of
loose Gambler Coats, reaching only to their Thighs. They
are great Lovers of Horses, their Saddles being made like
our great Saddles. The Natives inhabiting the inland
Countries of *Java* are all *Pagans*, and believing the Trans-
migration of the Soul, eat neither Fish nor Flesh. To
the South there are a few *Mohammedans* of the *Turkish*
Sect. They have two great Falls, the Chief of which
is upon the 5th of *August*. There are few among the *Ja-*
vans but what have three or four, nay, sometimes ten or
twelve Wives, besides their Concubines, who are obliged
to wait upon the Wives, tho' their Children have the
same Prerogative as the legitimate Off-spring. Their
Children go naked, the Girls having only a Plate of Sil-
ver or Gold to cover their Privities. They marry at
eight, nine, or ten Years of Age. In their Marriages
they use but few Ceremonies; certain Poles are stuck
on the Wedding-Day before the House of the Bride and
Bridegroom, with Tassels of white and red Cotton, and

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after Dinner the Bridegroom goes on Horseback through
the Town, where the Slaves, who are Part of his Dowry,
go to meet him, and bring him some Presents.

Women of Fashion are kept under such Restraint, that
they are not permitted so much as to see their own Sons
in their Chambers; neither does a Man speak, or approach
a Woman of Rank when she goes abroad, but every body
gives her Way, even the King himself. They are known only
by their Retinue, being for the rest clad after the com-
mon Fashion, viz. in a kind of Calicoe or silk Petticoat,
reaching down from the Brest to the middle of the Leg.
They wear neither Stockings nor Head Ornaments, but
tie their Hair upon the Crown, except it be at Weddings,
or any other Solemnity, when they have Coronets on their
Heads, and Rings and Bracelets upon their Fingers, and
about their Arms. They are so much addicted to Clean-
liness, that they never do any thing without washing and
bathing themselves, which is one of their chief Employ-
ments, and which they look upon as a proper Means to
intice their Husbands to Venerie, in which they strive to
outvie one another.

In their Courts of Judicature, the Plaintiff and D-fen-
dant are obliged to plead both their own Causes. Their
Punishment of Criminals is to tie them to a Post, and stab
them with a Dagger. Foreigners have this Advantage,
that provided they can make their Peace with the Party
complaining, they may redeem themselves from Death,
except in the Case of premeditated Murder. The King's
Council, which consists sometimes of five hundred Persons,
meet by Moon-light, under a great Tree, where they con-
tinue till the Moon sets. The King, when present, sits in
the Middle. The Natives of *Java* are a proud, perfidi-
ous, and cruel Generation, and so stubborn, that such
as know they have deserved Death, will rather be killed
than taken. Their Hair, which is very long, is generally
of a Chestnut Colour. They have broad flat Faces, and
large Jaw-bones and Eye-brows, little Eyes and thin
Beards, are for the rest middle-sized, but very strong
Limbs. They seem not to want Courage, were they bred
up to all the Advantages of our modern Arms; but
they are contented with their Pike, Battle-ax, Broad-
swords, and a Dagger. Their Bucklers are of Wood, and
sometimes of hoild Leather. They wear also Armour,
the Pieces of which are joined together with iron Rings.
Their Soldiers receive no Pay in Time of Peace. They
have a Way of blowing small poisoned Arrows through
Trunks, by which the Wound is made incurable.

But those inhabiting upon the Strait of *Sunda*, being
transplanted thither from *Possaraj*, and living under
their own King, are much more honest and open hearted.
The Grounds of *Java* are either farmed out by the King,
or Lords, to certain free People, or cultivated by Slaves,
and produce Rice, Pepper, and Cocoa. Some Slaves here
take their Masters Trees, and other Commodities, at a cer-
tain Rate, which they sell to the best Advantage they can;
others work abroad for their Master's Profit, at a set Rate
per Diem. Others maintain themselves, and work alter-
nately, six Days for their Masters, and as many for them-
selves. They commonly adulterate their Pepper with black
Gravel, as they do all other Commodities they sell to
Strangers, being very crafty in their Commerce; tho' ve-
ry few rich Merchants venture their Persons on any long
Voyage, but traffick, like our *European* Merchants, by the
Assistance of Factors. Bonds and other Securities are
written upon the Bark of Trees, the Characters being en-
graven with a sort of Bodkin, which is either rolled up af-
terwards, or laid together four-square, betwix two Boards,
which they have a Way to tie neatly together with Pack-
thread; sometimes they use *Chinese* Paper.

They have a Language peculiar to themselves, but the
Malayan is most in use here, and the *Arabian* used by the
Mohammedans. The Traffick of the *Persians* that live
here is precious Stones, Stuffs, and Drugs, and the *Arabi-*
bians and *Banjans* exchange their Commodities chiefly for
China Ware. Those of *Guzarat* live for the most Part
upon Fishing; all those Foreigners are clad after the same
Fashion, in a Calicoe Garment, with a Turban of the
same Stuff. At their Arrival they purchase a Woman,
who is to serve for all Uses. At their Departure, they dis-

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pose

pose of her again, but must make Provision for the Children, if they leave any behind. But the *Chinese* are of all Foreigners here the most industrious in their Trading, being looked upon in the same Light as the *Javas* in *Europe*. Their main Business is to forestal and buy up the Pepper in the Country, against the coming of their Fleet to *Bantam* (which consists commonly in ten Ships of 50 Tuns each) in *January*. These bring in a sort of wretched Money called *Pity* by the *Javaneze*, and *Cas* in the *Malayan* Language, being a Mixture of Lead and Brass, so brittle, that if they fall upon the Ground they certainly break. They are made in the City of *Chinco* in *China*, having each a four-square Hole in the middle, through which they string them upon Straw. It passed at first very current in *Java*, but since this Baseness has been discovered, it goes at a very low Rate. The *Chinese* sell their Porcelain here at cheap Rates, and bring also Silks, Satin, and Damasks of their own Manufactory, which they exchange for Pepper, Lacque, Indigo, Sandal Wood, Nutmegs, Cloves, Tortoiseshells, and Ivory. They have neither Temples nor Priests at *Bantam*, but they have both at *Panarua*.

Java abounds both in wild and tame Beasts. The Forests are filled with Elephants, Rhinoceroses, Leopards, and Tygers, which make them very unsafe, and is the reason why Frankincense, Mastic, Myrrh, and Benjamin (which is better here than in any other Place) are not gathered in so great Quantities, the before-mentioned Beasts, as well as the Serpents, Lizards, and Salamanders, making the Forests to very dangerous to pass. The Hogs here are without Bristles, but their Belies hang down to the Ground. The Rivers are very well stocked with Fish, there having been Oylers seen in those Parts that weighed 300 Pounds, which would seem incredible, if there were not to be seen to this Day, two Oyster shells in the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp's* Cabinet, which *Olearius*, in 1657, bought of a Sea-Captain's Wife at *Enchusen*, and weighed 462 Pounds. Deer, wild Goats, and Boars, are likewise here in vast Plenty, but are not easily to be taken, by reason of the Unpassableness of the Woods, and the Unskillfulness of the *Javaneze* in the Use of Fire-arms. The Rivers feed also abundance of Crocodiles; the *Chinese* tame, fat, and eat them for a peculiar Dainty. Their Civet is not so white, nor well scented, as that of *Guinea*. They have two sorts of tame Fowls, one like those of *Europe*, the other of the *Indian* Breed, wild and furious; some have black Flesh, but notwithstanding this they are very good Food: The Rhinoceros is in the same Esteem with them now-a-days, as the Unicorn was with the Ancients, his Flesh, Horn, Blood, and Teeth, nay, even his Dung, being applied to medicinal Uses.

They have also Ants here of a much larger Size than ours, they spoil every thing they come at. They have a certain kind of these Creatures reddish, and of the Length of a Man's Finger; but these live in the Fields upon the Barks of Trees. Among the Fruit-trees of *Java* the *Arriquees*, which bears the *Areca*, is none of the worst; it is a Species of the Cocoa, but less in Bulk, and with narrower Leaves. The Fruit resembles a Date inclosed in a Husk, which falls off when it ripens; it is without Taste, but taints the Lips and Teeth of a black Colour. The *Indians*, after they have mixed it with a little Lime, wrap it up in a Beetle Leaf, and so chew it, looking upon it as a good Remedy against the Scurvy. It will cause in such as are not used to it, a Dizziness in the Head, but it soon passes over. The *Mango* is a Fruit growing upon a Tree not unlike our Walnut-trees; it is something like our Praches in Bigness and Colour, being of a red and green. The Shell incloses an Almond, which is of a grateful Taste when roasted in the Ashes: They pickle them whilst green, and they are accounted a good Remedy against the Worms, and Looseness; the wild ones are rank Poison, which kill without a present Antidote.

The *Ananas* grow on a Shrub with Leaves like a *Semper-vivum*; is green at first, but when ripe, turns to the Orange Colour. Its Shape is like a Pine-apple, yellow within, but they are dangerous if used in Excess, tho' the Taste is very pleasant; they are not much larger than a good Lemmon. The Stalk is like a Thistle, every one bearing but one at the

Top; it is very apt to over-bear, and occasion FEVER. The Fruit called *Samora* is also of the Bigness of a Citron, juicy and tart, with black Kernels; the Leaves, which are like to, but something less than the Lemmon-tree, pickled with Salt and Sugar, are accounted a good Remedy in Fevers and Inflammations, as we do our Tamarinds, which also grow in great Plenty here. The *Tahisee*, i. e. a white frozen Liquor, is found in the Knots of certain Canes, of the Bigness of a Poplar, with frust Branches and Leaves not unlike those of the Olive-tree, but somewhat longer; it is like Starch, and in such Esteem with the *Persians* and *Arabians* for the Virtues they attribute to it in the Cure of Fevers and Bloody-fluxes, that they buy it at a very dear Rate. These Canes are so big, that the *Indians* cleave them asunder, and make Boats of them, leaving a Knot on each End. The Isle of *Java* produces also another Fruit called *Durions*, not to be met with any where except here and in the *Moluccas*.

The Tree called *Batan* is of the Size of our Apple-trees; the Blossom of a pale yellow Colour, the Leaves half a Foot long, and three Inches broad, of a very lively green on the Inside. The Fruit, both for its Colour, Bigness, and outward Division, resembles our Melons, but within is divided into four Partitions, which being again subdivided into two or three lesser Cells, contain the Fruit, which is as big as a Pullet's Egg, and of the most luscious Taste in the World. It has a Stone rough, and as big as that of a Peach. It will not keep, and therefore must be used as soon as the outward Husk opens. One thing is very observable, that if you lay but a few Beetle Leaves near a whole Room full of *Durions*, they will all rot immediately; and if you have surfeited yourself with the excessive eating of this Fruit, two or three Beetle Leaves applied to your Breast, or one of the same Leaves eaten, will give you Ease, and you may digest them without any farther Danger. A *Lanter Tree*, another Species of Coconuts, has Leaves five or six Feet long, and so smooth, that the *Javaneze* use them instead of Paper. *Cubeb* are found nowhere in the *Indies*, but in the Isle of *Java*. They grow upon a Tree not unlike the Pepper, and in Bunches. The *Javaneze* hold them in such Esteem, that they will not sell them unboil'd, nor will allow so much as one Plant to be transported into other Places. The *Magellan* is much of the Taste of our Sloes, and grows wild in the Highways of *Java*; and the Herb *Talasse*, bearing neither Flower nor Fruit, is used green in Sauces, its Virtue being to fortify the Stomach: The Fruit *Jaca*, is of the Bigness of a Citrus, having a rough Rind, within which are certain Nuts, the Kernels thereof being roasted, are a present Remedy against a Looseness. It is observable, that this Fruit often changes its Taste; sometimes it resembles a Melon, sometimes a Peach, and at other times a sweet Lemmon. The Nut is as big as a Date, but is not to be used raw, because it occasions Vomiting and griping in the Guts; but roasted, it is both pleasant and good, and reckoned a great Restorative.

On the Side of the Island towards the Strait of *Sunda*, you meet with abundance of wild Cinnamon, but it is never transported into foreign Parts. The *Carpauli* are a kind of *Indian* Cherries, white, dark, red, and of a Carnation Colour; the Trees and Fruit are like those in *Europe*. The *Coffus Indicus*, called *Pucbo* by the *Malayans*, resembles in every respect, both in Height and Flower, the *European* Elder-tree, wherewith the *Persians* and *Arabians* drive a considerable Trade, as they do also with the *Calamus Aromaticus*. There is a yellow and spungy Matter in its Stalk, which some Women make use of to appease Fits. The *Zerumber*, called *Canlor* by the *Malayans*, is like Ginger, except that it has somewhat larger Leaves; it is preserved, or dried like Ginger, but valued above it. Of *Galangas* there are two kinds, the lesser is brought from *China*, and is preferable to that of *Java*. The Herb grows wild, about two Feet high, with a white Flower, and pointed Leaves; the *Javaneze* use both the Root and Herb in their Salads; the first are knotted like Canes, and of a biting Taste, and good Scent. *Benjamin* is a Gum of a Tree resembling a Lemmon-tree; whilst they are young, the Gum is white, but as they grow old, it changes black. It is by the *Moor* called *Lacan Javy*, i. e. the Juice

heat, and occasion Fevers. of the Bigness of a Citron, the Leaves, which are the Lemon-trees, pickled a good Remedy in as we do our Tamarinds here. The *Tamarind*, i. e. and in the Knots of certain poplar, with fruit Branches of the Olive-tree, but some, and in such Esteem with the Virtues they attribute to bloody-fluxes, that they buy Canes as to big, that they and make Boats of them. The Isle of *Java* produces not, not to be met with any *Maluccas*.

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Juice of *Java*. This Isle produces abundance of Sandal-trees, which are of the Bigness of our Walnut-trees, their Fruit resembling our Black-cherries, but is insipid; but the white and yellow Sandal, which are much preferred before the red, grow in the Isles of *Timor*, and *Solar*; of this the *Indians* make a Decoction wherewith they rub their Bodies, looking upon it as a great Restorative. Ginger they have also in abundance here, which they eat, either green, or preserved, but never dried. Anacardium is used by the *Javanese* as an approved Remedy against the Athma and Worms; they boil it in Milk, or pickle it like Olives. The Wood called *Pala de Cueba* by the *Portuguese*, of a pale yellow Colour, is used by the *Indians* in Wine and Water, against Fevers and Stings of Serpents.

That by the *Indians* called *Calamba*, and by us *Lignum Aloes*, grows not only in *Java*, but also in *Malacca*, *Samarra*, *Cambaya*, and other Places. It is not unlike to, but somewhat bigger than an Olive-tree, and whilst green, has no Scent; but as soon as it dries, its Scent is perceived. Its Goodness is known by its Weight and Colour, which must be brown, from whence issues an Oil, it held to the Fire; the wild *Calamba* is used chiefly in Funerals, for the burning of the dead Corps of the *Indian* Priests and Princes. Abundance of Lacque is sold at *Bantam*; but the choicest comes from *Pegu*. There certain winged Arts suck the Gum of the Trees, which they afterwards cast upon the Boughs, as the Bees do the Honey and Wax; these are cut off, and set in the Sun to dry till the Lacque falls off, to which they give what Colour they please, and is used in Sealing-wax, and Lacque Works of China and Japan. The other Drugs of *Java* are *Pody*, which they use against Winds and Rheums. *Flors*, a Root they dye their Calicoes with. *Canjuapi* is another Root with which they rub their Bodies. *Samparantam* is another Root stronger than Ginger, but bitter. *Pantibu* is accounted a sovereign Remedy against Fevers, and upon that Score sold at a dear rate. *Goto-gamber* is a Fruit resembling Olives, good against the Tooth-ach. *Ganti* is altogether like Ginger, but much dearer; they use it to rub their Bodies with. *Safam* is the Name they give Mustard-seed. *Doringi* is given to the Children as soon as they are born. The Root *Gallam*, growing in watery Places, is a great Cooler. The Fruit *Tianco* is taken at all Times whenever they find themselves indisposed. *Maidian*, *Maya*, and *Corofani*, are used in their Liquors, as having an intoxicating Quality. *Spodium* is the Althes of a Tree, wherewith they rub their Bodies. They do the same likewise with the Flower called *Sary*, and the Roots of *Targary*, *Surahan*, and *Sedowaya*, are appropriated to the same Use. *Sambaya* is a Fruit of the Bigness of an Acorn, which being accounted a most sovereign Remedy against Poison, and especially that of venomous Beasts, is sold at a very high Price. *Jalava* is of the same Use as *Sambaya*. The Herb *Paravay* is cooling, but scarce and dear. *Tomonpute* is a Root used against the Inflammations of the Spleen. The *Conduri* are poisonous Berries, but are used to weigh Gold and Silver.

The *Javanese* being exasperated by the ill Usage they often received from the *Portuguese*, would not for a long time permit any Strangers to have any Settlements there, till at last the Hopes of Gain engaged the Kings of *Bantam* and *Jacatra* to let the *English* and *Dutch* let up their Factories there under certain Conditions; which being but ill observed by the *Indians*, the *Dutch* took this Opportunity of fortifying their Settlements at *Jacatra*, and that with so much Expedition, that the *Indians*, finding themselves not in a Condition to force them thence, engaged with the *English* to assist them in the Expulsion of these bold Strangers. In the first Sea Engagement, *January* the 2d, 1619, near *Bantam*, the *Dutch* had the worst; upon which the King of *Jacatra*, in Conjunction with the *English*, besieged and attacked their Forts for six Months, till the *Dutch* Fleet being reinforced, obliged the *English* to quit both the Fort and the Straights of *Sunda*, and landing their Men, took the City of *Jacatra* by Storm, and put all to the Sword: The next thing they had to do was to compleat their Fortifications, which they did so effectually, that in a little Time they made them very regular, with four Battions of

Free-stone well intrenched and pallisadoed, and defended by a proportionable Number of Half-moons, Redoubts, &c.

The King of *Mairam* laid Siege to it twice since, viz. in 1628 and 1629, but was forced to raise it as often; since which Time the *Dutch* remain in the quiet Possession of their Traffick here with the *Chinese*, *Japanese*, and *Siamese*, and other neighbouring Nations, and receive Ten per Cent. Custom upon all Commodities imported or exported, each Stranger inhabiting in the City of *Batavia* being obliged to pay a certain Monthly Tax proportionable to what Profits they make, which is very great, and consequently the Tax not in the least burthenome; for a Porter, who perhaps gets two Rials a Day, does not pay above one and a half in the Month. The City of *Batavia* being for its convenient Situation in a Bay, which is sheltered by many Islands from the Violence of the Winds, one of the best Roads in all the *Indies*, and the chief Place of Commerce belonging to the *Dutch* in those Parts.

To the North-West from *Java*, betwixt that and the Isle of *Borneo*, lies the Island of *Madura*, subject to its own Prince, whose Residence is in the City of *Aragabaya*; as by reason of its Barrenness, it is a Place of no Trade, they live upon Piracy, especially upon the Coast of *Pegu*. The Isle of *Baly* lying to the East of *Java*, has not above twelve Leagues in Circuit; but to the South jets out a Cape a great way into the Sea. The King resides in the City, bearing the same Name with the Isle; the Inhabitants are *Pagani*, and so superstitious, that they worship the first thing they meet with in the Morning; they are very black, with curled Hair, but wear no Beards, any more than the rest of the Islanders in those Parts, and wear the same Garments; for their Women, who have an Aversion to Beards, oblige them to pull out the Hair by the Roots. They have each several Wives, whence this Isle is so populous, that above six hundred thousand living Souls are accounted within its Compass, though abundance of Slaves are sold from thence every Year.

They live for the most part upon Husbandry and Weaving, because they abound both in Cotton and Rice, but allow none to be transported; they are also sufficiently provided with Oxen, Buffaloes, Goats and Hogs, and some Horses, but very small ones. They have whole Forests of Oranges, Lemons, and Citron Trees, which furnish them with vast Stores of Pheasants, Partridges, Peacocks and Turtles, as their Marshes do with Ducks, and other wild Fowl. It produces no other Spice but Ginger; but they have several other Drugs, and a certain Fruit growing in a Shell like a Chestnut, white, and of a delicious Taste; and is besides this an approved Remedy against the Scurvy. All along the Coast the Seas furnish them with incredible Plenty of Fish, which, next to Rice, is their main Subsistence. They have but little Commerce with Strangers, except that they send now and then some of their Calicoes in small Vessels to the Isle of *Java*. In this Road most Ships bound for the *Moluccas* take in fresh Water and Provisions, which are to be bought here at a very low rate. They have Iron, Copper, and Gold Mines; but the last are not broke up or wrought, for fear the Fame of their Riches should draw thither some Foreign Nation or other that would without Question reap the Fruits of their Labour. Their King, whose Title is *Quillor*, i. e. High-Constable, is in great Veneration among his Subjects, and governs his Dominions by certain Governors appointed for each Province. They persist very obstinately in Paganism, as also in that diabolical Custom of Women burning themselves with their Husbands.

The Isle of *Borneo* lies farther North than *Java*, one of the largest in those Seas, extending six Degrees to the North, though its greatest Part lies on this Side of the Equinoctial Line. Some make it four hundred Leagues in Compass; but the *Dutch* with more probability assign it no more than two hundred and fifty Leagues in Circumference; its chief Places are *Borneo*, *Succidava*, *Linao*, *Sambas*, and *Bang-bemissin*. The City of *Borneo* is like *Venice*, built upon divers small Islands, interlacted with Channels, there being no Passage there but by Boats, according to the Account the *Dutch* have given of it; it contains about two thousand Houses. This Isle produces the best Camphire, as also Gold,

Gold, and Bezoar, which Stone breeds in the Maw of a Sheep, or Goat, within the Substance of which is also found a Tuft of Grass. It is smooth, inclining to a greenish Colour, its Goodness being to be tried by its Weight. In the Country of *Pan*, near *Malacca*, is a certain smooth and slippery Stone found in the Gall of certain Hogs, of a reddish Colour, and bitterish Taste, which being steeped only in cold Water, affords a most effectual Remedy against all Poison, and infectious Distempers. The Isle of *Borneo* furnishes also Diamonds, Sapan-wood, used by the Dyers, Brasil-wood, Wax, Pepper, Frankincense, Maltick, and divers other Gums. The Isle is not destitute of good Harbours, among which that of *Borneo*, at the Mouth of a very good River, is the largest and most commodious. Their Cities are not very populous, and their wooden Houses so slightly built, that they remove them at Pleasure. They are accounted very ingenious, but will rather live by Piracy than Industry, unto which they are so much addicted, that their Vessels are seen upon the Coast of *Pegu* four hundred Leagues thence. They use Swords, Bucklers, Lances, Darts, and Pikes. The King and most of the Inhabitants near the Sea-side are *Mohammedans*; but deeper in the Island they are *Pagans*. They are black, and well set, wear Calicoe wrapped about their Loins, like most of the other *Indians*, and Turbans on their Heads.

13. The Isle of *Celebes* lies betwixt that of *Borneo* and *Moluccas*, under the Equinoctial Line. *Mercator* would have it to be one of these Islands called *Sindus* by *Ptolemy*. Its capital City is called *Macassar*, which lies in the most Southern Part of the whole Isle, 5° 17' beyond the Line. The Inhabitants are so industrious, that they leave not an Inch of Ground unmanured, and sow with Rice what they stand not in need of for their Cattle and Cocoa-trees. It is not long since they embraced *Mohammedism*. They much resemble the *Siamese* and those of *Pegu*, especially in their Faces, and are of a comely Stature. The Women dress their Heads like those of *Malacca*, and in the Street have their Breasts open, and Breeches reaching down to their Knees. The North-west Winds, which blow here from *November* to *March*, make the Shore very untale during that Time, and the continual Rains overflow the flat Country, which is the Reason that most of their Houses are built upon Piles, nine or ten Foot above the Ground. There are two Kings more, viz. one of *Tello*, and the other of *Buttergea*, in this Island.

The Isle of *Gilala*, by the *Portuguese* called *Bato China de Moro*, produces Plenty of Rice, and *Sagu*, Tortoises, &c. The Inhabitants are very well limbed, but barbarous, and not many Years ago were Cannibals. The Island of *Amboyna* is so near the *Moluccas*, that some have accounted it among their Number; its Circuit is twenty-four Leagues. The chief City has to the North-west of it a very fair Bay of six Leagues, where there is safe Anchorage, and good Shelter for Ships against the Wind; the Bay enters so deep into the Country, and the Sea on the opposite Side cuts so deep within the Land, that the Isle is very near divided into two, there being only a small Isthmus of a hundred and twenty Fathom left, by which it is joined together. The lesser Part of the Isle wherein is the Castle of *Amboyna*, contains about a hundred and twenty small Towns, and the greater but four Towns, and about seven Villages. The Inhabitants were heretofore Savages and Cannibals, and applied themselves to no kind of Agriculture, which made the Country appear a Wilderness; but of late Years they have applied themselves to cultivating the Ground, which being very fertile, produces great Plenty of Oranges, Lemmons, Cocons, Bananas, Sugar-Canes, besides Cloves. They continue still to be ignorant People, the only Skill they shew being in the Management of a Dart, with so much Dexterity, that at sixty Paces Distance they will hit a Crown-piece. They are famed for their Cakes made of Rice, Almonds, and Sugar, which the Inhabitants of the adjacent Islands take against the Bloody-flux; for their Rice Bread, made in the Shape of our Sugar-Loaves; and for their small Gallies, which in Swifts exceed any in *Europe*.

It was first discovered by the *Portuguese* in the Year 1515, but the *Dutch* having afterwards also got footing there, the *Portuguese* were obliged to spoil their Com-

merce, set upon five *Dutch* Vessels in the Port of *Banda*; but being repulsed with Loss, revenged their Disgrace upon the *Amboyans*, who were suspected to favour the *Dutch* in those Parts. *Stephen Verhagen*, two Years after, viz. on the 21st of *February* 1603, landed a certain Number of Soldiers near *Amboyna*, in order to attack the Castle; but whilst he was landing his Artillery, the *Portuguese* Governor, declaring to stand the Shock, surrendered the Place without a Cannon being shot, though the Garrison consisted of six hundred Men. Before *Mohammedism* was introduced in the Isles of *Java*, *Amboyna*, and the *Moluccas*, by the *Persians* and *Arabians* trading thither, they were all *Pagans*, some of them continue so still; others, though circumcised, yet persevere in their *Pagan* Superstitions.

Nothing is more frequent here than to worship the Devil, though they are not able to tell you what he is. They affirm him to be an Aereal Demon; whence they give him the Name of *Lanibe*, i.e. Air, yet make him subordinate to another called *Lanthia*, as well as to him they call *Tas-tay*, who is a Degree lower than *Lanthia*. They give them one general Name, viz. *Tito*, i.e. Evil Spirits, and say that they appear to them in human Shape, when they are to produce their Oracles, and reveal unknown things to them. To do this twenty or thirty of them assemble, and by the Help of a small Drum called *Tifa*, some Wax-Candles, and certain Conjurings, as also a Sacrifice of Meat and Drink, make them appear before them. As they are of opinion, that what Ill befalls them comes from the Devil, they are very careful not to neglect his Worship; for which Purposes they have Wax-candles lighted in their Houses, where they sacrifice Meat and Drink to these phantastick Beings.

Their Circumcision is also different from that of the *Jews* or *Mohammedans*; for instead of cutting off the Prepuce, they only slit it, and that not till they are twelve or thirteen Years of Age. Their Marriages are soon made, and as soon dissolved; for every thing being agreed upon, they use no farther Ceremonies, except that the Bridegroom's Father gives a small Present to the Bride, in lieu of which her Father makes the Wedding Feast, where they have their Musick and Dancing. If a Wife have a mind to part from her Husband, she has no more to do than to restore the Present; which done, she pours Water on her Husband's Feet, to intimate, that thereby they are both cleansed from all Impurities they have contracted during their Marriage, which is thereby dissolved, and either Party at liberty to provide themselves another Spouse as soon as they please. When they are to take a solemn Oath, Water is put into a Dish, into which having cast Gold, Earth, and a Leaden Bullet, they dip into it the Extremity of a Mucket Barrel, the Point of a Halbert, Sword, Knife, or some other Weapon, and so give the Dish with Water unto him who is to take the Oaths, to put him in mind, that all what has been said, or dipped into the Water, will be instrumental to his Destruction, if he forswear himself. They have among them a certain Gang, who make pretence of Witchcraft, do Mischief to their Neighbours, either by Poison, or other Means; they are called *Sungus*; but whenever they are found out, they are sure to die with very severe Punishment.

The Natives of *Amboyna* are naturally stupid, timorous, and void of Understanding; they commonly bury their Riches for fear of being robbed; and such is their timidity, that they are not to be brought up to any Trade. They are so far from any Knowledge, that they have not so much as any Characters among them. All they apply themselves to is Fishing, and cultivating their Gardens, upon the Fruit of which they live very miserably, though it is observed, that they are generally strong, and well proportioned. The *Dutch* have three Ports in this Isle, viz. the Port *Gilala*, or *Victoria*, and those of *Hiten* and *Lauru*.

The Isle of *Banda*, which is three Leagues in Length, and one in Breadth, lies twenty-four Leagues from *Amboyna*, extending from North to South. It has some few Towns, the chief of which is *Nera*. The Inhabitants are a very ferocious *Mohammedans*, as they are always at War with some of their Neighbours, so they keep a constant Guard on their Coasts. Their Arms are a Cymitar and a small Buckler, four Foot long, in the managing of which they are very expert, as being trained up to it from their Childhood.

is in the Port of *Banda*; they venged their Disgrace upon it to favour the *Dutch* in two Years after, viz. on a certain Number of Ships attack the *Cattle*; but whilst the *Portuguese* Governor, considered the Place without a Garrison consisted of six hundred men introduced in the *Moluccas*, by the *Portuguese* they were all *Pagans*, some others, though circumcised, were idolaters.

than to worship the *Deity* to tell you what he is. They know; whence they give him yet make him subordinate as well as to him they call *Tau-tan Lantola*. They give him, i.e. Evil Spirits, and say in human Shape, when they are to do unknown things to them, then assemble, and by the use of some Wax-Candles, and sacrifice of Meat and Drink.

As they are of opinion, that from the Devil, they are worshipped; for which Purposes in their Houses, where the phantastick *Bengal* is different from that of the Head of cutting off the *Phallus* not till they are twelve.

Marriages are soon made, by thing being agreed upon, and, except that the Bride is present to the Bride, in lieu of the Wedding Feast, where dancing. If a Wife have a child, she has no more to do which done, she pours Water on her mate, that thereby they are as they have contracted duties thereby dissolved, and either takes another Spouse as soon as to take a solemn Oath, which having said Gold, they dip into it the Extremity of a Halbert, Sword, and so give the Dish with the Oaths, to put him in, or, dipped into the Water, in remembrance, if he forswear him, a certain Gang, who are faithful to their Neighbours; as, they are called *Zetungas*; out, they are sure to meet

naturally stupid, timorous, they commonly bury their dead; and such is their Superstition up to any Fate. They that they have not to mention. All they apply themselves to their Gardens, upon the Fruit of which, though it is obvious, and well proportioned. The *Isle*, viz. the *Fort Camero*, and *Louro*.

the three Leagues in Length, four Leagues from the *Equator*. It has some few Towns. The Inhabitants are *Pagans* and are always at War with their Neighbours, and keep a constant Guard, and a Cynical and constant the management of their Affairs up to the *Equator*.

They make use also sometimes of Fire-arms, but what they put their chief Trust in is the Lance, being eight or ten Foot long, which they cast with such Dexterity and Strength, that they will run a Man through with it: Of these they commonly have two, which, after they have cast, they betake themselves to their Swords. They make use of a kind of light Gallies, having on each Side, just above the Surface of the Water, two Seats like Wings, where the Slaves are set to row. There are two allotted for each Seat every one with his Oar, which being made like a hollow wooden Shovel, they thrust it as far as they can into the Sea, and in drawing it back, turn it about their Heads with such a Slight and Swiftness, that there are but few Ships that can overtake them with all the Sail they can make.

The Natives of *Banda* live very often to one hundred and twenty Years of Age. When they inter their Corps they are carried by twelve Persons upon a Bier or Coffin, covered with Calicoe, the Men first, and the Women following it; after it is buried, they return to the House of the deceased, where they feast together, order Incense to be burnt over the Grave for twenty-four Hours, and set up a burning Lamp at Night in a Hut made for that Purpose. The Men lead a very idle Life, leaving all Business to the Management of the Women, who are employed in breaking the Nutmeg-shells, and drying the Nut and Mace, the chief Thing they rely on for their Maintenance. As far as ever I could learn, the most excellent Spice grows nowhere but in the *Isle* of *Banda*, and the six following adjacent Islands, which make up the Archipelago called *Banda*, by the Inhabitants, viz. *Gunaxi*, *Pera*, and *Lanter*, (which is the best Road for Vessels) *Puloway*, *Pulaim*, and *Besjugin*.

It is next to a Paradox to believe that these six small Islands should be able to produce such prodigious Quantities of Nutmegs as are sufficient for the whole World, unless it be considered, that besides a few Durions, Bananas, Oranges, and Cocoa-trees, the Islands are covered all over with them like one continued Forest, the Trees of which are loaded with Flowers and Fruits, which is gathered three times a Year, viz. in *April*, *August*, and *December*; but the best is gathered in *April*. The Tree itself resembles our Peach-tree, the Leaves whereof are somewhat less and round. The Fruit is enclosed within a Husk as thick as that of our Walnuts, which, being opened, you see a Leaf very thin upon a hard Shell, which may be discovered through it. This Leaf is the Flower of Nutmeg or Mace; and to come to the Fruit, you must break the Shell. While the Nut is green, the Flower is of a Carnation Colour, which, after it is parted from the Shell, turns to an Orange Colour. It makes a most excellent Preserve, if done with Salt and Sugar. The Inhabitants make a good Stomack Ointment of Nutmegs or Mace, powdered and mixed with the Oil of Roles. The Inhabitants don't amount to above 12000 in all, amongst them not above 500 fit to bear Arms; yet are they so mutinous and stubborn, that to bridle them the *Dutch* have two Forts here, called *Nassau* and *Belgica*, where Vessels may anchor at nine or ten Fathom Water within Musket-shot, and that without the least Danger.

The *Moluccas*, properly so called, are no more than five in Number, viz. the *Isles* of *Ternate*, *Tidor*, *Motiel*, *Machiam*, and *Bachiam*, known to the ancient *Pagans* by the Names of *Cupe*, *Douco*, *Montil*, *Maca*, and *Sague*, and situated all together within the Space of 25 Leagues. The Sun-beams are so penetrating here that they render the Earth as dry as a Punice-stone, which not only sucks in all the Rains that fall, but also swallows the very Torrents near their Sources; but as they are not able to penetrate through the thick Forests, so the Ground here produces both Trees and Herbs; whence it is that those Islands are sufficiently stored with Bananas, Coconuts, Lemons, Oranges, Sandal, and Callamba, besides Spices of all sorts; but they produce neither Rice, nor any other sort of Grain; the Defect of which is supplied by the Tree, called by the Natives *Laudon*, and *Seguico* by the *Portuguese*, the Pith of which furnishes them with a kind of Meal for Bread, as the Leaves, when come to their full Growth, serve them for the Covering of their Houses, and the bigger Veins for Rapiers, as the lesser make good

Cordage: While these Leaves are young, they are covered with a kind of woolly Substance, which affords Materials for Stuffs. They are not unlike the Cocoa-leaves, the Tree which bears them being commonly twenty Foot high, and the Trunk a Fathom in Compass; but being composed only of the Bark and Pith, is easily cut down, the first not exceeding one Inch in Thickness. The Pith is very white, and may be eaten without any farther Preparation, after the Strings of the Wood, which are mixed with it, are removed; but if they intend to make Meal of it, they beat the Pith to Powder, put it in a Sieve, made of the Bark of the same Tree, over a Tub, made of its Leaves, and by pouring a sufficient Quantity of Water upon it, separate the Strings from the meally Part, which settles to the Bottom of the Tub, and being separated from the Water and dried, affords the Meal they call *Sagu*. This they bake in certain Moulds of Earth, made red-hot, with incredible Dispatch. This Tree, which grows also in *Amboyna* and some other Places, affords also a certain Liquor called *Thorack*, which tastes like Wine.

The Islanders, though not destitute of Cattle, yet live, for the most part, upon Fish. They have no Gold, Silver, or any other Mines, being furnished with Iron from the *Island* of *Amboyna*. They are generally black, though the Women not so black as the Men, with black shining Hair, large Eyes and Eyebrows, and strong Limbs. They soon become grey, yet live to a great Age; are active rather than laborious, and very sociable in Conversation, but somewhat inclining to Boldness and Insolence, and in their Dealings crafty and deceitful: The Men wear generally Turbans, like the *Turks*, covered with Plumes. The King is distinguished from his Subjects by a kind of Mitre, clad in Drawers only of blue, red, green, or yellow Satin. Some of these Islanders make use of a close-bodied Coat, fastened round the Shoulders, and cut below like the military Garment of the ancient *Romans*. The Women wear no Head-dresses, but lay their Hair smooth over their Heads, which they tie behind, and cover it with Plumes, or Flowers. Their Garments are of *China* Silk; but their chief Ornaments are their Bracelets, Rings, and Necklaces of Pearls, Diamonds, Rubies, and Emeralds. The *Chinese* were the first that made themselves Masters of those Islands, and after, the *Portuguese* and *Arabians*, who introduced *Mohammedism* here. Their ancient Customs are their only Law: They allow Polygamy, yet don't punish Adultery; but stealing is a capital Crime.

At Break of Day certain Persons who are appointed for that Purpose, beat the Drum about the Streets to excite the People to the Performance of their matrimonial Duty. They use generally the *Malayan* Language, though every one of these Islands has its peculiar Tongue, which shews them to be descended from divers Nations. The *Isle* of *Ternate*, the biggest of the *Moluccas*, is situated in 48° 28 Leagues from the *Isle* of *Banda*. Its Compass is about eight Leagues. It affords but little Provisions, except Goats and some Poultry; but the Almonds here are most excellent, the Shell being so hard that the Smiths use them instead of Coal. It produces also some Tobacco, but much inferior in Goodness to that brought from the *West-Indies*. The Town of *Gamma Lamma*, the Capital of the whole *Island*, consists only of one Street, 2500 Paces long, built along the Sea-side, the Houses being all of Cane or Timber; the Road is not fit for Anchorage, the Bottom being all rocky, which makes the *Dutch* Vessels always lie at Anchor near the Village of *Tellingamma*, within two Miles of *Malay*, betwixt the *Islands* of *Ternate* and *Tidor*.

But the chief Product of these Islands is the Clove, called *Clavus* by the modern *Spaniards*, by reason of its Resemblance to an ordinary Nail. The Tree that bears it is by those of the *Moluccas* called *Sigar*, the Leaf *Vacaqua*, and the Fruit itself *Chamque*. The Tree resembles the Laurel, its Leaves being however somewhat narrower, like those of the Almond-trees, shooting forth its Branches at the Top, not unlike the Mistle. The Fruit is white at first, grows green by degrees, and brown when it comes to Maturity, but does not turn black till it be dried in the Sun, which is done in two or three Days. The Tree grows naturally without planting or cultivating, bears

Fruit the eighth Year, and lasts one hundred Years. The Fruit of it is gathered but once every other Year, because the Inhabitants break off the Buds the first, that they may have a more plentiful Crop the second Year. The Fruit is ripe from August to January. This Tree affords no Gum, by reason of its excessive Heat, the Fruit being so dry that the Inhabitants, to encrease its Weight, put a Pitcher with Water, within ten Foot of their Clove-Bags, which is sucked up within two or three Days time. The Chinese do the same with their raw Silk.

As the *Moluccas* yield more Cloves than any other Islands hereabouts, this has misled some to affirm that they grow only here, it being certain they yield yearly Six thousand Barrels of Cloves, allowing Five hundred and an half to a Barrel; though, at the same time, the Isles of *Ires*, *Myrtarna*, *Cavaly*, *Sabugo*, *Marigoren*, *Gawecanora*, *Zimboyna*, but especially the Isle of *Varanula*, produce considerable Quantities, but not so good as those of the *Moluccas*. In the Midst of the Island of *Ternate*, is a very high Mountain, full of Palms and other Trees, which has a most miraculous Well on the Top, which is so deep that 500 Fathom of Rope did not reach the Bottom, but to a very fair Spring, the Water of which no body hitherto has ventured to taste, by reason of the sulphurous Exhalations, which, especially about the Equinoxes, issue from the Mountain, and sometimes cast red Stones at twenty Leagues distance. This Mountain is covered with Wood near half its Height, but afterwards is excessive cold, having on the Top a very cold Spring, and a Lake of fresh Water, surrounded by Trees. They know not of any certain Difference of Season in these Islands, except that it generally rains more with the North than with the South-wind.

Serpents they have of thirty Foot long, but not venomous, living for the most part upon Fish. This Island has also a peculiar Creature, called by the Inhabitants *Cufes*, which, as it feeds on Fruits, so it is always seen upon the Trees, its Tail being of such Strength, that it will hang by it to a Branch of the Tree, the better to come at the Fruit; it is in Shape not unlike our Rabbits; its Colour betwixt a Grey and a Red, with thick, curling, and soft Hair, round and fierce Eyes, and very small Feet. As they have scarce any domestick Bird except the Parrot, so their Forests are full of wild ones. The *Moluccas* produce a certain Wood which burns, sparkles, and flames like common Wood, but consumes not, though you may rub it to Powder with your Fingers. Not far from the Fort of *Ternate* grows a certain Shrub, called *Catapa* by the Inhabitants, from which falls a Leaf, which, by degrees, is supposed to turn to a Butterfly. The Isle of *Tidor* is at least as large and fruitful as *Ternate*, the Inhabitants here being so industrious as to improve the Fruit of the Clove-tree, by pruning and watering it, which, by this means, becomes both fairer and larger than the rest. Here they have also the best white Sandal-wood, and those Birds called *Paxeras del Cielo* by the Spaniards, and by us Birds of *Paradise*. After they have catched them, they cut off their Feet close to the Body, so that when the Flesh dries the Skin and Feathers join insensibly together, so that many have been of Opinion these Birds are without Feet.

The Dutch are Masters of *Malaya*, a well fortified Town in *Ternate*, as also of the Fort of *Taluco*, and that of *Mur*, and *Tidor*, of the Fort *Barnesveld* in *Bachiam*, and three more in the Isle of *Machiam*, at *Taffaro*, *Tabicala*, and *Tessquia*; they have also a Stone-Fort in *Motir*. The Kingdom of *Machiam*, which is governed by its own Sovereign, being so well stocked with Sago that the Inhabitants have sufficient wherewith to subsist without Labour, has made them so idle and careless that they are scarce able to raise 500 fighting Men. The Isle of *Machiam*, which is subject to the King of *Ternate*, is about seven Leagues in Circumference; the Dutch made themselves Masters of it in 1601, since which Time they have erected three Forts, the first at *Gueffiqui*, situate upon an Eminence, and strengthened by four Bastions of Stone; as is also the Fort of *Pajo* built likewise upon an Ascent at an hundred and fifty Paces from the Sea-shore; it is bigger than the first. The Fort of *Tobillala* has only two Bastions. Besides these five Islands, properly called the *Moluccas*, there are

about seventy-two more subject to the King of *Ternate*, from *Mindanao* on the North Side, and *Bina* and *Corca* on the South, and between the Continent of *New-Guinea* to the East.

14. The *Philippine* Islands, which lie to the North of the *Moluccas*, were discovered by *Ferdinand Magellan* in 1520, but no Establishment was made there till 1565, when they got the Name of *Philippines* from *Philip II.* then King of *Spain*. The first Settlement of the Spaniards was made in the Isle of *Zebu*, and about six Years after that in the Isle of *Lucon*, now called *Manilla*, from its chief City, which is situate in an Isle made by an Arm of the Sea, in the most Southern Part of the Isle, the whole Compaits of which is three hundred and fifty Leagues; it is seventy Leagues from *China* to the North, and two hundred and seventy Leagues to the North-East from *Japan* to the East; it is encompassed by the Ocean, and to the South by the great *Archipelago*, which is divided into five Seas, and stocked with a vast Number of Islands. The Fertility of the Soil, joined to the Industry of its Inhabitants, makes this Island abound in Corn, Rice, Fruits of all sorts, and Drugs; as likewise in Beef, Buffaloes, Deer, Goats, and Hogs. Their Cocoa Wine they keep till it becomes as strong as *Spanish* Wine; their Lemons, Oranges, Figs, and Pears, are the best in the World, and they abound both in Domestick, and Wild-fowl, and Birds. They have a peculiar Way here of killing the Crocodiles, of which they have great Numbers; he who is to engage with this Creature, gantlets his left Arm to his Elbow, having in the same Hand a Truncheon of a Foot long, piked at both Ends, with a Dagger in the other: Thus armed, he goes into the Water up to the Waist, and while the Crocodile is making at him with his Jaws open, he thrusts his left Hand down his Throat, so as to keep them from shutting, and in the mean while stabs him with the Dagger in the Throat, till he drops down dead.

The *Philippine* Islands produce more Tygers, Lions, Bears, and such-like wild Beasts, than *Africa* itself, and abounds in Algalias, which are the Creatures that produce Musk, and Civet Cats. The Chinese drive a vast Trade in this Country with the Spaniards, who buy their Calicoes, Silks, Porcelain, Gun-powder, Sulphur, Iron, Quicksilver, Copper, Meal, Nuts, &c. and carry them to the *Indies*, where these things are sold at a very dear rate. In the City of *Manilla* resides a *Spanish* Archbishop, who has three Bishops under his Jurisdiction, for the spiritual Government of the *Philippine* Islands; and such is the Influence they have over these ignorant Wretches, that they keep them in Subjection without any standing Forces. The Archbishop is also Viceroy of those Islands, and has the Management of all publick Affairs, in Conjunction with the King's Council appointed in that City, which is very large, and its Houses built of Stone, after the modern Way. Within and about it live above fifteen thousand Chinese, and vast Numbers of the same Nation resort thither every Year for the Conveniency of Traffick. So that from *December* to *April* you may see in the Harbour (which is defended by two wooden Forts) near five hundred Chinese Junks. This Place is also much frequented by the Japanese, but not in near so great Numbers as by the Chinese: Notwithstanding which, the Spaniards are much more jealous of the first than the last.

15. *Japan* is composed of many Islands, divided by several Arms of the Sea, extended from 31 to 39°, being in some Places scarce ten, in others thirty Leagues in Breadth. On the East Side it hath *New-Spain*, to the North *Tartary*; on the West *China*, and the Sea to the South, with Part of the *Terra Australis*. The whole Empire consists of sixty-six lesser Kingdoms or Provinces, fifty-three whereof are comprehended within the two great Kingdoms of *Meaco* and *Amagunee*, nine others within the great Kingdom of *Ximo*, and the remaining four in that called *Xicoum*. According to the Japanese, they are to this Day uncertain, whether the whole Empire be an Island, or annexed to the Continent; so far much as from the Province of *Quanto* to the Borders of the Province of *Tzungda*, is twenty-seven Days Journey to the East-North-East, and then they cross an Arm of the Sea of eleven Leagues broad, which brings them into the Province of *Jeljo*, to which

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h, and to the South by the
vided into five Seas, and
Islands. The Fertility of
its Inhabitants, makes
e, Fruits of all sorts, and
ffaloos, Deer, Goats, and
ey keep till it becomes as
Lemons, Oranges, Figs,
World, and they abound
owl, and Birds. They have
g the Crocodiles, of which
who is to engage with this
to his Elbow, having in the
Foot long, piked at both
ther: Thus armed, he goes
k, and while the Crocodile
ws open, he thrusts his left
keep them from shutting,
im with the Dagger in the
d.

uce more Tygers, Lions,
ts, than *Africa* itself, and
the Creatures that produce
Chinese drive a vast Trade in
y, who buy their Calicoes,
Sulphur, Iron, Quicksilver,
d carry them to the *Weg-*
old at a very dear rate. In
anish Archbishop, who has
ction, for the spiritual Go-
ds; and such is the Influr-
rant Wretches, that they
any standing Forces. The
those Islands, and has the
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in that City, which is very
Stone, after the modern
ve above fifteen thousand
the same Nation resort thi-
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fee in the Harbour (which
s) near five hundred *Chi-*
much frequented by the
at Numbers as by the *Chi-*
Spaniards are much more

many Islands, divided by
ded from 31 to 39°, being
others thirty Leagues in
hath *New-Spain*, to the
China, and the Sea to the
Australis. The whole Em-
Kingdoms or Provinces,
ended within the two great
nce, nine others within the
remaining four in that called
anese, they are to this Day
pire be an Island, or as
much as from the Province
e Province of *Izumi*, is
the East-North-East, and
a of eleven Leagues broad,
vince of *Yedo*, to include

by inaccessible Mountains, that no body hitherto has been able to discover the Extent of them. The whole Empire of *Japan* being divided into many Provinces, the same are committed to the Government of many Princes and Lords, who have their Secretaries assigned them by the Emperor himself, whose Business it is to have a watchful Eye over them, and to give an Account of their Transactions, and especially concerning their Revenues, which are very great, and according to the Computation of the *Japanese*, amount yearly to eighteen Millions four hundred thousand Kockins (each of which make four *French* Crowns) out of which they are obliged to maintain a certain Number of Forces, both Horse and Foot, for the Emperor's Service, in proportion to their Revenues, which consist chiefly in Lordships and Demesnes. They have Mines of all sorts, &c. so that he who has a thousand Kockins *per Annum* is obliged to maintain twenty Foot, and two Horsemen; by which means the Emperor is able to raise an Army of three hundred and sixty-eight thousand Foot, and thirty-eight thousand eight hundred Horse; besides the hundred thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse, he keeps up as a standing Force, which is so much the less to be admired at, since some of these Lords have such vast annual Revenues, that, according to the before-mentioned Proportion, they are obliged to furnish one thousand two hundred Foot, and a hundred and twenty Horse.

All the great Lords of *Japan* have three Names, *viz.* their proper Name that of the Family, and a Surname, which they commonly take from the Province, City, or Castle they govern. They have also a Custom of changing their Names thrice in their Life-time, the first, given them in their Infancy, being altered at the Age of twenty-six, and that again at fifty or sixty Years of Age. They have another Custom in *Japan* for the Slaves to offer themselves a voluntary Sacrifice to their Masters whenever they die, which is done by a solemn Engagement, and confirmed by a Bottle of Wine. As this is chiefly done by those Slaves, to put an End to the Miseries they endure in their Life-time, so there have been some who have defied of their Masters to bury them under the Foundation they were going to lay for some considerable Edifice. Their Pagods or Temples are of Wood, about seven or eight Fathom square, and raised three or four Foot from the Ground. They have small Turrets, with Lights in them on all Sides, and within certain Statues, unto whom they address their Prayers. The King and great Lords have many fair Castles belonging to them, among which those that are fortified are garrisoned by the Emperor; but their Cities are generally without any Fortifications, and if some few of them have any, they are only single Walls. Their Cities are built after the same manner, each Street having two Gates, which are shut up, and guarded in the Night-time. They have no Revenues belonging to them, neither pay they any Impositions, except a very inconsiderable Rent for their Dwellings to the Governor, for whose Use they are also obliged to keep a Man at work at certain Times; but this does not happen very often. The Governors having certain Demesnes allotted them for their Revenues, and among others the Advantage of Fishing, especially of the Whale, of which there are taken yearly near three hundred upon the Coast of *Japan*; but they are neither so big, nor so fat as those in the Northern Parts.

Every *Japanese*, of what Condition soever, is absolute Master of the Life of his Slave. They are so cruel in their Punishments, that the least Treasons is punished with Death. Gaming for Money, or killing any Person, though in his own Defence, is capital, and so is Theft, though it were but for a Penny; and in Offences of a more heinous Nature, the Fathers, Brothers, and Children, are put to Death for the Crime of a single Person; nay, the Wives and Daughters, though ever so innocent, are also involved in the same Misfortune; for they are made Slaves, and their whole Substance is confiscated. Thieves are fastened with a Rope of Straw to a Crost, and then the Executioner runs a Pike into the right Side up to the left Shoulder, and again from the left Side up to the right Shoulder; other Malefactors are fastened only to a Post, with their Hands stretched out, and held up by two Persons, and so the Executioner runs them with a Pike through the Neck into

the Heart. Those Crimes which involve the whole Family in the same Punishment, are Extortion, Coining, Firing of Houses, wilful Murder, and Ravishing of Women, and are punished by crucifying with the Head downwards, by boiling in Oil or Water, tearing them to Pieces by four Horses, &c. Lying is also capital here, especially if told before a Judge.

Their Princes and great Lords, if guilty of any Crimes, are banished into the Isle of *Taisen Sima*, lying fourteen Leagues from the Province of *Yedo*. It is all Rocks, without any Road or Harbour, producing nothing but Mulberry-trees and Silk-worms, which furnish those miserable Prisoners with Materials for the making of Stuffs, in which they employ their Lives, and are relieved from Time to Time with most miserable Food. It is computed that the Expence the Emperor of *Japan* is at yearly in his Court, amounts to four Millions of Kockins, and five Millions more for his Governors and military Officers. His ordinary Residence is in the Castle of *Yedo*, which is two Leagues in Circumference, and strengthened with a triple Wall, and as many Mounts all of Free-stone. The Gates are covered with strong Iron Bars, and Lodges over them, which contain three hundred Soldiers, for a Guard to each Gate, his own Palace, with the Apartments for the Women; stand in the Centre, and round about it the Houses of the Princes, and other great Lords, all richly gilt, and sumptuously furnished, their chief Emulation being to outvie one another in this kind of Magnificence, which is amongst them looked upon as the greatest Mark of Respect they can pay the Emperor, who never stirs abroad but in the Company of a great Number of those Lords, and their young Kindred, who are the Guard of his Body; and by applying themselves to Musick, Physick, Writing, Painting, or the Management of publick Affairs, render themselves qualified for higher Employments. They are all clad in black, and as they march along the Streets, don't so much as utter a Word.

As the Revenues of the Emperor of *Japan* are so great, that the ordinary Income of two Months is sufficient to defray his whole Year's Expence, his Treasure must be immense, most of which consisting in Gold and Silver, is laid up in vast Chests, inclosed in several Towers belonging to the Castle, besides what is disposed of in the Country. Their Horse are armed with Croselets, Fire-locks, not much longer than our Pistols, with Pikes, Bows, Arrows, and Cymitars. The Foot have only Head-pieces, two Cymitars, each a Musket, Pike, Half-pike, and broad Knife: Each Company consists of fifty Soldiers, a Captain, a Lieutenant, and ten Corporals; five of these Companies make a Battalion, commanded by a peculiar Officer, and ten Battalions a Brigade.

The Emperor of *Japan* has a numerous Council, tho' only four are charged with the Management of all important Affairs, and are to attend daily at Court: Some of these have two Millions of Crowns, others three or four hundred thousand Crowns, others four or five hundred thousand Crowns yearly Revenue; but their Expences are proportionable to their Revenues, being obliged to live at least half the Year at Court in vast Splendor, maintaining perhaps a Retinue of three hundred Persons, and above a thousand in their Families, and that in a Place where Provisions are excessive dear; not to mention the vast Expences they are at in their Buildings, and the Entertainments they are obliged to give the Emperor whenever he is pleased to honour them with a Present, perhaps of a Crane, which he has taken in Hunting. As great Persons are not to marry any Wife but what is presented to them by the Emperor himself, so they are put to vast Charge in giving them all the magnificent Entertainment, and all the Enjoyments they can, except their Liberty, which they must resign to their Husbands, and are not permitted to go abroad above once a Year to visit their nearest Relations; notwithstanding the Wives in *Japan* have the Reputation of great Reservedness, and being, beyond all others, faithful to their Husbands, of which many Instances might be alleged, which for Brevity's sake I omit. There are, however, those who ascribe this Reservedness rather to the Severity of their Laws, than their Inclinations, it being certain, that even the least Suspicion of Dishonesty after Marriage,

riage, is punished here with the utmost Cruelty; so that if a Husband finds his Wife locked up in a Room with another Man, he may, without any farther Enquiry, kill them both. The better to allay the Heat of Youth, and the Danger arising from thence in respect of Adultery, they have in the Cities, nay, even in most of the Inns upon the Road, certain Prostitutes, who are most of them Slaves, and expose themselves to Travellers for Money; and if a Man is to stay for any Time in a Place, he may hire one of these Concubines from their Masters at a certain easy rate, and keep her for his own Use.

As for their Devotion, it may be said, that they have scarce any at all, the most devout among them seldom praying in publick above once a Month before their Idols, which stand in their Temples; near them are their Sepulchres covered with great Tomb-stones two or three Foot high, and those of Persons of Quality have a little Pillar erected near them, containing their Names, and certain other Inscriptions, in the Nature of an Epitaph. The Ecclesiasticks are divided into twelve different Sects, eleven of which abstain from living Creatures, and from Women. If they break their Vow they are punished with Death. Those of the twelfth Sect are allowed to marry, and eat all sorts of Provisions; the chief of this Sect is the Head of all their Clergy, and their Temples are endowed with many Privileges, and settled Revenues; whereas those of the other Sects are maintained only by Alms. Some among the *Japanese* believe the Immortality of the Soul, and the Rewards and Punishments of another Life for ever; but the most have so little Sense of Religion, that they meet in their Temples to drink, and commit other Debaucheries; whence it is also, that never any such thing is heard of as Controversy about Religion, though they are such irreconcilable Enemies to the *Christians*, that finding Death not to be sufficient to shake their Constancy, they invented many cruel Methods to make them renounce their Faith, which, however, at last they were not satisfied with, unless they could discover another *Christian* to release them from their Torments, which are so various, as would almost fill a Volume.

Their Houses are slightly built, and seldom above one Story high, because the Country is much subject to Earthquakes; they are raised three or four Foot from the Ground, and convenient enough within, being divided into several Apartments, some of which are for the Men, the rest only for the Use of the Women, where the best Part of the Furniture is bestowed; they are also very nice in their Gardens and Orchards; they are very obliging in their Conversation, especially in their Visits, when they present their Guests with Tobacco, Tissue, or Tea, and with Wine, of the last of which they will take a very plentiful Share; but are sure never to quarrel over their Liquors. Except at the Inns, for the Convenience of Travellers, no Drinking-houses are allowed of in *Japan*; nay, not so much as a publick Cook's Shop, it being their Custom to make their good Cheer in their Houses, where, among other things, they entertain one another with their Musick, the chief of which is a kind of Lute, with four silk Strings, which they strike with a Peg of Ivory. Their Wine, or rather Hydromell, is made of Rice, Sugar, and Honey, and is as strong as any Wine whatever. Their Marriages are contracted in consequence of the Agreement of the Relations. The Bride and Bridegroom being not permitted to see one another till it is to be consummated, those of a common Rank may soon be divorced, and if they dislike the Wife, send her back to her Relations; but People of Quality, notwithstanding any Disagreement, maintain them in their Houses.

Their Children they educate with all imaginable Mildness, without any beating, as well at home as at School, so that they are not sent till they be seven or eight Years of Age, and when they come to Man's Estate, the Father has no more to do in Part of the House, and of his Employment, nay, perhaps the whole, reserving only a certain Allowance for his Subsistence to himself; but their Daughters have neither Power, nor the least share in their Education. They are so nice in Point of Honour, that if they are once dishonoured, they are much from it; and if they are once dishonoured, they are much from it; and if they are once dishonoured, they are much from it.

Family, than break his Promise to his Friends, which is the Reason most of their Delinquents will rather endure the most exquisite Tortures than discover their Accomplices. The *Japanese* having such vast Quantities of all things, seldom deal in any Foreign Commodities, but leave that Commerce to Strangers, especially to the *Chinese*, who bring thither the Product and Manufactures of their Country; though ever since the ancient good Correspondence between those two Empires has been interrupted, the *Chinese* are forbidden by their Kings to send Goods into *Japan*, and therefore are obliged to carry on this Commerce, under pretence of transporting their Commodities to some other Parts of the *Indies*, unto which they are the more encouraged by the vast Hopes of Gain. All Commodities, either imported or exported out of *Japan*, passing free, without paying the least Duty or Custom.

The whole Empire of *Japan* uses but one and the same Language, which is quite different from the *Chinese*, as well as their Characters; as they always use but few Words, they write every thing with Pencils in certain Short-hand Notes in a very little time; their Accounts they keep by the means of certain small Beads, which they thread upon little Sticks like a square Board. They are not destitute of Books nor Libraries, the *Dairo* (who formerly was the sovereign of the Country, and still retains the Supremacy over the Clergy) keeps the publick Accounts, and writes the Chronicles of the Country; neither are any other Persons, except the Gentlemen of his House, and such Lords and Ladies as are defended from his Family, allowed to write Books, which makes them constantly apply themselves to Learning. They have but one kind of Measure; their Gold is of the same kind, but their Silver none of the finest: Of Gold Coin they have three sorts, one whereof is valued at forty-eight Taals, each of which being worth five Crowns Sterling, amount to twelve Pounds Sterling. The second sort are worth each one Taal, and a fifth Part, and the third one Taal, and a sixth Part. Their Silver Coin goes by Weight, being in the Form of Ingots, so divided, that each Piece commonly amounts to fifty Taals. They have also a lesser Silver Coin made in the Shape of a French Bean, which goes likewise by Weight.

The *Japanese* don't geld any Creature, so that they are well stored with all sorts of Cattle, as well as Fowl, and small Birds. They also abound in mineral and hot Waters: There is a certain hot Spring here which spouts forth its Waters duly twice every twenty-four Hours, with such Violence, that though the Water rises amidst the Stones, which are laid on the Top of the Hole to the Height of twenty or twenty-four Foot, it is so hot that it exceeds the Heat of boiling Water, and burns every thing it touches at its first coming out; but being conveyed by certain Pipes into the adjacent Houses, it is reduced to such a Degree of Heat, that it is convenient for Bathing. These Mineral-waters are sufficient Proofs that *Japan* is full of good Mines of all sorts, and Experience confirms it; for they have Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Iron, and Lead of their own, as well as Cotton, Flax, Hemp, Silks, and all manner of Provisions in great Plenty. Their Physicians have singular Reputation as to their Ability, but Chirurgery is uncommon among them as yet. They make frequent use of *China* Root and Rhubarb, which, as well as most of their other Medicines, they make into Pills. The *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* found it no hard Matter to settle themselves in *Japan*, and their religious Ceremonies took so well with the Inhabitants, that they were permitted to build divers Churches in the Kingdom; but the *Spaniards* not being able to contain themselves within the Bounds of Modesty, their domineering Temper created such a Jealousy and Aversion in the *Japanese*, that they set upon them, burnt their Ships, and, in 1636, totally banished them the Island, under Pain of Death. The *Dutch* began to trade there in 1611. Some of their Relations affirm the City of *Miaco* to be twenty-one Leagues in Compass, and that the City of *Osack* and *Buago* are for their Wealth not inferior to any of the *Indies*.

The Air of *Japan* is very moderate and healthy, but inclining rather to Cold than Heat. They sow in *May*, but do not reap till *September*. They have neither Oil nor Butter, and have an Aversion to Mulk, which they consider

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tame Beasts, but are great Lovers of all sorts of Wild-
Fowl and Venison. Their Cedars are so big here that they
make Masts of them for Ships. The Complexion of the
Natives is inclining to brown; and for the rest, they are lusty
and strong-limb'd, hardy, and patient to undergo any La-
bour, as well as the Injury of the Seasons, never changing
their Cloaths either Winter or Summer, and very mode-
rate in their Diet. The *Japanese* are distinguished into five
several Ranks; the first is that of the Prince, Lords, and
chief Officers, both Civil and Military; the second of the
Clergy; the third of the Gentlemen and Merchants; the
fourth of Tradefinen and Seamen; and the fifth of La-
bourers. Once in five Years the Emperor of *Japan* has
an Interview with the Dairo at *Meaco*, which is very re-
markable for its Magnificence, and the great Presents made
to the Dairo, an ample Account of which being to be
found in the *Dutch* Relation of the Director of the said
Company in *Japan*, we will pass by the Particulars of it
here, our Intention being only to give the Reader a short
Relation of what we have received from very good Hands,
and leaving the rest to be completed by those who have
since had the Opportunity of taking a View in Person of
that Country.

16. After the Banishment of the *Japanese* out of *China*,
the *Chinese*, to avoid the Penalties inflicted on such as
should trade with them, made Use of the Isle of *Tayo-
wang*, whither they carried their Commodities, in order
to continue their Commerce with those of *Japan*. The
Dutch being excluded from the Commerce of *China*, fol-
lowed their Foot-steps, and, in 1632, settled themselves
in the said Island, as the most convenient Place in all the
Indies for carrying on Trade both with *China* and *Japan*,
there being a free Passage here all the Year, without be-
ing obliged to stay for the Monsoons, which, in most other
Places, last for six Months. The *Dutch*, I say, being sen-
sible of this Conveniency, built immediately a Stone-Fort
of four Battions on the Downs, within half a League of
the great Ile of *Formosa*, which is divided from this Ile
by a Channel only, which, though not very deep, yet af-
fords a safe Harbour for Ships against any Winds.

For the better Defence of the Entrance of this Channel,
the *Dutch* have built a strong Redoubt called *Zeeland*.
The Ile of *Formosa* itself is about thirty-two Leagues di-
stant from the River of *Cincken*, and the *Chinese* Island
called *Quemoy*, extending from S.W. to the N.E. in
Compass an hundred and thirty Leagues. It is full of Vil-
lages and Inhabitants, which are not governed by any sin-
gle Person, but such as they choose themselves for their
Magistrates. It has many Rivers full of the best Fish;
their Forests are well stocked with Wild-Fowl and Veni-
son, and their Meadows with Cattle, besides Deer, Wild-
Goats, Hares and Rabbits. Their Forests produce a kind
of Horses, with Hams like a Deer, called *Olewang* in their
Language, the Flesh of which is a great Dainty; as also
another Creature, not unlike our Bears, but of a very large
Size, the Skin of which is much esteemed in those Parts.
Their Grounds are very fertile, but lie neglected, which
makes Fruit very scarce, and, what they have, not very
grateful to the Palate. It produces also some Ginger and
Cinnamon, and, as the *Chinese* relate, Gold and Silver;
but the *Dutch* have hitherto found none of these Mines
worth looking after. The Places in which the *Dutch* have
their Settlements are, for the most part, along the Sea-
side.

Its Inhabitants are like the Savages, being of a more than
ordinary Size, black and hairy all over their Bodies, but in
their Conversation obliging, benight, and good-natured;
their Women are not so stout and big, but inclining to
Jennets, and yet not so plump. They wear a sort of Gar-
ment round the Middle, but when they bathe themselves
in the Sea, they commonly do twice a-day in warm Water)
and are very modest. They are very constant Friends,
and regularly observe the Agreements that they make
with Strangers, Treachery being a Thing abominated
among them. They neither want Ingenuity or Memory,

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being very docile in any thing they apply themselves to.
Though their Grounds be very fertile, and able to produce
much more than they do, they are contented to live up-
on their small Quantity of Rice, which is raised by the
Industry of their Wives, who, instead of Ploughs, culti-
vate and dig the Ground with Spades, transplant and cut
the Rice; and after having dried as much of it every
Night in the Chimney-Corner as will suffice the Family
the next Day, beat it early in the Morning in a Mortar;
the Mens Minds being wholly taken up with hunting, es-
pecially till they are forty Years of Age, before which
Time they seldom mind any thing relating to Agri-
culture.

They sow also three sorts of Fruits, called by them
Plingh, *Quach*, and *Taraun*, not unlike Millet; and a cer-
tain sort of Pulse, resembling our French-bean; some
Roots they have likewise, which might serve them instead
of Bread, if they were not furnished sufficiently in that
respect with Rice. Besides this, they have Ginger, Cin-
namon, Sugar-canes, Bananas, Lemons, and a great Store
of Arca, not to mention several sorts of Fruits and Pulse,
not known in *Europe*. Instead of Cocoa-Wine, of which
they are destitute, they make a certain Mixture of Rice,
which, being soaked in warm Water, they beat it in a
Mortar till reduced to a Pulse; this they mix with Rice-
meal chewed instead of Leaven; and having put it into an
earthen Vessel, fill it up with Water, which, after it has
fermented and stood two Months, affords a very pleasant
Liquor, which is stronger or weaker, according as it is
kept, and the older the sweeter it is, and may be kept
good thirty or thirty-five Years. When they go abroad a
hunting, they make use of Snares, small Pikes, Bows, and
Arrows; their Nets they spread in the open Fields, or
cross the Highways, and then drive the Wild-Beasts into
them.

Sometimes the Inhabitants of several Villages make a
Hunting-Match, and dividing themselves into divers Par-
ties, armed with Half-pikes and Lances, send their Dogs
into the Woods; by which means having forced the Wild-
Beasts into the Fields, they encompass them on all Sides,
sometimes for a whole League, and so with their Pikes
kill all those that come within the Ring. These Lances, or
rather Darts, are of Cane, six or seven Foot long, with fe-
veral Hooks, which, being fastened into the Flesh of the
Beasts, are not to pulled out; but as the Iron is not well
fastened to the Wood, but that with the running of the
Beasts through the Rushes it comes off, a Cord is tied to
both, and a little Bell to the Iron, so that the Lance annoys
the Beast, and the Bell discovers its Passage wherever it
runs. By this Means they catch vast Numbers of Deer,
the Skins of which they exchange with the *Chinese* for
their Commodities, they seldom reserving any thing for
their own Use but the Umbles and the Entrails, which
they salt and eat half corrupted, being not cleansed of the
Filth before they were salted.

When one Village happens to be at War with another,
they first declare it openly against one another, which
being the Signal to be upon their Guard, they don't attack
by open Force, but dividing themselves into small Troops,
perhaps of twenty-five or thirty Men, lie in Ambush near
the Village they intend to attack till Night, when they let
upon the Huts, which lie dispersed in the open Country,
till perhaps they can light upon an aged Man: They kill
him, cut off his Head, Hands and Feet; nay, if they
have Time enough, cut the whole Body into small Pieces,
that every one of them may take home a Piece of it along
with him, as a Mark of his Bravery; but if the next Vil-
lage happens to take the Alarm, they are glad to be con-
tented with the Head alone, or perhaps a good Lock of
the Hair, which they carry home in Triumph, as an un-
doubted Sign of their Victory; when they intend to make a
very bold Attack, they enter the Village by Night, force open
a Houle, kill all they meet with, and do betake themselves
to their Heels, for fear of being pursued. When they en-
gage in the open Field, their chief Aim is to draw one an-
other into an Ambush; but the Death of one Man com-
monly decides the Quarrel, that Side which has it him
retiring immediately. Their Arms are Pikes, but without
Hooks; their Bucklers are so large, that they shelter their
whole

whole Body; but their Swords short and broad. Besides which, they also make use of Knives, or Bayonets, like those of the *Japanese*. Sometimes certain Villages enter into a Confederacy against divers other Villages, in which case they don't choose a General, or any Commander in chief, but such among them as have acquired some Reputation of Courage, by having cut off some of their Enemies Heads, are followed by a certain Number of Volunteers, who go abroad in Parties, and surprize their Enemies.

They commonly engage in War against the Island of *Tugin*; the Inhabitants thereof are so suspicious, that they will not let a Foreigner or others set a Foot on Shore, not the *Chinese* themselves, who come thither to trade with them, but are forced to remain on Board their Vessels, whither these Islanders come to exchange Commodities with them. If they are so happy as to carry off an Enemy's Head, or perhaps only a Lock of his Hair, or a Pike, they carry it in Triumph, as a Sign of their Victory, appoint a publick Thanksgiving-day, sing Hymns, and offer Sacrifices to their Gods. He who has done the Exploit, is looked upon ever after as an extraordinary Man, has particular Reverence paid him by all the rest, and he preserves the Head, or Pike of his Enemy, as a most precious Relick in his Family, which they value beyond any Gold or Silver. No body here claims any Preference above another, more than what is allowed to Age. Each Village being governed by twelve Senators, chosen every two Years out of the most aged Persons, who are not invested with any other Power, or Authority, than that of calling together the whole Village in one of their Temples, and proposing to them what they think necessary to be done, namely, use of their Eloquence (of which they have sufficient Share bestowed upon them by Nature) to persuade the Chief of the Families there present, to a Compliance with what has been proposed to them, which they are at Liberty to accept of, or reject, according as they think fit.

The only Power those Senators are invested with, consists in this, that they see the Commands of their female Priests put in Execution, take care that Satisfaction may be given to such as are injured, not by any corporal Punishments, but by enjoining them to give a Piece of Cloth, Deer-skin, some Rice, or perhaps a Pot of strong Liquor, as an Attonement to their Adversaries; for those Magistrates have no Power to punish Murder, Theft, or Adultery. In the first case the Matter is commonly composed by the Mediation of the Relations on both Sides. If any one be robbed, he goes, accompanied by his friends, to the House of him who has stolen his Goods, and with their Assistance forces him to make an immediate Reparation; and what is agreed upon betwixt them, he carries away with him to his own House. In case of Adultery, the injured Husband goes, without any farther Ceremony, to the Dwelling-place of his Wife's Gallant, takes from him two or three pigs, in Satisfaction of the Affront put upon him. We told you before, that there is no Difference of Condition among them, which is so absolutely true, that the very Names of Masters and Servants are not so much as known among them. All the Respect they pay one to another is in regard to old Age, which is in so high Esteem among them, that a young Man meeting an old one, goes out of his Way, and turns his Back to him, till he is passed; nay, such is the Respect the young People shew to aged Persons, that they will not refuse them easily any thing they desire, tho' it should be to go three or four Leagues upon their Business. Men are forbidd to marry till they are at least twenty Years of Age. They don't let their Hair grow below their Ears till after Seventeen, and instead of Scissors, or Razors, make use of a Chopping-knife, with which they cut it upon a Piece of Wood. The Hair of their Beards they draw out with Brass Pins.

Males always let their Hair grow, and may marry as soon as they can. The Courtship is performed by the young Man sending the Relations, whom he lends to the young Woman's Relations, or Friends, to shew them that he is worthy to be loved upon his Mistress, which it is accepted of, or not, as he pleases, and he may commu-

mate the Marriage the next Day if he pleases. The Presents commonly offered to the Bride consist in some Silk or Calicoe Scarfs the Women wear round the Waiste; some Waistcoats, Bracelets of Cane, ten or twelve Rings of Deers Horn, four or five coarse Cloth Girdles, some little Vestments made of Dog's Hair; some *Chinese* Garments, a Bag of Dog's Hair, and four or five Pair of Stockings of Deer-skin, amounting perhaps in all to about 140 Crowns; the poorer sort are content with a Present of a few Bracelets, and two or three Garments, not amounting to above three or four Crowns. When the Marriage is to be consummated, the Bridegroom gets into his Mistress's Father's House by stealth, at Night, and without being seen by any body, and so creeps into her Bed. He continues thus for many Years after, always coming into the House at Night, and going thence in the Morning before Day-light, the Wife living all this while in the Father's House, till her Husband be forty Years of Age, and never see one another by Day, unless she happen to be at Home alone, or else in the Field. The Women are obliged not to bring any Children into the World till they are thirty-five, or thirty-six Years of Age, but destroy all their Children in the Womb, by causing one of their Priestesses to kneel upon their Bellies till they cause an Abortion.

As their Marriages are soon made, so they are as soon dissolved; for if they grow weary of one another, they may divorce; which Liberty is equally allowed to both Parties, with this Difference only, that if the Husband sends away his Wife without any Cause, she keeps the Presents he has given her before Marriage; but if for Adultery, or any other Affront offered to him, she is obliged to make Restitution. No Marriages are contracted among them within the fourth Degree of Consanguinity, or Affinity. Their Houses are generally large, and better built than is common in the *Indies*, with four Doors to each Quarter of the Heavens: Some have two Doors on a Side; they are commonly raised five or six Feet from the Ground, and three or four Stories high. Their Furniture consists in some wild Boars and Deers Heads, or some other Relicks, taken from their Enemies, are their chief Ornaments; the rest consists in Deer-skins, which they use instead of Feather-beds, certain Stuffs with which they cover themselves, a Spade, Pike, Bow, Arrows, a wooden Trough instead of our Dishes, or earthen Drinking-Cup, and a Pot to boil their Rice in, which is their ordinary Food, and this is all. Though they have no certain Days appointed for Devotion, yet they meet at set Times to make good Cheer, especially every Quarter, in their Temples, where the Women also appear in a very old Dress made of Dog's Hair; for here, instead of Wool, they cut off the Dog's Hair once a Year, and after they have dyed them red, make certain Stuffs of them, which they value as much as we do our crimson Velvets.

Their Ceremonies used after the Death of their Friends, are scarce to be paralleled in History; for no sooner any one dead, but by Beat of Drum, made of the Trunk of a great Tree, they give Notice thereof to the Village, upon which all the People repair immediately to the House of the deceased, and among the rest the Women, who they have plentifully drank of Arrack, fall to Dancing very slowly, upon great empty Chests, which make a terrible Noise, to express their Sorrow at the Departure of their deceased Friend. Eight or ten Women having thus danced for some Time, with their Backs turned to one another, they give Way to others, who continue the same Exercise, which lasts in all two Hours. The next Day Preparation is made for the funeral Rites, which are performed, either by burying, or burning the Corps, as other Nations do; but by drying it in the following Manner. They raise kind of a Scaffold of Canes, five or six Feet high, to which they fasten the Body by the Hands and Feet, and so dry it, by making a good Fire round about it, which continues whole Days; during which Time they sacrifice to the Gods, and feast upon the Flesh, washing the Body very clean. After the Expiration of the nine Days, they raise another Scaffold, wrapped in a Mat, and lay the Corps there, where it remains till the third Year, when they take out the Bones, and bury them in the same Hole, with the Bones.

if he pleases. The Bride consist in some Silk wear round the Waist; and, ten or twelve Rings of Gold; some *Chinese* Garlands four or five Pair of Ring perhaps in all to about content with a Prefence of Garments, not amounting. When the Marriage-groom gets into his Mitre, at Night, and without creeps into her Bed. He after, always coming into thence in the Morning, all this while in the Face forty Years of Age, and unless the happen to be old. The Women are ob- into the World till they of Age, but destroy all by causing one of their Belies till they cause an

made, so they are as soon- ary of one another, they equally allowed to both- ly, that if the Husband any Cause, the keeps the Marriage; but if for Adul- to him, he is obliged ages are contracted among of Consanguinity, or Amity large, and better built with four Doors to each- ne have two Doors on a- five or six Feet from the es high. Their Furniture d Deer Heads, or some r Enemies, are their chief Deer-skins, which they use Stuffs with which they, Bow, Arrows, a wooden or earthen Drinking-Cup, is, which is their ordinary they have no certain Day ey meet at set Times to- ry Quarter, in their re- appear in a very odd Dress instead of Wool, they cu- and after they have de- of them, which they value elvers.

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sence of their Friends, who make merry again with Feasting and Dancing.

They have scarce any Religion; for as they can neither write nor read, whatever they have of this kind is founded merely upon Tradition; hence it is that they believe the Eternity of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul, which they affirm shall find Good or Evil in the other Life, according to their Merits in this. What Actions are accounted amongst us the most criminal, are taken for slender Trespases among them, viz. Murder, Theft, and Adultery; for as for Fornication, it is not so much as looked upon as a Sin; and if a young Man can get a Fa- vour of his Neighbour's Wife, it is considered but as a ve- ry slight Offence, because they are not permitted to mar- ry till they are twenty, or twenty-one Years of Age. The greatest Crimes among them, and of which the Magis- trates take Notice, are to cover their privy Parts, at cer- tain Times of the Year, when they should not; to wear at certain Times silk Garments, when only Calicoe are al- lowed them, and not to destroy the Fruit in the Mother's Womb, before she arrives to the Age of thirty-five. A- mong several Deities, they have two that have the Prehe- minency over the rest, viz. one *Tamigafanbach*, and the other called *Sariabfingb*. The first, whose Residence they place in the South, is the Giver of all good and profitable things to Mankind; the other, unto whom they assign the North, they say, destroys all what the former is pleased to bestow on Man; for which Reason they worship both, one for doing them Good, the other, that he may do them no Harm.

They have amongst others two Gods named *Talafulas* and *Tapulape*, who, as they are accounted the Patrons of Warriors, are adored only by those Men. They have this Peculiar, that their religious Ceremonies are perform- ed by Women, which they call *Juibs*. Their Worship consists in Prayers and Sacrifices of Hogs, Arcas, Deer and Wild-Boars Heads, as also some of their Liquors. Al- ter they have feasted very well, the Priestesses rise, and muttering certain Prayers, turn up their Eyes, and at last fall to the Ground, with dreadful Cries. Sometime after they lie immoveable, like one in a Trance, for an Hour; during which Time they say, they have an Interview with their Gods. This being over, they climb up to the Top of the Temple, w k from one End to the other, and after they have said their Prayers again, strip themselves stark- naked, expose their naked Bodies, and wash them in the Prefence of all the Stenders-by, of both Sexes, tho' but few Men assist at this kind of Devotion, and the Women have generally taken so much strong Liquor, that they scarce perceive what passes. These *Juibs* also pretend to forestel things to come, and to banish the evil Spirits. For the rest, each Houle has a peculiar Place for the private De- votions of the Family, which are performed for the most Part by Women, who make Offerings to their Gods of what is spent every Day in the Houle, as they do upon certain Altars, erected for that Purpose upon the great Roads.

17. The *Chinese* Empire being of so vast an Extent, that a moderate Account of it would take up a large Vo- lume, we will content ourselves to give only a Scheme of it here, leaving a more ample Description to those who of late Years have had the Opportunity of taking a full View of it. It is certain, that this vast Kingdom of *Chi- na* (called *Catbay* by the *Tartars*, and *Clinghou*, or *Chun- gue*, i. e. middle Kingdom, by the *Chinese*) is the utmost Province of all *Asia* to the East, having beyond it no other Borders but the Sea, for this Reason called by the *Chinese* *Tung*, i. e. of the East. To the North its Fron- tiers extend all along the *Great Turiary*, from which it is divided by a Ridge of great Mountains; and where that fails, by the famous *Chunge* Wall, which begins upon the Coastlines of the Province of *Leatung*, and extends to the yellow River upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Tiber*, 300 *German* Leagues in Length to the West. It borders upon the Kingdoms of *Kieny* and *Bengal*, and to the S. and S. W. upon *Cochin-china*, and the Sea, comprehend- ing in its Length all the southern Parts betwixt the 130° and the 160°, making 1800 *Spanish* Leagues in Length, and three thousand in Circumfer-

It is divided into fifteen great Provinces, among which, six, viz. those of *Peking*, *Xanung*, *Kiangnan*, or *Nan- king*, *Cbekian*, *Tokien*, and *Quangtung*, extend along the Sea-side, the other nine being inland Provinces, five of which, viz. those of *Quangsi*, *Kiangsi*, *Huquang*, *Honan*, lie to the East, *Xamsi*, *Suehuan*, *Queeban*, and *Juanan*, to the West. The Provinces of *Leatung*, and *Corea*, which are on the East-side, don't properly belong to *China*; all which con- tain one hundred and forty-five great Cities, and 1263 others, which would pass for considerable Cities elsewhere. Their Cities are for the most Part built after the same Fa- shion, square, with two large Streets, dividing the whole into four Quarters, like a perfect Cross; so that from the Centre of each Place you may view the four Gates of it. They are fortified with broad brick Walls, and flanked with Towers, after the ancient *Roman* Fashion, plaistered over with the same Earth they make their Porcelain of, which in Time grows as hard as Stone, and preserves the Walls against the Injury of the Air. It has been com- puted, that some of them have stood 2000 Years, without any considerable Change. Their Houses are very neatly and conveniently built, with Gardens, Orchards, Groves, Fountains, and all other Conveniences and Ornaments, their Architecture exceeding that of the best Masters of *Europe*. They are of all Nations of the World the most careful in Paving, and keeping their Highways, and pro- viding all Necessaries for the Accommodation of Travel- lers throughout.

The whole Empire, is of so vast an Extent, that the Inhabitants of the Province of *Quangtung* lying on the torrid Zone, are as black as the *African Moors*, whereas those of the Province of *Peking*, which is most northerly, are as white as the *Germans*; which Difference is also ob- servable in their Fruits, the southern Provinces producing all such Fruits as the *Indies* afford, whereas the more norther- ly Parts have plenty of *European* Fruits. Besides this, *China* abounds in Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Musk, Silk, Salt, rich Gums, and Drugs, Rice, and Corn, for most of which they are beholden to Nature; yet mult it be withal confessed, that the Industry of the Inhabitants, and the easy Government they live under, is a vast Addi- tion to what they are obliged to Nature for, there being not a Fen, Marsh, nay, not a Mountain, but what is plant- ed, cultivated, or put to some use or other, no Crime be- ing more heinous in *China* than Idleness. The Country of *China* does not only produce all sorts of living Crea- tures, but also all the Fruits and Simples we have in *Eu- rope*, but much better, and in greater Plenty, and are consequently sold at a very cheap Rate; nay, even Spices are so cheap here, that you may buy four hundred Nut- megs for a Crown, and two Pounds of Cloves for Half-a- Crown; and the vast Quantities of Silk it produces, may be guessed at from what is exported thence into foreign Countries. As the Country is full of Rivers, so they abound in Fish, which they catch by the Help of Cormo- rants, of which they have vast Numbers here. They tie a String round their Necks, above their Stomachs, so that after they have filled their Bags, which hang under their Throats, with Fish, they are forced to disgorge what they have taken, into the Boat, unto which they are fastened.

They have also a peculiar Way of breeding Ducks, in prodigious Quantities; of these they keep three or four thousand in Cages of Canes, set at the Sterns of great Boats, and let them out every Day to go ashore, and pick the Weeds from amongst the Rice, and towards Evening, call them to their Cages by a Whistle, the Sound of which brings them back to the very Boat unto which they be- long. Their Duck Eggs they hatch in Dung, and after- wards put the young ones under the Wings of the old Duck in the Cages: This Way of Breeding makes them so cheap, that they sell five or six for Two Pence.

The *Chinese* Women are generally well-shaped, and of a good Size; but the Men are flat-nosed, with large Fac- ces, small Eyes, and very little or no Beard. They cut not either their Hair, or their Nails, on the left Side. Their Cloathing is altogether of the same Fashion, with this Difference only, that in the northern Provinces they wear the Furs, whereas in the southern Parts they commonly wear

wear silk. The Women are very magnificent in their Apparel, and wear abundance of Jewels and Pearls. They are very remarkable for their little Feet. They seldom appear Abroad, and when ever they visit their Relations, it is done in close *Palanquins*, or Litters. The *Chinese* are so quick, not only in all sorts of Manufactures, but also in their Way of Trading, that scarce any body is able to over-reach them. Their Money is Gold and Silver, which passes altogether by Weight. They are so careful in providing for the Poor, that in each City a Judge is appointed to provide for the Relief of such as are unable to provide for themselves, and to set to work such as are in a Capacity to get their Bread.

As there are Books extant in *China*, which have been printed above seven hundred Years ago, it is certain that they invented the Mystery of Printing before us, since it was not discovered in *Europe* till 1450. Their Characters are rather Figures, signifying certain Words than Letters, which they write from the Top downwards, not with Pens, but with Pencils, and that on one Side only, their Paper, which they make of the Bark of *Bamboo* Canes, being very thin. The Emperor maintains at his own Charge many Schools and Academies, the oversight of which is committed to Visitors, who, at certain Times, not only examine the Professors and Scholars, and expel such as are not qualified for Studies, but also promote such as have made a sufficient Progress in Learning, to the Degree of a *Littérateur*, a Dignity like our Doctors. They are very ceremonious and obliging in their Conversation, in which Point they are so nice, that the first Rudiments of Learning given to their Youths, are certain Books of Compliments. Their Entertainments are very magnificent, in which they have this peculiar, that they set as many Tables as they have Guests. Their Meats are served up either in Plates, or Porcelain. They have small Cups, because they drink often, but no Napkins, and they frequently send Home to their Guests what Meats are left untouched upon the Tables, and are especially careful in entertaining Ambassadors with more than ordinary Respect.

They allow Polygamy, but punish severely Incest, which is forbidden in a direct Line to Infinity, and in the Collateral Line to Sisters and Nieces. The first, however, is the only lawful Wife, whose eldest Son inherits half of the Estate of his Father; but on his Demise, the eldest Son of the next Wife has the same Pre-eminence. Adultery, though it be a capital Crime here, yet is seldom heard of, partly by reason of the great Restraint the Women are kept under, partly because the *Chinese* are so wise, as rather to make the best of such an Accident, by an advantageous Agreement, than to expose themselves, by publishing their own Disgrace. Though the Government of *China* be not only monarchical, but also despotical, yet it is observed, that even in those Nations which enjoy the greatest Degree of Liberty in *Europe*, are much more burthened with Taxes than the *Chinese*, which chiefly proceeds from this fundamental Maxim imprinted in their Kings, that as War is destructive, and the chief means to impoverish a Nation, they ought not to enter upon it, in order to extend the Limits, or make any Conquests; for which Reason it is, that, to avoid all Occasion of Contest with Foreigners, the *Chinese* are forbidden to go out of the Kingdom without Licence from the Emperor, or the Governor of the Province where they dwell.

The eldest Son always succeeds the Father in the Throne, the youngest Sons having only certain Appanages, with the Titles of Kings allowed them; but have not the least Share in the Administration of the Government, being under the Jurisdiction, or rather Inspection of the Governor of the Province where they reside, who pays them their annual stipend. The chief Council of State consists of twelve Counsellors, and a President; besides which, there are in each of the great Cities six Commissioners. The first for the Administration of Justice; the second for the Revenues; the third for the Ceremonies; the fourth for the Affairs; the fifth for surveying the publick Structures; and the sixth for Criminal Cases. To prevent the Mismanagement of the Governors, and the Corruption of Judges and other Officers, the King sends every three Years certain Visitors into the Provinces, who, after having taken

an Account of their Transactions, make a faithful Report to the King, who changes the Officers of the Province every three Years, with this Circumspection, that so as never any Officer of Note is sent but into a Province remote from the Place of his Birth. Debtors are punished by most cruel Drubbings, which makes them rather chuse to sell themselves to their Creditors, than to undergo this kind of Punishment.

The Prisons, wherewith all the great Cities are provided, are very strictly kept; but at the same time want not any Conveniences, such as Courts, Gardens, Ponds, Walks, &c. for the Divertissement of the Prisoners, and Drinking-houses, and Cooks Shops, for their Conveniences. No Sentence of Death is executed without a Warrant from the Emperor, and this must be done in the Presence of the Judge, who are so nice in this Point, that they allow a very considerable Time betwixt the Condemnation and Execution, make divers Visits to the Prisoners, and examine them whether they have any thing to alledge in their Behalf; by which Delays it happens, that more Malefactors die in Prison than are executed. Their ordinary Punishments are Hanging, Impaling, and Burning alive; but the last is only in Cases of High-Treason. Thieves they lay upon their Bellies with their Hands tied back, and so the Executioners beat them with Canes moistened with Water upon the Call of their Legs, with such Violence, that they frequently expire under their Hands.

The *Chinese* are Pagans, though some Authors have taken a great deal of Pains to persuade the World that they found some Remnants of Christianity among them, which they say we introduced there by the Apostle *St. Thomas*. They acknowledge the Heavens for the Creator and chief Governor of the Universe, which is managed by a Vicegerent called *Laysan Tzauirey*, unto whom they pay the greatest Veneration next to the Sun. The next Divinity is called *Cansay*, unto whom they attribute the Government of all subunary Things. They allot to these three Divinities as many great Ministers, viz. *Tanquam*, who presides over the Air; *Tziquam*, whose Business it is to look after the Generation of Men, and all living Creatures, as well as the Products of the Earth, and *Yziquam*, the chief Patron of the Sea. They have also three famous Saints; the first called *Siebia*, Founder of all the religious Orders of both Sexes, of which there are great Numbers in *China*; the other two are Females, called *Quamina* and *Noma*. The *Chinese* are also much addicted to Incantation, and adore the Devil. They believe the Immortality of the Soul, which is communicated to it by Heaven, and that it shall either enjoy eternal Felicity or Torments, according to the good or bad Actions done in this World; for which Reason it is that they assign a certain Place of Abode not unlike Purgatory to the Soul, after its Departure from the Body. There it is purged from its Sins, and, by the Intercession of its Relations and Friends, may be eased in its Sufferings. Many of them also adhere to the Opinion of the Transmigration of the Soul, which they derive from the *Indians*.

Their Orders of religious Men have one General residing in the City of *Xuntion*, who has under him several Provincials, and these under them the Superiors and Guardians of their respective Monasteries. They make use of Beads, and keep to their constant Mattins and Offices, not unlike the Monks in *Europe*. The eldest Sons amongst the *Chinese* are not permitted to enter into religious Orders, and such as have, may quit them at Pleasure, and marry, as may all the rest, who have embraced a monastick Life. As to their Funeral Rites, the *Chinese* wash the dead Bodies, put them in a Coffin of sweet Wood well cloied, and to keep them upon a Table fifteen Days; during which Time the Priests, who come there to sing and pray over the Dead, are feasted with Wine and Meat; their Business it is to tell them after the Expiration of these fifteen Days, which is commonly done in the Country, near a Pine-tree, and if that be not to be found, they plant one on purpose. Their Mourning is very close, in coarse Cloth, and Hats, with a Cord tied about their Middle: Sons continue this for two Years, and the other Relations proportionably.

The first time the *Tartars* broke through the *Chinese* Wall was in 1206, when they made themselves Masters of all the Country, and remained in Possession of it till 1260.

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when they were not only forced from thence, but also
obliged to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Emperor
of *China*. About the Year 1600, seven powerful Colonies
of the *Tartars* were joined into one Kingdom under the
Name of *Ninche*, whose King entered *China*, in 1616, with
a powerful Army. Many bloody Engagements happened
among the *Chinese* and *Tartars*, especially in 1618, 1619,
1620, 1625, 1627, till at last in 1630, the *Tartars* were once
more forced to quit the Possession of *China*, and to con-
tent themselves with making Incursions, as they found Op-
portunity. But in 1641 no less than eight Armies of Rob-
bers appearing at once in the *Chinese* Empire, and the
Grandees being divided into Factions, some of them called
in the *Tartars* to their Aid, and at last betrayed the capital
City and the Emperor to them, who was strangled in
1644. Upon which the *Tartars*, having spent some Years
in reducing other Provinces, they made themselves abso-
lute Masters of the whole Empire by the Conquest of the
City of *Quangchen*, in the Province of *Quangh*, Nov. 14,
1650. But it is now Time to proceed with our Voyage
regularly and circumstantially.

18. We told you how we were becalmed in the Sight
of the Isle of *Ceylon*, where we continued till the 20th of
February, when the North-West Wind obliged us to steer
our Course to the South-East. We found ourselves then
2° beyond the Equinoctial Line. I took this Opportunity
to ask the Master of the Ship, whether (according to the
vulgar Opinion) I might discover both the Poles here; but
he sufficiently convinced me, that the Arctick Pole was not
to be seen till about six Degrees, and the Antartick not
till eight beyond the Line, and that when you come to
8 or 10° the North-West Wind reigns there constantly for
six Months, as the South-East does the other Months of
the Year. We saw abundance of Birds, some white like
Pigeons, others like Wild-ducks, and vast Quantities of
certain Birds, called by the *Portuguese*, *Gorayos*, being
black and white, but larger than our Magpies. Their
Tails are divided like a Pair of Taylor's Sheers: All these
live upon the flying Fish, who, to avoid the Pursuit of the
Albicors, *Bonitos*, and *Dorados*, betake themselves to the
Air. The *Albicors* are white, and without Scales, and
so are the *Bonitos*; but the first exceed the others in Big-
ness, and have but one Bone from the Head to the Tail,
but are not extraordinary Meat. The *Dorado* is like a
Salmon, but more delicious, and has smaller Scales. We
also took a Sea-Hog (so called from its Snout, which is
like that of a Pig) which is seen in great Shoals near the
Vessel, are looked upon by the Seamen as the Forerunners
of a Storm, which may naturally be accounted for.

The *Dutch*, in their first Voyage into those Parts, opened
one of these Fish, and found a great deal of Fat, and a
young Pig in the Belly of it. There is another great Fish
in those Seas called *Haves* by the *Dutch*, and Shark by the
English; their Teeth are very close and sharp, and as they
delight in Man's Flesh, it often happens, that they snatch
a Lamb of any unwary Seaman. Their Mouth being be-
low their Heads, they lie upon their Backs when they are
to catch a Prey. That we took had the Heart in the
Head, and lived a good while after it was riken. Their
Flesh is not fit to be eaten. There are also abundance of
that sort of Fish hereabouts, called by the *Portuguese* *Pa-
supurco*, because they make a Noise like Pigs, and are of
the Bigness of a Bream. Tortoises (the Meat of which
as fine as Veal) are in such Plenty here, that the Sea-
men draw them, at Pleasure, into the Ship with Hooks.
February the 21st we found ourselves in 1° 20' of the Line,
with very rainy and uncomfortable Weather, which is common
hereabouts. On the 23d one of our Seamen died of the
Pox; the 25th we were becalmed; but the next Night
there arose a Tempest, which made us continually upon
our Guard, for fear of the *Travados*, or Whirl-winds,
which are so sudden here, that the Seamen have scarce
leisure to furl their Sails. We could not make any Obser-
vation by the Sun till the 5th of *March*, when we were in
8° 6' Latitude, and on the 10th in 10° 14', the Wind
at West.

The 12th and 13th it blew a great Storm, with Thun-
der and Lightning; but what most surprized us was, that
though we were in 13°, we found not the least Effects of
Numb. I. IV.

the Monsoon, or ordinary Wind of the Season, which is
commonly perceived at 8 or 9°, the South Wind blowing
so hard, that we were in fear of being forced back to the
Indian Coast. It was not till *March* the 15th, that we
found the Wind changed to the South, when putting out
all our Sail, we made two Leagues in an Hour, and took
several Dolphins that swam near our Ship. On the 20th
we were becalmed in 16°, where we found the Compass
decline 30' to the West, and so it continued till the 24th;
but as soon as the *Cape of Good-Hope* is doubled, the Load-
stone draws towards the East. As we were floating thus
up and down the 21st of *March*, our Ship took Fire, by
the Carelessness of the Butler, who set Fire to a Barrel of
Aqua Vita, as he was removing it. Our fresh Water be-
ginning to be scarce, we made use of an Engine to draw
fresh Water out of the Sea; but its Taste being somewhat
nauseous, it served only for the dressing of Meat.

On the 22d we made, by the Help of the Monsoon
Winds, two Leagues an Hour, which continued the 23d,
24th, and 25th. On the 26th the Wind held still fair;
but, for fear of a Change, and Want of fresh Water, was
resolved to direct our Course to *Maurice* Island, to take in
Refreshments there. We discovered the same Night the
Isle of *Diego Rodriguez* in 20° 48', which lies sixty Leagues
from the said Island of *Maurice*, so called by the *Dutch*
from the Prince of *Orange*, who was Admiral of the United
Provinces at the Time of their first Voyage to the *Indies*.
Its Harbour is very spacious, being able to contain fifty large
Vessels, and commodious, by reason of its Depth, which is
a hundred Fathom at the Entrance. The high Mountains,
which are covered with Trees, may be seen at a great Dis-
tance at Sea. The Vallies produce some Fruit, and abun-
dance of other Trees, some of which are those that afford
the best Ebony in the World, black, red, and yellow;
but the two last are in the greatest Esteem, and the Sea
abounds in Fish. The *Dutch* in their Relations speak of a
Thornback they caught near this Isle, which found two
good M-eals for the whole Ship, and Tortoises of such a
Bigness, that ten Men might sit on one Shell. The Isle
was quite destitute of Inhabitants at that Time; but since
1610, the *Dutch* have erected a Fort there. It abounds
in Birds; but is destitute of four-footed Beasts; but as for
Fruits and Water, it affords sufficient Refreshment to Ships
that are passing that Way.

The Wind continuing fair when we came within Sight
of this Island, a Council was called, in which it was
agreed not to lose any Time by putting into this Land,
but to continue our Voyage, with all possible Speed, to
the *Cape of Good-Hope*, to avoid the Danger of being
obliged to winter in the Island of *Madagascar*. Accord-
ingly we lost Sight of this Isle the same Day, and passed
the Tropick of Capricorn *March* the 30th, steering our
Course West-South-West. *April* the 1st we found our-
selves in 26° 3', and after having made forty Leagues, were
becalmed before Night. We saw the next Day divers
Whales, and the Weather becoming very stormy, carried
us to the West-South-West, our Business being to steer to
the South, and consequently to the *Cape of Good-Hope*. On
the 5th the Compass still varying, we held our Course still
to the West, and though we had not much Wind, made
seventy-three Leagues in these two Days from the 9th,
(when we were about three hundred Leagues from the
Cape) we advanced tolerably well, but the 15th it blew
very hard, and those Birds, called by the *Portuguese* *Pin-
tados*, which keep within forty Leagues of the Land, and
several other Birds, came near our Ship. On the sixteenth
these Signs persuaded our Seamen that we were not far from
the Shore; the 17th we continued our Voyage with a fresh
Gale; but the 18th and 19th we had scarce any Wind,
thro' the Roughness of the Sea, which proved an infallible
Omen of the Tempest that overtook us the same Night
from the South-West in 33° Latitude. As these Storms
are unavoidable about the *Cape of Good-Hope*, we took in
our Sails.

On the 20th, perceiving the Water somewhat more in-
clinable to white than before, and a great many Sea-mews,
called *Mangas de Vaudo* by the *Portuguese*, round our Ships,
we concluded that there was Ground within an hundred,
or an hundred and fifty Fathom, and, upon Trial, found

it at eighty Fathom. We saw also the same Day abundance of Black-Birds, with a small Spot of white on their Breasts: These, according to the Opinion of the *English* Seamen, always forebode a Tempest, which proved true; for, before Night, a Storm arose from the W. N. W. with a very rough Sea, which took our Course to the Deck, but he was saved by Means of a Rope. The Ground, which stuck to the Plummet, being black at eighty fathom Depth, we concluded we were not far from the Cape *d'Agulhas*, which is fifty Leagues distant from that of *Good-Hope*. The 25th the Tempest encreasing in 30° 20' beyond the Line, we were in great Danger of being lost, being forced by the Currents towards the Shore; but the Tempest being somewhat allayed, we escaped the Danger, but were soon after threatened by another, occasioned by a Lamp in the President's Room, which had set Fire to the Waincoat. The 26th the Storm continued till two in the Afternoon, when the Pelicupoos coming in great Numbers about our Ships, were the Forerunners of fair Weather, and the N. W. Wind which ensued. On the 27th, in the Morning, it was calm; but, in the Afternoon, we made two Leagues an Hour with a N. W. Wind, taking our Course to the N. N. W. As we saw that Day abundance of Trombas, or a kind of Canes, three or four Foot long, and of the Bigness of a Man's Arm, which float upon the Water, and are met with no where but near this Cape, we concluded that we were not far from the Cape of *Good-Hope*; and the 28th discovering the Coast from N. to W. some thought it had been the Cape; but finding Ground at forty Fathom, and in 34° 40', we were soon convinced it must be the Cape *d'Agulhas*.

The 29th the Wind turning S. E. we steered our Course N. W. along the Coast, and the Wind turning to the N. W. we could advance but a little: We then found ourselves in 34° 27', and consequently twenty-four Leagues from Cape *d'Agulhas*. On the 30th the Wind continued against us; but the next Day the Wind turning to the N. E. by E. we sailed along the Coast, and, at last discovered the high Shore, known by the Name of *Cabo Falso* (because it resembles a Promontory) within seven Leagues of the Cape of *Good-Hope*. May the 2d the N. E. Wind continued, we got Sight of the Cape of *Good-Hope*; but soon after turning about to the N. W. we could not get into the Bay, so were forced to stand out to Sea, steering our Course to the South. The 2d the Wind still at N. W. brought along with it a most furious Tempest, notwithstanding which we made the best of our Way to the Coast; the 4th doubled one of the Points of the Cape of *Good-Hope*. Ten Leagues distant from the Bay we discovered the Mountain, called by the *Dutch* the *Little-Mountain*, from its Flattish and square Figure, in 34° 4', within fifteen Leagues of the Cape. Our Intention was to have got in there, but the Wind proving contrary, we kept along the Coast as well as we could: But the 5th, at Sun-rising, we were out of Sight of the Shore, which made us change our Course to the N. E. so that we discovered Land again at Noon, and in two Hours after, by putting the Lile of *St. Elizabeth*, got into the Bay by Night, where we cast Anchor at seven Fathom Water.

19. This Cape of the Continent of *Africa*, extending to the South into the Sea, in 36° beyond the Line, received the Name of *Cabo de Boa Esperanza* in 1493, from John H. King of *Portugal*, when the *Portuguese* first went in Quest of the Passage by Sea to the *Indies*, lying as it were at a nearer Distance of about 200 Leagues, betwixt *Europe* and the most Eastern Coasts of the *Indies*; ever since which Time this has been the Place where Ships bound to those Parts, take in their Refreshments, Water being very excellent here, and Cattle very cheap, their Oxen being very large, with Bunches on their Backs like those of the *Indies*, and their Sheep very good, with long hanging Ears, and Tails as big and weighty as a good Quarter of Mutton: Neither do they want Wild-Fowl, Deer, Wild Boars, Partridge, Quails, and, among the rest, a kind of Geese, with bumps instead of Wings, but their Flesh is not eatable. They have also Dogs, or rather Sea-Bears, Cats, Tigers, Lions and Lynxes. The *Dutch* are used to leave Letters here under a certain Stone near the Harbour, acquainting their Countrymen that come after them, with all the most useful Passages in

their Voyages, and what Course they intended to steer. The Inhabitants are savage, uncouth, and ill-shap'd. They grease their Bodies with Train-Oil, and eat raw Flesh raw; nay, they seldom kill any Beast, but eat upon them when they die of any Disease. Both Men and Women go naked, covering their privy Parts only with a Piece of Skin fastened round their Waist with a Cord, Girdle; some wrap a Lion's Skin, or Ox Hide, round their Buttocks, drawing their Tail between their Legs: Some wear them over their Shoulders down to their Waist, exposing all the rest to publick View, and disfiguring their Arms, Thighs, and Legs, by making Characters in them by way of Incision. The Women adorn their Arms and Legs with broad Rings of Iron or Brass. Those living farther up in the Country are no less savage than the rest, with this Difference only, that they live a little better; those near the Sea-side living upon Oysters, Fish, and especially Whales; for they know not what Husbandry is, though their Grounds are excellent. They live in the same Huts with their Cattle, and scarce ever come to the Sea shore, except when upon the Arrival of foreign Ships, they are to truck their Commodities, which are Ox-hides, Lions, Leopards, Tigers Skins, and Ottrichs Feathers, for Knives, Looking-Glasses, Nails, Hammers, and Pieces of Iron. They know not what Religion is, both God and the Devil being equally beyond their Comprehension.

On the 10th we were ready to set sail again for the Bay; but the Wind proving contrary, we did not go to Sea till the 12th, with a N. E. Wind, steering our Course to the West; but the Wind varying that Day to the Point of the Points of the Compass, we could not get out of Sight of the Coast, and at Night were surprized by a Tempest, which continued till the 17th with such Violence that our Ship had much ado to resist it. The 18th the Sky began to clear up, and the Fury of the Wind being allayed, we found ourselves in 34° 40'; whence we conjectured that the Tempest had forced us back 25 or 30 Leagues, between *Cabo Falso*, and the Cape of *Good-Hope*. The Night following, there arose such a dreadful Hurricane that we gave ourselves over for lost, being by the contrary Winds forced to Sea. The 19th were not much better; and the 20th we found but little Alteration, though we hoped for some from the Change of the Moon, which happened that Day; but the Storm continued till the 22d, when the Rains having somewhat abated the Fury of the Winds, we made use of our Sails, steering our Course to the West, as well as we could. On the 23d we were becalmed in Sight of the Coast to the N. E. of us, and finding ourselves in 37° 6', we supposed ourselves on the Coast between *Cabo Falso* and that of *Agulhas*; but another Tempest arising the same Evening from the W. N. W. we were forced out again to Sea.

The 24th the Wind held still contrary, which grew tempestuous at Night. The 25th in 36° Lat. we flex'd our Course with a W. Wind to the S. The 26th the Wind blowing N. E. we made all the Sail we could to the W. but in the Evening the Wind turning to the N. W. brought along with it a most violent Storm, which continued the 28th and 29th; so on the 30th it was resolv'd, that seeing our Ships were not in a Condition to prosecute the Voyage to *England* without manifest Danger, to put into the Isle of *Madagascar*: Pursuant to this Resolution, we tack'd about at two in the Afternoon, in stormy Weather, and a very rough Sea, which continued the next Day till about Noon. June the 1st we made forty Leagues in twenty-four Hours, with a West-Wind, steering our Course to the East. The 2d, about eleven at Night, the Wind veering about to the S. S. E. the bell Wind we could with for the Prosecution of our Voyage to *England*, we resolv'd to return to the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and to take in fresh Water at the Isle of *St. Helen*. The third we got with the same Wind to 35° 8'. On the 4th the abundance of Birds, called *Mangas de Voladores*, and the Trombas or Canes, floating upon the Sea, gave us great Hopes that we were not far from the Cape of *Good-Hope*.

The 6th we were becalmed at forty-three, forty-eight, fifty-four, and sixty-three Fathom Water, and in the Evening the Wind was N. W. but turned the 7th to the W. which, by Night, turned to a violent Storm, and continued the 8th till Midnight, when coming about to the N. we took our Course to the N. W. The 9th the

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Winds being much abated, we found ourselves in 35° 30' elev'n; but in the Afternoon, we were surprized by another Tempest, which putting us in imminent Danger of running upon the Shore, the Master of the Ship, who hitherto had been the chief Instrument of our turning this Way, seeing him under the Necessity of changing his Resolution, declared, that there was no other Way left to save the Ship, than to endeavour to put in at *Madagafcar*; accordingly we changed our Course the 11th with fair Weather; but, about Midnight, were overtaken by another dreadful Storm, which lasted the 12th, 13th, and 14th. It ceased the 15th, and the Wind being W. N. W. we sailed 33 Leagues in 24 Hours, to the N. E. The 23d at Break of Day, we descried an *English* Vessel, bound to the *East-Indies*, Captain *Hall* Commander, Burthen 500 Tuns, and it was resolv'd that we should make jointly all the Sail we could for *Madagafcar*, Captain *Hall's* Ship being much less than ours, with a S. E. Wind.

The first of *July* he was got out of Sight, and the same Evening we discovered the Coast of *Madagafcar*, so that we were forced to keep continual Watch all the Night, for fear we might come too near the Coast, which is very rocky and dangerous, especially on the Point of the Isle, or might go beyond it, it being almost impossible to make the Bay, if you pass beyond the true Altitude. The second we arriv'd in the Bay of *St. Augustin*, where there is no Bottom till within a Mile of the Shore, where we cast Anchor at twenty-five Fathom Water. The Day after our Arrival, having escap'd so many Dangers, our joy was redoubled by meeting here, besides Captain *Hall's* Ship, an *English East-Indian*, called the *London*, Burthen 1400 Tuns, commanded by Captain *Willes*, bound for *England*. The third the Captains of these Ships came on Board ours, to consult the best Methods to prevent the being impos'd upon by the Inhabitants, in the trucking of what Commodities they had, for their Cattle; accordingly, these Commodities being produced by joint Consent, and committed to the Management of the three Supercargoes, they bought, or rather exchanged every Day four Oxen for forty Pair of brass Bracelets, a Sheep for two, and a Calf for three Pair; and for a brass Ring of ten or twelve Inches about, a fat Ox, worth six or seven Pounds in *England*. The fourth the President and the two Captains went up the River to discover what Cattle was coming down towards the Bay. The sixth the President treated the two Captains and all the Officers of the three Ships aboard ours, and Captain *Willes* did the same some Days after. The 14th Captain *Hall* prosecuted his Voyage to the *East-Indies*, as Captain *Willes* did two Days after for *England*, having supplied us with what we stood in need of for the Prosecution of our Voyage.

The twenty-first a certain Tent with Huts being set up for the President and Soldiers near the Sea-side, he took up his Lodgings there. About four Leagues from the Harbour, liv'd a certain Lord, who had three Sons, the Eldest of whom was named *Maffar*: They came all three to pay us a Visit, with a Retinue of one hundred Persons, well armed with Javelins, bringing along with them three hundred Oxen, besides some Sheep, Goats, Poultry, Citrons, and Oranges, in order to exchange them for some of our Toys. After having made a little Halt, the eldest of the three Brothers presented the President with twelve Goats, and his two Wives, each with a fat Capon; in return of which, the President made a Present of three Strings of glass Coral to himself, two to each Brother, and a Bracelet to each of his Wives, which they seem'd to value at a great Rate. After having fix'd a great Pole in the Ground, as a Token of the Amity they intended to preserve with us, which they desired us to maintain also on our Side, they told us, or rather truck'd with us for ten fat Oxen, some Sheep, and Poultry; and, amongst the rest, we had a fat Sheep, the Tail of which weigh'd twenty, or twenty-four Pounds, for seven or eight Grains of Coral, or Agat, and a Capon for three or four Grains of counterfeit Coral. We staid here six Weeks, which was spent for the most Part in shooting at Buts, and Fishing with Angle-rods. We had great Store of Fish, and among the rest Oysters, as large and delicious as any in *England*. From the fifth to the eighth of *August* we saw

such prodigious Numbers of Grasshoppers as darkened the Skies, but one small Shower of Rain dispersed them all.

The Inhabitants eat them. The Isle of *Madagafcar*, called the Isle of *St. Laurence* by the *French*, lies in the torrid Zone, extending from North to South from the 10° to the 26°. Its Length being one hundred and fifty, and Breadth one hundred and eighty Leagues, and consequently one of the greatest Islands in the World. It has the Conveniency of diverse good Harbours, such as the Bay of *St. Augustin*, where we lay at Anchor, *St. Jago*, *Zimem*, *Gil*, *Antipera*, *St. Julian's*, *St. Mary's*, *St. Sebastian*, *St. Romanus*, and *Mamatenga*. Most of their Mountains are covered with Orange and Citron Trees, and the Rocks themselves are a pure white Marble, from whence spring the clearest Fountains in the known World. They have also Ebony, and Date Trees, and a certain kind not unlike the *Brasil* Wood, of which they make their Darts and Lances. These Trees shelter vast Numbers of Ayes and Birds, and among the rest, a kind of Poultry, resembling our Turkeys, being black all over the Bodies, with little white Spots. Their Heads are of a Mixture of blue and red, with yellow Horns on their Foreheads. They feed by Hundreds together in the Woods. Here you meet also with that Gum called *Dragon's-blood*, which they draw out of the Flower of a Tree no bigger than our common Pear-trees, but more Branchy, and not so full of Leaves, which are longer, but not so broad as those of the Laurel.

This Isle also produces some Aloes, but not so good as that of the Island of *Socotra*. They have also Cotton, and some Indigo, but they understand not reducing it into Paste, as the *Indians* and *Indians* do. As they don't apply themselves to Tillage, except it be for a little Rice, Beans, Pumpions, and Melons, so they abound in most excellent Pasture, and consequently in Cattle, in which their chief Riches consist. They have also Citron and Orange-trees, which bear Fruit twice a Year, Date-trees, Cocoa-trees, and Bananas; and there is scarce a House but has it owns Bee-hives; for tho' they are ignorant as yet of the Advantages of making Honey and Wax, they make a certain Drink of it, with the Addition of Rice, which serves them instead of Wine. It yields also a Salt, and Salt-petre, and near the Sea-side Ambergreese. Some will have it to be rich in gold and Silver Mines, but as the Inhabitants value Tin beyond those Metals, they neglect to search after them.

The Isle is very full of Inhabitants, who are well-shaped, for the most Part Negroes; they wear no other Garments but a Piece of printed Calicoe, which they wrap about their Middle, so that one Piece of it hangs down before to the Knee, the other to the Ham, except the little Houfles of their Princes, which are of Wood. Their Huts are only made of the Branches of Trees, wherein they have no other Beds or Quilts, but some few Mats to lie upon. They used to make their Fires round about them, to disperse the Vapours which are very pernicious here. Their chief Ornaments are certain Strings of Glass-beads of different Colours round the Waffe, and Bracelets of the same about their Necks, Arms, and Legs. Both Sexes have Holes in their Ears, in which they put large copper, or brass Rings. They have all black Hair, some very much curled, others not, but it is seldom very long; notwithstanding which they tie it up in several Tresses. There is no considerable Difference betwixt the Cloathing of the Men and Women; the last wear sometimes a sleeveless Coat, and the Calicoe which covers their middle Parts is somewhat longer than those of the Men.

The Women are very famous for their Fidelity to their Husbands, who place so great a value upon them, that they will scarce undertake any thing of Moment without their Advice. They have two Wives at least, each of which hath her peculiar Hut, and tho' the Husband is very compliant with both, the eldest of the two always claims the Preference. They purchase their Wives from their Parents, or Relations, for some Oxen, Pikes, Darts, or other Arms. Adultery and Fornication are capital; but as there is no Familiarity so great, which is able to raise a Jealousy in them, those things are scarce ever heard of. Some of their young Women came very frankly in-
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to our Tent, unto one of whom the President presented one of my Shirts, desiring her to wear it for my Sake. She made not the least Difficulty to receive it, and wore it two Days, after which, she tore it to Pieces, for some other use. Their Men are brave, addicted to martial Exercises, and very dextrous in the Management of their Lances, Darts, and Pikes, which always lie near them, even when they are at work in the Field, being trained up to the use of Arms in their Infancy: Persons of Note seldom stir abroad without having twenty-five or thirty Darts, or small Pikes, carried after them, tied up in a Bundle. Their Bows are four or five Feet long, and the Strings loose. They have a slight of Shooting with great Strength and Activity, and as to their Javelins, they dart them with so miraculous a Dexterity, that they will hit a Bird at forty Paces Distance.

They are divided into several Tribes, or Clans of one hundred, two hundred, or three hundred, each under his own Lord, whom they call *Tschick*. Two of these had their Residence in a Wood not far from our Tent. Their Wars among themselves are commonly occasioned by the want of Pasturage for their Cattle, and the Prince *Massar* told us, that he had joined with two neighbouring Lords, and that they intended to attack some on the other Side the Mountains with five hundred Men, to drive them from their Pasture Grounds, which they stood in need of for their Cattle. This Dignity is not Hereditary, but they govern, whilst they are in the Possession of it, with an absolute Authority. It is not easily determined what Religion they profess. As far as I was able to learn, they believe one God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, who will reward their good, and punish their bad Actions. I remember I saw one among them, whom I supposed to be their Priest, getting up on a Tree, and making his Oration to the People; but as I had not the least Knowledge of their Language, I could not be satisfied of what he said, neither what Difference there was in the outward Appearance of their Priests and Laicks, except that I observed some of them to carry a Piece of a Cow's Tail at the End of a Cane; and I saw one whose Nails on the two Fore-fingers of his Righthand, were as long as the Talons of an Eagle. Each Tribe has its own Priest, who pretends also to Incantations.

21. The Isle of *Mozambique* is not above half a League from the Continent of *Africa*, and remain in the Possession of the *Portuguese*. This small Island is so beneficial to the Governor thereof, that what with the Trade to *Madagascar*, and that of *Soffola*, he commonly amasses a Treasure of 150,000 Pounds Sterling during his three Years Government. This Island was first discovered by the *Portuguese* in 1506, when a whole Boat of Negroes coming on Board the *Portuguese* Vessels, they were very civilly entertained by the Captain, who also gave them diverse little Presents, but they requited his Kindness with a Shower of Arrows, as soon as they were got into their Boat, till the Captain, by a Volley of small Shot, and some Cannon Ball, made them soon give over that Sport. Another *Portuguese* Captain, named *Rodriguez Perera*, being in the same Year driven upon that Coast by Distress of Weather, sent a certain *African* Negroe, who had some Knowledge of their Language, to signify unto them, that he was come thither to settle a good Correspondence and Commerce with them. They seemed to approve of this Proposal, but were no sooner got at some Distance from the *Portuguese*, than they fell upon the *Moor*, with Intention to kill him, which they had certainly done, if the *Portuguese* had not discharged their Fire-Arms upon them, which obliged them to leave the Negroe, and to betake themselves to their Heels, leaving several of their Companions dead upon the Spot.

Perera sail'd thence to another Place upon the same Coast, where having surprized one of their Princes, he carried him on Board, and gave him such kind Entertainment, that in requital for his Courtesy, he offered to shew him a very good Harbour; accordingly he conducted them to a great Bay, at the Entrance of which was a small, but populous Island; but the Inhabitants being terrified at the Sight of these Foreigners, fled into another adjacent Island; so that the *Portuguese*, being become Masters of the small Isle without the least Opposition, they sent to the Inhabi-

tants, desiring them to return to their Habitations, the Occasion of their coming thither being to settle a good Correspondence with them. Upon this, most of them returned, and as a Mark of their Good-will, presented *Perera* with fifty Oxen, and twenty Goats; but being nevertheless willing to be rid of the Strangers, they tempted the Captain with the Hopes of great Riches, which they said he might meet with in the Port of *Matatana*; which was so well approved by him, that he was preparing to go thither, but one of his Ships being soon after forced upon the Coast of the Isle, he retired with the other to *Mozambique*: Another Ship of the same Fleet being driven by tempestuous Weather into the Port of *Matatana*, a Boat of the Country came immediately aboard them, in which the Captain sent the Master of the Vessel, who was well versed in the *African* Language.

The *Moor* making more than ordinary Haste to get ashore with the Master, and the *Portuguese* conceiving some Jealousy at their Behaviour, they pursued them with eighty Men, in their Shallop, but too late, the Negroes having reached the Shore before them. However, after they were landed, they got Sight again of the Master, who told them, he had been treated with much Kindness by their Prince, who was desirous to see the Captain himself, in order to enter into a strict Correspondence with him; which the Captain not unwilling to comply with, went accordingly ashore, where he was kindly received, and magnificently treated by the Prince, according to the Fashion of that Country; but, in the Evening, being ready to return aboard in the Shallop, there arose a violent Tempest, that he durst not venture to commit himself to the merciless Waves in so small a Boat, which continued for four Days successively, and there being no Possibility to get on Board, his Ship's Crew imagining that he had been massacred by these Barbarians, thought it most advisable to save themselves, and to return to *Mozambique*, which they did accordingly. The Captain finding the Ship gone was so discontented, that he died not long after, as did eight others of his Retinue. The rest thinking it better to run the risque of the Sea, than to perish without the least Hopes of Relief, embarked in the Shallop, and having by good Fortune met with a *Portuguese* Vessel, commanded by *John Tensica*, he carried them to the next *Portuguese* Port in *Africa*. The first Time of the landing of the Dutch in the Isle of *Madagascar* happened rather by Chance than any Design, for their Seamen being miserably infested with the Scurvy, so that they were no longer able to manage the Ship, they were forced to seek for Refreshment in this Island, but lost seventy Men out of the four Vessels, of which their Fleet consisted, before they could get at any. These Men were buried in a small Island, which to this Day is called the Dutch Church-yard. Some will have the *Madagascarians* to be *Mohammedans*; but certain it is, that in their outward Demeanour they don't shew the least Sign of it.

22. The Winter Season being pretty well over, we began to think of our Voyage; for which purpose having bought, *August* the 19th, of Prince *Massar*, and some other neighbouring Lords, twenty-five Oxen, and a hundred Sheep, we embarked our Baggage the 20th, and the 21st set Sail out of the Bay of *Saint Augustine* with a South-west Wind, which proving favourable all that Night, we soon lost Sight of *Madagascar*.

The 22d, being rejoined by the Monsoon, or Wind of the Season, which happened sooner than ordinary, we briskly pursued our Course to West-South-West, and the 23d the Wind blowing a brisk Gale from the East in our Stern, we sailed briskly a little more to the South, with an Intention to avoid the *Cape of Good-Hope*. The 24th and 25th the Wind was not so brisk, but being seconded by a fresh Gale, the 26th we advanced bravely, and found ourselves that Day in 27° 27' Latitude, and on the 28th in 28° 12'. The 29th we were surprized by the *Tra-vados*, or Whirl-winds, in 31° 15'; but they did not continue long. The 30th it blew again; notwithstanding which we made the best of our way, and the last of *August* found ourselves in 33° 34'. On the 1st of *September* we made fifty Leagues in twenty-four Hours, tho' the Wind blew very hard; and the 2d we got thirty Leagues far-

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we killed a Cow we bought at *Madagascar*, and a Goat.
In the Belly of the first we found three Calves, and in the
last four Kids, from which a Judgment may be made of
the Fruitfulness of this Country. On the 6th we were ter-
ribly shaken by a most dreadful Tempest, so that our Ship
beginning to be leaky, we were forced to pump without
Intermission. We found ourselves in 35° Latitude. On
the 7th the Wind being tolerably fair, we steered our
Course to the West-North-West; though the Sea conti-
nued very rough. The 8th and 9th, we had abundance of
Rain with a South-West Wind, with which we made
four Leagues with a moderate Gale, and seeing many
of the Birds called *Mangas de Valado*, concluded that we
were not far from the *Cape of de Aguilas*.

The 11th the East Wind hindered us from making any
considerable Progress, and finding a sandy Bottom at twelve
Fathom of Water, we were more and more persuaded that
we were near the *Cape of Aguilas*. The 12th we were
forced to make the best of our way sometimes with a North-
North-West, sometimes with a South-West Wind, which
continuing in the Afternoon, we continued our Course to
the West-North-West, and in the Evening found a yellow
Sand at a hundred and ninety Fathom Water. The
13th the Wind being at South-East, we continued our
Course to the West-North-West, and finding a Whale
floating upon the Water in the Latitude of 35°, we be-
lieved ourselves to be in the Height of the *Cape of Good-
Hope*, where abundance of Whales are commonly seen.
The 14th, at Sun-rising, finding the Declination of the
Needle 4° 50', we concluded that we had compassed the
Cape of Good-Hope; the 15th we had a fair Wind and Wea-
ther, and found the Declination of the Compass to be 1° 5',
and presently after the Declination of it, near the *Cape of
Good-Hope*, is 4°, though sometimes it does not decline so
much; and as soon as you have passed the *Cape*, you find
the Compass to vary to the East. At 33° 15' eleven lies
the Isle of *St. Elizabeth*, not above twenty Leagues on this
Side of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, being not above two
Leagues from the *African* Coast, on which Side it has a
very good Harbour at sixteen Fathom Water.

The whole Coast is but one continued Rock; but the
Country is so fertile in several sorts of the best Herbs, that
there is sufficient Reason to believe, that if it were culti-
vated, it would not in its Products be behind the Isle of
St. Helens, or any other in those Parts. The worst is, that
it wants fresh Water, except what is supplied by the Skies
when it rains, which makes this Isle not to be much fre-
quented; though they have such vast Numbers of Sea-
Wolves here, that in a few Days they may catch as many,
that the Fat would freight a Vessel of six hundred Tuns.
They call these Creatures Sea-Wolves, though both in Co-
lour and Shape of their Heads they rather resemble our
Bears, except that their Snout is not so sharp. They have
only two Paws beneath the Breast, by which means they
draw the other Part of their Body after them, and that
with so much Swiftmess, that the nimblest Man can scarce
overtake them. This Beast is very fierce, its Teeth being
so close and strong, that it will bite through the Handle of
a Partizan. This Isle also produces a kind of Badger, the
Flesh whereof is very delicious. The 16th we made the
best of our Way with a small Wind at 32°, and the 17th and
18th made sixty-four Leagues with a North-North-West
and a South-West Wind, and came the 19th into 29° 16',
when with a South-South-West Wind we made forty
Leagues to the North-West, and in the Evening found
ourselves in 28° Latitude. The 6th of *October* a South-
East Wind carried us fifteen Leagues farther to the Isle of
St. Helens.

23. The Situation of this Island, called *St. Helens* by
the Portuguese, is in 16° 12'. It is distant from the *Cape
of Aguila* 350 Leagues; from that of *Good-Hope* 550,
from *Brazil* 510. It being very surprizing, that an
Island of no more than seven Leagues in Compass should
be found at so great a Distance from the Continent. It is
so plentiful in most excellent Fruits and all sorts of Crea-
tures, that it surpasses most of the Provinces of *Europe*.
Some were of Opinion, that there were neither to be seen
when the Portuguese first discovered it, and that those

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few Trees and Cattle they brought thither, have received
such vast Improvements from the natural good Constitu-
tions of the Ground, that, at present, it is able to supply
whole Fleets with Refreshments. Figs, Pomegranates,
Citrons, Oranges, Goats, Hogs, *Barbary* Hens, Phea-
sants, Partridges, Quails, Peacocks and Pidgeons being
to be had here at all the Seasons of the Year; not to men-
tion the Fish which are found here in vast Quantities, and
Salt sufficient for the Curing them. The Ground natu-
rally produces so many wholesome Herbs that the *Portu-
guese* frequently leave there their sick Men, which are sure
to recover against their coming back again that Way the
next Year.

The Mountains of this Isle are so high that they are
discovered fourteen Leagues off at Sea. The Portuguese
thought it a Piece of Prudence not to make any Establish-
ment in this Island, considering the Jealousy which its
Possession might raise in other Nations trading into these
Parts, which its vast Distance from the Continent would
make it very difficult to keep; whereas, its being free,
would afford a certain Retreat to all Vessels; and those
Refreshments, especially of fresh Water, which they
would be obliged to seek for as far as the Coast of *Guinea*,
where they must be forced to stay for the Rains, to the
great Inconvenience of the Seamen, many of whom must
in the mean while perish for want of it. The Fertility of
the Isle ought chiefly to be attributed to the daily Showers
of Rain which fall there, which, being animated by the
Sun-Beams, shining presently after by Intervals, incredibly
advances the Maturity of Things in a Climate like this.
It has also three Places where Ships may provide them-
selves with fresh Water, viz. where the three Rivers,
which have their Sources among the Mountains, discharge
themselves into the Sea. These produce abundance of
Snakes, which are eaten by the Dutch, who prefer them
to Eels. At 190 Leagues to the N. W. of the Island
of *St. Helens*, you see the Island of *Ascension*, so called
from its being discovered upon *Ascension-Day* by the *Portu-
guese*, lying 8° 30' S. of the Line. It is a very moun-
tainous Island, affording neither fresh Water, nor any
other Provisions, except Fish, of which there is great
Store on that Coast. *October* the 17th, the same Wind
carried us forty Leagues forward; and the 18th forty-two
to the 50.

The Heats were almost insupportable this Day, and we
saw Millions of Flying-fish, and great Numbers of the
Birds called *Mangas de Valado*. The 19th the Wind
blowing from the S. E. we made 40 Leagues to 3° 19'
Lat. and the 20th the same Wind continued us 40 Leagues
farther to 1° 18' Lat. The same Wind carried us the
21st 35 Leagues, when we passed the Equinoctial Line.
At 1° beyond the Line, we discovered the *Cape de Lopez
Gonzales*, upon the Coast of *Guinea*, which has a safe
Harbour for Ships, which sometimes provide themselves
with Provisions here. The Isle of *St. Thomas* is situate
under the Line, the Air of which is so unwholesome, and
the Heats so excessive, that few Europeans live there to
fifty Years of Age, tho' some of the Natives arrive to an
hundred. Here is a constant Equality of Day and Night
throughout the whole Year, and it never rains except in
March and *September*; the Defect of which is supplied
by the Dew, which falls constantly every Night, moistens
the Ground, and renders them very fruitful. When it was
first discovered, a certain kind of Tree was found here,
the Branches whereof were exactly strait. And, formerly,
this Isle produced such vast Quantities of Sugar, that above
four Ship Loads might be transported thence every Year;
but the Worm being got among the Canes, has ever since
made such Havock among them, that it scarce affords
now Loading for six Ships. Besides which, this Island
produces Wheat, Wine, Millet, Rye, Barley, Mellons,
Cucumbers, Figs, Ginger, red Parsnips, Cabages, Navews,
Lettice, Parsley, and all sorts of Roots, Pulse, and Pot-
herbs; and amongst the rest, a certain kind of Mush-
rooms, the Rind whereof is black, but the Meat white,
and shoot forth divers Branches below. The Inhabitants
look upon it as a great Dainty, and, when baked in the Em-
bers, eat them as we do Cheimuts, but they have a better
Flavour. The *Spaniards* have planted some Olive, Peach,

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and

and Almond-trees here: They thrive well enough, but bear no Fruit.

This Isle also affords a sort of Land-Crabs, which live under Ground, and work like Moles; Partridges, Quails, Black-birds, Parrots, and other Birds in abundance. The Sea produces vast Quantities of most excellent Fish, and, among the rest, Whales of a vast Bulk. In the very Centre of the Isle is a Mountain, covered on the Top with a Cloud, which furnishes Water sufficient for the constant watering the Sugar-Canes; and what is most observable is, that the higher the Sun comes above the Horizon, the more Water falls from the Cloud. The Natives are Negroes, but such Foreigners as settle there continue their natural Colour to the third and fourth Generation. They affirm, that Lice and Fleas, wherewith the Negroes are much pestered, never afflict any Stranger. At thirty-five Leagues Distance from the Island of *St. Thomas* to the South, you see another Island, called *Ralles* Isle by the *Portuguese*. It produces such Plenty of Oranges, Citrons, Bananas, Ananas, Ginger, Poultry, Hogs, and other fresh Provisions, that it is one of the most convenient Places for Ships to refresh themselves in; its Haven, being very commodious, at ten Fathom Water.

The Isle of *Carissa* lies close to the Continent, and affords nothing but fresh Water. The 25th a S. E. Wind advanced us thirty-two Leagues on our Course to the N. N. W. It was very rainy, and we were frequently troubled with the Travados, or Whirlwinds, which are so often met with on the Coast of *Guinea*, from whence we might be an hundred and fifty Leagues distant. The 26th the Wind continued the same, and we made twenty-five Leagues to the 7° Lat. N. We observed here the Heats to be more intense than we had felt them on the other Side of the Equinoctial, notwithstanding the Sun was 10° farther from our Hemisphere; the Reason of which I conceived to be, that the Sun-beams, which had so lately warmed the Septentrional Hemisphere, had not had sufficient Time to produce the same Effect in the Meridional. The 27th the Wind changing to the N. and by E. we were also obliged to alter our Course, and made only thirteen Leagues that Day. About Noon we found ourselves at 7° 50' Latitude, and it was observable, that the further we steered from the Coast of *Guinea*, the less we were troubled with bad Weather, which had sufficiently afflicted us for some Days past. The 28th the Wind turned to the N. E. which is the ordinary Wind between the 10 and 20°, which afterwards changes, as it does in our Seas. We made thirty Leagues that Day; and on the 29th thirty Leagues more with the same Wind, in 10° Lat. about Noon. On the 30th we made twenty-eight Leagues with the same Wind and Course to 11° 13' Lat. and the 31st twenty-three Leagues with the same Wind, and rainy Weather.

On the 1st of *November* the Wind continued the same, and carried us twenty-six Leagues forward; the 2d we made twenty-four Leagues with the same Wind, steering our Course to the N. W. The 3d we continued our Course with the same Wind, which brought us about Noon into 14° 41', and consequently near the Cape Verde, being a Point of Land stretching out into the Sea from the African Continent between the Rivers of *Gambia* and *Senaga*: *Ptolemy* calls it *Promontorium Arsenarium*. The Inhabitants here are *Moor*s, large sized, and not ill shaped, but very mischievous and treacherous. They are *Pagans*, worshipping the Moon and the Devil; some among them call themselves *Mohammedans*; but setting aside Circumcision, they have no Marks of that Religion, or any other. They are embroiled in continual Wars with their Neighbours, and very good Horsemen, their Horses, which are very swift, being brought thither from *Barbary*. Their Arms are only Bows and Arrows, and a kind of Lance or Pike, which they manage with marvellous Dexterity. The Privy-parts of their Enemies are the Trophies they most esteem; those they present to their Wives, who make Necklaces of them, and wear them as the greatest Ornament. They allow Polygamy, and their Wives are forced to do all their Work, both at home and abroad.

Whilst the Husband is in his Hut he is attended by his Wives, and then goes a hunting, or about some other Sport, at his own Pleasure. Their Women are very hardy; they

are no sooner delivered, but they wash their Children themselves in the Sea or next River. The Men are generally addicted to Drunkenness to such a Degree, that some of them will take off a whole Quart of *Aqua Vite* at a Draught. Their chief Times of Merriment are at the Funerals of their Friends and Relations, where they drink and howl by Turns, and that for four or five Days together, to the Sound of the Drum and Pipe. They believe the Resurrection of the Dead, and say they shall then be white, like the *Europeans*. They have a considerable Trade with the *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Dutch*, in Ox-Hides, Buffaloes, Elks, Elephants Teeth, Wax, Rice, and *Ambergreece*, which is to be found in its Perfection; for here one Mr. *Peter Van Brauck*, a *Dutch* Merchant, bought 1606 Pieces of *Ambergreece* of eighty Pound Weight.

The Discovery of this Coast is likewise owing to the *Portuguese* in the Year 1417; but this first Voyage meeting but with indifferent Success, *Anthony Gonfalez*, in 1441, having discovered the Cape del Capellero, carried off certain Negroes, who being sent by the Infant of *Portugal* to Pope *Martin V.* he was willing enough, under the specious Pretence of planting Christianity in those Parts, to grant him all what he should discover on the African Coast, under Condition, that after his Death, it should be annexed to the Crown of *Portugal*. The Infant having already discovered the whole Coast betwixt *Cabo de Noam*, and 100 Leagues beyond the *Cabo Verde*, happened to die in 1453; but King *Alphonso*, in 1457, granted all those Conquests to D. *Fernand*, Duke of *Viseu*. Heir apparent of the Infant, and in 1461, ordered a Fort to be built in the Isle of *Arguin*, for the Security of Commerce. It was in the same Year farmed out to one *Ferdinand Gomez*, under Condition that he should be obliged to discover every Year one hundred Leagues on this Coast; by which means the *Portuguese* had in 1497 discovered the Isles of *Fernando del Po*, *St. Thomas*, *Anno Bonno*, those of *del Principe*, and the Cape of *St. Katharine's*. King *John II.* was no sooner come to the Crown, but he sent, in 1481, *Diego d'Azambuja*, who on the 19th of January 1482, made the first Discovery of *Mina*, casting Anchor near a Place called *Aldea de dos Partes*, then under the Command of a certain Prince named *Coramansa*.

This Place, unto which the *Portuguese* gave the Name of *Mina*, from the great Quantity of Gold found there, is situate upon the Coast of *Guinea*, in 5° 40' S. of the Equinoctial Line, between the two Kingdoms of *Achen* and *Cara*, bordering to the N. W. upon *Camana*, and to the N. E. upon *Afuto*, small Countries under the Jurisdiction of those of *Abarembues*. Hereabouts too, viz. within the Compass of fifty Leagues, is managed the chief Trade of all this Coast. They have built a Fort here, upon an Acent, on a Point of Land which jets out into the Sea, like a Demi-Isle, having on one Side, viz. to the North, the *Ethiopian* Sea, and to the South a small River. The Town, which is situate just below the Foot of the Fort, has about 800 Inhabitants, and its Situation is such, that 1500 Men may maintain it against a considerable Force, being fenny all about, and withal so barren, that the Inhabitants are forced to be supplied with Provisions from *Camana*, and *Afuto*. The Natives here are ingenious enough, and much more pliable than the Negroes, but are extremely ignorant in Matters of Religion, for they adore every thing they see, that is the least surprising to them. At that Time they offered their daily Sacrifices of Water and Meat by their Priests, to a certain Tree, of an extraordinary Bigness, enclosed for that Purpose with a high Wall. They adored the Bones of a Whale, and paid Divine Worship to a certain Rock, because it exceeded all the rest in Height. They are extremely addicted to Divination, and therefore set very high an Esteem upon those who profess themselves Sorcerers, but in Effect are nothing else but Cheats, who improve the Weakness of those ignorant Wretches to their Advantage. They are the most religious People in the World in the Observance of their Oaths, it being their Opinion, that such as violate them, will be snatched away by a sudden Death. And hence it is, that their Law Suits are determined in a few Hours, upon a solemn Affirmation, or Denial of either of the Parties.

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their Oaths, it being
olate them, will be
h. And hence it is,
in a few Hours, up-
of either of the Par-
tues.

ties. All Crimes, even capital ones, may be commuted
with Money, unless the same be reiterated several times,
by the same Person. They have no other Clothing but
a Piece of Cloth, or an Ape's Skin, wherewith they co-
ver their privy Parts, all the rest of their Bodies being
naked. For Ornament sake they wear Bracelets of Gold
about their Arms and Legs, and twist their Hair and
Beards with golden Chains. They constantly rub their
Bodies with Oil, or Fat, to make them shine. Their
Wars are no more than confused Skirmishes, without the
least Order, or Discipline. They make use of Darts, and
short Lances; and for their Defence, cover themselves
with the Skins of Tygers, Lions, or Leopards. Their
Hidalgo's, or chief Men, are attended by two Pages when
they are going to the Wars, and one carries the Buckler,
the other a Stool for his Master to rest himself upon, as
Occasion serves. They marry as many Wives as they are
able to buy and maintain, the Purchase of a Wife being
commonly ten Rials, which paid, the Marriage is con-
summated without any further Ceremony, except that
they get heartily drunk. The Dutch have erected a Fort
called *Bourio*, within four Leagues of *Mina*, besides which
they have their Factories at *Cara*, *Caramantin*, and *Aidea*
del Puerto, whence they return vast Quantities of Gold
yearly, having much undermined the Portuguese Traffick
with the *Ethiopians*, by their mild Way of Dealing, and
being contented with a much less Profit than the other.

25. King *John* the 11th of *Portugal* having refused the
Offer made him by *Christopher Columbus*, of discovering
the *West-Indies*, bent all his Thoughts upon the Conquests
of the East; for which Purpose he sent *Diego Can*, and
Juan Alonso de Aviero, into those Parts. The first direct-
ing his Course towards *Mina*, came to the *Cape Lopez*
Gonfales, and having afterwards doubled the Cape of St.
Catherine, entered the River *Zaire*, in 7° S. of the Line
into the Kingdom of *Congo*, this Kingdom extending from
the Cape of St. Catherine to the South of the Cape de
Ledo, is enclosed on the West Side by the *Ethiopian Sea*,
to the South by the Mountains of the Moon, and the
Capes, as it is to the East by *Mantabas*, and borders to
the North upon the Kingdom of *Bem*, reaching in Length
from 20° 30' to the 13° beyond the Line, and consequen-
ly near 160 Leagues. It is divided into six great Pro-
vinces, viz. *Bamba*, *Soango*, *Sunda*, *Pango*, *Batta*, and
Pamba. The Province of *Bamba* extends along the Sea-
shore betwixt the two Rivers of *Ambriji* and *Coanjo*, its
chief City bearing the same Name of the Province, lying
twenty Leagues from the Sea-side, betwixt the Rivers of
Lofa and *Ambriji*. The Province of *Soango* is inclosed be-
twixt the two Rivers of *Zaire* and *Soango*, reaching from
the River *Ambriji* to the Foot of the Mountains, which
separates it from the Kingdom of *Soango*.

The Province of *Sunda* is only eight Leagues in Com-
passe, comprehending all the Country about the City of
Congo, named St. Salvador by the Portuguese, to the River
Zaire. Its Metropolis has given its Name to the Pro-
vince. The Province of *Pango*, formerly under the Ju-
ridiction of its own Kings, borders to the North upon
the Island of *Sunda*, and to the South upon that of *Batta*; to
the West it has the City of *Congo*, and on the East-side is
surrounded by the Mountain of the Sun. The Province
of *Batta* lies to the North-East, betwixt that of *Pango*
and the River *Barbella*, extending to the burnt Mountains.
The Province of *Pamba* has for its Metropolis the City of
Congo, which is built upon a Mountain, at least fifty
Leagues from the Sea-side. Another Mountain belong-
ing to this Province, which is above six Leagues in length,
is so well stocked with Villages, that its Inhabitants are
computed to amount to near one hundred thousand Per-
sons. *Duarte Lopez*, who lived several Years in those
Parts, declares that the Climate here is as agreeable in
Winter, as it is in *Italy* in *October*; and that the greatest
Inconvenience they are subject to here, are the hot Rains
which fall every Day two Hours before, and as many
Hours in the Afternoon, during the Months of *April*,
May, *June*, *July*, and *August*, being their Winter, which
begins the 15th of *March*, and ends the 15th of *Septem-*
ber. The Days and Nights here are of a Length, both
Winter and Summer.

The River *Zaire* arises out of the same Lake whence
the *Nile* derives its Rise: It is beyond all Question the
largest River in all *Africa*; for being joined with the Rivers
Pambo and *Barbella*, as it passes through the Country, it
is at the Mouth, where it disembogues into the Sea at least
twenty-eight Leagues broad. The River *Gonaze* is the
common Boundary betwixt the two Kingdoms of *Congo*
and *Angola*, and the River *Lelanda* abounds in Crocodiles
and Sea-horses. This Creature is of a dusky Colour, with
very little Hair, its Head is without Ears, broad Nostrils,
and in his Jaw two Teeth like the Tusks of a wild Boar;
its Hoof has the Shape of a three-leaved Grass, it neighs
like a Horse, and will run a great Pace. The hot Rains
which fall in the wet Season rendering the Grounds very
fertile, they produce Herbs, Corn, and Fruit, in prodigi-
ous Quantities. The Province of *Pamba* has divers Gold
Mines. All the Forests are full of Elephants of an extraor-
dinary Size, the Teeth having been found to weigh two
hundred Pound Weight. They produce also a peculiar
Creature called *Zebra*, in Shape not unlike a Mule, but is
capable of engendering: It is marked with three Lists
round the Back, reaching down to the Belly, of about three
Fingers Breadth, of which one is black, the other white, and
the third yellow. This Beast is famous for its marvellous
Swiftness. They have also a kind of Oxen called *Empa-*
longes, but somewhat less than ours. Wolves, Foxes, Wild-
Bullaloes, Wild-Goats, Deer, and Rabbits, being never
sought after here, they are seen in prodigious Quantities,
the only thing they hunt being the Civet-Cat, by rea-
son of the great Advantages it affords to the Owners. They
abound also with Birds, such as Pheasants, Partridges,
Hens, Turkeys, Ducks, Geese, Turtles, Pigeons, Hawks
of all sorts, and Eagles. Serpents they have of fifteen Foot
long, which will swallow a Sheep at once; and some am-
phibious Creatures, the Flesh of which is eaten by the In-
habitants; whereas some others are so venomous, that such
as are bitten by them infallibly die within twenty-four
Hours.

The Mountains of *Pemba* are abundantly productive of
Citrons, Oranges, Bananas, and divers other Fruits, as
plentifully as in most Parts of the *Indies*; and the Vallies
produce a kind of Wheat called *Seuco*, not much bigger
than Mustard-seed, which make better Bread than any
common Wheat, is reserved for the Use of the better sort,
the Poor being here fed with Rice, and *Turky Wheat*.
Of Cocoa-Trees they have two sorts; some are Date-Trees,
the other produce Cocoas, and a certain Juice, which is
accounted an extraordinary Clearer of the Reins, and con-
sequently a sovereign Remedy against the Gravel. Their
Fruits, as well as Pulse and Herbs, are, without Compa-
rison, more excellent here than in other Countries. Their
Mountains, which for the most part are covered with Fruit-
trees, are green all the Year round; and the Rocks pro-
duce white Marble, Alabaster, Jasper, Porphyry, and
sometimes Hyacinths.

The Inhabitants are black; but the Women are not so
dark as the Men; they have neither such thick Lips, nor
flat Noles, as commonly the Negroes have, and their Hair
curls naturally. Those of *Bombay* are famous for their
Strength. As every Man here is his own Architect and
Physician, so their Houses are small, low, and slightly
built; they cure Fevers with Powder of Sandal Wood, and
Head-ach by Bleeding; and when they are to procure an
Evacuation by purging, they do it with a certain Bark of
a Tree beat to Powder; they generally appear bare-headed,
but such as do not, wear a kind of Hats made of the Barks
of Trees, or Nut-shells. Some have a Way of fastening
with Pack-thread Plumes to their Hair, and both Sexes
have Holes in their Ears, in which hang very weighty
Rings of Gold set with Stones. About their Arms and
Legs they wear Rings, or rather Plates of Iron, Tin, or
Brass; but the better sort are clad after the Portuguese Fa-
shion. They sleep and eat upon Mats spread upon the
Ground. Besides the vast Wealth in Gold, Silver, Copper,
Crystal, Iron, and other Metals this Country produces; a
great Traffick is carried on here in Ivory, Civet, and
Slaves, whom the Spaniards and Portuguese employ in
their Mines and Sugar-Mills of *Brasil*. They use certain
Shells, which they fish out of the Sea near the Isle of
Lunda

Lunda instead of Money, there being a particular Governor appointed there for that Purpose, who has the Oversight of it.

The King of *Congo* governs with an arbitrary and uncontrollable Power, both the Lives and Estates of his Subjects being at his own Disposal; the Provinces are under the Jurisdiction of certain Governors, among whom the *Batta* is the Head and constant chief Minister of State, being of the Blood-Royal, which is the Reason he sometimes eats at the King's Table, (a thing not allowed even to the King's Sons) but never sits down, but stands all the Time. He has alone the Privilege of having the same Pipes and Musicians the King has, and of the Use of the Fire-arms for his Guard, of whom he keeps a good Number, to bridle the Insolence of a certain People living upon the *Nile*, called *Giaquer*, who make frequent Inroads into the Territories, of which Notice is given into the Country by the discharging of a Musket. The Province of *Bombay*, however, is accounted the Bulwark of this Kingdom; for though the Province of *Batta* is able to raise above seventy-thousand fighting Men, whereas that of *Bombay* is only able to raise 40,000, yet are the first not to be compared to the last. They use great broad Swords like the *Swiss*, and handle them with as much Activity as we do our Rapiers. They make use also of Darts, and Bucklers, the last of which are made of the Barks of Trees. They have no Cavalry; their Armies, which are divided into Brigades, consist only of Foot, who engage all at a Time. The General keeps in the Centre, and by the Help of their warlike Instruments, called *Manigos*, gives the Signals to the Commanders when to attack, to retreat, to close, or to open. Their Trumpets are of Wood, and make a most dreadful Noise. Their Drums are made of the Barks of Trees, and are covered with Skin, and are beat with great Ivory Sticks; besides these, they have another kind of Instrument, being only an iron Plate of a triangular Form, which they beat with Sticks; they have also a Way of hollowing the Elephant's Teeth, and then blow them as we do our Bugle Horns; with those Instruments the Commanders of the Army answer the Signal given them by the General.

The *Portuguese* were the first who introduced the Christian Religion here, under the Reign of *John II.* the King, who, as we told you, sent *Diego Can* and *John Alonzo d'Aviera*, into those Parts. It was about that Time that *Caramanjo* King of *Congo* sent *Cajala* his Ambassador to the King of *Portugal*, who being baptized there, was sent back with three *Portuguese* Ships, commanded by *Gonçalo de Senje*; but in touching at *Cape de Verd*, both died there of the Plague. *Roy de Senje*, who succeeded in the Command, being forced into the Port of *Pinda*, in the Province of *Senjo*, the Governor of the Place, who was Uncle to the King of *Congo*, was baptized with all his Family, whose Footsteps were followed by the King and Queen, being named *John* and *Eleanor*. *Emanuel* King of *Portugal* sent another Squadron thither in 1504; but, soon after the Discovery of the *Indies*, and Prospect of greater Advantages to be reaped from thence, occasioned the Discontinuance of those Voyages to the *African* Coast; the Foundations of Religion were also neglected by the *Portuguese*, which the *Dutch* improving to their Advantage, introduced their Traffick, and with it the Protestant Religion.

We told you before, that *Diego Can* discovered *Congo*; let us now see what became of his Comrade *John Alonzo d'Aviera*. He, about the same Time, made a Discovery of the Kingdom of *Bony*, betwixt *Mina* and *Congo*. Its Length is eighty Leagues, and its Breadth forty. The City of *Angatse* is at twelve Leagues Distance from the Sea, and somewhat further in the Country, upon the River called *Rio Fermojo* by the *Portuguese*, its capital City bearing the same Name with the Kingdom. The King of *Bony* having engaged in a Treaty with *Alonso*, was also baptized; but this Conversion being not founded upon any real Knowledge of the Principles of the Christian Religion, was of no longer Continuance than the Traffick of the *Portuguese* in those Parts, which was neglected as soon as they had made a Discovery of the Passage by Sea to the *Indies*.

26. *Cape de Verde* is by *Ptolemy* called *Promantorium Asynarium*, and put in 10° 40' on this Side of the Line, whereas, by our own Observation, we can positively affirm it to be in 14° 20', betwixt the two Rivers of *Senaga* and *Gambra*, or *Gambia*, called by *Ptolemy* *Durago*, and *Stachiri*, and which, according to his Opinion, are very small ones, the Sources of which are unknown, whereas it is beyond all Question, that they arise out of two Lakes, one of which is by the said *Ptolemy* called *Palus Chelondias*, now the Lake of *Goaga*, and the other that of *Naba*, tho' some of the Inhabitants are of Opinion, that they have their Rise from the *Nile*. It is called the *Cape de Verde*, from the many Trees near it, and their constant Verdure. *Ptolemy* also mentions nothing of these two Rivers falling into the Sea, whereas it has been found since, that the River *Gambia*, after being joined by the Waters of diverse other Rivers, in the Province of *Mandiga*, disembogues into the Ocean in 13° 30', and that the River *Senaga* running directly from East to West falls in 15° 30', into the River *Grey*, which has imparted its Name to that Country we call *Guinea*. As it is certain, that *Ptolemy* had no Knowledge of the Inhabitants betwixt those two Rivers, so we must rely entirely upon the Credit of those modern Authors who have given us their Relations concerning them.

They tell us, that a certain People called the *Budumays*, inhabit the Eastern Part of it as far as the *Cape de Verde*. The *Foules* and *Berbecines* they place deeper in the Country, upon the River *Banaga* to the North of the *Jaloffe*, some of which are subject to the *Foules*, others to the *Budumays*. It is a plain Country, producing Abundance of Cattle, Wine, Cotton, Wild-Fowl, Ivory, and Horses, Gold, and Silver; they have none but Iron in vast Quantities: The Air is accounted very wholesome, and the Inhabitants near the *Cape de Verde* good Horsemen. They are *Pagans*, and very famous for administering Justice, in publick Affairs, with a great deal of Equity, Prudence, and Secrecy, those that are admitted into their Council, or Courts of Judicature, being generally chosen by their Age and Experience. Tho' they are ignorant of what belongs to martial Discipline, such as is practised in *Europe*, yet is their Manner of disposing and ordering their Forces not to be passed by in Silence; for all such as are able to bear Arms, being divided into certain Regiments under their respective Commanders, have also their particular Divisions or Quarters allotted them; so that in case of Necessity, their Orders for appearing together in a Body being dispatched from one Division to another, the Army is ready in a little Time to be at the Rendezvous appointed, without the Trouble of any new Levies, the Sons succeeding constantly in their Father's Places, if they happen to die, so that their Number is always complicit. They are not altogether ignorant of the Degrees of Nobility and Peasantry; for their Grandees they call *Tubala's*, unto whom they pay more than ordinary Reverence, their King being always chosen out of their Number, but he must be thirty Years of Age at least.

Not long after the Discovery of the Country of the *Jaloffes* by the *Portuguese*, one *Beimi* reigned in those Parts; but being got into the Throne by sinister Means, and forsaken by most of his Subjects, sought for Aid by *John II.* King of *Portugal*, who had him instructed in the Christian Religion, and baptized, and sent him back with a good Squadron of Ships, under the Command of *Pedro Vaz de Cogna*, who had positive Orders to erect a Fort at the Entrance of the River *Senaga*, to facilitate their Penetration deeper into the Country. A Fort was built accordingly, but was by the said *Vaz*. (but for what Reason is unknown) demolished again, and being severely upbraided upon this Account by King *Beimi*, he killed him with his own Hands, and so returned to *Portugal*, where he was never called to an Account for his treacherous Proceedings.

Those Islands which the *Portuguese* call *Ilhas Verde*, and the *Dutch*, Salt Islands, lie directly opposite to *Cape de Verde*, yet so that the nearest of them is seventy, and the most remote one hundred and sixty Leagues distant from the Continent, which makes me imagine, that those who would have them to be *Gorgonides* of *Ptolemy*, are under a Mistake, since it is not very probable, that he, who

any called *Prasmanorium* on this Side of the Lane, we can positively affirm two Rivers of *Senaga* and *Siabon* Durago, and *Siabon* Durago, are very small ones, whereas it is beyond all two Lakes, one of which *Chelondia*, now the Lake *Ababa*, tho' some of the Inhabitants have their Rule from the *Verde*, from the many Trees *Ptolomy* also mentions no into the Sea, whereas it has *Gambia*, after being joined Rivers, in the Province the Ocean in $13^{\circ} 30'$, and directly from East to West *Gery*, which has imparted all *Guinea*. As it is cer- ledge of the Inhabitants must rely entirely upon thors who have given us

people called the *Budumays*, far as the *Cape de Verde*, place deeper in the Coun- the North of the *Jalisco*, *Foules*, others to the Bu- producing Abundance of Fowl, Ivory, and Horses, ne but Iron in vast Quan- y whollome, and the In- good Horlemen. They r administering Justice, in deal of Equity, Prudence, mitted into their Council, generally chosen by their ey are ignorant of what ch as is practised in Eu- ooping and ordering their ce; for all such as are able tain Regiments under their their particular Divisions or in case of Necessity, their a Body being dispatched e Army is ready in a lit- us appointed, without the e Sons succeeding con- if they happen to die, so pkat. They are not al- Nobility and Peasantry, *Abala's*, unto whom they er, their King being al- er, but he must be thirty

of the Country of the *Ja-* reigned in those Parts; finer Means, and for- ight for Aid by *John II.* nstructed in the Christi- sent him back with a the Command of *Pedro* Orders to erect a Fort *Senaga*, to facilitate their try. A Fort was built *Vaz*. (but for what Rea- ain, and being severely ing *Beomi*, he killed him ned to *Portugal*, where for his treacherous Pro-

guenze call *Ilhas Verde*, rectly opposite to *Cape* of them is seventy, and d sixty Leagues distant me imagine, that those *gonides* of *Ptolomy*, are very probable, that he, who

who has left us so confused an Account of the *African* Coast, should have any Knowledge of those Isles, at so great a Distance. They are in all ten, extending from the 15° to the 19° of N. L. The *Portuguese* have given them the Name of Green Islands, either from the *Cape*, or else from a certain Green Weed, called by them *Sargasso*, which is like our Water-Cresses; of this you see such prodigious Quantities, floating upon the Surface of the Sea, from the 20° to the 24° , that without a strong Gale, Ships are sometimes stopped in their Passage; but what is most surprizing is, that the Sea having no Bottom here, and this Herb not being seen in any other Part of the Sea, at least not within 150 Leagues of the *African* Shore, how should this Verdure come to this particular Tract! Some alledge, that it is washed from the Rocks in the *West-Indies*, and forced thither by the Winds; but as the N. E. Winds reign here all the Year round, there is but little Probability in this Opinion.

When these Islands were first discovered by the *Portuguese*, they were without Inhabitants, but now produce Rice, Millet, *Turkey* Wheat, Oranges, Citrons, *Banana's*, *Anana's*, Potatoes, Melons, Citruls, Cucumbers, Figs, and Raisins, twice a Year. And the three Islands of *Mayo*, *de Sal*, and *Boa Vista*, have such plenty of Cattle, that the *Portuguese* send whole Ships Loads of them thence to the *Brasil*. The considerable Quantity of Salt these Islands produce, has made the *Dutch* give them the Name of the Salt Islands. The *Portuguese* have also taken care to stock these Islands with all sorts of tame and wild Fowl, which are multiplied at such a Rate, that they may be had almost for nothing. They have a peculiar kind of Bird here called *Flamenco* by the *Portuguese*. They are as big, and white all over their Bodies, as our Swans, but their Wings are of a bright Red. Rabbits are here in vast Numbers, and the Sea furnishes them with incredible Store of Fish, which is the Reason you see here at all Times a considerable Number of *Portuguese* Fisher-Boats who carry what they catch to *Brasil*. These Islands are extremely commodious for such Ships as trade to the *Indies*, inasmuch as going thither they take in Refreshments, at a very easy Rate, in the Isle of *Mayo*, and, in their Return, at that of *St. Anibony*, the *Portuguese* Inhabitants being not in a Condition to prevent it. The Isle of *Jago*, as it is the Chief, so there the Governor and Archbishop keep their ordinary Residence: The spiritual Jurisdiction of the last extends not only over these Islands, but also over all the *African* Coasts, as far as it is in the Possession of the *Portuguese*.

27. November the 4th we continued our Voyage for twenty-four Leagues with a N. E. Wind, steering our Course to the N. N. W. and found ourselves at $16^{\circ} 1'$ Lat. The 8th the Wind coming to the E. N. E. we sailed thirty-two Leagues to $22^{\circ} 35'$. Here we were much pelted with the *Sargasso*, or Green Weed which we mentioned before, which, upon Examination, I found very like our Water-Cresses, only these were of a paler Green, and had a small Seed like those of green Goose-berries. The 11th the Wind turning in the Morning to E. S. E. and soon after to the South, we made but eight Leagues, and were becalmed before Night, the Wind at N. W. Our Course was to the W. at $26^{\circ} 40'$ Lat. We took that Day a Hay, as the *Dutch* call it (a Shark) which is accounted a Rarity in those Seas, tho' they are frequent in the *Indies*. The 22d the Wind being at W. S. W. we steered our Course for forty Leagues to the N. N. E. in $35^{\circ} 20'$ Lat. The 23d a S. W. Wind carried us thirty-four Leagues to the E. N. E. And the 24th thirty-five Leagues further. The 25th we had a N. E. Wind, so steering our Course to the N. E. we made thirty-three Leagues in 38° Lat. The 26th being becalmed, we got but ten Leagues, and the 27th but twelve more, taking our Course E. N. E. in $38^{\circ} 40'$ Lat. The 28th the Wind turning to the S. S. E. we took our Course to the E. S. E. for 27 Leagues. And the 29th the same Wind continuing, we made twenty-four Leagues, taking the same Course, and at Noon in $33^{\circ} 30'$, got Sight of the Islands of *Corvo* and *Flores*, which some but erroneously number among the Islands called by the *Spaniards* *Azores*, from the many Hawks found here.

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These are generally called by the *Dutch* *Flamish* Islands, because the first Inhabitants of the Isle of *Fayal* (one of the *Azores*) were Natives of the *Low-Countries*, who settled themselves on that little River called by the *Portuguese* *Ribera dos Flamencos*, and their Posterity live to this Day here, according to the Customs of their own Country. The seven Isles known by the Name of *Azores*, are *Tercera*, *St. Michael*, *Santa Maria*, *San. Georges*, *Gratiosa*, *Pico*, and *Fayal Tercera*, being fifteen or sixteen Leagues in Compass, is the biggest amongst them, being a Congeries of Mountains, which make it almost inaccessible, there being no safe Road or Harbour here, except at the City of *Angra*, being the Metropolis of this, as well as the other six Islands, and the ordinary Residence of the Governors of those Isles, and of the Bishops themselves. This Road is not so safe at all Times, tho' the Port is inclosed like a Crescent by two Mountains advancing very deep into the Sea. They call these Mountains *Brasil*, and may be seen thirteen or fourteen Leagues off at Sea. About three Leagues from the City of *Angra*, is a Town called *Villa de Praya*, the Houses whereof are very well built; but as it is a Place of no Trade, so it is not very populous. The City of *Angra* has obtained its Name from its Situation, in the Form of a Crescent, this Word being used by the *Portuguese* to express the Figure of the New-moon. It is defended by two Forts, one of which is built upon the Ascent of the Mountain, the other upon one of the Points of Land which cover the Haven, and consequently for the Defence of its Entrance, the opposite Point having too high Towers, whence by a certain Signal they give Notice to the Inhabitants, what Vessels they spy at Sea, and whether they come from *Europe*, or *Brasil* Side.

All those Isles are subject to the Crown of *Portugal* now, though the *Castilian* Governor, *Don Alvaro de Viza-* ros, defended himself very bravely in the two Forts of the City of *Angra*, after the Revolution in *Portugal*, and did not surrender the Castle upon the Mountain till May the 6th 1642, after he was reduced to the last Extremity by Famine. It is almost surprizing to behold, that the bare Rocks here, which are not so much as covered with Earth, should produce good store of Vines, which thrive better there than in the Vallies, tho' it must be confessed, that their Wine does not come near in Goodness to those of the *Maderas*, and the *Canaries*. These Islands produce every thing that is either necessary or convenient for human Life (except Oil or Salt) for they have Wheat in Plenty, Pears, Apples, Citrons, Oranges, and Peaches, in great Plenty, besides Cherries, Plumbs, Walnuts, Chestnuts, and Pot-Herbs of all sorts. They have also Potatoes, but these are more esteemed in *Portugal* than in the Islands; and a peculiar Shrub, which growing up to the Height of five or six Feet, spreads its Roots by an infinite Number of Branches, as small as the Hair of a Man's Head, of a yellowish Colour. They are used chiefly for their Quilts and Beds instead of Feathers, tho' there is not the least Question, but if they were spun into Thread, they would afford Materials for a very good Stuff. Cattle, and all sorts of tame Fowl, as well as small Birds, multiply here beyond what can be imagined; but they have neither Wild-Fowl nor Venison.

Their Wheat is exceeding good, but will not keep, unless it be put under Ground; for which Reason, each Family has its peculiar Vault, the Entrance whereof is no bigger than is sufficient for one Man; thence they carry it, after *Christmas*, to their Houses, where they keep it in Chefts of Bull-rushes, the remaining Part of the Year, without ever stirring it. The Oxen of the Isle of *Tercera* are the biggest and fairest of all *Europe*, and very remarkable for the excessive Bigness of their Horns; they are as tame as our Dogs, and will go and come as they are bid. The Noise that is perceived when People go over the Rocks here, sufficiently demonstrates their Holowness within; whence arises the Earthquakes which are so frequent in this, as well as the other *Azore* Islands: Thus on the 24th of May 1614, eleven Churches and nine Chapels, besides private Houses, were ruined by an Earthquake; the City of *Angra*, and the City of *Praya*, were almost laid desolate at the same Time, and the whole Isle of *St. Michael*

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was

was so terribly shaken by an Earthquake, on the 16th of June 1628, that at some small Distance from the Shore, the Sea opened in a Place where was 150 Fathom Water, and thence thrust forth a small Isle of a League and an half in Length, at least 60 Fathom above the Water. These two Islands have also certain hot Springs, whence, and at some Distance from them, arise sulphurous Vapours. About three Leagues from *Agroa*, is a Spring which turns Wood to Stone, as is evidently to be seen by a certain Tree, the Root whereof, as far as it hath been under Water, is absolutely petrified, whereas the Trunk, and all the rest, are not the least changed. The Isle of *Pico* has a peculiar sort of Wood as hard as Iron, red as Scarlet, in which, when cut, appear certain Veins like the watering of a Camblet, of which are made very fine Cabinets, which are highly esteemed in *Portugal*. Cedar is so common among them, that they do not only use it for their ordinary household Stuffs, but also for Fuel; nay, they make whole Waggon and Boats of it. They have scarce any Commodities except Provisions, which they sell to the Ships that touch here to take in Refreshments, as they are going to the *East-Indies*.

The Isle of *St. Michael* is about 20 Leagues long, lying 28 Leagues S. E. from that of *Tercera*. Its capital City is called *Punta Delgada*, its Soil very fruitful, producing more Wheat than they are able to consume. The worst is, that they have no safe Road for Ships to ride in. The Isle of *St. Mary* being not above twelve Leagues in Compass, lies twelve Leagues South from that of *St. Michael*; its Products are Provisions, and Pottery Earth. The Isle of *Gratiosa* lies seven or eight Leagues N. E. from that of *Tercera*, its Compass being not above five or six Leagues. It has got its Name from its Pleasantness, and vast Plenty of all sorts of Fruits. The Isle of *St. George*, which is twelve Leagues long and broad, lies eight or nine Leagues to the N. W. from that of *Tercera*. It is well stocked with Provisions, though it be full of Mountains, which furnish them with vast Store of Cedar, which they sell to those of *Tercera*, where it is made into Joiners and Cabinet-makers Works, and transported thence to other Places.

The Isle of *Fayal* being at least seventeen or eighteen Leagues in Circumference, lies seven Leagues to the S. W. off of that of *St. George*, being the best of all the *Azores* next to those of *Tercera* and *St. Michael*. Its capital City is called *Vila-Dista*, inhabited chiefly by the Posterity of the *Flemmings* we had Occasion to mention before. They send hence abundance of Provisions, but especially Fish to the other Islands. The Isle of *Pico* has its Name from the high Peak or Mountain within it called *Pico*, supposed to be as high as the Peak of the great *Canary Island*, of which I shall hereafter speak. It lies enclosed betwixt the Isles of *Fayal*, whence it is distant three Leagues to the S. E. of *St. George* and *Tercera*, from the first of which it lies four Leagues to the S. W. and from the latter twelve Leagues to the W. S. W. Their Lands are accounted more fertile here than those of any of the other Isles.

The Isle of *Flores*, as we told you, we got Sight of the 29th of November, being seventy Leagues to the West of *Tercera*. *Flores* is twenty Leagues in Circumference, and the Isle of *Cortez* is no more than two Leagues Distance to the North: They are both under the *Portuguese*; but their Distance from the *Azores* shews them not to be of their Number. As the *Azores* be very convenient for the Refreshment of the *Portuguese* Ships bound to the *East-Indies* and *Brazil*, they are very careful of their Preservation; whence it is they will allow no Foreigners to view the Coast of the Isle of *Tercera*, for fear they should, by its Weakness, be invited to land and settle there. The Air is very clear and wholesome, but withal very sharp, so that it corrodes Iron, and consumes Stones in a few Years, which is the Reason they use Flint Stones in their Buildings, which having lain for a considerable Time under Water near the Sea-Side, are better qualified than other Stones to resist the Sharpness of the Air.

But before we leave the *African Coast*, it will not be amiss to say something of the *Canary Islands* which lie upon the Coast opposite to *Gibraltar*. The Whollomness of the Air, and the Fertility of the Soil, procured them the Name of the *Isule Fortunata* among the Ancients, though one

of them is also called *Canaria*, by *Pliny*, *Seimus*, and *Platiny*, which contradicts the Opinion of those who affirm, that those who discovered them in the Year 1342, gave them the Name of *Canaries* from the many Canes found there. They are eleven in Number, viz. *Lanzarotta*, *Puertoventura*, the great *Canary*, *Teneriff*, *Gomara*, and *Palma*, extending from East to West, in a manner in a direct Line. *Lewis* Count *Clermont* having in 1348, got a Grant from the Pope of these Islands, set out a Fleet to endeavour the Conquest of them, which was perfected accordingly under the Protection of the King of *Arragon*; but the same being afterwards relinquished by *D. Lewis de la Cerda*, the *Biscayan* and *Andalusian* having sent out some Vessels, surprised the Isle of *Lanzarotta*, whence they brought back so much Wealth, that the King of *Castile* then resolved upon the Conquest of these Islands, which, doubtless, he would have effected, had not the more pressing Wars he was engaged in with his Neighbours, diverted him from that Purpose.

Not many Years after, a French Gentleman, named *John de Berbecourt*, having obtained a Commission from *Henry III.* then King of *Spain*, to conquer these Islands, under the Condition that he and his Posterity should acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Crown of *Castile*, he was so fortunate as to make himself soon Master of the five lesser Islands, but could not bring the two great ones under Subjection. However, the King of *Castile*, as Sovereign, having sent thither a Bishop, this occasioned such a Difference between him and *Berbecourt's* Nephew, who had succeeded his Uncle, that the King of *Castile* was forced to send thither one *Pedro Barba*, who having forced the *Frenchmen* thence, gave the Islands, as a Dowry, with his Daughter, to one *Perera*, who assuming the Name of King of the *Canaries*, left no Stone unturned to make himself Master of them all by the Conquest of the remaining Islands; but finding his Endeavours to prove fruitless, he sold four of these Islands to *Ferdinand*, furnished the Catholic King of *Arragon*, reserving to himself only that of *Gomara*, with the Quality of an Earl. King *Ferdinand* had the good Fortune to reduce the two great Islands also, which ever since, as well as the rest, have remained under the *Spanish* Jurisdiction.

The great *Canary* Isle is computed to contain above nine thousand Inhabitants, being also the Residence of the Bishop, Inquisitor, and Great Council, which manage the publick Affairs of all the other Isles. Besides that excellent Wine so well known and esteemed in *Europe*, it produces Wheat, Barley, Honey, Wax, and Sugar-Canes, and the Plenty they have of Cattle, makes them trade much in Leather with the *Spaniards*, *English*, *Dutch*, and *Hamburgers*; the first in their Voyages to the *West-Indies*, take most of their fresh Provisions in here. The Isle of *Teneriff* is famous for its Mountain called *El Pico*, being accounted the highest in the World, so that it may be discovered above sixty Leagues at Sea; and on the Top a Man may see all the other *Canary Islands*, though some of them are fifty Leagues distant from this; but it requires three Days Time to get up, which must be either in *July*, or *August*, it being covered with Snow all the rest of the Year, though there falls none in any of those Islands.

The Isle of *Fierro* claims the next Place to that of *Teneriff*, among the *Canary Islands*; it has got its Name from the Drought of the Ground, which being without Water, seems to be of Iron: For, except a few Springs near the Sea-shore, this whole Island is without a Rivulet, Brook, Well, or Spring, against which Default provident Nature has blessed this Island with a certain Tree, which has no Resemblance to any other I ever saw, either in *Europe* or the *Indies*, and stands in the very Centre of the Isle. Its Leaves are very long, but narrow, and never cease to be green, neither in Winter or Summer. Betwixt the Branches hang Clouds, which are never dispelled, but are constantly dissolved in a liquid Substance, which hanging to the Leaves, fall from thence as clear as Water into the Cisterns that are made under the Tree on purpose to receive it, and that in such great Quantities, that they are never empty, but provide sufficient Quantities to supply both Men and Beasts.

It is the Opinion of the Inhabitants, and those that have frequently sailed in these Parts, that a hundred Leagues West of the *Canaries* there has been seen a certain Island called

liny, Solinus, and Pto-
m of those who affirm,
the Year 1342; gave
the many Canes found
viz. *Lanarista, For-
iz, Gamara, and Palma*,
anner in a direct Line.
48, got a Grant from
Fleet to endeavour the
ected accordingly under
on; but the same being
de la Cerda, the *Bislay*-
some Vessels, surprized
y brought back so much
then resolved upon the
doubtless, he would have
Was he was engaged
him from that Purpose.
Gentleman, named
a Commission from
conquer these Islands,
his Posterity should ac-
e Crown of *Capile*, he
f soon Master of the five
the two great ones under
of *Capile*, as Sovereign,
occasioned such a Differ-
s Nephew, who had suc-
of *Capile* was forced to
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ts, as a Dowry, with his
aining the Name of King
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ove fruitless, he sold four
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called *St. Borondon*, very pleasant and fruitful, and inha-
bited by Christians; but are not able to tell you how it
came to be peopled, and what Language is in Use there.
The *Spaniards* inhabiting the *Canaries*, have made several
Attempts to find it out; but whether the thick Fogs,
which surround it, or the Current of the Sea, which keeps
Ships from the Shore, is the Occasion that it has not been
discovered; certain it is, that no body hitherto has been
able to give a satisfactory Account of it.

28. But to return to our Voyage, the Wind turning to
the South the 29th of November, we took our Course to
the North, leaving the Isle of *Flores* to the East of us, and
soon lost Sight of that as well as of the Isle of *Corvo*. The
30th of November we made thirty-one Leagues to the
North with a South-South-west Wind, and at Noon found
ourselves in 40° 32' Latitude. December the 3d we made
thirty-four Leagues with the same Wind and Course; and
the 4th, a North-east Wind advanced us twenty-seven
Leagues to East-North-east. The 5th the Wind coming
to the South-west, we continued the same Course, and got
thirty-seven Leagues. It was this Day exactly eleven
Months since we had been tossed up and down the Sea, tho'
our Voyage had been tolerable enough ever since our De-
parture from *Madagascar*. The 6th it blew a Storm out of the
East, but the Wind being for us, we advanced fifty Leagues.
It is observable, that as soon as you are passed the *Azores*
Islands, you may assure yourself of a West Wind, let it be
what Season of the Year it will, till you come to the Coast
of *England*, it being very seldom known, that it turns either
directly to the South or North, tho' perhaps it may change
a few Points of the Compass.

The 7th the Wind turning to the West, we sailed thirty-
nine Leagues to the East-North-east. The 8th we made
forty-seven Leagues, with a very brisk Gale, to the South-
east, keeping the same Course; and the 9th, with a South-
South-west Wind made thirty-one Leagues to the North-
North-east. We found ourselves in 49° 13', the Wea-
ther being very cold, and a sandy white Bottom at sixty-
eight Fathom, and in the Evening sounding again, found
but fifty-three Fathom, the Sand not so white as in the
Morning. The Wind chopping about to the North-East
in the Night, was directly in our Teeth till the 10th about
Noon, when coming to the South-west, we made twenty-
two Leagues. The 11th, we espied, at Break of Day, two
English Ships, and in a few Hours after, that Point of *Corn-*
wall called the *Land's-End*; we endeavoured to double the
Point, the Wind being contrary, and with much ado made
sixteen Leagues. The 12th, the Wind being full against
us, we continued lowering, and at a Distance we saw an-
other *English* Vessel, but could not come near it. The
13th the Wind being at South-west and South-South-west,
we steered our Course to the East-South-east, and to the
East, with a Point to the South. We made sixty-four
Leagues to 49° Latitude the 14th, after having changed
our Course to the East-North-east, in order to make the
Channel, which divides *England* from *France*.

We saw two *Dutch* Vessels and a *Dunkirk* not far from
us; but the Roaring of the Sea prevented our hearing one
another. The fifteenth we steered the same Course, and
met with three *Dutch* Ships bound for *Brasil*, not far from
the *Isle of Wight*, which lies in 50° 26' Latitude, and 19° 4'
Longitude. The 16th, by Ten in the Morning, we passed in
Sight of *Dover* Castle, and about Noon came to an Anchor
in the *Dorset*, and this completed our Voyage in the 12th
Month, after our Departure from *Surat*. We saw there
near a hundred Ships riding at Anchor, in Expectation of
fair Weather, it being too boisterous, that for two Days
after we could not stir out of our Ship. The *English* Ad-
miral, who was then with some Men of War in the
Dorset, invited the 19th (when the Wind was somewhat
laid) the President to Dinner, who taking me along with
him, I had my Share in the Entertainment, which was so
magnificent both for Meat, and the great Quantity of Plate,
that the King's Table could scarce have been better served
in *London*.

As we were extremely well pleased with our Entertain-
ment, so it was near Night before we got into our Boat.
Our Ship lay not above a Musket Shot from the Admiral;
but no sooner were we got into it, than a sudden Storm

forced us to Sea; the Waves continually coming over our
Boat, so that we were obliged to make the best Shift we
could to cast out the Water, without Intermision, with our
Hats. We now began to reflect, how, that after we had
surmounted so many Dangers during this tedious Voyage;
we should at last be shipwreck'd in Sight of our dear Coun-
try, and in that very Part whither we were come with so
much Danger to seek for Safety; but, to be short, we were
for four Hours thus betwixt Hope and Despair, when at
last we got Sight of a small Vessel, but so miserably torn
by the Tempest, that it had lost all its Anchors but one,
which was not strong enough to keep from being forced
out to Sea. However, we betook ourselves to our
Oars, sitting up to our Waists in Water, and with much
ado reached the Vessel, in which in effect we were not
much sfer than in our Boat, as being in danger to be
staved against a dangerous Sand-bank, which was not far
off; but the Cold we had endured in the Ship had so dis-
abled us in all Respects, that we were not apprehensive of
our Condition, being in a manner half dead the next Day,
when we were brought to our Vessel, where they had given
us over for lost, and bewailed our Death.

On the 24th another Tempest arose, which was so vio-
lent that twenty-four Ships were forced to cut their Masts,
among the Number of which was also our Vessel, not so
much by the Tempest, as for two Men of War being forced
from their Anchors, which would else have run foul upon
us. The 26th we got at last to the so long wished for *English*
Shore, and lay the same Night at *Canterbury*, the Cathed-
ral of which claims the Preference before any other in
England, and is not inferior to some of the best Structures
in the World. The 27th we came to *Grauesend*, and the
28th to *London*, being met in our Way by certain Direc-
tors of the *East-India* Company, who staid for the Presi-
dent's coming at *Blackwall*, with eight Coaches.

29. On the 30th I viewed the *East-India* House, and
took that Opportunity to return Thanks to the Directors
for the many Civilities I had received at the President's
Hands; and they having made a splendid Entertainment
for him that Day, I was also invited. The 31st, and the
1st of *January* we were splendidly treated by some *Eng-*
lish Merchants, and the 2d by Sir *Edmund Wright*, the
then Lord-Mayor of *London*. As he was much delighted
in the Relation of the many Adventures that had befallen
us during our Voyage, so he would needs invite the Presi-
dent and me again the next Day, our Discourse running
upon the many Dangers we had escaped.

The Lord-Mayor, to shew us that Sea-faring People
were subject to such, and often escaped much greater Dan-
ger, related to us a Story of a certain *Dutch* Seaman, who,
being for some Crimes condemned to Death, his Punish-
ment was changed into that of Banishment into the Isle of
St. Helens, near which they were, which was done accord-
ingly. This poor Wretch, thinking this Solitude insup-
portable to him, resolved rather to hazard his Life at any
Rate, than to endure it; and, having met with a Coffin,
in which a Sea Officer had been interred the Day before,
he, without more ado, took out the dead Corps; and hav-
ing cut out the upper Board of the Coffin, made a kind of
Rudder, put himself into it, and so went out to Sea: As
good Chance would have it, the Ship unto which he had
belonged, was becalmed at a League and an half Distance
from the Shore; and the Ship's Crew observing so odd a
kind of a Vessel floating on the Surface of the Water,
thought it had been an Apparition, till, coming nearer
and nearer the Ship, they stood amazed at this unaccount-
able Boldness of the Man, who had ventured so far in two
or three Pieces of Boards, without being assured whether
he should be received or not. It being put to the Ques-
tion, it was at last resolved he should be taken on Board,
which was done accordingly; and he returned to *Holland*,
where he lived afterwards in the Town of *Horn*.

He gave us another Instance of this kind, of an *Eng-*
lishman, who, being taken by a *French* Privateer in the
Pacquet-Boat going from *England* to *Dublin*, was freed
from the Privateer by a sudden Storm, which parted them,
but soon after split the *Pacquet-Boat* against a Rock on the
Coast of *Scotland*, opposite to that of *Ireland*. The *Eng-*
lishman, with another of the Crew, happened to be cast
away

away upon the Rocks, where they made a Shift to erect a Hut out of some Boards belonging to their Ship. They lived upon the Sea-mews they caught, which they dried in the Sun, and so eat them raw; as also upon certain Eggs they found in the Crevices of the Rocks, which kept them from starving: But their greatest Want was fresh Water, of which they had none but what the Rain helped them to. They continued in this Condition six Weeks; at the Expiration of which the *Englishman*, waking in the Morning, missed his Companion (whom he supposed to be fallen from the Rock through Carelessness) the only Comfort of his Life. In this Solitude, which almost threw him into Despair, especially when the approaching Winter made every thing appear with a more doleful Aspect than before, his Hut being covered with Snow, he made the hardest Shift in the World to sustain himself, till after a miserable Life of eleven Months, some Seamen belonging to a *Flemish* Ship, commanded by Captain *Peckman*, famous for his Art in getting out the great Guns of the *Spanish Armada*, forced upon the Coast of *Scotland* and *Ireland* in 1588, by Tempest, as they were looking for Eggs, discovered this poor Wretch, whom, at last, with many Entreaties, they took into their Vessel, being all black, hairy, and meager, more like a Spectre than a Man; and having given him what Refreshments the Ship afforded, set him ashore at *Derry* in *Ireland*, from whence he afterwards returned into *England*.

A third Relation he was pleased to give us of a most surprising Resolution of four Seamen, who, being taken by the *Algerines*, and one of them being a Carpenter, they resolved to make a small Boat, and venture in it in the open Sea, in order to their Deliverance; accordingly, having secretly made what Preparation they could for the Execution of this Design, they took off five Boards from the Store-Room, two whereof were employed for the Bottom of the Boat, two more for the Sides, and the fifth for the Prow and Poop, their Quilt serving for Towe. The Boat being well pitched, and the appointed Time come, they found that their Boat was so little as not to contain above two, so that two of the Confederates were obliged to stay behind; the other two, being an *Englishman* and a *Dutchman*, persisting in their Resolution to go forward, let it cost what it would; accordingly, having found Means to provide a Pair of Oars, a Piece of a Sail, and a slender Portion of Bread and fresh Water, they boldly put to Sea, having neither Compass nor Astrolabe; so that being overtaken by a Storm, they were forced to go where the Wind would carry them, their chief Business being to cast out the Water which continually came into the Boat, and soon spoiled what little Bread they had; which together with the want of Rest, had brought them so low, that they were scarce able to stand on their Legs. In this miserable Condition Chance brought them to the Coast of *Barbary*, where, lighting on some Wood that served them to refit and enlarge their Boat, which they had no sooner done, but being in manifest Danger of being killed by the Inhabitants, were forced to chuse the main Sea a second Time, and, at last, after being tossed up and down in the Sea for ten Days, were cast upon the *Spanish* Coasts near the Cape of *St. Martin*, between *Alicant* and *Valencia*, where, being civilly entertained by the Inhabitants, they after came into *England*.

30. On the 6th I saw the King of *England* touch many Persons that were afflicted with the *Evil*, and the Ceremony being over, my Lord *Strafford* did me the Honour to introduce me to his Majesty to kiss his Hand, and afterwards to the Queen, both their Majesties, at several Times after, being pleased to bestow some Time in hearing my Relations of my Travels, especially of those into *Persia* and *Muscovy*. During my Stay of three Months in *England*, I spent Part of my Time at Court, and the rest in taking a View of what was most worthy of Observation in *London*, and the adjacent Places, such as *White-Hall*, *St. James's*, *Hampton-Court*, *Westminster-Hall*, and the *Abby*, *Greenwich*, the *Tower*, &c. And having by this Time sufficiently recovered myself of the Fatigue of so tedious a Voyage, and received the Money I expected from my native Country, I left *London* on the 20th of *March*, and taking Water for *Gravesend*, went

thence for *Rocheſter*, and coming the 24th to *Dover*, embarked the 28th for *Dunkirk*, where I arrived the same Day. The 30th I continued my Journey thence to *Newport*, where I stayed that Night, and came the next Day to *Bruges*, and the 29th to *Ghent*, where I stayed only to the 1st of *April*, when I prosecuted my Journey to *Brussels*, the capital City of the Province of *Brabant*. After a Stay of two Days at *Brussels*, I came the 9th to *Louvain*, and travelled the same Day four Leagues farther to *Mechlin*; thence I prosecuted my Journey the 6th to *Antwerp*, where I stayed two Days, and the 9th and 10th travelled to *Breda*, where, having spent the Remainder of that Day, I made five Leagues the next Day to *Bois-le-duc*, or *Baldue*.

The 13th I set forward again for *Gertrudenburg*, whence I took Boat the same Day for *Rotterdam*, where I arrived the 13th, and continued my Journey the same Day for *Delft*, and so farther through the *Hague*, by the Way of *Leyden* to *Harlem*. This City, which is the biggest next to *Amsterdam*, in the Province of *Holland*, challengeth the Glory of the Invention of the Mystery of Printing by one of its Inhabitants, named *Laurens Costar*, who, in the Year 1430, first made the Characters of Beech-wood, and afterwards having also found out the Ink, that to this Day is used by Printers, he changed the wooden Characters into leaden ones; and having at last made them of Tin, he brought the whole to Perfection in 1440; in Memory of which the Senate of *Harlem* have caused the following Inscription to be set over the House he lived in.

Memoria Sacrum, Typographia, Ars Artium omnium conservatrix, nunc primum inventa circa Annum 1440.

Leaving *Harlem* in the Evening, I came the same Night to *Amsterdam*, of which Place having heard so much in the *Indies*, I resolved to spend some Time in taking a View of it. The first Thing that surprized me the next Morning was, that vast Numbers of People which so crowded the Streets, that a Man could very hardly pass; but when I came to the Port, I stood amazed at the prodigious Number of Ships, which appeared at a Distance no otherwise than one continued Forest, especially when I was informed how many Ships were abroad at that Time, bound to all Parts of the World; and that I saw every Day a considerable Number go to their own, and other adjacent Coasts. The vast Stores brought thither even from all the most remote Parts of the World, especially in the House of the *East-India* Company, made me imagine no otherwise than that all I had seen in my Travels thro' so great a Part of the Globe, was centered in this Place, there being such prodigious Quantities of Spices, Silk, and Porcelain here, that *China*, and all the rest of the *Indies*, seemed to have exhausted their Store-houses, to lay them up in this City.

It was in the Year 1595, that the *Dutch*, by the Encouragement of a certain Merchant, whose Name was *Cornelius Houtman*, and who had lived a considerable Time in *Portugal*, undertook the first Voyage to the *East-Indies* along the *African* Coast; their Design of finding out the Northern Passage having proved abortive. The first Voyage did not answer the Expectation of the Merchants, notwithstanding which they sent eight Ships more thither. In 1598 and 1599, they sent another Squadron, but by different Owners, so that for fear of destroying this so powerful a Trade, a Charter was granted to all the Persons concerned in 1602, for twenty Years, and six Chambers erected, viz. at *Amsterdam*, consisting of twenty Directors, *Middleborough* for *Zealand*, twelve Directors; at *Delft*, and *Rotterdam* for the *Muse*; at *Horn*, and *Enkhuysen* for *West-Friesland*; these four last consisting each of seven Directors. According to the same Charter the City of *Amsterdam* was to defray one-half of all the Charges, and to send eight Deputies to their general Meetings, and those of the *Muse* and *West-Friesland* one half-Quarter each, and to send two Deputies each.

Their original Stock amounted to 6,600,000 *French* Livres, which was improved to that Degree, that in the Year 1613, the Persons concerned had gained two hundred and sixty upon the hundred, and the next Year the Profits were more considerable. The Regularity of the

Secrets

the 24th to Dover, em-
re I arrived the same
ourney thence to New-
and came the next Day
where I stayed only to
d my Journey to *Bruf-*
of *Brabant*. After
ne the 5th to *Louvain*,
ragues farther to *Mich-*
ey the 6th to *Antwerp*,
9th and 10th travelled
the Remainder of that
Day to *Bruxelles*, or

in for *Gertruidburg*,
or *Rotterdam*, where I
Journey the same Day
Hague, by the Way of
which is the biggest nest
of *Holland*, challengeth
Mystery of Printing by
James Caster, who, in
characters of Beech-wood,
but the Ink, that to this
ed the wooden Charac-
g at last made them of
fection in 1440; in Me-
low have caused the fol-
the Houle he lived in,

Arts Artium omnium con-
circu dnum 1440.

I came the same Night
iving heard so much in
e Time in taking a View
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people which so crowded
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the *Dutch*, by the Em-
e, whose Name was *Cara-*
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ers erected, viz. at *Am-*
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r, and *Rotterdam* for the
or *West-Friesland*; these
Directors. According to
rdam was to defray one-
d eight Deputies to their
e *Musee* and *West-Friez-*
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ed to 6,600,000 *French*
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The Regularity of the
Streets.

Streets and Water-channels, and the Neatness and Splendor of the Bridges and Houses of *Amsterdam* is not to be imagined, except by those who have been Eye-witnesses of it, especially those in the new Town, and many of which ought rather to be called Palaces than the Houses of private Persons. Among the publick Structures the old and new Churches are worth Observation, and if the Town-house be completed, according to the Draught I saw of it, it will, beyond Question, vie with any of the noblest Structures in the World, and the Exchange of *Amsterdam* surpasses that of *London*, in the Number of People that daily resort thither, as it does that of *Antwerp* in Magnificence; not to mention here the Gates of the City, and its three Sluices, which cannot be matched in the World, the publick School, Colledge, Arsenal, a Play-house, Anatomy-hall, and other publick Edifices, which deserve the Travellers peculiar Observation. But to come to a Conclusion of my Voyage; after a Stay of eight Days at *Amsterdam*, I took Shipping for *Hamburg* the 23d of April, where I arrived safely the 28th, and after I had rested myself there for one Day and Night, continued my Journey to *Gottorp*, which I reached the 1st of May, and had the Honour to be admitted to their Highnesses the Duke and Dutches of *Holslein*, unto whom I gave a short Account of the Success of my long and toilsome Travels.

31. The Observations published by our Author are of a mixed Nature, part of them from his own known Knowledge, and part from Information. It may be necessary therefore to say somewhat as to the Reasons which induced us to prefer these Observations to those of other Men, who might be Eye-witnesses of all they wrote. In the first place, let it be considered, that it is necessary to give the Reader the most Matter possible in the least Room, and therefore one extensive and well-wrote Voyage answers this End better than several, and at the same time avoids useless and tedious Repetitions. The Merit of the Writer was another great Consideration. It is manifest from the Commission with which he was intrusted, that he was a Man of Abilities, or otherwise he would not have been chosen. It appears from the foregoing Part of his Travels, that his Conduct justified their Choice, and that he made it his Business to bring back into *Germany* the clearest and best Intelligence that could be had, with regard to the Design which his Master had then in View, and that was the Opening a new Channel of Trade between *Europe* and the *Indies*. The same Reasons therefore that recommended him to, and procured him the Approbation of his Master, gave his Works a Title to a Place in this Collection, notwithstanding the Objections to which they may seem liable at the first Sight. But farther still; he was not only a Man of great Judgment himself, but of great Experience also; and as he was very capable of distinguishing upon Information what was fit for him to report, and what not, so he was no less careful in seeking his Information from such as had it most in their Power to instruct, and at the same time were least likely to impose upon him. The Advantage he had of consulting the *English* President upon what he was told by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* must have been of infinite Service, by enabling him to correct and explain whatever he received from them; therefore taking all these Advantages together, we may very safely conclude, that there hardly ever was a Voyage Writer better qualified to deliver what was fit for the Publick to see, than our Author.

It remains to give some Account of that Prince, by whose Direction these Voyages were undertaken, the Views he had in causing them to be undertaken, and the Consequences of such extraordinary and hazardous Undertakings so well and happily performed. *Frederick* the third, Duke of *Holslein* *Gottorp*, was the Son of *John Frederick*, Sovereign of that Country, and the Princess *Augusta*, Daughter to *Frederick* the second, King of *Denmark*. He succeeded his Father in his Dominions in the Year 1616, and having spent a great Part of his Time in improving his Country, settling new Manufactures there, and opening a free Commerce to *Sweden*, *Poland*, and *Russia*, he began about the Year 1630 to think of putting in Execution a Project which had long employed his Thoughts, by which he hoped thoroughly to people, and greatly to enrich, his new City of *Fredericksbadi*. He was led to this by the Incitement of

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some Merchants, whom he had drawn to settle in his Country by the great Encouragements he gave them, and who suggested the Possibility of bringing into, and settling the Silk Trade in his Dominions. At first Sight this must appear a very strange, and almost impracticable Project; but when attentively considered, it will appear in quite another Light.

We must in the first place consider, that the Northern Countries of *Europe* were at that Time entirely supplied with all kinds of Silk Manufactures from the Southern Countries, and these at the greatest Distance from them, which was attended with many and great Inconveniences, besides the capital Mischief of sending annually vast Sums of Money in return for these Manufactures. The only Remedy that could be applied to these Mischiefs was the establishing this Commodity in the North, by breeding and managing Silk-worms there, which was indeed a tedious, hazardous, and in all human Appearance, impracticable Undertaking, or else to sink a Step lower, and be content to import the Silk in the most reasonable Method, and at the lowest Price, so that the manufacturing it might prove sufficiently profitable to the People engaged therein. This Design too, though less difficult than the other, seemed hard enough to compass, since a Voyage from the *Baltick* to the *Mediterranean*, which was the only means whereby either *French*, *Spanish*, or *Italian* Silks could be brought to *Holslein*, must have been necessarily attended with such an Expence, and the Silks imported would have come at so dear a rate, that it would have been impossible, for many Years at least, to have manufactured them to any Advantage. The Commerce of the *Levant*, and the importing Silk from *Aleppo*, or *Smyrna*, must have been attended with still greater Difficulties and Expence, so that on this Side there seemed to be no Hopes of compassing such a Design.

But *Philip Crusius*, who first engaged the Duke to think of this Scheme, immediately obviated these Objections, by shewing that the *Persian* Silks might be had sooner, and at a cheaper rate in *Holslein* than in any of the Countries where they were then manufactured. The Way he proposed was through *Muscovy*, the Frontiers of which are divided from those of *Persia* by the *Caspian* Sea, the Silk Provinces of *Persia* lying on the Coasts of that Sea, so that the transporting them cross the *Russian* Empire could scarce be esteemed a more laborious or difficult Undertaking than the conveying them by Caravans from *Persia* through the *Turkish* Empire to *Smyrna*, or *Aleppo*; and consequently, if this Scheme could be executed, the Ports of *Russia*, which were very near, would serve as effectually for the Silk Manufacture in *Holslein*, as the Ports of the *Levant* for the Southern Parts of *Europe*. These were the Principles upon which *Crusius* went, and on which the Embassy, which Duke *Frederick* sent into *Persia*, was undertaken. Our Author's Journey from *Persia* into the *Indies* was, as we have before represented it, an additional Project to this, of establishing a Silk Manufacture, and the Grounds upon which the Duke went in this were likewise very just and reasonable, as in a very few Words we shall be able to shew. He was informed that a great Trade was carried on between *Persia* and *India* by Land, and therefore he very rightly conceived, that if his first Scheme took place, it might be very practicable to bring the *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures from *Persia* to the Coast of the *Caspian* Sea, and consequently, together with the Silk through *Russia* into his own Dominions.

This, I say, was that Prince's Design, and I thought it the more necessary to insist upon it at large, because there is not a Word dropp'd about it by our Author. On the contrary, his Observations look all another Way, and he seems to have employed himself chiefly in remarking on the *Portuguese*, *English* and *Dutch* Commerce in the *Indies*, which Observations, as they were fittest to be published to the World, were likewise best suited to conceal the true Design of his Voyages. I must take this Opportunity of remarking, that all the Civilists shewn him by Strangers in those Parts of the World, may be accounted for from hence, I mean from their being morally certain, that the better he was acquainted, and the more thoroughly he was informed of the Nature of their Trade, the more impracticable his Master's Design would appear of interfering therein, by a

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direct Navigation to the *Indies*, which they all along apprehended to be the Duke of *Holstein's* Design, and therefore thought, and very justly too, that a better Method than this could not be devised to defeat it. This likewise accounts for the rendering the Embassadors and our Author's Accounts publick, in which, though all the Transactions are in themselves equally curious and entertaining, yet they make known little or nothing that relates to the Duke's real Projects, and are therefore considered in this Light nothing more than political Amusements.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that all these fine Schemes, though built upon just Principles, and pursued with great Wisdom and Prudence, proved in the End absolutely ineffectual, which was owing to the Wars and other Confusions that fell out soon after, both in *Germany* and *Russia*; in the first of which the Duke of *Holstein* himself had his Share, so that the Event ought not in the least to prejudice our Opinion against the Duke's Design, which has been since revived by other great Princes, and will be some Time or other effectually executed, and thereby a new Turn given to the Commerce of the *Indies*. The Czar *Alexis Michael*, in the Year 1608, revived this Project, which was then disappointed by the Rebellion of the *Cossacks*, who made themselves Masters of the City of *Astracan*, and thereby cut off for a Time the Correspondence between *Russia* and *Persia*. It was with this View also, that the late Czar *Peter the Great*, who understood all those

Points better than any of his Predecessors, and perhaps better than any other Prince of his Time in *Europe*, made himself Master of all the Provinces bordering on his Side the *Caspian Sea*, and thereby bid very fair for engrossing the whole Silk Trade, that is, so far as it depends upon *Persia*.

I might there put the Reader in mind, that we too have very lately proceeded upon this Plan, and have very happily begun to establish, by the Means of our *Russian Company*, this very Commerce with *Persia* through the *Moscovite Empire*, which is more than sufficient to shew, that the Duke of *Holstein's* Scheme, though it actually failed by unforeseen and unavoidable Accidents, was in its Nature perfectly just, and well founded, since, if it can be rendered useful and practicable to us, it must not only have been more useful, and more practicable to him, who was so near a Neighbour to *Russia*, but all Circumstances considered, the wisest and best laid Scheme for the Improvement of his Dominions, that perhaps it was within the Compass of the human Understanding to invent or contrive. Thus I have done all that lies in my Power to render these Voyages intelligible to the *English* Reader in their utmost Extent, by explaining many things that have hitherto slept in Obscurity, and might possibly have been buried therein for ever, if these Voyages had not been made a Part of this Collection.

SECTION XXVIII.

A Supplemental Account of the Commodities, Manufactures, and Produce of the several Countries of the Indies, together with Remarks on the Nature and Value of that Trade in respect to Europe.

From the Works of *John Baptist Tavernier*.

1. *An Introductory Account of the Contents of the Section.* 2. *A succinct View of the Silk, Cotton, Indigo, Spice and Drug Trade in the Indies.* 3. *The Nature of the Diamond Mines, the Manner of their working them, and the Value of their Produce.* 4. *The Mines in the Island of Borneo, the Nature of the Stones found there, and an Account of the largest Diamonds in the World.* 5. *Of coloured Stones, such as Rubies, Opals, Sapphires, Turquoises, and Emeralds.* 6. *Of the Pearl Fisheries in the East and West-Indies, and of the Difference in point of Size, Shape and Colour of those Jewels.* 7. *Of Coral Fisheries, and of the Value of this Commodity in the Indies.* 8. *Of Amber, Ambergrease, Musk, and other Perfumes.* 9. *Of the Bezoar in Cows, Goats, and Apes, their different Virtues and Values, and of the Porcupine and Serpent Stones.* 10. *Of the Gold, Silver, and Tin Mines of the Indies.* 11. *A Description of the Kingdom of Kachemire, called the Paradise of the Indies, and its Produce.* 12. *Of the Provinces of Multan, Candahar, Cabulistan, and Lahor.* 13. *Of the Provinces of Haoud and Varad, and of the Fruits and Commodities which they produce.* 14. *Of other Provinces of the Mogul Empire, and of what is most remarkable in each of them.* 15. *A Description of the Country of Bengal, one of the pleasantest and most fruitful Countries of the Indies.* 16. *Of the rich Kingdom of Boutan, its Inhabitants, Commodities, and Manufactures.* 17. *Of the Power, Splendor, and Magnificence of the Monarch of that Country.* 18. *Of the Kingdom of Tipra, and of the Gold and Silk Trade carried on there.* 19. *Of the noble Kingdom of Asem, and of the rich Mines in that Country; as also of Gum Lac, and other valuable Commodities which it produces.* 20. *Of Tonquin, and its Products.* 21. *A concise History of that famous Kingdom.*

1. **A**S we have in the foregoing Sections given great Lights into the Commerce of the *Indies* from Authors best acquainted with them, and of the highest Reputation, so, by way of Supplement to these, we shall add such Chapters of *Mr. Tavernier's Travels* as are fittest to compleat that Design, reserving the rest of his Work for the succeeding Volume, to which it properly belongs. His Character is so well known and established in the World, that it may seem very unnecessary to say any thing of it in this Place, and therefore we shall content ourselves with a very few Observations that seem more immediately requisite, in order to connect what we have taken from him with what we have given before on the same Subject from others. He was not only a Traveller, but a Merchant also, and therefore spoke from a perfect Knowledge and Experience in the Matters of which he writes, and more particularly with regard to the Commodities and

Manufactures of these Countries, in which he dealt for many Years with great Success.

He is more copious, and at the same time no less exact, than any of the Authors who have attempted to point out the Advantages derived from our Commerce in the East, by which I mean in general the Commerce of the *Europeans*. We discover in his Writings a greater Compass of Thought, and a more masterly Turn in his Observations, than in almost any other Book of the kind, which is owing to his having considered these things over and over, in consequence of the several Voyages he had made to the *Indies*, and the Pains he had taken to make himself Master of every thing that had any Relation to the Disposition of *Indian* Commodities after they were brought to *Europe*. It must be allowed, that this sometimes tempts him to digress a little from his Subject, and run into a general Representation of the State of the same sort of Commerce in other

deceitful, and perhaps Time in Europe, made as bordering on his Side very fair for engrossing so far as it depends upon

mind, that we too have an, and have very happy of our *Russian* Commerce through the *Mohave* sufficient to shew, that though it actually failed by ents, was in its Nature nce, if it can be rendered must not only have been to him, who was to near circumstances considered, the Improvement of his within the Compass of the contrive. Thus I have render these Voyages in- their utmost Extent, by hitherto slept in Obscurity, buried therein for ever, if ade a Part of this Col-

duce of the several Value of that Trade

be Silk, Cotton, Indigo, Manner of their work- the Nature of the Stones, such as Rubies, and West-Indies, and of the Fisheries, and of the other Perfumes. 9. Of Porcupine and Serpent tion of the Kingdom of nces of Multan, Can- of the Fruits and Com- of what is most remark- antest and most fruitful mmodities, and Manu- Country. 18. Of the ble Kingdom of Afem, Commodities which it us Kingdom.

in which he dealt for

same time no less exact, attempted to point out Commerce in the East, ommerce of the Europe- a greater Compa of turn in his Observations, he kind, which is owing s over and over, in con- had made to the *Indies*, himself Master of every e Disposition of *Indian* ht to Europe. It must empts him to digest a o a general Representa- of Commerce in other Parts

Parts of the World; but still this proves so far from being tedious and unpleasant, that we may safely affirm, there are no Passages in his Writings, either more curious, or more instructive. It was for this Reason that we judge it requisite to give them entire, without venturing to abridge, or interpolate them, which would only distract the Author's Sense, without answering any good Purpose. After an accurate Account of the State of *Mogulistan*, at the Time he travelled through it, he proceeds thus:

2. *Kajembajar*, a Village in the Kingdom of *Bengal*, sends abroad every Year twenty-two thousand Bales of Silk, every Bale being a hundred Weight, which are bought up, either by the *Dutch*, or Merchants of *Tartary* and *Mogulistan*, to make up their Carpets; some all Silk, and others mixed with Silver and Gold, which being for the most part made in the Province of *Guzerat*, are sold either at *Amadabat*, or *Surat*. The Worsted Carpets are made at *Pattapour*, twelve Leagues from *Agra*; Satins, some plain, others streaked with Gold; Tailants of the same Fashion; Patoles, a very thin Silk Stuff, painted with all sorts of Flowers. The raw Silk of *Kajembajar* is yellowish, as that of *Sicily* and that of *Perfia* is; but they can whiten it with a Lye made of the Ashes of a Tree called *Adam's Fig-tree*, that it shall be like that of *Palmyra*. In the Kingdom of *Golconda* are made the painted Calicoes, (Calicuts) called Chinces by the Merchants, but Calmender by the Natives, because they are painted with a Pencil.

There are Chinces made in *Mogulistan*, but they are all printed, and nothing so fine or beautiful as the former. These serve for Coverlets of Beds, Table-cloths, Pillow-biers, Handkerchiefs, but especially for Waistcoats both for Men and Women. The fine Calicut Chinces made at *Brampour* are used all over *Asia* for Ormis, or Womens Veils; the *Basta's*, or Calicuts, painted red, blue, and black, are carried white to *Agra* and *Amadabat* to be dyed; some they dye like watered Camblets, which increase their Price. The white Calicuts are woven in several Places in *Bengal* and *Mogulistan*, and are carried to *Raiosfary* and *Barache* to be whitened, because of the large Meadows and Plenty of Lemons that grow thereabouts, for they are never so white as they should be, till they are dipped in Lemon-Water: They are of two sorts, wide and narrow, but of various Lengths; some Calicuts are made so fine, you can hardly feel them in your Hand, and the Thread when spun, is scarce discernable. Cotton twined and untwined comes from the Provinces of *Brampour* and *Guzerat*; but the latter is seldom exported, unless it be to *Ormuz*, *Balsora*, or the *Philippine* Isles.

Indigo comes from several Parts of the *Mogul's* Country, but differs in Quality; the best comes from the Territories of *Biaria*, *Indocca*, and *Corja*, a Day or two's Journey from *Agra*: That which is made flat of this sort comes from *Sarquesse*, a Day's Journey from *Surat*: The Indigo which is made in *Golconda* is inferior in Goodness; as also that which is made up at *Barache* and *Agra*, tho' this last is most sought for, because it is made up in half Balls. The worst sort is that made at *Bengal*, *Brampour*, and *Amadabat*. It is made of an Herb much like our Hemp, which is sown every Year after the Rains. They cut it three Times every Year; but the first Cutting makes the best Indigo, and the second better than the third: 'Tis known by the Briskness of the Colour. When they have cut it, they call it into Pits half full of Water, which they raise to the Brim, with the Herb put into it, and then pound it about till it becomes as thick as Mud; then they let it settle for some Days, and afterwards drain the Water out of it, which done, they take it up in Baskets, and making it up flat at the Bottom, and sharp at the Top like an Egg, set it in the Sun to dry. Great Quantities of Saltpetre comes from *Agra* to *Paina*; but that which is refined is three Times the Value of that which is not.

Cardamum, which is the most excellent of all Spices, grows in the Territories of *Vijapour*, and because there is no great Store of it where it grows, it is only made use of in *Asia*, at the Tables of the greatest Princes. Ginger grows in the Dominions of the Great *Mogul*, and is brought in great Quantities from *Amadabat*, where it

grows more than in any other Part of *Asia*, and it is hardly to be imagined how much is transported candied into other Parts. Pepper is of two Sorts, the small and the great; the small comes from *Bantam*, *Achen*, and some other Parts of the East, it is seldom or ever carried out of *Asia*, where it is spent in great Quantities, especially among the *Mahomedans*; for there is double the Grain of this small Pepper in one Pound to what is in the great; besides, 'tis not so hot in the Mouth. The great Pepper comes from the Coast of *Malabar*, and some from *Vijapour*. Nutmegs come from the *Molucca* Islands, as also from the Islands of *Banda*; but the biggest grow in the Island of *Damoe*. It is observable of the Nutmeg-tree, 'tis never planted; but, when the Nutmegs are ripe, certain Creatures come from the Islands towards the South, and devour them whole, but are forced to throw them up again before they be digested; the Nutmeg then besmeared with a vicious Matter falling to the Ground, takes Root, and produces a Tree, which would never thrive if planted. Cloves grow at *Amboyna*, *Ellias*, *Sarem*, and *Bours*. Cinnamon comes at present from the Island of *Ceylon*; the Tree that bears it is like a Willow, and has three Barks, the two outermost may be taken off, and is the best Cinnamon; the third must not be meddled with, because then the Tree will die, and therefore great Art must be used to take off the two uppermost, lest the third should be hurt with the Knife. The *Hollanders* are at a vast Expence at *Ceylon* to gather their Cinnamon, because the King sends his Forces upon them when they are gathering to surprize them, and take it from them; so that they are forced to have a Guard upon their Workmen of seven or eight hundred Men; and this makes Cinnamon dearer, and so much the more because the *Dutch* have spoiled the Trade for it from the Countries of the *Rajabs* about *Corbin*.

The Drugs brought to *Surat* from all Parts of the *Indies* are Sal-Armoniac, Borax, Gum-Lac, Gum-Lac washed, Gum-Lac in Sticks of Wax, Saffron, Cummin, white and black, Arlet, Frankincense, Myrrh, Gilet, and Bolti; Cassia, Sugar-Candy, Allitunat, Anni-feed both gross and small, Oupelot, Cointre, Auzorout, Aloes-Succotrine, Lignum-Aloes, some in great, and others in small Pieces; Liquorice, Vez Cabouli, out of Gum-Lac, the Natives extract that lively Scarlet-Colour with which they paint their Calicoes; and for that end it is carried into *Perfia*. That which remains after the Colour is drawn out, is fit only to make Sealing-wax of; and the Women of *Surat* get their Living by cleansing and colouring it for that Use. Powdered Sugar is brought in great Quantities from the Kingdom of *Bengal*, and there is a great Trade for it at *Ougeli*, *Patna*, *Dacca*, and other Places. The People of *Bengal* say, that there is no Poison more dangerous than Sugar kept thirty Years. Loaf-Sugar is made at *Amadabat*, where they have the perfect Art of refining it. Opium comes from *Brampour*, where Tobacco also grows in great Quantities, so that the Inhabitants having no Vent for it, let it rot upon the Ground.

3. Diamonds, which are the most precious of all Stones, are found partly in Mines, partly in Rivers. At *Raolconda*, a Town five Leagues distant from *Golconda*, and eight or nine from *Vijapour*, in the Province of *Camatica*, is a Diamond-Mine, discovered not above two hundred Years ago: In it are found the cleanest Stones, with the whitest Water; but being forced to fetch them out of the Rocks with a great Iron-leaver and many Blows, they often flaw the Diamonds, and make them look like Crystal: And this is the Reason there are so many soft Stones found in this Mine, though they make a great Shew. If a Stone be clean, they give it only a Turn or two upon the Wheel, that it may lose as little as possible of the Weight; but if it has any Flaws, Points, or black Specks, they cut it into Fassets, and work the Flaw into a Ridge to hide it. The Trade at the Mines is free and just, and transacted without any talking on either Side, the Buyer and Seller expressing themselves by taking each other by the Hands; and so, in the same Place where there are many People, a Parcel of Goods shall be sold seven or eight Times, and no Man know it. At *Gani*, or *Calour*, seven Days Journey from *Golconda* Eastwards, is another Diamond-Mine: It lies

lies between the Town and a Mountain, and the nearer they dig to the Mountain, the larger Stones they find; but there is none on the Top.

This Mine was found not above an hundred Years ago by a Countryman, who digging his Ground to sow Millet, found a large Diamond twenty-five Carrats Weight: Upon this, the rich Men in the Town fell to digging in the Place, and found, as they do still, bigger Stones than in any other Mines, viz. some above forty Carrats, and one of 900, which *Mangimela* presented to *Aurang-Zeb*: But the Mischief of these Stones is, they partake of the Quality of the Soil, and are few of them clean; but some are black, and others red, and others green and yellow. Near *Soumelpour*, in the Kingdom of *Bengal*, is a River called *Gouel*, where there are Diamonds found mixed with the Sand. The Way from *Agra* to this Town, lies thro' *Halabas*, *Banarens*, and *Sassoren*, from whence you pass to the Island of *Rhodis*, which is one of the strongest Places in all *Asia*, being seated upon a Mountain, fortified with six Bastions, twenty-five Pieces of Cannon, and three Motes full of Water, in which are good Fish, to *Soumelpour*, which is a great Town, but the Houses are built of Earth, covered with Branches of Cocoa-trees. The Road from the Fort lies through dangerous Woods, because much pestered with Robbers. The Rajah, in whose Jurisdiction it is, lives half a League from the Town in Tents set upon a rising Ground, at the Foot whereof runs the River *Gouel*, where Diamonds are found. This River descends from the Southern Mountains, and being filled with the great Rains, brings down, in *December*, vast Quantities of Sand, which the People in great Multitudes search for fifty Leagues together, and find all those Points which are called natural Points in it, but seldom find any large Stone.

4. In the Island of *Borneo*, which is the largest Island in the World, is another River, called *Succadan*, in the Sand whereof they find Diamonds, as hard as any in the other Mines; but the Queen of the Mine will permit none to be carried out of it; so that all that come from thence are conveyed out by Stealth. In this Island it is remarkable that the Queen, and not the King, has the Sovereign Command; as have also the inferior Women the Rule over the Men; for the People are so curious always to have a lawful Heir upon the Throne, that the Husband not being certain that the Children she bears are his own, they rather chuse to be governed by a Woman, to whom they give the Title of Queen, her Husband being only her Subject, and having no Power but what she permits him.

At the Mine of *Roccolenda* they weigh by *Mangolins*, which are each a Carrat and three Quarters, and pay in new Pagods; as they do also at *Calour*. At the Mine of *Soumelpour*, in *Bengal*, they weigh by *Rabs*, which are each Seven Eighths of a Carrat, and pay in *Roupies*. The Roads to the Mines, though some fabulous Relations had made them very dangerous, full of Tygers, Lions, and cruel People, are not only free from all Wild-Beasts, but the People are very loving and courteous. The Price of Diamonds are thus to be known: If it be a thick Stone, well squared, and have all its Corners, and the Water be white and lively, without Specks or Flaw, such a Stone is worth an hundred and fifty Livres, or ten Pounds fifteen Shillings Sterling; or of the same Value if it is cut in Facets, which they call a Rose-Diamond, if it be a fair Breadth, and of the same Perfection; and if a Stone weighs more Carrats it is rated in Price. Imperfect Diamonds are not above half the Value as perfect. The two biggest Diamonds in the World for cut Stones, belong, the one to the Mogul, which weighs Two hundred and seventy-nine Carrats, and nine sixteenths of a Carrat; and the other to the Duke of *Tuscany*, which weighs an hundred and thirty-one Carrats, both clean and well shaped. The Miners call a Diamond *Iri*, and the *Turks*, *Perfians*, and *Arabs*, *Simas*.

There are but two Places in all the East where coloured Stones are found, and they are in the Kingdom of *Pegu*, and Island of *Ceylon*; the first is a Mountain twelve Days Journey or thereabouts, from *Sireri*, towards the N. E. it is called *Capean*. In this Mine are found great

Quantities of Rubies, and *Espenels*, or Mothers of Rubies, yellow Topazes, blue and white Sapphires, *Jacinths*, *Ametheysts*, and other Stones of different Colours. Among those Stones which are hard, other Stones are found of different Colours, but being soft they are of no Esteem. All these sorts of Stones the Natives call Rubies, and they are the only Commodity of the Country, which makes it very poor. From *Asa*, which is the chief Fort of *Pegu*, you must go by Water to *Sireri*, because the Roads by Land are almost impassable, by reason of the Tygers, Lions and Elephants, which abound in the adjacent Woods.

The King of *Pegu* keeps all his choice Stones for himself and Subjects, and suffers few of them more than of three Carrats Weight, that are clean, to be exposed. Rubies are sold by *Rabs*, and the Payment is made for them in *Pagods*. A Ruby of above six *Rabs* Weight, is almost invaluable. There are some Rubies, but most of them are Ballies Rubies, and abundance of Ballard-Rubies, Sapphires, and Topazes, found in the Mountains, that run from *Pegu* to the Kingdom of *Cambaya*. The other Place where Rubies are found, are in a River in the Island of *Ceylon*, which descends from certain high Mountains in the Middle of the Island; it swells very high when the Rains fall, and when it becomes low again the People make it their Business to search among the Sands for Rubies, Sapphires, and Topazes. All the Stones that are found in this River are generally fairer and clearer than those in *Pegu*. In *Hungary* is a Mine of Opals, a Stone no where to be found in the whole World but there. Turquoises are of two sorts, viz. the old Rock and the new, and are only found in *Persia*. The old Rock lies near a great Town called *Micabourg*, and is reserved only for the King's Use, to adorn Hilts of Swords, Knives, and Daggers, instead of enamelling. The new Rock is of a pale Blue, inclining to white, and little esteemed. Emeralds, though said to be Oriental, are not found in any Part of the Eastern Countries, but are brought from *Peru* to the *Philippine* Islands, and so transported into *Europe*.

6. The Fishery for Pearls is in divers Places, as in the *Persian* Gulph, round about the Island of *Bacran*: It belongs to the King of *Persia*, who has a Fort there, and in it a Garrison of three hundred Men. Every one that fishes here pays to the King five *Sheffis*, whether he gets any thing or no; and the Merchants pay at a certain Rate for every thousand of Oysters. There is a Pearl-fishery likewise upon the Coast of *Arabia-Felix*, right against *Bacran*, near the City of *Catifa*, which, together with all the Country, is under the Jurisdiction of an *Arabian* Prince. The Pearls that are taken here, are sold to the *Indians*, who will give a good Price for all, as well the uneven as round ones. All over *Asia* they chuse such as are of a yellowish Water, inclining to white before the pure white; because, they say, they will never change the Colour as the white will, both by Time and constant Wearing. There is a wondrous Pearl in the Possession of *Iman-Hell*, Prince of *Mascat*, which is the best in the World, not so much for its Bigness, for it weighs not above twelve Carrats and one sixteenth, nor for its perfect Roundness, but for its transparent Clearness, for you may see almost through it: The Great Mogul, by a *Banjan*, offered forty thousand Crowns for it, but it was not accepted. There is another Fishery for Pearls in the Sea that washes the Walls of *Manar*, in the Island of *Ceylon*; for their Roundness and Water they are the fairest that are found, but rarely weigh above three or four Carrats. There are excellent Pearls of a very good Water, and large, found on the Coast of *Japan*, but are rarely fished for, because Jewels are of no Esteem among the Inhabitants.

In the *West-Indies* there are several Places for Pearl-fishing, viz. all along the Island of *Cubagna*; but the Pearls are small, seldom weighing above five Carrats. In the Island of *Margarita*, a League from *Cubagna*, but a larger Island, the Pearls are not found here to plentifully, but are of an excellent Water and very big, some weighing fifty Carrats. *Camogatte*, near the Continent, *Isle de la Hachia*, and *St. Mariba*, produce weighty Pearls, but ill-shaped, and inclining to a Lead Colour. *Scotch* Pearl and *Bacran*, though a Necklace of them is of Value, yet they

or Mothers of Rubies, Saphires, Jacintas, Amethysts, &c. Among these Stones are found some which are of no Esteem, as they call Rubies, and they Country, which makes it the chief Port of *Pegu*, you pass the Roads by Land of the Tygers, Lions and adjacent Woods.

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they are not to be compared with the *Eastern* or *West-Indian* Pearl. These sorts of Pearl do all grow in an Oyster, like Eggs in the Belly of a Pullet, and there are many in some, but none in many others. They fish in the Eastern Seas twice a Year; the first Time in *March* and *April*, and the second Time in *August* and *September*, and the Fairs are kept in *June* and *November*. Before they fish in any Place, they try before-hand whether it will turn to any Account, by sending seven or eight Barks, which are to bring them each a thousand of Oysters, which they open, and if the Oysters per thousand yield five Fanes, or above, as some will yield seven, then they know the Fishing will turn to an Account. They fish in twelve Fathom Water; and five or six Leagues off at Sea: They are guarded by some small Men of War, to defend them from the *Malabars*, to which every Diver pays eight Piasters for their Attendance. The more Rains fall the more profitable the Fishery generally happens to be.

7. Coral, though of little Esteem in *Europe*, yet is much valued in the other three Parts of the World. There are three Places where they fish for it upon the Coast of *Sardinia*, viz. *Arguerri*, *Beza*, and the Isle of *St. Peter*. On the Coasts of *Africa* also they fish for it near the Baf- tion of *France*, and *Tabargue*, and on the Coasts of *Sicily*, near *Trepano*, but the Coral is small, and ill-coloured. Near Cape de *Guiree*, on the Coast of *Catalonia*, the Coral is large, and of an excellent Colour, but the Branches are short. At *Majorca* and *Corfica* there is a Fishery for it. These Places are all in the Mediterranean-Sea, for there is none at all in the Main-Ocean. Some think that Coral is soft in the Sea, but it is really hard; though it is true, that in certain Months in the Year there is a milky Subtance issues from it, and if it falls upon any thing, produces Coral; and there are certain Worms in the Sea that eat it.

They fish for Coral from the Beginning of *April* to the End of *July*, but never above forty Miles from Land, and that in such swift Barks, that no Gallies can overtake them. In *Japan* they value nothing so much as a good Grain of Coral, wherewith they pull the String that shuts their Purfes; and in this they seek to excel one another; so that a Piece of Coral as big as an Egg, fair and clean, without any Flaw, will produce as much as a Man can, in reason, ask for it. The *Portuguese* have sold such Pieces for 20000 Crowns. All over *Asia*, and especially all over the Northern Parts of the Mogul's Dominions, and all along the Mountains, as you go to the Kingdoms of *Asem* and *Boutan*, the meaner sort of People wear it for Bracelets and Necklaces.

8. Yellow Amber is only found upon the Coast of *Prussia* in the Baltic-Sea, for the Sea throws it upon the Sand, when certain Winds blow. The Elector of *Brandenbourg* farms it out for 20, and sometimes for 22000 Crowns a Year; and the Farmers keep a continual Guard on both Sides of the Sea, that it be not stole. It is nothing else but a certain Congelation made in the Sea like Gum; for sometimes Flies and Gnats are congealed in it. In *China* it is a Custom for the great Lords, at their Feasts, for Grandeur and Magnificence, to set three or four differents sorts of Perfuming-Pots on the Table, and to throw into every one of them a vast Quantity of Amber, and the bigger the Pieces the more magnificent is the Entertainment accounted. This Waste of Amber makes it the best Commodity that can be carried into *China*; but the *Hollanders* have engrossed it.

As for Ambegreece, no Man knows what it is, or where, or how it is produced. It is most probable that it must be in the Eastern Sea, though some have been found on the Coasts of *England*, and other Nations of *Europe*. The greatest Quantity of it is found upon the Coast of *Melinda*, at the Mouth of the *Rio de Sena*. A *Portuguese* sailing from *Goa* to *Manillas*, after he had passed the Straights of *Malacca*, found a Piece of thirty-three Pound Weight, and a *Middleburg*er a Piece of forty-two Pound upon the Coast of the Island of *St. Maurice*.

The best sort, and greatest Quantity of Muk, comes from the Kingdom of *Boudon*; and from thence it is brought to *Paina*, the chief City of *Bengal*, where the Natives truck it away with the Merchants for Coral, Yel-

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low Amber, and other Commodities, rather than Gold or Silver. It grows in a Bladder on the Belly of a certain Creature, between the Genitals and the Navel, which the People who sell it cut off after it is killed. It looks like clotted Blood when it is new cut off. None of these Creatures have above one Bladder, which is not bigger than an Hen's Egg, and will not yield above half an Ounce of Muk; and sometimes three or four will not yield an Ounce. The Scent of the Beast is so strong, that it makes one's Head ach to come near it. These Creatures must be certainly very numerous, considering the great Quantity of Muk that is to be sold.

9. Bezoar comes from a Province of *Golconda*, towards the N.E. It is found in the Paunch of a Wild-Goat, which brouzes upon a certain Shrub; and having eaten the Buds or Tops of the Boughs, the Bezoar is produced by them in the Maw of the Goat, and is of divers Shapes, according to the Form of the Bud. The Natives, by feeling on the Belly of the Goat, know how many Stones he has within him. The Excellency of the Bezoar is in the Bigness, although the small have the same Vertue with the larger; for if five or six Stones weigh an Ounce, they are worth no more than seventeen or eighteen *franks*; but if one Stone weighs an Ounce, it is worth an hundred *franks*; and one of four Ounces and an half was sold for two hundred *Livres*. In what Part of the Body the Bezoar is bred, none can tell. As well in the *East* as *West-Indies*, there are great Quantities of Bezoars that breed in Cows, and of a great Bigness, viz. seventeen or eighteen Ounces, but they are little esteemed, six Grains of the former working more powerfully than thirty of this.

The Bezoar that breeds in Apes is so strong that two Grains will work as powerfully as six Grains of Goat's Bezoar, but it is very scarce, as being found only in the Apes of the Island of *Macassar*. The Scarcity as well as Strength, makes it dear, so that a Piece as big as a Nut is worth a hundred Crowns.

The Porcupine-Stone, which is bred in the Head of that Creature, is more precious than Bezoar against Poison: If it be steeped in Water a Quarter of an Hour, it makes the Water as bitter as possible. There is another Stone taken out of the Belly of the same Creature, as good as the other; but being steeped in Water it looses nothing of its Weight or Bulk, as the other does.

The Serpent-Stone, which is about the Bigness of a Pidgeon's Egg, is almost Oval, thick in the Middle, and thin about the Sides. The *Indians* say it is bred in the Head of certain Serpents; but it is more probably a Composition of certain Drugs, because they are to be had of the *Bramins* only: But, however it be, it is of excellent Vertue to drive away Venom from such as are bitten with venomous Beasts; for, being laid to the Wound, it will not come off till it has drawn out all the Poison; and being steeped in Womens or Cows Milk, it recovers its former Vertue, making the Milk like Corruption. There is another Stone, called the Serpent's Stone with the Hood, because that kind of Serpent has an Hood hanging down behind the Head, in which this Stone is found. It is often found as big as a Pullet's Egg; but it is not found in any less Serpent than of two Foot Length: This Stone being rubbed against another Stone, yields a Slime, which, being drank in Water by the Person that is poisoned, powerfully expels the Venom. These Serpents are found only on the Coasts of *Melinda*: But the Stones are bought of the *Portuguese* Mariners and Soldiers that come from *Mozambique*.

10. Gold is found in the greatest Quantities in the Islands of *Japan*, which lie Eastward of *China*; though some think it's brought from *Formosa* thither. The *Chinese* also exchange a sort of Gold, produced in their Country, for Silver, Weight for Weight, because, they having no Silver-Mines, prefer it before Gold, but it is the coarsest of all the Gold. In *Asia*, in the Island of *Celebes*, or *Macassar*, there is found Gold among the Sand of their Rivers. In *Achen*, or *Sumatra*, after the rainy Season, when the Torrents are waded, they find Flints waded down from the Mountains with Veins of Gold in them; and the Inhabitants of the West-side of the same Isle,

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bring the *Dutch*, when they lade their Pepper, great Store of Gold, but as bad, if not worse, than their *China* Gold. Towards *Tibet*, which is the ancient *Caucasus* in the Territories of a Rajah, beyond the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, there are three Mountains close by each other, one of which produces excellent Gold, the other Granats, and the third *Lapis Lazuli*. There is also Gold which comes from *Tipra*, but is as coarse as the *Chinese* Gold; and these are all the Places in *Asia* that yield Gold. In *Africa* Gold is more plentiful than in *Asia*. Out of the Empire of *Monomotapa*, which extends itself as far as *Presbyter Jobn's* Country, comes the purest Gold in all *Africa*, where they dig it with Eafe out of the Earth, not being constrained to dig above two or three Foot deep, and in some Places not inhabited for want of Water. The People find Lumps of Gold upon the Surface of the Earth of an Ounce Weight or more.

The King of the *Abyssins* sent the Mogul a natural Tree all of Gold, two Foot four Inches high, and six Inches about in the Stock, with ten or twelve Branches, some half a Foot long, and an Inch about, and some smaller: In some Branches appeared Bunches like Buds, and the Roots were thick and short. The Province where the River *Sena* has its Head, called *Monkaran*, has a King of its own, and is very healthy: There the People find great Plenty of Gold-dust in the Rivers that fall into the *Sena*, but is much coarser than the other. The Cafres also of the other Provinces bring great Store of Gold yearly to *Sofala* and *Cbeapen-Goura*, which are under the *Portuguese*, to buy such Commodities as they want, when the Ships come. Some Years there are Cafres that come from the *Cape of Good-Hope* to *Sofala*, which is four Months Journey, and bring very fine Gold in Pieces, like that of *Monomotapa*, which, they say, they find in the Mountains by digging ten or twelve Foot deep.

They also bring great Quantities of Elephants Teeth; for they abound so in Elephants, that the Palliades of their Fortrels and Pales of their Parks, are all made of Elephants Teeth. Their usual Diet is Elephants F. sh. In the Kingdom of *Beroe* grows a Root of a yellow Colour, very bitter, and about an Inch thick, which cures all sorts of Fevers by vomiting. There are no Silver-Mines in *Asia*, unless it be in *Japan*. But a few Years since there have been discovered plentiful Mines of Tin at *Delegora*, *Sangora*, *Bordelen*, and *Bata*, which have spiced the Trade of the *English* thither for that Commodity.

11. The great Extent of the vast Empire of the Mogul, as well as the various Temperature and Productions of the Soil and Climate, makes as much Difference between one Province and another, as if they were several Kingdoms; and therefore there can be no way to give an exact Account of all Things remarkable: But, considering the several Provinces distinctly, and what's peculiarly observable in them. We will begin with the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, commonly called the *Paradise of Ind-ian*; a Country, tho' mountainous, yet so fruitful, that you would take it for an ever-green Garden, being full of Trees, and Pastures with all sorts of Cattle, as Cows, Goats, Sheep, Horses, Partridges, Hares, Gazels, and the Musk-Animals. There are Abundance of Bees, but no Serpents, Tygers, Bears and Lions. The Fields produce Rice, Corn, Pulse of divers sorts, Hemp, and Saffron, being inter-fected with Ditches, Lakes, and Rivulets, to advance their Plenty. Up and down every where also are seen some of our *European* Trees, Flowers, and all sorts of Plants, as Apples, Pears, Prunes, Apricots, Nuts, and Vines; and their Gardens are full of Melons, Water-Melons, Sherrets, Betts, Radishes, and all sorts of our Pot-herbs, and some that we have not: But their Fruits are not so many, nor so good as ours.

The People are very industrious as well as intelligent, and make Pallekies, Trunks, Bulteads, Standithes, Boxes, and Spoons, with many other Pieces of handsome Workmanship, finding them all over the rest of the *Indies*; and to some of these they give such a Varnish, with counterfeited Veins, and Gold Streaks, that nothing is finer. They make also a kind of a Stuff an Ell and an half long, and about an Ell long called *Cbales*, and embroidered at

each End, for about a Foot, so soft and fine, as is inimitable, though it is attempted at *Patna*, *Agra*, and *Lahor*. The *Moguls* and *Indians*, both Men and Women, wear of them in Winter upon their Heads, and bring them over their Shoulders like a Mantle: They are made of their own Wool, which is finer than *Spanish*, or of the Hair taken from the Breast of a wild Goat in *Great Tibet*, called *Tusz*: Some of these are sold for a hundred and fifty *Mupers* to the great Omrahs.

The People are of a fair Complexion, and especially the Women, are very beautiful, and of as fair Faces as in *Europe*. Between *Bunbor* and *Kachemire* are some Mountains that seem to part two Worlds rather than two Provinces; for on the one Side it was scorching and hot, as in the *Torid Zone*, and full of *Indian* Plants proper to it; on the other Side it enjoys a temperate fresh Air, and the Soil produced Hyssop, Thyme, Marjoram, and Rosemary, Oaks, Elms, Pines, and Plane Trees. Between those Rocks are admirable Cascades of Water, and among others one not to be paralleled, which running in a Channel between the Trees, on a sudden precipitates itself into the Bottom of a steep Rock, with a Noise able to make one deaf like a Cataract. In the Month of *May* here is a Fountain that for fifteen Days regularly flows, and stops thrice a Day, viz. at Break of Day, Noon, and Night: Its flowing fills a Square ten or twelve Foot broad, and as many deep, and then it slackes by Degrees till about the End of the Month, and then quite stops for the rest of the Year. By it the *Gentiles* have a Temple of the Idol *Brara*, and from thence the Fountain is called *Sind Brari*, i. e. the Water of *Brara*, and hither many Pilgrims come to bathe and sanctify themselves.

In the Royal Garden at *Achavel* in this Province is a Pond, where are Fishes that will come when they are called, and when you cast Bread to them. The biggest of which have also Rings in their Noses, with Inscriptions on them. At *Baramulay* is a Monk, in which is a Tomb of one of their Friars or Saints, where 'tis said the Sick are cured every Day which flock thither, and eleven Moulahs, with one Finger each, lift a huge Stone, which the strongest Man can hardly raise easily: But these things are miraculous only to the credulous and careless; but the bubbling Fountain, which rises gently, and with some little Force, making some small Bubbles, and bringing up Sand with it, which goes away with it again, and the Water becomes still, and so remains awhile without Bubbles, and then rises again, is certain. In the Mountains near this Fountain is a Lake that hath Ice in Summer, and looks like an Icy Sea; and a little farther is a Place, where making a great Noise, will presently cause a Shower of Rain. Among these Mountains live a People which eat no Flesh, counting it unclean, yet they have no Religion.

The City of *Azmer* is famous for the Tomb of *Cogra Mandi*, who was in great Reputation for his Sanctity, and therefore they come from all Places in Pilgrimage to it. It is a fair Building, with three Courts, paved with Marble, and hath in it a Reservatory of Water, walled about; and in the Province adjoining there is a Beast like a Fox in the Snout, but no bigger than a Hare, of the Colour of a Stag, and Teeth like a Dog: It yields most excellent Musk; for at the Belly is a Bladder full of Matter, like corrupt Blood, which is the Musk. They cut off the Bladder for it, but the Beast never lives long after it. There are also Pullets, whose Skin is all over black, as are also their Bones; but the Flesh is white, and their Feathers of another Colour. The Women of this Country are marriageable at eight or nine Years old, and bear Children at ten; the Children go naked, only with a Bit of Cloth to cover their Privities. The People are rude and uncivil, and the Men great Clowns, and impudent; when they quarrel they make a great bawling, but never come to Blows. There are venomous Scorpions in this Country, and the People have several Remedies to cure the Stinging; but the best of all is Fire; for by applying a burning Coal to it, they draw the Venom out, and perfectly cure it.

The Roads thro' this Country being very stony, they shoe their Oxen, and bridle and saddle them like Horses; and if they be but a little spurred, they go as fast as a good Horse; with them also they draw their Carts and Coaches, for their

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their white Oxen are extraordinary dear. The chief Trade of this Province is Saltpetre, for the Soil being black, affords it plentifully. When it is made they carry it to *Surat* to sell it to the *Europeans*, and others, who buy it to ballast their Ships, and sell elsewhere.

12. In the Province of *Sinde*, which was anciently the Kingdom of *Dieu*, the Inhabitants are wonderfully ingenious in all kinds of Arts, and make abundance of Curiosities, for which they have a great Trade; the finest Pallanquins in *India* are made at *Tata* in this Province, and there is nothing neater, nor more convenient, than the Carriages made here; but their Waggon Wheels are one Piece of solid Timber, like a Mill-stone.

The Province of *Multan* yields Plenty of Cotton, Sugar, Opium, Brimstone, Galls, Store of Camels, which are transported into *Persia*, and other Parts of the *Indies*. It furnishes also all *India* with the finest Bows that are to be seen in it, and nimblest Dancers; the chief Town of it, of the same Name, is the Rendezvous of the *Banjans*, because of the great Trade managed there, which cannot be carried on without them; for though it is known that they make their Profit of every thing, yet most Merchants chuse rather to use them, than do their Business themselves, because they will buy their Goods much cheaper, and they refuse no Service, be it ever so base or vile. The Country of *Candabar* produces abundantly all sorts of Provisions that are necessary for human Life, unless it be on the Side next *Persia*, where it is barren. The Inhabitants are great Lovers of Wine, though they are prohibited to drink it; and if any be found drunk, or doing any scandalous Action in Drinking, they are set upon an Ass, with their Face to the Tail, and led about the Town, and attended by the Officer of the Controul, who beats a little Drum, and all the Children follow him, hooping and hollowing. There are many *Persians* in this Province, but they are poor, and employed by the *Mohammedans* in the meanest Offices. The King of *Persia* will not allow the *Gentile*'s Wives to burn themselves in that Part of his Dominions.

In the Mountains of *Caboulistan* grow Mirabolans, and many other sorts of Drugs. The Country also is full of Aromatick Trees, which turn to a good Account to the Inhabitants; as do also the Mines of a certain sort of Iron fit for all Uses. Out of this Province come most of those large Canes, of which are made Halberds and Lances, for they have many Grounds planted with them. They reckon their Months by Moons, and with great Devotion celebrate a Feast called *Hentii*, which lasts two Days, first in praying, and making Oblations, and then in dancing in the Streets in Companies to the Sound of Trumpets, making Bon-fires, and destroying the Figure of a Giant. Their Charity consists chiefly in digging Wells, and building little Houses on the Roads for Travellers, and by them is a Place for such as are heavy laden, to put off and take up their Burdens without any Body's Help. This Country supplies the whole *Indies* with Physicians, which are all *Banjans*, and some of them very skilful in Medicines, and among other Remedies make great Use of Burning.

In the City of *Lahor* the Great Mogul has a Palace, on one Gate of which is a Crucifix, and on the other the Picture of the Virgin *Mary*. Some have thought them Marks of Christianity, which was anciently professed in these Countries; but it is really nothing but a Piece of Flattery and Hypocrisy of the King *Iehan Guire* to oblige the *Portuguezes* to be his Friends. There are many *Gentiles* in this City, who have several Pagods all raised seven or eight Steps from the Ground, and some of them are well adorned. This is one of the largest and most fruitful Provinces in the *Indies*, the five Rivers, which make up the River *Indus*, from whence the Moguls call it *Pangeab*, making it very fruitful; for it yields all sorts of Provisions necessary for Life, as Rice, Corn, and several sorts of Fruits. The Wines made here are pretty good, and in the Towns are not only all sorts of painted Cloths wrought, but all the other Manufactures usually made in the *Indies*.

13. In the Province of *Aloud*, or *Houd*, and *Varad*, or *Varal*, there are many Rajahs that own not the Authority of the Mogul: At *Hogawat* in this Province is the Pagod of the Idol *Matta*, to which the *Gentiles* that come to pay their Devotions to her, are said to sacrifice always some part

of their own Bodies. At *Calamac*, where the *Gentiles* have also another famous Pagod, there is a Spring of very cold Water, which issues out of a Rock that continually belches out Flames, and the *Bramins* make great Advantage of the People who come to see the Miracle. In the Province of *Owieser* is the famous Temple of *Jarganale*, where one of the *Faguris* undertook to measure the whole Kingdom of the Mogul with his own Body, and being about to perform it, was loaded with Charity, and had much Respect given him.

The People of this Country, as well *Mohammedans* as *Gentiles*, are extraordinary voluptuous, have a captious and subtil Wit, and are much addicted to stealing. The Women are very bold and lascivious, and use all Arts to corrupt and debauch young Men, especially Strangers, whom they easily trapan, because they are handsome, and well dressed. In this Province are above twenty thousand Christians, who lived in great Unity under potent Kings; but the Mogul becoming Master of it, and bringing in *Mohammedism*, a general Disorder, and Corruption of Manners, invaded them.

The Country is full of Torrents, and the People live in much Ease, because it is very fruitful, producing Corn, Rice, Sugar, Ginger, Long-pepper, Cotton, and Silk, with several other Commodities; as also Fruits, especially Anana's as big as Melons, and pleasant to the Taste, having something of the Flavour of the Apricot. In this Province the Mogul hath a Castle, whither he sends such Traitors as are condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, and to that End 'tis always strictly guarded.

14. In the Province of *Malwa* are the Territories of *Raja-Rana*, who deduces his Pedigree from *Porus*, tho' he is now tributary to the Mogul. *Ratipore* is the capital City of it, and a Place of great Trade; it stands upon a Mountain, and hath a Castle belonging to it, to which the Grand Mogul sends such Traitors as are condemned to die. They are kept Prisoners for some time, and always some body is present with them, and the Day they are to die they make them drink a great Quantity of Milk, and then throw them down from the Top of the Castle upon the declining Side of the Hill, which is full of sharp-pointed craggy Stones, that tear the Bodies of the Wretches to Pieces before they can reach the Bottom of the Precipice.

At *Citor*, once a famous Town, but now almost ruined, are the Remains of an hundred Temples, or Pagods, and many antique Statues, to be seen: In this Country are two kinds of Bats, one like ours in *Europe*, but the other is much different: It is eight Inches long, and the Body is covered with yellowish Hair. The Body round, and as big as a Duck's, the Head and Eyes like a Cat's, a sharp Snout like a Rat, pricked black Ears, without Hair, no Tail, two Teats as big as the End of ones little Finger, under the Wings four Legs, Wings almost two Foot long, and seven or eight Inches broad, of a black Skin, like wet Parchment; the two Fore-Legs end in five Talons, like a Man's Hand, and black, and without Hair; but it has Claws instead of Nails, with which it hangs upon the Branches of the Trees. They fly high, and are said to be good Meat.

The Province of *Candish* is the most plentiful for Cotton of any Part of *Indostan*, and of it the People make abundance of Cloth. They paint some, but the white are most valued for the lovely Mixture of Gold and Silver that is in them; for the Rich make their Veils, Scarfs, Handkerchiefs and Coverings of them, but they are dear. Here is also Plenty of Rice and Indigo growing. In the Country of *Balagate* are a great many Warrs, Manguiers, Bahova, Quilau, Caboul, and other sorts of rare Trees. Here are vast Numbers of Antilopes, Hares, Partridges, and towards the Mountains are Merons, or wild Cows. Towards *Naopouia* grows the best Rice in all the *Indies*; for it has an odoriferous Taste, which that of other Countries has not. Cotton abounds here also, and in many Places they have Sugar Canes, with Mills and Furnaces to make the Sugar. The Ways here are always safely guarded. The Pagods of *Alora* in this Province are so numerous, and so full of Pillars and Pillasters, and have so many thousand Figures all cut out of the natural Rock, that they may be said to be Works almost surpassing human Force.

In the Province of *Daltabat* are bred the most active Tumblers in the World, who do all the Tricks of ours in *Europe*, and many more; they are as supple as an Eel, and will turn their whole Body into a Bowl, which others may roll about with their Hands; but the most active are Girls, in the Province of *Chitanagar*, which is diversified with Hills and Plains. The Hills afford Iron, of which, at the Town of *Indelvar* chiefly, the People make a great many Swords, Daggers, and Lances, which are vended all over the *Indies*. All the Plains are good Ground, some sowed with Rice, and the rest planted with Cotton Trees, Tamarinds, Warrs, Cadjourns, Manguires, Quelian, and others, and all watered with several Rivers, which turn and wind every Way with fair Tanques, out of which they draw the Water with Oxen; but those Parts are much troubled with Thunder, Lightnings, Whirl-winds, Rain, and Hail-stones, as big as Pullets Eggs.

In the Province of *Telenga*, as there are many *Gentiles*, so there are none more superstitious than they. They have abundance of Pagods, with Figures of Monsters, which can excite nothing but Horror instead of Devotion, unless in such deluded Souls. They use frequent Washings; for Men, Women, and Children, as soon as they are out of their Beds in the Morning, go to the River to wash, and the Rich have Water brought them, and so again as often as they eat. Women, who have lost their Husbands, are conducted to the River by their Friends that comfort them, to wash, and so are Women as soon as they were brought to Bed; for in no Country are Women so easily delivered as here. They will eat nothing but what is dressed by themselves, or their own Cast or Tribe, and buy all their Food of the *Banjans*. They drink nothing but Water, wherein they put Tea or Coffee, nor use any Dishes, but Leaves of Trees, for fear any Person of another Religion should have eaten out of it. They eat no Flesh, except it be on a certain Day of the Year, and that very privately; but the *Rajapouts* eat any Fish, or Flesh, except the Cow; they use Fasting very much, their ordinary Fast is twenty-four Hours; and there are a great many that will fast, especially Women, six or seven Days, and some will fast a Month, eating no more than a Handful of Rice a Day, and others will eat nothing at all, only drink Water, in which the Root of *Criata* has been boiled, which is good for many Distempers, and strengthens the Stomach. When the Fast is at an End, the Bramin goes with a Drum to the House of the Penitent, and gives him or her Leave to eat. Lastly, in the Province of *Bagiana*, and also the People on the Sea-Coast, who are much given to Sea-faring; the *Gentiles* offer many Sacrifices to the Sea, especially when any of their Relations are abroad upon a Voyage. The manner of sacrificing is thus: They make a Vessel of Straw about three Foot long, and cover it with a Veil, and carry it down to the Shore, with a Basket or two of Meat and Fruits, there they throw it into the Sea, and having made some Prayers, leave the Basket on Shore, that the Poor and others may come and eat what it contains.

At the End also of *September*, when the Sea, after the tempestuous Season from *May* becomes again navigable, they offer another Sacrifice, but with no great Ceremonies; for they only throw Cocoa-nuts into the Sea, and every one throws one, the Boys plunging themselves into the Sea to catch them, and shewing many Tricks in the Water, which are pleasant to behold. In this Province the *Indians* marry their Children very young, and make them cohabit sooner than in any other Part of the *Indies*; they marry them at four, five, and six Years old, and suffer them to bed together when the Boy is ten, and the Girl eight; but they leave bearing by thirty, and grow extremely full of Wrinkles; and therefore in some Parts of the *Indies* they do not marry till fourteen Years of Age. The Women are very fruitful, because they live very frugally, as well as their Husbands, and their Children are brought up very easily. They go naked till they are about seven Years old, and when they are about two or three Months old they let them crawl about till they are able to go, and when they are dirty, they wash them, and so they come to be as clean as ours, without the Torture of swaddling Bands, or Stays.

15. *Bengal* is one of the most fruitful Countries in the World, superior even to *Egypt* itself. It bears Rice in such abundance, that it not only furnishes its Neighbours, but very remote Countries, such as *Ceylon*, and the *Maldivas*; it abounds so in Sugar, that it supplies the Kingdom of *Galconda* with it, as also *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*, by the Way of *Mocha* and *Bassora*, and *Perfia* itself, by *Bandrabassi*. The *Portuguese* make excellent Sweet-meats here, with which they drive a great Trade, and the People preserve and candy Pome-Citrons, a Root which is long, like *Sarsaparilla*, very delicate Ambals, Anana's, Mirobalans, Lemons and Ginger, great Quantities of which are sent to us in *Europe*. It is true, it does not produce much Corn, because the People feed so much upon Rice; but it produces sufficient for their Use, and to accommodate the Ships of *Europe* with excellent Biscuits very cheap; three or four sorts of Pulse, which, together with Rice and Butter, are the usual Food of the poor People, are there to be had almost for nothing; for a Rupee, which is about half a Crown, you may buy twenty good Pullets, and more, and Geese, and Ducks, in Proportion. Kids and Sheep are very plentiful; and there is such Store of Pork, that the *Portuguese* live on nothing else almost, and the *English* and *Dutch* victual their Ships with it. There is also Plenty of all sorts of Fish, both in the fresh and salt Water, and Want of nothing; for this Reason, together with the Liberty that all Men enjoy for the Exercise of their Religion there, all the Christians are fled thither from all Ports taken by the *Dutch*; so that in *Agouli*, 'tis said, there are eight or nine thousand Christians, and in other Parts of the Kingdom above twenty-five thousand more; it is the general Magazine for Cotton Cloths, and Silks, not only for *Indostan*, but all the neighbouring Kingdoms, and *Europe* itself.

The *Hollanders* transport vast Quantities of both, some fine, and others coarse, both dyed and white into *Japan*, *Europe*, and other Places, besides what the *Portuguese*, *English*, and other Merchants sell elsewhere. 'Tis true, the Silks are not so fine as those of *Perfia*, *Syria*, *Said*, and *Bampi*; but then they are cheaper, and very good of their Price. Saltpetre is found in such Quantities in this Country, that the *English* and *Dutch* load whole Ships full to carry it to many Places of the *Indies*, and into *Europe*. From *Bengal* also there comes Lac, Opium, Wax, Civet, and Long-Pepper; and even their Butter is transported into other Places. The Air, indeed, is not over healthy, especially near the Sea for Strangers, so that of the *English* and *Dutch* many of them died at their first coming there; but now by restraining their Intemperances, and using a little *Bordeaux* Wine, Canary, or Shiras, they preserve themselves tolerably healthy among them. The whole Country is well watered by Channels cut out of the River *Ganges*, which contributes as much to their Commerce as Plenty; it is well peopled, and has abundance of Villages full of *Gentiles*, and the Field's produce, besides Sugar, Rice, Corn, and Pulse abovementioned, Sesamum for Oil, small Mulberries to feed Silk-worms, Anana's, and other Fruit-bearing Trees. In the *Ganges* also are many other fruitful Isles covered with continual Verdure; but towards the Mouth some of them are abandoned, because they were much infested by the *Corfairs* and the *Franks* of *Racon*, so that they have no other Inhabitants but Tygers, Gazals, Hogs, and Poultry. Nature in this Country produces Miracles, as they seem to us far distant. It is not uncommon in rainy Seasons to see Rainbows of the Moon in the Night, when the Moon is at the full, and in some calm Seasons the Bushes will be covered to thick with little stinging Flies, that they seem all on Fire, and there arise frightful Flames in great Globes, which the ignorant look upon as Devils.

16. The Kingdom of *Bentan* is of a large Extent, and it is hard to come to a perfect Knowledge of it, the Merchants that trade from thence into the *Indies* being able to give but a very imperfect Account of it. The Caravan is three Months travelling to *Pauwa*, setting out at the End of *December*, and in eight Days arriving at *Gorrahpeur*, which is the last Town in the Great Mogul's Dominions; and there is a heavy Custom of 25 l. per Cent. imposed upon

fruitful Countries in the East. It bears Rice in such abundance as to supply its Neighbours, but it is not so fertile as *Siam*, and the *Maldives*; it supplies the Kingdom of *Mesopotamia*, by the *Persea* itself, by *Bandra*, excellent Sweet-meats here, and the People produce Root which is long, like *Anana's*, *Mirobalans*, of which are sent to *India* to produce much Corn, upon Rice; but it is not so commodious as *Rice* very cheap; three together with *Rice* and poor People, are there to a Rupee, which is about twenty good Pullets, and in Proportion. Kids and are a Store of Pork, being else almost, and the tips with it. There is also in the fresh and salt Water Reason, together with the Exercise of their are fled thither from all in *Agouti*, 'tis said, there are, and in other Parts of thousand more; it is the both, and Silks, not only during Kingdoms, and Ex-

Quantities of both, some dyed and white into *Japan*, and the white into *Perla*, elsewhere: 'Tis true, the *Persea*, *Siam*, *Said*, and *India*, and very good of their Quantities in this Country load whole Ships full to *India*, and into *Europe*. *Lac*, *Opium*, *Wax*, *Civet*, their Butter is transported, is not over healthy, and so that of the *English* their first coming there; but *Persea*, and using a little *Persea*, they preserve themselves. The whole *Commodities* cut out of the River such to their Commerce as has abundance of Villages produce, besides *Sugar*, *Rice*, *Sesamum* for Oil, small *Anana's*, and other Fruit-also are many other fruitful produce; but towards the *Indies*, because they were and the *Franks* of *Racon*, *Persea*, but *Tygers*, *Gazals*, in this Country produce distant. It is not uncommon to see the Moon in the full, and in some calm to thick with little *Persea*, and there arise frightful, and the ignorant look upon

is of a large Extent, and knowledge of it, the *Merchants* being able to find it. The Caravan is *Persea*, setting out at the End of arriving at *Gerrochepour*, great *Mogul's* Dominions: 25 l. per Cent. imposed upon

upon all Merchandize; but the Merchants usually bargain with the Customer before they proceed, for they bring it down to seven or eight in the Way from *Gerrochepour*. For eight or nine Days Journey the Caravan suffers much Hardship, for the Country is nothing but Forests, and full of wild Elephants; so that the Merchants, instead of taking their rest, are forced to watch, keep Fires, and shoot off their Muskets all the Night long; for the Elephants, who make no Noise in treading, will otherwise come upon them unawares; not that they will do any Mischief to the Men, but will plunder the Caravan of their Victuals. Five or six Leagues thence you enter into the Territories of the *Rajah* of *Napal*, which extends to the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Boutan*; he is a tributary to the Great *Mogul* and is to pay him every Year an Elephant for his Homage. The Metropolis where he resides is of the same Name; but there is little either of Trade or Money in this Country, because it is all Wood and Forests. Having passed his Territories, you come to certain Mountains, which are upon the Confines of *Boutan*: All this Road you may travel in *Palleki's*; but generally the Travellers ride upon Oxen, Camels, or Horses, bred up in the Country, which, though very small and dear, yet are strong, and will travel twenty Leagues without baiting; and indeed you can use no other sort of Carriage cross these Mountains, because of the Narrowness and Ruggedness of the Passes.

When the Caravan arrives at the Foot of the Mountains called *Naugrotot*, abundance of People come from all Parts of them; but the greatest Part of them are Women and Girls, who agree with the Merchants to carry them their Goods and Provisions over the Mountains, which is eight Days Journey. These Women carry upon each Shoulder a Woollen Roll, to which is fastened a large Cushion, that hangs down upon their Backs, upon which they carry Seats. There are three Women to carry one Man, relieving one another by Turns; and for their Luggage and Provisions, they lay them upon Goats that will carry a hundred and fifty Pound Weight apiece: Those that will ride, are forced to have their Horses hoisted up with Cords. The Women that carry the Men get for their eight Days Travel two Rupees apiece, and as much for every Burthen that the Goats carry, and for every Horse which they load. Having passed over those Mountains, you may go the rest of the Journey to *Boutan*, upon Oxen, Camels, Horses, or *Palleki's*. The Country is good, abounding in Rice, Corn, Pulse, and Store of Wine. All the People, both Men and Women, are clad in the Summer with a large Piece of Fustian, or Hempen Cloth, and in the Winter with a thick Cloth almost like Felt. Both Men and Women wear upon their Heads a kind of Bonnet much like Drinking-Cans; which they adorn with Boars Teeth, and with round and square Pieces of Tortoise-shell; the richer sort mix with them Pieces of Coral and Amber Beads, of which their Women make themselves Necklaces. The Men, as well as the Women, wear Bracelets upon their left Hands only from the Wrist to the Elbow. The Women wear them strait, and the Men loose. About their Necks they wear a Silver Twill, at the End whereof hangs a Bead of yellow Amber, or Coral, or a Boar's Tooth, which dangles upon their Breast. Upon their left Sides their Girdles are buckled with Beads of the same. Though they be Idolaters, yet they feed upon all sorts of Food, except the Flesh of the Cow, which they adore, as the common Nucle of all Men. They are great Lovers of strong Waters. They observe also some Ceremonies from the *Chinese*, burning Amber at the Close of their Feasts, though they do not worship Fire, as the *Chinese* do.

Upon these Accounts Amber and Coral are good Commodities at *Boutan*; a Piece of yellow Amber as big as a Nut, bright and clear, is worth forty-five Rupees, and a Piece of nine Ounces two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Rupees. Coral rough, or wrought into Beads, yields a proportionable Advantage; but they had rather have it rough, to shape it into what Figure they please themselves. The Women and Maids are generally the Artists among them, as to their Toys. The most excellent *Rhubarb* comes from this Country of *Boutan*. It is a Root which they cut in Pieces, and stringing them by ten or twelve together, hang them up a drying, being dried, the Merchants

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must carry them carefully, for if it takes wet, it is utterly spoiled, and they had need to carry it the most speedy Way, for it is liable to corrupt, or if not, it is apt to eat out its own Virtue. This Kingdom also produces some Musk, and Plenty of Furs. They have good Store of Martins in their Country, which yield a very rich Fur; but not having the Skill that the *Muscovites* have to take them, they lose the Profit of that Commodity, which the *Muscovites* have; for no sooner does that Creature peep out of its Hole, but the *Muscovites*, who lie upon the Watch, have them presently, shooting them, either in the Nose or Eyes; for should they hit them in the Body, the Blood would quite spoil the Skin: From hence also is brought the Seed, which is accounted so good against Worms, called therefore Worm-seed. It is the Seed of a certain Plant which grows in the Fields, but must not be gathered till the Plant is dead, which is the Reason that the Wind scatters the greatest Part of it before it can be gathered, which makes it scarce. When they gather the Seed, they take two little Hampers, and as they go along the Fields, they move them backward and forward, as if they were mowing the Herb, and so blowing it at the Top, the Seed falls into the Hampers.

17. The King and all his People are Idolaters, and worship Monsters, as the other Heathen *Indians* do. There is no King in the World more feared and respected by his Subjects than the King of *Boutan*, being in a manner adored by them. When he sits to do Justice, or give Audience, all that appear in his Presence hold their Hands close together above their Foreheads, and, at a Distance from the Throne, prostrate themselves upon the Ground, not daring to lift up their Heads. In this humble Posture they present all their Petitions to the King, and when they retire they go backwards; till they are quite out of Sight. It is affirmed, then when the King does the Deeds of Nature, such as are about him preserve it, and dry and powder it, like Sneezing-powder, and sell it to the Merchants and Farmers, who buy it as a great Rarity, and at their Feasts strew it upon their Meat. This King has constantly about him seven or eight thousand Men for his Guard. Their Weapons for the most part are Bows and Arrows, but some of them carry Battle-Axes and Bucklers. They have had the Use of Muskets and Cannon a long Time: The Grain of their Gun-powder is long, but of an extraordinary Force; and their Cannon have Letters and Figures upon them, by which it appears that some of them are above five hundred Years old.

No Man may stir out of the Kingdom without the Governor's Leave; nor is any allowed to carry a Musket along with him, unless their next Kindred will undertake for them that they shall bring them back. Their Guns are polished within as smooth as a Looking-glass, and garnished without with embossed Wires, and Flowers of Gold and Silver inlaid, and carry large Bullets. There are always fifty Elephants, and twenty-five Camels, with each a Piece of Artillery mounted upon his Back, which carry half a Pound Ball; behind it sits a Cannoneer to manage and level it as he pleases. The Natives of *Boutan* are strong, and well proportioned, but their Noses are somewhat flat. The Women are bigger, and more vigorous than the Men, but are troubled with Swellings in the Throat more than the Men are, for few of them escape that Disease. They know not what War is, having no Enemy to fear but the *Mogul*; and from him they are fenced with high, steep, craggy and snowy Mountains, which he never thought worth his Trouble to pass. Northward there are nothing but vast Forests and Snows; East and West no Water but what is bitter. And as for the *Rajahs* near them, they are Princes of small Force. They have a Silver-Mine in the Kingdom of *Boutan*, for the King coins much Silver in Pieces of the Value of a *Roupee*; but they have a little Gold, and what they have is by the Merchants brought them out of the Eastern Countries.

18. The Kingdom of *Tibra* lies on the N. W. of the Kingdom of *Aracan*, twelve Days Journey from *Daca*: It is about fifteen Days Journey across. They ride upon Oxen and Horses, which are very low, but very hardy. The King and Nobility ride in *Palleki's* or upon Elephants

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of War. The People are as subject to Wens on their Throats as those of *Boutan*, inasmuch that some of their Women have them hanging down to their Breasts, which proceed from the Badness of the Waters. There is nothing in *Tippa* which is fit for Strangers.

There is a Mine of Gold, but the Metal is very coarse; and there is a sort of coarse Silk, which is all the Revenue the King has, for he exacts no Subsidies from his Subjects. Only they who are not of the prime Nobility work six Days in the Year in the Mine or Silk-Works. He sends his Gold and Silk into *China*, and for them they bring him back Silver, which he coins into Pieces of the Value of eighteen *Sous*, and others of twenty-two *Sous*. In the Language of this Country he is called *Dieu-Aragari*, which is stamped upon one Side of the Money, and on the other *Coattermani Rey de Tippura*; he also makes thin Pieces of Gold, like the *Aspers* of *Turky*, of which he has two Sorts, four of one making a Crown, and two of the other.

19. The Kingdom of *Asem* is one of the best Countries in all *Asia*, for it produces all Things necessary for human Subsistence, without any Need of foreign Supply. There are in it Mines of Gold, Silver, Steel, Lead, Iron, and great Store of Silk, but coarse. There is a Sort of Silk found under the Trees, which is spun by a Creature like our Silk-worms, but rounder, and which lives all the Year long under the Trees. The Stuffs that are made of this Silk glitter very much, but they fret presently. This Country also produces all sorts of Gum-Lac, of which there are two sorts; one grows under the Trees of a red Colour, with which they paint their Linnen and Stuffs; and when they have drawn out the red Juice, the remaining Substance serves to varnish Cabinets, and make Wax, being the best Lac in *Asia* for those Uses. As for the Gold, they never suffer it to be transported out of the Kingdom; nor do they make any Money of it, but preserve it in Ingots, which pass in Trade among the Inhabitants; but the Silver the King coins into Money of three Drams four Grains Weight, which make twenty-three *Sous*. Tho' their Country is very plentiful in all Things, yet there is no Flesh they esteem so much as Dogs-Flesh, which is the greatest Delicacy at their Feasts, and is sold every Month in every City of the Kingdom upon their Market-Days. They have also great Store of Vines and very good Grapes, but they never make any Wine, but dry the Grapes to make *Aqua Vite*.

They have no Salt but what is artificial, which is made two Ways; first, they raise great Heaps of that green Stuff that swims on the Top of the standing Waters, which the Ducks and Frogs eat; this they dry and burn, and the Ashes thereof being boiled in a Cloth in Water, become very good Salt: But the most usual Way is to take the Leaves of *Adam's* Fig-tree, which, being burnt, the Ashes thereof make a Salt so tart that it is impossible to eat it till the Strength be taken away, which they do by putting the Ashes into the Water, and stirring them up and down ten or twelve Days together, and then they strain the Substance through a Cloth and boil it; for, as the Water boils away, the Bottom thickens, and when the Water is all boiled away, they find at the Bottom very good and white Salt. Of the Ashes of the Fig-Leaves they also make a Lye with which they wash their Silks, which makes them as white as Snow; but they have not Leaves enough to whiten half the Silk that grows in their Country.

In the City of *Kemmeroo* the King of *Asem* keeps his Court. This King requires no Subsidies of his People, for all the Mines in the Kingdom are his own; and, for his Subjects Ease, he has none but Slaves that work in them; so that all the Natives of *Asem* live at their Ease, and every one has his House to himself, and in the Midst of his Ground a Fountain encompassed with Trees, and most commonly every one an Elephant to carry their Wives, for they have four Wives; and when they marry them, they say to them, *I take thee to serve me in such a Thing*, and to another, *I take thee to do such a Business*: So that every one of their Wives knowing what she has to do in the House, there is no Difference among them. The Men and Women are generally well complexioned,

only those that live more southerly are swarthy, and subject to Wens in their Throats; nor are they so well featured, and the Women are something flat nosed. In the Southern Parts the People go stark naked, only covering their Privy-Parts, with a Bonnet upon their Heads like a blue Cap, hung about with Swines Teeth.

They make large Holes in their Ears, that you may run your Thumb in, and hang in them Pieces of Gold and Silver; Bracelets also of Tortoise-Shells and Sea-Shells, as long as an Egg, which they saw into Circles, are in great Esteem among the meaner sort, as Bracelets of Coral and yellow Amber are among the richer. When they bury a Man, all his Friends and Relations must come to the Burial, and when they lay the Body in the Ground, they all take off their Bracelets from their Arms and Legs, and bury them with the Corps. In the City of *Azao* are the Tombs of the Kings of *Asem* and all the Royal Family; for though they are Idolaters, they never burn their dead Bodies, but bury them. They believe that the Dead go all of them into another World, and that they that have lived well in this have Plenty of all Things; but they who have been ill Livers, suffer the Want of all Things, being in a more especial manner afflicted with Hunger and Drought; and that therefore 'tis good to bury something with them to serve them in their Necessity. For this Reason their Kings build themselves, in their Life-times, Chapels in the great Pagods to be buried in, wherein they store up great Sums of Gold and Silver, and other Moveables of Value: Besides, when they bury any of their Kings, they bury with him likewise whatever he esteemed most precious in his Life-time, whether it be an Idol of Gold or Silver, or whatever else, that being needful in this, is also as they think necessary in the Life to come.

But that which favours most of Barbarism is this; that when any King dies, all his best-beloved Wives, and the principal Officers of his House, poison themselves to be buried with him, and to wait upon him in the other World: And they also bury one Elephant, twelve Camels, six Horses, and a good Number of Hounds, believing that all these Creatures rise again to serve the King. 'Tis thought these were the People that first invented Guns, and Powder, and that the Invention spreading itself into *Pegu*, and then into *China*, it from thence became known in the World, and so the *Chinese* were thought to be the Inventors of them. Their Powder is very small and round, like ours in *Europe*, and very strong. As for the Kingdom of *Siam*, and that of *Macassar*, the Accounts already given of them, dispense us from the Necessity of inserting what this Author has written about them. But with regard to that of the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, or *Tonquin*, it is at once so concise and so curious, that it would be unjust to conceal it from the Reader's Notice; and, therefore, with this Description we shall conclude this Part of the Travels of Mr. Tavernier.

20. The Kingdom of *Tonquin* is bounded on the East by *Canton*, a Province of *China*, on the West by the Kingdom of *Brama*, on the North by *Junan* and *Quangsi*, two other Provinces of *China*, and on the South by *Cochin-China*. The Air is mild and temperate, though it lies in the Torrid Zone, and the Ground so fertile that there is a continual Spring: Frost and Snow are never seen here, and the Gout, Stone, and Pestilence are Strangers in it. The North and South Winds, which continually blow, and divide the Year between them equally, moderate the Heats that they are not troublesome; yet, once in seven Years, they have hideous and terrible Tempests, which make strange Desolations, pulling up Trees, and blowing down Houses. These Exhalations are thought, by their Astrologers, to proceed from the Mines, as is also believed, in *Japan*.

The whole Kingdom is divided into several Provinces, which together contain, as it is said, 20000 Cities and Towns, though many Families, with their Cattle, live always upon the Water in Boats, after the Manner of the *Cochin-Chinese*. The Country is for the most part level, save that in the North there are some Hills. It is watered with several Rivers, some of which carry Vessels of a good Burthen, and so are commodious for Trade. In all this Country grow neither Corn nor Vines, because they never

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flat nosed. In the South-
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in their Heads like a blue
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never have any Rain but in *June* and *July*; but Rice is
produced in vast Quantities, which supplies the People
both with Meat and Drink: They have also good *Aqua*
Vita, or Strong-Waters. Their Fruits are excellent, but
all different from ours. Their Palms bear larger Nuts
than in any Part of *Asia*; they are as big as a Man's
Hand, and shaped like a Cocoa, the Pulp is as white as
Snow, and tastes like our Almonds, and every one yields a
considerable Quantity of Liquor very pleasing to the Pa-
late. The Gogovier, which resembles our Laurel, is of
two sorts, the one bears a Plumb, green without and red
within, but the other a yellower Fruit, which is much
more esteemed. The Papager bears a Fruit like a small
Melon, and the Taste is very delicious. The Arraga,
which grows upright and tall, like the Mast of a Ship,
bears Branches only at the Top, and the Fruit is like a
Nutmeg; they bruise it with Beetle and Chalk, which
they chew to make their Teeth white, Lips vermilion,
and Breath sweet.

They have Figs of two sorts, the one like ours, the
others like those called *Adam's Figs*, as long as a Man's
Finger. They have a Tree like our Willow, called the
Powder-tree, because of the Wood burnt into Charcoal,
they make Gun-powder. The Janbagels grow very high,
and bear a Fruit resembling a Citrul-Cucumber, which
has a Pulp like a Pomegranate, and is very pleasant in the
hot Seasons. Their High-ways are planted with Warr-
trees, which are a great Convenience for Travellers; for
some of them are so big that two or three thousand Men
might shelter themselves under them, some of their
Branches being three hundred Paces long, and supported
at every twelve Foot with under Branches, which, having
taken Root, support them like so many Pillars: The Nuts
of them, which are no bigger than a Walnut, have a Ker-
nel like Millet, which serves only for Food for the Rere-
Mice, which make their Nests there. They have Bodies
as big as a Pullet, and the *Portuguese* prefer them before
it. They have a certain sort of Birds-nests, as big as a
Swallow's, which they dissolve in Water for Sauces to all
their Delicacies; they give a Flavour above all the Spices
of the *East-Indies* put together; they are found only in
the four Islands belonging to *Cochin-China*. The *Tanqui-
nese* also catch abundance of Tortoises in their Seas, which
they not only esteem excellent Food, and think they can-
not treat their Friends as they ought to do without them,
but pickle them up, and send them abroad, which causes
a Trade among them. *Tanquin* affords a mighty Store of
Ananas, and Orange-trees, which are of two sorts, the
one no bigger than Apricots, the other bigger than *Portu-
gal* Oranges, both well tasted alike, and plentiful for six
Months. Their Citrons, which are both green and yel-
low, are too tart to be eaten, but the Juice is made use of
to cleanse Copper, Tin, and Iron, for gilding, as also to
scour Silk, whiten Linnen, and take out Spots.

In *Mogulistan* they will make their Calicuts so white with
the Juice of these Citrons, as to dazzle your Eyes. Great
Quantities of Silk are made in this Country, of which
both Rich and Poor make their Garments; and the *Hol-
landers* transport many into *China*. They have but one
sweet-smelling Flower, called the *Bague*, which grows
like a Nolegay. They have abundance of Sugar, and eat
very much after their Meals for Digestion, but they eat it
out of the Cane, not having the true Art to refine it. In
this whole Kingdom there are neither Lions, Asses, nor
Sheep, but their Forests are full of Tygers, Harts, and
Apes, and their Fields of Oxen, Cows, and Hogs, Hens,
Ducks, and Turtles, which are the general Provisions of
their Feasts, are numberless. Their Horses are well
shaped, and the King always keeps five or six hundred of
them in his Stables. Their Elephants are of a prodigious
Bigness; there are none so tall and nimble in all *Asia*.
The King keeps five or six hundred of them for his Ser-
vice in his Palace, and Wars. They have no Cats, but
their Dogs destroy their Rats and Mice, which are very
large and mischievous. They have very few Birds, but
such Multitudes of Gnats, that they are very troublesome
at Nights, as well by their Noise as Stinging; they drive
them away by the Smoke of Rice-Chaff: But the greatest
Inconvenience of the Country are the white Emmets, whose

Biting rises Blisters on the Skin; for their Teeth are so sharp,
that they will gnaw a Post in two in a little Time, and eat
a Bale of Silk in twenty-four Hours, as if it were cut in
two.

They have no Mines of Gold or Silver in *Tanquin*, nei-
ther do they coin any Money. The chief Commodities
of this Country are, besides the Silk above-mentioned,
Lignum-Aloes, of which there are some worth a thousand
Crowns the Pound, being oily and good: All the *Moham-
medans* use it to perfume their Boards and Rooms at *Vilits*,
and therefore the *Portuguese* of *Goa* sent, as a rare Present
to the Emperor of *Japan*, a Piece of Lignum-Aloes six
Foot long and round, worth 54000 Livres. The *Tan-
quinese* are very faithful in their Dealings, very unlike their
Neighbours the *Chinese*, who will cheat you if they can;
and if they are at any Time over-reached, will pay in light
Money, for they are blunt and plain. Having no Money,
they make use in Trade of Ingots of Gold, and Bars of
Silver, which they have from *China* and *Japan* for their
Silks. They are worth from three to six hundred Livres,
and therefore in small Payments they either cut them in
Pieces, or pay in *Spanish* Reals.

The Forces of this King for War is prodigious; his usual
Army is 12000 Horse, 2000 Elephants, as well to carry the
King's and Nobilities Tents and Baggage as for the Service
of the Wars 300,000 Foot and 300 Gallies, and sometimes
the amount is 500,000 Men. The Condition of the Sol-
diers is very toilsome and laborious; they are always upon
the Guard, or attending their Captains in looking after the
King's Elephants, and so breeding them that they need
not be afraid of Fire, or in building Places of Shelter for
the King's Gallies in Winter; yet their Wages are so
small that they cannot maintain their Wives and Families,
but their Wives are forced to follow some Trade to sup-
port them. Their Companies consist of an hundred, or an
hundred and thirty Men, and the Soldiers are obliged
to keep all their Arms very neat and bright. The People
of *Tanquin* are naturally mild and peaceable, submitting
easily to Reason, and condemning the Transports of
Anger, and other Passions.

They esteem the Manufactures of other Countries more
than their own, yet love to live at home, and honour the
Memories of their Ancestors: Their Speech is soft, and
pleasing, they have good Memories, and are fluent in their
Discourse. They have good Poets among them, and their
People generally love Learning; both Men and Women
are well proportioned, but of an olive Complexion, and
therefore much admire the Whiteness of the *Europeans*.
Their Hair is black, and they wear it very long, and well
combed and tied upon the Crown of their Heads, or about
their Necks, to keep it from fluttering into their Eyes. The
blackest Teeth, and longest Nails, they accounted the most
beautiful. Their Habit is grave and modest, being a long
Robe; for both Sexes girt about with a silken Girdle, mixed
with Gold and Silver. The Soldiers wear an upper Gar-
ment, which reaches no farther than the Knees, and Breeches
that go down to the Middle; but have neither Hofs, nor
Shoes.

The common People, except where the King's Court is,
work three Months at the King's Palace, and two Months
for the Madarns, or great Lords, the rest of the Year is
left to work for themselves and Families. One Day in the
Year they are obliged to lop Trees to feed the Elephants.
Their Rivers are free from Crocodiles, and other dangerous
Animals, which haunt the Waters of the *Nile* and *Ganges*;
but yet once a Year they overflow their Banks, after the
Rains, with that terrible Violence, that they carry away
whole Towns and Villages along with them.

The *Tanquinese* cannot marry without the Consent of their
Parents; and if they be dead, the Permission of their nearest
Kindred, and the Allowance of the Governor of the Place
where the Marriage is made; for which the Man must pay
a certain Sum limited by Law. The People are very in-
dustrious here, and all the Money the Maids get before
Marriage is to buy them two or three handsome Garments,
a Necklace of Coral, or yellow Amber, and Beads to gar-
nish their Locks, and for their Portions. There is no
Wedding without a great Feast, the poorer sort for three
Days at least, if they are able, and others for nine. The
Laws

Laws of the Land permit the Man to divorce his Wife whenever he pleases, which they many times do for slight Causes; but the Woman has not the same Privilege; and if she desires it, obtains it with Difficulty; but the Man is bound to restore the Woman what she brought with her, and keep the Children begotten between them; but now Divorces are not half so frequent as formerly. Adulterers are punished here very severely, the Offender being cast to an Elephant bred up for that Purpose, who throws them up into the Air, and then tramples them under Feet, till they are dead.

Of all the Eastern People the *Tunquinese* are the most sociable, and most frequently visit each other; generally they make their Visits about Noon, with a Train suitable to their Condition; the Princes and Mandarins ride on Elephants, or are carried in Pallenkies, and their Train is of fifty or sixty Persons; the ordinary Gentry, and Officers of the Court, ride on Horseback, and are not allowed above seven or eight Servants to attend them. They chew Beetle continually, where it is to be had, and at their Visits always present their Friends with some at taking Leave; and the richer the Box is, the greater the Present is esteemed. Among the *Tunquinese*, it is a great Dishonour to have the Head bare, for they have all Criminals, and if any Person be found without Hair, they apprehend him, and carry him to the Governor, who causes him to be nailed to a Cross immediately. They sit cross-legged, as the rest of the *Africans*; but instead of Carpets, they use Mats made of Reeds, as fine as Thread, and as soft as Velvet, which they lay upon Beds, not on the Ground, as the *Persians* and other *Indians* do. They are not curious in their Diet, but very neat in dressing it.

The common People are contented with Rice boiled in Water, dry Fish and Eggs (for they eat Flesh only at their Festivals) but the great Lords are served every Day with Flesh and Fish; but they know not how to bake any thing. All their Meat is cut in little Pieces, and served up in little lacerated Plates less than our Trenchers. They use no Napkins, or Table-cloths, Knives, Forks, or Spoons; but only two Sticks to take up their Meat; for they never touch it with their Hands. They wash their Hands, Mouths, and Faces, before they sit down to Meat; but never after their Meals. They are usually silent at Table; but if they have a Mind to discourse, the eldest begins first; for they pay much Honour to Age. When they would know whether any Person has eaten sufficiently, they ask him whether he has eaten his Rice, meaning thereby the whole Repast, as the Scripture does by Bread. They never ask any Man how he does, but how he eat his Dinner; for the more a Man eats, the better they suppose him to be in Health. They take much Delight in Comedies, which are usually acted upon the new Moon, and last all Night.

They set up their Theatres in great Halls, and adorn their Stages with beautiful Machines and Scenes. They have seldom more Actors than eight, either Men or Women, and they are very magnificently clad; they act their Parts perfectly well, and observe an exact Time in their Dancing. Their ordinary Pastimes, and especially for the Lords and Mandarins, are Fishing and Hunting: In the former they take the greater Pleasure, because their Rivers are full of Fish; but they never follow their Sport but upon certain Days, when they may be spared from their Business. The *Tunquinese* are Lovers of Learning, and apply themselves to their Studies with Diligence. Their Learning consists in the Knowledge of the Laws of their Country, Mathematics, and Astronomy. They are Admirers of Poetry and Musick, and are accounted the greatest Artists in them of all the People of the East.

To acquire Nobility by Learning, they study hard for eight Years in the Office of a Notary, Prosecutor, or Advocate; and if upon a strict Examination they are found to understand their Office so well as to answer all Questions about it, their Names are presented to the King, who grants them a Little Title Synde. Having arrived at this Degree, they are ordered to study Musick, Astrology, Poetry, and Mathematics, five Years; and if upon a second Examination they answer all Questions put to them in the same manner, they are raised to the Dignity of Doucan; after this they must spend four Years more to write and read ten Characters to each Number of Words, for

to know or write it fully is almost impossible, it is so copious, and to understand the Laws and Customs of the *Chinese*; and after a strict Examination by all the Mandarins of Learning, and Tanf's, or Noblemen, for eight Days, if they answer well, they arrive at the Degree of a Tanh, and are received into the Rank of the Nobility, and the King gives them certain Towns to take the Rents; but to some more, and others less, according to their Merit, or the Prince's Favour; and the King gives them a Vest of Sattin.

Then they go to visit their Towns given them by the King, where they are received in a gilded Branguar, with Musick, and they stay three Months for their Recreation, and then they return to Court to instruct themselves in the Affairs of the Kingdom and Palace, and arrive at the Dignity of Mandarin. In the mean time their Names being written under large Tables, are set upon the Gate of the King's Palace eight Days, that all the People may know who are received into the Rank of the Nobility.

The Physicians of *Tunquin* study Books but little, but spend their Youth in searching into the Virtues of Roots and Simples, and how to apply them to every Distemper, which they judge of by the beating of the Pulse, and its Diversity of Measure, as by the Pulse of the right Hand they guess at the Condition of the Lungs, and by that of the Arm of the Distemper of the Stomach and Kidneys; by the Pulse of the left Hand they judge of the Condition of the Heart; and by that of the Arm of the State of the Liver; and by the Pulse of the Temples, both right and left, they give a most exquisite Judgment of the Kidneys. They carefully count how many times the Pulse of a sick Person beats in the Space of one Breathing, and according to these several Pulses they will tell you which Part of the Body is particularly disordered, whether the Heart, Liver, or Lungs, or whether it proceeds from any outward Cause. They generally give Decoctions of Herbs and Roots, with a little Ginger. They use *China* Ink to stop a Dyentery, and for the Cure of Wounds, and give Powder of Crabs in Dyenteries and Fevers, often in Water, sometimes in Brandy.

They prescribe Tea, which comes to them from *China* and *Japan*, as an excellent Remedy against the Head-ach and Gravel, and with a little Ginger for the Gripping of the Guts. That is accounted the best Tea which colours the Water greenest; for that which colours it red is little accounted of. Against the Afflictions which proceed from bad Airs, and cold Wines, they use a Counter-poison mixed with *Aqua Vita*, in which also they dip a Cloth, and rub the Patient well; but in this they boil a little Ginger, and for a more speedy Cure they sweat the Patient in a Cloud of Frankincense; they never use Blood-letting, and in the Purple Fever they use Fire, and sometimes pricking every Spot. The Spot being burnt will give a Whiff like a Squib, which is an infallible Sign that the Venom is gone out of the Body; but the Physician must take care that it does not enter his own, for then Death certainly follows. If the Spot be pricked to let out the pestiferous Blood, they burn it, and then rub it with Ginger, not permitting the Patient to take the Air in twenty Days, or eat any Flesh, or Butter. These Remedies are effectual to a Wonder, and cure in a short Time.

The Kingdom of *Tunquin* was anciently a Part of *China*, but has been for six hundred Years governed by its own Kings. The first that assumed the Title of King was a Robber, whose Name was *Din*, who heading a great Number of Malecontents, gained many bloody Battles over the *Chinese*, and seized the Province for his Kingdom. The People did not permit him to reign long in Peace; but rising against him, slew him; though he left two Sons, yet they reigned but a few Years successively, and died without Issue. The Kingdom after their Death was mightily distracted with Civil Wars, till the *Chinese* being called in to assist the weaker Party, brought things to a Settlement, and a Mandarin, of the Family of *Lelequell*, was advanced to the Throne.

He being a valiant and prudent Prince, restored Peace and Order to the Kingdom; and after he was established, built an admirable Palace of Marble of divers Colours, and very large; he left one Daughter to succeed him, and she, to secure herself, married a powerful Mandarin, of the House of *Tran*; but she being deposed, and slain by her

most impossible, it is so copious and Customs of the *Chinejses* by all the Mandarins of Obligation, for eight Days, it is the Degree of a Tanis, it is the Nobility, and the King take the Rents; but to some relating to their Merit, or the gives them a Vest of Satin. Towns given them by the in a gilded Branguar, with Months for their Recreation, to instruct themselves in the Palace, and arrive at the Dig- sian time their Names being are set upon the Gate of the at all the People may know k of the Nobility.

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rebellious Subjects, the *Chinejses* again seized the Govern- ment, and held it twenty Years. They set Governors over every Province, and laid heavy Tributes upon the People, so that being weary of the Oppression, they joined under a valiant Captain of the House of *Lee*, and vanquished the *Chinejses* in three Battles, seated him on the Throne, and in his Family the Government continued above eighty Years, the last of this Race having given an Affront to a great Lord of the House of *Marr*, which had formerly enjoyed the Scepter, he being assisted by a great Number of Male- contents, fought to regain the Kingdom, and in one bloody Battle became Master of it.

But he enjoyed it not above two Years, being deposed by one of the Family of *Trin*, who refusing to ascend the Throne, restored it to the Family of *Lee*, yet referring to himself and Family the whole Command of the Army, and Disposal of all the Revenues of the State, and all publick Affairs; so that the King, whom they call *Bona*, has the Name, Title, and State; but the General, whom they call *Chona*, has the Power. The King hears Causes almost every Day, but makes no publick Edict, which is of any Effect, till it is signed by the *Chona*: He lives shut up in his Palace, and stirs not out but upon certain Days; he has generally two thousand Soldiers for his Guard, and keeps sometimes twenty thousand quartered upon his Fron- tiers, especially towards *Cochin-China*, and with them fifty Elephants upon the Rivers also of the Kingdom, where any Enemy can endanger him; he keeps usually one hundred great Gallies, with a vast Company of small Gallies.

The eldest Sons here do not always succeed their Fathers in the Throne, but by the Influence of the *Chona* and Counsellors, his Creatures, he is obliged to name which of his Sons he will have to reign after him, if he has many, and him they promise to establish, shutting up all the rest in the Palace, as in a Prison, and not suffering them to meddle with Affairs of State; yet four times a Year they are allowed to go out under an Officer appointed by the *Chona*, and have Leave to stay out six Days. On the first they are to visit the Temples and Priests, and give them large Alms, the next two Days they hunt, and the three last fish.

The Kingdom of *Tunquin* is divided into eight large Pro- vinces, every one of which has its Governor and Magi- strates; but there lies an Appeal from their Sentence to the King, his thirty-two Counsellors, and one hundred Assis- tants. Their Nobility attain that Degree by Merit only, viz. by their Valour in the Wars, and Learning; and as these latter go through a long Course of Studies, and strict Examinations, as is before shewn, so the former are instructed in warlike Exercises betimes, viz. to handle their Swords, to aim with their Bows, to fire a Musket, to ride the great Horse, to shoot running, to manage their Zagays, which are long Staves chequed with Iron like a Half-pike, and make all sorts of artificial Fire-works, which they use against Elephants in War; for though some Elephants may be taught not to regard them, though they go off under their Noles or Bellies, yet one in ten cannot be brought to it; so that unless their Governors take great Care, instead of running upon the Enemy, they will turn upon their Friends, and put a whole Army into a dismal Confusion, if not de- stroy it, as they did *Aurengzebe's* at the Siege of *Daman*.

21. The Kingdom of *Tunquin* paid a Tribute to the *Chinejses* till the Year 1667, when the *Tartars* invaded their Country, and then they concluded a Peace, on condition that they should send every Year an Ambassador to *Pekin* to do Homage to the Emperor of *China*. They observe an exact Order in administering Justice, and regulating Affairs all over the Kingdom; they are very exact in punishing Murder, and none can escape, but such as have killed one that has no Relations to revenge his Death; for the King can pardon no Man for this Crime, and all the Favour he can shew, is to leave him to the Kindred of the Slain.

They take great Care for the publick Good, to repair Bridges and Highways, and every Quarter of a League there is Water and Fire provided for those Travellers who may want them. Though the King has not much Power in his Kingdom, yet he is highly honoured by his Subjects, and keeps a very splendid Court the first and fifteenth Day of every Month: All the Mandarins, except the Ge-

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neral, who is allowed to send his Deputy, come in their *Chinejses* Habits to kiss the King's Hand, as the inferior Mandarins, who are Governors of Provinces, Justices, and military Officers, do the *Chona's* on the first Day of the Year. All that desire to see the King, are obliged to put on violet Robes, both themselves and their Servants, and if they beg any Favour, must carry a Present. On the first Day of every new Year the King distributes several Largeesses and Gifts to his Courtiers, and the Children of such as have done him any important Services, which are Panes of Gold worth six hundred Livres each, and Bars of Silver, which are worth forty-six Livres each: He also releases all Prisoners, both Criminals and Debtors, provided their Crimes do not deserve Death, and the Debts do not exceed two Bars of Silver.

The three last Days of the Year the four Mandarins, who are the chief Counsellors of the State, take Oaths of all the Lords and Officers of the Court, and their Wives, to be faithful to the King, and discover any Treason against his Person and Government, and the Governors of Cities and Countries, do the same to the Lords, Gentlemen, Citizens, and Inhabitants of their Jurisdictions, and every one that discovers any Treason, never fails of a Reward, accord- ing to his Quality; and mean People are gratified with a Reward of fifty Panes of Gold, and five hundred Bars of Silver, which amounts to 53,000 Livres; but they esteem Nobility above Money. They have a Muster of the Youth every Year, and all such as are found not to be of the Nobility, or not to have learnt a Trade, are immedi- ately enrolled for the King's Service, to be of his Guards, or defend his Frontiers. Some will endeavour to get off by Money; but if they are discovered, both Officers and Soldiers are punished without Mercy; for they hang a little Bell about their Necks, and fetter their Arms, and send them to the General, who presently orders their Heads to be stricken off, or upon Intercession of Friends, they are to be hanged, because they are very averse to Bloodshed, and believe the Death most honourable that is free from it. When the King goes at any time out of his Palace to take his Pleasure, he is seated upon a most magnificent Pallan- quin, carried by eight Men, where he is seen by all the People, the Lords and Officers of the Court attending on Foot, if he goes no farther than the City; but if he goes in the Country, he rides on an Elephant, and the Lords attend him on Horseback. When the Queen-Mother, or his first Wife goes abroad, they are likewise carried upon a close Pallanquin, with Lattice Windows, that they may see, and not be seen, and the Maids of Honour follow it on Foot.

The Mandarins, and great Princes, solemnize their Birth-days every Year with great Feasting, Pastimes, Co- medies, and Fire-works, and at the same time give large Alms, especially to poor Widows and Prisoners. When the King dies, and leaves several Sons, he is set up whom the King has appointed his Successor; and on the third Day of his Decease the General, with all the military Manda- rins, Lords of the Council, and Governors of Provinces, repair to the Prince's Apartment, where they present him with a *Chinejses* Habit, and mounting him on an Elephant, bring him into one of the great Courts of the Palace, which is covered with Cloth of Gold and Silver as a Tent, and place him upon a magnificent Throne, where being seated, all the Mandarins prostrate themselves to him upon the Earth with their Heads downward; in which Posture, having lain some time, they rise, and closing their Hands together, with their Arms and Eyes lifted up towards Hea- ven, they swear to be faithful to him till Death.

The new King, to requite this Loyalty, orders four Panes of Gold, and six Bars of Silver, to be given to every one; but to the Constable, or General, he gives two Panes of Gold, and forty Bars of Silver; and to the President of the Council half as many: After these Presents are given, several Pieces of Artillery are fired about the Palace, with some Volleys of small Shot, by the Soldiers then in Arms, which are 30,000 Horse and Foot, the King set upon a magnificent Pallanquin, carried by eight military Manda- rins, and eight of the Council, the Constable and chief of the Council riding before upon very fine Horses, is carried to the Apartments of the deceased King, when the Lords are retired, the Princesses, Ladies of the Court, and chief

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Wives

Wives of the Mandarins, come to kiss the King's Hand, and congratulate him upon his Advancement to the Throne; which done, the Lords return to a noble Feast prepared for them after the Manner of the Country. Cold's Flesh, and Dogs, are in most Esteem with them; and the Bird's Nests, which gives their Meat a Taste of almost all sorts of Spices, is their chief Sauce. The Festival is concluded with Comedies, and Fire-works, which last all Night.

The next Day the 30,000 Soldiers are drawn up in the Field, and the King appearing on his War Elephant, in the midst of his Troops, takes an Oath of Fidelity of all the Officers, and then bestows his Gifts upon them, viz. to every Colonel two Panes of Gold, and forty Bars of Silver; to every Captain half as much, and to every Soldier a Month's Pay, which being received, the whole Army discharge three Volleys, and then they retreat to their Huts, where they have a Feast prepared, as the King has also, in a wooden Palace erected for the same Purpose, and so they spend the Night in Feasting, Dancing, and letting off Fire-works. This Ceremony being ended, they set on Fire the Palace and Huts, and the King returning to his Palace, bestows his Liberality on the Comedians and Dancers; then he gives Access to all his People by their Commissioners, viz. to the Merchants and Traders, People of *Choco*, who assure him that their City acknowledge him for their King, and will be faithful to him unto Death; and he gives fifty Panes of Gold, and three hundred Bars of Silver, to the Tradesmen, and then to the Commonalty of the whole Kingdom, whom he discharges from Taxes a whole Year, if they have never taken up Arms against their King, and but six Months, if they have; all Prisoners for Debt, after they have compounded with the Creditors for half, he freely paying the rest.

'Tis said, that the King upon this Occasion sends above 100,000 Beasts to the Temples of the false Gods to be sacrificed for him, besides the Value of one Million of Panes of Gold in Tiffues and Silks to adorn the Idols, orange-coloured Calicuts for the Bonzes, and blue Calicuts for the Poor that are kept in the Pagods, as Hospitals. Sometimes after the Ceremony is over, the King, at the New of the Moon, goes to give his Deities Thanks for his coming to the Crown, and remains for a Week with the Bonzes, living in common with them, visiting the Hospitals, to see how the Poor, and especially the Antient, are used; and to them he gives new Alms, and orders the building of a new Pagod in some fair Situation, which he dedicates to some Idol. The second Part of the Moon is spent in seeing the Gallies row one against another, the King and Court having Houses built on the Plains by the River for that Purpose; which Diversions being over, the Captains come ashore to kiss the King's Hand, and they that have behaved most stoutly and nimbly, receive the Marks of his Bounty, and he gives all the Soldiers two Months Pay extraordinary. During seven Days, there are such vast Numbers of Fire-works thrown about, that you would think the Air and Water all on Fire. Then the King returns to his Palace, and spends the other half of the Month with his Princesses, diverting himself and his Ladies with Fire-works, Comedies, and Mummeries.

When the King of *Tunquin* dies, he is presently embalmed, and laid in State sixty-five Days; all which Time his Table is served as if he were alive; and when the Meat is taken from before the Body, half is given to the Bonzes, and the other half given to the Poor. So soon as the King has breathed out his last Gasps, the Constable gives Notice to the Governors of Provinces, and orders them how long they shall mourn. The military Mandarins mourn generally three Years; the King's Household nine Months; the Nobility six; and meaner sort three; and all the three Years there is a Cessation from Diversilements, except those that are used at the King's Elevation to the Throne. All the Meats that are served up to the new King, are varnished with black, and his Train is cut off, and his Head covered with a Straw Bonnet, as are also the Heads of all his Princes and Counsellors of State; nor do they leave this Habit till the deceased King's Body is put into the Galley to be carried to the Interment, and the three Bells, which hang in one of the Towers of the Palace, never cease tolling till that Time. The third Day after his Decease all the

Mandarins repair to Court, to testify their Sorrow for the deceased King; and ten Days after all the People are allowed to see the Body lie in State, till it be put into the Galley. During the sixty-five Days which the King's Body lies in State, the Constable prepares for the Funeral, which is thus performed: The King and all the Court march on Foot to the Gallies, which they make seventeen Day-March, though it is not really above two Days Journey, and all the Way is spread with Violet-coloured Calicuts, which is the King's Colour. The Order of their March is thus: First go the two Officers of the King's Bed-chamber, with Maces of Arms, the Heads of them being full of Fire-works; these proclaim the Name of the deceased King; next go twelve Officers of the Gallies drawing a Tomb, whereon the King's Name is written; then proceeded twelve Elephants, of which four carry the King's Standards; four six-armed Men apiece in Turrets; and four of those the King rode on in his Wars: After these rides the Master of the Horse, with two Pages after him on Horseback; then are led twelve Horses richly harnessed, with Bays, Bridles and Saddles; after follows the Mauseoleum, or Hearse, drawn by eight Stags, trained up for that Service, every one of them being led by a Captain of the Guard; then goes the new King with his Brothers, if he have any, and the Princes of the Blood, all clad in white Satten, which is their Mourning Colour; they are attended by Musicians, who play upon Hautboys, and other Instruments: After them go six Princesses in white Satten, carrying Meat and Drink for the deceased King; these are attended by as many Ladies of Honour in purple Garments; then go eight Princes of the Royal Blood in purple Garments, with Straw Hats; next proceeded four Governors of the chief Provinces of the Kingdom, carrying on their Shoulders certain Bags full of Gold, and Perfumes hung on Stricks, which are Presents made by their Provinces to be buried with their King's Body, for his Use in the other World; then follow two Chariots drawn by eight Horses apiece, led by a Groom each, in which are two Coffers full of Panes of Gold, Bars of Silver, rich Tiffues, and other Riches, to be buried with the King's Body, for his Use in the other Life: Lastly, come a great Croud of the King's Officers, and other Nobility, some on Foot, others on Horseback, according to their Offices and Qualities. When the deceased King's Body is put into the Galley, the new King and the Company return home, and the Calicut being taken up, is given to the Bonzes.

The Galley, wherein is the King's Body, is committed to six of the chief Eunuchs, who are sworn never to reveal the Place where the King is buried. It is attended by three other Gallies; one carries the Lords, and another the Ladies, who are to be buried alive with the King to attend him into the other World; and the third carries the Treasure that is to be buried with the King, for his Use. The King is buried in inaccessible Mountains and Desarts. As for the ordinary Funerals of the *Tunquinese*, they are more or less pompous, according to the Quality of the Person deceased. At their Interments they use great Store of artificial Fire-works, which they use also in their Times of Joy, as well as Grief. They also set upon the Tomb good Store of Viſtuals, and Sweet-meats, believing that the Dead are better for them; and the Priests, who train them up in the Error, dispose of them before the next Morning. The *Dutch* Soldiers at *Batavia* robbed the Priests of these Dainties several times, but at length paid dear for their Licentiousness; for the Priests finding no Redress by complaining to the Governor, poisoned the Meat and Drink, and so destroyed many of them.

The Religion of the *Tunquinese* is divided into three Sects, the first is derived from an ancient Philosopher, called *Confucius*, whose Memory is famous over all *China* and the neighbouring Countries. Their Doctrine is, that Men are composed of two Parts, one fine and subtle, and the other material and gross. When a Man dies, the subtle Part vanisheth into the Air, and the gross returns to Earth. They use Sacrifices, and worship the seven Planets. Their chief Idols are *Rouma*, *Beito*, *Ramou*, and *Brana*. The Women chiefly worship the Goddess *Siff-kina*; and the King, Mandarins, and learned Men, adore the Heavens. The second Sect was founded by one *Che-*

testify their Sorrow for the after all the People are all, till it be put into the days which the King's Body is for the Funeral, and all the Court march on they make seventeen Days above two Days Journey, a Violet-coloured Calicut, the Order of their March is of the King's Bed-chamber, of them being full of Fire-works of the deceased King; Gallies drawing a Tomb, written; then proceeded carry the King's Standards, turrets; and four of those After these rides the Master after him on Horseback; y hamelled, with Bins, Br-the Moufoulem, or Hearn, up for that Service, every captain of the Guard; then others, if he have any, and in white Satten, which is are attended by Musicians, other Instruments: After Satten, carrying Meat and these are attended by asle Garments; then go eight purple Garments, with Straw owners of the chief Pro- g on their Shoulders certain hung on Sticks, which vices to be buried with then other World; then follow orses apiece, led by a Groom full of Panes of Gold, Bar- Riches, to be buried with in the other Life: Lastly, g's Officers, and other No- on Horseback, according to When the deceased King's e new King and the Com- cut being taken up, is given

King's Body, is committed to are sworn never to reveal buried. It is attended by the Lords, and another ve with the King to attend the third carries the Tre- King, for his Use. The ountains and Defants. As *Tunquinse*, they are more the Quality of the Person they use great Store of arti- also in their Times of Joy, upon the Tomb good Store believing that the Dead are ts, who train them up in e the next Morning. The d the Priests of those Dain- paid dear for their Liquo- Redress by complaining Meat and Drink, and to

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calcut, an Hermit, and the most of the common People are of this Sect. He taught his Followers the Transmi- gration of Souls, and enjoined these ten Commands, viz. 1. That they should not kill. 2. That they should not steal. 3. That they should not defile their Bodies. 4. That they should not lie. 5. That they should not be unfaithful to their Words. 6. That they should restrain their inordinate Desires. 7. That they should do no In- jury to any Man. 8. That they should not be great Talk- ers. 9. That they should not give Way to their Anger. 10. That they should labour to their utmost to acquire Knowledge.

As for such as design to lead a religious Life, they must renounce the Delights of this Life, be charitable to the Poor, overcome their Passions, and give themselves up to Meditation. He taught also, that, after this Life, there were ten distinct Places of Joy and Torment, and that the Contemners of his Law should feel Torments proportionable to their Offences, without any End. That if they endeavoured to fulfil his Law, and failed in any Point, they should wander in divers Bodies for 3000 Years, before they entered into Happiness; but such as had per- fectly fulfilled his Law, should be rewarded without suf- fering any Change of Body. He says of himself, that he was born ten Times before he came to Bliss, because, in his Youth, he, for want of Knowledge, had sinned. This Impostor's Opinions are spread all over the Kingdom of *Siam*, several Provinces of *Japan*, and all *Tunquin*, where he died. The third Sect is that of *Lantbu*, a great Mag- ician: He gave out, that his Mother carried him in her Womb seventy Years without losing her Virginity. That by this Miracle, he might gain Credit to his Impostures, he taught most of *Chacabaut's* Doctrine; and, to gain the Peoples Hearts, enjoined the Grandees to build Hospitals in all Cities where there were none before to look after the Sick in them. The *Tunquinse* adore three Things in their Houses, viz. the Hearth of their Chimneys, made of three Stones. 2. The Idol *Ticaja*, who is the Patro- nels of all Handicrafts-Men; and to her they sacrifice when they put a Child to any Trade, that she may infuse an Aptness to learn it. 3. The Idol *Buabin*, to which they pray, and sacrifice when they build an House, that he may not suffer any Misfortune to befall the House they are going to build; but they send for the Bonzes, and they stay to offer it, for whom they make great Preparations.

There are some among them that adore the Heavens, others the Moon, and others the Stars. Some adore the Earth in five Parts, and that in five several Colours, viz. the Northern in black, the Southern in red, the Eastern in green, the West in white, and Middle in yellow; and others sacrifice to Trees, Elephants, Horses, Cows, and almost all other sorts of Animals. They that study the *Chinese* Characters, sacrifice every five Months to the Souls of the Dead that were never buried, believing that their Understanding shall be more enlightened to apprehend Things. At the Beginning of every Year they have a great Solemnity in Honour of the Dead, who were in their Lives renowned for their noble Actions and Valour, reckoning Rebels among them. They set up several Al- tars, some for Sacrifices, others for the Names of the Per- sons they design to honour; and the King, Princes, and Mandarins, are present at them, and make three profound Reverences to the Altars when the Sacrifices are finished; but the King shoots five Times against the Altars where the Rebels Names are; then the great Guns are let off, and the Soldiers give Volleys of small Shot, to put the Souls to Flight. The Altars and Papers made use of at the Sacrifices are burnt, and the Bonzes and Sages go to eat the Meat made use of at the Sacrifice.

The first and fifteenth Days of every Month, are more especially Holy-days for the Worship of their Gods, and the Bonzes and Sages redouble their Prayers, and repeat a kind of Charm six Times. The People on these Days bring Meat and Drink to the Sepulchres of their Kindred, to sacrifice for the Good of their Souls to eat. The Bon- zes, when they have paid their Worship, fall to, and what they cannot eat give the Poor; for this Greediness the King and Mandarins make no Account of the Bonzes and Sages, though they lead austere Lives, and so they are in

Credit only with the common People. In *Tunquin* the great Cities have several Pagods, and every Village and Town almost have one: Every Pagod has, at least, two Bonzes and two Sages; but some maintain forty Pagods, and as many Sages, or Sages, who live in common under a Super- or, and keep to the Doctrine of *Chia chont*, and a Goat is the Idol which they adore. They wear about their Necks a Necklace of an hundred great Beads made of Wood: They beg for their Living with great Modesty and Humi- lity, taking no more than it needful; and if they have any thing to spare, they give it to the poor Widows and Orphans that cannot get their Living. Their Orders permit them to marry, but then they must leave their Mo- nastery. They assist at the Funerals of great Men, where they make a kind of Oration, sounding their Trumpets and Cornets, while the Bells at their Pagods go at the same time. They have a great Veneration for two Magi- cians and one Witch.

The first Magician is called *Tay-bow*, who pretends to know the Events of all Things to come; so that when any is about to marry their Children, build an House, buy Land, or undertake any Business of Consequence, they consult him, who, inspecting his Book, makes them be- lieve what he pleases. The other is *Thoy-Pen-Thoy*, to whom they have Recourse in their Sickness: When he is consulted, after several apish Tricks which he acts before the sick Person, to amuse him, he sometimes affirms that the Distemper comes from the Devil, and then he himself and the sick Person, and his Friends that brought him, do Homage to the Devil; but, if he does not recover, all the Friends and Kindred of the sick Party, with as many Soldiers as they can get, surround the sick Person's House, and shoot off their Muskets three Times to drive the Devil away. If the sick Person be a Water-man, or other Per- son belonging to the Water, then he tells them it is the God of the Waters that is the Cause of the Distemper, and then he orders him to spread Carpets, and furnish Tables in Huts, with all sorts of Meat, on the Banks of the next River, to invite him to his Habitation.

If these Things fail, he sends him to *Thoy-bow*, the chief Magician, to enquire if the Souls of the Dead have caused the Distemper, and if he answers Yes, then the Magician employs his Tricks to get the mischievous Soul into a Bot- tle, where he keeps it till the Party is cured. The Magi- cian is called *Baceti*, she keeps a great Correspondence with the Devil, and, to oblige him, offers her own Daugh- ter, if she has one, as soon as she is born. Mothers who have lost their Children, and desire to know the Condi- tion of the Soul, consult her, and thereupon she, by beat- ing of a Drum, pretends to summon the Soul before her, and causes it to tell her the Condition of it. She generally tells them, that the Soul is happy, and bids them be of good Cheer. They have innumerable Superstitions, but the most remarkable are these: The more studious People foretell Things that are to come, by looking in a Mirrour. Others sprinkle the Ashes of their dead Ancestors with *Aqua Vita*, and beg of them Health, Honour, and Riches. Others, upon their New-Year's Day, make di- vers Figures upon their Steps and Thresholds of their Doors to drive away evil Spirits. Others, in travelling, if they sneeze but once will return back, and if they sneeze twice, pursue their Journey without Fear of Danger. Some, if at going out of their Houses they meet a Wo- man, retire again for two or three Hours; but, if a Man, it is a good Omen. The first Fruit which they ga- ther in the Beginning of the Year, is the Araguer, and they poison one, and give it to a Child, believing, that in taking away the Child's Life, they shall thrive the better all the Year after.

When the Moon is eclipsed, they say a certain Dragon endeavours to devour her, and, therefore, to assist the Moon, and put the Dragon to Flight, they discharge their Muskets, ring their Bells, beat all their Drums, and make a prodigious Noise till the Eclipse be over, and then they think they have rescued the Moon, and rejoice as much as if they had obtained a great Victory. They divide the nat- ural Day into twelve Hours, and give them the Name of some Beast, as a Tyger, Lion, Bear, Horse, &c. and so the Months and Days have their particular Names. When a Child

Child is born, presently the Father and Kindred go to see the Name of the Beast by which the Hour was called when the Child was born, believing that Animal will prove fatal to it. The present King of *Tanquin* was born in the Hour of the Horse, and he would never give Audience, nor stir out of the House, for fear some Mischief should befall him at that Time. And the same Prince having a Child that died in the fifth Month, which is called by the Name of the Horse, would not suffer him to be buried, but caused him to be burnt, and scattered his Ashes in the Air.

Thus far our Author, whose consummate Knowledge of the Country, People, and Commerce of the *Indies*, enabled him to enter more thoroughly into these Points than it was in the Power of any other Writer to do. His Travels through *Persia*, his several Journeys by Land through the best Part of *Asia*, are no less excellent in themselves, but are referred to furnish another Part of this Work.

But there remains however a Portion of his Labours, which, indisputably, claim our Notice here, inasmuch as they contain whatever is necessary towards understanding the Oeconomy of all the Nations that inhabit *India*, their Manner of Living among themselves, and, with respect to others, the Nature of their Manufactures, the Method of the carrying on domestick Commerce, and, above all, that Relation which the Trades of *India* have to each other; the Routes from their great Cities, the Nature of their Carriages and Caravans; and, in a Word, the Detail of that Industry, which, if I may be allowed the Expression, originally established, and has still preserved the Trade of the *Indies*. I know the Phrase is hard, but I know too that it is not in my Power to explain it better; for it is not the natural Wealth alone of these Countries that have rendered them famous, that have in all Ages attracted the Trade of the whole World to them, and thereby made the Commerce of the *Indies* the great Commerce of the Universe.

It is not, I say, the Wealth alone of these Countries, but the Industry, the Labour, and Address of the Inhabitants, by which we must understand the native Inhabitants, now called *Banjans*; for, as to the *Turks*, and *Tartars*, they have been so far from contributing thereto, that, in fact, they seem to have made it their Business to oppress and cramp this Spirit, by their tyrannical Government. But, it seems, this Spirit of Industry has been too hard, even for their Cruelty, and still subsists to such a Degree, as to excite the Wonder of the best Judges, as well as to outdo every thing of the same kind in other Parts of the World, *China* only excepted. This will manifestly appear from the subsequent Section, from which we may sufficiently gather, what a mighty Figure the *Indians* must have made in ancient Times, before the People were under the Oppression of a foreign Yoke, before their Spirits were broken by the Tyranny of their cruel Masters, and before their Manners were corrupted by the Slavery under which they groan at present.

It is from hence that we are able to distinguish how different a Figure they must have made in those early Times, when their Religion was pure, when their Government, the most exact, and best contrived that ever was established in any Country, was in its full Vigour; when their Laws had their free Course, and the People were made happy, by a constant Obedience, to an excellent Constitution; when every Monarch considered himself as

the Father of his Subjects, and when Subjects obeyed as Children, from a perfect Sense of their own Happiness, flowing from this Obedience; when, in short, every Principality was no other than one large Family well regulated, and when even the minutest Matters fell under the Notice of the Laws, and under the Care of the Magistrates.

For, if even now, when all these Advantages are lost, the Industry of the Inhabitants is so great, their Manufactures so many, and carried on with such Spirit and Diligence, their Trade so extensive and well managed, as not only to employ and enrich themselves, but to draw likewise the Attention of other Nations, and a Concourse of Merchants from the most distant Corners of the World, what must it have been in its former flourishing Condition? What must it have been in the Times before described, when they wrought for themselves, and when their Industry procured Happiness; whereas now it purchases a bare Subsistence? This will sufficiently demonstrate to the intelligent Reader, the Truth of an Observation we have so often made, that however Things may have gone in the rest of the World, and how much loever Mankind may have improved elsewhere, they must have necessarily declined here, and the modern *Indies* must, in the Nature of Things, fall as far short of the *Indies* in the ancient and primitive State, as from the vast Advantages which they enjoy above other Countries, they seem still to excel the rest of the World.

We may from hence gather, what solid, what mighty Benefits are derived from a wise and well-settled Constitution, since even the Relicks and Remains of it are able to produce such mighty Effects, as we see amongst the *Indians*; and from thence we may be taught that all Dangers ought to be dared, all Hardships undergone, all Fatigues patiently endured to prevent the Ruin, and avert the Fall of such a Constitution. It is true, these Lessons may be learned nearer home, and there is no Necessity to travel to the *Indies*, in order to acquire this useful Knowledge; but, in the mean time, since we have a natural Propensity to travel, since Books of Voyages are so much read, and so justly esteemed, it is surely right, to make them as useful as possible, by inculcating these Lessons, which ought to be perpetually in our Minds, because, on our Attention to them, depends our Freedom and Felicity. To what Ends do our Merchants visit the most distant Countries, expose themselves to such a Variety of Dangers, and cheerfully undergo such innumerable Fatigues, but that they may bring back sufficient Wealth to live at home in Peace? And, if they act reasonably in this Way, why should we not read to the same Purpose? Why should we not gain, by Experience and Reflection, the true Principles of Patriotism, and a settled Resolution to profit by other Peoples Misfortunes, and avoid, by a timely Consideration of their Miseries, what must, some time or other, make their Case our own. We have, what the *Indians* once had, an excellent Constitution, equally capable of bestowing Freedom and Felicity: It is to this we owe whatever distinguishes us from other Nations, our Liberty, our Industry, our Manufactures at home, our Commerce abroad, and, in short, whatever can render Life desirable, or this World valuable. I cannot help thinking, therefore, that every Opportunity should be sought, or, at least, every Occasion taken for setting these important Points in their proper Light, and thereby recommending, in the strongest manner possible, inviolable Duty to this our beneficent Constitution.

SECTION XXIX.

An Account of the different Rout to all the great Cities and chief Ports in the Indies; the Manner in which the Domestic Commerce of that Country is carried on; the State of its Manufactures, and other curious Particulars.

Taken from the Works of Mr. Tavernier.

1. *The End and Design of this Section explained.* 2. *A Description of the City and Port of Surat, with a large Account of its Commerce.* 3. *That Subject continued and concluded.* 4. *Of the several Methods of travelling in the East-Indies, of Land-Carriage for Merchandize, and the Expenses of both.* 5. *Of the Road from Surat to Agra, by the City of Brampour, with a Description of the last-mentioned City.* 6. *Of several remarkable Curiosities that lie in the Way.* 7. *Of the Road from Surat to Agra by Amadabat, and of what is worth Notice in that Road.* 8. *A complete Description of Amadabat, and of the Trade carried on there.* 9. *Of the Road from Candahar to Agra, and of the Jew-Brokers in the Indies.* 10. *Of the City of Caboul, and the Trade of the Provinces depending thereupon.* 11. *Of the Royal City of Delhi, and of the Road from thence to Agra.* 12. *A Description of the last-mentioned City, and of the Trade carried on there.* 13. *Of the Road from thence to Halabas, once esteemed the Capital of India, including a Description of the River Ganges.* 14. *The Road from Halabas to Patna and Dacca in the Kingdom of Bengal, with a Description of those Cities.* 15. *Of the Passage from Surat to Goa, with some Remarks upon the last-mentioned City.* 16. *Of the noble City of Villapour, and the Principality of which it is the Capital.* 17. *A large Account of the Royal City of Bagnagar, and of the Country round it.* 18. *A succinct History of the Kingdom of Golconda.* 19. *The Road from thence to the Port of Maslipatan, with some Remarks on the Trade carried on there.* 20. *A View of the Country from thence to Madraspatan, now known by the Name of Fort St. George.* 21. *A Digression concerning Elephants, which contains many curious Circumstances.* 22. *A Description of the Kingdom of Carnate, and of the principal Places therein.* 23. *Remarks upon the foregoing Section.*

THERE is no Occasion for a long Introduction to this Section, the Subject of it has been already pointed out, and therefore it is only requisite to say, that the Design of the Author therein, was to explain the interior State of the Indies, to shew where Manufactures were settled, how carried on, and after what Manner the domestick and inland Commerce of this Country is managed. In treating of this Subject, every Paragraph presents us with something new, and something useful. This Discourse transports us, as it were into the very Country itself; and, when we have read it, we can no longer consider ourselves as Strangers in the Indies. It would be very happy if we had as clear and as distinct Accounts of every Country in Europe, we should know much more of them then, than we do now; we should enter into all the Particulars of their Condition, and understand perfectly, whatever Relations came from thence. It was for this Reason that I judged it proper, before I proceeded to the last Part of this Chapter, the History of East-India Companies, to close with this Series of Voyages and Travels unto, and through this Part of the World, and, it is hoped, this Method will be approved.

2. Notwithstanding the Indies stretch themselves beyond the Coast of Persia for the Space of above four hundred Leagues together, from the Ocean to Mount-Caucasus, or Taurus, yet there are not so many Ways into the Indies out of Persia, as there are of travelling into Persia out of Turkey, because, that between Persia and the Indies, are nothing but vast Sands and Deserts, where there is no Water to be found; so that you have but two Roads to chuse in going between *Ispahan* to *Agra*, the one by Land through *Candahar*, and the other partly by Land and partly by Sea, taking Ship at *Bander*, *Abassi*, or *Ormuz*. Both these I have described as far as the Limits of Persia reach, and shall only add concerning this latter, that Sailing is not safe at all Times upon the Indian, as it upon the European Coasts; you must observe the proper Seasons, which, being past, there is no venturing. The Months of *November*, *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, are the only Times in the Year to embark for *Surat* from *Ormuz*; but from *Surat* you must not stir after the End of *February*; for then the Western Winds that bring Rain along with them into India, begin to blow; but during these four Months, there blows a N. E. Wind,

which carries the Ships from *Surat* to *Ormuz* in fifteen or twenty Days; and this Wind veering a little to the North, serves also for those that are bound for *Surat*; but it takes them up thirty, or thirty-five Days, for which they are made Amends in *Murab* and the Beginning of *April*, for then, the Western Winds blowing full in their Stern, carry them thither in fourteen or fifteen Days.

The Vessels that sail to *Surat*, which is the only Port in the Empire of the Great Mogul, pass within Sight of *Diu*, and the Point of *St. John*, and come to an Anchor in the Road of *Souali*, which is four Leagues from the Town, and two from the Mouth of the River called the *Bar of Surat*; for the greater Vessels cannot get into the River of *Surat* till they have unladen, by reason of the Sands that choke it up; and the Wares to unladen, are carried to the Town, either by Waggon or Boats, because the Customs were often taken when the Ships unladen generally at *Souali*; therefore there is now a Prohibition, that none shall come to anchor there but the *English* and *Dutch*, who, indeed, lay many Goods Custom free; yet it is made up by the Vessels that come to the Bar from *Persia*, *Arabia-Felix*, and all Parts of the Indies. When the Commodities are unladen at *Surat*, you must carry them to the Custom-house, adjoining to the Fort, where the Merchants pay for all sorts of Wares from 4 to 5 per Cent. unless it be the *English* and *Dutch*, who indeed pay less, but are forced to make it up in Presents to the Court and Deputations; and lest any valuable Goods should be concealed, they search every Person in the Ship exactly. Gold and Silver pays but Two in the Hundred, and when it is brought into the Custom-house, the Matter of the Mint come, and takes it and coins it into the Money of the Country, which, tho' it be to the Loss of the Merchant, yet can't be avoided as to the Silver; but the Merchants have so many Ways to hide their Gold, that it seldom comes to the Knowledge of the Customers.

If they bring any Money ready coined, out of other Countries, as *Pistols*, or *Abassi's*, out of *Persia*, they are melted down and refined, to make *Ruppes*, because the Silver-Money of the Great Mogul is finer than any other. The Indian Money is the Silver *Ruppe*, the half Quarter, the eighteenth, and sixteenth Part. The *Ruppe* is as big as the *Bassi* of *Persia*, but much thicker; it passes commonly for thirty French Sols, or 2 s. 3 d. Sterling. This Money is coined every Year, and the new ones, during the

Year they are coined in, are valued at a *Pecca* more than those of the foregoing Year, because the Coiners pretend that the Silver wears daily. They have also another Silver Coin called *Mabmoudi*, which is ten, or about ten Sols and an half, or eight-pence Halfpenny Sterling; but it goes no where but in *Surat*, and in the Province of *Guzurat*. A *Baffa* brought out of *Perfa* goes also in the *Indies*, but for less than in their own Country, viz. at nineteen *Pecca's*, or sixteen *French Sols*, which is one Shilling and Two-pence. The *Pecca* (of which they have half, double, and four-fold) is a Piece of Copper Money as big and thick as a *Rupiee*, but in Value about half a *Sous*, or something less than half a Penny *English*. A *Rupiee* is worth more or less of those *Pecca's*, according as you are nearer or farther from the Copper Mines. At *Agra* and *Gebanabat* they are worth fifty-five or sixty-five *Pecca's*, and at *Surat* sometimes but forty-six, and sometimes fifty, because it is at a small Distance from the Copper Mines.

Instead of small Money, they use certain Shells, which they call *Coris*, brought from the *Maldives*, of which they give fifty or more for a *Pecca*, or if they are near the Seashore, where they are brought in, sixty. In the Province of *Guzurat*, and the chief Cities whereof *Guzurat*, *Cambaya*, *Boudra*, and *Amadabat*, *Mabmoudi's*, half *Mabmoudi's*, and *Almonds*, are accounted current Money: A *Mabmoudi* is about nine Sols, three Deniers, or Eight-pence *English* in Value. The Almonds, which they call *Baden*, are brought from *Ormuz*, and grow in the Delarts of the Kingdom of *Lar*. They give sixty-eight Almonds for a *Pecca*, and twenty *Pecca's* for a *Mabmoudi*. There is no fear that the Children should crack these Almonds, and so destroy their Money, for they are as bitter as Colloquintida. Some Years the Almond-trees don't bear, and then their Price is much raised; for then you will not have above forty or forty-four for a *Pecca*. The *Rupiee* of Gold is valued in the Country at fourteen *Rupiees* of Silver, and the half and Quarter *Rupiee* proportionably. Great Sums of Money are reckoned by *Lecks*, *Crories*, or *Courors*, *Padans*, and *Nils*; 100,000 *Rupiees* make a *Leck*, 100,000 *Lecks* a *Couror*, 100,000 *Courors* a *Padan*, 100,000 *Padans* a *Nil*. If you bring Gold into the *Indies* in Ingots, or *European* Ducats, you shall always have seven and an half Profit, if you can escape paying the Customs; but if you pay them, your Gain is lost.

3. The City of *Surat* lies in twenty-one Degrees, and a few Minutes Northern Latitude, and is watered by the River *Tappi*. It is inhabited by three Nations, as they distinguish themselves, viz. *Moors*, under which Name they comprehend all *Mohammedans*, though they differ in their Opinions, being some *Sunnis*, and others *Shias*, viz. *Moguls*, *Persians*, *Arabians*, and *Turks*; 2. *Heathens*, who adore Idols, of whom there are several sorts; 3. *Perses*, who are also called *Gaurs*, or *Moch-perest*, i. e. Adorers of the Fire, which was the Worship of the ancient *Persians*. These Men retreated into the *Indies*, when the Khaliff *Omar* reduced the Kingdom of *Perfa* under the Power of *Mohammedans*: Among these, indeed, there are some *Franks*, and other *Christians*, but they are not accounted among the Inhabitants, because their Number is inconsiderable, in Comparison of the other Parts. There are some Merchants in *Surat* vastly rich.

One *Vergivora*, a *Banjan*, was reckoned worth at least eight Millions. The City is but of an indifferent Bigness, and 'tis hard to know the Number of the Inhabitants, because the Seasons render it unequal. There are a great many all the Year round; but in the Time of the Monsoon, i. e. the Seasons for sailing, viz. in *January*, *February*, and *March*, it is so full of People, that Lodgings can hardly be had, either in the City, or the Suburbs. The Generality of the Houses are built of Reeds plastered over with Cow-dung; for in all *Surat* there is not above nine or ten good Houses, of which the Chamberlain, or chief of the Merchants, has two or three, the *English* and *Dutch* also have some of them, and the rest belong to the *Mohammedan* Merchants; but the *Franks* are only allowed to hire Houses, lest if they should have any of their own, they should make it a Fortref.

The *Capuchin* Friars have built them a very convenient Convent, according to the Model of the Houses in *Europe*,

and a fair Church by it; but they purchased the Ground in the Name of one *Gbelchie*, a *Maronite* Merchant of *Aleppo*. The Walls of the Town were formerly of Earth, and that very ruinous; but of late they have built them of Brick, a Fathom and an half thick, and fortified them better, to secure it from the Irruptions of the neighbouring *Rajah*. The Castle is built upon the Side of the River, at the South End of the Town, and is so placed, that you must pass by it at your entering into the Town, whether you go by Land or Water; it is a Fort of a reasonable Bigness, square, and flanked at each Corner with a large Tower. The Ditches on three Sides are filled with Sea-water, and the fourth is washed by the River. There are several Pieces of Cannon; but because there are no Platforms on each Wall, they are planted upon wooden Scaffolds. The Governor of it can only command his Soldiers within the Fort; for he has no Power in the City, which has a distinct Governor, who receives the King's Customs, and his Revenues in his Province; but he lays them up in the Castle, till they are sent for by express Orders from Court.

The Streets of *Surat* are large, and even, but not paved; and there is no considerable Building in it. The *Christians* and *Mohammedans* there commonly eat Cow Beef, not only because it is better, but because it is more plentiful than Ox Beef, their Oxen being almost all employed in Plowing, and carrying Burthens. They have also pretty good Store of Mutton, and Abundance of Pullets, Chickens, Pigeons, Pigs, and all sorts of Wild-fowl. They use two sorts of Oil with their Food, viz. of *Crocus*, *Sylvestris*, or wild Saffron, and *Sellamum*. This last is more common, but the first much the best. They eat Grapes from the Beginning of *February* to the End of *April*; but they have no good Taste, and the Wine made of them is sour. They have several sorts of strong Waters, which they draw from Jagery, and the Bark of the Tree *Babore* steeped in Water. They have two sorts from Palm-trees, the one called *Cadigour*, and the other the *Coccatree*, Rice, and Dates; but they are none of them so good as Brandy. Their Vinegar is made of Jagery, and decayed Raisins, and to their belt they put in a little *Tari*, which is the Juice of the Palm-trees abovementioned.

At *Surat* are sold all sorts of Stuffs and Cottons that are made in the *Indies*: All the Commodities also of *Europe* and *China*, as Porcelain, Cabinets, and Chests adorned with Torquies, Agats, Cornelians, Ivory, and other Embellishments. Here are also sold Diamonds, Rubies, Pearls, and all other precious Stones, which are found in the East; as also Musk, Amber, Myrrh, Incense, Manna, Sal Armoniac, Lark, Quicksilver, Inuigo, and the Root *Renas*, for dying red. All sorts of Spices, Fruits, and Drugs, which are produced in the *Indies*, and the *Levant*, and are bought up by Foreign Merchants to transport into all Parts of the World. There are several great Officers at *Surat*, viz. a Multi, who inspects and rules all manner of Religion among the *Mohammedans*, and a Cadi, to judge of all civil Matters, a *Vaca Neviz*, or Secretary of State, who keeps a Register of all that happens to his Province, and gives the Great Mogul Notice of all things that happen of Importance, two Governors, or Nabads, who command one the City, the other the Castle, and have no Dependence upon each other, nor encroach upon one another's Offices, or Duties.

The Governor of the Town judges in civil Matters, and commonly renders speedy Justice; but he meddles not with Criminal Causes, for they belong to an Officer appointed on purpose, called *Cotawal*, who is much the same with the *Soubassa* in *Turkey*, and *Doroga* in *Perfa*. He orders Criminals to be punished in his Presence, by Whipping or Cudgelling; and this he doth, either in his own House, or in the Street, near the Place where the Fact was done. When he goes abroad, he rides on Horseback, and has several Officers who attend him, carrying Batoons, Whips, Lances, &c. before him; but neither of these Judges can put any Man to Death. The King reserves that Power to himself; and therefore when any Man deserves Death, a Courier is dispatched to know his Pleasure, and they fail not to put his Orders in Execution, so soon as the Courier is returned. The *Cotawal* goes his Rounds in the Night to prevent

they purchased the Ground, a *Maronite* Merchant of whom were formerly of Earth, late they have built them of brick, and fortified them better, of the neighbouring Rajah. e of the River, at the South ead, that you must pass by town, whether you go by a reasonable Bigneſs, ſquare, with a large Tower. The ed with Sea-water, and the There are ſeveral Pieces are no Platforms on each ooden Scaffolds. The Go- and his Soldiers within the the City, which has a di- the King's Cuſtoms, and but he lays them up in the by expreſs Orders from

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udges in civil Matters, and y, but he meddles not with to an Officer appointed on much the ſame with the *Perſia*. He orders Crimi- es, by Whipping or Cud- in his own Houſe, or in he Fact was done. When orſeback, and has ſeveral g Baroons, Whips, Lan- er of theſe Judges can put eſerves that Power to y Man deſerves Death, a s Pleaſure, and they ſail e, ſo ſoon as the Corner Rounds in the Night to prevent

prevent all Diſorders, and if he finds any Man abroad at unreaſonable Times, he commits him to priſon, and rarely diſmiſſes him without being baſtonadoed, or whipped. This Officer is to anſwer for all the Robberies committed in the Town; but by their Cunning they uſually evade it. When any one is robbed, this Officer apprehends all the People of the Houſe, both young and old, where the Robbery has been committed, and cauſes them to be beaten ſeverely. They are ſtretched out upon their Bellies, and and two Men laſh the Patient with long Whips, till he has received two or three hundred Laſhes, and is all in a Gore Blood. If at firſt he confeſſes not the Fact, they whip him the next Day, and ſo for ſeveral Days, till he confeſſes all, or the Thing ſtolen be recovered again; but he never teaches the Houſes, or Goods of Robbers.

There is alſo a *Touſſedar*, or *Proveſt*, who is bound to ſecure the Country round about the Town, and to anſwer for all the Robberies committed there. The Burying-places of *Surat* are without the Town, about forty-three Paces from the *Baroch* Gate. The Catholics have theirs apart, and ſo have the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, as well as ſome religious *Indians*. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* adorn their Graves with Pyramids of Brick, whitened over with Lime. The religious *Gentiles* make their Tombs ſquare, and of Plaiſter, covered, ſome with a Dome, and others with a Pyramid, a little more than three Foot high. The *Banjans* burn their dead Bodies by the River Side, and leave the Aſhes there to be waſhed away by it, becauſe they account it ſacred. They believe that it contributes much to the Soul's Eaſe of the deceased, to burn his Body immediately after his Death, becauſe they ſay his Soul ſuffers after the Separation from the Body, unleſs it be burnt; but they burn not the Bodies of Children under two Years old, becauſe they hold them innocent; nor of the *Vartia's*, or *Jogies*, who are a kind of *Dervies*, becauſe they follow the Right of *Madeo*, who is one of their great Saints, and who ordered their Bodies to be interred.

The Things moſt obſervable about *Surat* are a large Wall built by a *Banjan*, with divers thin Arches over it, to which they go down by certain Stairs; on the Outſide is a Figure of a red Face, but the Features are not diſcernable. The *Gentiles* ſay, 'tis the Pagod of *Madeo*, and pay a great Devotion to it. Towards *Daman-Gate* begins the lovelieſt Walk in all the Country, and by it is a great Refervoir of Water called the *Tank*. It has ſix Angles, and every one of them an hundred Paces long, and it is at leaſt a Muſket-shot in Diameter. The Bottom is paved with large Free-ſtone, and there are Steps all round it in Form of an Amphitheatre, from the Brim to the Bottom, of lovely Free-ſtone, admirably wrought, brought from *Cambaya*. It was made at the Charge of a rich *Banjan*, whoſe Name was *Copy*, to catch the Rain-water to ſupply the Town, and is certainly a Work worthy of a King, being equal to the beſt of the *Roman* Aqueducts made for publick Uſe.

About a Quarter of a League from the Reſervoir is the Princeſs's Garden, ſo called, becauſe it belongs to the Great Mogul's Siſter. It is a large Plantation of Trees of ſeveral kinds, as *Manguieres*, *Palms*, *Mirobalans*, *Warrs*, *Mafia-trees*, and many other Plants and Shrubs, ſome of them are ſet in a direct Line, and it is cut into many long and very fair Walks. In the miſt is a Building, with four Fronts, having each of them a Divan, and a ſquare Baſon full of Water before it, from whence run ſeveral little Brooks through the Walks, which make it delightful, but much ſhort of the Royal Gardens in *Europe*.

About a hundred and fifty Paces from the Garden is a Warr, or Tree, which the *Portuguez* call the Tree of Roots; it is very large, and high, being eighty Paces in Diameter; the Branches which have taken Root are ſo ſkilfully cut, that one may walk every-where under it. The *Indians* account it ſacred, and the *Banjans* have planted Banners on the Top, and higher Branches of it; by it is a Pagod, dedicated to an Idol called *Mameva*, which is thought to be *Eve*. The Soil about *Surat* is brown, and ſo rich, that they never dung it, but ſow their Corn after the Rains in *September*, and reap it in *February*. It bears alſo Sugar-Canes, Rice, *Manguiers*, *Palm-trees*, and many other ſorts of Trees, which yield great Profit.

They water their Gardens, but the great Dewſ yield ſufficient Moilture for their Corn-Land. The River *Tapti* is always brackiſh at *Surat*, ſo that they uſe it only for waſhing their Bodies, which they do every Morning, from a Principle of Religion.

4. In travelling up and down *India*, there are divers ſorts of Carriages both for Merchandize and Travellers, and when you leave *Surat*, you muſt make uſe of theſe. For Goods, they make uſe of Oxen, Camels, or Waggonſ; upon their Oxen they will lay three hundred, or three hundred and fifty Pounds Weight; and 'tis no wonderful thing to ſee ten or twelve thouſand Oxen at a time laden with Rice, Corn, and Salt, carrying the Rice to the Place where Corn grows, and Corn where the Rice is, and Salt to Places where there are none. Theſe numerous Caravans are very inconvenient to Travellers, becauſe when they meet them, they are forced to ſtay two or three Days, till they paſs by. This is the moſt ſpeedy Carriage for Merchants Goods, and they commonly make uſe of it when they are in haſte to ſhip them off at *Surat*. They that drive thoſe Oxen follow no other Calling, nor have any Houſes, but carry their Wives and Children along with them.

Some of them have an hundred Oxen of their own, and they have a Captain of the Caravan, who wears a Chain of Pearls about his Neck, and takes as much State upon him as a Prince. All that follow this Trade of Carrying, are divided into four Tribes, called *Manari's*, and conſiſt each of them of an hundred thouſand Souls. They live always in Tents, and are maintained by tranſporting of Merchandize from Country to Country. The firſt of them carries nothing but Corn; the ſecond Rice; the third Pulſe; and the fourth Salt; and they are diſtinguiſhed by certain Marks made by the Priests in the Face of every one of three of the Tribes, by a different coloured Gum, and ſome Grains of the thing they carry pourtrayed in it; the fourth carries a Bag of Salt about their Necks, of eight or ten Pounds, and with it they thump their Breasts every Morning before they ſay their Prayers, in Token of Repentance. They love their Oxen and Cattle as tenderly as Children, eſpecially if they have none.

Their Women wear only a Piece of Calicut painted, or white, five or ſix times double, from their Waſt downward, and upwards they cut their Bodies into ſeveral Forms of Flowers, which they paint in various Colours with Grapes. They have Priests that go along with them, who every Morning ſets up an Image of a Serpent in Wreaths upon a Pole ſix or ſeven Foot high, and when every one has paid his Adoration to it, their Women going three times about it, they load it upon an Ox appointed for that Purpoſe for carrying it, and accompany the Caravan; they uſe Camels ſometimes, but very rarely, they being appointed to carry Luggage of great Perſons. The Caravan, or Waggon, ſeldom exceeds two hundred, and is moſt commonly not above an hundred. Every Waggon is drawn by ten or twelve Oxen, and attended by four Soldiers, which the Perſon that owns the Merchandize is obliged to pay; two of them march on each Side of the Waggon, over which there is two Ropes thrown acroſs, the Ends whereof they hold in their Hands, that if the Waggon leans too much to either Side in the bad Way, thoſe on the contrary Side may keep it from overturning, by pulling the Ropes with all their Strength. The Manner of travelling in *India* is upon Oxen inſtead of Horſes, ſo that if any Merchant carries an Horſe out of *Perſia*, 'tis only for Shew, or to walk in his Hand, or to ſell to ſome *Indian* Prince. Some of thoſe Oxen will pace as eaſy as our Nags.

They manage them as Horſes; but inſtead of a Bit, they have a Rope drawn through the muſtely Part of the Noſe, only that in riding them you muſt take care that the Horns be not above a Foot long; for if they be longer, when the Flies begin to ſting, he will chafe, and toſs back his Horns, and ſometimes ſtick them into the Stomach of his Rider. They never ſhoe them but in rough Places, where the Stones and Heat are apt to waſte and chop the Hoofs. They uſe alſo little Coaches for travelling, which will hold two Perſons; but generally they ride but one in them, when they carry their neceſſary Cloak-Bag and Provision, for which there is a proper Place under the Coach.

they are drawn by two Oxen, and some of them are so strong, that they will travel upon the Trot twelve or fifteen Leagues a Day, for sixty Days together. When they have got half their Day's Journey, they give them two or three Balls, as big as one of our Twopenny Loaves, of Wheat Flour, kneaded up with Butter, and black Sugar.

The Hire of one of these Coaches is a *Rupie* a Day, or a little more; for from *Surat* to *Agra* is forty Days Journey, and you pay for the whole not above forty-five *Rupies*. They, who have more to spend, may make use of a Palanquin for their Ease, wherein they travel very commodiously; 'tis a little sort of a Coach, six or seven Foot long, and three broad, with Ballisters round about it. It has a kind of Covering over it, of Sattin, or Cloth of Gold, and when the Sun lies upon either Side, there is a Slave goes by the Side to pull down the Covering, and another carries a Targot of Officers, covered with some genteel Stuff, to keep the Traveller from the Heat of the Sun. Three Men, for the most part, apply themselves to each of the Ends, to carry the Palanquin upon their Shoulders, and they go swifter than our Sedan-men, and with more Ease, because they practise it from their Youth: You give to every one four *Rupies* a Month, but if the Journey exceeds sixty Days, they will have five.

Whether it be in a Coach, or a Palanquin, he that will travel honourably in the *Indies*, must take along with him twenty or thirty armed Men, some with Bows and Arrows, others with Muskets, who have every one the same Pay as those that carry the Palanquin. Sometimes, for more Magnificence, they carry a Banner, as the *English* and *Hollanders* do, for the Honour of their Companies. These Soldiers watch and keep Centinel for your Defence, and are mighty careful to give Content, that they may deserve the good Word of the Chief of the Town where you take them; for he is responsible for their Fidelity, and has two *Rupies* apiece of them for his Recommendation. In the Villages where a *Melammedan* commands, you may have Mutton, Pullets, or Pigeons; but where there are only *Banjans*, there is nothing to be had but Flour, Rice, Herbs, and Milk Meats. In the *Indies*, where the Heats are excessive, 'tis more commodious to travel by Night than Day; and therefore, when you come into any fortified Town, you must be gone before the Sun be set, if you intend to travel the Night following; for the Gates being shut, the Commander of the Place is to answer for all the Robberies committed within his Jurisdiction, and will suffer none to go out, telling them, it is the King's Order, to which he must be obedient. The Measure of Distances in *India* is by Coths, which is a League, and Gos, which is four of our common Leagues.

5. In travelling from *Surat* to *Agra* there are two Roads, one through *Brampour* and *Seconge*, and the other through *Amadabat*. In the first of these you go through *Barnoly*, a great Borough Town, where you ford a great River; this first Day's Journey lies through a Country something woody, yet having many Fields of Rice and Wheat. From *Barnoly* you travel altogether through Woods to *Babor*, a large Village upon a Lake, about a League in Compass. Three Quarters of a League before you come at this Town, you must ford a small River, but with great Difficulty, because it is full of Rocks and Stones, which are ready to overturn the Coach.

From *Babor* the next Stage is through a woody Country to the Inn, *Kerke*, or *de la Begum*, because it was built by the Charity of *Begum-Sakeb*, the Daughter of the Shah *Jehan*, for the Ease of Travellers, who before were forced to travel to *Navapoura*, which, besides that it was too great a Journey, being upon the Frontiers of those Rajahs, who often revolt from the Great Mogul. The Caravans were generally abused. This Inn, or Caravaniera, is large, and very commodious. In the Road from hence to *Navapoura* you ford two Rivers.

Navapoura is a great Town, full of Weavers; but Rice is the greatest Commodity there; for not only the River that runs through the Country makes it very fruitful in that Grain, which requires Moisture, but the Rice that grows there has a peculiar Excellency, for which it is much esteemed. It is, indeed, less by half than the Grain of the common Rice; but when it is boiled new, Snow is

not whiter, and it smells like Musk. This Property makes the *Indian* Grantees so fond of it, that they will eat no other; and when they would make an acceptable Present to any one in *Persia*, they send them a Sack of this Rice. From *Navapoura* you pass through *Nagharbar*, *Doindan*, and *Senquera*, to *Tollener*: Here you pass the River that runs through *Barock*, where it grows very large, and empties itself into the Gulph of *Cambaya*.

From *Tollener* your Way lies by *Cheupra*, *Senquis* and *Nabir* to *Badelpoura*; here the loaded Waggons pay the Duties of *Brampour*, but the Waggons that carry nothing but Passengers pay nothing: And, when this is done, you go on to *Brampour*, which was a great City, but is now very much ruined, and most of the Houses are thatched with Straw. In the Midst of it is the Castle, where the Governour lives. The Government of this Province is a very considerable Command, and is only conferred upon the King's Son, or Uncle; but, since they have understood the Strength of the Province of *Bengal*, which was formerly a Kingdom, that Province is thought the most considerable in all the Mogul's Country at this Day. There is great Trade in this City, as well as in the Provinces adjoining, in Calicuts, of which there are prodigious Quantities made here, clear and white, which are transported into *Persia*, *Turky*, *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Arabic*, *Grand-Caira*, and other Places. Some of them are painted with Flowers of various Colours, and the Women make Veils and Scarfs of them, and of some Coverlets for Beds, and Handkerchiefs. They make another sort of Linnen, which they never dye, and hath a Stripe of Gold or Silver quite through the whole Piece, and at each End from the Breadth of one Inch to twelve or fifteen, they fix a Tissue of Gold, Silver, and Silk, intermixed with Flowers; both Sides are alike. Some of these Linnens are made on Purpose for Sashes, and are called *Ornu*, and contain from fifteen to twenty Ells: Some are of two Ells only, and serve the Ladies of Quality for Veils and Scarfs; and vast Quantities of these Goods are vended into *Persia* and *Turky*. They make also other sorts of Cotton Cloths at *Brampour*, because there is no other Province in all the *Indies* which has greater Quantities of Cotton.

Leaving this City, there is a small River, which, when shallow, is fordable, and, if swelled by the Rains, there are always Boats attending to take over Travellers: And then you come to *Pevinsjera*, which is an Inclosure of Walls and Hedges, in which are fifty or sixty Huts covered with Straw, where live certain Men and Women that sell Rice, Flour, Butter, and Herbs, and make it their Business to bake Bread, and boil Rice to sell to the Travellers; and these Persons cleanse the Hut, they take up and put into it a Bedstead, with Girths to lay a Mattress or Quilt upon, which the Travellers usually carry along with them: This is signified by the Word *Sara*, which is added to such Places. If any Traveller have a Mind to a Fowl, or a Piece of Mutton, any *Mobammedan* in the Place will go to the City and buy it for him: From hence you go forward through *Pander*, *Balkijera*, *Conjembar*, *Chempoo*, *Charava*, and *Bichola* to *Andy*, where you pass a River that falls into the *Ganges*, between *Banazon* and *Paina*, and so take the Way by *Onguenas*, *Tiquery*, *Tool-mean*, *Novasera*, *Jebavour*, *Signer*, *Cockapour*, *Douray*, *Ajorkair*, *Teler*, and *Sankaira* to *Seconge*.

This City is large, and most of its Inhabitants are *Banjan* Merchants and Handicrafts, the Trade passing from Father to Son; and, for that Reason, there are several Houses of Stone and Brick. Here is also a great Trade for painted Calicuts, called *Chintes*, of which the Cloathing of all the meaner sort of People in *Persia* and *Turky* are made: And the same are used in other Countries for Coverlets for Beds and Tables-Napkins. The same sorts of Calicuts are made in other Countries, but the Colours are neither so lively nor lasting, but wear out with often washing; whereas those made at *Seconge*, grow the fairer the more you wash them. This arises from a peculiar Virtue of the River that runs by the City when the Rains fall: for the Workmen having made such Prints upon their Cottons as the foreign Merchants give them, by several Patterns, dip them into the River often, and that so fixes the Colours, that they will always hold. There is

fish. This Property makes of it, that they will eat no more an acceptable Present and them a Sack of this Rice, though *Najjarbar, Dainadan*, here you pass the River that grows very large, and emp-

ambaya. By *Coupre, Senqudis* and the loaded Waggon pay the Waggon that carry nothing And, when this is done, you as a great City, but is now of the Houses are thatched it is the Cattle, where the of this Province is a and is only conferred upon but, since they have under- vince of *Bengal*, which was Province is thought the molt al's Country at this Day. ty, as well as in the Provin- which there are prodigious and white, which are trans- *Mufcovy, Poland, Arabia*.

Some of them are painted rs, and the Women make of some Coverlets for Beds, like another sort of Linnen, with a Stripe of Gold or Sil- lace, and at each End from twelve or fifteen, they fix a silk, intermixed with Flow- some of these Linnens are and are called *Ormi*, and Ells: Some are of two Ells quality for Veils and Scarfs, Goods are vended into *Persia* other sorts of Cotton Cloths no other Province in all the ities of Cotton.

small River, which, when d by the Rains, there are al- ver Travellers: And then a is an Inclosure of Walls or sixty Huts covered with and Women that sell Rice, make it their Business to sell to the Travellers; and they take up and put into a Mattress or Quilt up- carry along with them: *Sara*, which is added to ave a Mind to a Fowl, or *medan* in the Place will go From hence you go for- *Ganges*, *Consemar*, *Cheispou*, where you pass a River *Benazon* and *Poina*, *mas*, *Tiquery*, *Toul-meau*, *Dekaipour*, *Douray*, *Asse-*

ange. of its Inhabitants are *Bau-* the Trade passing from Reason, there are several ere is also a great Trade tes, of which the Cloth- people in *Persia* and *Turky* ed in other Countries for skins. The same sorts of ries, but the Colours are wear out with often wash- *ange*, grow the fairer the es from a peculiar Virtue City when the Rains fall: such Prints upon their a give them, by several iver often, and that is always hold. There is

also made at *Seonge* a sort of Calicut, so fine, that when a Man puts it on, his Skin shall appear as plainly thro' it as if he was quite naked; but the Merchants are not permitted to transport it, for the Governor is obliged to lend it all to the Great Mogul's Seraglio, and the principal Lords of the Court, to make the Sultanesses and Noblemens Wives Shifts and Garments for the hot Weather; and the King and the Lords take great Pleasure to behold them in these Shifts, and see them dance with nothing else upon them. From *Seonge* you go to *Madalki-fera*, and passing thro' *Paulki-fera* and *Chaldolki-fera*, you come to *Callabus*.

6. There is a great Town, which was the Residence of a Rajah formerly, who paid Tribute to the Mogul; but the last Emperor *Aurengzeb*, when he came to the Crown, not only cut off his Head, but the Heads of many of his Subjects, which he caused to be set up in so many Holes dug in the Ground, about the two Towers which stand upon the High-way near the Town. From hence the Way lies to *Ackmate*, and from thence to *Collesar*, whose Inhabitants are all Idolaters. Without the Town, upon the Highway, grows a vast Number of great Trees, which they call Mangues, and in many Places near the Trees, are many Pagods, with every one an Idol at the Door: They belong to the *Banjans*. From this Town you travel through *Sanfell* and *Dengry* to *Gate*. This is a trait Passage of a Quarter of a League long between the Mountains, and is unavoidable by all that come from the South, as *Surat*, *Goa*, *Visapour*, *Golconda*, *Massepatan*, and other Places, to *Agra*; for there is no other Road but this. At the Entry of it are the Ruins of two or three old Castles, and the Passage is so narrow that two Waggon can hardly go a-breast: Formerly there was a Gate at each End of the Strait, and, at the End, next *Agra*, there are five or six Shops of *Banjans* that sell Flour, Butter, Rice, Herbs, and Pulse. Not far from thence is a Magazine of Rice and Corn, kept by Serpents of thirteen or fourteen Foot long, and of a proportionable Bigness.

The People hereabouts get their Living by Passengers, from whom they extort as much as they can, for shewing them the Way, there being none but them that know it, because it lies through intricate Rocks, till they come at the River, which, being tormented, the Road leads to *Nadar*, which is a great City upon the Defcent of a Mountain, upon whose Top there is a Fortrefs, and all the Mountain is encompassed with Walls. The greatest Part of the Houses, as in all other Cities of *India*, are thatched with Straw, one Story high; but the rich Mens Houses are two Stories high, and tarrafled. Round about the City are several Ponds to be seen, which were formerly encompassed with hewn Stone, but now are decay'd for want of looking after; but there are still very fair Monuments about them. The River which you pass before you come at this City, encompasses the Mountain like a Peninsula, and, after a long winding Course, falls into the *Ganges*. At *Nadar* are made a great Number of quilted Coverlets, some white, others embroidered with Flowers of Gold, Silk, and Sattin. From *Nadar* you go to *Bar-pai-fera*, and so by *Trie* to *Goualeor*. This is a great City, but ill built, as all the other *Indian* Cities are. It is built on the Side of a Mountain that lies on the West-side of it, and at the Top is encompassed with Walls and a Tower. In the Inclosure are several Ponds, made by the Rains, with which they water their Grounds, sown with Rice, and to raise Corn enough to maintain their Garrison; and, upon that Account, it is esteemed the best in the *Indes*. Upon the Defcent of this Hill, which looks towards the North-East, *Cha-leban* built an House of Pleasure, from which there is a delightful Prospect all over the City: It is so contrived that it may serve for a Garrison. Beneath the House are to be seen several Idols, cut out of the Rocks, representing the Shapes of their Gods; and one of them is of an extraordinary Height.

The *Mohammedan* Princes make this Fortrefs of *Goualeor* a Prison for their great Princes and Noblemen that offend them. *Cha-leban*, who came to the Crown by foul-play, imprisoned all the Princes and Lords he suspected to be Male-contents, in this Castle, but suffered them all to en-

joy their Estates. But *Aureng-Zeb* his Son, takes contrary Measures; for, when he imprisons any great Lords, he orders them to be poisoned within ten or twelve Days after; that he may be rid of his Enemies, and yet not be thought a cruel Prince for his bloody Executions. Leaving *Goualeor*, you ford a River called *Lanke*, and come to *Paterki-fera*, where, passing over a Bridge, containing six wide Arches, and which carries you over the River *Quar-rinado*, you arrive at *Quarraqui-fera*, and so to *Dolpoura*, where there is a River, called *Chamei-nadi*, to which there belongs a Ferry-boat. The River falls into the *Gemena*, between *Agra* and *Hallebas*. From hence you pass to *Mina-squi-fera*, where there is a River, called *Jagounagi*, but you do not pass it till you come eight Leagues farther, and then there is a long Bridge built with Stone, called *Quaoulcapoul*. Not far from this Bridge, they view the Merchants Goods, that when they come to *Agra* they may not be cheated of their Duties; and more particularly observe whether there be any Flasks of Wine among the Casks of pickled Fruits. From this Bridge you come to *Agra*, which, from *Surat*, is 339 Leagues, viz. from *Surat* to *Brampour* 132 Leagues, from thence to *Seonge* 101 Leagues, and from thence to *Agra* 106 Leagues. In these two last Stages the Country is full of fine Fields of Corn and Rice, being a lovely Champain, where you meet with very little Wood, and the Villages so thick that you may rest when you please.

7. The other Road from *Surat* to *Agra*, through *Amanadabad*, lies, first, through a Country full of Corn, Rice, Millet, and Sugar-Canes; where, having ferried over the River which runs to *Cambaya* and falls into the Gulph, you come to *Baroebe*, which is a great City, and has a Fortrefs belonging to it, but there is no Use made of it at present. This City is very famous for Trade, on Account of the River, which has a peculiar Quality to whiten their Cottons, and which are therefore brought from all Parts of the Mogul's Territories thither for that End; besides, here are made great Quantities of Baffa's, or long and large Pieces of Cotton, very fine and close woven; the Price of them is from four to an hundred *Ruppes*. You must pay Custom at *Baroebe* for all Goods carried in and out. The *English* President has a very fair House in this City.

In this City are a sort of Mountebanks, who do strange Tricks, viz. They will heat a Chain red-hot, and wind it about their naked Bodies several Times, and though they make as if they felt a great deal of Pain, yet, in truth, they receive no Harm at all: But, what is more miraculous, they will thrust a dry Stick into the Ground, and, in less than half an Hour's Time, make it a Tree of four or five Foot high, bearing Leaves and Flowers as in the Spring-Time. An *English* Minister seeing this Witchcraft, declared it unlawful to be a Spectator of such Delusions, and protested he would not give the Communion to any that should hereafter do it. These Mountebanks wander up and down the Country to shew these Tricks, with their Wives and Children, and get a Livelihood by it.

Those who are curious to see *Cambaya*, leave the direct Road, which goes to *Broudra*, and pass through that City, which is not above four or five Leagues out of the Way, and is the safer Road. *Cambaya* is a great City at the Bottom of the Gulph, on the South of it; it lies in the Province of *Guzerat*, and though it be not so popular as *Surat*, it is as big again. It has very fair Walls about it four Fathoms high, and Towers standing at a certain Distance. The Streets of it are large, and have all Gates at each End, which are shut every Night. The Houses are very high, and built of Bricks, dried in the Sun, and were once furnished very richly after the *Portuguese* Manner, but now many of them fall to Decay. Here it is that they shape those fair Agates, that come from *India*, into Cups, Hafts of Knives, Beads, and other Workmanship. These Agates are fetched out of a Quarry, by a Village called *Minodra*, four Leagues from *Cambaya*, in Pieces as big as a Man's Fist. The Shops here are stored with aromatick Perfumes, Spices, Silken, and other Stuffs. Most Part of the Inhabitants are *Banjans* and *Rashpouts*. The Castle, where the Governor resides, is large, but not

very beautiful. There are so many Monkeys in the Town that sometimes the Houses are covered with them, and they often do Mischief in the Streets, by throwing down such Things as they find upon the Roofs. The Out-sides of the Town are beautified by a great many fair publick Gardens. Here is a marble Sepulchre, raised by a King of *Guzerat*, in Honour of a Governor of this City, but it is decay'd: It contains three Courts, and, in one of them are several Porphyry Pillars.

Anciently, in this City, there was an Hospital for sick Beasts, but there are only Ruins of it now. The Suburbs are almost as big as the Town, and in them they make Indigo of the same Nature as that of *Sargasse*. It was famous for Traffick when the *Portuguese* flourished in *India*, but now the Trade is almost lost, because the Sea that once came up so near the Town, that little Vessels could anchor by it, is now become half a League distant from it, and near the Coast is so shallow, that great Ships can come no nearer than three or four Leagues. There are great Numbers of Peacocks in the *Indies*, especially in the Territories of *Baroche*, *Cambaya*, and *Broudra*; and in the Day-time they walk about the Fields, but at Night roost upon the Trees: The Flesh of the young ones are white, and well-tasted. In those Parts where the *Mohammedans* govern, you may catch them without Difficulty; but in those Places where there are Idolatrous Rajahs Masters, it is very dangerous to kill them, or any other Bird or Animal; for the *Banjans* count it Sacrilege, and will severely punish any they can seize: They whipp'd a *Persian* Merchant to Death, and took all his Money, to the Value of 300,000 *Rupers*, for shooting a Peacock.

From *Cambaya* you go through a little Village, where there is a Pagod, where the *Indian* Courtizans make their Offerings; and among divers naked Images, there is one that resembles *Apollon*, with his Privy-parts uncovered. The young Girls, who are trained up to this wicked Art by the old Courtizans, when they are eleven or twelve Years old, surrender themselves up to this Idol, believing that it will bring them good Fortune. And about six Leagues farther you come to *Cividabad*, which is one of the fairest Houses of the Great Mogul, being in a wide Inclosure, wherein he has vast Gardens and large Ponds, with all the Pleasures and Curiosities whereof the Genius of the *Indians* was capable. And from this Place you travel to *Amadabat*, to which City you come from *Broudra* by *Neriade*.

8. *Amadabat*, which is probably the *Amadavistis* of *Strian*, is eighty-two Leagues from *Surat*, and lies in 23 Degrees and some Minutes of N. Lat. It is built in a lovely Plain, watered by a little River, called *Salmurety*, which is not very deep, but swells prodigiously by the Ruins. Without the Town are many large Gardens inclosed with Brick-walls, and every one of them have a kind of Pavillion at the Entry: By them there is a Reservoir of Water, which has in the Middle of it a lovely Garden, eighty Paces square, into which one enters over a Bridge four hundred Paces long, and at the End of the Garden are pretty convenient Lodgings. Near these you see many Houles, which make a kind of large Village, and a great many Tombs, and all neatly well built. From hence you pass through a Street, which leads you into the Town, which is inclosed with stone and Brick-walls, which, at certain Distances, are marked with great round Towers and Battlements all over: It hath twelve Gates, and is about a League and an half in Length, it is the chief of the Suburbs.

All the Streets are wide, and the Meidan is four hundred Paces in Breadth, and seven hundred in Length, with Trees planted on all Sides. The Gate of the Castle is well-fortified, and there are six or seven Pieces of Cannon mounted. In the Market place are the Tribunal of the Couteval, or criminal Judge; and in the Middle a very high Tree, which has a Ball fixed on the Top of it, for those to hit who exercise themselves by shooting with Bows and Arrows. This Castle is walled about with good Walls, of Free-stone, and is as spacious as a little Town. Near the Meidan is a large Palace belonging to the King, which has over the Gate a large Balcony for the Musicians, who play there every six Hours. The Apart-

ments are adorned with Gold Paintings. The *English* Factory is in the Middle of the Town, it is well seated, and hath very fair Courts. Their Warehouses are commonly full of Cloths from *Leber* and *Deby*, with which they drive a great Trade.

But the Trade of the City is in Silk Stuffs, Hangings of Gold, Silver, and Silk; but with woollen Grounds, Sappet, Ginger candied and raw; Lac, Cummin, Opium, Tamarinds, Mirabolans, and the *Indigo*: There are many Mosques great and small in it, but that which is called *Juma-mesjid*, or *Friday* Mosque, because all the devout People of the Town flock together on that Day, is the chiefest and fairest. It hath a large square Cloister, two fine Gates, with high Steeples, from whence the Muezzins, or Beadles of the Mosques, call the People to Prayers. It hath several Domes, and two Minarets, and 'tis paved with Marble, so that all together 'tis a pleasant Sight. It is inhabited by many Heathens, as well as *Mohammedans*, who have their Pagods, or Idol Temples there.

The Pagod of *Santidas* was the chief before *Auremzeb* converted it into a Mosque. It hath three Courts, paved with Marble, and encompassed with Galleries; and into the third none must enter, till they have pulled off their Shoes; the Inside is adorned with *Mosaic* Work, and Agates of divers Colours. In it are several Sepulchres of the ancient idolatrous Kings, of *Mosaic* Work, which look like little Chapels; but the Tomb of *Chaslem*, whom the *Indians* report to have been a Magician, but the *Mohammedans* believe him to have been a great Saint, is most honoured, being daily visited by a great many out of Devotion. The *Banjans* have a great Veneration for Apes, and there are some that breed them up in their Pagods to worship, and if any one kill any of them, complain of it as a great Injustice. There are three or four Hospitals for Cows, Oxen, Camels, Apes, and Birds, and other sick and maimed Beasts, where they are looked after, and well fed. They buy them from *Christians* and *Moors*, to deliver them, as they say, from the Cruelty of *Indels*, and if they are incurable, they keep them there as long as they live; but if they recover, they sell them to *Gentiles*, and none else. This is also very remarkable, that every *Tuesday* and *Friday*, all the Apes in the Country adjoining, come into the City, and lie upon the Tops of Houses, during the excessive Heats. Upon these Days the People never fail to sit ready in their Terraces, Rice, Miller, Sugar-canes, and such-like things; for if they do not find Provisions, they will break their Tiles, and do a great deal of Mischief.

About *Amadabat* are a great many Forests, where they catch Panthers, which they tame, and send to the King for his hunting. From hence you go to *Panjar*, and so by *Maffana* to *Chitpour*, a very good Town, so called from a sort of painted Calicuts, called *Chirtzes*, made, and sold here. They have an Art here of taming Lions, by tying them in a large Plain, and making them a Sport to the People. Hereabouts it is common to meet the Companies of *Esquires*, or *Mohammedan* Dervices. They have a Superior, and some Assistants, who have some Cloaths better than the rest, viz. some Bits of Calicut about their Middle, to cover their privy Parts, and a Tyger's Skin about their Shoulders; but the rest have only a Cord for their Girdle, and a little Bit of Calicut fastened to it to cover their Privities. Their Hair is tied about their Head like a Turbant, and they are armed with Bows, Arrows, and Muskets, Halberds, &c. When they travel, they carry their Luggage, which is some Household-stuff, and a pretty many *Arabian* and *Persian* Books on Oxen. When they come to any Place, the Superior lends some of his Crew a begging into the Towns and Villages, and what Alms they get is presently distributed equally among them, every one of them taking Care to boil his own Rice, and what is over and above, they give to the Poor in the Evening; for they receive nothing for next Day. From *Chitpour* you pass through *Balampour*, and to through *Dantivar* and *Bargant*.

This Town is in the Territories of a Rajah, to whom you must pay some Duties, and all the Way through these Countries are dangerous to be travelled, because the Rajahs live altogether upon Robberies, and therefore unless you hire

Paintings. The English Fac-
Town, it is well seated, and
Warehouses are commonly
Deby, with which they drive

is in Silk Stuffs, Hangings of
with woollen Grounds, Sak-
v; Lac, Cummin, Opium,
at Indigo: There are many
t, but that which is called
lique, because all the devout
together on that Day, is the
a large square Cloister, two
from whence the Muzumi,
the People to Prayers. It
inarets, and 'tis paved with
a pleasant Sight. It is in-
well as *Mohammedans*, who
mples there.

the chief before *Aurem-*
e. It hath three Courts,
compulsed with Galleries;
inter, till they have pulled
orned with *Molack* Work,
In it are several Sepulchres
of *Molack* Work, which
Tomb of *Ghalom*, whom
a Magician, but the *Mo-*
een a great Saint, is most
great many out of Devo-
Veneration for Apes, and
p in their Pagods to wor-
nem, complain of it as a
e or four Hospitals for
l Birds, and other sick
be looked after, and well
Orizians and *Moor*, to
the Cruelty of *Indids*,
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ey fell them to *G-kile*,
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the Country adjoining,
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Ferralses, Rice, Millet,
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2 Tyger's Skin about
only a Cord for their
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about their Head like
Bows, Arrows, and
ey travel, they carry
old Bull, and a pretty
Oxen. When they
s some of his Crew a
and what Alms they
ong them, every one
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e evening; for they
in *Chitpaur* you pass
Dantiver and *Bar-*

a Rajah, to whom
Way through these
because the Rajahs
therefore unless you
hire

hire many People for a Guard, you will go near to have
your Throat cut; for there is no Likelihood of escaping
these Free-booters. From thence the Way lies through
Bimal and *Madra* to *Chalaour*, an ancient Town upon a
Mountain, encompassed with Walls, and very difficult to
come to. There is a Lake upon the Top of the Moun-
tain, and another below, and between them lies the Road
to the Town. From *Chalaour* you pass on to *Cantap*, *Set-*
iana, *Palavafaney*, and *Pipas*, to *Dantiver*, from whence
to *Mirda*, is three Days Journey, being a mountainous
Country, and belongs to Rajahs, or petty Princes, who pay
Tribute to the Great Mogul; but in Recompence of it,
the Great Mogul gives them Commands in his Army,
which affords them large Appointments. *Mirda* is a great
City, but ill built.

This City having offended the King's Sister, *Regum* the
Wife of *Cba-Est-Kan*, in not waiting on her, and making
her a Present on her Journey through that Place, when she
went to marry her Daughter to Sultan *Sajah*, she let loose
two hundred Elephants, who tore down their Trees, and
did them incredible Mischief. From *Mirda* the Road lies
through *Borendo*, *Caeichiel*, *Bander*, *Sonurry*, *Ladona*,
Chajou, *Nouali*, and *Hindoo*, to *Baniana*. These two last
Towns are famous for Indigoes Cake, which is round, and
being the best of all the Indigoes, is double the Price. *Pet-*
tapour, a Town famous for weaving Woollen Hangings, is
the next Town, and from thence you go directly to *Agra*,
to which from *Surat* is four hundred and fifteen Leagues,
and thirty-three Days Journey, if they could be equally
divided; but because you stay in some Places, it usually
takes up thirty-five or forty Days.

From *Candabar* there are two Ways to *Agra*, either
through *Caboul*, or *Multan*; the latter is the shorter by ten
Days Journey; but the Caravan never goes that Way, be-
cause it lies almost all through the Desarts, where there is
no Water to be met with for three or four Days together,
so that their most ordinary and beaten Road is through *Ca-*
boul. Now from *Candabar* to *Caboul* is twenty-four Days
Journey, and from thence to *Labor* twenty-two; from
Labor to *Deby*, or *Gebanabat*, eighteen, and from thence
to *Agra* six, which with the sixty Days Journey from *Ispah-*
an to *Errata*, and twenty from *Errata* to *Candabar*,
makes in all from *Ispahan* to *Agra* one hundred and fifty
Days Journey; but the Merchants that are in haste ride
three or four in a Company upon Horses, and finish it in
sixty or sixty-four Days at most.

Multan lies in 29° 40' North Latitude, and is the ca-
pital Town of the Province of the same Name, tho' some
Geographers place it in the Province of *Sinde*. It hath
many Towns dependant upon it, as *Cazlar*, or *Gondar*,
Coudarvil, *Saudar*, and others. In this City are made a vast
Quantity of Linnen Calicuts, for which heretofore there
was a very great Trade, because it not being far from the
River *Indus*, they could easily transport them to *Tatta*,
where the Merchants of several Countreys bought them up;
but because of late the Channel of the River is spoiled in
some Places, and the Mouth is quite stopped up with
Sands, they are forced to send all their Goods to *Agra*, and
so to *Surat*, which so increases the Price by the Carriage,
that the Merchants do not care to deal in them; by which
means the Trade is much lessened there, and the Workmen
have deserted the City, so that the King's Revenues are
much lessened in those Provinces: Yet there is a small Trade
for Sugar, Opium, Brimstone, Galls, and Camels, which
are transported into *Persia*, *Gazna*, *Candabar*, and the *In-*
diens, by *Labor*. It furnishes *Indostan* with the finest Bows
that are to be seen in it; and here are bred the great Num-
ber of Dancers of both Sexes that spread themselves all over
Persia.

The Commander and Officers of this Town are *Moham-*
medans, and consequently it may be supposed that most
Parts of the Inhabitants are of the same Religion; yet there
are a great many *Banjans*, who come to trade, and exercise
their Arts, and Brokage, and Usury, in which they much
outdo the *Jews*; for they are so watchful and cunning,
that no Opportunity of Gain slips them; and they have to
wound themselves in all Buinsels, that hardly any body can
be without them. They take Commissions of all kinds,
and though it be known that they make a Profit of every

thing, yet the Merchants chuse to make use of them, ra-
ther than do their Business themselves; for they will buy
cheaper and better than any Man can for himself. They
are of a pleasant Humour, and refuse no Service, whether
honourable or base, and are always ready to satisfy those
that employ them; and therefore every one has his *Banjan*
in the *Indies*, and some Persons of Quality entrust them
with all they have, though they are not ignorant of their
Hypocrisy and Avarice. The richest Merchants of the
Indies are of this Class, or Tribe. They are commonly
very jealous of their Wives, who are fairer than the Men,
though of a brown Complexion, and love to paint. They
have a particular Law amongst them, which permits them
to eat Fowl upon certain Days of the Year, and to have
one Wife among two or three Brothers, and the eldest of
them is accounted the Father of the Children begotten
among them.

9. From *Candabar* you travel to *Charisafar*, and then
through *Zalate*, *Beiazay*, *Mezour*, and *Carabat*, to *Cha-*
kenicouze, which is a frontier Town of the *Indies*, and the
Country about it under the Command of several Princes
that acknowledge the *Persian* Emperor. From this City to
Caboul is forty Leagues, and in the whole Journey there is
but three pitiful Villages, where you can rarely get Bread
and Barley for your Horses, and therefore you must carry
Provisions for yourself.

In the Months of *July* and *August* there blows an hot
Wind in these Parts, that takes away a Man's Breath, and
kills him upon the Place. It is the same with that which
blows about *Babylon* and *Moussul* at certain Seasons. In
this Road dwells a certain People called *Augans*, towards
the Mountains of *Baleb*; they are a sturdy sort of People,
and great Robbers in the Night-time. These People, as
the rest of the *Indians*, have a Custom to cleanse and scrape
their Tongues every Morning with a crooked Piece of a
Root, which causes them to void a great Quantity of
Phlegm and Rheum, but not to vomit, as it doth the other
Indians; nevertheless, when they come to eat, as soon as
they have swallowed two or three Bits, their Lungs begin
to swell, and they are constrained to go forth and vomit;
after which they return again to their Victuals with a very
good Appetite; should they not do so, they would not live
above thirty Years, and besides, would be troubled with a
Droopy.

Caboul is a large City, the Metropolis of the Province of
Caloulstan, or *Caboul*, and hath two Castles well fortified;
and because several Kings have held their Courts there, and
many Princes have had it successively for their Portion,
there are a great many Palaces in it. It lies in 33° of
North-Latitude, the Mountains about it produce Plenty of
Mirabolans, which from thence the Eastern People called
Cabuly, several sorts of Drugs, and some Spices, with
which the Iron Mines in them yield a great Profit to
the Inhabitants. In this Town they maintain a great Trade
with *Tartary*, the Country of the *Uzbek*s, and the *Indies*.
The *Uzbek*s alone sell yearly in this Town above sixty
thousand Horses, and the *Persians* bring hither great Num-
bers of Sheep, and other Cattle, by which means they are
much enriched. Wine is to be had, and Provisions are
cheap, though the Country about it is but cold and barren,
unless in some Places, which are sheltered by the Moun-
tains, being rendered a little more fruitful, by the two Ri-
vers that water it, and which have their Source in the
Mountains.

From this Province especially come the large Canes, of
which they make Halberds and Lances, and they have
many Grounds planted with them. The Inhabitants of
the City and Province are most of them Heathens, and
therefore in all Towns and Villages are many Pagods.
They reckon the Months by the Moons, and with great
Devotion celebrate the Feast called *Howly*, which lasts two
Days, at the full Moon in *February*. At this Feast, they
are all clothed in a dark red, and after they have prayed
in the Temple, and made Oblations, they spend the rest
of the Time in Dancing, by Companies, in the Streets, to
the Sound of Trumpets, visiting their Friends, and eating
together, every Tribe by itself. The Great Mogul's Re-
venue from this Country, is four or five Millions yearly.

From *Caboul* the Road lies through *Bariab*, *Nimela*, *Aibona*, *Taka*, *Kiawri*, *Chaur*, and *Novetkaar*, to *Aceeb*, a City situate upon a Point of Land, where two Rivers meet together. It is one of the best and strongest Garrisons the Great Mogul has, and no Stranger is permitted to enter into it without a Passport from the King. From hence you pass to *Calapan*, and so to *Rampat*, *Toulapoca*, *Keralay*, *Zerabad*, and *Imiab*, to *Laber*. This City is the Metropolis of a Kingdom, built upon the River *Kawa*, which is one of the five Rivers, which descending from the Mountains, swell the River *Indus*, and give the Name of *Penjab*, or *Five Rivers*, to all the Region they run through.

It lies in 31° 50', the River having a very flat Channel, is fallen off from the Town above a League, and being subject to overflow, does a great deal of Mischief in the Country. The City is large, and extends itself above a League in Length. It was a very pretty Place when the Kings kept their Courts there, having many Mosques, publick Baths, Caravanferas, Squares, Tanques, Palaces and Gardens; but all these, with the greatest Part of the Houses, are fallen to Ruin, by reason of the excessive Rains, which have washed down many of them. The Castle remains still, for it is strongly built. It hath twelve Gates, three towards the City, and nine towards the Country, and the Palace which is within it, has not yet lost its Beauty. There are a great many Pictures upon the Walls, representing the Actions of the Great Mogul, and his Forefathers, all promiscuously painted; and on one Gate is the Picture of a Crucifix, and on another the Virgin *Mary*, not out of any Kindness to the Christian Religion, but to flatter the *Portuguese*.

The Inhabitants are most of them *Gentiles*, and so there are many Pagods in the Town, of which some are adorned with, and all are raised seven or eight Steps from the Ground. The Province about it is one of the largest and most plentiful in the *Indies*, the Rivers that run through it making it most fertile in Rice, Corn, and Fruits. The Wine also is pretty good, and the Sugars the best of all *Assam*. All sorts of painted Cloths, and other *Indian* Manufactures, are wrought here, and it is said that this Province yields the Mogul a Revenue of thirty-seven Millions yearly, which is a Proof of its great Trade and Fruitfulness. From *Laber* to *Agra* there is one continued Walk of Trees, called *Achy* Trees, which have long and thick Branches, which cover the whole Way, though these Cities be one hundred and fifty Leagues distant one from the other. It was planted by King *Gebangui*, but is not kept up.

At *Tongjar*, a Town in this Province, is a Convent of *Gentiles*, who are called *Nartias*, they have a General, Provincial, and other Superiors, and say, that it is above two thousand Years since they were founded; they vow Obedience, Chastity, and Poverty. They obey the least Signal of their Superiors, and will not look a Maid or Woman in the Face. They live on Alms, which is begged of them every Day at the Houses of the *Gentiles* of their Tribes, and will leave nothing till the Morrow. They make but one Meal a Day, and that is about Noon; and though they are never so thirsty, or hungry, must not eat or drink till the same time the next Day.

They wear nothing on their Bodies, but a Cloth to cover their privy Parts, which they hang up over their Heads, like a Woman's Coat. The main Point of their Institution is not to do to others what they would not have others to do to them; and they observe it even to the Beasts, which they will never kill. If any body beat them, they do not resist, and if they are reviled, they make no Answer. They employ themselves wholly in Prayers, and Reading; and so once the Day with the Sun-set; for they never light a Candle. If any break their Orders, he is severely punished; and if they break their Vow of Chastity, they are burnt alive. They have above ten thousand Monasteries in this Province, none of them think it sufficient to worship most in spirit, and have no Idols, or Pagods. There are also religious Nuns of the same Order, who live very close.

From *Laber* the Way lies by *Menat-kan*, *Taty*, *Sera-dakan*, *Sera-dagur*, *Sera-dourat*, *Serinde*, *Sera-Mogul*, *Sera-Ghazal*, *Dinaurel*, *Sera-Gindali*, and *Grema-*

our, to *Deby*, or *Gebanabad*. This City is a large Place, and stands near the River *Gemma*, which runs on both Sides of it; and after it has passed *Agra* and *Kadison*, empties itself into the *Ganges*. It is divided into three Parts, or Towns. The first is almost intirely destroyed. The *Indians* say it is very ancient, and that it was the capital City of the States of King *Porus*, who opposed *Alexander the Great*. The *Indians* say it had fifty-two Gates, and there are still remaining a long Stone Bridge, and a Way, with lovely Trees leading to the second Town, by the Sepulchre of *Cba-Humayun*. The second Town was at the Conquest of it, beautified with many stately Sepulchres of the *Patan* Kings, and other Monuments, which rendered it a very lovely Place; but *Cba-Jehan*, the Father of *Aurangzeb* the present King, demolished it, and left nothing but a Pyramid, or Obelisk of Stone, which, by its unknown Characters, shews a great Antiquity.

The third Town is joined to the Ruins of the second, and was built by *Cba-Jehan* out of the Ruins of it, and from him it had its Name of *Geban-Abad*. This City lies in an open Champain, upon the Bank of the River *Gemma*, and is encompassed with a single Wall. All the Houses even of private Men consist of great Enclosures, in the midst of which is a Place for Lodgings. The greatest Part of the Ladies have their Houses without the City, for the Convenience of Water; for the King chuseth to keep his Court here rather than at *Agra*, for the same Convenience. As you enter into *Gebanabad* from *Deby*, you come into a long and broad Street, which has Vaults on each Side, where the Merchants keep their Shops. This Street ends in the great Piazza, where the King's Palace stands. There is another Street which leads up to the King's Palace, where the Merchants live, who keep no Shops: The Fortrets of it is half a League in Circuit, and has good Walls, with round Towers in them, and Ditches about them full of Water. The King's Palace, where are all the Ensigns of Royalty, is in this Fort. There is a Place by the Water-side for the fighting of Elephants, and other Exercises. The King's Palace is encompassed with Walls of fair red-cut Stone, with Battlements.

The Gate and first Court have nothing of Magnificence, for the great Lords may enter into it with their Elephants. Out of this Court you go through a long and large Passage, with fair Portico's on both Sides, into a great Court, where the Omrahs, i. e. the great Lords of the Kingdom, keep Guard in Person, having their Lodgings round about the Court, and their Horses tied at the Doors. From this second Court you pass into a third, through a great Portal, where on the one Side is the Mogul's Wardrobe, out of which he bestows the Calat, or whole Habit of a Man, which he gives to any Stranger, or Subject, in Honour to them. The next is the Place where the Drums, Trumpets, and Hautboys are laid, which are sounded when the King goes upon the Judgment Seat, and right forward is the Divan, where the King gives Audience and Sentence. In the Middle of the Hall is the Throne, where the King sits, erected upon a kind of a Theatre. It has a little Bed, with four Columns, a Canopy, Back-piece, Bolster, and Counterpoint, all embroidered with Diamonds, and covered with a Cloth of Gold when the King sits on it. Below the Throne is a Place twenty-four Foot square, encompassed with Balusters, sometimes of Silver, and at other Times Gold Plates. At the four Corners of it sit the four Secretaries of State, who are the only Advocates in all Causes.

Many Lords stand by the Balustrade, and some of the greatest, with his Children, stand by the Throne. While the King is on his Throne, none may stir out of the Palace, nor any that have Business come nearer than the Channel in the Middle of the Court, till they are called; nor, not Embassadors themselves. From the Divan the King passes over a Terrace, where the River is to be seen, into the *Haram*. Upon the left Hand of the Court stands a little Mosque neatly built, with a Cupolo covered with Lead, perfectly gilt. Hither the King goes every Day to hear Prayers, except *Fridays*, when he goes to the great Mosque, which is a very fair one, and raised above the Houses of the City. On the right Side of the Court are the King's Stables, which are full of stately Horses, the worst of which stands the King in three thousand Crowns, and some cost

This City is a large Place, which runs on both Sides *Agra* and *Kadiane*, encompassed into three Parts, or rather destroyed. The *Ind* that it was the capital *Alex*, who opposed *Alex*, it had fifty-two Gates; long Stone Bridge, and going to the second Town, *en*. The second Town, with many stately Seats, other Monuments, which but *Cha-Jehan*, the *Ind*, demolished it, and left it of Stone, which, by its Antiquity,

the Ruins of the second, the Ruins of it, and from *ad*. This City lies in an of the River *Gemma*, and All the Houses even of *res*, in the midst of which Part of the *Ind*, for the Convenience of *ep* his Court here rather *en*er. As you enter into a long and broad *le*, where the Merchants *ds* in the great Piazza. There is another Street, where the Merchant *Portrels* of it is half a *ills*, with round Towers, full of Water. The *signs* of Royalty, is in the Water-side for the *ercises*. The King's of fair red-cut Stone,

thing of Magnificence, *t* with their Elephants, long and large Passage, in a great Court, where *t* the Kingdom, keeping *ings* round about the *e* Doors. From this *through* a great Port, *is* Wardrobe, out of *ole* Habit of a Man *subject*, in Honour to *ie* Drums, Trumpets, *nded* when the King *right* forward is the *ce* and Sentence. In *where* the King sits, *has* a little Bed, with *olster*, and *Count*, *ds*, and covered with *on* it. Below the *quare*, encompassed *and* at other Times *it* fit the four Secret *ates* in all Causes, *and* some of the *ie* Throne. With *ur* out of the *P*, *ie* nearer than the *they* are called; *no*, *ie* Divan the King *to* be seen, into the *court* stands a little *covered* with Lead, *every* Day to hear *the* great Melique, *the* Houses of the *re* the King's State *the* worth of which *ts*, and some con-

teen thousand. On the River the King has several small Brigantines to take his Pleasure in.

From *Dibly* you travel to *Badelpoura*, and so by *Pelvel-ki-jera* and *Catki-jera*, where is one of the greatest Pagods of the *Indians*, together with an Hospital for Apes, as well for those that are bred thereabout, as for those that come from the neighbouring Parts, which the *Banjans* are very careful to feed. The Pagod is called *Matura*. It was formerly in greater Veneration than now it is, and the Reason is this, because the River washing the Walls thereof, was convenient for the washing the *Banjans* before they went to their Devotions; but since the River has left it above a League, many have deserted; but still it wants not some Resort of the *Indians*, who always bring with them some Food for the Apes.

12. Between this Place and *Goodkifera* is but five Leagues, and then you come to *Agra*. This City lies in $27^{\circ} 31'$ of Latitude, and in a sandy Soil, which causes extreme Heat. It is the biggest City in *India*, and was formerly the Residence of their Kings, till *Cha-Jehan* fearing the great Heats, usually sought a more temperate Air, and so removed to *Gehanabad*. The Houses of great Persons are fair, and well built; but the Houses of the meaner sort are as plain as in other Cities of *India*, being low and thatched. It is not very populous, unless it be when the Court is there; but at that Time it is thronged, the King being attended with an Army for his Guards, and a great Number of *Rajahs*, *Omrahs*, *Manfapars*, and other Nobles, with their Retinues, besides Merchants and Tradesmen that follow the Court for Trade. The People are most of them *Mohammedans*, and these have all the Power in their Hands, though there are a considerable Number of *Christians*, some few *Heathens* and *Perfians*.

The *Dutch* have a Factory here, but the *English* have left theirs, because it did not turn to Account. The most remarkable things in *Agra* are the King's Palace, and some Monuments near, and about the City. The King's Palace is in the Castle, which is begirt with a Wall of Stone and Brick, terraced in several Places, which is twenty Cubits high. Between the Castle and the River is a large Place left on purpose for the fighting of Elephants for the King's Diversion. It is near the Water, to allay the Fury of the conquering Elephant, who presently comes to his Temper, if he be but two or three Foot deep in the Water. Before the Palace is a wide Piazza, it contains three Courts, adorned with Porches and Galleries, that are painted and gilt; nay, some things are covered with Plates of Gold. Under the Galleries of the first Court are the Lodgings for the King's Guards; in the second is the Officer's Lodgings; and in the third the stately Apartments for the King and his Ladies: Out of these the King goes commonly to a lovely Divan, which looks to the River, to please himself in seeing Elephants fight. His Troops exercise and play upon the Water, or in the open Place. By this Palace stands twenty-five or thirty very large ones, in a direct Line, which belongs to the Princes, and other great Lords of the Court, and all together afford a most delightful Prospect to those who are on the other Side of the River. Besides these Palaces, the Beauty of *Agra* consists in the Caravanferas, which are about sixty in Number, and some of them have six large Courts, with their Portico's, which lead to very commodious Apartments, where the Merchants Strangers have their Lodgings.

There are above eight hundred Baths in the Town, and a great Number of Mosques, some of which are Sanctuaries. There are many magnificent and stately Monuments in and about *Agra* for several great Men, and especially the rich Eunuchs, belonging the King's Harem, are ambitious to build their own in their Life-time, and to erect Monuments to the Memories of their Fore-fathers; and this the great Mogul encourages them in, that he may keep his Money in his own Kingdom, and divert them from going to *Mecca*, whither their blind Devotions often leads them to spend it. The two most eminent Monuments are that which King *Gelanguir* caused to be built for *Echar* his Father upon an Eminence in the Town. It surpasses the Magnificence of all those of the Grand Seigniors; but the fairest of all is that which *Cha-Jehan* erected in Honour of one of his Wives called *Tage-Mahal*, whom he tenderly

loved, and whose Death had almost cost him his Life. It was built by the most able Architects of the *Indies*, whom the King called together in a Council to contrive it, and having settled Galleries upon them, ordered them to spare no Cost to make it the finest Mausoleum in the World, if they could.

The *Indians* say it was twenty Years in building, that twenty thousand Men were always employed about it, and it was finished at length to Satisfaction. It stands on the East Side of the City, by the River Side. It is a kind of a Garden, with Compartments, like our Garden Plots; but the Walks, instead of Gravel, are black and white Marble: You enter into it through a large Portal, and on the left Hand is a fair Gallery, which looks towards *Mecca*, and in which are three or four Niches, wherein the Multi comes at certain Hours to pray. About the Middle of the Garden are three great Platforms, one raised above another, with four Towers at the Corners of each. On the Top is a Cupolo covered within, and without with black Marble; under it is an empty Tomb (for the Sultans is buried under the lowest Platform) adorned with Tapestries, Candles, and other Ornaments, where there are always *Moullahs* attending to pray. The Sepulchres of the Eunuchs have only one Platform, with four little Chambers at the four Corners.

The *Indians* are pretty uniform in their Apparel, only the *Mohammedans* and the *Moors* distinguish themselves by a particular kind of Coif, or Head Attire; but in all things else they are clothed as the rest. Their Breeches are commonly of Cotton Cloth, and sometimes of Silk, and come down to the Leg or Ankle. Their Shirts hang over their Breeches, as the Fashion is all over the *Levants*, and open before. In cold Weather they wear over their Shirts an Arcalick, or Waistcoat, of painted Stuff, quilted with Cotton, and pinked; and over that a Caba of white Cotton Cloth, for Lightness and Neateness; but if it be hot, they lay aside their Arcalick. They use but one Girdle, and that is of white Cotton Cloth. None use the lovely Girdles of *Persia* but the most wealthy Persons of Quality; in cold Weather they wear a Vest called *Cadeby*, lined with Sables. At all times, when they go abroad, they wear a Chal, which is like a Scarf, of several Colours. Their Turban is commonly little, and the *Mohammedans* wear it always white. The Rich have them of so fine Cloth, that twenty-five or thirty Ells of it, put into a Turban, will not weigh four Ounces. They are made at *Bengal*, and are dear. They wear their Hair for Ornament, contrary to other *Mohammedans*, who all shave their Heads. They use no Stockings, and on their naked Feet, which are of *Morocco*, or *Turky* Leather, like Slippers, only the *Banjans* wear Heels to their Shoes, that they may stir more freely about their Business.

The rich *Banjans* cover theirs with Velvet, embroidered with Silk Flowers; but the Poor are satisfied with red Leather. The Mogul Women are clothed almost like the Men, but the Sleeves of their Smocks reach no lower than the Elbow, that they may have Room to adorn their Arms with Carkanets, and Bracelets of Gold, Silver, and Ivory, or set with precious Stones, as they do also the Small of their Legs. The Smocks of the *Indian* idolatrous Women reach down only to the Middle, as doth the Waistcoat of *Satin*, or Cloth, which they wear over it, because from the Waist downward they wrap themselves up in a Piece of Cloth, or Stuff, that covers them to the Feet like a Portico: For Shoes they have high Pattens; they wear little flat Rings of Gold or Silver in their Ears, with Engraving upon them, and adorn their Noses with Rings put through their Nostrils. They wear also Rings on their Fingers for Ornaments, and have generally one with a Looking-glass set in it an Inch Diameter, to see themselves. If the *Indian* Women are idolaters, they go bare-faced; if *Mohammedans*, they are veiled.

In some Countries both Men and Women go naked to the Waist, and cover themselves from thence to the Knees. At *Agra* they are curious in breeding up Beasts to fight for Pleasure, viz. He-goats, Weathers, Rams, Cocks, Quails, Stags, and Antilopes; for such as cannot reach Lions and Elephants, are dextrous Fowlers and Hunters. Pictures also in this City are drawn with Art; but being for the

most part lascivious, are rarely bought up by *Europeans*. They have a Way in this Town of working in Gold, upon Agat, Crystal, and other base Metals, which our Goldsmiths and Lapidaries have not.

13. In your Journey from *Agra* to *Bengal* you come first to *Beruzabad*, then to *Sarail-Haimal* and *Sarail-Sekandria* to *Sauqual*: A League from thence you pass over the River *Sangur* upon a Stone-bridge, where those that are passing from *Bengal* to *Surat* may leave the Road to *Agra*, and ferrying over the *Gemna*, shorten their Journey on Days: But, since some of that Way is very stony, Travellers generally chuse to go by the Way of *Agra*. From this Bridge you go on by the *Cheourabad* and the Town *Serail*, *Chajrada*, and *Serail*, leaning to *Aurangabad*. This is a great Town, the Capital of a Province, but it has no Walls. The Governor, who is a Prince, has his Residence there; and *Aurangzeb* commanded there, as he did at *Candich* in the Reign of His Father: his first Wife, whom he loved dearly, died in this Town, and as a Monument to her, he erected a lovely Mosque, covered with a Dome, and beautified it with four Minarets, or Steeples. It is built of white polished Stone, which looks almost like Marble.

It hath several pretty Mosques, Inns, and Baths. The Buildings are, for the most part, of Free-stone, and pretty high: Before the Doors grow a great many Trees in the Streets, and the Gardens are well cultivated and pleasant, affording the Refreshments of the Fruits, Grapes, and Grafs-plats. They have Sheep without Horns, that are so strong, that being bridled and saddled, they will carry Children of ten or twelve Years of Age. It is a good trading Town, and well peopled, with excellent Ground about it. It took its Name, by which it is now called, from the present Monarch *Aurang-Zeb*, who overcame Sultan *Sujab*, his Brother, who was Governor of all the Provinces of *Bengal*, in that Place. From thence you pass to *Alinchan*, and two Leagues farther pass the *Ganges*, which, though famous in History, is so shallow from *March* to *June* or *July*, when the Rains fall, that it will not bear a Boat.

The Water being drank causeth the Gripes, and therefore the *Hollanders* that live upon the Banks of it, never drink thereof till they have boiled it; but the Natives are so accustomed to it, that the King and Court drink no other, because they account it lighter than any other Water. The Heathen *Indians* account the Water of this River to be sacred, and have many Pagods by it, the fairest in the *Indies*; so that it may be said, that here Idolatry is most triumphant. The two chief Pagods are at the Towns of *Jagunna* and *Beneron*: Nothing can be more magnificent than they are, by reason of the great Quantity of Gold and many Jewels with which they are adorned. In these Pagods they keep their Festivals many Days together, and many People repair thither from all Parts of the *Indies*, where they carry their Idols in Triumph, and act all manner of Superstitions by the Encouragement of the Bramins, who are numerous thereabouts, and draw much Profit by it. The *Ganges* is full of pleasant Islands, covered with lovely Trees, so that it is most delicious Sailing upon it. In these Islands, and some other Places of *Bengal* is a Bird called *Meina*, whose Colour is like a Black-bird, but as big as a Raven; it will speak like a Starling, and imitates the Neighing of a Horse exactly. This River has received an infinite Number of Brooks and Rivers from the N. E. and W. into it, and discharges itself by several Mouths into the Gulph of *Bengal*, which is eight hundred Miles over, and reaches from the 18 to the 22° of Latitude.

14. Having passed *Ganges*, you arrive at *Hallabas*, a great City, built upon the Point of Land where *Ganges* and *Gemna* meet; it is the chief Town of a Province that bears the same Name. It was, for a long Time, one of the Bulwarks of the Kingdom of *Patana*, and is the same Town which *Pliny* calls *Chrysobera*. It was subdued to the Kingdom of the Mogul by King *Ebar*, who built a strong Citadel in it strengthened with three Walls, of which the outermost is of a very hard red Stone. It is adorned with a very ancient Obelisk, above sixty Foot high, that has many Hieroglyphs, but the Letters are not

legible. The Mogul has a fair Palace here, and under it are certain arched Palaces, where the Pagods of *Adam* and *Eve* are kept, whose Religion they pretend to follow. Hither, at certain Times, come an incredible Number of Pilgrims from all Parts of the *Indies* to visit those Pagods, because they say, *Adam* and *Eve* were created here; but, before they approach the Place, which they esteem holy, they all wash themselves in the *Ganges*. The Province of *Hallabas* pays the Mogul yearly fourteen Millions.

At *Hallabas* there are usually Troops of *Faquirs*, who call themselves a religious Order among the *Indians*, and many of them practise the Life of Penitents, forbearing to eat many Days, standing constantly upon a Stone for several Weeks or Months, holding their Arms a-cross over their Heads as long as they live, or bury themselves in a Pit for a certain Time; but others wander up and down the Country like Gypsies, committing Robberies and all sorts of Rogueries; some of them will threaten to kill themselves, and some of them have done it, unless the *Banjans* would give them what they demand, and to obtain considerable Sums of them; for the *Banjans* abhor Murder, and will give any thing to prevent it. The Penitents are extremely honoured by the *Gentiles*, and the rich think they draw down Blessings upon themselves when they give to them.

From *Hallabas* you pass over a River, where stands a Deroga on each Side, to take notice of what Goods are transported, there being due for every Waggon-load, four *Ruppes*, and every Coach one, and stop all that travel without a Pass; and then go through *Yake-del-fera*, *Sadan*, *Sarail*, and *Burrah-fera* to *Benarou*. This is a large City and handiome built, most of the Houses being of Brick or Stone, and higher than in any other *Indian* City, but the Streets are narrow. There are many Inns in the Town, and among the rest one very large and handiome built. In the Midst of the Court are two Galleries, where are to be sold Calicuts, Silk, and other Merchandize, and under them are Cellars where the Workmen live. All the Goods are stamped with the King's Seal, before they are exposed to Sale.

The *Ganges* runs by the Walls on the South side, and in it is one of the principal Pagods of the Idolaters. About five hundred Paces from the City northward, there is a Mosque, where are many *Mohammedan* Sepulchres, enclosed with a Garden, but there are Holes through the Walls half a Foot square, for Travellers to look into them. The most considerable is said to be that of one of the Kings of *Boutan*. It is a four-square Pedestal, forty Paces wide, and, in the Midst of it, a Pyramid thirty-two, or thirty-five Foot high, with a great Ball at the Top. All the Fronts are full of the Figures of Animals cut in Stone. It was once very high, but within fifty Years it is sunk above thirty Foot into the Earth. From *Banarou* you pass on to *Baterpou*, and so by *Satraghy-fera* to *Manachy-fera*; in the Road from thence you ford two Rivers called *Carnasa-fou* and *Saad-fou*, and come to *Gourmahad*, which stands upon the River *Gounerfa-fou*. The City stands at the Foot of certain Mountains, near which is a great Lake, and in the Midst of it a small Island, with a fair Mosque built upon it, wherein is the Sepulchre of a *Nabader* Governor, called *Seleim-Khan*, who built it for himself when he was Governor of the Province. There is a fair Free-stone Bridge to cross over into the Island; and on the Side of the Lake is a great Garden, in the Middle of which is a fair Sepulchre of the Governor's Son, who succeeded his Father in the Government of that Province. Leaving *Sancrou* you ferry over the River *Son-fou*, which descends from the northern Mountains: Here all Merchandize pays certain Toll; and so you go on to *Daud*, *Nargar-fera*, and so by *Palza-fera* and *Aga-fera* to *Patna*. This is one of the biggest Cities of *India*, being two Leagues long, and standing on the Banks of *Ganges* westward; but the Houses are no better than in the greatest Part of the other Cities, being covered with Bamboos, or Straw. The *Dutch* Company have an House there because of their Trade in Salt-petre, which they buy up here and refine at *Choupar*, a great Town upon the *Ganges*, ten Leagues distant from *Patna*.

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The People of this Town having a *Mim Cachi*, or Col-
lonel of a thousand Foot slain for Solomy, by his Boy,
whom he had forced, he justified the Fact against the Gover-
nor, so that he durst not punish him for the Murder, but
dismissed him after six Months imprisonment. From *Patna*
you sail down the River to *Decu*, passing by several Towns
where you lodge at Night; viz. *Sera-Becconour*, which is
beyond the River *Pomponjou*, which comes from the South,
falls into the *Ganges*, *Sera-Enjab*, between which and the
City *Monger* four Rivers, viz. the *Rasa*, *Chanan*, *Erguga*,
and *Aquera*, fall into the *Ganges* on both Sides. Leaving
Monger, you sail by the Mouth of the *Ganges* at a large
River, and arrive at *Zangira*, beyond which the *Koneva*,
Tea, and *Chanan*, empty themselves into the *Ganges*. And
after you arrive at *Baqulapour*, and passing by the River
Catara, you come to *Pongangol*, which lies at the Foot of
certain Mountains which come down to the *Ganges*. Be-
yond this Place you meet with the River *Mari-Nardi*,
and by it sail to *Rage-Mebale*, a City upon the Right-
hand of *Ganges*; if you go by Land to it, the High-way
is paved with Brick for a League or two before the Town.
Formerly the Governor of *Bengal* resided here, partly be-
cause it was a Place of great Trade, and partly because it
is an excellent Country for hunting, as well as to keep the
King of *Aracan* in Awe, and suppress the *Portuguese*
Banditti, who have retired to the Mouths of *Ganges*, and
make Excursions as far as *Decu* itself.

But the River having left the City above half a League,
the Governor and Merchants are removed to *Decu*,
which, at present is a large City and full of Trade. From
this Town, you come first by Water to *Donapour*, then to
Tautipour, where there are abundance of Crocodiles in the
River; as also at *Acrat*, which is in the Way. The
vulgar Report is, that a Mullet-Shot will not pierce the
Skins of the Crocodiles; but, upon Trial, it is found false.
Then you sail to *Dauloudia*, and passing the Mouth of the
River *Chativer*, you come to *Dampour*, and so to *Jatra-*
pour, near which the *Ganges* divides itself into three Arms,
and then by *Baga*, *Macra*, and *Kafata*; having passed the
Mouth of the River *Lapio* two Leagues, you arrive at
Decu. This Town runs altogether in Length; besides,
every one strives to have his Dwelling by the Side of the
Ganges. It is two Leagues long, but the Houses are but sorry
Huts, made of Bamboos, and daubed over with Earth.
The Governor's Palace is a Place enclosed with high
Walls, in the Midst of which is a pitiful House, built of
Wood: He generally lodges in Tents, which he caules to
be set up in a great Court of that Inclosure. The *Hollan-*
ders have here a very fair House, which they have built
for the Safety of their Goods, and the *English* have ano-
ther, but not so handsome. The Church of the *Augustin-*
Friars is also of Brick, and is a very lately Pile.

15. There are several Roads from *Surat* to *Golconda*:
As by Sea, by *Goa*, and *Vijapour*, and by *Agra*. These
two Roads by Land meet at *Dultabat*, and therefore I will
speak first of the Road from *Surat*, as the most common,
and then of that by *Goa* and *Vijapour*. From *Surat* you
travel by *Gambari*, *Barnoli*, *Barra*, *Navepour*, *Rinkuli*,
Pipelnor, *Nainpour*, *Patane*, *Secoura*, *Bequela*, and *Dijon*
to *Dultabat*. This Town is one of the best Fortresses in
the Dominions of the Great Mogul, being seated upon a
Mountain every Way steep, the only Way being so nar-
row, that but one Horse, or one Camel, can go at a Time.
This Town stands at the Foot of the Mountain, very well
walled, with a natural smooth Rock, and has Battlements
and Towers mounted with Cannon; but it is the Citadel
on the Top of the Hill that is accounted the main Strength
of it; for in it are a great many excellent Pieces of Can-
non, and the Cannoniers are generally *English* or *Hol-*
landers.

From *Dultabat* you go to *Aurenabat*, before described,
and so through *Pipoli*, *Aubar*, *Guiserner*, *Afin*, *Surver*,
and *Lejona*, to *Nadour*. Here you cross a River, which
runs into the *Ganges*, and must pay for every Waggon-
load of Goods four *Rupies*, and have a Pass from the Go-
vernor. From *Nadour* you travel to *Patonta*, and so by
Kaberi, *Satapour*, *Satanag*, or *Satanagar*, where you be-
gin to enter upon the Territories of the King of *Golconda*.
The other Road through *Goa* and *Vijapour* to *Golconda*,

lies thus; you may go from *Surat* to *Goa*, partly by Land
and partly by Sea; but the Road being very bad by Land,
Travellers generally go by Sea, and hiring an *Almadire*,
which is a Bark with Oars, sail by the Shore to *Goa*, and
so they pass by these Towns, which are convenient to
lodge in, or victual at, viz. *Daman*, *Bossain*, *Chacul*, *Da-*
boul, *Rejapour*, and *Mingrela* to *Goa*. From *Surat* to
Goa is two hundred and forty Leagues. The great Dan-
ger in this coasting Voyage is, falling into the Hands of
the *Malabars*, or *Indian* Pirates, who are furious *Moham-*
medans, and very cruel to the Christians, whom they put
to barbarous Tortures if they take them, to make them
seek their Ransom the sooner. The *Malabars* sometimes
carry two hundred, and sometimes two hundred and forty
Men, and sail together in Squadrons of ten or fifteen Barks
to attack a great Ship, for they care not a Rush for the
great Guns: They come on Board of a sudden, and cast
such a great Quantity of Pots of artificial Fire upon the
Decks, that if there be not a speedy Remedy applied,
they do a world of Mischief. Our Seamen generally know-
ing the Custom of these Pirates, when they come within
Sight, shut up the Skuttles, and fill the Deck with Water,
to hinder the Fire-pots from doing Execution.

Goa lies in an Island six or seven Leagues about, upon
the River *Mandona*, ten Leagues from the Mouth of the
River. This Island abounds in Corn, Rice, and several
sorts of Fruit, as Mangas, Ananas, *Adam's* Figs, and Co-
coas, but all of them are inferior to a Pippin. The Port
of *Goa* is very commodious, the City is very large, and
the Walls are of good Stone; the Houses for the most
part are very magnificently built, especially the Viceroy's
Palace; but being closely environed with Hills, the Air
is made unwholesome, and so excessively hot, that the Inha-
bitants are not so many as otherwise they would be. Beef
and Pork are the ordinary Diet, and they have Plenty of
Poultry and Pigeons; but Fish is scarce, though they
are near the Sea: They have abundance of all sorts of
Sweet-meats, and great Plenty of good Water. Before the
Dutch brought down the Power of the *Portuguese* in *In-*
dia, there was nothing to be seen at *Goa* but Magnificence
and Riches: They made vast Profits without any Loss,
and every Man was a Trader except the Governor. But
now the *Dutch* having got the Trade every where out of
their Hands, tho' they are still Masters of *Goa*; they have
lost their Mines of Silver and Gold, and are fallen from
their Splendor. The Natives of the Country, whom they
call *Canarins*, or *Blacks*, are not permitted to bear any
Offices among the *Portuguese*, but only in reference to the
Law, viz. As Advocates, Solicitors, and Scriveners, and
they keep them very much under. If one of them hap-
pen to strike a white Man, or *European*, there is no Pardon
for him, but his Head must be cut off. The *Spaniards*
and *Portuguese* make use of them to transact their Busi-
ness, and receive their Money; and many of them by that
means are grown very rich, and have many Slaves to
attend them in good Habits; but they all, both Masters
and Servants, go barefoot; for the *Portuguese*, though
they have been offered great Sums to suffer them to wear
Hole and Shoes, yet will not allow it. They are very
courageous, and good Soldiers, and quick and ingenious
at learning of Sciences, but they are Idolaters, and wor-
ship several sorts of Idols, which, they say, are the Resem-
blance of several that have done good Works, to whom
they give Honour by adoring their Portrait.

There are some of these Idolaters that worship Apes, and
have built Pagods to those Beasts. In the Island of *Sasse*
there was a Pagod, where the Idolaters keep in a Chest,
the Bones and Nails of an Ape that had been serviceable
to their Ancestors, by bringing Intelligence when any Prince
their Enemy sought their Ruin. The *Indians* came in Pro-
cession from several Places to this Pagod, and made Offer-
ings to it; and when the Clergy of *Goa* took away the
Tomb, they offered a great Sum of Money for their Reli-
icks; but the Clergy not thinking such gross Idolatry suf-
ferable, caused it to be thrown into the Depth of the Sea.
The River of *Mandona* also is had in as great Veneration
by the *Bramins* and the other *Gentiles* as the *Ganges*, and at
certain times, and upon certain Festivals, they flock thither
from their several Parts to perform their Purifications. The
Town

Town hath good Walls, with Towers, and great Guns, and the Isle is walled round with Gates towards the Land, to hinder the Slaves from running away. The *Portuguese* have a Viceroy residing here, with an Archbishop, Inquisitor General, and Abundance of Clergymen, as Dominicans, Austin-Friars, Franciscans, bare-foot Carmelites, Jesuits, and Capuchins. The Carmelites are seated in a fine Air, and healthy Ground; the Jesuits have a College, which being dedicated to St. Paul, gives them the Name of *Paulists*, with a Seminary, Professor's House, *Noviciate*, and an House called the *Good Jesus*, where they paint admirably. There are also many fair Churches, and beautiful Palaces.

In this City lies buried *F. Albuquerque*, who conquered it for the *Portuguese*, and Saint *Francis Xavier*, the famous Indian Missionary. The Hospital of *Goa* was formerly the most famous in all *India*, both in regard that the Revenues were very great, and the sick Persons were very carefully looked after; but since the Change of Government, there is but very bad Accommodations, and several *Europeans*, who have been put in, have never come out but in their Coffins; but of late they have found out a Way to save some, by frequent Blood-letting, spare Diet, and drinking Cow's Pils.

16. From *Goa* you go to *Bickelly*, which is upon the Continent, and so to *Vishapour*. This City is the Metropolis of a Kingdom of the same Name, whose King is the most potent of all the Kings of *Decan*, and is therefore called King of *Decan*, having under him the two Naïques of *Madura*, whose Territories reach to Cape *Comurio* and *Tanjavar*, who has several Towns on the Coasts of *Ceramandel* tributary to him. It is a great scambling City, above five Leagues in Circumference, fortified with a double Wall, and a great many Cannons mounted, and a flat-bottomed Ditch. The King's Palace is very large, but ill built, and the Access to it is very dangerous, in regard there are an Abundance of Crocodiles in the Ditch, with which it is encompassed; but in the City itself there is nothing remarkable as to the publick Edifices or Trade, tho' in the Suburbs, which are large, there are several Goldsmiths and Jewellers. The King of *Vishapour* hath three good Ports in his Dominions, *Rajapour*, *Daboul*, and *Carapatan*. This last is the best, having fourteen or fifteen Fathom Water near the Land, and upon the Top of the Mountain adjoining a Fort with a Spring of Water in it.

It lies about five Days Journey to the North of *Goa*. The Kings of *Vishapour* and *Golconda* were formerly tributary to the Great Mogul, but now they are absolute of themselves. The present King of *Vishapour*, was only the adopted Child of the former King, who died without Children, he succeeded in his Minority under the Regency of the Queen; but being disturbed by the Revolt of *Rajah Seeraj*, the Son of the late King's Captain of his Guards, he was forced to come to a Composition with him to establish himself, and so lost all the Coasts of *Malabar*.

The great Market, where the King of *Vishapour* sells his Pepper, is at *Relique*. In the Territories of *Vishapour* is *Mangrela*, a large Town, extended half a League in Length upon the Sea-coast; it is one of the best Roads in all *India*, where all the Vessels that come from *Batavia*, *Tapan*, *Bengal*, *Canton*, and those that are bound for *Surat*, *Ormaz*, the *Red Sea*, *Babara*, &c. both coming and going, anchor and take in Provisions, because there is both excellent Water and Rice. This Town also is very famous for Cardamums, which the Eastern People esteem above all Spices; but not being to be had in any other Country, are very scarce and dear. There is also made great Store of coarse Calcuts that are spent in the Country, and great Quantities of coarse Matting, which serves for packing up of Goods. The *Dutch* have a Factory for Trade and Provisions here, to victual their Ships when they block up *Goa*, which is eight Months in the Year.

17. From *Vishapour* you pass to *Golconda*, which is four hundred Leagues cross the Promontory. The most powerful of the Kings of *Decan* next to the King of *Vishapour*, is the King of *Golconda*; his Kingdom is bounded on the East by the Sea of *Bengal*, on the West by the Mountains of *Orixal*, on the South by *Bijnagar* and *Narissingue*, which belongs to the King of *Vishapour*, and on the West by the

Empire of the Great Mogul. This whole Kingdom, take it in general, is a good Country, abounding in Corn, Rice, Cattle, Sheep, Poultry, and other Necessaries for human Life, and because there are many Lakes. There are also many Fish, and among others a sort of Smelts, which has but one Bone in the Middle, which is most delicious Food, the Lakes being caused by Nature, and lying in Places somewhat raised, contribute much to the Fertility of the Country, because after the rainy Seasons they let them down by Sluices into the adjacent Fields. The capital City of the Kingdom is *Banagar*; the *Persians* call it *Alder-alad*, but the most common Name is *Golconda*. It is about fourteen or fifteen Leagues from *Vishapour*, situated in 17° 10' Latitude, in a very long Plain, hemmed in with little Hills at some Distance from it. The Air is very wholesome, and a great River washes the Wall of it on the South-west Side, which, near to *Maslipatan*, falls into the Gulph of *Bengal*.

The City is well built, and full of Windows. In entering into it, you must first pass through a large Suburb, but the Houses are only built of Earth, and thatched with Straw, so low, and ill contrived, that they can be reckoned little better than Huts. It is at least a League in Length, and in it dwell all the Merchants, Brokers, Handicrafts-men, and all manner sort of People. Their Men are allowed to go into the City from ten or eleven in the Morning till four or five o'Clock in the Afternoon with the Foreign Merchants, and then they return to their Houses. In those Suburbs are two or three fair Mosques, which serve for Inns for Travellers, and several Pagods in the Neighbourhood. The Way to the Fortrefs of *Golconda* lies through those Suburbs; out of them you go into the City over a most beautiful Stone Bridge, and enter into a large Street that leads to the King's Palace. On the right Hand are some Houses of the Lords of the Court, and four or five Inns two Stories high, with fair Halls, and large Chambers to let in the fresh Air.

At the End of this Street is a large Piazza on which the Palace fronts, and in the Middle of the Building is the Balcony, wherein the King sits when he pleaseth to give Audience to the People. The Gate of the Palace stands not upon this Piazza, but upon another near adjoining. Through it you enter into a large Court, surrounded with Portico's, under which lie the King's Guards. Out of this Court you pass into another, built after the same manner, and surrounded with several Apartments, with terraced Roofs, on which are very fair Gardens, and Trees in them, of a great Bigness. The whole Palace is three hundred and eighty Paces in Length, and ends in a very lofty Pavillion. The Walls are built of great Stones, and have at certain Distances half Towers. It is very pleasant within, and the Water rises up to the highest Apartments. No Man enters into the Palace without an express Order from the King, who grants it very seldom; so that scarce any body comes near it.

At the End of the Palace is a Building, called the Four Towers, which has the most lovely Outside of any thing in the Town, being adorned with Roses and Fellons pretty well cut. In each Tower is four Galleries, which serve to make the Water mount into a Reservatory on the Top, from whence it is conveyed into the highest Apartments of the King's Palace through Pipes. There are several Meidans in the Town, but the fairest is that before the King's Palace. It hath two Divans, which serve for the Cotual, who has his Prisons under them. The Palace is on the North of it, and there is a Portico over-against it, where the Musicians play several times a Day, while the King is in the Town in the Middle of it; and in Sight of the Palace is a Space for the fighting of Elephants. The City for the most part is inhabited by Persons of Quality, Officers of the King's Court of Justice, and of the Army, and their Houses are pretty enough. Three Miles from the City stands a very fair Mosque, wherein are the Tombs of the Kings of *Golconda*, and about four o'Clock in the Afternoon there is a Dole of Bread and Rice given to all the Poor that come. Upon Festival Days all the Tombs are hung with rich Tapettry, and then they are a most glorious Sight. There are many fair Gardens in the Town, and near it; but their Beauty consists not in Flowers, or Water,

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works, but in long Walks, lovely Fruit-trees, and large
Bations of Water.

When a Stranger comes to the Gates, a Soldier searches
him, to see whether he has any Salt and Tobacco about him,
that the King may not be defrauded of the Duties, and
then sends to the *Deroa* about his Admission, which causes
a Delay of a Day or two. Sometimes when the King sits
to do Justice, all that have Business stand below, just
against the Balcony; but the People are kept back, with a
Row of Poles about the Height of a Half-pike. Every
Monday the Nobility mount Guard, and continue eight
Days, some of them have five or six thousand Men under
their Command, with ten or twelve Elephants, and thirty
or forty Camels. The Soldiers have no Cloaths, but three
or four Ells of Calicut, with which they cover their Bodies
half Way behind and before. They wear their Hair long,
and tie it on a Knot on the Crown, as the Women do. They
wear Broad-swords like the *Switzers*, which serve as well for
a Thrust, as a Blow, and hang them in a Girdle. Their
Musket Barrels are neater and better than ours, because
their Iron is better. Their Cavalry carry Bows and Ar-
rows, a Buckler, and a Battle-Ax, and a Head-piece, and
Jacket of Mail, which hangs down from their Head-piece
to their Shoulders. There are twenty thousand com-
mon Women allowed by the *Deroa*; they pay no Tax,
but are a Means of spending much *Tari*, which is a sweet
Drink, on which the King lays a severe Imposit. They are
encouraged in their Practices. They are to dance every
Friday before the King's Balcony, if the King be present;
if not, an Eunuch dismisses them. They stand well dress'd
at their Doors in the Day-time, and set up a Candle or
Lamp for a Signal in the Night, to draw in Men who are
not expos'd to Scandal, by conversing with them.

The common People give their Wives great Liberty,
being oblig'd by Promise, at their Marriage, to let them
walk in the Streets, visit their Neighbours, and drink
Tari, a Liquor which the *Indians* love very much.
When any one is found guilty of Theft, he is pu-
nished by cutting off both his Hands, which is a Punish-
ment used almost all over the *Indies*. The Tradesmen
of the Town, and Husbandmen that cultivate the Lands,
are Natives; but the Trade is chiefly maintained by the
English and *Dutch* Factories, who buy up for the Compa-
nies Chints, and other Cloths, which they vend in other
Parts of the *Indies*. They bring also from *Masipatan*,
upon Oxen, Cloves, Pepper, Cinnamon, Silver, Copper,
Tin, Lead, and other Goods, which they know to be most
marketable. All the Men and Women at *Golconda* are well
proportioned, and of comely Stature, and fair enough in
their Countenances; but the Country People are swarthy.
The most current Monies of this Kingdom are the Pagods,
Ruppes, and *Pechas*, of the Mogul: The Pagods are Pieces
of Gold, of which there are two sorts, the old and the new;
the old are worth five Ruppes, and the new not above four.

The Ruppes and *Pechas* are also worth more at *Golconda*
than in *Mogulistan*. The greatest Plenty of Diamonds is
in this Kingdom, and therefore it may be called the Coun-
try of Diamonds. The Castle of *Golconda* is two Leagues
from the City; it is of a large Compais, and the Walls of
it are built of Stones, three Foot in Length, and as much
in Breadth; and it is surrounded with deep Ditches, divided
into Tanquies, which are filled with fair and good Water.
All the Strength it has consists in five round Towers, which
have a great many Cannon mounted upon them for their
Defence. It has several Gates, but two only are opened,
and these are guarded by *Indians*. No Strangers may go
in without a Permission from the Governor, unless he be
acquainted with some Officer of the Court. The King has
a large Palace in it, and well situated for a good Air, and
lovely Prospect, and most Part of the Lords have Houses
near it. There are several Bazzars in it, where all things
necessary for Life may be had.

18. The King of *Golconda*, who now reigns, is a Shias
by Religion, and bears the Name of *Abdoul-Coutou-Slab*.
He was the Son of a *Bramin* Lady, and succeeded his Fa-
ther, though not the eldest Son, because he was more loved
by the Queen, who caused his Brothers to be unprisoned,
and at last poisoned. He keeps five hundred thousand Sol-
diers in Pay, yet is tributary to the Great Mogul. He

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hath only three Daughters, the eldest of which is married
to one of the Kinsmen of the Grand Cheik of *Alacca*.
the second to Sultan *Mohammed*, eldest Son of *Aureng*,
and the third to *Alirza-abdul-Cassim*, the King's Cousin,
who has Male Children by her. The King of *Golconda* has
vast Revenues, for he is Proprietor of all the Lands of
Kingdom, which he lends out to those that offer the most
except such as he gives to his Favourites for a certain Term.
The Customs that Merchants Goods that pass through his
Country, and of the Ports of *Melipatan* and *Madraspaten*,
yield him much, and there is hardly any sort of Business
in his Kingdom, from which he hath not some con-
siderable Duties by Way of Excise.

The Diamond Mines raise him a great Revenue, and all
such as he allows to dig in them. These that are to-
ward *Melipatan* pay him a Pagod every Hour they work
there, whether they find any Diamonds or not; but his
chief Mines are in divers Places in *Carnate* towards *Tijja-
pour*, where he has six thousand Men continually at work,
who daily find near three Pounds Weight, and no body
digs there but for the King. This Prince wears upon the
Crown of his Head a Jewel almost a Foot long, which is
said to be of inestimable Value. It is a Rose of great Dia-
monds, three or four Inches Diameter, on the Top of which
there is a little Crown, and out of it issues a Branch fas-
hioned like that of a Palm-tree; but it is round, and the
Palm Branch, which is crooked at the Top, is a good Inch
in Diameter, and about half a Foot long. It is made up
of Sprigs, which are, as it were, the Leaves of it, and
each of them have at the End a lovely long Pearl, shaped
like a Pear. At the Foot of this Poley there are two Bands
of Gold in the Fashion of Table Bracelets, in which are
inlaid large Diamonds, set round with Rubies, which,
with great Pearls that hang dangling on all Sides, make an
exceeding fair Show; and these Bands have Claps of Dia-
monds to fasten the Jewels to the Head. Besides this
Jewel, he hath other considerable Pieces, and such Numbers
of precious Stones, that if there were Merchants who could
give him the Worth of them, he would have prodigious
Sums of Money, and be the richest King in the *Indies*.

The Omrahs are the great Lords of the Kingdom, who
are *Persians*, and all rich; for they have not only great
Pay of the King yearly, but large Gifts of Lands and Vil-
lages from him, besides the Advantages of the Soldiery;
for they do not lift half the Number they have Pay to
maintain. They generally make a very handsome Figure;
for when they go through the Town, an Elephant or two
goes before them, on which three Men, carrying Banners,
are mounted; fifty or sixty Troopers, well mounted and ac-
countered, follow them; and after these Trumpeters and
others playing on Fifes on Horseback; after these comes
the Omrah on Horseback, with thirty or forty Footmen
about him, and his Palankin carried by four Men, with
other Porters for Change; and all this Pomp is brought up
with a Camel or two, with Men beating on Timbrels on
their Backs. Sometimes the Omrah will take his Palan-
quin, and then his Horse is led.

The Palanquins are sometimes covered with Silver, and
the Bamboos are tipped with Silver at both Ends. They
lie at Ease in them, smoking Tobacco, or chewing Beetle,
or Arca, according to the Custom of the *Indians*, who hold
them to be excellent for the Stomach, and the Sweetness
of the Breath. The lesser Omrahs have not so great an
Equipage, but all have a Train proportionable to their Re-
venue. The Winter in *Golconda* begins in June with Rains,
and some Thunder and great Winds, and lasts to the End
of October, in which time the Air is cold only in the Night
and Morning. The Days are as warm as 'tis in May in
France; but the Rains cause prodigious Floods, which
beat down the Houses, and destroy many People. The
hot Season begins in February. The Rains make the Land
very fertile; they have abundance of Fruits and Vines, and
two Crops of Rice and other Grains every Year. The
Wines they make are usually white.

19. From *Golconda* there are two Roads to *Masipatan*,
one more direct, which the Merchants usually take, and
the other by the Diamond Mounds, called *Conjour*, or *Gani*,
which such Merchants generally travel, whose Curiosity or
Business leads them thither, though it be the tithet Way
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by twelve Leagues. In the more direct Road you meet with not above four Towns, besides fifteen or sixteen Villages, viz. *Elmas-kepenich*, *Panguel*, *Sarebel*, and *Penguet-chepaul*. You pass also several Rivers, the most considerable of which are *Kachna* and *Moucky*. All the Country as you pass this Way is always green and pleasant to the Eye, though the Road be bad, and there grow all kinds of Trees that are in the *Indies*, even Cassia-trees, though they be scarce in other Countries: This Way you come to *Majipatan* in ten Days. The other Way, by the Diamond-Mines, lies, first, to *Tenara*, where the King has a stately Palace, consisting of four large Piles of Stone-Building, to every one of which belong a large Garden. One of them, on the Left-hand, along the Highway, is much more beautiful than the other three; it is built of Free-stone, two Story high, and has in it several fair Galleries, Halls, Parlours, and Lodging-rooms, which are the Royal Apartments. Before this Building is a large square Piazza; and in the other three Fronts is a great Portal, with a fair large Platform, raised four or five Foot high, and well arched, where Travellers of Fortune are lodged, and over each Portal is a strong Baluster, and a little Chamber for the Ladies.

One of these Buildings belongs entirely to the Queen, and though no body may lodge in it in the Queen's Absence, yet any one may see it, and walk in the Garden, which is a lovely Place, and well supply'd with Water. The whole Piazza is encompassed with several Chambers for the Lodgings of poor Travellers, who, every Day, towards Evening, have an Alms bestowed upon them of Rice and Pulse ready boiled; and for this there are alienable Rents settled: But for the Idolaters, who will eat nothing that is powdered by other Hands, they give them Flour to make Bread, and a little Butter to dip it in when it is baked, like a thin Bread-Cake. From *Tenara* the Road lies through *Jatenager*, *Patengi*, *Pengual*, *Nagelpor*, and *Lakakaran*, to *Coulour*, or *Gani*. This last Part of the Way is very rocky, and among these Rocks, where there is any good Earth, you find the Cassia-trees, that bear the best, and most laxative Cassia of any in the *Indies*. By *Coulour* runs a River, which falls into the Gulph of *Bengal*, near *Majipatan*. From hence the Road lies through *Kid Kals*, *bas ar*, where you pass the River of *Coulour*, *Fokir*, *Nimor*, where they must cross a great River upon a flat Boat of Timber, and so by *Nimel* to *Majipatan*. This is a great City on the Coast of *Coromandel*, lying in 16° 30' North Lat. It stands upon the Gulph of *Bengal* E. S. E. from *Golconda*; and though it be but small, yet it is well peopled. The Streets are narrow, and it is intolerable hot there from *March* till *July*. The Houses are built of Wood, and all separated one from another, and the Water is brackish, because the Tide comes up to it. There is great Trading in Chints, because, besides those that are made there, a great many are brought from *St. Thomas*, which are much finer, and better Colours than those from other Parts of *India*. The Coast is excellent, and the Road for Ships is the best in all the Gulph of *Bengal*, and therefore Ships come thither from all Nations, and go from thence to *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Aracon*, *Tongat*, *Cocuin-China*, *Mecca* and *Ormuz*, and for the *Indies* of *Madagascar*, *Sumatra*, and the *Manillas*. This Country of *Majipatan*, as well as the Coasts, is full of Idolaters; and the Pagods are so full of lascivious Figures of Monsters, that one cannot go into them without Horror. It is exceeding fruitful, and Provisions are very cheap there: A Sheep is bought for Twelve-pence; a Partridge for a Half-penny, and a Fowl for Two-pence; and the same almost every where upon the Coasts of *Coromandel*. From *Majipatan* to *Gandour* the Way lies thus; you pass *Nimel*, *Wochir*, and *Patemet*, three small Villages, and the last of them a very pitiful one, to *Bezourat*, a great Town, where all the Inhabitants, except the Governor, and some of his Domesticks, are Idolaters.

In this Town is a very large Pagod without Walls, consisting of fifty-two Pillars, of twenty Foot high, which uphold a flat Roof of Free-stone. They are adorned with several embossed Figures of very ugly Devils, and several sorts of Creatures, some with four Horns, others with many Legs and Tails, others looking out their

Tongues, and others in several other ridiculous Postures: And between the Pillars stand the Statues of their Gods upon Pedestals. The Pagod is built in the Middle of a Court, encompassed with Walls, adorned within and without, with the same Figures as the Pagod, and a Gallery, sustain'd by sixty Pillars, runs round the Wall. You enter into this Court through a Portal, with Nitches one above another, supported with Pillars, which have certain *Indian* Characters upon them; but the Priests themselves hardly know the Meaning. By this Town is another Pagod, built upon a Hill, to which there is an Ascent of 193 Steps, every one a Foot high: It is four-square, with a Cupolo at the Top, adorned with Figures, as that at *Bezourat*. In the Middle is an Idol sitting cross-legg'd, after the Manner of the Country; and in that Posture, about four Foot high; upon the Head, is a triple Crown, from which four Horns extend themselves, and it has the Face of a Man turned towards the East. The Pilgrims that come out of Devotion to these Pagods, when they enter, clasp their Hands together, and raise them up to their Foreheads, and then, advancing to the Idol, cry out, *Ram, Ram*, i. e. *God, God*: Then having anointed it with Oil, or besmeared the Face with Paintings, they ring a little Bell that hangs upon the Idol; after which they make their Offerings of Sugar, Oil, and other Eatables, the richer sort adding Pieces of Silver.

These Offerings, though the People are made to believe the Idol takes them, yet maintain the Priests, their Wives, and Children, except that they relieve the poor Pilgrims with them. There is a great Feast made in this Pagod in *October*, for three Days together, at which Time there is a great Concourse of People from all Parts, Leaving *Bezourat*, you cross the River that runs to *Gani*, and three Leagues farther come to a Pagod, built upon a large Platform, with an Ascent of fifteen or twenty Steps; in it is the Figure of a Cow of black Marble, and several other deformed Idols four or five Foot high, some with many Heads, and others with many Hands and Legs; and the most ugly are most adored, and receive the most Offerings.

20. The next Town in the Road is *Kab Kabi*, near to which is a small Pagod, wherein are five or six Idols, well made. And, having passed that, you come to *Candour*, a great City, closed in with strong Walls, with a Ditch, and a Moat, paved at the Bottom with Free-stone. Eastward it stretches out to a Mountain about a League in Compass, and surrounded with Walls with Half-moons: Within them are three Fortresses. From hence you travel to *Capansur*, and to *Adanque*, a very fair Town, where there is a very large Pagod, with abundance of Chambers for the Priests, and several Idols, but they are fallen to Decay, yet are superstitiously adored by the People. You go on to *Nojirepar*, and so over a large River, which is dry in Summer, to *Condicour*, *Dakye*, *Nelour*, where there are many Pagods; and so crossing a River to *Gandron*, *Serepte*, *Ponte*, and *Senegond*, to *Palcate*, to which the Way lies for a League through the Sea.

It is a Fort that belongs to the *Dutch*, that live upon the Coast of *Coromandel*, and within it are usually two hundred Soldiers. It is the chief Factory they have in the *Indies*, where lives the Superintendent of all the rest which are in the Territories of the King of *Golconda*. The Trade managed there by the *Dutch* is in Cotton-Cloth, of which they have large Warehouses. Here also they refine their Salt-petre, which they bring from *Bengal*, and make Gunpowder, with which they furnish their other Factories. The Fort of *Palcate*, called *Guldria*, is at a good Distance from the Town, that it may not be annoyed by Shot from thence. The Balthons are well stored with good Guns, and the Sea comes up to the Walls of it. The Governor has fifty Crowns a Month for his Pay, and as many for his Table and Cloths. The current Money here are *Ruppes*, and *Pagods*, which last are four Times the Value of the former, *Fanons*, which are half Gold and half Silver, with the same Stamp as the *Pagods*, but the seventh Part of a *Ruppee* in Value, and *Gazars*, which are Pieces of Copper as big as *Fanons*, but forty of them are but the Worth of it. The *Dutch* coin this Money. The Water of this Town is fetched out of

other ridiculous Postures : and the Statues of their god is build in the Middle Walls, adorned within and as the Pagod, and a (Guns round the Wall. You a Portal, with Niches one Pillars, which have ceremony ; but the Priests themselves. By this Town is another, to which there is an Affoot high : It is four-top, adorned with Figures, like an Idol sitting cross-Country ; and in that Position the Head, is a triple extend themselves, and towards the East. The tion to these Pagods, when together, and raise them up ancing to the Idol, cry out, Then having anointed it with Paintings, they ring the Idol ; after which they Oil, and other Eatables, Silver.

People are made to believe in the Priests, their Wives, relieve the poor Pilgrims at Feast made in this Pagod-together, at which Time People from all Parts, River that runs to *Gani*, to a Pagod, built upon a nt of fifteen or twenty Cow of black Marble, and four or five Foot high, others with many Hands are most adored, and re-

oad is *Kab-Kabi*, near to are five or six *luc's*, well you come to *Gandever*, long Walls, with a Dutch, with Free-stone. East-ntain about a League in Walls with Half-moons :

From hence you travel *lige*, a very fair Town, god, with abundance of veral Idols, but they are ssily adored by the People, o over a large River, *ondicour*, *Dakje*, *Nelour*, and so crossing a River to *neppend*, to *Palicate*, to through the Sea.

The *Dutch*, that live upon within it are usually two Factory they have in the stendent of all the rest the King of *Galconda*, the *Dutch* is in Cotton-Warehouses. Here al-which they bring from with which they furnish of *Palicate*, called *Guel*-the Town, that it may nence. The Bathons are the Sea comes up to the itty Crowns a Month for Table and Cloths. The and *Pagods*, which last former, *Fanons*, which h the same Stamp as the a *Rupsee* in Value, and per as big as *Fanon*, but of it. The *Dutch* coin Town is fetched out of

Holes dug in the Sand, when the Sea is quite out, and it is tolerably fresh.

From hence you go to *Madrespatan*, or Fort *St. George*, which belongs to the *English*, (here is a Convent of *Capuchins*) and so to *Mehapour*, or *St. Thomas's Town*, (where, they say, *St. Thomas* was martyr'd), and the *Anglin* Enars here, pretend to have the Iron Lance which killed him, the *Jesuits* also have a Church (there) *Serracoron*, and then to *Ondicut*. The Way between these two Towns is through a flat, sandy Country, and on both Sides of it are Copies of *Bamboo's* very high and thick, which breed prodigious Numbers of Apes. Those on one Side are inveterate Enemies to those on the other ; and it is very good Sport to Travellers to set some Baskets of Rice between them, with Cudgels by them, to make them fight for it, and batter one another with the Cudgels. The Road holds the same to *Naravacou* and *Gazand*. Hereabouts there are Gates and strong Guards at them at every two or three Leagues, who examine all *Pilgrims*, whence they come, and whither they go ; so that Men may travel there with their Money in their Hands.

21. The next Place you arrive at is *Convera*, a celebrated Pagod, where there is little to be had for Man or Beast ; but the Country about it being full of Elephants, the King's Officers come hither often to take them. The Manner of hunting them is thus ; they cut several Allies or Walks in the Woods where they are, and having dugged them full of Pits, which they cover with Hurdles and Earth, scare them by hollowing, beating of Drums, and pursuing them with Pikes, with Wild-fire tied to the Ends, into those Walks, where, being tumbled into the Holes, the Hunters bind their Feet and Trunks with Ropes and Chains, and so take them ; yet some will escape the Snare, and are ever after so mischievous, that with a Bough they will examine every Step they take, whether there is not an Hole in the Way ; and it is almost impossible to take them again. Such as they catch, they couple to two tame ones on each Side, and set six Men about them with lighted Torches at the End of an Half-pike, to talk to them, and give them Meat, which is brown Sugar, boiled Rice and Hay.

If the wild Elephant will not eat, the Men order the tame ones to beat them with their Trunks, and so contrain him to learn Obedience. After an Elephant is tamed, he never meddles with the Female, yet is sometimes taken with a lustful Rage, which never ends but with some Mischief, as the Death of his Rider, or some body else. Though the Elephant's Skin be very hard while he is alive, it is all like melted Glue when he is dead. There are Elephants in several Parts of the *Indies*, as in the Islands of *Ceylon* and *Sumatra*, the Kingdoms of *Cochin*, *Siam*, and *Bantam*, on the Frontiers near the *Great Tartary* ; but they are said to be in the greatest Numbers on the Coast of *Melinda*, Eastward of *Africa*, where the *Blacks* of the Countries hunt them to eat the Flesh, but are obliged to give the Lord of the Place the Teeth, inasmuch that there are several Parks impailed with Elephants Teeth a League round.

It is observable of the female Elephant, when she grows hot, that she makes herself a great Bed of Herbs and Weeds, four or five Foot high from the Ground, on which, contrary to the Custom of all other Creatures, she lies upon her Back, in Expectation of the Male, whom she calls to her by a peculiar Cry : And thus they take the Male in *Ceylon*, by a tame Female. This is also peculiar to the Elephants in *Ceylon*, which, though the smallest is the most courageous, yet only the first Elephant which the Female produces has any Tusks. And it is also observable, that the Ivory from *Aden*, when it is wrought, never grows yellow, as that does which comes out of the Continent and the *East-Indies*, which makes it more esteemed than any other. It is hard to find how long an Elephant will live ; nor can the Keepers or Governors of them tell you more than that such an Elephant was their Great-Grandfather's ; so that it may be conjectured that they have lived an hundred and twenty, or an hundred and thirty Years. The Great Mogul keeps five hundred for his Household, to carry his Women, their Tents, and Lug-

gage, and about eighty or ninety for his Wars ; and so the chief of them he allows five hundred *Rupess* a Month ; but, to the rest, from fifty to twenty. The chief have Men to attend them, and fan them, and they are maintained out of it.

22. From *Convera* you pass through *Ragla-Peta*, a large Town, and *Ondicour* to *Oudemela*, where there is one of the greatest Pagods in *India*. It is built of large Free-stone, and has three Towers, where there are several deformed Figures of embossed Work. It is encompassed with many little Chambers for the Priests Lodgings. Hard by it is a wide Lake, upon the Banks of which are built several Pagods, eight or ten Foot square, and in every one of them an Idol, representing some Devil, with a Bramin, who takes Care that no Stranger that is not of their Superstition, shall come to wash in, or take any Water out of the Lake : But if any Stranger desires Water, they give it him in an earthen Pot ; but if it touches the Stranger's Vessel, they break it ; and say, if a Stranger should wash in it, it must be drained. They are very charitable, and will give any thing they have to eat or drink to Persons in Necessity. There are several Women among them, who, having made a Vow to do acts of Charity for seven or eight Years, more or less, sit upon the Road continually for that End, with Fire, Tobacco, Rice boiled with Quicken, a sort of Grain like Hempseed, and Beans, and to every Traveller they give some of their Beans, Rice-water, an Handful of Rice, Tobacco, if they have none, and Fire. Other Women live continually on the Highways and Fields, having made a Vow to eat nothing but what they find undigested in the Dung of Oxen, Cows, and Horses, which they feed with an hard sort of crooked Peas ; and these feed the Cattle with Grass all the Day.

From *Oudemela* you travel through *Gaulupale* and *Gogeron* to *Gandicut*. This Place is one of the strongest Cities in the Kingdom of *Carnate*, being situate upon the Top of an high Mountain or Rock, to which there is but one Ascent, not above twenty-five or thirty Foot broad at most, and in some Places not above seven or eight Foot wide at the most. At the Right-hand of it there is a most hideous Precipice, and at the Bottom of it runs a vast River. Upon the Top of the Mountain is a small Plain, but a Quarter of a League broad, and about half a League long. This is sowed with Rice and Millet, and watered with many little Springs.

The City stands on the South-side of this Plain, and is so encompassed with Precipices, at the Bottom of which runs two Rivers, that it has but one Gate to the Plain-side, and that too fortified with two good Walls of Free-stone. Here is a Pagod, which is said to be the fairest in all *India*, wherein are several Idols, some of Gold, others Silver, and six very large ones of Brass, of which three are set upon their Heels, and three stood, and yet were ten Foot high a-piece. These Statues, when the Nahab of the King of *Galconda* took the Cities from its own Rajah, he took out of the Pagod to make him some Cannon ; but with all the Art the Artificer had, who was a *Frenchman*, he could not melt them, and so he was forced to leave his Work unfinished. 'Tis a Custom in this City never to put any Man in Prison, but as soon as the Offender is taken, he is examined, and Sentence is pronounced upon him according to his Crime, which is immediately executed, and, if he be innocent, he is as soon acquitted and discharged.

The Punishment is generally inflicted at the Discretion of the Nahab, or Governor : One that had broken into an House, and killed the Mother and three Children, was condemned upon the Spot to have his Hands and Feet cut off, and to be cast into the Highway, there to end his Days in Misery ; another, who had robbed upon the Highway, had his Belly ripped up, and was ordered to be cast upon the Dunghill. In these Parts of *India* they have a very quick Way of sending Letters by Foot Posts, which are more speedy than Horsemen, and the Reason is, because at the End of every two Leagues, there are little Huts, where there are Men always ready to run as soon as any Letter comes.

get up again. When both
 nes out of the River, and
 Bank-side to dry himself,
 or yellow Colour, breaks
 about the Eyes, upon the
 him with Oil of Coccus,
 sometimes when all this is
 their Foreheads. The Road
Surat is above described.
 seems to be a Contrast be-
 at, and the Submission and
 may not be amiss to add,
 neral, through the *Indies*,
 Nations, with their natural
 Foreign Masters, and from
 to be particularly mention-
 ing, tracking, and deceitful
 all things that pass through
 giving a Cast of their Ori-
 ginal a Part to themselves
 them. Of these Arts I shall

ered in Length, Breadth,
 itself when they are of an
 is equal, and when there
 Wait. The *Indians*, not
 per, put into their striped
 so that you must count the
 whether the Silk have it,
 must observe in your Silks,
 Fallsters, you are only to
 of a Fineness, and to see,
 at there be nothing within
 n, weighing all the Pieces
 all agree. The Colours of
 India do not last so long
 but for the Workman-
 of the Broker is to judge
 Fineness of those Carpets,
 Silver, and whether they
 they be Carpets, or other
 gives the Buyer to pull out
 to, to see whether they
 Deceits usually put upon
 and Breadth; every Mile
 among which they will
 ne, or less white, flatter,
 the scantling of the Bale,
 by examining them Piece
 served by the Eye, the

e cunning way, which is
 which ought to be in the
 is of the Scantling; when
 re transparent, more nar-
 is sometimes so diffi-
 no Way to count it out
 ference in a great Quan-
 it is nothing to count a
 that comes but to fifteen
 within these Calculus, to
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 ce. As for their dyed
 take care that the Work-
 are folded to make them
 they come to be unfold-
 as. As for their painted
 printed as they come out
 take care, that what he
 and of the Rains; for the
 y are washed, the more
 Colours appear.

een the printed and the
 Neatness of the Work;
 Quarters, they are not to
 the Broker must be more
 it is two fold, the
 lace, and thrusting in the
 More

Middle of every Skain something to add to the Weight;
 the second is, by not giving good Weight, when the
 Broker receives it from the Workmen, or Merchant that
 delivers it. There is but one Cheat in the Quality; that is,
 by putting three or four Skains of a coarser Commodity
 than that which is uppermost, into one Mein, which in a
 great Quantity, mounts high, for there are some Cottons
 that are worth an hundred Crowns the Mein. These two
 Cheats being often used by the *Dutch* Company, there is
 no Way but to weigh your Commodity in the Presence of
 the *Dutch* Commander, and his Council, and to examine
 every Mein Skain by Skain; when this is done, they who
 are ordered to be at this Examination, are obliged to fix to
 every Bail a Ticket of the Weight and Quality; for if
 there be a Failure, they who fix the Ticket are obliged to
 make good what is wanting. I have told you, that when
 the Workmen have made up the Indigo Paste into Lumps,
 with their Fingers dipped in Oil, they lay them in the Sun
 a drying. Now those that have a Design to cheat the Mer-
 chants, dry them in the Sand, to the End, that the Sand
 sticking to the Indigo, may increase the Weight. Some-
 times they lay up their Paste in moist Places, which makes
 it give, and consequently renders it more heavy; but if the
 Governor of the Place discovers the Cheat, he makes them
 severely pay for it; and the best way of Discovery is, to
 burn some Pieces of Indigo, for the Sand will remain.

The Brokers are, as it were, the Masters of the *Indian*
 Families, for they have all Goods at their Disposal. The
 Workmen chuse the most aged, and most experienced, who
 are to endeavour equal Advantages for the whole Tribe
 they undertake for; every Evening that they return from
 their Business, and that, according to the Custom of the
Indians, who make no Suppers, they have eaten some
 little Pieces of Sweet-meats, and drank a Glass of Water,
 the eldest of the Tribe meet at the Broker's House, who
 gives them an Account of what he has done that Day, and
 then they consult what he is to do next. Above all things
 they caution him to look to his Hits, and to cheat, rather
 than be cheated.

We will close this Section with a remarkable Passage re-
 lating to our Author's personal History, which is very wor-
 thy the Reader's Notice, though it does not immediately
 relate to Trade, the rather, because the Translation that
 has been published of his Travels, gives us but a very indif-
 ferent Account of it, notwithstanding the Author has taken
 great Pains to relate it very circumstantially, as he thought
 it would give a true Picture of the Nation it concerns. In
 the Month of April 1665, he embarked at *Gambon* in
Perfia, for *Surat* in the *Indies*, on Board a *Dutch* Packet
 Boat; which Opportunity the *English* Agent took to charge
 him with a large Packet of Letters for the *English* President
 at *Surat*, in which also were included such as belonged to
 private Persons in that Factory, and in other Places of the
Indies. This Circumstance was taken Notice of by one
 Mr. *Cajembrot*, a *Dutchman*, who had travelled through
Perfia by Land, and was to go in the same Vessel with our
 Author to *Surat*, and he communicated this Piece of Intel-
 ligence to Mr. *Henry Van-Wuck*, who was then the *Dutch*
 Chief at *Gambon*, and he immediately formed a Project
 for stealing this Packet, in order to discover the State of
 the *English* Affairs; but in the first place went on Board the
 Ship, and enquired of our Author, if he had any such
 Packet, who very innocently told him the Truth. After
 having thus opened the Matter, and observed that the
Dutch Captain and Pilot were in the Secret, we shall pursue
 the Account in the Author's own Words: Mr. *Cajembrot*,
 says he, having seen the Size of the Packet, gave *Van-*
Wuck a Description of it, and so both together they con-
 trived another of the same Form and Bigness, as near as they
 could. When I came on Board I took the *English* Packet,
 and locked it up in my Boucha, which is the sort of Cloak-
 bag that is used in that Country, and laid it behind my
 Bolster. There were two Shallops lent on Board us, wherein
 there were sixty Bags of Silver, containing some fifty, some
 an hundred Tomans apiece. These Bags they unladed
 very leisurely to gain Time, watching when I should be
 gone to Bed; but when they saw that I did not go to rest,
 the *Dutch* consulted together, and agreed to let fall a Bag

of Tomans into the Sea, and so came all aboard, sending
 away a Shallop to *Gambon* for a Diver. When I found
 that the Vessel would not set sail, till two or three Hours
 after Day-light, I went to rest, my Boucha lying in the
 same Place half out, and half within of my Bolster; but
 when my Servants were gone, and I alone, and asleep in the
 Cabin, they cunningly stole my Boucha, took out the *Eng-*
lish Packet, and left the other, which they had counter-
 feited, in the Place, being only so many Letters of blank
 Paper. Coming to *Surat* the 6th of May following, I gave
 the Packet, as I thought, which I had received from the
English Agent at *Gambon*, to two *Capucin* Friars, to de-
 liver to the President at *Surat*; but when the President
 came to open the Packet before several of the Company,
 there was nothing but white Paper made up in the Form
 of Letters, which when I heard, too much to my Sorrow,
 I understood the villainous Trick that *Van-Wuck* had put
 upon me.

I wrote a smart Letter of Complaint to the *Dutch* Ge-
 neral in *Batavia*, but finding no Redress, I was forced to
 undergo the hard Censure of the *English*, who would not
 permit me to justify myself. However, as it is rare to see
 Treachery go unpunished, the Complotters all died mis-
 erably, *Van-Wuck* fell into a violent Fever, and being
 charged with the Theft, thinking to defend himself with an
 Equivocation, said, that if he took the Cloak-bag, he wished
 he might die without speaking a Word. In three Days ended
 his Life, just in the same manner, and at the same time
 that he had imprecated upon himself; *Bozan*, his Lieutenant,
 after a great Debauch, going to sleep upon the Terras of
 the Cabin, where he lay for Coolness (there being no Balu-
 sters) rolling and tumbling in his Sleep, fell down, and the
 next Day was found dead in the Sea. The Captain, four
 or five Days after his Arrival at *Surat*, being met in the
 Streets by a *Mohammedan*, who was jealous of his Wife,
 and being mistaken by him for one among several *Franks*
 that had parted them, and kept him from correcting his
 Wife some few Days before, was stabbed by him in three
 or four Places with a Dagger, which killed him outright;
 and this was the End of these treacherous People.

23. We may gather from this remarkable Passage the
 Reason why our Author had always a strong Dislike to the
Dutch; for it is not probable, that after such a Transaction,
 they could either forget him, or he them; but it seems not
 a little strange, that this Account should be so much soft-
 ened in the *English* Translation, and no Notice taken that
 the Person who did him this Injury was the *Dutch* Chief
 at *Gambon*, to whom he was particularly recommended,
 and a long Letter likewise omitted, which he wrote to the
Dutch Governor at *Batavia*. In a Work like this, where
 we profess to make a Collection of Voyages and Travels,
 such Pieces ought to be left out, as refer only to particular
 Men; but the Rule is certainly otherwise, in Reference to
 Books that are given to the World as express Translations;
 for which Reason I am inclined to think, that there is some-
 thing mysterious in this Omission, and that the Author of the
English Translation was a better Friend to the *Dutch* than
 Mr. *Tavernier*, and therefore did not think fit to trust such
 an unlucky Story as this with an *English* Reader, especially
 at that Juncture; for this Version of our Author's Travels
 was published in the Reign of King *Charles II.* not long
 after the Close of the last *Dutch* War.

I am the rather inclined to think this, because, at the
 End of the fifth Book of Mr. *Tavernier's* Travels, there is
 a very curious Relation of a gross Affront offered to King
Charles II. by the *Dutch* Factory at *Gambon*, who burnt
 his Picture in the most ignominious Manner, which is also
 left out in the *English* Translation, and of which the Reader
 shall, God willing, have an exact Version in the succeed-
 ing Volume of this Work. At present, it is sufficient that
 we mention these things, because they will serve to explain
 several Passages in the succeeding Section, which contains
 the Remainder of our Author's *Indian* Observations, toge-
 ther with an Account of his Return by *Batavia* in a *Dutch*
 Ship to *Europe*, in which occur a Multitude of curious Cir-
 cumstances, and many remarkable Passages, in respect to
 the History and Trade of the *Indies*, that are no where else
 to be found.

SECTION XXX.

The Conclusion of the Remarks and Observations of Mr. J. Baptist Tavernier in his Travels through the Indies, together with his Account of the Dutch Settlements, and of his Voyage on Board a Dutch Ship from Batavia to Europe.

Written by himself soon after his Return.

1. *An Account of the Kingdom of Macassar, in the Island of Celebes.* 2. *The Grounds of the Quarrel between the King of Macassar, and the Dutch.* 3. *The Means by which the King was converted to the Mohammedan Religion.* 4. *The Author's Voyage from Mingrela to the Island of Ceylon, interspersed with various Remarks.* 5. *The Author's Departure from Ceylon, and his Arrival at Batavia.* 6. *The ill Usage the French meet with from the Dutch in the East-Indies.* 7. *An Instance of their Respect likewise for the English.* 8. *The Author goes to visit the King of Bantam, in order to sell him some Diamonds.* 9. *A Description of that Monarch's Palace, and of the Reception our Author met with there.* 10. *His Return to Batavia, and his Observations in that City.* 11. *His narrow Escape in his second Journey to Bantam from a Mohammedan Monk that intended to assassinate him.* 12. *A distinct and impartial Account of the Grounds of the long War between the Dutch and the Emperor of Java.* 13. *Our Author meets with new Troubles at Batavia.* 14. *He embarks there on Board a Dutch Vessel, in order to return to Europe.* 15. *Arrival at, and our Author's Observations on the Country near the Cape of Good-Hope.* 16. *His Remarks upon the Island of St. Helena, which they touched at in their Passage.* 17. *Return to Holland, and base Usage by the Dutch.*

WE have before given a large Account of our Author's Observations on the Kingdoms in the East-Indies to the very Frontiers of China, of which Empire, it seems, he had likewise collected some very curious Memoirs, though his Modesty would not suffer him to publish them, because there were already several general Histories of that Country written by such as had resided there for many Years, and were therefore likely to be better acquainted with it than he. In order, however, to preserve the best Method possible in his Relations, he passes from the Kingdom of Siam, on the Continent, to the great Island of Celebes, of which he has given us a very copious and very curious Account, much superior to any thing we meet with in the general Histories of the Indies by Portuguese Writers, and therefore it comes in here very properly, as a Supplement to what we have before transcribed from those Writers in the former Sections, and at the same time serves for an Introduction to what the Author says of the Reduction of that Island, or at least of the principal Kingdom therein by the Dutch, who are still Masters thereof, and derive from thence very great Advantages. We may reckon amongst these their excluding all other Nations from any Commerce here. But to proceed now to our Author's Narration, in his own Words.

The Kingdom of Macassar, which is in the Isle of Celebes, begins at the 1st of Southern Latitude; the Heats are excessive all the Day, but the Nights are temperate enough; and though the Soil is very fertile, but the People have not the Art of Building. The capital City bears the Name of the Kingdom, and is situated upon the Sea. The Port is famous for the Vessels that bring great Quantities of Goods from the adjacent Islands pay no Customs. The Islanders have a Custom to poison their Arrows; and the most dangerous Poison with which they use is the Juice of certain Trees, in the Island of Borneo, which they will temper so as to work swift or slow, as they please. They hold, that the King has only the secret Receipt to take away the Force of it, who boasts that he has the most effectual Poison in the World, which there is no Remedy can prevent.

One Day an Englishman, in the Heat of Blood, had quarrelled with the King of Macassar's Subjects, and though the King had pardoned him, yet both English, Hollanders, and Portuguese feared, if the Englishman should go unpunished, lest the Islanders should revenge themselves upon them. To prevent this, he sought the King to put him to Death, which with much ado being consented to, the King, unwilling to put him to a lingering Death, and desirous to show the Effect of his Poison, resolved to shoot the Criminal himself, whereupon he took a long Trunk and shot him directly into the great Vein of the right Foot, the Place particularly aimed at. Two Surgeons, one an Englishman,

and the other a Dutchman, provided on purpose, immediately cut off the Member; but for all that the Poison had dispersed itself so speedily, that the Englishman died at the same time. All the Kings and Princes of the East are very diligent in their Enquiry after strong Poisons; and I remember, that the Chief of the Dutch Factory and I tried several poisoned Arrows, with which the King of Achen had presented him, by shooting at Squirrels, who fell down dead as soon as ever they were touched.

The King of Macassar is a Mohammedan, and will not suffer his Subjects to embrace Christianity; yet, in the Year 1656, the Christians found a Way to get Leave to build a fair Church in Macassar; but the next Year the King caused it to be pulled down, as also that of the Dominican Friars, which the Portuguese made use of. The Parish-Church, which was under the Government of the Secular Priests, stood still till the Dutch attacked Macassar, and compelled him to turn all the Portuguese out of his Dominions. The ill Conduct of that Prince was, in part, the Occasion of that War to which the Dutch were moved to revenge themselves upon the Portuguese Jesuits, who had crossed their Embassy to China: Besides that, they offered great Affronts to the Dutch at Macassar, especially when they trod under Foot the Hat of one of the Dutch Envoys, who was sent to treat with the King in Behalf of the Company. Thereupon the Dutch resolved to unite their Forces with the Macassarians that were in Rebellion against their Sovereign, and so revenge themselves at any Rate.

Now, as to the Business of China, it happened thus; towards the End of the Year 1658, the General of Batavia and his Council, sent one of the Chief of the Dutch Company with Presents to the King of China: Besides that, arriving at Court, laboured to obtain the Friendship of the Mandarins, who are the Nobility of the Kingdom; but the Jesuits, by reason of their long Abode in the Country, understood the Language, and were acquainted with the Lords of the Court, lest the Dutch Company should get Footing to the Prejudice of the Portuguese, represented several Things to the King's Council, to the Detriment of the Dutch, more especially charging them with Breach of Faith in all the Places where they came.

Upon this, the Dutch Agent was dismissed, and departed out of China without doing any Good. Afterwards, coming to understand what a Trick the Portuguese Jesuits had put upon him, he made Report thereof to the Governor and his Council at Batavia, which so incensed them, that they resolved to be revenged; for, by the Deputy's Account, the Embassy had cost them above fifty thousand Crowns; for which they consulted how to make the Portuguese pay double. Understanding therefore the

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Trade which the Jesuits drove in Macao and to the King-
dom of Macassar, whither, upon their own Account,
they sent several Vessels, laden with all sorts of Commo-
dities, as well of India as China. They took this Oppor-
tunity, and on the 7th of June, 1660, appeared with a
Fleet of thirty Sail before the Port of Macassar.

The King, thinking himself obliged to make Defence
against so potent an Enemy, endeavoured to sustain the
Brunt of the Dutch, with the Portuguese Ships in the
Road; but the Dutch dividing their Fleet, Part of them
fought the Portuguese, the other battered the Royal For-
tress so furiously, that they carried it in a short Time,
which so terrified the King, that he commanded the Por-
tuguese not to fire any more for fear of farther provoking
his Enemies. The Prince Patinsalva was slain in the
Fight, which was a great Loss to the King of Macassar,
who was become formidable to his Neighbours, by the
good Conduct of that Minister. As for the Dutch,
they took, burnt, and sunk all the Portuguese Vessels,
and sufficiently reimbursed themselves for their Chinese Expenses.
The Thirteenth of June the King of Macassar, whose
Name was Sunbow, hung out a white Flag from another
Tower, whence he beheld the Fight, environed by his
Wives. During the Truce, he sent one of the Grantees
of his Court to the Dutch Admiral, to desire Peace; which
was granted, upon Condition, he should send an Embas-
sador to Batavia, expel the Portuguese, out of the Island,
and not to permit his Subjects to have any more to do with
them.

Thereupon the King of Macassar sent eleven of the
greatest Lords of his Court, with a Train of eleven hun-
dred Men; the Chief of the Embassy being the Prince of
Pitinsalva. The first Thing they did, was to pay two
hundred Loves of Gold to redeem the Royal Fortress
again, and the next, submitting to the Conditions which the
Dutch Admiral had proposed. The General of Batavia
signed the Articles, which were punctually observed; for
the Portuguese immediately quitted the Country, some
departing for Siam and Cambaya, others for Macao and
Goa. Macao, formerly one of the most famous and rich-
est Cities of the Orient, was the principal Motive that
inclined the Dutch to send an Ambassador into China; for,
being the best Station which the Portuguese had in all
these Parts, the Dutch had a Design to win it wholly
now. This City lying in 22° of N. Lat. in a small Island,
next to the Province of Canton, which is a Part of China,
has very much lost its former Lustre.

3. But this was not all which the Jesuits and Portuguese
Merchants suffered. The Chief of the Dutch Factory at
Mingrela, which is but eight Leagues from this City, un-
derstanding the bad Success of the Dutch in China, had a
Contrivance by himself to be revenged: He heard that
the Jesuits of Goa, and other Places, drove a great
Trade in rough Diamonds, which they sent into Eu-
rope, or else carried along with them when they re-
turned; and that for the more private carrying on of
their Trade, they were wont to send one or two of their
Order, that knew the Language, in the Habit of *Faquers*,
which consists of a Tyger's Skin, to cover their back Parts,
and a Goat's Skin to cover their Breast, reaching down to
the Knees. Thereupon the Chief of the Factory of Min-
grela, taking this Opportunity, and having Notice that
two of the supposed *Faquers* were gone to the Mines,
to lay out 400,000 Pardons in Diamonds, gave Orders to
two Men, which he had bribed for that Purpose, that as
soon as the Fathers had made their Purchase, he should
give Notice to the Officer of the Custom-house at *Biccoli*,
which is a great Town on the Frontiers of those Lands
that part the Kingdom of *Vishapur* from the Territories
of the Portuguese, there being no other Way to pass the
River which encompasses the Island where the City of
Goa is built. The Fathers believing that the Customer
knew nothing of their Purchase, went into the Boat to go
over the River; but, as soon as they were in, they were
suddenly searched, and all the Diamonds confiscated.

To return to the King of Macassar. You must know
that the Jesuits once offered to convert him, and perhaps
they might have brought it to pass, had they not ne-
glected one Proposal which he made them; for, at the
same time the Jesuits laboured to bring him to Christia-

nity, the Mohammedans used all their Endeavours to
oblige him to take up with their Law: The King, willing to
leave his Idolatry, yet, not knowing what Part to take,
commanded the Mohammedans to send for two or three of
their most able Moulas, or Doctors, from *Mecca*; and the
Jesuits he ordered to send as many of the most Learned
among them, that he might be instructed in both Religi-
ons, which they both promised to do: But the Mohamme-
dians were more diligent than the Christians; for in eight
Months, they fetched from *Mecca* two learned Moulas;
whereupon, the King seeing that the Jesuits sent no body
to him, embraced the Mohammedan Law. True it is,
that three Years after, there came three Portuguese Je-
suits, but then it was too late. The King of Macassar
being thus become a Mohammedan, the Prince, his Bro-
ther, was so mad at it, that when the Mosque, which the
King had caused to be built, was finished, he got into it
one Night, and causing the Throats of two Pigs to be
cut, he all besmeared the Walls of the new Mosque,
and the Place which was appointed for the Moulas to
perform divine Service, with the Blood; so that the King
was forced to pull down that, and build another. After
which the Prince, with some idolatrous Lords, stole out of
the Island, and never since appeared at Court.

4. I departed from Mingrela, a great Town in the
Kingdom of *Vishapur*, eight Leagues from Goa, the 14th
of April, 1648, and embarked in a Dutch Vessel bound
for Batavia. The Ship had Orders to touch at *Bokanow*,
to take in Rice; whereupon I went ashore with the Cap-
tain, to obtain Leave of the King to buy Rice: We
found him upon the Shore, where he had about a Dozen
Huts to set up, which were covered with Palm-Leaves.
In his own Hut there was a Piece of Tapestry spread un-
der him; and there we saw five or six Women, some fan-
ning him with Peacock-Feathers, others giving him Bec-
tel, others filling him his Pipes with Tobacco.

The most considerable Persons in the Country were in
the other Huts; and we counted about two hundred Men
that were upon the Guard, armed only with Bows and Ar-
rows: They had also two Elephants among them. 'Tis very
probable that his Palace was not far off, and that he only
came thither to take the fresh Air. There we were pre-
sented with Tari, or Palm-wine, but very new, and not
boiled: It caused the Head-ach in all that drank it, inso-
much that we were two Days before we could recover it.
I asked the Reason why the Wine came to do us so much
Prejudice; to which they answered me, that it was plant-
ing Pepper about the Palm-trees that gave such a Strength
to the Wine.

We were no sooner got aboard, but a mighty Tempest
arose, wherein the Ship, Men, and Goods, had all like to have
been cast away, being near the Shore; but, at length, the
Wind changing, we found ourselves, by the Break of Day,
three or four Leagues at Sea, having lost all our Anchors;
and, at length, came safe to Port in the Haven of *Ponté
de Gallé*, the Twelfth of May. I found nothing remark-
able in that City, there being nothing but the Ruins made
by the Underminings and Cannon-Shot, when the Dutch
besieged it, and chased the Portuguese from thence.
The Company allowed Ground to build upon, to them
that would inhabit there, and Land to till; and had then
raised two Bulwarks, which commanded the Port. If
they have finished their Design which they undertook, the
Place cannot but be very considerable. The Dutch had
made an Agreement with the King of Candy, that he
should be always ready, with twenty thousand Men, to
keep the Passages that hinder the Portuguese from bring-
ing any Succours from *Colombo*, *Negombo*, *Manar*, or
any other Places, which they possessed upon the Coast:
In Consideration whereof, the Dutch, when they had ta-
ken *Ponté de Gallé*, was to restore it to the King of Candy;
which, they not performing, the King sent to know why
they did not give him Possession of the Town; to which
they returned Answer, that they were ready to do it,
provided he could defray the Expenses of the War.

But they knew, that if he had three Kingdoms more,
such as his own, he could never have paid so great a
Sum. I must confess, indeed, the Country is very poor,
for, I do not believe that the King ever saw fifty thou-
sand Crowns together in his Life, his Trade being all in
Cin-

Cinnamon and Elephants. As for his Cinnamon, he has no Profit since the *Portuguese* coming into the *East-Indies*; and for his Elephants, he makes but little of them, for they take not above five or six in a Year; but they are more esteemed than any other Country Elephants, as being the most courageous in War. One thing I will tell you hardly to be believed, but that which is a certain Truth, which is, that when any other King or Rajah has one of these Elephants of *Ceylon*, if they bring them among any other Breed in any other Place whatever, so soon as the other Elephants behold the *Ceylon* Elephants, by an Instinct of Nature, they do them Reverence, by laying their Trunks upon the Ground, and raising them up again.

The King of *Achen*, with whom the *Dutch* also broke their Word, had more Opportunity to be revenged upon them than the King of *Candy*; for he denied them the Transportation of Pepper out of his Country, without which their Trade was worth little; his Pepper being that which is most coveted thro' the East, so that they were forced to make a Composition with him. The King of *Achen*'s Embassador coming to *Batavia*, was strangely surprized to see Women sitting at a Table; but much more, when after a Health drank to the Queen of *Achen*; the General of *Batavia* commanded his Wife to go and kiss the Embassador. Nor was the King behind-hand with the *Dutch* Embassador another Way, whom the King beholding in a languishing Dilemper, asked him, whether he had never any Familiarity with any of the Natives? Yes, replied the Embassador; however, I left her to marry in my own Country: Upon that the King commanded three of his Physicians to cure him in fifteen Days, upon the Forfeiture of their Lives. Thereupon they gave him a certain Potion every Morning, and a little Pill at Night; and at the End of nine Days he took a great Vomit; every body thought he would have died with the working of it; but at length it brought up a Stopple of coarse Hair as big as a Nut, after which he presently recovered. At his Departure the King gave him a Flint, about the Bigness of a Goose-Egg, with Veins of Gold in it, like the Veins of a Man's Hand, as the Gold grows in that Country.

5. On the 24th of May we set sail from *Ponte Galle*. The second of June we passed the Line. The sixth we saw the Island called *Nazaras*. The 17th we discovered the Coast of *Samatra*. The eighteenth the Island of *Indragiri*; and the nineteenth the Island *Fortuna*. The twentieth we were in ken of certain little Islands on the Coast of *Java*, among which Islands there are three called the Islands of the Prince. The twenty-first we discovered *Bantam*; and the twenty-second we anchored in the Road of *Batavia*. There are two Councils in *Batavia*, the Council of War, where the General presides, and where all the Affairs of the Company are managed: The other, which is called the House in the City, and relates to Civil Government, and decides the petty Differences among the Citizens. All the Kindness I had shewn me here, was to be prosecuted by the City Council, for being suspected to have bought a Parcel of Diamonds for Monsieur *Constant*, my very good Friend, and President of the *Dutch* Factory at *Gameroon*; but when they could make nothing of it, they ceased their Suit, ashamed of what they had done.

6. Being so ill treated at *Batavia*, I resolved to visit the King of *Bentam*, to which purpose I took my own Brother along with me, because he spoke the *Malayan* Language, which in the East is as universal as *Latin* among us. Being arrived at *Bantam*, in a small Bark, which we hired for ourselves, we went first and visited the *English* President, who kindly entertained and lodged us. The next Day I sent my Brother to the Palace, to know when it would be reasonable for me to kiss the King's Hands. When the King saw him (for he was well known unto him) he would not suffer him to return, but sent Orders to fetch me, and to tell me withal, that if I had any rare Jewels, I should oblige his Kindness to bring them along with me.

When I saw my Brother returned not with the Persons whom the King sent, I was almost in the mind not to have gone; but I remembered now the King of *Achen* had served the *French* in the same manner. The *French* having set up an *East-India* Company, sent away four Vessels, three great ones, and one of a smaller Size, for the Service of the Company. Their

Voyage was the shortest that ever was heard of, arriving at *Bantam* in less than four Months. The King also courteously received them, and let them have as much Pepper as they desired, and cheaper by twenty in a hundred than he sold it to the *Dutch*; but the *French* not coming only for Pepper, sent away the small Ship, with the greatest Part of their Money to *Macassar*, to try the Market for Cloves, Nutmegs, and Mace. The *French* being so soon dispatched at *Bantam*, had not Patience to stay till the Return of the small Vessel which they had sent to *Macassar*; but to pass the Time, must needs run over to *Batavia*, being not above fourteen Leagues off; so that you may be at *Batavia* from *Bantam* in a Tide, with a good Wind.

When they came to an Anchor, the General of the *French* Fleet sent to complement the General of *Batavia*, who failed not to answer his Civility, and invited the Admiral ashore. Moreover, he sent to those that layed aboard great Store of excellent Cheer, and a good Quantity of *Spanish* and *Rhenish* Wine, with a particular Order to them that carried it, to make the *French* drunk. His Order was so well followed, that it was easy to set the Ships on Fire. According to the private Instructions which they had, so soon as the Flame was discovered from the General's Window, which overlooked all the Road, there was a wonderful pretended Astonishment amongst the *Dutch*; but the *French* Admiral, too truly conjecturing the Ground and Authors of the Treachery, beholding the Company with an undaunted Courage, Come, come, cried he, lets drink on; they that set the Ships on Fire shall pay for them. However, the *French* Ships were all burnt, though the Men were all saved in Boats, which were sent forthwith to their Relief. After that the General of *Batavia* made them great Offers, which they refused, and returned to *Batavia*, in Expectation of their small Vessel. When it returned, they could find out no better Way than to sell Ship, Goods and all, to the *English*, and to share the Money among themselves, every one according to their Condition.

7. But the Trick which they put upon the *English* was far more bloody. The *English* were the first that found out the Danger of sailing from *Surat*, *Malipatan*, or any other distant Parts to *Japan*, without touching by the Way: Whereupon they thought it convenient to build a Fort in the Island of *Formosa*, which not only saved the Loss of several Vessels, but also brought them in great Gain. The *Dutch*, mad that the *English* were possessed of such an advantageous Situation, being the only Place in all the Island where Vessels could ride with Safety, and finding they could not carry it by Force, bethought them of a Stratagem, to which Purpose they sent away two Ships, wherein they stored the best of their Soldiers, who pretending they had been in a Storm at Sea, put into the Harbour of *Formosa*, with some of their Mails by the Board, their Sails scattered, and their Seamen feigningly sick.

The *English*, compassionating their Miseries, which was only in outward Appearance, invited the chief of them to come on Shore to refresh themselves, which they were ready to do, carrying as many Men as possible they could, under Pretence of Sicknefs. While the chief of them were at Dinner with the chief of the *English*, they all plied their Cups, and when the cruel *Dutch* saw that the *English* had drank hard enough, taking their Opportunity, they picked a Quarrel with the Commander of the Fort, and drawing their Swords, which they had hidden under their Coats for that Purpose, they easily surprized, and cut the Throats of all the Soldiers in the Garrison; and being thus Masters of the Fort, they kept it from that Time, till they were routed out by the *Chinese*.

8. Now for the Trick that the King of *Achen* served the *Sieur Renaud*, he having got a good Estate by Jewels, arrived at length at *Achen*, and as it is the Custom for the Merchants to shew the King what Jewels they have, the King had no sooner cast his Eye upon four Rings which the *Sieur Renaud* shewed him, but he bid him fifteen thousand Crowns for them, but *Renaud* would not bate of eighteen thousand. Now, because they could not agree, the *Sieur Renaud* carried them away with him, which very much displeased the King; however, he sent for him the next Day, whereupon *Renaud* returning to him, the King paid him his eighteen thousand Crowns; but he was never seen

Book I.

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ten after that, and it is thought he was secretly murdered
in the Palace. This Story came to my Remembrance,
when I found my Brother did not come along with them
that were sent to fetch me. However, I resolved to go,
taking with me twelve or thirteen thousand Ruppes Worth
of Jewels, the greatest Part being in Role Diamond Rings,
some consisting of seven, some of nine, and some of eleven
Stones, with some small Bracelets of Diamonds and Rubies.
I found the King with three of his Captains, and my Bro-
ther, sitting together, after the Manner of the East, with
five great Plates of Rice before them of different Colours.

For their Drink they had Spanish Wine, strong Water,
and several sorts of Sherbets. After I had complimented
the King, and presented him with a Diamond Ring, a blue
Sapphire Ring, and a little Bracelet of Diamonds, Rubies,
and blue Sapphires, he commanded me to sit down, and
ordered me a Glass of strong Water, to whet my Appetite.
The Glass held a Quarter of a Pint, and therefore I refused
it, which the King very much wondered at, but being told,
by my Brother, that I never drank any strong Water, he
ordered me a Glass of Sack. After that he rose up and
seated himself in a Chair, the Elbows of which were gilded,
his Feet and Legs were bare, having a Persian Carpet of
Gold and Silk to tread upon. He was clad with a Piece
of Calicut, part whereof covered his Body from his Waist
to his Knees, the rest being wound about his Back and
Shoulders like a Scarf. Instead of Shoes he had a Pair of
Sandals that stood by the Chair-side, the Straps whereof
were embroidered with Gold, and small Pearl. About his
Head he had a thing like a Handkerchief, with three Cor-
ners, bound about his Head like a Fillet. His Hair also,
which was very long, was twisted, and tied together over
his Head; two Persons stood behind him with Fans of
long Peacock Feathers, the Handles of which were five or
six Foot in Length. Upon his right Hand stood an old
black Woman, holding in her Hand a little Mortar and
Pestle of Gold to beat his Beetle in, wherewith he mixed
the Kernel of the Nut of Araqui, and Seed of Pearl dis-
solved. When it was all beaten together, the old Woman
gave it the King over his Shoulders, who, opening his
Mouth, the old Woman fed him, as our Women feed their
Children; for the King had chewed so much Beetle, and
taken so much Tobacco, that his Teeth were all fallen out of
his Head.

9 The King of Bantam's Palace was never built by any
curious Architect: It is a square Place, encompassed with
a great many Pillars, varnished over with several sorts of
Colours, against which the King leans when he sits down.
At the four Corners there are four great Pillars set in the
Earth, at forty Foot Distance one from another, lined with
a Mat made of the certain Kind of a Tree, so thin, that it
looks like a Piece of Linnen, which neither Fleas nor Pines
will come near. The Roof was covered with Cocoa Bran-
ches. Not far off, under another Roof, supported by
four great Pillars, he hath sixteen Elephants, the noblest of
all those that are in the King's Service; for he has a far
greater Number trained up for War, that are not afraid of
Wild-fire. For his Guard he might not have above two
thousand Men that were drawn up in Companies under the
Shade of the next Trees. They are good Soldiers, as well
by Sea as by Land, (tho' Mohammedans, and stand not at
all in Fear of Death. His Haram, or the Women's Ap-
artment, was certainly a very small Place; for when he had
viewed what I brought him, he sent for two old Women,
to whom he gave some of the Jewels to go and shew them
to his Wives. The two Women returned back through
a little pitiful Door, the Enclosure being nothing but a kind
of a Wall made up of Earth and Cow dung mixed to-
gether. Whatever he sent to the Women, they never re-
turned any thing again, which made me believe they
would bear a good Price; and indeed, whatever I told to
him, I told to good Profit, and had my Money well paid
me.

After this we took our Leaves; but the King obliged us
to come next Day in the Evening, because he had a Desire
to shew us a Turkey Dagger, the Hilt whereof being thin
of Diamonds, he had a mind to enrich with more Stones.
Coming to the English House with our Money, they won-
dered that the King had laid out twenty thousand Ruppes,
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telling me, they believed it was the best Part of his Treas-
ure. The next Day my Brother and I went to wait upon
him at the appointed Hour, and we found him sitting in
the same Place where he sat before. There was a Moulla
then read to him, who seemed to interpret to him some-
thing of the *Alcoran* in the Arabic Language.

The Lecture being ended, they both rose and went to
Prayers, which being concluded, the King sent for the
the Dagger, and the Hilt, which was of Gold; the Top of
the Handle was already set with Diamonds, and the upper Part
of the Cross-bar was cut in Facets, which could not be less
worth than fifteen or sixteen thousand Crowns. They told
me it was presented to him by the Queen of Borneo, and
that it was cut at Goa, but that he put a far higher Value
upon it than I esteemed it to be worth. The Dagger, as
well as the Sheath, was full of Beazells or Collects, and
therefore desired me to help him to some that might come
at an easy rate. I told him it was impossible to find Stones
that would fit the Beazells, and therefore it was better, when
he had got Stones enough, to fix other Beazells according to
the Proportion of the Stones; to which Purpose he must be
forced to range all his Stones in Wax, and I shewed him
how to do it at the same time; but that was above his Skill,
and therefore do what I could to excuse myself from the
Truill, he would needs oblige me to carry the Dagger to
Batavia; whereupon I took my Leave of the King, and
departed.

10. About eleven o'Clock at Night we embarked for
Batavia, for the Night Winds blowing from the Land,
are the only Winds to serve our Turn, so that we were at
Batavia between ten and eleven the next Morning. There
I stayed twenty Days for the King of Bantam's sake,
to make him believe I had fought for that which I knew was
impossible to be found. I had nothing to do all the while,
for in Batavia there is no other Recreation but Gaming and
Drinking, which was none of my Business; at that Time
the *Sieur Cam* died, one of the Indian Counsellors, who
was sumptuously buried for his good Services done to the
Company; but the People complained heavily of the In-
justice which he had done, as well to the Soldiers, as the
Mariners.

Having stayed twenty Days at Batavia, I resolved to go
and return the King of Bantam his Dagger again, for that
it was impossible to meet with Stones to fit his Beazells.
However, I took along with me some other Stones, which
he had not seen. Coming to Bantam, the King caused us
to be lodged in one of his own Houses in the City, which
was made of Bamboos; thither, in less than a Quarter of
an Hour, the King sent us some Patches, or sweet Water
Melons, red within like Scarlet. We had also Mangoes,
and a certain large Fruit called Pompone, red also within,
the Meat of it being soft and spongy, but of an excellent
Taste. Having stayed our Stomachs, we went to wait
upon the King, whom we found in the same Place with his
old Mortar-beater, who every Minute fed him with Beetle
with her Fingers. There were sitting about the Hall five
or six of his Captains, viewing a certain Piece of Fireworks,
as Granadoes, Rockets, and other Devices, to run upon
the Water, which the *Chinese* had brought, who are the
most exquisite at these Works of any People in the World.
When the King was at leisure, I returned him his Dag-
ger, telling him, Batavia was no Place to meet with Stones,
and that such as were to be found were valued at double
the Price they were worth; and that there was no Place
where he could fit himself, but at *Golemda*, or *Goa*, or the
Diamond Mines. Thereupon the old Woman took the
Dagger, and carried it into his Haram; nor did the King
speak a Word more about it, after that I had shewed him
what other Stones I had brought, a Parcel whereof I sold
him for good Profit.

The King ordered us to come the next Day for Pay-
ment. The next Day, about six in the Morning, my Bro-
ther, and I, and a Dutch Chirurgion, were going along the
narrow Way between a River on the one Hand, and the
Pales of a great Garden on the other. Behind the Pales a
rascally Bantamais had hid himself, one of those that was
newly come from Mecca, and was upon the Design of
Mecca; that is, in their Language, when the Rascallity
of the Mohammedans return from Mecca, they presently
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take their Cris in their Hands, which is a kind of Poniard, the Blade whereof is halt poisoned, with which they run through the Streets, and kill all those that are not of the *Mohammedan* Law, till they are killed themselves.

These Furies think, in so doing, they do God and *Mohammed* good Service, and shall be saved thereby. If any of these Madmen be killed, the Rabble of *Mohammedans* bury them as Saints, and every one contributes towards making them a fair Tomb. Sometimes you shall have an idle Rogue, in the Habit of a Dervich, that will build him a Hut near the Tomb, which he undertakes to look to, and strews with Flowers; and, as his Alms increase, he adds some other Ornament to it; for the fairer and better set out the Tomb is, the more devoutly it is worshipped, and the more Alms it brings in.

I remember in the Year 1642, that at *Samall*, which is the Port of *Surat*, it happened, that a Vessel of the great Mogul's returned from *Mecca* with a great Number of *Faquirs* or *Derviches*; for every Year the King lends two Vessels to carry and bring back the Pilgrims, who have their Passage free, and when these Vessels are to go, the *Faquirs* come from all Parts of *India* to embark. These Vessels are laden with very good Commodities, which are sold at *Mecca*, and the Profit is distributed among the poor Pilgrims; but the Principal is brought back for the next Year, amounting to six hundred thousand Rupees at least. 'Tis an ill Market when they do not gain thirty or forty per Cent. by their Commodities; nay, there are some that produce Cent. per Cent. besides that the principal Persons of the Mogul's *Haram*, and other particular Persons, lend very large Gifts to *Mecca*.

11. One of these *Faquirs* returning from *Mecca* in the Year 1642, and being landed at *Samah*, had no sooner said his Prayers, but he took his Dagger, and ran among several *Dutch* Mariners that were unloading Goods upon the Shore, and before they were aware, this mad *Faqir* had wounded seventeen of them, of which thirteen died. The Canjare, which he had in his Hand, was a kind of Dagger, the Blade whereof, towards the Handle, was three fingers broad, and is a very dangerous Weapon. At length the Centinel that stood at the End of the Tent, where the Governor and the Merchants were, shot him through the Body, so that he fell down dead. Immediately all the other *Faquirs* and *Mohammedans* that were upon the Place took up the Body, and buried it, and at the End of fifteen Days they put him up a fair Monument. Every Year the *English* and *Dutch* pull it down; but when they are gone the *Faquirs* set it up again, and plant Banners over it: Nay, some there are that perform their Devotions to it. But to return to the *Bantam* *Faqir*, that Villain lying, as I said, behind the Pales, as my Brother, and I, and the *Dutch* Chirurgion, came towards him, all three a-breast, he thrust his Pike between the Pales, thinking to have stabbed it into one of our Breasts. The *Dutchman* being next the River, and somewhat before the rest, the Head of his Pike ran into his Breaches; whereupon we both laid hold of the Staff, but my Brother being next the Pales, presently leaped over, and ran the *Faqir* through.

Whereupon several *Chinese*, and other Idolaters, came and gave my Brother Thanks for killing him; after that we waited upon the King, and told him what my Brother had done, who was so far from being displeased, that he gave my Brother a Girdle: For, the King and his Governors are glad when these Rogues are killed, knowing them to be Desperadoes, not fit to live. The next Day coming to take my Leave of the *English* President, he shewed me two Strings of Diamonds, and two Services of Silver, which came from *England*; he would have told them, but I only bought one of the Strings of Diamonds, the other being foul; and for the Silver I would have bought it, had they coined Silver in *Batavia*, as they were wont to do. Formerly the *Dutch* coined Reals, Half Reals, and Quarter Reals, bearing on the one Side the Stamp of a Ship, on the other V. O. C. like a Character, signifying in *Dutch*, for the *East-India* Company, which they did for the sake of the *Chinese*, who loving Silver better than Gold, carried away all the Silver that was coined at *Batavia* at good Rates; but at length they left it off, finding so few People that made use of Silver.

12. Having taken my Leave of the *English* President, I returned to *Batavia*, where, having little to do, I resolved to give a Visit to the King of *Japara*, otherwise called the Emperor of *Java*. This King was formerly the King of all the Island, till the King of *Bantam*, who was only Governour of a Province, rebelled against him, the *Dutch* being made by the Division of those two Princes; for when the King of *Japara* besieged *Batavia*, the King of *Bantam* relieved the *Dutch*; and when they were attacked by the King of *Bantam*, the King of *Japara* came to their Assistance; and when those two Kings were together by the Fars, the *Dutch* always aided the weakest. The King of *Japara* keeps his Court in a City of the same Name, distant from *Batavia* about thirty Leagues. You may coast along the Shore to it by Sea; but the City stands above eight Leagues up the Land. From the City there is a fine Walk to the Sea, where there is a handsome Port, and fairer Houses than any in the City; and the King would live there if he thought it safe.

The Day before I departed, I went to take my Leave of one of the *Indian* Counsellors, and telling him that I was going to wait upon the King of *Japara*, he stood amazed, in regard the King and the *Dutch* were mortal Enemies, of which he gave me this Account. The deceased King, Father to the King that now reigns, since the *Dutch* built their Fort of *Batavia*, would never have any Peace with them; and though that, during the War, the *Dutch* took ten of his Subjects for one of theirs, and offered ten for one in Exchange, yet he would never exchange one upon any Consideration whatsoever, and charged his Son, upon his Death Bed, never to release one. This Obstinacy very much troubled the *Dutch* General, and all the rest in *Batavia*, and obliged them how to consult Means to right themselves. Now it is the Custom when the *Mohammedan* King dies, that his Successor sends certain great Lords of his Court to *Mecca*, with Presents, as well to engage them to pray for the Soul of the deceased, as also to give Thanks to God and *Mohammed* for the coming of a new King to the Throne, without any Impediment, and to pray for the Blessing of Victory over all his Enemies. But the new King and his Council were at a Loss how to accomplish this Voyage; for, first, the King had none but little Vessels, that were wont only to sail along by the Shore, by reason of the Inexperience of his Seamen; and, in the next Place, the *Dutch* were always plying to and fro about the Mouths of his Havens, to surprize his Subjects, if they stirred out. For the Safety therefore of his Pilgrims, the King, at last, concludes upon making an Agreement with the *English*; for which Reason he dispatched away an Envoy to *Bantam* to the *English* President and his Council, who promised to lend him the biggest Vessel, and the best mounted which the Company had in the *Indies*; in lieu whereof the *English* were to pay but half Customs for all Commodities exported or imported out of his Country; which Treaty being ratified, the *English* furnished him with three stout Vessels man'd and armed beyond an ordinary Rate.

Thereupon nine of the principal Lords of the Court, and most of the Blood Royal, with a Train of one hundred Persons, embarked themselves in the great Vessel. But all these Preparations could not be carried on so private; but that the *Dutch* had Intelligence of it by their Spies. Thereupon the General of the *Dutch* makes ready three Ships, and lying just in the Strait of *Bantam's* Mouth, so soon as the *English* came up (for they had no other Way) let fly at them so roundly, that the *English*, fearing lest their Vessels should be sunk, struck sail; which the *Java* Lords seeing, called them *English* Traitors, and, drawing their poisoned Darts, cried a *Mocca* upon the *English*, killing a great Number of them before they had Time to put themselves into a Posture of Defence; and perhaps there would not have one of them escaped, had not the *Dutch* come on board as they did: Some of the *Java* Lords, and about twenty of their Attendants would take no Quarter, so that the *Dutch* were forced to fight for it, and, at last, they got the better, with the Loss of seven or eight Men.

The *English* Vessel being carried into *Batavia*, the General very civilly sent both the Prisoners and the Vessel home

of the *English* President, having little to do, I re- King of *Japara*, otherwise This King was formerly till the King of *Bantam*, a Province, rebelled against by the Division of those of *Japara* besieged *Batavia* the *Dutch*; and when King of *Bantam*, the King of *Japara* keeps his Court in *Batavia* about thirty the Shore to it by Sea; the Leagues up the Land, Walk to the Sea, where there Houses than any in the City, if he thought it safe.

I went to take my Leave, and telling him that I was of *Japara*, he stood amazed, *Dutch* were mortal Enemies, of *Batavia*. The deceased King, *Batavia*, since the *Dutch* built never have any Peace with the War, the *Dutch* took theirs, and offered ten for I never exchange one upon and charged his Son, upon one. This Obliviousness, and all the rest in to consult Means to right from when the *Mohammedan* ends certain great Lords at, as well to engage them deceased, as also to give for the coming of a new any Impediment, and to try over all his Enemies. Council were at a Loss how to first, the King had none out only to sail along by experience of his Seamen; *Dutch* were always plying to his Havens, to surprize his for the Safety therefore of concludes upon making an for which Reason he dis- *Bantam* to the *English* Pre- sident to lend him the big- which the Company had the *English* were to pay but- ties exported or imported being ratified, the *En- stout Vessels* man'd and

Principal Lords of the Court, with a Train of one hun- selves in the great Vessel. not be carried on to private- of it by their Spies. *Dutch* makes ready three- of *Bantam's* Mouth, so they had no other Way at the *English*, fearing lest back fall; which the *Java* Traitors, and, drawing *Mocca* upon the *English*, before they had Time to of Defence; and perhaps them escaped, had not the did: Some of the *Java* r Attendant would take were forced to fight for it, with the Loss of seven

ed into *Batavia*, the Ge- Prisoners and the Vessel home

home again, withal giving Notice to the King, that he was ready to make an Exchange of Prisoners with him; but the King would not so much as hearken to any such Proposition, returning for Answer, that though the *Dutch* had three Times as many of his Subjects, he would not so much as release one of the *Dutch*; so that the poor *Dutch* were kept Slaves in *Java*, and the *Javanese* died miser- able in *Batavia*. As to the *Javanese*, they are good Sol- diers; and, it is reported, that while *Batavia* was besieged by the King of *Bantam* in the Year 1639, a *Dutch* Sol- dier lying in Ambuscade in a March, a *Javanese*, little dreaming that any Body had been there, came to this same Place to discover the Enemy, and was by the *Dutchman* thrust with his Pike into the Body; upon which the *Javanese* finding himself wounded, did not strive to pull the Pike out of the Body, but thrust himself farther upon it, to the End he might come at his Enemy, whom he stabbed to the Heart as soon as he came within his Reach.

13. Whilst I stayed at *Batavia*, my Brother died, and it was pretty to consider what the *Dutch* made me pay for his Funeral. The first Expence is for the Fees of those that beg Leave for the Corps to be buried, of whom the more there are, the more honourable the Funeral is esteemed; I sent six, and, to my Wonder, paid for that seventy-two Crowns. The Fee for the Poor is a Right belonging to the Poor, for which I paid two Crowns. There was a Vessel of *Spanish* Wine drank out that cost me two hundred Piasters: I gave twenty-six more for three *Westphalia* Hams and Neats-tongues, and twenty-two for baked Meats; to the Bearers, I gave twenty Crowns and sixteen for a Place in the Church-Yard, for they asked me an hundred to bury him in the Church. And all these are Fees demanded; so that my Brother's Funeral cost me twelve hundred and twenty-three Livres of *French* Money. Being thus put by the two Voyages which I intended to *Japara*, and *Sumatra*, I was advised to lay out my Money in Reckonings, or Debentures, of the Servants of the *Dutch* Company, which they that have no Mind to return into their own Country, as being settled in the *Indies*, will sell at an easy Rate, in- so-much that for sixty or seventy, you may buy an hundred Piasters, the Act and Acquittance of the Seller being made and registered by the publick Notary.

Thereupon I bought of one of the publick Notaries, who had Bills in his Hands to the Value of about eleven hun- dred Guilders, at fourcore and two for the hundred. Af- ter that I bought, by means of the Advocate of the Treas- ury, six thousand Guilders more at seventy-nine for the hun- dred. But some few Days after, meeting with the same Advocate again, he passed a Compliment upon me, and told me he was very much troubled for those that had bought Debentures, in regard that the General and the Council had commanded him to recal all Debentures that had been sold; for they had considered how sad a Thing it would be for the poor Men to lose so much of their Salaries; I answered him, that, for my Part, I was willing to return mine, provided I might have my Mo- ney again.

About six or seven Hours after, I was sent for by the General and the Council; when I came there they asked me why I had not returned my Debentures which I had to the Advocate, who had demanded them by their Or- der? I answered them, that they were at *Bantam*, whither I had sent them in order to my Passage home, in re- gard that the *English* President had offered me a Conven- ience to go along with him. The Council answered me, that the *Dutch* Ships were as good as the *English*, and very certainly assured me, that they would give Orders for a Cabin to myself in the Vice-Admiral; but withal told me, I must deliver up my Debentures before I stirred, af- fecting me they would give me a Bill to be reimbursed my Money in *Holland*. I thought it very hard, not knowing how to trust them, but seeing the Merchants, Comman- ders, and all other Persons, clapp'd up, and their Papers tak- en from them by Force that had bought Debentures, I thought it the best Way to deliver mine, and stand to their Courtesy. I often pressed the General and the Coun- cil for my Bill; but, after many Days, the General ac- cused me, that my Bill should be in *Holland* as soon as I. Ther-upon desiring the Vice-Admiral, and some others, to

be my Witnesses of what the General promised, I took my Leave of him, very much repenting my going to *Batavia*.

14. The next Day I went on board the Vice-Admiral; and, the third Day after, we set sail, and as soon as we were out of the Streights, we discovered the Island of the *Prince*, from thence, being in the Altitude of the Cocoa Islands, we beat about two Days to discover them, but all to no Purpose; thereupon we made directly for the *Cape of Good-Hope*. The forty-fifth Day after we depar- ted from *Batavia*, our Vice-Admiral neglected to put out his Lights, believing all the Fleet had been before at the *Cape*; so that it happened one of the Fleet being behind, and not carrying any Lights out neither, it being a dark Night, fell foul upon us, which put every Man to his Prayers, all the People believing the Vessel had been lost; and indeed had she not been a sound stanch Ship (as she was esteemed to be) she could never have endured so terrible a Shock. At length we cleared ourselves by cut- ting off the Yard of the *Maeftrecht* that hung in our Cor- dage. The fifty-fifth Day we came within Sight of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, but were forced to keep the Sea, because the Waves rolled so that we were not able to come to an An- chor; not that the Wind was extrem high, but because the South-wind, which had blown, had forced the Water to that Part; when the Sea grew calm we came to an Anchor.

But of all the People that ever I saw in all my Travels, I never met with any so hideous, nor so brutish, as the *Com- mucks*, of which I have spoken in my *Persian* Travels, and those of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, whom they call *Cafres*, or *Hoientots*. When they speak, they make a Noise with their Tongues like the Breaking of Wind back- wards; and though they hardly speak articulately, yet they easily understand one another. They cover themselves with the Skins of wild Beasts, which they kill in the Woods in the Winter, wearing the hairy Part innermost, and in the Summer outermost: But there are none but the best sort among them who are thus clad; the rest wear nothing but a nasty Rag about their Privy-parts. The Men and the Women are lean and short, and when they bring forth a male Child, their Mothers cut out the Right-stone, and presently give him Water to drink, and Tobacco to eat. They cut out the Right-testicle, because, they say, it makes them swifter to run. There are some of them that will catch a Roe-buck running. They nei- ther know what belongs to Gold nor Silver; and, for Re- ligious, they have none among them.

15. So soon as we cast Anchor, four Women came on board of us, and brought four young Ostriches, which were boiled for some sick People we had aboard us; after that they brought great Store of Tortoise-shells, and Ostriches- Eggs, and other Eggs as big as Goose-Eggs, which, tho' they had no Yolk, tasted very well. The Birds that lay these Eggs are a sort of Geese, and so fat that they are hardly to be eaten, tasting rather like Fish than Flesh. The Women seeing our Cook throw away the Guts of two or three Fowls, which he was dressing, took them up, and squeezing out the Ordure, eat them as they were, being highly pleased with the *Agua Vita* which the Captain gave them. Neither Men nor Women are ashamed to shew their Nakedness; for, indeed, they are but a sort of two-legg'd Beasts.

So soon as a Ship arrives, they bring their Beavers to the Shore, with what other Commodities they have, to barter for Strong-water, and Tobacco, Crystal, or Agar, Beads, or any sort of old Iron-work. If they are not sat- isfied with what you offer them, away they fly, and then giving a Whistle, all their Cattle follow them; nor shall you ever see them again. Some, when they saw them fly would shoot and kill their Cattle; but, after that, for ma- ny Years, they would not bring any more. It's a very great Convenience for the Vessels that touch there, to take in fresh Victuals, and the *Dutch* did well to build a Fort there. It is now a good handsome Town, inhabited by all sorts of People that live with the *Dutch*; and all sorts of Grain which are brought out of *Europe*, or *Asia*, and sowed there, come to greater Perfection than in other Parts. The Country lies in 35° and some few Minutes over; so that

it cannot be said that either the Heat, or the Situation of the Climate, make these *Cafres* so black. Being desirous to know the Reason, and why they stunk so terribly, I learnt it from a Girl, that was bred up in the Fort, who was taken from her Mother as soon as she was born, and was white, like our Women in *Europe*: She told me, that the Reason was, because the *Cafres* rub themselves with a Grease, or Ointment, composed of several sorts of Drugs, wherewith should they not anoint themselves very often, and so soon as they were born, they would become hydrophical, as the *Blacks* of *Africa* and the *Ambysians* are, or like the People of *Saba*, that never live above forty Years, and are always troubled with one Leg twice as big as the other. These *Cafres*, as brutish as they are, have yet some Knowledge of Simples, which they know how to apply to several Diseases, which the *Dutch* have several Times experienced. Of nineteen sick Persons that we had in our Ship, fifteen were committed to the *Cafres*, being troubled with Ulcers in their Legs, and old Wounds which they had received in the Wars, and, in less than fifteen Days, they were perfectly cured. Every one of these had two *Cafres* to look after him, and according to the Condition of the Wound or Ulcer, they went and fetched Simples, which they bruised between two Stones, and applied to the Sore. As for the other four, they were so far gone with the Pox, that they would not trust the *Cafres* with them, having been given over at *Batavia*, and so they all died between the Cape and *Saint Helena*.

In the Year 1661, a Gentleman of *Britanny*, being at *Batavia*, was so bit by the Gnats in the Night, that his Leg exulcerated presently, in such a Manner as to puzzle all the Art and Skill of the Chirurgeons of that Town. When he came to the Cape of Good Hope, the Captain of the Ship sending him on Shore, the *Cafres* came about him, and after they had beheld him, they told him, if he would trust to them, they would cure him; the Captain therefore committed him to their Care, who cured him, and made him a sound Man in less than fifteen Days. When a Ship comes to an Anchor in the Cape, it is the Custom for him that commands the Ship, to give Leave to some Part of the Manners and Soldiers to go ashore to refresh themselves. The sickly have first Leave by Turns, and go to the Town, where they are dieted and lodged for seven or eight Sous a Day, and are very well used. It is the Custom of the *Dutch*, when they stay here, to send out Parties of Soldiers upon the Discovery of the up-land Country, and they that go farthest, are best rewarded. With this Design a Party of Soldiers, under the Command of a Serjeant, far advanced in the Country, and Night coming on, they made a great Fire, as well to keep themselves from the Lions, as to warm themselves, and to lay down to sleep round about it; being asleep, a Lion seized one of the Soldier's Arms, which the Serjeant perceiving, immediately shot the Lion with his Carbine; but, when he was dead, they had much ado to open the Lion's Mouth to get out the Soldier's Arm.

Thus it appears a vulgar Error, to think that Lions will not come near the Fire. As for the Soldier, the *Cafres* cured him in twelve Days. There are in the Fort abundance of Lions and Tygers Skins; among the rest, there was the Skin of a Horse which the *Cafres* had killed; it was white, crossed with black Streaks, spotted like a Leopard, without a Tail. Two or three Leagues from the *Dutch* Fort, there was a Lion found dead, with four Porcupine Quills in his Body, the third Part whereof had pierced his Flesh; so that it was judged that the Porcupine had seized the Lion. The Skin, with the Quills in it, is kept at the Fort. A League from this Fort is a fair Town, that grows bigger every Day.

When the *Dutch* Company arrive there with their Ships, all our Soldiers or Manners will live there, they are glad to have a small Ground as they can manage, where they have all sorts of Herbs, and Pulse, and as much Rice, as many Grapes, as they can desire. They have also Onions, Beets, Sea-fish, and sweet Water to catch in. Onions when they please; they get their Nefts when they please, and driving a Stake in the Ground, tie the Beets to the Peg to the Stake, and when they are all

enough, they come and take them out of the Neft, from whence it is impossible to fly away. When the *Dutch* began to inhabit the Cape, they took a young Girl from her Mother as soon as she was born: she is white, only her Nose is a little flat. A *Frenchman* got her with Child, and would have married her; but the Company were so far from permitting him, that they took away above one hundred Livres of the Maid's Wages from her, to punish her for the Misdemeanor, which was somewhat hard.

There are great Numbers of Lions and Tygers, which the *Dutch* have a pretty Invention to take; they take a Carbine to a Stake driven into the Earth, and lay Meat round about the Gun, which Meat is fastened with a String to the Trigger, so that when the Beast catches the Meat, the String pulls the Trigger, and the Gun goes off, hits the Lion either in the Throat or Breast. The *Cafres* feed upon a Root like our Carrots, which they roast, and make Bread of. Sometimes they grind it into Flour, and then it tastes like a Walnut; for their Food they eat the same Root raw, with raw Flesh, and with the Entrails of Beasts, out of which they only squeeze the Ordure. As for the Bowels of the wild Beasts, the Women wear them dried about their Legs, especially the Bowels of those Beasts their Husbands kill, which they look upon as a kind of Ornament.

They also feed upon Tortoises, when they have to far heated them at the Fire, as to make the Shells come off. They are very expert in darting their Azagayas, and those that have none make use of painted Sticks, which they will lance a great way; with these they go down to the Sea-side, and as soon as ever they spy a Fish near the Top of the Water, they will not fail to strike him. As for their Birds, which are like our Ducks, whose Eggs are without any Yolk, they breed in such great Quantities in the Country, that in a Bay, about eighteen Leagues from the Cape, you may knock them on the Head with a Stick. The *Dutch* once carried a young *Cafre* to the General at *Batavia*, who bred him carefully up, teaching him to understand the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* Languages perfectly well. At length, being desirous to return to his own Country, the General gave him very good Cloaths, and good Linnen, hoping that he would have lived among the *Dutch*, and have been serviceable to them in the Discovery of the Country; but so soon as he got home, he hung his Cloaths into the Sea, and returned wild among his fellow Natives, eating raw Flesh as he did before, and quite forgetting his Benefactors.

When the *Cafres* go a Hunting, they go in great Numbers together, and make such a prodigious howling and yelling, that they fright the very Beasts themselves, and in that Affright with Ease destroy them; and I have been assured, that their Cries terrify the Lions themselves. The Women are of so hot a Constitution of Body, that at the Times their Monthly Customs are upon them, they happen to make Water, and that an *European* chanceth to set his Feet upon it, it causes an immediate Head-ach and Fever, when many times turns to the Plague.

16. Having stayed twenty-two Days at the Cape of Good Hope, seeing that the Wind was favourable, we weighed Anchor, and steered for *St. Helena*; when we were under Sail, the Mariners cried out, they would sleep till they came into *St. Helena's* Road; for the Wind is very constant, and carries you in sixteen or eighteen Days to the Road of the Island. All the Trouble that our Mariners had was, that in fourteen Days after our Departure from the Cape, they were often forced to the Top-mast Head, upon Discovery of the Island; for as soon as you discover the Island, the Pilot must take care to steer to the North-side of the Island, because there is no calling Anchor but on that Side of the Island, and that very near the Shore too, by reason of the Depths of the Water; for if the Anchors come not to take hold, the Current of the Water and the Wind carries the Ship quite out of the Road, which there is no recovering again, because the Wind never changes.

So soon as the Ship came to an Anchor, part of the Seamen were sent on Shore to get wild Hogs, of which there are great Plenty, and to gather Sorrel, which grows in great abundance; and indeed they not only sent the Seamen, but all our Pigs, Sheep, Geese, Ducks, and Pullets aboard.

them out of the Nest, from way. When the *Dutch* began a young Girl from her Mother is white, only her Nose and her with Child, and would upony were so far from being above one hundred Livres, to punish her for the Misdeed hard.

at Lions and Tygers, which nation to take; they fatten a to the Earth, and lay Meat Meat is fattened with a String the Beal catches the Meat, and the Gun goes off, but or Breast. The *Cafres* feed which they roast, and make and it into Flour, and then their Food they eat the same with the Entrails of Beasts, the Ordure. As for the Women wear their dried Bowels of those Beasts their upon as a kind of Orna-

ment, when they have to far to make the Shells come off. g their *Azagayas*, and those nted Sticks, which they will e they go down to the Sea- tipy a Fish near the Top of to strike him. As for their s, whole Eggs are without great Quantities in the Coun- teen Leagues from the Cape, Head with a Stick. The e to the General at *Batavia*, ching him to understand the ts perfectly well. At length, own Country, the General and good Linen, hoping ong the *Dutch*, and have Discovery of the Country; he flung his Cloaths into the g his fellow Natives, eating quite forgetting his Bene-

ing, they go in great Num- roigious howling and yell- kasts themselves, and in that n; and I have been assured, s themselves. The Women ly, that it at the Times their hem, they happen to make lances to let his Feet upon ad-ach and Fever, which

Two Days at the Cape of Good as favourable, we weighed *Holland*; when we were under- y would sleep till they came Wind is very constant, and n Days to the Road of the our Mariners had was, that erture from the Cape, they ailt Head, upon Discovery ou discover the Island, the he North-side of the Island, but on that Side of the shore too, by reason of the t the Anchors come not to Water and the Wind carries which there is no recover- ver changes.

an Anchor, part of the Sea- wild Hogs, of which there r Sorrel, which grows in hey not only feed the Sea- Gecks, Ducks, and Pullets aboard

aboard, to feed upon this Sorrel, which purged them in such a manner, that in a few Days they become so fat, that by that Time we came to *Holland* they were hardly to be eaten. That Sorrel has the same Operation upon the Men, who boiling their wild Swines-Flesh, Rice and Sorrel together, make thereof a kind of Pottage, so excellent, that it keeps their Bodies open, by an insensible Purgation. There are two Places upon the Coast of *St. Hellens* where Ships may come to an Anchor; but the best is that where we lay, by reason the Ground is very good, and because the Water that falls from the Mountains is the best in the Island. In this Part of the Island there is no Plain, for the Mountain defends to the very Shore of the Sea. It is not so good anchoring in the other Road; but there is a very handsome Plain, where you may now or reap whatever you please. There are great Store of Citrons, and some Oranges, which the *Portuguese* had formerly planted there; for that Nation have that Virtue, that wherever they come they make the Place the better for those that come after them, whereas the *Dutch* endeavour to destroy all things wherever they set Footing. I confess the Commanders are not of that Humour; but the Seamen and Soldiers are, who cry one to another, we shall never come here any more, and, out of Greediness, will cut down a whole Tree instead of gathering the Fruit.

Some Days after their Arrival, came in a *Portuguese* Vessel from *Guinea*, full of Slaves, who were bound for the Mines of *Fern*, some of the *Dutch* that understood the Language of the Negroes, told them how miserably they would be used, and thereupon the next Night two hundred and fifty of them threw themselves into the Sea; and indeed, it is a miserable Slavery; for sometimes after they have undetermined some Places for some Days together, the Earth being loose, falls down, and kills four or five hundred at a time; besides that, when they have been mining a-while, their Faces, their Eyes, and their Skins change Colour, which proceeds from the Vapours that arise from those Concavities; nor could they subsist in those Places, but from the Quantity of strong Water which they give both to the Men and Women. There are some that are made free by their Masters, who labour, however, for their Living; but between Saturday Night and Monday Morning, they spend all their Wages in strong Water, which is very dear, so that they always live miserably.

Being ready to depart the Island of *St. Hellens*, the Admiral called a Council, to advise which Way to steer; the greatest Part were for steering more to the West than to the South, because the Season for sailing was far spent; and for that, if we steered towards the *West*, we should find the Wind more proper to carry us into *Holland*; but we had no sooner passed the Line, but we found the Wind quite contrary to what the Manners expected, so that we were forced to steer to the sixty-fourth Degree of Altitude with the Island, and so return by the North into *Holland*.

17. The next Day after the Admiral had called a Council, we weighed Anchor, and set Sail about ten o'Clock at Night. Three Days after our Departure from *St. Hellens*, the Seamen were called very duly to Prayers Morning and Evening, though all the Time we stayed in the Road they never minded any such Matter, which made me wonder to find they should be more devout when they were out of Danger than when they were in Jeopardy. After several Days sailing, we discovered the Coast of *Iceland*, and then the Island of *Terella*, where we joined with the *Dutch* Fleet that stayed for us. Here it is that the Commander in chief calls to an Account all the Mariners for their Misdemeanors during the whole Voyage. Our Ship was bound for *Zealand*, but we were forced to lie out to Sea seven Days before we could get into *Flushing*, before the Sand had changed its Place.

Coming to an Anchor before *Flushing*, two of the Directors of the Company came a-board to welcome us home, and to advise us to lock our Chests, and put our Marks upon them; for all Chests are carried into the *East-India* House, where, when the Owners come for them, they are ordered to open them, lest they should have any contraband Goods therein; thereupon I set a Mark upon my Chests, and went ashore, after I had given a good Character of the Captain,

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and his Civility to me all the Voyage, and thence proceeded by Land to *Middleburgh*.

Four Days after I came to *Middleburgh* I went to fetch my Chests, and finding the two Directors there, one a *Zealand*, the other of *Horn*, who came first a-board us, I produced my Keys, and offered the Chests to be opened; but the *Zealand*, more civil than the *Horn*, delivered me my Keys again, and taking my Word, told me, I was free to take away my Goods; and indeed, I have ever observed that the Northern People are always more rude and ungentle than the Southern. As for the seventeen thousand five hundred Florins which the General of *Batavia* promised me should be paid me upon my Arrival in *Holland*, I received so many Delays and put-offs, that I was at length forced to commence a Suit that lasted two Years; nor could I get a publick Notary, either at *Amsterdam*, or the *Hague*, that would make me out a Protest, every one fearing the Directors, who were both Judges and Parties. At length, after five Years wrangling and jangling, the Director wrote to my Brother at *Batavia* (for I was then again returned to the *Indies*) that if I would accept of ten thousand Livres, he might receive it for me, which he did, and I was forced to give an Acquittance for the whole.

This is the Return which I made from the *Indies* in the Year 1649, and the only time that ever I returned by Sea, having performed all the rest of my Travels by Land, not counting my short Voyages through the *Mediterranean* for any thing; and as for my first Travels, I performed them all by Land from *Paris* through *Germany* and *Hungary*, as far as *Constantinople*, whither I returned again in the Year 1669. From *Constantinople* I went to *Smyrna*, thence I sailed for *Leghorn*; from *Leghorn*, I travelled by Land to *Genoa*, thence to *Turin*, and so to *Paris*.

The perfect Acquaintance which our Author had with all the Customs of the *Indians*, exposed him to a great Number of Enquiries on his return home; and he was very often pressed, not only by the most considerable of the *French* Ministers, but even by the King himself, to put the Answers he gave to those Enquiries into Writing; and these were afterwards reduced under several Heads, and now make the several Chapters in his Travels; and this Account of them may serve to reconcile the Reader to the seeming Incoherency of those Discourses. Among these there is one more remarkably curious in relation to the Custom that still prevails in the *Indies*, of Women burning themselves on the Demise of their Husbands, and also of Men's submitting voluntarily to Death, upon extraordinary Occasions. This Dissertation, as I judged it, could not but be very agreeable to the Reader, and at the same time instructive. I thought it not amiss to add here at the End of his Travels, the rather, because it has no sort of Connection with any Part of his Relation, but is, as I observed before, a separate Discourse upon that particular Subject, in which he has related what occurred to him thereon during his long Stay in the *Indies*, which renders it more perfect in its kind than any thing I have ever met with on the Subject; and therefore I have given it at large, and entirely in the Words of our Author, which are as follows.

It has been a Custom Time immemorial, among the *Indians*, that a Woman should only marry one Husband, and in case of his Decease, continue a Widow to the Time of her Death. As soon, therefore, as the Master of a Family is dead, his Wife retires to bewail her Husband some Days; after which they shave her Head, and she lays aside all the Ornaments which she had worn during the Time of her Marriage, taking off at the same time from her Arms and Legs the Bracelets which her Husband put on when he espoused her, in token of her Submission, and her being chained to him, and all the rest of her Life she lives slighted and despised, and in a worse Condition than a Slave, in the very House where she was Mistress before. This unfortunate Condition causes them to hate Life, so that they rather chuse to be buried alive with the Body of their deceased Husband, than to live the Scorn and Contempt of all the World; besides that, the *Bramins* make them believe, that in dying after that manner, they shall revive again with him in another World, with more Ho-

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four and more Advantages than they enjoyed before.

These are the Motives that cause the Women to burn with their Husbands; besides that, the Priests flatter them with Hopes, that while they are in the midst of the Flame, before they expire, *Rain* will appear, and reveal wonderful Visions to them; and that after their Souls have transmigrated into various Bodies, they shall at length obtain a high Degree of Honour to Eternity. However, there is no Woman that can burn with her Husband's Body, till she has the Leave of the Governor of the Place where she inhabits, who being a *Mohammelan*, and abhorring the execrable Crime of Self-murder, is very shy to permit them. Besides, there are none but Widows that have no Children that lie under the Reproach that forces them to violent Deaths: For, as for the Widows that have Children, they are by no means permitted to burn themselves, but quite the contrary. They are commanded to live for the Education of the Children. Their Women, whom the Governor will not permit to burn themselves, spend the rest of their Lives in doing Penance, and performing Works of Charity. Some make it their Business to sit upon the Road to boil certain Pulse in Water, and to give the Liquor to Travellers to drink; others sit with Fire always ready for them to light their Tobacco; others make Vows to eat nothing but the unguessed Grains which they find in Cow-dung.

The Governor, finding no Persuasion will alter the Women's Resolution, but more especially, perceiving by the Sign which his Secretary makes him, that he has received the Coins, in a sly manner gives the Woman Leave, bidding the Devil take her and all her Kindred. When they have got this Leave, their Musick begins to strike up, and they march to the House of the Deceased, with Drums beating, and Flutes playing before them, and in that manner they accompany the Person that is to be burnt to the Place appointed. All the Kindred and Friends of the Widow that is to die come to her and congratulate her on the Happiness she is to enjoy in the other World, and for the Honour which the Cast she is of receives by her generous Resolution. She dresses herself as if she were going to be married, and she is conducted in Triumph to the Place of Execution; for the Noise is loud of musical Instruments, and Womens Voices, that follow her, singing Songs in Honour of the miserable Creature that is going to die. The Bramins also accompany her, to give publick Testimonies of her Constancy and Courage, and many of our *Europeans*, are of Opinion, that to take away the Fears of Death, which naturally terrify Humanity, the Priests give her a certain Beverage to Rupture and disorder the Senses, which takes from her all Apprehensions of her approaching Death. 'Tis for the Bramin's Interest that the poor miserable Creatures should continue in their Resolutions; for all their Bracelets, as well about their Legs as their Arms, the Pendants in their Ears, sometimes of Gold, sometimes of Silver (for the Poor wear only of Copper and Tin) all these belong to the Bramins, who rake for them among the Ashes when the Fire is laid.

I have seen Women burnt at three different Manner, according to the Customs of the Country. In the Kingdom of *Guzerat*, as far as *Agra* and *Delhi*, they let up a Pill about twelve feet square, upon the Bank of a Pond or River; it is made of Reeds and all sorts of small Wood, with which they mingle certain Pots of Oil, and some Drugs, to make it burn more vehemently. The Woman is placed in the Middle of the Hut, in a half-lying posture, leaving her Head upon a kind of a wooden Bolster, and resting her Back against a Pillar, to which the Bramin ties her about the Middle, for fear she should run away when she feels the Fire. In this Posture she holds the Body of her deceased Husband upon her Knees, chewing Betel all the while; and when she has continued in this Posture about half an Hour, the Bramin goes out, and the Woman bids them set Fire to the Hut, which is immediately done by the Bramins, and the Kindred and Friends of the Woman, who cast also several Pots of Oil and Ointment into the Fire, to put the Woman the sooner out of her Pain. After the Woman is burnt, the Bramins take in the Ashes for the Bracelets, Pendants,

and Rings, whether Gold, Silver, Copper, or Iron, which is all free Booty to themselves.

In *Bengal* they burn the Women after another Fashion. In that Country a Woman must be very poor, that does not accompany the Body of her deceased Husband to the *Ganges*, to wash his Body, and to be washed herself before she is burnt. I have seen dead Carcasses brought to the *Ganges* above twenty Days Journey off from the Place, and smelt them to boot; for the Scent of them has been intolerable noisom. There was one that came from the northern Mountains, near the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Boutan*, with the Body of her Husband carried in a Waggon. She travelled twenty Days on Foot, and never eat nor drank for fifteen or sixteen Days together, till she came to the *Ganges*, where, after she had washed the Body that stunk abominably, and had afterwards washed herself, she was burnt with him with admirable Constancy.

Before the Woman that is to be burnt goes the Musick, consisting of Drums, Flutes, and Hautboys, whom the Woman, in her best Accoutrements, follows, dancing up to the very funeral Pile, upon which she gets, and places herself as if she were sitting up in her Bed; and then they lay a-cross her the Body of her Husband; and, when this is done, her Kindred and Friends, some bring her a Letter, some Pieces of Calicut, and others Pieces of Silver and Copper, and desire her to deliver them to their Mother, or Brother, or some other Kinsman, or Friend. When the Woman sees they have all done, she asks the Standers by, three Times, if they have nothing more of Services to command her; if they make no Answer, she ties up all she has got in a Piece of Taffety, which she puts between her own Belly and the Body of her Husband, bidding them set Fire to the Pile, which is presently done by the Bramins and her Kindred. I have observed, because there is Scarcity of Wood in *Bengal*, that when those poor Creatures are half grilled, they cast their Bodies into the *Ganges*, where the Remains are devoured by the Crocodiles. I must not forget a wicked Custom practised by the Idolaters of *Bengal*.

When a Woman is brought to Bed, and the Child will not take to the Teat, they carry it out of the Village, and putting it into a Linnen-cloth, which they fasten by the four Corners to the Boughs of a Tree, there leave it from Morning till Evening; by this Means the poor Infant is exposed to be tormented by the Crows, inasmuch that there are some who have their Eyes picked out of their Heads; which is the Reason, that, in *Bengal*, you shall see many of those Idolaters that have but one Eye, and some that have lost both. In the Evening they fetch the Child away, to try whether he will suck the next Night, and, if he still refuses the Teat, they then carry him again to the same Place the next Morning, which they do for three Days together. After which, if the Infant still refuses to suck, they believe him to be a Devil, and throw him into the *Ganges*, or any the next Pond or River. In the Places where the Apes breed, these poor Infants are not so exposed to the Crows; for where the Apes discover a Nest of these Birds, she climbs the Tree, and throws the Nest one Way, and the Eggs another. Some charitable People among the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*, compassionating the Misfortune of those Children, will take them away from the Tree, and give them good Education.

All along the Coast of *Cerromandel*, when the Women are to be burnt with their Husbands, they make a great Hole in the Ground nine or ten Foot deep, and twenty five or thirty Foot square, into which they throw a great Quantity of Wood and Drugs, to make the Fire burn more fiercely; when the Fire is kindled, they set the Body of the Man upon the Brink, and then, presently up comes the Woman dancing, and chewing Betel, accompanied by her Friends and Kindred, with Drums beating, and Flutes sounding; then the Woman takes three Turns round the Hole, and every Time she has gone the Round, she kisses her Friends and Kindred; after the third Time the Bramins cast on the Carcase of her Husband, the Woman standing with her Back to the Fire, is pulled in by the Bramins also, and tumbles backward; then her Kin-

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dred and Friends cut Oil, and other combustible Druggs,
upon the Fire, to make it burn more vehemently, that
the Bodies may be the sooner consumed. In most Places
upon the Coast of *Corromandel*, the Women are not burnt
with their deceased Husbands, but they are buried alive
with them, in Holes which the Bramins make a Foot
deeper than the tallest of them, Man or Woman.

Usually they chuse a sandy Place; so that when the
Man and Woman are both let down together, all the Com-
pany, with Baskets of Sand, fill up the Hole above half a
Foot higher than the Surface of the Ground; after which
they jump and dance upon it till they believe the Woman
to be stifled. When some of the Idolaters upon the Coast
of *Corromandel*, are upon the Point of Death, their
Friends do not carry them to the Side of a River, or
Lake, to cleanse their Souls, but they carry them to the fat-
test Cow they can find, and laying the sick Party just be-
hind the Cow, they lift up her Tail, and provoke her to
piss; if she pisses so that it falls upon the Face of the
diseased Person, all the Company are over-joyed, saying,
that his Soul is happy; but if the Cow does not piss to
wash the sick Party's Face, they burn him with a great
deal of Saffron. If a Cow be sick, the Owner must be
careful to lead her to a Pond, or River, for, should she
die at his House, the Bramins would fine him.

The Rajah of *Valou* having lost this City, and his
Life, through the Loss of a Battle gained against him by
the King of *Vijapour's* General, he was extremely la-
mented at Court; eleven of his Wives also were no less
concerned for his Death, and resolved to burn themselves
when he was burned. The General of *Vijapour's* Army un-
derstanding their Resolution, thought at first to divert them
by promising them all kind Usage; but finding Persuasion
would not prevail, he ordered them to be shut up in a
Room. He who had the Order, going to put it in Ex-
ecution, the Women, in a Rage, told him, that it was
to no Purpose to keep them Prisoners; for, if they might
not have Leave to do what they had resolved, in three
Hours there would not be one of them alive. The Per-
son entrusted, laughed at their Threats: But the Keeper
of those Women, opening the Door at the End of the
three Houses, found them all stretched out dead upon the
Place, without any Mark in the World to be seen that
they had any Way hastened their own Deaths.

Two of the most potent Rajahs of India came to *Agra*
in the Year 1642, to do Homage to *Shah-Jehan*, who
then reigned; who, not having acquitted themselves as
they ought to have done in the Judgment of the Grand-
Master of the King's Household, he told one of the Ra-
jahs one Day, in the Presence of the King, that they had
not done well to behave themselves in such a manner to-
wards so great a Monarch as was the King his Master.
The Rajah, looking upon himself to be a great King, and
a great Prince, he and his Brother having brought along
with them a Train of fifteen or sixteen thousand Horse, was
nettled at the bold Reproof which the grand Master gave
him, and drawing out his dagger, slew him upon the Place,
in the Presence of the King; the Grand Master falling at
the Feet of his Brother, who stood close by him, he was
going about to revenge his Death, but was prevented by
the Rajah's Brother, who stabbed him, and laid him athwart
his Brother's Body. The King, who beheld these two
Murders, one on the Neck of another, retired into his Ha-
ram for fear; but presently the Omrahs, and other People,
fell upon the Rajahs, and cut them to Pieces.

The King, incensed at such an Attempt committed in
his House, and in his Presence, commanded the Rajahs
Bodies to be thrown into the River, which their Troops
that they had left about *Agra* understanding, threatened to
enter the City, and pillage it; so that rather than hazard the
City, the King was advised to deliver them the Bodies of
their Princes. When they were to be burned, thirteen
Women belonging to the two Rajahs Houses came dancing
and leaping, and presently got upon the funeral Pile, hold-
ing one another by the Hands, and being presently after
stifled by the Smoke, fell together into the Fire; pre-
sently the Bramins threw great Heaps of Wood, Pots of
Oil, and other combustible Matter upon them, to dispatch
them the sooner.

I observed a strange *Padishah* at *Panna*, being then with
the Governor, a young Gentleman about twenty-two
Years of Age, in his own House. While I was with
him, in came a young Woman, very handsome, and not
above twenty-two Years old, who desired Leave of the
Governour to be burnt with the Body of her deceased
Husband. The Governor, compassionating her Youth
and Beauty, endeavoured to divert her from her Resolu-
tion; but, finding he could not prevail, with a furlly Coun-
tenance he asked her whether she understood what the
Torment of Fire was, and whether she had ever burnt
her Fingers? No, no, answered she more stoutly than be-
fore, I do not fear Fire; and to let you know as much,
send for a lighted Torch hither: The Governor abomi-
nating her Answer, in a great Passion, bid her go to the
Devil. Some young Lords that were with the Governor,
desired him to try the Woman, and entreated him to call
for a Torch, which, with much ado, he did; and a lighted
Torch was brought: So soon as the Woman saw the
lighted Torch a coming, she ran to meet it, and held her
Hand in the Flame, not altering her Countenance in the
least, still fearing her Arm along quite up to the Elbow,
till her Flesh looked as if it had been broiled; whereupon
the Governor commanded her out of his Sight.

A Bramin coming to *Panna*, and assembling all his
Tribe together, told them, that they must give him
two thousand *Ruppes*, and twenty-seven Ells of Callicut,
to which the Chief among them answered, that they were
poor, and could not possibly raise such a Sum; however,
he persisted in his Demand, positively affirming unto
them, that he would stay there without eating or drink-
ing, till they brought him the Money and the Cloth.
With this Resolution, he climbed a Tree, and letting in
the Fork between the Boughs, remained there without
eating or drinking for several Days. The Noise of this Ex-
travagance coming to the Ears of the *Dutch* House, where
we lay, we set Sentinels to watch whether it was true, that a
Man could sit so long without Victuals, which he did for
thirty Days together. The thirty-first Day of this ex-
traordinary Fast, the Idolaters fearing to kill one of their
Priests for Want of granting him his Demand, clubbed
together, and brought him his twenty-seven Ells of Calli-
cut, and two thousand *Ruppes*. So soon as the Bramin
saw the Money and Cloth, he came down from the Tree,
and after he had upbraided those of his Tribe for Want of
Charity, he distributed all the *Ruppes* among the Poor, re-
serving only five for six for himself. The Cloth he cut into
little Pieces, and gave away, keeping only to himself as
much as would just cover his Nakedness; and having made
his Distribution, he disappeared on a sudden, and no body
knows what became of him, though diligent Search was
made after him.

When a *Chinese* lies at the Point of Death, all his Kin-
dred and Friends gather about him, and ask him whether
he intends to go? They tell him also, that if he wants
any thing, he need but ask; and have, let it be Gold, Silver,
or a Woman. When they are dead, they perform many
Ceremonies at their Funerals, which consist chiefly in ar-
tificial Fires, wherein the *Chinese* are the most expert in
all the World; so that he must be a very poor Man that
has no Fire-works at his Funeral. Besides that, they put
Money in a little Box, and bury it by the Deceased, and
leave good Store of Victuals upon the Grave, out of an
Opinion that they rise and eat; which the Soldiers of *Ba-
tavia* observing, used to fill their Bellies at these Graves
every Time they marched their Rounds. But when the
Chinese perceived it, they poisoned the Victuals, to spoil
the *Dutchmens* Feasting. The Townsmen of *Batavia*
taking the Soldiers Part, accused the *Chinese* of poisoning
several of the *Dutch*; but the *Chinese* pleaded, that if the
Soldiers had over-eat themselves, or surfeited themselves
upon what was left for the Dead to eat, it was none of
their Fault; for that they did not leave this Victuals for
their Soldiers: And besides that, among all the Multi-
tudes that they had buried, they never had heard the least
Complaint before of any one that ever came to any Harm
by eating their Food. Thus the Business was hushed up,
nor did the Soldiers dare to pilfer any more.

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These are certainly very surprizing and entertaining Passages, which carry in them strong Marks of that Enthusiasm, which is the Characteristick of the Eastern Gen-
 tles; and which, however wild and extravagant it may appear to us in this Part of the World, has in it, nevertheless, something so striking to such as behold it, even tho' Europeans, that they fall in with by Degrees, and are content to adopt the Humour of the Indians, under another Name, and for many pretended Reasons. As a Proof of this, we need only remark, that the Mohammedan Lords of the Mogul's Court, not only allow, but encourage their Women to die with them, as a Mark of Affection. It is true, that they don't do this publicly, and in the Sight of the Sun, as the Indians do; but when a Mohammedan Lord dies, his Women, the Night after they have paid their Duty at the Funeral of the Deceased, assemble together in some private Part of his Palace at a Distance from the rest of the Building, and out of the Hearings, as much as may be, of the Servants; and there they set Fire to the Room, having first secured the Doors, and so perish in the Flames. In all Probability, this Custom has been introduced amongst the Mohammedans from a Principle of Vanity, flowing from a Desire to shew that they are not less beloved by their Indian Wives, than the Indians themselves, of which, indeed, it is not easy for them to obtain a stronger Proof than this.

It is likewise indisputably clear, from our Author's Discourse, that the high Spirit and invincible Courage of the Indians, both Men and Women, is far enough from being extinguished; but then we ought to make a right Judgment of the Motive from whence this proceeds. In the Men it still rises from Principle and from the Dictates of Reason, whether well or ill employed, I shall not pretend to say: But, in the Women, it is, in some measure, the Effect of Habit, and, in some measure, the Consequence of Despair. They see frequent Examples of Women who end their Lives in this Manner, and are highly applauded for it. This draws them on to merit the same Praises, by shewing the same Intrepidity. On the other hand, they see Numbers of their Sex, who decline this dreadful Trial, reduced to Want and Infamy, and they see no Road open for them to escape both; which, as it were, drives them to this desperate Resolution of destroying themselves; since they seem thereby, of two great Evils to chuse the least, which is a glorious Death, rather than a Life of Misery and Contempt. We may from hence fairly conclude, that if the true and genuine Doctrine of the Christian Faith were infused into the Minds of these People, they might be brought to make as great a Figure in the World as ever their Ancestors did; and how great that was, we have in the preceding Sections, from the Memorials left us in several Languages, very fully shewn.

SECTION XXXI.

Observations and Remarks made during his Residence on the Island of Chusan, on the Coast of China, by Doctor James Cunningham, Physician to the English Factory at that Place.

From his own Accounts.

1. An introductory Account of the Author, and of the Opportunities he had to come to a true Knowledge of the Facts he mentions.
2. An Account of the Voyage to, and a distinct Description of the Island of Chusan.
3. Of the ancient and modern State of the Country, and the coming of the English to reside there.
4. Of their Manner of cultivating Tea in that Island, and of several Mistakes made by F. le Comte, and F. Martini.
5. Of the Chinese Agriculture, and the Manner in which the Inhabitants make Salt in Chusan.
6. Of the famous medicinal Root Hu-chu-u, which prolongs Life, and retards old Age.
7. Dr. Cunningham's Removal to Pulo Condore, with the Rise, Progress, and Ruin of that Factory.
8. Occasion of establishing a new Factory at Pulolout, of which Dr. Cunningham became Chief.
9. The Causes of the total Overthrow of that Factory, and the English Trade to Borneo.

IN the Accounts we have hitherto given of the Discovery, of the past and present Situation of the Indies, we have made Use chiefly of foreign Writers, not that we prefer them to our own Countrymen, who have travelled into those Parts; but because, in a Collection of this Nature, it seemed reasonable to include the Works of such Authors as were least known to the Bulk of our Readers. But, to avoid all Suspicion of Partiality, and that, at the same time, we may shew that we have not been at all negligent in consulting either the old Travellers or the new, of such of the British Nation as have visited these distant Climates, we will add a few Instances of their Care and Diligence, in observing and recording what appeared to them most worthy of Notice in the Countries into which they were led, either to satisfy their Curiosity, or in Pursuit of Business.

We will begin with the Remarks made by Doctor James Cunningham, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Physician to the English Factory settled at Chusan in China. He was a Man distinguished both by his natural Parts, and by the Accomplishments he had acquired, being equally well versed in ancient and modern Learning; and, at the same time, a Person, who, from his own Diligence, had obtained all the Lights that are afforded by Experience. Of these great Qualities he has left us sufficient Testimony in two Letters of his writing during his Employment in the Service of the East-India Company; and which are so much the more valuable, as they plainly manifest an In-

tention not to copy what others had written, or reported, but to set down his own Observations, and thereby describe Things as they appeared to him; nay, and not only so, but to examine and correct the Mistakes of others, which he was the more capable of doing, for two Reasons; first, because he confined himself entirely to what fell under his immediate Inspection: And, next, because he writes on such Subjects only as belonged to his Profession, in which he must, of Necessity, be a better Judge than another Man, however learned or intelligent, who had not made those Things his Study. In this respect, indeed, I must affirm, that the Writers of our own Country are very much to be preferred to those of other Nations, because, if their Relations be less extensive, and possibly also less entertaining; yet they are written with greater Care and Circumspection, as well as a more than ordinary Regard to Truth. This I say in general only, and not with any View to injure or raise the Credit of particular Persons. But, to come to the Point; the first of these Letters was written in the Month of September, 1701, to a Member of the Royal Society, and follows in the Author's own Words.

2. My last to you was from the Island of Borneo, in which I gave you an Account of our Arrival there the 17th of July, where we stayed but two Days, the Season of the Year being so far past; and from thence made the best of our Way through the Straits of Banda, with favourable Winds and Weather, till we came on the Coast

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of China the 13th of August, then we had variable Winds which carried us a-breast of Emoy, the 19th following, at which Time the North-east Wind setting in fresh, put us in great Fears of losing our Passage; whereupon we were forced to turn it up against Wind and Current all the Way, the Weather so favouring us that we were never but by our Top-sails, else we should have lost more Ground in one Day than we could have gained in eight. The last of August we came to an Anchor under the Crocodile Islands, both to shelter us from the bad Weather (which is generally expected on this Coast at New and Full-Moon, and has been fatal to a great many Ships) and also to look for Fresh-water, which was now grown scarce with us, not having recruited since we came from the Cape of Good-Hope. These are three small Islands, lying in the Lat. of 26° about six Leagues from the River of Hackien, on two whereof we found very good Fresh-water, with a convenient watering Place on the S. W. Side of the innermost of the three; and by the Assistance of a few Chinese Fishermen, we procured some fresh Provisions from the Main-Land, because we did not think it safe to adventure ourselves thither, lest we should have been brought into Trouble by the Government there.

While we lay here, on the 5th of September, we had a sudden short Shift of the Monsoon to the S. W. the Fury whereof others felt coming upon the Coast of China, at the same time. The 18th of September we put to Sea again, turning to windward Night and Day without all the Islands, which are very numerous along this Coast, to which we were altogether Strangers beyond Emoy; and the Hydrography thereof, is hitherto imperfect, that there was no trusting to our Drafts, which made our Navigation somewhat more dangerous: However, on the 11th of October we got into 30°, where we came to an Anchor near the Land, until we found the Way by Boat to Chufan, about twelve Leagues within the Islands, from whence we had a Pilot, who carried us safe thither on the Eleventh. Upon this Island the Chinese have granted us a Settlement and Liberty of Trade, but not to Ning-po, which is six or eight Hours Sail to the westward, all the Way among Islands; this being the largest, is eight or nine Leagues from East to West, and four or five Leagues in Breadth.

About three Leagues from that Point of the Main-land, called Cape-Isampe by the Portuguese, but Kbi-tu by the Chinese, at the West-end of this Island, is the Harbour, very late and convenient, where the Ships ride within Call of the Factory, which is built close by the Shore, on a low plain Valley, with near two hundred Houses about it, for the Benefit of Trade, inhabited by Men whose Jealousy has not, as yet, permitted them to let their Wives dwell here; for the Town where they are is three Quarters of a Mile farther from the Shore, environed with a fine Stone-wall, about three Miles in Circumference, defended by twenty-two square Batis-ions, placed at irregular Distances, besides four great Gates, on which are planted a few old iron Guns, seldom or never used: The Houses within are very meanly built. Here the Chumpeen, or Governor of the Island lives, and betwixt three and four thousand beggarly Inhabitants, most part Soldiers and Fishermen; for the Trade of this Place being newly granted, has not, as yet, brought any considerable Merchants hither. The Island in general abounds with all sorts of Provisions, such as Cows, Buffaloes, Goats, Deer, Hogs, wild and tame Geese, Ducks, and Hens, Rice, Wheat, Calavances, Cole-worts, Turnips, Potatoes, Carrots, Beet-sch, and Spinage; but, for Merchandize, there is none, except what comes from Ning-po, Stang cheu, Nankin, and the inland Towns; some of which I hope to see when I have acquired a little of the Chinese Language.

Here also the Tea grows in great Plenty, on the Tops of the Hills, but it is not in such Esteem as that which grows on more mountainous Islands. Although this Island is pretty well stored with People, yet it is far from what it was in St. Martinus's Time, where he describes Chufan. And this puts me in mind, that the supersti-

tious Pilgrimages there mentioned by him, must be meant of the Island Pou-to, which lies nine Leagues from hence: And three Miles to the Eastward of this Island, whither, they say, the Emperor designs, in the Month of May next (being his Birth-day, and the fortieth Year of his Age) to come to worship in an ancient Pagod there, famous for Sanctity, having sent one of his Bonzes already thither to get all Things in Order. The second Letter, somewhat more copious, and no less curious than the first, our Author wrote to the same Person from Chufan, dated November 22, 1701, according to his Promise, and to supply the Defects of the first.

3. I formerly told you that the Emperor designed to have come to the Island of Pou-to (a Place of great Devotion) to worship in the Month of May last, being the fortieth Year of his Age, I should have laid of his Reign. But all Things being prepared there for his Reception, he was dissuaded from his Purpose by some of his Mandarines, who made him believe that the Thunder there was very dangerous. This Pou-to is a small Island, about five Leagues round. At the East-End of this Island, famous for the superstitious Pilgrimages made thither for the Space of eleven hundred Years, it is inhabited only by Bonzes, to the Number of three thousand, all of the Sect called Hefsang, or unmarried Bonzes, who live a Pythagorean Life; and there they have built four hundred Pagods, two whereof are considerable for their Greatness and Finery, being lately covered with green and yellow Tiles, brought from the Emperor's Palace at Nankin, and inwardly adorned with stately Idols, finely carved and gilded, and the chief whereof is the Idol Quenem. To these two great Pagods belong two chief Priests, who govern all the rest. They have several Ways and Avenues cut through the Island, some whereof are paved with Flag-stones, and over-shaded with Trees planted on each Side.

Their Dwelling are the best I have seen in these Parts, all which are maintained by charitable Devotions; and their Junks, which go from Ning-po and this Place to Japan, touch here both going and coming, to make their Offerings for their good Success. There is another Island called Kim-Tong, five Leagues hence, in the Way to Ning-po, whither, they say, a great many Mandarins retire to live a quiet Life, after they have given over their Employments. On that Island also are laid to be Silver-mines, but prohibited to be opened.

The rest of the circumjacent Islands are either desert, or meanly inhabited by a few People, but all of them stored with abundance of Deer; for it is not long since this Island of Chufan began to be peopled. 'Tis true, in Martinus's Days, about fifty Years ago, it was very populous for the Space of three or four Years; at which Time the Fury of the Tartarian Conquest was so great, that they left it desolate, not sparing so much as the Mulberry-trees (for then they made a great deal of Raw-Silk here.) And in this Condition it continued till about eighteen Years ago; that the Walls of the Fort, or Town, which now is, were built by the Governor of Ting-bai for a Garrison to expel some Pirates, who had taken Shelter there.

About fourteen Years ago, the Island beginning to be peopled, there was a Chumpeen, or Governor, sent to govern it for three Years, to whom succeeded the late Chumpeen (who procured the opening of this Port to Strangers) whose Government continued till April last, being translated to be Chumpeen of Tien-chung-wei, near to Pekin, and was succeeded by the present Chumpeen, who is Son to the old Chumpeen of Emoy. They have no Arts, or Manufactures here but lackered Ware, a particular Account whereof I cannot, as yet, send you. They begin to plant Mulberry-trees to breed up Worms for the Production of Raw-Silk; and they make some Tea, but chiefly for their own Use.

4. The three Sorts of Tea commonly carried to England, are all from the same Plant, only the Season of the Year and the Soil make the Difference. The Bohea (or Pei-li, so called of some Mountains in the Province of Yoken, where it is chiefly made, is the very Bud gathered

in the Beginning of *March*, and dried in the Shade. The *Ring Tea* is the second Growth in *April*, and *Single* the last in *May* and *June*, both dried a little in Taches or Pans over the Fire. The Tea Shrub being an Ever-green, is in Flower from *October* to *January*, and the Seed is ripe in *September* and *October* following, so that one may gather both Flower and Seed at the same time; but for one fresh and full Seed, there are one hundred nought. These make up the two sorts of Fruit in *Le Compte's* Description of Tea; as for his other sort, which he calls *Shymie* Peafe, they were nothing but the young Buds of the Flowers not yet open. Its Seed Vessels are really tricapular, each Capsula containing one Nut or Seed, and although two or one Capsula only comes to Perfection, yet the Vestiges of the rest may be discerned. It grows in a dry gravelly Soil on the Sides of Hills, in several Places of this Island, without any Cultivation.

Le Compte is mistaken in saying that the *Chinese* are wholly Strangers to the Art of Grafting, for I have seen a great many of his paradoxical Tallow Trees ingrafted here, besides some other Trees. When they ingraft, they do not slit the Stock, as we do, but cut a small Slice off the Outside of the Stock, to which they apply the Graft being cut sloping on one Side agreeable to the Slice cut from the Stock bringing the Bark of the Slice up on the Outside of the Graft, they tie all together, covering with Straw and Mud as we do. The Commentator, on *Magalben*, seems doubtful in the Length of the *Chinese* Che or Cubits. Here they have two sorts, one of thirteen Inches, and seventieths of an *English* Inch, which the Merchants commonly use; the other is of the eleven Inches used by Carpenters, and also in Geographical Measures. Though *F. Martini* is censured by *F. Magalben* for spelling a great many *Chinese* Words with *ng*, which the *Portuguese* and others have done with *n*, yet his Way is more agreeable to *English* Pronunciation, only in some Words, the *g* may be left out, as in *Poon*, *Nouren*, &c.

Having made Enquiry about *Martini's* Account of Sowing their Fields at *Van-chou* with Oyster Shells, to make new ones grow, I was told, that after they have taken out the Oyster, they sprinkle the Shell with Urine, then putting them into the Water again, there grows new Oysters on the forelaid Shells. *Martini* says, he could never find a *Latin* Name for the *Inda Magerin* of the *Portuguese*; I am sure it is the same with the *Syrena Arabica* *plena albo* in *Parkinson*. He says also, that the *Kien-cho*, or Tallow-tree, bears a white Flower like a Cherry-tree; but all that I have seen here, bears a Spike of small yellow Flowers, like the *Julus* of a *Salix*. The Bean, or Mandarin Broth, so frequently mentioned in the *Dutch* Embassy, and other Authors, is only an Emulsion made of the Seed of *Salamum* and hot Water.

Their chief Employments here are Fishing and Agriculture. In Fishing they use several sorts of Nets and Lines, as we do; but because they have large Banks of Mud in some Places, the Fishermen, to go more easily thereon, have contrived a small Frame, about three or four Feet long, not much larger than a Hen-trough, elevated a little at each End, in which he rests upon one Knee, leaning his arms on a cross Stick, raised so high as his Breast, and putting out the other Foot often upon the Mud, he pushes forward his Frame thereon, and so carries himself along in it.

As to their Agriculture, all their Fields (where any thing is planted) whether high or low, are made into such Plots, as may retain the Water over them when they please. They plow up their Ground with one Bull-doe, or Cow. Where they are to sow Rice, they prepare the Field very well, by clearing it of all manner of Weeds, reducing to a Pulp, and smoothing it with a Frame drawn across, on which they sow the Rice, very thick, and cover it only with Water, for two or three Inches high; and when it has grown six or eight Inches long, they pull up the Roots and transplant it, by Tufts of three or four, into Fields over-flown with Water; and when the Field is subject to Weeds, when the Water grows dry, they prevent the Growth, by overturning the Mud with their Hands, in the Irrigators, where the Rice is sown. When the Rice is full, they pull it up, and dry it in the Sun, by Pulling and other

Grains, they grub up some superficial Earth, Grass and Roots, and with some Straw, they burn all together; this Earth being sifted fine, they mix with the Seed, which they sow in Holes, made with a Strait Line, and so grow up in Tufts, as the Rice does, the Field being divided into Beds, and harrowed over both before and after the Seed is sown; this makes them somewhat resemble Gardens. Altho' they meliorate their Fields, where they sow Rice only, by letting the Water on them, yet for other Grains, where Grounds require it, they make use of Dung, humane Excrements, Athes, &c. In watering their Fields here, they use the same Instrument mentioned by *Martini*, in the Preface to his *Atlas*, being all Wood, and the Contrivances the same with that of a Chain-pump.

Their Method of making Salt is this; all the Shores here being Mud instead of Sand, in the Summer Season, they pare off the superficial Earth, which has been over-flown with the Salt-water, and lay it up in Heaps for use. When they are to use it, they dry it in the Sun, rubbing it small, then digging a Pit, they cover the Bottom of it with Straw, at which, through the Side of the Pit, they pass a hollow Cane that leads into a Jar, that stands below the Level of the Pit's Bottom. They fill the Pit almost full of the forelaid Earth, and pour Salt-water on, until it be covered two or three Inches with Water, which drains through into the forelaid Jar, and is afterwards boiled into a Salt.

6. If I had not found Notice taken in a printed Newspaper last Year, of a singular Root brought from *China* by Father *Fountainey*, I should not have told you, that I have seen this Root since I came here, and which is called by the *Chinese* *Hu-chu-u*, to which they ascribe wonderful Virtues, such as prolonging Life, and turning gray Hair black by the Use of its Tea, or an Infusion made of it, which occasions its being sold at a very high Price, inasmuch that they say, that it is to be had from ten Tael to one thousand or two thousand a single Root; for the larger it is, the more is its Value and Efficacy, which is too much Money here to try the Experiment. You have it mentioned in *Cleyer's Medicina Sinica*, Number LXXXIV. under the Name of *He-xu-u*, according to the *Portuguese* spelling. It is likewise painted in the 27th Table of those Plants Mr. *Pettiver* had of me. If you will have the Story of its Discovery, which I will not warrant for Gospel, it runs thus:

Upon a time a certain Person going a Simping among the Mountains, fell by Accident into such a steep Vale, that he could by no means get out of it again, whereupon looking about for something to sustain his Life, in this melancholy Condition, he espied this Root, of which he made Trial, and found that in eating thereof, it served him both for Provision and Cloathing, by keeping his Body in such a Temperature, that the Injuries of the Weather had no Influence upon him during his Stay there, which was some hundreds of Years; till at last an Earthquake happened in that Place, whereby the Mountains were rent, and he found a Passage out to his House, from whence he had been so long absent: But the many Alterations that came to pass there in such a Space of Time would not permit them to give Credit to his Story, till consulting the Annals of his Family, which gave an Account of one of them lost at that Time, they were confirmed as to the Truth of this Relation. With the Leave of our Author, this is no more Gospel with the *Chinese* than with him. It is a Fable, invented for the sake of giving such an Account of the Virtues of this Root, as may make them dwell on the Memory, and that is all.

7. It will be very natural for the Reader to enquire how it came to pass, that from so intelligent and industrious a Person as this Doctor *Cunningham* appears to have been, we have received nothing farther than what has been already set down in relation to the Affairs of *China*; and as I have it in my Power to answer that Question very fully, I think it will not be amiss to add some very curious Circumstances relating to so worthy a Man at the Close of this Section, the rather, because if they be not added here, it is very possible they may be for ever lost. We are therefore to observe, that the Factory established at *Chefoo* was broke up in the Year 1752, and therefore the Doctor had not

perficual Earth, Graft and they burn all together; this mix with the Seed, which is a trait Line, and so grows the Field being divided in- ish before and after the Seed somewhat resemble Gardens. kds, where they sow Rice them, yet for other Grains, y make use of Dung, hu-

In watering their Fields ment mentioned by Martini, ing all Wood, and the Con- a Chain-pump.

Salt is this; all the Shores and, in the Summer Season, arth, which has been over- lay it up in Heaps for use. dry it in the Sun, rubbing they cover the Bottom of it the Side of the Pit, they into a Jar, that stands be- They fill the Pit al- h, and pour Salt-water on, Inches with Water, which Jar, and is afterwards boil'd

e taken in a printed News- Root brought from China ne have told you, that I ne here, and which is call- o which they ascribe won- ging Life, and turning grav sea, or an Infusion made of d at a very high Price, info- to be had from ten Tael to a single Root; for the larger Efficacy, which is too much riment. You have it men- nica, Number LXXXIV, according to the *Periplus* d in the 27th Table of those. If you will have the Story not warrant for Gospel, it

on going a Simpling among t into such a steep Vale, that t it again, whereupon look- tain his Life, in this melan- is Root, of which he made ther of, it served him both y keeping his Body in such ies of the Weather had no Stay there, which was some an Earthquake happened in ains were rent, and he found rom whence he had been so lterations that came to pass ould not permit them to onfulting the Annals of his unt of one of them lost at as to the Truth of this Rel- r Author, this is no mor- ith him. It is a Fable, in ch an Account of the Vir- hem dwell on the Memory,

the Reader to enquire how intelligent and incultrous a *cham* appears to have been, r than what has been already sirs of China; and as I have Question very fully, I think very curious Circumstances the Close of this Section, not added here, it is very lost. We are therefore to blished at *Chufan* was broke before the Doctor had not much

much Time to compleat the Observations he was inclined to make. He removed afterwards to another new Settle- ment at *Pulo-condore*, which is a small Cluster of Islands, four or five in Number, lying about fifteen Leagues South of the West Channel of the River of *Cambodia*, what Advan- tages were proposed from this Factory I cannot say; but the Memoirs I have very positively affirm, that the Place, in which it was seated, was very ill chosen.

The Person who had the Direction of the *East-India* Company's Affairs in those Parts was one Mr. *Katckpole*, and he, according to the usual Custom of the *Indies*, took a certain Number of *Macassars*, or Soldiers, Natives of that Country, into his Service, by whose Assistance he quickly built a little Fort for the Protection of his People, and pro- cured the Necessaries of Life, such as Wood, Water, and Fish, which, as far as I could ever learn, is all that these Islands ever afforded. The *Macassars* are a brave, indu- strious, and faithful People, to such as deal well by them; and for these Reasons they are highly esteemed in the East, more especially by the *Dutch*. It must, however, be al- lowed, that they are daring, cruel, and revengeful, if once they are provoked. Mr. *Katckpole* had contracted with them for three Years, at the End of which Term they were, if they pleased, to receive their Wages and depart. This Agreement, though strictly performed on their Side, was broke by our Director, who kept them beyond their Time, and against their Wills. As this was a great Breach in Morality, he added to it as great an Error in Politics; for after provoking these People in such a manner, he con- tinued to trust them with the Guard of his own Person, and the Custody of the Factory, which gave them an Oppor- tunity of revenging the ill Usage they had endured with that Severity, which is natural to barbarous Minds. In short, they rose in the Night, and cut the Throats of the Director, and all that were with him in the Factory, not one escaping.

But some who lodged without, hearing the Cries of those who were murdered within, fled out of their Beds to the Sea-shore, where, by a very singular Providence, they met with a Bark completely equipped, in which, tho' half naked themselves, they put to Sea, and in so good Time, that they escaped the Rage of the *Macassars*, who came in Search of them to the Shore just as they weighed An- chor. Their Navigation was extremely difficult, inasmuch as they were exposed at once to incredible Fatigue, and which was harder still to the utmost Extremities of Hunger and Thirst; but with much ado they compleated their ted- ious Course of one hundred Leagues in this wretched Con- dition, and came at last into a small Creek in the King of *Jobore's* Dominions, where they were civilly received, and kindly treated.

8. A Year or two after the *East-India* Company thought fit to settle another new Factory on the Coast of the great Island of *Borneo*. On the South End of this Island lies another smaller one called *Puloulou*, which has an excellent Harbour. The Country, however, is but very thinly peo- pled, as yielding nothing but Rice; but lying at the Mouth of the Rivers, coming out of the Pepper Countries, it is extremely well seated for Trade. There is a Channel of the Sea between this Island and that of *Borneo*, about two Miles broad in most Places, in some narrower, and in some wider, having from seven to five Fathom Water all the Way; and on the Shore there are several rising Grounds fit to build on, which made it in the properest Places in this Part of the World for a Factory; and therefore it is to be presumed, such as had the Direction of the Com- pany's Affairs made Choice of it.

One Captain *Barry*, a very ingenious Gentleman, had

the Care of settling this little Colony, in which he acted with much Skill and Prudence; but before the Work was compleated, he died, and the Direction of the Factory fell to Dr. *Cunningham*, who, after the Ruin of the Factory of *Pulo-condore*, came thither. He is said to have minded his Studies so entirely, that he left the Care of the Company's Concerns too much to those that were under him, and it fell out very unluckily both for the Company and himself, that they happened to be People altogether unequal to such a Trust, which proved the Ruin of him, and of the Factory too, which fell out in the following manner.

9. Before the Fort which they were erecting was half finished, they began to insult the People of the Country, as they passed up and down the River, and among many other Acts of Folly and Weakness, they very imprudently took it into their Heads to search one of the King's Boats, which was carrying a Lady of Quality down the River, which so provoked the *Indian* Monarch, that he vowed the utter Destruction of the *English*; and to effect it, gathered all his Forces, and embarked them on board his Fleet of *Praws*. The Company had then two Ships in the River, and there were besides two Merchantmen of inconsiderable Force; but, however, this was all they had to trust to, and there- fore the People of the Factory receiving Advice of the King's Design, and the Preparations he had made, left their Factory, and went on Board their Shipping, thinking them- selves more secure there than ashore.

When all things were in Readiness, the Army came in the Night with above an hundred *Praws*, and no less than three thousand desperate Fellows; some landed and burnt the Factory and Fortifications, while others attacked the Ships which were prepared to receive them. The *English* had made fast Nettings from the Mizen to the Fore- Shrouds, about two Fathoms high above the Gunnel, that they might not be so suddenly boarded by the Enemy, and to have the Opportunity of using their Blunderbusses and Lances before the Enemy could get on their Decks. As soon as they in the Ships saw the Fleet approaching them, they plied their Guns with double Round and Partridge, and made a great Carnage; but all did not deter the Assail- ants from boarding, who, when they got as high as the Gun Wall, or Gunnel, were at a Loss how to get over the Nettings, and so were killed with great Ease. Some got in at one of the head Doors of one of the Ships, and killed some *English* in the Fore-castle; but they were soon de- stroyed. The two great Ships, though in Danger, beat off the Enemy with small Loss; but the little Ships were both burnt, with most of their Men, and one *Dutch* Gentleman, who was obliged to fly from *Batavia* on one of the small Vessels was also burnt in her. His Name was *Hough Camber*, and had been the Embassador of the King of *Perfis*.

Some say, who were there at the Time of the Engage- ment, that the *English* killed (in two Hours that the Action was hot) above one thousand five hundred, besides many wounded and maimed; but the *English* were forced to be gone from their Settlement. The King thought his Revenge had gone far enough, in driving them from their Settlement; and finding the Loss of the *English* Trade af- fected his Revenue, he let all *English*, who traded to *Jobore*, and other circumjacent Nations, know, that he would still continue a free Trade with the *English* on the old Footing, but would never suffer them, or any other Nation, to build Ports in his Country. Several *English* have been there since, and loaded Pepper, and have been civilly treated; and the *Dutch* sent a Ship from *Batavia* in Anno 1712, to trade with them; but the Natives refused Commerce with them.

SECTION XXXII.

A succinct Account of the Adventures of Mr. William Adams, an Englishman, who resided many Years in the Empire of Japan, and was the Person who introduced both the English and Dutch to trade thither.

Collected, as well from his own Letters, as Portuguese and Dutch Writers.

1. An Introduction, in which is contained a View of the Trade to Japan before Mr. Adams went thither.
2. He is entertained as a Pilot on Board a Dutch Fleet intended for the East-Indies, through the Straights of Magellan.
3. His Passage through these Straights into the South-Seas.
4. The great Miseries endured by their Seamen on the Coasts of Chili and Peru, and their Resolution to bear away for Japan.
5. The many and great Difficulties they met with in their Passage.
6. Arrival on the North Coast of Japan, and the Usage they met with from the Reports spread concerning them by the Portuguese.
7. Mr. Adams sent for, and introduced to the Emperor, who examined him as to his Voyage, and the Design of it.
8. He grows into great Favour with the Emperor, and is very happily established in that Country.
9. He builds a Ship for the Emperor, and becomes a kind of Minister of State in his Court.
10. The Account given by him of the Climate, Soil, Produce, People, &c. of Japan.
11. Observations upon this Account, including farther Remarks.
12. The History of Mr. Adams, continued from Foreign Authors.
13. Instances of his great Power and admirable Conduct during his Residence at the Court of Japan.
14. The Turn given thro' his Management to the commercial Affairs of that Empire.
15. Conclusion of this History, with some Observations and Remarks tending to explain the Obscurities in this Account, and to set the Authorities which support it in their proper Light, for the Honour of this Man in particular, and of our Nation in general.

IT is necessary, at our first Entrance on this Section, to put the Reader in mind of the Method we have pursued through the Course of this Chapter, which has been to speak, as Occasion offered, of those Parts of the *Indies* which were nearest to us first, and so to proceed gradually to the most distant. In regard to Time, it is with me only a secondary Consideration; and this is sufficient to account for what might otherwise pass for a Mistake, which is the placing here this History of Mr. Adams's Proceedings, tho' in Point of Time, before that of the Gentlemen last mentioned, near one hundred Years. Now, as it was impossible to report both these Accounts without trespassing on the natural Order, either of Time or Place, we chose to dispense with the former rather than the latter, and that for this plain Reason, because it occasions but one Alteration, whereas had we took the other Method, it would have produced many. We have already, in speaking of the Discoveries made by the Portuguese, mentioned their first coming to Japan, and have likewise taken notice of the great Pains they took to prevent other Nations from having a Share in the rich Commerce of that new found Country, which, though visited by them so early as *Anno Domini* 1542, yet had they preserved it entirely in their own Hands, till after the Arrival of the Person, whose Memoirs we propose to give in this Section, and who ought therefore to be considered as the Discoverer of Japan to all the rest of *Europe*, as we shall shew at large at the Close of this Section.

At present it is our Business to observe, that there was nothing the Dutch coveted so much as an Opportunity of visiting the Islands of Japan, which from the Reports they had received from Portugal in Spain, as well as from their own Settlements, appeared to them a kind of *Indies* in the *Indies*. There are some Dutch Memoirs still extant, which say, that the Persons employed by their East-India Company, obtained an exact Account of the Profits of the Trade from Macao to Japan, from the Year 1580 to 1600, from which Memoirs it appeared, that they cleared one Year with another one hundred Tuns of Gold, which was sufficient to put the Dutch upon endeavouring by all means to gain a Share in so lucrative a Commerce. It may not be amiss, however, to prevent Mistakes, to explain this Term of a Tun of Gold, which I take to be entirely Dutch, and therefore, when literally translated into English, is in danger of remaining as much Dutch as it was before. In the first place, a Tun of Gold is not restrained at all to that Metal, for if it had, it would not have been used here, most of the Returns from Japan to Macao being made in Silver; neither has it any Reference to the Value of a Tun of Gold, which amounts to ten times the Value of what

is meant by this Expression; for by a Tun of Gold the Dutch Merchants mean one hundred thousand Guilders, and consequently the annual Value of the Trade to Japan might be ten Millions of Guilders, or, to keep still to round Numbers, one Million Sterling, a vast Sum indeed, and yet said to be much short of the Advantages drawn from thence in the first forty Years, after the Portuguese settled in that Country.

But, though the Trade of Japan was a thing to desireable of itself, yet the acquiring any Share thereof appeared even to the Dutch themselves, though they were in those Days equally enterprising, and indefatigable, a Design thwarted by almost insuperable Difficulties. In the first place, the Navigation was difficult and dangerous to the last Degree, of which they were made sensible, not only by repeated Accounts from the *Indies*, which represented the Commerce with Japan as a thing almost impracticable on that Account only, but were in a manner convinced of it from Experience, since they had sent a Ship thither *Anno Domini* 1584, with little or no Success. They were in hopes, however, of getting the better of this Evil, by making use of Portuguese Pilots, and accordingly in 1586, they sent another Ship, which was entrusted to the Care of one Francisco Paris, a Native of Portugal, who had not, however, much better Fortune, which discouraged them very much, and was probably the Reason that they made no farther Attempts for ten Years afterwards.

But this was far from being all; for they very well knew, that when this Difficulty was got over, there were many others, and some of them still greater, that were yet to be surmounted. As for example, they knew that the Japanese were a very powerful and a very brave People, the former from Report, but the latter from Experience. For at the Time they besieged Malacca, then in the Hands of the Portuguese, there was in the Place a small Corps of Japanese, who came thither to trade, and who, when the Place was invested, finding it impossible to return home, assisted their Friends in the Defence of it, and that so effectually, that it was chiefly by the bold Salies they made, that the Dutch were at that Time compelled to raise the Siege, which they did with great Loss. They likewise knew, that the Spaniards, who were at this Time Masters of Portugal, and consequently the sole Possessors of the Japan Trade, had prejudiced the Inhabitants of that Country against them to the last Degree, by representing them not only as Rebels to that Crown, but as Pirates and Enemies to Mankind in general; and, indeed, their Behaviour in the *Indies* had been such as gave but too much Colour to that Report. Add to this, that a very great Part of the

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Japanese Nation were become Converts to the Popish Re-
ligion, and consequently hated them no less as Hereticks,
than if they had been Infidels.

Taking these Circumstances therefore together, we need
not much wonder that the Dutch in some measure despaired
of ever carrying their Point, and establishing themselves as
a trading Nation in Japan; yet so frail and feeble a thing
is human Policy, and so little Certainty there is in the For-
sight even of the wisest Man, that notwithstanding all these
Obstacles, and contrary to all Appearance, they not only
carried the Point, but after contributing as much as in their
Power lay, to the Ruin of their Competitors the Portu-
guese; they have secured the whole of this rich Trade to
themselves, and that too in such a manner, as that it is not
very likely it should be ever taken out of their Hands. All
this we may safely affirm, on the Credit of the Dutch Wri-
ters themselves, is intirely owing, and was absolutely brought
about by the Interest and Conduct of one poor Englishman,
this very William Adams, whose Memoirs of this Country,
collected from his own Writings, we are now to give the
Reader.

The Thing in itself is indeed wonderful, and if it was
not supported by the most authentick Evidence, would, to
the present Age at least, appear incredible; but as it is sup-
ported, it cannot be denied, or even disputed, and there-
fore it ought to convince us, that there is nothing of this
Nature impossible, or impracticable, if Men once set hear-
tily about it; so that we have no Reason to doubt, that if
the same Spirit of extending Commerce, which prevailed
in this Man's Days, should revive in ours, it would produce
like Effects, and discover to us such new Routes, such un-
expected and unlooked for Means of employing our indu-
strious Poor at home, by procuring a Vent for their Ma-
nufactures abroad, as would raise this Age as high in the
Opinion of Posterity, as the last Age appears, or ought to
appear, in ours. But it is now Time to return to our Au-
thor, and to attend to those Accounts of Japan which
have been left us by so able and so experienced a Per-
son, than which there are not perhaps any better to be met
with in any Language whatever.

2. In this Business, as we have seen, he was not the Ser-
vant of his own native Country, but of Holland, being
an able Pilot, and very skilful in all Points of marine Know-
ledge. He was hired by that People to go to Sea with
them; his Post was that of Master Pilot, the Management
of the whole Fleet (which consisted of five Sail) being
left principally to his Care and Prudence. They set Sail
from the Texel June the 24th, and made it the 21st of Au-
gust, by that Time they reached St. Jago, one of the Cape
de Verd Isles. Here they stayed almost a Month; so long,
that a good Part of the Fleet was sick with the unhealthy
Air of that Place, and they found it too true by Experi-
ence (which before the Dutch would not believe) that it was
a very barren Place as to any manner of good Refreshment.
September the 15th they passed the Line, though with
Trouble, because of the contrary southerly Winds that then
distressed them, and this was the Effect of having loitered
away too much Time before they came to attempt it.

They were now carried away to the Coast of Guinea, and
coming up with Cape de Lopez Gonzales, they landed their
sick Company there; but this Place denied Relief, as well
as the former, and the sick Men were forced to carry their
several Wants and Dilemmas aboard with them again. At
the Isle of Annobon they met with a little better Entertainment.
Here were Berries, Oranges, and other Fruits; but the
Plague of having an unhealthy Climate embittered the Com-
forts of this Refreshment, and the bad Air made them sick,
as fast as the good Provisions made them well. The Dutch
landed a Party of Men, and took the Town, a small thing
consisting of eighty Houles, and like to be of as little
Profit to the Conquerors, as it was Honour to them. 'Twas
towards the Middle of November before they got away from
thence, so hard is it to leave a good baiting Place, especially
when the next is so very uncertain, as it is in the Case of
Sailmen between Annobon and 40 S. L. they had the Winds
perpetually at S. by E. and S. S. E. but about that Parallel
they came up by S. E. and E. S. E. and E.

Their Course was now for the Magellanick Straights, and
they made it five Months failing between them and the

Island of Annobon; but the Miseries they endured by Hun-
ger in that Time were extream, and in the highest Degrees
dreadful: According to Mr. Adams's Relation, for a good
while they had each Man but a Quarter of a Pound of Bread
a Day, with a proportionally small Quantity of Wine and
Water; but it came at last to that pass, that they eat the
very Skins that covered the Ropes of the Ships, and by this
unnatural sort of Diet brought on strange Disorders and fee-
bleness of Body upon themselves; through all these Difficul-
ties, they made a Shift at last to reach the Magellanick
Straights, coming into the first Narrow of that Passage,
April the 6th; but this was but still out of one Difficulty
into another; 'twas only altering the Scene of their Misfor-
tunes, and coming to be miserable in another Place; for
the Winter was coming on here apace, the Cold began to
be severe and pinching, and the great Snows began too. To
make their Circumstances more compleatly dismal, many a
time would the Wind have served to have carried them
through the Straights, but the obstinate General would not
embrace the Opportunity, at the Advice of those that per-
suaded it, and so was the Occasion of the miserable Con-
finement of the Fleet all the Winter Season.

Here was Firing, indeed, enough for them all about the
Straights, every Place abounding with Wood; but there
was a worse Necessity amongst them, which this would
never supply, and the Cravings of the Belly were to be
satisfied by another sort of Provision. Here they continued
conflicting with Hunger, Dilemmas, and bad Weather,
till September, so that they stood the Shock of the whole
Winter at this Place, and endured the Extremities of all
the very worst Months of the Year. Abundance of their
Men died, being downright starved, and the rest were as
near it as they could well be; and now the General, having
had enough of the Winter Pleasures of the Magellanick
Straights, very politickly concluded, 'twas time to go away.
His Men were half dead, and the Remainder were almost
famished; the dismal Winter spent and gone, and the cheer-
ful Spring coming on, with the returning Sun, he thought
it high time to put out to Sea again before the Comfort of
the approaching Season forsook them.

3. So the latter End of September they set sail out of the
Straights, and being got into the South-Sea, were wretch-
edly tossed and beaten about in that turbulent Ocean: In
short, a furious Storm scattered the whole Fleet, and drove
them to seek their Fortunes, every one by themselves; they
had agreed before, in case of any such Disaster, that they
would stay for one another at some Place upon the Coast of
Chili, in the Latitude of 46°, and if the rest came not in a
Month, then those that were there should go on. Thither
Mr. Adams's Ship came, according to the Agreement, and
stayed the appointed Time. The Natives were civil and
friendly to them at first, and bartered Sheep and Potatoes
for little Toys, which they gave them; but at last they fell
off, removed up into the Country, and came no more to
them. Their Company not coming, they went away,
touching, as they passed, at the Bay of Baldivia, and the
Isle of Mecha; but not coming to Anchor any where, till
they did at the Cape Santa Maria, which is about twenty
Leagues from the Island of that Name to the Southward.

Here they found a convenient Bay, and good Ground
for anchoring; there were considerable Numbers of People
that appeared upon the Shore, but their Temper and Dis-
positions, as they were unknown, so they were now to be
tried; but they proved very cross and untoward; for at
their first Attempt to land the Indians looking upon them
as Invaders of the Country, set themselves to oppose them,
and poured in a Shower of Darts and Arrows upon the
Boats that came up to the Shore; but they being under the
Pinch of Hunger, and driven by an absolute Necessity to
endeavour some Means for the getting a Refreshment,
broke through the Weapons of the Barbarians, and landed
their Men. Now they made Signs of Peace on both Sides,
and a Cessation of Arms being, as it were, agreed on, they
came to a Parly in that Language of Signs, and the In-
dians understanding what they meant, brought them Wine
and Fruits for the little Commodities the others showed
them, and then signified to them, that they should now
return aboard again; and if they came ashore again the
next Day, they should have a farther Supply of Victuals.

Accordingly, the next Day the Captain landed, with a Score or more of Musketeers, and they had not marched far before a Party of *Indians*, to the Number of a thousand, that lay cunningly intrenched, fell upon them, and cut them all off.

4. This was a terrible Misfortune upon all Accounts, particularly in that this Execution had scarce left them Men enough to do the necessary Office of the Ships. With this Loss they went away from the inhospitable Cape, and came to the Isle of *Saint Mary* itself; here they found their Admirals, but in much the same distressed Condition as themselves, the Natives of the Island of *Mocha* having given them the same rude Treatment that those at the Cape had given the others, only of the two the Admiral had the worst on it, for they had lost more Men by the Darts of the *Indians*, and over and above that, their General himself. Now, to get some Refreshment at this Place was the great Difficulty; 'twas hard to lie still, and furnish on Ship-board, and 'twas as hard to venture on Shore, because they had not Men for it. In short, these two Wants were so great, and so unhappily complicated in their present Circumstance, that for all that appears, if an Accident had not reliev'd them, they must have concluded upon dying here without any more ado.

But a Couple of *Spaniards* that had a Design to betray them, came aboard (in a seeming friendly manner) for that Purpose, and were so wise as to do it without Pledges, or making any Provision for their safe Return. So when they had seen the Ship, and would have gone back again, they told them no, they were sensible of their ill Design, and would keep them Prisoners (especially since they came of their own Heads too) unless they would promise to furnish the Ship with so much Provisions. One may easily imagine the *Spaniards* were out of Humour upon it, to find themselves taken in such a Trap; but 'twas all one, 'twas to no Purpose to be in a Passion there, and they were forced to submit to those Terms of Deliverance, and glad to escape so too. The *Spaniards* brought in their Provisions according to the Agreement, and now they were once more relieved from a miserable Death.

After this the two Ships set sail in Company for *Japan*, the rest of the Fleet were given over for lost, and one of them they afterwards heard tell into the Hands of the *Spaniards* at *St. Jago*. Besides this, the King of *Spain's* Fleet waited for them upon the Coast of *Peru*, and had they lighted on them, 'tis very probable they had both followed their Companion in her Fate, since they were in so very weak and shattered a Condition.

5. It was November the 29th that they left the Island of *Saint Mary* upon the Coast of *Chili*, and having passed the Line, had a good Wind, and fair Weather for a good while, without any Interruption by Storms and Tempests. In the Latitude of fifteen or sixteen Degrees North, they fell in with some Islands of Canibals, or Men-eaters, as Mr. *Adams* calls them, without any Scruple, since eight or nine of their Men he believes were devoured by them. These Fellows, it seems, being weary of so long a Voyage, and willing to take up at the next resting Place, put themselves into the Pinnace, and so ran away; but which Way forever the Canibals disposed of them, 'tis certain, they never came aboard more. In the Latitude of 27 and 28° the Weather began to change upon them, the Winds that had lain still and quiet so long roused, and blew with a prodigious Fury. They had such a Storm of Wind and Rain, that equalled or exceeded the most violent any Mariner among them had seen.

In this horrible Confusion they lost one another, and the Admiral never came up to them more; but they followed on their Course for *Japan* alone, being still in hopes to meet her in one Part or other of that Island. Certainly, hardly ever any Man performed a Voyage in more Distress. Our Pilot tells us, that they had of all their Number but nine or ten left, that were able to stand, or creep upon their Knees. As for the Captain, and all the rest, they were all at their last Gasps, as it were, and expected to die every Hour: And this was a very dismal Case; for Storms will make the poor Seamen bestir and work themselves to the Purpose. But how shall Nature be supported in the mean time, and where shall Men have Strength to do these toil-

some Works, that have not Food to keep Life and Soul together?

6. It was April the 19th before they had Sight of the Coast of *Japan*, and by that Time there was but five of their Company that could go, Providence ordering the Matter so for them, that they had then a Prospect of Relief; when Things were run up to the highest Extremity, 'twas near to *Bungo* that they saw this first Island, and were then in about 35° 30'; but Mr. *Adams*, by the way, assures us, that that Coast of *Japan* is falsely placed in all our Maps, Charts, and Globes; for he says, it lies in 35° 30', which makes a considerable Difference from the common Account given by them of its Position. At *Bungo* several Boats of the Natives came up to them, and aboard them too, as they had a mind themselves, and it could be no otherwise, for there was no body to make any Resistance.

The Sailors were all quite spent, and if the *Japanese* would have plundered them, or knocked them on the Head, they might have done it without any Trouble; yet they did them no manner of Harm, as to any Violence, or any sort of Affront; but they pilfered and stole all that they could lay Hands on; for which some of them payed very dear afterwards. The Vice-King of the Place proved very kind to them, took them into his Protection, and sent a Guard (as soon as they were come to an Anchor in the Port) to see that none of the Merchants Goods were stolen. This would have done very well had it come in good Time; but the Thieves were there before them. However, here they had good Store of Provisions sent them, and a House provided on purpose for them, and, in short, were made very much of, and began in some measure to enjoy themselves, after all the Dangers and Fatigues of the Sea.

But 'twas their ill Luck to meet with *Portuguese* and *Jesuits* here; they were forced to make use of them for Interpreters indeed; but they had far better been without any, and chose rather to have made use of the silent Language of Gestures and Signs, than have made use of such Interpreters as they were: For, these Men gave the Character of them, that they commonly give of their *European* Neighbours (in all Parts of the World where they meet them) that they were Spies or Pirates, and not trading Men, as they themselves pretended; and this let the *Japanese* against them, that Mr. *Adams* tells us he was apprehensive at one time that they should have had the Fate of Pirates in that Country, which is to be set up upon Crosses.

Now, when a Company of poor *Siamen* came to throw themselves upon their Mercy, as it were, in a strange Country, where they were not able to speak for themselves, and where their Liberties and Lives depended entirely upon the Peoples good Opinion of them, to go and serve them at that rate, was an unpardonable Piece of Villany, and an Action so very inhuman and base, as was only fit for *Portuguese* and *Jesuits* to be guilty of; but it was not long before the Emperor, hearing of this Ship, sent for Mr. *Adams*, being the Pilot, to come to him. The Court was then at *Osaka*, which is about eighteen Leagues from *Bungo*. Hither came our *Englishman*, not knowing whether 'twas for Life or Death, to Prison and Punishment, or for their Favour and Enlargement.

7. The Emperor viewed him, he says, with a wonderful deal of Attention; but yet with his mild and favourable Countenance, took off, in a great Measure, from the Dread his Countenance might otherwise have impressed. He asked, by his Interpreters, a World of Questions about the Country Mr. *Adams* came from, the People, their Manners, their Affairs both as to War and Peace, and Products of it in Beasts, Fish, and Fowl, the Trade and Business, and Laws and Government; and, in short, the whole natural and civil History of it. More than this he purged him as to his Religion too, and would needs examine his Faith, asking him what 'twas he believed in? a Question, that if a Man had not known the Emperor's Religion, would almost have made him afraid; the *Jesuits* had set up an Inquisition here, and that he was one of the Tribunal.

But Mr. *Adams* puzzled him ten times worse, when he shewed him the *Magellanick Streets* in his Chart, thro' which he sailed to *Japan*. The Emperor perhaps had a pretty good Opinion of him before, but now he thought him a downright Liar, the Mystery of such a Voyage was

Food to keep Life and Soul

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so incomprehensible, that he had no Faith to bestow upon it; yet since Mr. Adams affirmed it, and he could not con- fute him, he entertained it as a Man does all Points of pure Mytery, with silent Admiration, and humble Submision of their Reason to the Difficulty, though cramped and tor- tured with it at the same time. Though his Understanding was affronted by it, yet his good Nature was not, and he was very good Friends with Mr. Adams afterwards, as ap- peared by his holding him in talk till Midnight: He had fe- veral other Conferences with the Emperor after this, but was for a considerable Time notwithstanding, kept in Prison, though he had all Necessaries allowed him, and nothing like a Punishment, but a large Confinement. The *Portuguese* made all the Interest at Court they could pos- sibly against him, and, by their Agents, were continually infusing some scandalous Reports of him and his Country in the Emperor's Ears; but all would not do, and the Prince was so just and generous as to tell them, that the *English*, having done him no Mischief, it would not be fair for him to see them suffer from any in his Country, and that it would be contrary to all the Laws of Justice and Reason, for him to suffer an innocent Man to be executed, merely because his Country and theirs were at War.

8. Mr. Adams's Circumstances now began to mend, and grew more favourable; his Enemies were quite disheart- ened, and the Emperor expressed every Day more and more good liking to him. In the first place, he freed him from his Imprisonment, and gave him leave to see his old Ship's Company, who were surprized with no small Joy at this, having heard 'tis probable from the *Portuguese*, who intended it should be so) that he had been executed some time before: But here he found the Ship absolutely plun- dered, and all his Goods and Instruments gone, and all the rest had lost what they had as well as he; for being all sick and weak ashore, the Goods lay ready for a Prey to those that could be unjust enough to seize them.

When this came to the Emperor's Ear, a Search was made, in order to the Recovery of them; but being gone too far out of Reach, he commanded fifty thousand Ri- als of Eight to be given them in part of Satisfaction; and to make sure that this Money should not be either fraudulently detained by his Treasurers, or converted to any other Use, he saw the Payment of it himself into the Hands of one who was appointed to have the Management of their Af- fairs, and to give it out to them in Parcels as they wanted. After this the Court removed to *Eddo*, about a hundred and twenty-two Leagues from *Ojacca*.

The Emperor ordered Mr. Adams to move thitherwards with his Ship, and here they took the Liberty to petition him, that they might be perfectly free, and pursue the Deligh of their Voyage, in going to trade in some other Parts; but this would not take, and the Emperor was not disposed to part with them yet; so they got the Money into their own Hands, and divided it amongst themselves, every Man his Share, and then they dispersed themselves about the Country, chusing those Places to settle in that best pleased their Fancies; but the Emperor ordered them, besides an Allowance of Rice, two Pound a Day for every Man, and over and above, so much yearly as came to eleven or twelve Ducats: There was no Distinction made between Captains, Pilots, and common Sailors; but they all fared alike.

9. Thus four or five Years went over their Heads, and they followed every Man his Business in the Country for a Livelihood, since 'twas determined that there they must live and die; but when the Term of Years was expired, the Emperor sent for Mr. Adams to Court, and the Business was to make him a Ship. This was not his Trade, as he told the Emperor, and though he knew how to guide a Ship at Sea, yet he was not used to the making of them; but he was so very urgent and pressing to have it done, that Mr. Adams undertook the Work, and built him a Ship of about eighty Tun.

When he came aboard it he expressed a wonderful deal of Pleasure in it, and 'twas a Piece of Service he valued so much, that the Maker of it rode mightily in his Favour, by this very Means; besides several very good Presents, his Pension was encreased too, being made such as came to 70 Ducats *per Annum*, over and above the former Allowance of Rice; and these well managed, were a tolerable Liveli-

hood for a single Person in the Country: But that which recommended him most effectually to the Emperor's Esteem was his Skill in Mathematical Learning; Mr. Adams had a good Share of Knowledge in the practical Parts, and was now honoured with having so great a Prince for his Scholar. He instructed him in several Points of these useful Arts, and made him capable of solving to himself that mysterious Problem of sailing to *Japan* by the *Magellanick Streights*. He could please him at any time with describing Geometrical Figures.

The Emperor was plunged in the Study, charmed and con- jured within the Circles Mr. Adams drew him. This latter used his Geometry to such good Purpose, that he discovered the true Method of managing his Royal Pupil by it, and got, as he says, the exact Length of his Foot. His Word was all in all in any Point of Dispute and Controversy, and which Side soever Mr. Adams took, the Emperor was always of the same. He had so great a Stroke now at Court, that even the *Jesuits* themselves were willing to make use of his Interest there, and courted him to be their Patron; and he declares, that by his means both *Spaniards* and *Portu- guese* received several Favours from the Emperor, which they were otherwise in no likely Way of obtaining. Being in those Circumstances, he thought it not impossible to win upon the Emperor, so far as to return into his own Coun- try, and for that Purpose renewed his old Request, prom- ising to do his utmost for the bringing both an *English* and a *Dutch* Trade to *Japan*, if he might be suffered to go home.

But the Emperor was too much pleased with his Com- pany to hearken to any Proposal about the losing of it. Mr. Adams should have concealed his Skill in Mathema- ticks, kept his Geometry and Navigation to himself, if he had intended to have seen his own Country again; he was too useful a Man to be parted with, and there was no Hopes of his Liberty, till he had quite lost the Knowledge of all those Arts that had so charmed the Emperor. In short, there was no going from him, and his Wife and Children must be contented without him; yet he procured Leave for the Captain of the *Dutch* Ship he came in to go, and, to make his Life as easy and pleasant as might be, the Em- peror settled a Lordship upon him, in which he had a Com- pass of Land to manage, and a Parcel of Slaves, to the Number of eighty or ninety, appointed to do his Country Work; and this was the Course of our *Englishman's* For- tune in that Part of the World, as he himself has descibed them.

10. As to the State of the Country, and its Affairs, he does not tell us much; he commends the *Japanese* largely for their Courtey and good Humour, Valour in War, Justice in their civil Concerns, and the happy Constitution of the Government. He believes no People to be Masters of better Politicks than they in their civil Government, nor have more Superstition in their Religion. They have va- rious Sects and Opinions amongst them, and some of them had embraced Christianity at the Time the Friars and Je- suits were very diligently at work to propagate it in several Parts of the Island. So far they had gone in Mr. Adams's Time, as to have some Churches, and Prospect of a con- siderable Number of Convents.

The Character he gives of Trade is, that Silks and Cloths are very vendable Commodities, and that for ready Mo- ney; and, according to his Relation, the *Japanese* have wherewithal to be very good Pay-masters, and can afford to give the best Rates for a Commodity, having Gold and Silver enough in their own Country, a very happy People surely, in the common Acceptation of Things, since they live in a pleasant Country, enjoy the Benefit of a rich Soil, and have besides Mines, which yield them vast Quantities of Gold and Silver. If any thing could have contented this Man out of the Limits of his own Country, and without the Enjoyment of the Conversation of his Family and Friends, he might assuredly have met with it in *Japan*, where the King of *Surunga*, whom he called Emperor, treated him with extraordinary Kindness, and rewarded the Pains taken in his Service with a Magnificence truly royal.

He employed Mr. Adams to sail in the Vessel he had built for him as far as *Eddo*, which our Author tells us was as far as from *London* to the *Lizard*, or Land's End. As he succeeded

succeeded happily in this, as well as in other Affairs; he was directed to build a larger Vessel after the European manner, which accordingly he did, with the Assistance of such as were under him, and who, following his Instructions, finished a very good Ship, of the Burden of one hundred Tuns, and that she was in every respect a very compleat Vessel, appears from the Use that was afterwards made of her; for it is tell out, *Anno Domini* 1609, that the Spanish Governor of the *Maulais*, going in a large Gallion of one thousand Tun to *New Spain*, was driven out of his Course by a violent Storm, which threw him upon the Coast of *Japan*, where arriving in the Night, the Crew, through Ignorance, ran the Vessel on Shore in the Latitude of $35^{\circ} 50'$ North, by which unfortunate Accident one hundred and thirty-six Men were drowned, but the Governor with three hundred and fifty more escaped, and applied themselves to the Emperor, beseeching him to have Compassion upon them in their Distress, and to assist them in their Design of proceeding to *New Spain*.

As the *Japanese*, from the Maxims of their Government, were never very desirous of having many Strangers in their Dominions, this Request of the Spanish Governor was very readily complied with, and as soon as Provisions and other Necessaries could be got together, the Governor and his Men were embarked on Board the Ship which Mr. *Adams* last built, in which they lately proceeded to *Acapulco*. In Gratitude for this Favour, this Governor, in the Year 1611, sent another Ship in Exchange, with a great Present, and an Ambassador on Board, who had Instructions to thank the Emperor for his Civility, and also to make him a large Present.

It was in this Year also that our Author had an Opportunity, by the Arrival of a Dutch Ship, to give his Countrymen in *England* some Account of his Adventures, and of the Condition he was then in. This Letter he addressed to his unknown Friends and Countrymen, desiring it might be carried either to *Amboynse* near *London*, or to *Gillingham* in *Kent*; and in the Beginning of it he takes notice, that he was born at that Town; that at twelve Years old he was bound Apprentice to Mr. *Nicholas Digges*, whom he served twelve Years, and was afterwards in her Majesty's Queen *Elizabeth's* Service, and then spent eleven or twelve Years in serving the Merchants who traded to *Barbary*, till being desirous of visiting the *East-Indies*, he went over to *Holland*, and there entered into the Service of the Dutch.

The Conclusion of his Letter is extremely curious, and therefore I shall give it my Readers in his own Words, that they may better judge of the Genius and Capacity of the Man, who made such a Change in the Affairs of *Japan*, and procured a Settlement for the Dutch, which without his Assistance, it is very probable they had never attained.

"Now, whether I shall come out of this Land I know not; until this present there hath been no Means, but now through the Trade of the *Hollanders* there is Means. In the Year of our Lord 1609, two *Holland* Ships came to *Japan*, their Intention was to take the Carriack that yearly came from *Macao*, and being some five or six Days too late, nevertheless they came to *Firando*, and came to the Court to the Emperor, where they were in great Friendship received, conditioning with the Emperor yearly to lend a Ship of two, and so they departed, with the Emperor's Pals. Now, this Year 1611, there is a small Ship arrived with Cloth, Lead, Elephants Teeth, Damask, and black Taffates, raw Silk, Pepper, and other Commodities, and they have shewed Cause why they missed the former Year 1610, according to Promise yearly to come.

"This Ship is well received, and with great Kindness entertained: You shall understand, that the *Hollanders* have here an Index of Money, for they need not to bring Silver out of *Holland* to the *East-Indies*, for in *Japan* there is much Silver and Gold to serve their Turns in other Places, where Need requireth in the *East-Indies*, but the Merchandise, which is here vendible for ready Money, is raw Silk, Damask, black Taffates, Black and red Cloth of the best, Lead, and such-like Goods. So now understanding by this *Holland* Ship lately arrived here, there is a settled Trade driven by my Countrymen

"in the *East-Indies*, I presume some amongst them, either Merchants, Masters, or Mariners, must needs know me. Therefore I have emboldened myself to write these few Lines, in short, being desirous not to be over tedious to the Reader.

"This Island of *Japan* is a great Land, and lieth to the Northward in 48° , and the southernmost Part of it in 35° , and the Length of it E. by N. and W. by S. (for it lies) is two hundred and twenty-eight Leagues. The Breadth South and North of it, thirteen Degrees, twenty Leagues to the Degree, is two hundred sixty Leagues, and is almost square. The People of this Island of *Japan* are Good of Nature, courteous above Measure, and Valiant in War. Their Justice is severely executed, without any Partiality, upon Transgressors of the Law. They are governed in great Civility, I think no Land better governed in the World by civil Policy. The People are very superstitious in their Religion, and are of diverse Opinions. There are many Jesuits and Franciscan Friars in this Land, and they converted many to be Christians, and have many Churches in the Island.

"Thus, in short, I am constrained to write, hoping by one Means or other, in Process of Time, I shall hear of my Wife and Children, and so with Patience I wait the good Will of God Almighty, desiring all those to whom this my Letter shall come, to use the Means, to acquaint my good Friends with it, that so my Wife and Children may hear of me; by which Means there may be Hope that I may hear of my Wife and Children before my Death. The which the Lord grant to his Glory and my Comfort. *Amin*. Dated in *Japan*, the twenty-second of *October*, 1611."

11. As short as our Author's Description of *Japan* may appear, it deserves some Notice and Explication. There is no doubt, that he extends the Latitude of this Country too high, when he tells us, it reaches to forty eight Degrees; but perhaps he took what he wrote from the Information of the Inhabitants, and might, by his Enquiries, as to the Distance they had sailed and travelled North, be led to take the Land of *Zeas* into his Computation; and if so, we may very easily account for his extending the Bounds of *Japan* into so high a Latitude; neither is he to be blamed; for supposing that Country a Part of the Continent, and of the Empire of *Japan*, since the Natives were at that Time persuaded of both, and consequently in his Circumstances he was not likely to obtain any better Information. The rest of his Account is exact enough, and the whole of it is apparently calculated to invite the *English* thither, by affording them a Prospect of an advantageous Commerce. It is plain likewise, that Mr. *Adams* meant by this all the Service possible to his Country, and if it should be enquired why he introduced the Dutch there first, the Answer is very clear, and very evident, because he had no Means of writing to, or corresponding with the *English*, how much sooner he desired it.

It is also very evident, that by his Introduction of the Dutch, he meant to find out some Means of corresponding with his own Countrymen; and indeed, it was a very natural Method, since he came to *Japan* in the Dutch Service, and had no other Way of working his own Deliverance, but by their Means. Another natural and just Observation upon his Letter is, that he speaks very briefly of Facts, and without mentioning anything to his own Praise; in which, without doubt, he acted very prudently, and this for two Reasons. In the first Place, if he had given a large and full Account of the Dutch Settlement, and of the Pains it cost him to establish it, it would certainly have hindered his Letter from coming at all to the Hands of his Countrymen, by raising the Jealousy of the Dutch, who were extremely tender of having their Affairs known. This is the more certain, since the latter Part of a Letter which he wrote to his Wife, and which contained a larger and more full Account of the Affairs of *Japan*, was actually torn off, and destroyed by those who were entrusted with it. In the second Place, supposing his Epistle had been more fortunate, and had come directly to the Hands of the *English*, it would not have recommended him to

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taken in procuring the Dutch a Settlement in that Coun-
try, and therefore the longer, and the more attentively we
consider his Manner of Proceeding, the more certain we
may be, that he acted in this Respect with all the Care
and Precaution, and at the same Time, with all the Up-
rightness and publick Spirit that it was possible.

It is from a just Sense of this, and because I find no-
thing said of him by any of our Historians, or Collectors
of Voyages, besides what they have taken out of his own
Works, that I judged it reasonable in itself, and a thing
that could not but be agreeable to the judicious and intelli-
gent Reader, to pursue the Thread of this Man's History,
by the Help of Foreign Writers, for Dutch, Portuguese,
and Spanish Authors have thought the Actions of this Man
worthy of being recorded, though there is so little said of
them by our own; and indeed, the Affairs in which he
was engaged were of such a Nature, and his Conduct so
extraordinary, that we need not wonder at their taking so
much Pains, the rather, if we consider, that in their Turns
they all felt the Effects of his Management, and of the
Credit he required at the Imperial Court.

12. In order to fit this History in a clear Light, it is
 requisite to go back a little, in order to shew the Reader
 what Mr. Adams has concealed, which is, that it was by
 his means that Dutch Ships were brought thither in the
 Year 1609, and the Thing happened thus: When he found
 there was no Hopes of procuring his own Liberty, he not
 only applied, as he tells us, for the Discharge of his Cap-
 tain, but of another Dutch Officer, supposing that two
 Lives were better than one, in which he judged very right,
 for his Captain was soon afterwards killed, and it was the
 other Officer who carried the News of Mr. Adams's Establish-
 ment in Japan to the Dutch Settlements in the East-Indies.

It was in Consequence of this, that a Yacht, called the
 Lion, was sent in the Spring of the Year 1609, from the
 River of *Yokore* to Japan. This Vessel arrived on the
 Coast of *Firando* on the first of July, and two Commissioners
 being sent to the Emperor's Court, they, by the Interest
 of Mr. Adams, procured all they could desire; and having
 free Liberty given them to trade, sailed on the 3d of Oc-
 tober, arrived at *Bantam* on the last of November, and from
 thence continuing their Voyage home, arrived safely in the
 Texel on the 20th of July 1610. It was on the Report
 they made, that another final Yacht was sent, which ar-
 rived at *Firando* on the 1st of July 1611.

The first thing they did was to have Recourse to Mr.
 Adams; for at their Arrival they found all things went very
 untowardly, at least in their Opinion, who were not at all
 used to that sort of Behaviour which was practised by the
 Japanese; and therefore they absolutely refused to comply
 with what was demanded of them, in giving a List of the
 Merchandize which they brought to the Royal Factor. On
 the other hand, the Japanese were but indifferently satis-
 fied with them; for, whereas they expected an annual Ship
 should have been sent, as there was, from *Macao*, there
 was now two Years elapsed, and but a very small Vessel,
 and a Cargo of very moderate Value sent at last, which did
 not at all agree with the Humours of the Japanese, who,
 like most of the Eastern Nations, are exceedingly caught
 by Pomp and Shew.

To heal these Breaches, the principal Persons on board
 the Ship went to make Mr. Adams a Visit, resolving to be
 wholly guided by his Instructions, because, as the Dutch
 Writer of this Voyage informs us, they were very well
 satisfied he had as much or more Interest with the Emperor
 than any of his Ministers or Nobility; and it was purely
 out of respect to him, that after their first Differences with
 the Officer at the Court, they had obtained Licence to make
 their Application to the Emperor. On their coming to
 Court, Mr. Adams observed to them, that though their
 Cargo was small, it would be requisite to make consider-
 able Presents, since it depended upon their Behaviour on
 this Occasion, whether the Licence which he had procured
 for them to trade, should be continued, or suppressed. The
 Knight he gave them into the Commodities and Manufac-
 tures of the Country, and the vast Profits that might be
 made, by establishing themselves there, operated so power-
 fully on their Minds, that they came immediately into all

that he proposed, and very wisely resolved not to heed the
 Losses they might sustain by their first Cargo, provided they
 might secure thereby a second Licence to send an annual
 Ship thither.

On the other hand, Mr. Adams had such an Interest with
 the principal Persons, and great Ministers at the Court of
 Japan, that he soon brought them to consider the Dutch
 in that Light in which it was most for their Interest that
 they should be considered. There was at that Time a
 Spanish Ambassador at the Court of Japan, who had a great
 Train, made a splendid Appearance, and took great State
 upon him; for which Reason the Dutch Supercargoes were
 very apprehensive that he would get the better of them in
 their Negotiation; but Mr. Adams having taken the Affair
 entirely into his own Hands, turned this very Incident to
 their Advantage. He represented to the Japanese Mini-
 sters, that this Spanish Ambassador treated them with an
 Air of Haughtiness and Superiority, and rather dictated to
 them his Demands, than applied to them for their Favour;
 whereas the Dutch were absolutely a trading People, no way
 formidable to them in any respect, who desired to have the
 Honour of furnishing the Emperor and his Subjects with
 such Foreign Commodities as they wanted, and were ready
 to submit to such Regulations, and to carry on their Trade
 under such Restrictions, as for the Safety and Welfare of
 the Empire they, in their great Wisdom, should think fit to
 prescribe.

By this means, as the Dutch Writers themselves confess,
 Mr. Adams wrought so effectually in their Favour, that
 they were every where received, not only with Civility and
 Kindness, but with the greatest Candor and Complaisance,
 while the Spanish Ambassador, notwithstanding the great
 Figure he made, was not only very coldly treated, and
 made little Progress in his Negotiation, but was likewise
 exposed to Civilities and Affronts.

The Portuguese Writers attribute also to our Countryman
 Adams the evil Impressions that about this Time the Em-
 peror began to entertain of their Nation, and particularly
 of the Millionaries, of which, however, we find not the
 least Footstep in either Dutch or English Author: But, to
 say the Truth, it is probable enough, and what they re-
 port is very consistent with the Notions that are ascribed to
 Mr. Adams by the Dutch Writers. In short, he did ex-
 press some Dislike to the Jesuits, and when asked concern-
 ing them by the Emperor, he said very freely, that they
 were the Authors of all the Disturbances in Europe, and
 that they had been expelled not only Great-Britain, but
 France, for this Reason. It is highly probable, that the
 Emperor might from hence take a Resolution of treating
 them in the same manner, for the Security of his own Do-
 minions, but then it must be allowed, he would not have
 thought of taking this Measure, if he had not found their
 Behaviour in Japan justify the Character which Mr. Adams
 had given him of them: But the Portuguese Writers say
 not a Word of the Calumnies spread by their Priests, and the
 Japanese Nobility in their Interest, against the English
 and the Dutch, representing both Nations as a sort of Pirates
 and Free-booters, which might not only provoke Mr.
 Adams to make such Returns, but likewise lay him under
 a kind of Necessity of clearing up these Points to the Em-
 peror's Satisfaction. But to return to our Subject:

About the latter End of August 1611, the Dutch, thro'
 Mr. Adams's Interest solely, obtained a Licence to trade in
 Japan under the Emperor's Seal, in which, however, that
 Clause was wanting which chiefly induced them to make
 this long Journey to Court, and that was an Exemption
 from being visited by the Inspector of Commerce, by whom
 they had been greatly aggrieved. This Officer, tho' a
 very bad Man, had a very great Interest at Court, his
 Sister being one of the Emperor's Wives; and the Dutch
 found, upon Application to the prime Minister, that he was
 so much afraid of offending her, that he durst not so much
 as propose that Clause to the Emperor, which gave them
 great Concern, since without obtaining it, they were not
 much inclined to make use of the Licence.

To obviate this Difficulty, the prime Minister proposed,
 that Mr. Adams should draw up a Petition for inserting of
 this Clause, with such Reasons as he thought proper, and
 should take an Opportunity of presenting it to the Emperor

when he was in a good Humour, promising that he would do all in his Power to support it; and assuring him at the same time, that he had written such a Letter to the Inspector, as would prevent their meeting with any Difficulties for the present, advising them to leave the whole Affair to the Management of Mr. Adams, for whose Success he would be answerable; but all he could say had no Effect upon the *Dutch*; they were resolved to trust no body, and not to stir from Court, till they had this Clause inserted in their Licence.

To satisfy them therefore, if it was possible, Mr. Adams drew up a proper Petition, and the very next Day presented it to the Emperor himself, whole Content and Seal he procured; so that by his Interest the *Dutch* obtained, on their last Application, what the *Portuguese* were never able to obtain in the Course of 30 many Years as they had been settled in *Japan*, which is such a Proof of Mr. Adams's Interest at that Court, as if it was not reported by the *Dutch* Writers themselves, would scarce deserve Credit; but, as it is, I think there can be no sort of doubt raised about it. All Things being thus settled to their Satisfaction, and every thing done for them that they could desire, they returned to *Firando*, and having landed their Goods, and settled a Factory there, they sailed from thence on the 28th of September 1611.

14. It is of this *Dutch* Ship, and her Reception, that Author speaks, at the Close of his Letter, in Terms which seem particularly designed to shew his Countrymen how much a matter it would be for them to establish a Factory in that Empire. I have taken all the Pains I can to get how the Letters of Mr. Adams were conveyed to the *English*, but to very little Purpose; for all that I can say upon this Subject is, that they were brought to the Port of *Yedo*, in the Month of *October* the next Year, that is, Anno Domini 1612. There was then there a considerable Number of *English* Ships and Merchants, to whom these Letters were read, and it was presently agreed, that such an Opportunity was not to be lost; whereupon Captain John Saris, whom the *Portuguese* are pleased to call Sir William Saris, was ordered to sail in the *Clare*, a large *East* Indian, from thence for *Japan*.

He had on Board him seventy four *English*, one *Spaniard*, and five *Indians*; and on the 14th of January 1613, he proceeded on his Voyage. On the last of that Month he had Sight of the great Island of *Ceibes*, passed happily through the Straights of *Bouton*, and towards the End of the Month of *February* reached the *Moluccas*. He made some Stay there, though he was but indifferently treated by the *Dutch*. On the 24th of *April*, he observed an extraordinary Eclipse of the Moon, about Sixteen in the Morning, when, he says, lasted three Hour and an half. On the last of *June* he passed the Tropick of *Cancer*, and on the ninth of the same Month had Sight of the Island of *Ximo*, which is one of the Islands of *Japan*. On the eleventh he arrived at *Firando*, and was very well received; but found it, however, impossible to do any thing, till the King had first acquainted Mr. Adams with his Arrival, who was then at *Edo*, three hundred Leagues from thence. The Messenger, it seems, did not make to much Haste as he ought to have done, and therefore the King, upon his Return, sent him into Banishment.

On the 24th of *July* Mr. Adams arrived, and Captain Saris conferred with him about the Means of settling a Trade, and the Prospect there was of making it worth their while. He was told upon this Subject, that the Commerce of *Japan*, like that of the rest of the World, was sometimes more, sometimes less profitable; but that, however, it was always found worth the seeking, and worth the pains.

Here I must but observe, that in Captain Adams's Opinion, Mr. Adams had acquired a great Affection to that Country, in which he had now spent near twelve Months. The was a Remark natural enough to make, for one who was so long conversed, either with him, or with the Countess, the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* Writers, who, for what Reason I know not, always stile him Sir William Adams, and justly seem to have been a Person of great Probity, and unblemished Character, and one, whose Candour and Sincerity had been fully esteemed, even by such as considered him as an Enemy. But Captain Saris seems to have

looked upon him as a mere *English* Pilot, and therefore much his Inferior, without considering that his Circumstances were now very much changed, and that therefore he ought to have been looked upon as a kind of Minister to the Emperor of *Japan*.

He took his Advice, however, and agreed to go with him to the Emperor's Court, to which he was the more readily induced, by the King of *Firando*'s offering him all kind of Conveniences for his Journey. He carried with him Presents for the Emperor, the Emperor's Son, then prime Ministers, for the Judge at *Medoa*, for the Admiral, and for the Treasurer; all of which amounted together to the Value of one hundred and eighty Pounds, which was no mighty Sum to expend for procuring the Privileges which he expected; but it will be more agreeable to the Design of this Work, and at the same time will afford more Entertainment to the Reader, to give the History of this Journey as near as may be, in Captain Saris's own Words, which I the more readily do, because he has been always considered, and, I think with good Reason, as one of the most sensible of our old Writers, and in whole Travels we find the fewest Mistakes. Thus then he relates the Story of his Journey.

We set Sail from *Firando*, and passed by several Islands, the most Part are very well inhabited, and had fair Towns upon them, but the first of Note that we put in at was *Fucate*, a very large and considerable Place, not much less than *London*; within the Walls very well built, and so even and uniform, that one might see from one End of a Street to another. It has a strong Stone Castle, a good Ditch, and a Draw-bridge, all kept in very good Repair; but no Soldiers, or Ordnance. As for Ordnance, indeed, I did not so much wonder to find none, since there was no such thing at *Firando*; and 'tis a sort of military Furniture that the *Japanese* are wholly without. All along this Coast, and so up to *Osaka*, we found Women that lived with their whole Families upon the Water, getting their Livelihood by Fishing, at which they were very great Artificers; but they had two Strings to their Bow, and 'twas next to impossible for the Fish to escape them; for what they missed with their Lines and Nets, they would dive for, and catch that Way without fail; and thus they would do with ease, to the Depth of eight Fathoms. These Women are very easy to be known from all others, for by continual diving, their Eyes were strangely altered, and looked as red as Blood; and by this Token the diving Women are distinguished in *Japan*.

When we passed the Straights of *Ximura-jouke*, the next Town of note we came to was *Oaca*, nothing inferior to the former in Compaiss and Dimensions, and one of the principal Sea-ports of the Empire. There's a River comes up to it as wide as the *Thames*, and several very fine Timber-bridges laid over it. It has a Cattle very extraordinary for Bigness and Strength, with very deep Treadles about it, and several Draw-bridges artificially made, and Grates so strongly plated with Iron, as may seem to bid defiance to any Battery in the World. The whole Building of the Cattle is of Free-stone, and the Walls are of the same; but a matter of seven Yards thick, and put together without any Mortar, or Cement; the Stones being so nicely cut, as to be perfectly close together, and needs no other binding; only at there happens to be a void Space any where, they throw a little Earth to fill up the Crevice; and that's all they do. It is regularly contrived, strengthened with Bulwarks, and Battlements, with good Store of Loop-holes for small Shot and Arrows, and various Passages for the throwing out of Stones upon those that should come to attempt it; and one would easily believe it to be a mighty strong and secure Building, without having a particular Account of it, when one hears what use the Emperor puts it to, and with what Importance the Jewel is here kept in safe Custody.

In short, here lives (lock'd up in the Cattle) the true and genuine Heir of *Japan*; here, I say, he lives, but so happy as to be ignorant of his real Quality, Rights, and just Pretensions; though, at the same time, to us fortunate as to be excluded from them all. The truth of the matter is, the present Emperor is an Usurper, and stepped into the Throne, in a way not only contrary to the Law

English Pilot, and therefore considering that his Circumstances changed, and that therefore upon as a kind of Minister

ever, and agreed to go with to which he was the more of *Firando's* offering him all Journey. He carried with him, the Emperor's Son, then at *Meaco*, for the Admiral, which amounted together to eighty Pounds, which was for procuring the Privileges will be more agreeable to the same time will afford order, to give the History of be, in Captain *Saru's* own family do, because he has been with good Reason, as one Writers, and in whole Transactions. Thus then he relates the

and passed by several Islands; inhabited, and had fair Towns. Note that we put in at was a considerable Place, not much less very well built, and to even from one End of a Street Stone Cattle, a good Ditch, very good Repair; but no Ordinance, indeed, I did one, since there was no such sort of military Furniture that it. All along this Coast, and Women that lived with their, getting their livelihood are very great Artists; but now, and 'twas next to im- them; for what they mis- they would dive for, and catch as they would do with Bale. These Women are very rs, for by continual diving, red, and looked as red as diving Women are distin-

ts of *Ximna-jone*, the next *Ojaca*, nothing inferior to Dimensions, and one of the Empire. There's a River *Teames*, and several very nt. It has a Cattle very ex- Strength, with very deep Draw-bridges artificially plated with Iron, as may tatter in the World. This is of Free-stone, and the matter of seven Yards thick, y Mortar, or Cement; th to be perfectly close together, only it there happens they throw a little Earth to all they do. It is regular-Bulwarks, and Battlement, les for small Shot and Ar- the throwing out of Stones is attempt it; and one would try strong and secure Ban- Account of it, when one its it to, and with what Im- in late Custody.

up in the Cattle, the truth here, I say, he lives, but at his real Quality, Rights, at the same time, to win them all. The truth of Emperor is an Usurper, and way not only contrary to the Law

Law of that Kingdom, but the more secret ones of eternal Justice and Reason. The old Emperor, when he died, left this Son, then an Infant, under the Care and Tuition of four principal Noblemen; whereof *Ogoshosamma*, the present Emperor, was one, and the chief. The other three Governors, Men of Intrigue and ill Principles, and fonder by far of flattering their own Pride, and Ambition, than discharging their Duties of a sacred Trust committed to them, made Pretensions to the Sovereignty, and put in for the Crown themselves.

In Opposition to whom, as also to assert the Rights of the royal Pupil, *Ogoshosamma* took up Arms; and having intirely routed the other Pretenders, had the supreme Power, suddenly clapped all into his own hands; and now the charming Opportunity told him, he had as good be Emperor himself. All his Competitors were removed out of the Way. The true Heir was incapable of understanding and redressing his Case. All the Power was his own; and he wanted only the Name of an Emperor, which was so very small a thing, that he resolved not to be without that any longer. The young Prince he kept always about him, and in perfect Ignorance of himself, and his Relation to the Crown, suffering him to know no other, but that he was his Son; all that are about him being such as the present Emperor has brought up from their Cradles, and so not able to give him any better Information. And to make all sure, when he was grown to Years, he married him to his own Daughter, and so confined them to the Castle of *Ojaca*, where they live like the Children of an Emperor, as to all Points of State and Grandeur, only Liberty; that sweetens all the rest; civil Policy is pleased to deny them.

Over against *Ojaca*, on the other side of the River, lies another great Town, called *Sacay*, a Place of very great Trade for all the Isles thereabouts. At *Fujibimi*, to which we came next, we found a Garrison of three thousand Soldiers, appointed for the keeping some of these Parts in good Order. This Garrison is shifted every three Years; and the Change happening when we came thither, we had the Advantage of seeing something of the Rules of their military Discipline: they generally march no more than five a-breast, and to every ten Files there's an Officer deputed, who regulates the March, and keeps all in perfect Order. Their Disposition, according to the Quality of their Arms, is thus. First of all march their Shot, that is, Calivers, for Muskets they have none, neither will they use any; then follow Pikes, then Cattans and Targets, Bows and Arrows, Waggadashes or Hooks, and lastly Calivers again close the March; and among all these they have no Colours, Drums, Trumpets, nor any sort of warlike Music.

The *Japanese* Horses are not large, or high, but of the Size of our milking Horses, small headed, and extremely full of Mettle; and, in my Opinion, far beyond *Spanish* Gennets, both in stately Carriage and Spirit. Their Soldiers observe very good Order upon the Road, and so exactly governed, that they are as welcome at the publick Houses as any Guests whatever; no Man is in the least disturbed or incommoded by them; they take what they find, as other People do, and pay for it without any quarrelling: The Roads are very well furnished with Houses of Entertainment; and when there are Soldiers upon the March, they provide Victuals for them; so that they have, at an Instant's Warning, what they want, and at very cheap Rates; a Dinner of good, wholesome Food, and enough of it, from two Shillings downward, to one Penny.

The Diet generally used through the Country is Rice of several Sorts, the white being counted the best; Fish, fresh and salted, Herbs, Radishes, Beans, Duck, Teal, Pheasant, Partridge, Quail, and Fowls: Of Beasts they have all sorts; of Deer, wild Boars, Goats, and black Cattle; Cheese also in great Plenty; but Butter they make none; neither will they eat any Milk, because they esteem it the Blood of the Animal; and, for what Reason I know not, they will not touch a Bit of any tame Beasts, tho' they have them in abundance. Their Wheat ought not to be forgotten, which is as plump, and as good as any, but all of the red Colour. We did in our travels buy Rice at a Half-penny per Pound; Hens and Pheasants, the

best and fattest, for three Pence a-piece; Higs, very large, for a Shilling; a fat Hog for five Shillings; a good Ox for sixteen Shillings; and a Goat at three Shillings. The Drinks in request in this Country are only the Spirits distilled from the Rice, very strong, and of the Colour of Canary, and common Water, which is the common Drink of the poorer sort of People, that can't reach to the Price of other Liquor. They always drink their Water warm, and say that 'tis good to kill the Worms in the Maw.

Our Motions being directed to *Suranga*, where the Emperor then kept his Court, by the latter End of this Month we had gone as far as our Way lay by Water; and now being to finish the Remainder of our Journey by Land, we were furnished with Horses, and all Conveniences for that purpose, at the Emperor's Charge. I had also a Palanquin or one of their Sedans provided for me, and a fresh Supply of Men drawn out of every Place for the carrying me therein, when I was tired of my Horses; and, for the greater State, a Slave appointed to run with a Pike before the Palanquin. The King's Harbingers also went before, and took up our Lodging upon the Road. This Part of the Journey was very pleasant and easy; the Way, for the most part, is exceeding even and plain; and wherever there was any rugged, mountainous Ground, a smooth level Passage was cut through it. This road is all along good Sand and Gravel; 'tis divided into Leagues for the Benefit of Travellers; and at every League's End are two small Hills raised, on either side one, and upon each a fair Pine-tree planted. The Design of which Mark is to make Travellers competent Judges of the Length of their own Journeys, that they may not be abused by the Hackney-men, and those that let out Horses, and so pay for a greater Number of Miles than they have rode.

All along the Road you meet with Multitudes of People passing and repassing, and Towns, and pleasant Villages, Farms and Country-houses; and sometimes Temples, standing at a little Distance, in shady Groves, with the Habitations of the Priests round about them. The most unpleasant Sight we had, was the Sight of the Malefactors, fastened upon Crosses, near all the great Towns where those Executions had been performed. Crucifying is a very common Punishment among them at *Japan*; and, as they manage it, 'tis some sort of Punishment to Travellers too, to pass by a Multitude of noisome, putrifying Carcasses and Bodies; besides the Horror of the Sight, to have the Disturbance of the Smell those Bodies yield: And we had the worst Trial of all when we came to *Suranga*; there were Crosses, Scaffolds, and Gibbets, Heads, Carcasses, and Limbs, hanging about in so many Places without the City, that our Pleasure in going along was greatly lessened. *Suranga* seems to be as big as *London*, even taking in the whole Compaſs of the Suburbs: The outer Parts of it we found entirely taken up by Mechanics and Artificers of all sorts, who are placed there to the Ease and Quiet of the genteeler People, and don't care to be disturbed with the Noise and Bustle the others make in their Trades.

After a Repose of a Day or two, I went, with all my Company in a Body, to the Cattle, to have Audience of the Emperor, and to deliver the Presents intended for that Court; I was introduced by two of the greatest Men then in Attendance, the Emperor's Secretary and his Admiral. These led me first into a very fine matted Room, where we sat down for some time, according to their Custom, upon Mats; then they brought me into a Chamber of Prefence, where stood an empty Chair of State, to which I was obliged to do Reverence. After some short time, word was brought, that the Emperor was come into the Room of Audience, to the Door of which these Courtiers brought me, but durst not presume to look in themselves. The Custom is, for all the Presents that are brought to be placed in order upon the Mats of that Room into which the Emperor comes; and accordingly, when I came in, I found them all in a very orderly manner laid before him. He received his Majesty's Letter with the Civility of that Country, lifting it up towards his Forehead, and then, by his Interpreter, bid me welcome: He desired me to go and

and fee the King his Son at *Edo*, (with all the Necessaries, for which Journey he would take care to furnish me) and by that time I returned, his Letters should be ready for our King.

The Articles relating to Trade and Privilege, which we requested his Majesty's Confirmation of, were all easily granted by him, one only excepted, respecting the *Chinese*: It was to this Purpose, That whereas the *Chinese* had refused all Trade and Commerce with the *English*, if we could take any of them abroad at Sea, it might be lawful for us to bring them into *Japon*, and make sale of the Goods, so taken, in his Majesty's Dominions. This the Emperor granted at first; but his Mind was altered afterwards by a Conference with the Ambassador of *China*, and he refused to allow it. The rest all passed under his Great Seal, which is not of Wax, like ours, but stamped like a Print, and coloured red. The Secretary would take no Present, nor any thing like a Gratuity from us; the Emperor, it seems, had commanded the contrary, and 'twas as much as his Life was worth to do it.

Having seen this Business done, we set out from *Suranga* for the great City of *Edo*, where the Emperor's Son, the young King, keeps his Court: The Country is well inhabited between these two Cities; the Towns and Villages lie thick, and the *Fotoques*, or Temples, scattering up and down in good Numbers too. There's one mighty Image, (which they call *Dabiz*; that stands in this Road, at which all the *Japanese* stop to pay their Devotions, when they go this way. It is made of Copper, all hollow within, tho' very thick: 'Tis in the Shape of a Man kneeling on the Ground, with his Buttocks resting on his Heels, and his Arms extended: He is represented wearing a Gown, and notwithstanding that bending Posture, is twenty-two Foot from the Level of the Ground, and all the Body proportionally large. Some of our Men went into the Body of it, and then fell a hollowing and hooping; the Noise of which, out of the wide Mouth of the Image, was much such agreeable sort of Music as, I believe, was made by *Phalaris's* brazen Bull. It stands conveniently to entertain the Devotion of Pilgrims in their Passage to the celebrated Temple of *Tencheday*; for they always make a pause at *Dabiz*, but this is but a slight Ceremony.

It is at *Tencheday's* Temple the great Work is to be done, and the Pilgrims expect to receive the Reward of their Travel. And here one may meet all sorts of People, rich and poor, sound and disordered, continually coming and going thither, and that by Night, as well as by Day, and all the Year round. About the Middle of this Month we came to *Edo*, a City much larger than *Suranga*, nobler in its Buildings, and every way more glorious in its Appearance. The very Tiles of the Houses are gilded, and the Posts of the Doors set off with shining Varnish. They have no Glass-windows, but all of Board, which open in Leaves, and are very delicately painted: There's a Causeway runs thro' the chief Street in the City; which Street is as broad as any in *England*; and a fine River passes along by, or rather underneath the Causeway; at every fifty Paces there's a Well-head substantially fitted up of Free-Stone, and provided with Buckets for the People, in case of any Danger by Fire. The Castle of this City is a much stronger and nobler Edifice than that of *Suranga*; and the young King lives in much greater State, and has a more pompous Attendance than the Emperor his Father.

He received us in a very obliging Manner, taking the King's Letters and Presents with a wonderful Satisfaction and Content, and giving us all the Welcome imaginable. He gave us Letters for our Kings, and a Present of two intricate Suits of *Japon* Armour, finely varnished, and a long Sword for myself: 'Tis to be noted, that the Cattans are a common wear; but the *Talates*, or long Swords, are worn only by great Soldiers, and Persons of the best Account. It is said to be no less than twenty-two Days Journey, on Horseback, from this City of *Edo* to the most northern Part of *Japon*, which makes it a Country of a vast Extent. Our Business here being no more than the paying a Complement; which, being done, we had no further Occasion of staying; and having got this Principle

Letters and Presents for the King of *England*, we went back to *Suranga*, where we arrived again at the End of this Month.

We were not obliged to wait long in this City, for our Dispatches, the Emperor's Letter, and the Instrument, containing our Privileges, and the Terms upon which we were to establish a Factory in *Japon*, being thro' the Care, Industry, and Interest of Mr. *Adams*, both speedily and effectually dispatched; so that we had no reason to complain either of the Delays or Disappointments that are usually met with at Courts; and of which we understood by Report, that of *Japon* is not more free than others, it one has not a good Agent, as luckily for us we had.

A Translation of the Emperor's Letter, and of the Instrument, containing our Privileges is, for the Satisfaction of the Reader, annexed, and will sufficiently shew how wide and well regulated a Government that is by which they were granted. It is necessary to observe, that tho' this Version is not literal, yet it is very strict, and expresses the Meaning of the Original very exactly, so that the Sense and Spirit of these *Japanese* Papers may be clearly apprehended thereby.

To the KING of GREAT-BRITAIN.

YOUR Majesty's kind Letter sent me by your Servant Captain *Jabu Sars* (who is the first that I have known to arrive in any Part of my Dominions) I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to understand of your great Wisdom and Power, as having three plentiful and mighty Kingdoms under your powerful Command, I acknowledge your Majesty's great Bounty, in sending me so undervalued a Present of many rare things, such as my Land affordeth not; neither have I ever before seen, which I receive not as from a Stranger, but as from your Majesty, whom I esteem as myself, desiring the Continuance of Friendship with your Highness; and that it may stand with your good liking to send your Subjects to any Part or Port of my Dominions, where they shall be most heartily welcome, applauding much their Worthiness in the Admiral's Knowledge of Navigation, having with much Facility discovered a Country so remote, being no whit amazed with the Distance of so mighty a Gulph, nor Greatness of such infinite Clouds and Storms from prosecuting honourable Enterprizes of Discoveries and Merchandizing, wherein they shall find me so further them, according to their Desires. I return unto your Majesty a small Token of my Love (by your said Subject) desiring you to accept thereof, as from him that much rejoiceth in your Friendship. And whereas your Majesty's Subjects have desired certain Privileges for Trade, and settling of a Factory in my Dominions, I have not only granted what they demanded, but have confirmed the same unto them, under my Broad Seal, for better establishing thereof. From my Castle in *Suranga*, this fourth Day of the ninth Month, in the eighteenth Year of our Day, according to our Computation. Resting your Majesty's Friend, the highest Commander in this Kingdom of *Japon*. Subscribed *Munna Moutono. Tai Te Teas.*

Privileges granted by Ogoholamma, Emperor of Japon, unto the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Governor, and others, the Honourable and Worshipful Adventurers to the East-Indies.

I. *Imprimis.* We give free Licence to the Subjects to the King of Great Britain, viz. Sir Thomas Smith, Governor and Company of the East-Indian Merchants and Adventurers, for ever, safely to come into any of the Ports of our Empire of Japon, with their Ships and Merchandizes, without any Hindrance to them, or their Goods; and to alide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their own Manner with all other Nations; to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their Pleasures.

II. *Item.* We grant unto them Freedom of Custom for all such Merchandizes, as either now they have brought, or hereafter shall bring into our Kingdoms, or

shall

ing of England, we were
moved again at the End of

long in this City, for our
r, and the Instrument, con-
e Terms upon which we
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sers may be clearly appre-

EAT-BRITAIN.

Letter sent me by your Ser-
v (who is the first that I
Part of my Dominions) I
a little glad to understand
Power, as having three plea-
under your powerful Com-
Majesty's great Bounty, in
Present of many rare things,
it; neither have I ever before
from a Stranger, but as from
them as myself, desiring the
with your Highness; and that
it being to send your Sub-
my Dominions, where they
tine, applauding much their
Knowledge of Navigation,
discovered a Country so re-
ded with the Distance of so
nals of such infinite Clouds
of honourable Enterprises of
ing, wherein they shall find
g to their Desires. I return
oken of my Love (by your
to accept thereof, as from
in your Friendship. And
jects have desired certain
telling of a Factory in my
granted what they demand-
the same unto them, under
establishing thereof. From
fourth Day of the ninth
ear of our Day, according
ing your Majesty's Friend,
in this Kingdom of Japan.
I. Yi Ye Yeas."

Amma, Emperor of Japon.
Sir Thomas Smith, Knight,
Honourable and Worshipful
cs.

ee Licence to the Subjects
ain, viz. Sir Thomas Smith,
the East-Indian Merchants
sately to come into any of
of Japon, with their Ships
any Hindrance to them, or
buy, sell, and barter, ac-
mer with all other Nations;
think good, and to depart

to them Freedom of Custom
as either now they have
bring into our Kingdoms, or
" shall

" shall from hence transport to any foreign Part; and do
" authorize those Ships that hereafter shall arrive and come
" upon England, to proceed to present Sale of their Com-
" modities, without coming or landing up to our Court.

" III. Item. If any of their Ships shall happen to be in
" danger of Shipwreck, we will our Subjects, not only to
" assist them, but that such Part of Ship and Goods, as shall
" be saved, be returned to their Captain, or Cape-Merchant,
" or their Assigns; and that they shall, or may build one
" House, or more, for themselves, in any Part of our
" Empire, where they shall think fittest; and at their
" Departure make Sale thereof at their Pleasure.

" IV. Item. If any of the English Merchants, or other,
" shall depart this Life within our Dominions, the Goods
" of the Deceased shall remain at the Disposal of the
" Cape-Merchant; and that all Offences committed by
" them shall be punished by the said Cape-Merchant, ac-
" cording to his Discretion, and our Law, to take no
" hold of their Persons or Goods.

" V. Item. We will, that ye our Subjects trading with
" them for any of their Commodities, pay them for the
" same, according to Agreement, without Delay, or Re-
" turn of their Wares again unto them.

" VI. Item. For such Commodities as they have now
" brought, or shall hereafter bring, fitting for our Service
" and proper Use, we will, that no Arrest be made there-
" of, but that the Price be made with the Cape-Merchant,
" according as they may sell to others, and present Pay-
" ment upon the Delivery of the Goods.

" VII. Item. If in Discovery of other Countries for
" Trade, or Return of their Ships, they shall need Men
" or Victuals, we will, that ye our Subjects furnish them,
" for their Money, as their Need shall require.

" VIII. Item. And that without other Passport, they
" shall, and may, set out upon the Discovery of *Yelzo*,
" or any other Part in or about our Empire.

" From our Castle in *Suranga*, this first Day of the
" ninth Month, and in the eighteenth Year of our Day,
" according to our Computation. Sealed with our Broad
" Seal, &c. Underwritten

" Minna Mouttona Yei Ye Yeas."

The *Japonefe* Language seems to agree with the *Chinese*
in this, that they express whole Words compendiously,
by their several proper Characters, not compounding them
of distinct Letters and Syllables, as 'tis in other Languages.
The Character is very different from that of the *Chinese*;
and they read, beginning at the right-hand, so down-
wards, perpendicular-wise in the several Lines. They take
abundance of care to speak and write in the shortest and
concisest manner that can be; they are not given to flou-
rish and enlarge upon a Subject, but deliver their Minds
in very pertinent, exact, and comprehensive Terms, con-
tracting a great deal of Sense into a little Compas: The
Letters, and the Instrument, were both written in it,
very fair, after their Manner; and the first Rarities of
that kind, that our Nation, I believe, ever had.

Thus was all our Business at *Suranga* finished too.
Upon which we took Leave of the Emperor and Court,
and set out for *Firando*. Our Way lay by Land as far
as *Osaca*; and in passing thither, we took *Meaco* in our
Way. This is absolutely the greatest City in *Japon*, and
a Place of mighty Trade. All the Traders dwell in
a Part of this City by themselves; and all of such an
Employment in such a Street by themselves. The *Japo-
nese* think it very uncleanly and irregular, to have Men
of so many Professions and Businesses mixed and huddled
together in such a confused manner, as they are in other
Places. They are for making all of the same Trade (who
are fittest to converse together) Neighbours to one ano-
ther; Birds of the same Feather to be all in a distinct
Flock by themselves, that a Man that looks may know
where to find them. And the plain Truth on't is, this
Order is not without its Beauty and Conveniency; and it
added, methought, a peculiar Grace to the City, which all
its other Advantages could not have given it.

The most magnificent Temple of the whole Country is
here at *Meaco*, built of Free-Stone, and as long as St.
Paul's in *London* from the Quire, arch'd, adorn'd with

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mighty Pillars, and as lofty as that. It has one peculiar
Altar, at which they make their Offerings of Rice, and
small Money (called *Cundries*, twenty of which make a
Shilling) for the Maintenance of the Bonzees belonging
to it: And by this Altar stands the great Idol *Mannada*,
made of Copper, and of the same Form with *Dabiz* be-
fore mentioned, but much higher, reaching up to the very
Arch. The Temple stands advantageously upon the Top
of a very high Hill, and upon each Side the Ascent you
have a long Row of Columns, of Free-stone, about fifty
in each Series, ten Paces distant one from another, and
upon the Top of every Pillar is a Lanthorn, the Lamps in
which are lighted every Night, and make a very glaring
Shew. There are several other Temples besides, but this
vastly exceeds all the rest in all Points of Beauty and Gran-
deur. It was just finished at our being there, the Founda-
tion being laid by the famed *Taisejania*, whose Horse
was kept in an Apartment hard by, and is to be main-
tained here in a Life of perfect Ease and Rest, as long as
Nature will allow him to hold it out.

The *Portuguese* Jesuits have a stately College in this
City, very well furnished with Men of that Society. They
breed up abundance of *Japonefe* Youths, reading Philo-
sophy, and the Popish Divinity to them, making many
of them Preachers, and, I suppose, Jesuits too. There's
no doubt but they endeavour to make them as good as
they can; and, amongst other Arts, teach some of those
that are peculiar to their Order. They have the New
Testament translated into the *Japonefe* Tongue; and be-
sides this hopeful Fry breeding up in the College, there
are reckoned five or six thousand that profess Christianity
in *Meaco*.

While we stayed here we received the Emperor's Pre-
sents for our King, which were sent after us, viz. ten
Beobs, or large Pictures, to hang a Room of State with.
From hence we travelled to *Osaca*, where the Gally that
set us down before was attending our Return, to transport
us to *Firando*, and this at the Charge of the brave and
generous King of that Place. This Prince was extremely
glad at our Return to his Island, as also of the Success of
our Affairs at Court, and had carried it with that steady
and even Hand of Kindness to our Company left there,
as he did to all of us, when together; but yet the Trade
amounted to little or nothing. In our Absence the *Japo-
nese* had been no good Customers, tho' we had come from
the other End of the World to take their Money. One
Reason of this was, because it was not yet certain that we
were to be allowed in the Country; and till the Trade has
its publick Warrant from the Emperor, as no Stranger
may offer to sell, so no Native may dare to buy. But
another thing was this, the most Part of our Commodi-
ties we intended for these Parts, were broad Cloths,
(which had not long before been sold here for twenty Rials
of Eight per Mat, which is two Yards) a sort of Ware
the *Japonefe* were now almost out of Conceit with, be-
cause we did not take care to recommend the Goodness of
it by our own Wearing. You, say they, cry up your
broad Cloths to us, and, at the same time hardly wear a
Rag of it yourselves; but are all for your Silks and Stuffs,
and any thing in the World, except just what you would
have us buy of you. And the truth on it is, the *Japonefe*
were in the right, and their Objections not easy to be an-
swered. We ought to be more fond of our own Country
Commodities, and tell other Nations they are valuable, by
the Use of them we make ourselves. Foreigners won't be
so ready to believe us, if they see we don't order our
Fashions so as to give a Reputation to what we recommend
abroad in the World; and, for ought I know, other Na-
tions may tell us, as well as the *Japonefe*, of not wearing our
own broad Cloth; may reproach us with the Neglect of
our own Commodities, and despite them till they see us
do otherwise ourselves.

This *Firando* is a very good Place for our Ships to put
in at, with respect to the Point of Victualing, and all
that; but it is not so proper for Trade, because it lies off
from the main Island of *Japon*, where are not only most,
but the most considerable People, capable of giving En-
couragement to Trade, which, in those little bye Islands,
is not to be expected. We might, I don't question, be

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welcome at any of them all; and the Kings of two of these petty Islands gave us a formal Invitation. But there's few of them can afford Business that will turn to account, and defray the Charges of a Settlement: Therefore my Advice is, that our Ships that come to trade here, would not fail to *Firando*, but to *Oringace*, upon the main Island, and about fifteen Leagues distant from *Eddo*, where they will find very good Riding, and a much greater Prospect of Advantage. This Place indeed is not capable of affording so good an Entertainment as may be desired: Provisions are not altogether so plentiful there as at *Firando*; but that Want may be supplied by a Correspondence with the circumjacent Country.

Christianity makes no considerable Progress comparatively any where in this Empire, but at *Meaco* and *Langeisque*, a Town situated upon the Sea-coast, about eight Leagues from *Firando*. It had, it's true, gotten footing in *Eddo*; but the Emperor, upon some Pique taken against the Christians, banished them all from thence, and confined them to *Langeisque*; and as a Prevention of its creeping into the Court, and rooting itself any where near him, he made it Death to any who should offer to build a Church, or sing Mass, within ten Leagues of the Place where he resided. This Change was but a very little before our going to *Eddo*; notwithstanding which, the Christian Religion is otherwise indulged. The Christian *Japoneſe* at present have, as far as I see, the same Protection and Privilege with others; and the Jesuits seem to enjoy an unrestrained Liberty in the making of Proselytes. The Foundation of a Factory being now firmly laid in the Emperor's full Grant to that Purpose, we proceeded to build upon it, being the rather encouraged to it, in that we were now assured that *English* Factories were actually settled at *Siam* and *Pasana*; as also, that the *Dutch* made something of their Business here; and we had reason to believe we had not a less Share in the Good-will and Esteem of this Country than they. We therefore appointed some of our Company to reside here upon this Affair, with Instructions also to make what Discoveries they could upon the Coast of *Cerca*, *Tubmay*, and other Parts adjoining, against the next Return of the Ships. By exact Observations we made, during our Stay here, we determine the Latitude of *Firando* to be $37^{\circ} 14'$ N. and the varying of the Compass $2^{\circ} 50'$ Easterly.

Thus far we have followed exactly the Memoirs of Captain *Saris*, who farther reports abundance of Civilities received from the King of *Firando*; together with a Letter, written by that Prince, to our King *James*, expressing a very earnest Desire to render all the Service in his Power to the *English* Nation; and highly commending their Design of establishing a Correspondence between their own Country and the *Japoneſe*; for the promoting of which, he professes himself ready to do whatever lay in his Power. Captain *Saris* prosecuted his Voyage to *Bantam*, in the Island of *Java*, without any remarkable Accident; and he commends *Uniboten's* Voyages as very sincere, and his Charts as very exact. He arrived at *Bantam* on the first of January 1614, and found things there in a very indifferent Condition, owing, as he conceived, to their having too many Factories; however, he got his Lading, and in the latter End of the Month of May proceeded for *England*, and arrived safely on the 27th of September following at *Plymouth*. He does not appear to have been very sanguine in the Affair of settling a Factory in *Japan*, but seems to have been obliged thereto by his Instructions; yet as he was a Man of great Observation and Reflection, he took all imaginable Pains to have a distinct Account of what Goods were to be sent there, and what might be expected in return. I apprehend, that the true Reason of his Diffidence was, our not having, at that time, an open Trade with *China*, the greatest Profit resulting from the *Japon* Trade, being made on *Chinese* Goods; but however, Time and Patience might have overcome all these Difficulties, and have established us as effectually as the *Dutch*. But the truth of the Matter was, that our People were less under Command, and consequently less fit for living in that Country, and establishing a Trade there.

As a Proof of Captain *Saris's* great Merit in examining every thing carefully, and recording from time to time what Notices he received, I think it may not be amiss to annex to this Account of his Voyage the Report he received concerning the Land of *Jesso*, or *Yedzo*, which was then, and still is, a Place very imperfectly known, and on the absolute Discovery of which, hang many Points of Importance, but more particularly the Decision of the great Point, whether there be, or be not a Passage into these Seas by the North-East. I the rather insert this Account, because, for any thing I can perceive, it is as likely to be true as any we have yet received, only I suspect, that either our *Japoneſe* Traveller was mistaken in calling this Country an Island, or else there is both an Island and a Continent of the same Name, which is indeed agreeable to what we find relating to this Country in the truest Accounts we have received from *Japon*. I must likewise beg leave to add, that if we reflect on the Stature and Complexions of the Northern *Tartars*, the *Lapllanders* and *Samosides*, we shall have the less Cause to suspect this Writer, either of Credulity or Fiction.

Intelligence concerning *Yedzo*, received at the City of *Eddo* in *Japon*, from a *Japoneſe* that had been twice there.

" This ingenious Traveller says, that *Yedzo* is an Island lying on the North-west side of *Japon*, and about some ten Leagues distant from it. That the People are of fair Complexion, good-natured enough, far more humane in their Temper and Conditions than their outward Aspect and Appearance, being all over rough and hairy, almost like Monkeys; yet their Skin (as before hinted) white and clear. The Weapons used among them are Bows and poisoned Arrows.

" Those in the Southern Parts are very understanding People, and fit for Commerce, having the Knowledge of Weights and Measures, which in the middle Parts of the Island they are entirely ignorant of. Those in the Northern Parts are a People which seem to be different from the rest of the Island, and of quite another Race, being so extremely short, that they may be called Dwarfs in a strict and proper Sense; whereas the *Yedzoes* are commonly of the Stature of the *Japoneſe*.

" They have none of them any sort of Apparel but what is brought from *Japon*, and so the most Part of their Rice (if not all they are supplied with) is brought from thence too; but then they have that amongst them which will make other People think it very well worth their while to come and bring them those Necessaries, viz. a great deal of Silver, and a sort of sandy Gold, in which they make all their Payments to the *Japoneſe* for what they take of them.

" The Commodities mostly transported hither are Rice, Cotton, Cloth, Iron, and Lead; but all things necessary for the Back and Belly, are the most welcome and acceptable to these People; particularly Rice carried from *Japon* to *Yedzo* has yielded four hundred per Cent.

" The chief Town where the *Japoneſe* reside for Trade is called *Matzuma*, where they have also a Fort, and at least five hundred Families of that Nation constantly dwelling there. In September the Natives come down in vast Numbers to buy and lay in their Winter Stores; and in March they bring Salmon, and several sorts of dried Fish, besides other Wares, which they barter with the *Japoneſe*. This *Matzuma* is the chief Town for Business known to the *Japoneſe* upon the whole Island, and they have no manner of Concern or Settlement any where but here."

14. When I first entered upon this Subject, I must confess it was not my Intention to have prosecuted it so largely, but upon mature Reflection, that I could never have a more proper Occasion to insert the History of our Accents to, and Retreat from *Japon*, which is in itself a very curious Subject, and hath this farther to recommend it, that it was never handled before, I thought I could not do better, than to throw all I have been able to learn upon this Head into this Section; by which means it would be better

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better understood, and afford a clear Solution to a Question
 never yet answered, *viz.* How being once possessed of
 such a Commerce, we came to lose it? But that we may
 proceed regularly, I shall give the Reader next the Sub-
 stance of a Letter written to Captain *John Saris* by Mr.
Cocks, who was chiefly intrusted in the new Factory set-
 tled at *Firando*. This Letter is dated the 10th of Decem-
 ber 1614, and contains abundance of curious Circum-
 stances that are not to be found in any other Piece that I
 have been able to meet with.

As to the Affairs of *Japan*, the Writer of this Letter
 gives us an Account, that they were at that time in a very
 dismal Condition, a civil War being ready to commence,
 that threatened great Calamities to the whole Country.
 We have heard before, that the right Heir of this mighty
 Empire was shut up in the strong Castle of *Ofaca*, where
 'twas designed he should live in perpetual Ignorance of
 himself, and his just Title to the Crown; or, at least, if
 he should by any means come to the Knowledge of his
 true Quality, should by that close Confinement be de-
 prived of all Opportunities of giving any Disturbance to the
 present Possessor; but the usurping Emperor's Plot did
 not take the desired Effect: The young Prince came to
 know himself some way or other, and accordingly took
 up Arms to assert and maintain his Right. He converted
 his Prison into a strong Garrison, and instead of other
 Keepers got quickly about him an Army of one hundred
 thousand Men, bold, resolute, hardy Soldiers, most
 of them Out-laws, Exiles, and Malecontents, who flocked
 in to him from all Parts of the Empire, and will spend
 their blood to set him in the Throne. Besides this Force
 of Men, he had laid in as good a Strength of Provision,
 having furnished the invincible Castle of *Ofaca* with Vi-
 ctuals for three Years.

This was the Alarm which the Emperor ever dreaded:
 Nothing could look with a more threatening, malignant
 Aspect upon his State and Power than a black Cloud ga-
 thering about the Castle of *Ofaca*. However, to main-
 tain his own Pretensions, he marched in Person with an
 Army of three hundred thousand Men towards the Prince,
 and some little Bickerings had passed between Parties of
 both Armies at the Time of the writing of this; but now
 the whole Empire expected the Result of a pitched Battle,
 in which that Controversy should be solemnly decided,
 which of these two Pretenders should finally wear the Im-
 perial Crown of *Japan*.

It was not long before this that the Emperor declared
 himself a publick Enemy to the Christians, giving Orders
 for the banishing all Jesuits, Friars, Nuns, and their Ad-
 herents, out of *Japan*, pulling down their Churches and
 Monasteries, and to make sure Work with them, not only
 ordering their Banishment, but actually shipping them
 away himself, some for *China*, and others for the *Manil-
 las*: And in a short Space after this Persecution, a very
 great Confusion happened at *Edo* (one of the largest Cities
 of the Empire) occasioned by a most dreadful Tulsion that
 raged there. The City was almost demolished by it, a
 great Part of the Buildings being broke down, and the Sea
 breaking in at the same time, threatened to swallow up all
 the rest, so that the Inhabitants were forced to quit the
 Place, and run up into the Mountains for Shelter. The
Pagan and the *Christian Japanese* are very contrary one to
 another in their Opinions and Assertions concerning the
 Cause of this horrible Commotion. The latter say, 'tis a
 Judgment from God upon the Nation for the Affronts of-
 fered to the Christian Religion, particularly for the Empe-
 ror's banishing it with all the pious Jesuits that preached it,
 as he lately did, so that the Circumstance of the Calamity
 with respect to that Place, clearly (as they say) expounds the
 Cause of it. On the other hand, the *Pagans* say 'tis
 Witchcraft, and that the Jesuits, upon their Banishment,
 fell to conjuring, and raised that Storm to plague the Coun-
 try, in Revenge.

At the Time of Captain *Saris*'s being in *Japan*, it was
 thought, that if any other *English* Ship came into those
 Parts the Goods might immediately be sold off, without
 the Formality of carrying another Present to the Emperor;
 but 'twas afterwards found to be otherwise, and every Ship
 that came in was under a Necessity of doing it, paying

its Custom that Way; more than this, they could not have
 Liberty so much as to set out a Junk, without the Empe-
 ror's Licence was annually procured; for 'twas made
 Death for any *Japanese* Mariner to stir out of the Country
 without Leave, only their own Ships might go in and out
 freely whenever they had Occasion.

A good Project was set on Foot for beginning a Trade
 upon the Coast of *China*, at a Town near *Languin*, to which
 Place a Ship might sail from *Firando* with a good Wind
 in three or four Days Time. This was first proposed and
 undertaken by some considerable *Chinese* then in *Japan*,
 who laboured very hard in the Matter, and made no Que-
 stion of accomplishing it so far, that three *English* Ships
 should have a Vent for their Commodities every Year at
 that Place. The Endeavours of the *English* Factory (set-
 tled at *Firando*) towards a Trade from *Tifsona* to *Corca*
 proved ineffectual, very little to any Purpose being to be
 done there. There was no Vent for any Commodities, but
 Pepper only, and not much of that, though sold at some-
 thing a better Rate. By all Circumstances, it seems to ap-
 pear, that the *Coreans* are not at all disposed to a Cor-
 respondence with them of *Tifsona*, since they'll allow them
 but to come into one little Town, and forbid them to go
 without the Walls of that upon Pain of Death, nor so little
 a Way up into the Country, and that the King of *Tifsona*
 is no Subject to the Emperor of *Japan*; so that there was
 no Danger of this latter Prince's getting any Footing
 amongst them, by the opening a Correspondence with the
 former.

Yet the *Coreans* are possessed with such Jealousies and
 Fears of the *Japanese*, as not to indulge any of their Neigh-
 bourhood in any manner of Liberties, by which it may
 be possible to fasten any hook upon them: And the truth
 is, they are not so bold and mistrustful without Cause, if,
 at least, former Attempts upon their Liberty may be a
 Reason why an Adversary that made them should be dis-
 trusted for the future; for *Tifsona*, the Emperor before
 this, did actually make an Invasion into *Corea*, intend-
 ing to carry on his Conquests to the very Gates of *Peking*,
 and surprize the *Chinese* Emperor in his Palace: But he
 was, in the midst of that Career of Fortune prevented, by
 a *Corean* Nobleman, who, to serve his Prince and Coun-
 try in that Extremity, gave the Conqueror his Death in
 a Cup of Poison, dying himself with him at the same
 time. By this means the *Japanese* lost all they had gotten
 in *Corea*, and left *China* to the After-Conquest of the
Tartars, which was very like, at this time, to have fallen
 to their own Share.

Now 'tis very probable, that this is the Reason of the
 horrid and inveterate Prejudices these two People enter-
 tain one against the other. The *Japanese* were the Inva-
 ders of the *Coreans*, and the *Coreans* robbed the *Japanese*
 of a glorious and fortunate Prince. But yet that Prince,
 how dear soever to the *Japanese*, was an Invader of the
 just Rights and Liberties of the *Coreans*; and they had
 no Reason tamely to give away to a foreign Power, that
 pretended to enslave and trample upon them, if they
 could find any Means, either by Force or Policy, to put
 a stop to it. However, it is certain, that the *Japanese*
 mortally hate the *Coreans*, and can never be possessed with
 Sentiments of Friendship for them as long as the World
 stands, unless the Humour of the Nation strangely alters.
 They cannot, with any Patience, bear the Sight of a
Corean; and those People they take for such cannot walk
 the Streets without a whole Rabble at their Heels, flout-
 ing and pelting them with Dirt and Stones.

Thus it was with Captain *Saris* in several Towns in
Japan, where the People did not know what the *English*
 were; there was hardly any passing along, the Mob being
 so very rude and clamorous: Nay, the very Children had
 it in their Mouths, as well as the rest, *Core, Core, Core*
Hare. You *Coreans* with false Hearts. The *Japanese* are
 the civilest, and most well-bred People in the World,
 only they cannot be civil to a *Corean*, or any body they
 think to be so. It is said, that there are very large Cities
 in this Province of *Corea*; and also towards the Sea a
 great many Bogs, impassable by Horse or Foot almost, so
 that they use the Sailing-Waggons, which are furnished
 with Wheels, as other Waggons are, but much broader and

and flatter, that they may not cut deep into the Mire, and have also Sails like a Ship; by which Contrivance, observing proper Winds, they pass all these Bogs easily. The Country affords Damask, Satins, Taffeties, and other Silks, as *China* does; but they carry most of their Goods up and down in these Sailing-Waggons.

We have likewise some other Letters of a later Date from the same Factory, but very immaterial, and containing scarce any Circumstances worthy of Notice, except that the *Japense* were very importunate in demanding a Promise, that the *English* would bring no Padres, neither Priests, among them; for the Persecution being, at this time, very hot, the common People did not care to run any Hazards, as not knowing how to distinguish between one sort of Christian Priests and another. But the *English* did not give them any trouble upon that head, but, on the contrary, seemed to bend all their Endeavours towards the adding the Trade of *China* to that of *Japon*; in which, perhaps, they went too far, and might have done for themselves, and their Country more, if they had studied this Point less; for the *Japense*, who are a very sensible People, considered this extending their Commerce in a bad Light; and, as they were naturally suspicious of Strangers, could not help fearing they would at last employ Force, in case fair means did not succeed. In these Notions they were confirmed, by the News they received, from time to time, of the great Disputes between the *Portuguese*, the *English*, and *Dutch*, in the *East-Indies*; measuring their Force at home, by their Actions abroad, and supposing that they wanted nothing but a specious Pretence to attack the two great Empires of *China* and *Japon*. The last Letter we have is dated from *Firando* March the 10th 1619, and in that there are some Particulars worthy the Attention of the Reader.

The Persecution in this Country, which before proceeded no farther than Banishment, and Loss of civil and religious Liberties, has since (as this Letter tells us) run up to all the Severities of corporal Punishment. The Christians suffered as many sorts of Deaths and Torments as those in the primitive Persecutions, and such was their Constancy, that their Adversaries were sooner weary of inflicting Punishments, than they of enduring the Effects of their Rage: Very few, if any at all, renounced their Profession. The most hideous Forms, in which Death appeared, by the Contrivance of their Adversaries, would not scare them, nor all the Terrors of a solemn Execution over-power that Strength of Mind with which they seemed to go through their Sufferings. They made their very Children Martyrs with them, and carried them in their Arms to the Stake, chusing rather to resign them to the Flames, than leave them to the Boizets to be educated in the Pagan Religion. All the Churches which the last Storm left standing, this had entirely blown down, and demolished, and Heathen Pagods were erected upon their Ruins.

The Dead were persecuted too, as well as the Living, and the Graves were torn open, and the Bodies there inclosed thrown out into some baser Receptacle; so that now, if ever Christianity flourishes again in *Japon*, it must be upon a second Plantation, the first Stock seeming at this time to be completely pulled up by the Roots. There were other Troubles and Sins besides these in *Japon*; at this Time another dangerous Rebellion was rising at *Fushima*, but the Prince of that Place happening to be at that Time in the Court, the Emperor commanded him, either to write to his Subjects to lay down Arms, or immediately to rip open his own Belly: He chose rather to do the former, and so the Tumult was at an End; but he was turned out of that Government, and sent to a Corner of the Northern Part of *Japon*, and the great Castle of *Fushima*, bigger, by Report, than the City of *Revel*, being besieged with the Ground, all the Stones being carried away to *Osaka* to rebuild that noble Place, which the last Emperor *Ogobosam* destroyed after his routing the Army of the Prince *Fidara*, for it must be noted, though our Author does not expressly tell us of it, that the Emperor spoken of in this Letter was not *Ogobosam*, but some other his Successor, of whom we have no other Account than these Actions of his given us. It is said also, that this Prince *Fidara* was gotten fat out of the great Battle, and lay *incognito* some where

about *Meaco*; but this our Author hardly credits, it having been often reported to be false.

Lately, he gives us an Account of the horrid, barbarous, and cruel Deportment of the *Dutch* towards the *English* then residing in *Firando*; without any manner of Provocation they openly declared War against them, declared they would burn their Ships and Effects, and destroy their Persons where-ever they could meet them; and thus they did solemnly by Sound of Trumpet both ashore and aboard all their Ships; and to be as good as their Word, they broke into the *English* House with all their Force, and had actually sacrificed every Person there, if the *Japense* had not come in and fought vigorously in their Defence; for the Odds were vastly great, and one *Englishman* had at least one hundred *Dutch* to deal with. All this, and much more of this kind, they did; but for what Reason it cannot be imagined, unless because they would be Masters everywhere, and have the whole World to themselves: One Passage only, which shews their Modesty in those Parts of the World, is not to be forgotten; and the rather, because it was in the Presence of the great Emperor of *Japon* himself, and all his Court. Our Author being there to do his Duty to the Emperor, upon the coming of the *English* Ships, found in the Presence a certain boasting *Dutchman*, that told the Emperor strange Stories of his own Country, and extolled his King of *Holland* to the Skies, as the greatest and most potent Prince in all that Part of the World, together with a vast deal of such Stuff as that.

But he, who understood the *Japon* Language, tho' the *Dutchman* thought he had not, told him before the Emperor, he need not have told his Majesty so loud a Lye as that, since all the World knew they had no King in *Holland*, but only a Stadt-holder, who did not so much govern the People, as the People govern him; and whereas he had the Forehead to say, that his King, as he called him, held all other Princes in Christendom in Subjection. It was well known, the King of *England* had been his Country's Protector, or they had never been in a Condition to come and make a Noise abroad in the World. The *Dutchman* was, it seems, pretty much confounded to lose his King so all of a sudden; but there was no Help for it, and the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* that were there at the same time, well knew the Truth of what was said. Upon the whole, our Author adds, that the Company were extremely diverted with this Passage, and that there was old language, especially among the *Europeans*, to see the *Dutchman* so bewildered to find out this King, which they very well knew he could never do.

All these Transactions happened during the Life-time of Mr. *Adams*, who spent the Remainder of his Days with Honour in *Japon*, where he died in 1622; but with respect to any of the subsequent Actions of his Life, they are not recorded in any of the Writers I have met with; but though there be something very singular in this, yet I think it much more strange, that we have no distinct Account of the Time that the *English* withdrew themselves from this Country, or of the Reasons which induced them to take that Step; but, I think it is pretty clear, that they were seduced thereto, either by the Frauds, or by the Power of the *Dutch*; for it is clear enough from the Letter which the Reader has already seen, but especially from the last, that these two Nations began to differ with each other as soon as they found that they were become too strong for the *Portuguese*. It was after the Expulsion of this last mentioned Nation, that the *Dutch* found themselves not a little hurt by their own Politicks; for having taught the *Japense* how to be on their Guard against all Foreign Nations, this drew upon them those Hardships which they have laboured under ever since, though they have not spared any Pains to free themselves from such disagreeable Marks of slavish Submission; but as we have already insisted sufficiently upon this Point in another Place, we shall not dwell upon it any longer here.

Before we conclude this Section, however, it will be proper to take notice of a Transaction which is not immediately known, and that is, of an Attempt made by us to recover the Commerce of *Japon* in the Year 1673. It seems to have been undertaken by the *East-India* Company, for the Ship sent for that Purpose sailed from the *English*

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 ed during the Life-time of
 manner of his Days with
 created in 1631. But with
 Actions of his last, they
 Writers. I have met with a
 very singular in this, yet I
 it we have no distinct Ac-
English withdrew themselves
 ations which induced them
 it is pretty clear, that they
 y the Frauds, or by the
 ear enough from the Let-
 tice seen, but especially from
 began to differ with each
 at they were become too
 as after the Expulsion of
 the *Dutch* found them-
 own Politicks; for having
 upon their Guard against all
 on them those Hardships
 ever since, though they
 themselves from such dis-
 mission; but as we have
 his Point in another Place
 nger here.
 son, however, it will be
 faction which is not con-
 an Attempt made by u
 on in the Year 1673. It
 the *East-India* Company,
 failed from the *English*
 Factory

Factory at *Bantam*, and arrived before the Haven of *Nan-
 gaziqui*, which is the only one the *Dutch* are permitted to
 resort to, on the 20th of *June*. As soon as the Ship ap-
 peared in Sight of the Port, there came off two Vessels,
 one carrying a *Japanese*, and the other a *Dutch* Flag; but
 on their coming up to the *English* Ship, they hailed them in
Portuguese, and demanded whence they came? The Cap-
 tain answered in *English*, and in *Dutch*, that he came from
England; upon which the *Japanese* Officer directed him to
 let go his Anchor, to forbid his Trumpet to play, and to
 forbear firing his Guns; to all which Demands he readily
 submitted.

After remaining at Anchor about two Hours, there came
 off two Boats, in one of which was the Governor, and his
 Secretary, accompanied by an Interpreter, who spoke *Portu-
 guese*; and in the other Boat there were four Interpre-
 ters, who all of them spoke *Dutch*. As soon as they came
 on Board, the Captain conducted them to his Cabin, and
 when all had taken their proper Places, the Governor asked
 him very gravely, if he was an *Englishman*, and what his
 Business was there? He answered, that he was an *English-
 man*, that he was charged with a Commission from the
 King, his Master to re-establish the Trade settled by his
 Subjects fifty Years before in *Japan*. He added, that he
 was charged with a Letter from his Britannick Majesty,
 and another from the *East-India* Company, addressed to
 the Emperor of *Japan*; and at the same time that he said
 this, he produced a Copy of the Privileges granted to the
English by the Emperor, written in *Japanese* Characters,
 which the Governor having read, was very importunate for
 the Original under the Emperor's Seal. The *English* Cap-
 tain, however, told him ingenuously, it was not in his
 Power to produce that, because the Emperor had demanded
 it should be delivered up at the Time the *English* quitted
Japan, with which they could not refuse to comply. The
 Governor then put up the Copy of the Privileges, but prom-
 ised the *English* Captain, that as soon as an Answer came
 from Court to his Request, he would deliver it up.

After a short Silence, the Governor asked him, if *Eng-
 land* was at Peace with *Spain* and *Portugal*? What Reli-
 gion the *English* were of? If it was a long time since King
Charles had married the Daughter of the King of *Portu-
 gal*? and how many Children he had by her? This very
 plainly shewed, that the *Japanese* were very inquisitive, and
 at the same time very well informed as to the Affairs of
Europe. The Captain answered, without Hesitation, that
 the *English* were at Peace with all the World, that it was
 true King *Charles* had married the Daughter of the King
 of *Portugal*, but that he had no Children by his Queen;
 and that as to Religion, the *English* were such sort of Chris-
 tians as the *Dutch*, and not such sort of Christians as the
Portuguese, or *Spaniards*; that the Custom of *Europe* re-
 quired Kings to marry Persons of like Rank with them-
 selves, and never the Daughters of their Subjects. To all
 this he added farther, that he had Presents of great Value
 for his Imperial Majesty; at which the Governor seemed
 to be very much pleased, and soon after retired. In about
 two Hours Time he returned again, and then told the Cap-
 tain, that if the *English* would be satisfied with such a Trade
 as the *Dutch* enjoyed, very possibly they might obtain it; but
 then, according to the Custom of the Country, it would be
 fit for them to lend their Cannon and their Ammunition
 ashore; after which he would inform the Emperor of every
 thing, and that after receiving his Imperial Majesty's Answer,
 if it proved favourable, he was willing to furnish them with
 a House. The Captain took all this in good Part; he de-
 livered up his Arms and Ammunition, and suffered the Go-
 vernor, who brought with him a great Number of armed
 Boats, to station them as he thought fit; which he did, by
 ranging some a-head, some a-stern, and causing a double
 Line to anchor on each Side of the Vessel, and all within
 half Cannon Shot.

This being done, the Governor came aboard again, at-
 tended by his Interpreter, who was a *Dutchman*, and in
 whom he had a great Confidence, and examined every one
 of the Ship's Company, particularly first as to his Coun-
 try, whether he was an *Englishman*, and not a *Portuguese*; P
 whether he had ever been in *Portugal*; or could speak the
 Language of that Country? and whether he was a Chri-
 N. M. B. LIX.

istian after the *Dutch* Form, or the *Portuguese*? These
 Questions being all answered, they proceeded next to take
 an exact Account of all the Bales of Merchandize on board
 the Ship, and drew up a kind of Bill of Lading with great
 Exactness. After this the Governor asked, if other Ships
 did not sail with them from *England*? what was become of
 them? how long they stayed at *Bantam*? and what other
 Places they had been at in the *East-Indies*? These Ques-
 tions being answered to his Satisfaction, the Governor re-
 tired for good and all, and carried away with him what had
 been delivered up to him. On the 30th of the same Month
 he came on board again, attended by his Secretary and In-
 terpreters. He was received with all imaginable Civility
 and Ceremony by the Captain, and after they were seated
 together in his Cabin, he proceeded to make a kind of
 Discourse to this Effect: That it was true, there had been
 formerly an *English* Factory in *Japan*, that those who com-
 posed it had been very well treated, and never had ex-
 pressed any sort of Dissatisfaction; notwithstanding which,
 it was now forty-nine Years since any *English* Ship had en-
 tered their Ports, and therefore he would be glad to know
 the Cause of so long an Absence, as also the Cause of their
 coming thither again. If we depend upon this Governor's
 Calculation, it would fix the Time of withdrawing the *Eng-
 lish* Factory to the Year 1624, and then it would appear,
 that Mr. *Adams* survived that Event near seven Years; but
 if that were the Case, it may seem somewhat difficult to
 account for the *English* knowing when his Decease hap-
 pened, unless we suppose that they received the News from
 the *Dutch*, which, as it is very probable they might, we
 may look upon this as a Point settled.

But to return to the Captain, who in answer to the
 Speech made him by the *Japanese* Governor, told him,
 that as to the Cause why the Factory broke up, he could
 say nothing to it at all, as being totally unacquainted there-
 with. That as to their long Absence, he conceived it might
 be produced by that Confusion into which his Country had
 been thrown by the Civil Wars that happened not long
 after; that since that Time they had been likewise engaged
 in two very long and bloody Wars with the *Dutch*, and
 that after so long an Intermission, it was a thing extremely
 difficult to find a Pilot capable of conducting a Ship to their
 Coast, which in *Europe* was represented as a very difficult
 and perilous Voyage. The Governor heard him with great
 Attention, and asked him, when he had done speaking,
 whether he had not on Board his Vessel some Person who
 had made that Voyage before? the Captain answered, that
 he had not: Why then, replied the Governor, How came
 you hither? the Captain answered him, that they had some
 old Charts, which were exact enough for that Purpose, as
 they had found by Experience.

The Governor seemed mighty well satisfied with so fair
 and so distinct an Account, and when he returned to the
 Town, left his Secretary on Board to receive all the rest of
 the Arms and Ammunition they had, in which he was so
 exact, that he took away with him some double barrelled
 Fowling-pieces, that were part of the Present intended for
 the Emperor; but he made a very curious and exact Inven-
 tory of every thing that he got into his Hands, and gave
 a Copy of it, signed by way of Security, to the Captain.
 After all was over, they parted very good Friends, and the
 Secretary told him, that so far as depended upon him, no-
 thing should be wanting that might procure him a favour-
 able Answer from his Court; for which the Captain thank-
 ed him, assuring him at the same time, that his Nation had
 an entire Confidence in the *Japanese*.

On the first of *July* the Governor and his Interpreters
 came on Board again, and asked several Questions; and
 upon this Occasion there happened a Dispute between the
 Captain and the *Dutch* Interpreter, who confidently asserted,
 that the Captain had told him several things which that
 Gentleman affirmed never entered into his Head. The
 Governor upon this took a fresh Account of every Man
 that was aboard, setting down his Name, his Age, his
 Employment; and when he had done this, he desired the
 Captain to prepare an exact List of what Commodities
 every Man had to dispose of, as also of what belonged to
 the Company; and then took the Dimensions of the Ship,
 of the Masts, Yards, &c. At his Departure, he charged
 the M the

the Captain, if he wanted any thing, to make certain Signals, which he mentioned; and at the same time told him, that in case any of his People died, he should make two Signals, and should not throw the Body over till they came and examined it. The Day following the Interpreters, and some Gentlemen of the Emperor's Court, came on Board in the Morning, and asked abundance of Questions, to all which the Captain gave such clear and distinct Answers, that they seemed perfectly satisfied.

They returned again after Dinner, and brought a great Quantity of Refreshments, which had been bought by the Captain of the *Dutch* Ships, and at a very high Price, which, however, the *English* Captain received with much Complaisance, and testified his Thanks for them, as if it had been a great Favour; and at the same time desired leave to hoist his Flag, and to sound his Trumpets, which Demands were granted. The following Days were spent much in the same manner; that is to say, the same Persons came on Board, and still asked abundance of Questions, which turned chiefly upon Religion, and the Difference between the Faith professed by the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, and that held by the *English* and *Dutch*, which, it may be easily supposed, gave them a good deal of Trouble on both Sides.

At last, on the 28th of *July*, about Ten in the Morning, the principal Secretaries, with abundance of Interpreters, and a large Train of Attendance, came on Board the Ship, in order to inform the Captain that they had received an Answer from Court, and that it was by no means favourable. It amounted, in short, to this, that his Imperial Majesty had declared he could not permit any Commerce in his Dominions to the Subjects of a Prince who had espoused the Daughter of the King of *Portugal*, the principal Enemy of him and his Empire, and that therefore he was to prepare himself for sailing as soon as it was possible.

The Captain represented upon this, that the Season of the Year considered, it was simply impossible for him to stir, and therefore he hoped they would allow him to stay till the proper Season, and the Return of the Trade-Winds, gave him an Opportunity of proceeding thence with Safety. To which reasonable Demand they, without any great Difficulty, consented: The Captain from this took occasion to propose another thing, which, he believed, would have been as readily granted, from the Sorrow and Concern which these good People expressed. In short, the second Favour he asked was this, that since he had spent two Years in his Voyage, and since it was not probable they should ever have an Opportunity of purchasing *English* Commodities again, he might have Leave given him to dispose of his present Cargo: But the Reception given to this Proposition was very different from what he expected; he was told, that none in the Empire durst either adventure to purchase any of the Goods he had on Board, nor so much as to request a Licence for that Purpose from Court, where, when once a Resolution was taken, it was absolutely final, and there was no getting it either reversed or reviewed. To testify, however, their own good Will to the Captain, and to shew him how ready they were to do any thing they could to oblige him, they consented that he should purchase Provisions, and whatever other Necessaries he wanted, with Merchandise, and not with Money.

If in the whole Course of these Proceedings the Captain met with many things that surprized him, there was one fell cut more strange than all the rest, and it was this, that the *Japanese* Governor acquainted him with more of the Affairs of *Europe* than he was Master of; for discoursing of the *Dutch* Wars, he enquired how long the *English* had been at Peace with that Nation? and upon the Captain's giving him a clear Answer, and mentioning also the Time of his own Departure from *England*, the Governor replied, then you know nothing of the Attempt made to conquer the *Dutch* by your Master, in Confederacy with the King of *France*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, and that they are already Masters of three of the seven Provinces? The Captain assured him, that he did not, and that the News very much surprized him. However, he very easily understood from thence, that he was very little obliged to the *Dutch* for their good Offices in this Negotiation.

Before his Departure, he resolved to make another Trial as to what might be done hereafter; and with this View, he enquired of the Governor, whether, after the Death of the Queen of *England*, it might not be possible for his Majesty's Subjects to obtain Leave to trade in *Japon*? To which the *Japanese* Officer made him this remarkable Answer, that he would not advise the *English* to make such an Attempt; for that as the *Sweet* once expelled, never found an Entrance again into the human Body, so the Orders of the Emperor once issued, the Matters which occasioned them never more found admittance into his Mind. All the Time they remained in the Port, the Governor, his Secretary, and other Officers, made them frequent Visits, and fatigued them with an infinite Number of intricate, and some of them very impertinent Questions, which gave them a great deal of Trouble; but if we except this, they were in all other things used with as much Kindness and Civility as it was possible. When the Season came that they might depart with Safety, the Governor came on Board, and brought with him all that he had taken from them, except their Powder, which he declared it was not in his Power to put on Board till they were ready to sail; but at the same time he told the Captain, that he would take care none of the *Dutch* Ships should stir out of Port, till he had time to get safe to *Bantam*, because, as he was informed, there was a War broke out between the two Nations.

On the 28th of *August* 1673, the Wind being fair, the Captain received positive Orders to sail without Delay, which accordingly he did, fully persuaded in himself, that if it had not been for the Intrigues of the *Dutch*, he might have succeeded in his Design, and have raised his Reputation by the effectual Execution of his Commission. This is certainly the last Attempt made in our Favour, and in all probability, it is the last that will be ever made, unless a more enterprising Spirit should rise in succeeding Generations than seems to actuate the present Race of *Britons*. In the succeeding Volume we shall insert some farther Accounts of this Country; but before we dismiss this Subject, it cannot but be agreeable to the Reader to see the great Maxim of the *Japanese*, upon which our Exclusion is plainly built, viz. *The Resolution of admitting no Strangers into their Country on any Terms*, explained, and set in a clear Light, the rather, because the Examination of this Point will naturally lead us to explain some others that will render the Connection of this Discourse more easy and obvious than it would otherwise be.

The original Government of *Japon* was by an absolute Monarch, in whose Person were united all those Characters that naturally give a Lustre to a Man in the Eyes of his own Species. He had besides the Regal Dignity, that of head Priest, supreme Legislator and Director of the Forces of the Empire all invested in him; but as here and elsewhere Ability is not always annexed to Blood, so it fell out, that some of these supreme Monarchs, who in their own Language are stiled *Dairi*, which signifies elevated Lord, were in some measure governed by those to whom they intrusted the Command of their Forces; and this prime Minister, and General in chief, had the Title of *Cubo-Sama*, which has very near the same Signification with the *Turkish* Title of *Vizir-Azem*, that is, most illustrious, or most resplendent Lord; and at length the *Cubo-Sama* became in Fact the Master of the Empire, and the *Dairi* had the Title only, or at the most an empty Shadow of Authority, or rather of Sovereignty.

This Usurpation in the *Cubo-Sama's* began about the twelfth Century, and occasioned great Wars and Disturbances in *Japon*, from whence arose that Multitude of little Kingdoms and Principalities into which this Country was divided, when first it was visited by the *Europeans*. For when the Governors of Provinces saw that the *Cubo-Sama's* had made so free with their Lords and Masters the *Dairi's*, who were, and still are, treated with divine Honours, they thought there might be less Crime in resisting these lawless Ministers, and to set themselves up for Kings and Princes. *Yato-Sama*, which is another Title of Honour, tho' used by most Writers, and particularly by such as I have transcribed in this Section as a proper Name, was the first who formed a Design of making the *Cubo-Sama* as absolute as

solved to make another hereafter; and with this error, whether, after the, it might not be possible to obtain Leave to trade in Officer made him this red not advise the *English* to the Sweat once expelled, to the human Body, to the d, the Matters which occa- nittance into his Mind. All Port, the Governor, his So- them frequent Visits, and Number of intricate, and questions, which gave them we except this, they were much Kindness and Civility ason came that they might nor came on Board, and d taken from them, except it was not in his Power ready to fail; but at the that he would take care fir out of Port, till he had as, as he was informed, wene the two Nations.

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Japan was by an absolute united all those Characters a Man in the Eyes of his the Regal Dignity, that of and Director of the Forces m; but as here and elin- nected to Blood, so it fell n Monarchs, who in their , which signifies elevated yerned by those to whom of their Forces; and this chief, had the Title of the same Signification with , that is, *most illustrious*, length the *Cubo-Sama* be- mpire, and the *Dairy* had empty Shadow of Autho-

-*Sama's* began about the great Wars and Distur- ple that Multitude of little y which this Country was by the *Europeans*. For law that the *Cuo-Sama's* and Masters the *Dairy's*, th divine Honours, they e refuting these Lawless p for Kings and Princes. le of Honour, tho' uled y by such as I have tran- Name, was the first who *Cubo-Sama* as absolute as ever

ever the *Dairy* had been; but he suffered himself to be diverted from this Scheme by the Invasion of *Corea*.

His Son, whose Name, according to the *Japanese* Chronicles, was *Fide-Jori*, succeeded him, and is the young Prince mentioned by Captain *Saris*, whose Tutors rebelled against him, and who was at last deprived of his Empire by that Monarch, who granted the Privilege of settling in *Japan* to the *English*, and whose Name, according to the Chronicles before-mentioned, was *Jesi-Jas*, which explains the signing of his Letter, and of the Articles; for as to the Title at the Head of them (*Ogoshofamma*) it is a Corruption of the Words *Cubo-Sama*. After the Defeat of the young Prince, who in the Letters herein cited is called *Fidoi*, he reigned without any farther Dispute; and all the succeeding *Cubo-Sama's*, whom our modern Writers call Emperors of *Japan*, are his direct Descendants. He was the greatest Politician that ever this Country produced, and his Maxims have been steadily followed by all his Successors.

These Maxims were to reduce all the little Kingdoms into Provinces of his Empire, which he effected, to extirpate the Christian Religion from a Principle of Policy, that the People might not be induced to take up Arms against their Emperors from a Notion of Religion; and upon the same Principle his Successors expelled all Foreigners, and retrained the *Japanese* from going out of their own Country: For, it was the settled Opinion of this new Legislator, that the only Way for him and his Family to reign in Peace, was to exclude all Thoughts of Novelties, and to keep the People closely to their old Laws and Customs, which he thought were best adapted to the Maintenance of the Imperial Dignity, and to their own Happiness. II, in Exception to this general Rule, the *Chinese*, the *Siamese*, and the *Dutch*, are allowed some kind of Commerce in this Empire, yet it is against the Grain, and contrary to the Maxims of their Policy, as appears plainly by the severe Restrictions under which these Nations are allowed to carry on their Commerce. It is no less certain, that the *Japanese* hate and despise those very Nations with whom they trade, for submitting to these Regulations, which were no less intended to exercise, and even to wear out their Patience, who were to be subjected to them, than for their Security and Preservation, by whom, and for whose sakes, they were imposed.

For it is to be observed, that the Inhabitants of this Empire, considered freely, and without Prejudice, are as wise, as quick-witted, as sensible, as generous, and as well bred a People as there are upon the Face of the Earth. They love Freedom, and understand it much better than all other Nations; they consider their Laws as Fences to that Freedom, and therefore never repine at the Severity with which they are executed; but call that Tyranny, which exceeds the Measure of those Laws, because this proceeds from the Prince himself; whereas Severity, in the Execution of Justice, proceeds from the common Depravity of a Nation. In one thing their Law is very remarkable; they have Attainders as well as we; but if a Man expiates his Offence by voluntary Death, his Family suffers nothing in Honour, Person, or Property. This passionate Love of Freedom, joined to their natural Boldness and Contempt of Death, made them love the *English* extremely, of which I can give the Reader a very singular Proof, which at the same time will resolve a Difficulty, that I must confess, when I first entered upon this Section, I thought absolutely beyond the Reach of Solution.

They have amongst them a Title of Honour, which they call *Cami*, which the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Writers thought equivalent to Knighthood; and the *French*, who only transcribe those Authors, render it by the Word *Chevalier*. This Honour they conferred upon our Countrymen *Adams* and Captain *Saris*; and from hence, beyond Question, they came to be styled the Chevaliers *Adams* and *Saris*; and, I conceive, that it was a Distinction no other Foreigners ever attained. It likewise appears by the Questions put to the last *English* Captain that was there, that these People were not a little chagrined at the Loss of the *English* Factory, for which they could never account; but possibly understood it to have risen from their Attention to their Enemies the *Portuguese*, in which Error they were,

without doubt, confirmed by the *Dutch*, who have left no Method untried; and, indeed, who can blame them for it, to keep this profitable Commerce entirely to themselves.

These Observations and Remarks have cost me a great deal of Pains and Trouble; but if they prove entertaining and satisfactory to those judicious Persons, who have hitherto expressed a Regard for this Work, I shall think they are fully repaid; and it is from the Hopes of this that I shall adventure to close this Section with some Thoughts on the Means of recovering this long lost Trade. As we are excluded at present from *Japan*, upon a Principle of Policy only, and not from any actual Misdemeanour, as was the Case of the *Portuguese*, who, under Colour of propagating the Christian Religion, interfered with the civil Concerns of that Nation, and gave their Government a great deal of Trouble, so, I conceive, that the only way to obtain Admission again into *Japan*, is to remove the Prejudices that have been conceived against us.

This too, I apprehend, might be very easily done, if the Government of that Country were apprized of the Change that has happened in our Constitution, by which it is become impossible that any of our Princes should ally themselves by Marriage, either to the Crowns of *France*, *Spain*, or any other Popish Power. I do not pretend to say, that this would afford them any real Security, or that they would be at all in less Danger from us now than they were before; but then, if it be considered, that they were in no Danger then, and are in no Danger now, but that their Apprehensions flow entirely from an ill-grounded Prejudice, the removing that Prejudice, however ill-grounded, may be of Use to us. In the next place, if the *Dutch* have a great Commerce with the *Chinese* at *Batavia*, and are thereby enabled to furnish a proper Cargo for *Japan*, we have a direct Trade to *China*, and consequently lie under no Impediment that Way, as we did at the Time our former Factory was settled there. But it will be said, How shall the *Japanese* be informed of this? Can it be expected that the *Dutch* will acquaint them? and if they will not, how are they to be informed? Why, truly, that is the very Question; for, I conceive, that if they were once satisfied in that Point, the rest would very easily follow.

The Means therefore that I would propose, should be the landing in the Northern Part of the great Island of *Nippon*, two or three Persons properly instructed, who, under pretence of Shipwreck, might desire and obtain a Passage to the *Dutch* Port; and as this is the biggest of the three Islands that compose the Empire of *Japan*, I conceive, that in their Passage across it, they might have many Opportunities, especially if they took Pains to learn the Language, to inform a People so inquisitive as these are, of the Particulars which it concerns us most that they should know; and if at a proper Season a Ship should be sent from the Coast of *China* to the Port of *Nangazaki*, to enquire after these People, it might afford us an Opportunity of feeling the Pulses at least of the *Japanese* once more.

I foresee a Multitude of Objections that may be made to this Scheme, such as, that it will be found extremely hard, if not impossible, to meet with Persons, either capable, or willing to undertake it. But I have considered these Objections, and I do not think they have much Weight. There are so many People, who at this Juncture, ship themselves for the *East-Indies* in the most low and laborious Stations, in hopes of bettering their Fortunes, that I am persuaded, if a Reward of three thousand Pounds, or some such Sum, was promised to be paid immediately on their coming back, there would not want some who would offer themselves for this Service; and then as to their Capacities, they might be tried, and even improved, before they were sent; and they might have such Instructions given them, though not in Writing, for that might hazard all by being found upon them, as might enable them to execute this Commission with great Probability of Success.

That they should at once obtain a Privilege and settled Trade there, is what I am not fain to expect, nor is it what I mean by the Probability of executing their Commission with Success; but that they might be able to learn some News of the *Japanese*, and carry them some News of us, which in Time, and with proper Helps, might

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come to somewhat, is what I cannot help thinking very probable; at least it is apparent, that if some Attempt of this kind be not made, we can never hope for any thing; and to despair in a Matter of Trade, is incompatible with the true Spirit of a trading Nation, and with ours more especially. For after all, what is there in this more extraordinary than what was actually performed by Mr. Adams? He came to *Japon* helpless, and without Friends; his own Merit recommended him, and made him Friends, such Friends as enabled him to do the great Things that he did, Things to the full as great or greater than those we expect from the Persons that should be now sent; and therefore, whoever will have this Method set aside, for want of Probability, is bound to offer a Method more probable, and in that Case I shall most readily submit.

But if, while we consider all Attempts of this sort as chimerical or impracticable, any other Nation should step in, and either expel the *Dutch*, or share with them in that Commerce, it will be a very high Reflection upon us, who may pretend to it with at least as great, if not greater Hopes than any other. That this Conjecture of some other Nation's making an Attempt of this Nature is not absolutely wild or groundless, may appear from the Endeavours of the *Russians*, who have actually reached in their Discoveries some Islands, the Inhabitants of which make use of Money stamped with *Japanese* Characters; from whence it is with great Probability conjectured, that they are Vassals at least, if not Subjects, to that Empire. There are other Nations too, as will appear by the succeeding Sections, which have found their Way to the *East-Indies*, and the Coasts of *Ceylon*, though it was thought they laboured under insuperable Difficulties, and why they should not be able to extend their Commerce farther, and even reach *Japon*, is what no good Reason can be assigned to prove, any more than I apprehend any solid Cause can be shewn why we should not endeavour to be before-hand with them in a Point of such Consequence.

But, perhaps, some Critick may demand, how do you know it is of such Consequence? How can you take upon you to assert so confidently things relating to a Place and People at such a Distance? How can you tell that all these Points have not been long ago considered by better Judges than yourself, and such Projects as you propose upon substantial Motives rejected? or what Reason is there that you should expect the Schemes you form in your Closet should serve for Rules to such as are better acquainted with these Matters than yourself? I am very sensible, that there are a Race of ill-natured People in the World very capable of throwing out such Reflections as these, and I know too, that many of them do it against the Conviction of their own Minds, and merely from a Spirit of Envy. But, however, as such Questions may have a bad Effect on the Minds of a better sort of People, by which I mean Persons of honourable Dispositions, and who really wish well to the Publick, and yet are led away by such trite Animadversions, for want of a due Measure of Attention, I think it may not be amiss, for their sakes, to examine such Notions once for all, and to shew, that however specious they may appear at first Sight, they have in reality no Foundation.

In the first Place I must observe, that the Theory of Trade may be as well acquired from Books and Enquiries, as from being actually concerned in it, and that Experience shews us the most extensive Projects; and such as have been attended with the greatest Success have been formed by speculative Men, who, by reasoning upon Facts, have been able to form much better Judgments, with respect to Commerce, than those from whom they received the Facts upon which they argued. But, to come closer to the Point, and by answering these Questions, so far as they regard this Subject, to put an End to this Dispute, since the same Answers will serve with equal Truth and Certainty on any other Occasion. If we know the Situation and Extent of a Country, its Climate, Soil, Product, and Manufactures, we can very easily, and with the utmost Certainty determine, whether it be a Country worth visiting, and what kind of Commodities are like to have vent there. In this there is nothing strange or wonderful, nothing that requires a very extraordinary Degree of Penetration or Sagacity. For, in whatever Climate Men live, they must have Food and Rai-

ment, and in proportion, as they are civilized, they will not only desire the Necessaries, but aspire also to the Conveniences of Life, and what we call the Instruments of Luxury, which may also be suited to their Humours, if we have a tolerable Account of the Manners and Customs of the People.

We know very well what Commodities and Manufactures of ours are taken off in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and Part of *France*; and therefore, when we know that the best Part of the Empire of *Japon* lies in pretty near the same Situation, we cannot be much at a Loss for the Goods the Inhabitants of that Country are like to take off our Hands, in case we had an open Trade with them; but, to be more certain in this Case, we have it in our Power to learn what the *Dutch* carry thither; and upon Enquiry, we shall find, that they are chiefly Scarlet, and other fine Cloths, Camblets, Serges, and our own Kerseys, together with some Silk Manufactures, such as rich Damasks, Brocades, fine Night-Gowns, and in general, a great Variety of Linnen, Woollen, and Cotton Cloths, together with Glais and Stone-Wares, Coral, and many other things. We may therefore with great Confidence pronounce, that if the Way were once opened to us, we might be able to vend a vast Quantity of the natural Commodities and Manufactures of our Country there.

Besides, since the Discoveries made by the *Russians*, it is very certain, that the Countries to the North of *Japon*, particularly the great Peninsula of *Kamtschatka*, which perhaps is the Continent of *Yedzo*, is very thoroughly peopled by Inhabitants that are much inclined to Trade, and who, from the Coldness of their Climate, must necessarily stand in need of our coarser Cloths, and other Manufactures of the like kind.

If the vast Distance between us and them be objected, let us consider how the *Dutch* carry on this Trade, who are not at all nearer them than we; for if they can manage it with Ease, the same Method surely will render it practicable for us. They fit out their Ships from their Settlements in the *Indies*, viz. *Batavia* and *Malacca*; and as we have Settlements in the *Indies* too, our Ships may be fitted out from thence; and if even these Settlements are at too great a Distance, this is no invincible Objection, since there seems to be no Cause why we should not attempt at least to open this Trade from the Coast of *China*, where we had formerly a Factory in the Island of *Cbusan*, of which I have given some Account, and there is no doubt, but that we might either obtain that, or another more convenient again, if we apply for it.

As to the Sentiments of People who have visited the *East-Indies*, and resided a considerable Time in them, there is no Reason, suppose their Notions contrary to mine (which however is not the Fact) to yield implicitly to them. They may have other Motives for their Opinions, than those which they think fit to discover; and if after all, there should be ever so good Reasons advanced why the *East-India* Company should not endeavour to acquire this Trade, yet I cannot apprehend, that what I have offered, ought to be at all affected thereby, since it is certain, that if the Commodities and Manufactures of this Country are exported, that Exportation must turn to the general Benefit of the Nation. This was the Sentiment of the great *De Wit*, with respect to the *East-India* Company in *Holland*. He made no Difficulty in declaring, that how useful soever that Company might be to the Republick in its Infancy, there might nevertheless come a Time, when the Interests of the Company might clash with those of the State; and if this might be the Case in *Holland*, it may be to elsewhere.

It is very easy to conceive there may be good Reasons to induce even the greatest Companies to limit their Commerce, because this will put it in their Power to manage it the better, and to render it more advantageous, but there never can be any Reason assigned for restraining the Commerce of any Nation. The more of her Commodities and Manufactures a Nation can send Abroad, the more People she must necessarily employ at Home, and the more her Shipping must increase; neither is there any Fear that this should exhaust their People; for while her Trade flourishes, it will never fail to invite Strangers, and

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therefore Experience shews us, that tho' in poor Countries
the People are generally speaking more prolifick; yet it
does not follow, that they are more populous, because
their Wants drive them Abroad, and that too under such
Circumstances, as that they seldom return Home.

But to sum up all, the *Dutch* Writers themselves inform
us, that of late Years, among other Restraints imposed up-
on them by the *Japanese*, the very Quantity of Goods
they are to send into the Country is limited, and this to
about the Value of one hundred thousand Pounds of our
Money; notwithstanding which, the same Writers own,
that the Profits on this Trade amount, one Year with ano-
ther, to near four Times that Sum; and thus, I think, I

have effectually shewn, that there is nothing wild, chime-
rical, or absurd, in proposing to recover our Trade to *Ja-
pon*, if it be possible; to which I beg Leave to add, that
while the Price of Wool is so low, the Number of our
Poor so great, our Taxes so many, and so high, and the
Complaints of the lower sort of People, for want of Em-
ployment, so loud and general, a Man must be of a very
timorous Disposition, who can be afraid of Censure, for
endeavouring to point out the only Way by which these
Evils can be effectually cured, and the Wants and Distresses
of the Multitude prevented from either driving them
abroad, or rendering them mutinous and troublesome at
home, with which Remark I shall conclude this Section.

SECTION XXXIII.

An historical Account of the Intercourse between the Inhabitants of Great-Britain, and the People in the East-Indies: Containing likewise a compleat History of the East-India Company, from its Erection under Queen Elizabeth of glorious Memory, and of the several Alterations that have been made therein down to the present Reign.

1. *An Account of the Voyage of Sigheimus, Bishop of Shireburn, his Voyage to the East-Indies in the Reign of King Alfred, and of some other ancient Travellers.*
2. *Of the Manner in which the Venetians imported Indian Commodities into this Kingdom, to the Time of Queen Elizabeth.*
3. *Of several Matters previous to the erecting the East-India Company in her Reign, with a large Account of her Charter to that Company.*
4. *A succinct History of the several Voyages undertaken under that Charter, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James.*
5. *Of the Transactions of the English East-India Company, from their obtaining a new Charter from King James I. to the Time of the unfortunate Business at Amboyna.*
6. *The Account published of that Tragedy by the English East-India Company.*
7. *The Dutch Relation of the same bloody Business.*
8. *Remarks made by Order of the East-India Company upon this Account of the Dutch.*
9. *The History of the East-India Company, continued to the End of the Reign of Charles I.*
10. *The Prosecution of the same Subject to the Close of the Civil Wars.*
11. *An Account of the new Charter granted to the Company by King Charles II. and of the Progress of their Affairs during his Reign.*
12. *Of the Charter granted by King James II. and of what followed to the Time of his Exclusion.*
13. *A brief View of the State of the two East-India Companies, and the Disputes between them under the Reign of King William III.*
14. *The Conclusion of these Disputes, and the Settlement of the present East-India Company.*
15. *The Affairs of the Company, from the Time of this new Settlement to the Close of the Reign of Queen Anne.*
16. *The same History pursued down to the present Time.*
17. *A clear Prospect of the present State of the Affairs of the English in the East-Indies.*

AS we have now passed through the greatest Part
of those Subjects, which it was proposed should
be handled in this Chapter, we come regularly,
and in that Order which was originally laid down, to speak
of the several Companies that have been formed in Europe,
for the Management of the Commerce of the *East Indies*;
which Method, as I conceive, sooner or later, has been fol-
lowed by every Nation, that since the Discovery of the Pas-
sage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, hath been concerned therein.
We will begin with the *English*, and with all the Accuracy
that is in our Power, trace the History of their Commerce
into these distant Parts from the earliest Account we have
of them down to the present times. But it will be requisite
first of all to observe, that there is good Reason to believe
our first Knowledge of these Countries was derived to us
from the *Romans*, at such Time as this Island made a Part
of their extensive Empire; but I do not find any Evidence
to prove, or indeed so much as a Hint to suggest, that any
Commerce was attempted with that Country from hence
before the Close of the ninth Century.

At that Time there sat upon the *English* Throne (as it
is a Truth, I hope I may speak it without Offence) the
greatest and wisest Prince that was ever placed thereon; I
mean the famous *Alfred*, the Glory of whose Reign, even
the Confusion of succeeding Times, and the Obscurity of our
ancient Histories, have not buried in Oblivion. He, *Anna
Domini* 883, as the *Saxon* Chronicle informs us, sent one
of his favourite Ecclesiasticks, whose Name was *Sigheimus*,
to carry his Alms to the poor distressed Christians of *Saint
Thomas* and *Saint Bartholomew* in the *Indies*. The Fact
is, indeed, pretty extraordinary; and if we had not as clear

and distinct Evidence to support it, as any one Point in our
ancient History, I should not have mentioned it; but as
the *Saxon* Annals, which have been always allowed to con-
tain as fair and as authentick an Account of Facts as any
History whatever, sets down this as a Passage, which cer-
tainly fell out in that Year; and as this *Sigheimus* did not
only perform that Voyage, according to the Instructions of
his Royal Master, but afterwards returned home, and be-
came Bishop of *Shireburn*, or *Sherburn*, in *Dorsetshire*, and
left in the Treasury of his Church, as *William of Malms-
bury* hath recorded, both Spices and Jewels, which he brought
back with him out of that Country; I see no Reason at all
to doubt or question a Fact for which we have all the Evi-
dence that the most scrupulous Critick can desire.

But it must, however, be confessed, that though this In-
tercourse was so early begun, yet the most diligent Enqui-
rers into Subjects of this Nature, such as *Eden* and *Hakluyt*,
have been able to find no Footsteps of Continuance, since
they immediately descend to much later Times, and speak
particularly of the Travels of an *Englishman*, whose Name
is not mentioned through the Country of the *Tartars*, and
of *Sir John Mandeville*. But, however, though no such
Footsteps appear as to the Voyages or Travels of particular
Persons, yet beyond a Question, there was not in those
Days an entire Stop put to the Commerce between the
West and East Parts of the World, or the *English* Nation
entirely deprived of *Indian* Commodities.

2. If it be enquired how any Certainty can be had of
this, or by what Channel such a Trade could be carried
on, I must take leave to remind them, that when the *Greeks*
and *Perians* overthrew the *Roman* Empire, that Commerce
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through the Red-Sea by Alexandria ceased, and was afterwards carried on by the Way of Trebezon, Damajani, and Aleppo, which increased the Trade of the free Cities or States of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, &c. And those Goods were not only vended in all the Countries bordering upon the Mediterranean, but were sent to England, Germany, and the Netherlands, and all over the Baltic, which gave Encouragement to the Traffick of Bruges, where the Commodities of the North, as Corn, Naval Stores, &c. were lodged in the Summer, and where those Ships took in the Commodities from the Levant back again to the Hans-Towns; and those Ships that came from the Levant, transported the Northern Goods from Bruges into the Mediterranean.

Such was the Course of the Trade then, and it is very clear from our old Writers, that Spices and other Indian Commodities were never totally Strangers in this Island, nor indeed could they, since we had an annual Vessel, and sometimes more from Venice, well supplied with such rich Goods; and by this means, though such Commodities might be dear, since it was in the Power of the State of Venice to raise them almost to what Prices she would, yet we had them regularly, and in considerable Plenty, by this Method, down to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the last great Carack, which came from that Country, was lost upon our Coast, of which Sir William Monson was an Eye-witness; and has given of it, as he does of all things, a most clear, entertaining, and instructive Account, which for the Reader's Information, and my own Justification, I shall transcribe, as it gives a clearer, fuller, and more authentick Account of these Points, than is any where else to be met with.

"The Venetians engrossed the whole Trade upon those Seas, and furnished us with the rich Merchandize of Turkey, Persia, and India, at what Rate they pleased themselves; and yet this was not all, for they laboured to make us Strangers to the Great Turk, the Egyptians, and bordering Countries, and brought them to that Ignorance of our Nation, that they thought England to be a Town in the Kingdom of London. The Venetians sent yearly their Argosies to Southampton, which Town enjoyed a Charter from the Kings of this Land, which was wrested out of their Hands by the Earl of Leicester, to the utter Decay of that Town; and the Argosies since then have become Strangers in England, the last whereof took her leave with an unfortunate End, which my Eyes were Witnesses to in the Month of October 1587.

"This goodly Ship of one thousand one hundred Tuns, being richly laden with the accustomed Commodities they used to serve the Kingdom with, and being come in the Channel, as high as the *Isle of Wight*, which Land the English Pilot visibly made; this Pilot, called Forster, who for his excellent Skill, was not long before redeemed out of the Turkish Captivity, by the Venetians, to serve in this Voyage. Upon this good Land-fall the Pilot put the Passengers, in hopes, many of them being of great Account and Esteem, the next Morning to harbour them; for Night growing on, he would not hazard to put in with the Shore that Evening; but the Gentlemen being impatient of Delays, and the Land appearing unto them, they thought themselves free from all Danger, which is the common Ignorance of many that know not the Seas.

"But to be short, they compelled the Pilot by Force to put in at the *Needles*, the westernmost Part of the *Isle of Wight*. When the poor Man, rather with Persuasions, nor Tears, could prevail, he did his best to enter the Channel of the *Needles*; but such was the Greatness of the Waves, and the Unwieldiness of the Ship, not answering her Helm, that she struck upon the Shingles, where she, her Goods and Company, except seven poor Creatures, perished. The Sea betwixt the Island and the main Land was crunched, by her Loss, with several sorts of Merchandize. What was saved was not worth speaking of. I had the Fortune to light on two Butts of Mustekdine floating on the Sea, for then was I riding at *Corbets*.

"In the first Ship I ever went Captain of, I found these two Butts of Mustekdine, a great Help to us in our Voy-

age, when we were reduced to Extremity for want of Victuals. About this Time our Merchants of London began to take into Consideration these great and inestimable Riches brought into the Land by the Venetians and French, who absolutely enjoyed the Trade of Turkey, and a great Part of the Wealth which came out of Persia and India was retailed from them to us. They devised how such Commodities might come to our Hands by a more direct Way than to be served as we were at second hand, and therefore resolved to make an Overture by Favour of the Queen, and her Letters to the Great Turk, for an immediate Traffick from England to Turkey, and his Dominions, and so home again, with Ships of her Subjects, without being beholden to others.

"These Letters were sent by her Majesty, and received with great Humanity and Courtesy by the Grand Seigneur, as appears by his Letters yet extant. He could not give more Respect and Honour to her Majesty, than by shewing a Willingness to embrace her gracious Propositions of Trade; and in Conclusion, Articles were agreed upon, and a Grant of great Privileges and Immunities to her Majesty's Subjects, which have since continued, and been peaceably enjoyed. We may reckon from this Time the Decay of State in Matters of the Venetian Trade: For Argosies, which were wont to visit us, are now unknown to us, and we possess the Wealth they were wont to reap. The Commodities of Persia, and the East-Indies, are brought by ourselves in our own Vessels directly out of Turkey, where we have obtained as great a Freedom as we can desire. Such Places as the Venetians were wont to take Freight in their Ships to transport from Port to Port now we absolutely enjoy that Privilege; for all Strangers are more desirous to put their Goods into English Bottoms than theirs."

Thus from the Conclusion of this Trade, we may easily conceive both the Nature and the Importance of it, and the prodigious Change it made, as well in the Affairs of the Venetians, as in our own, when it came to be carried on by the Subjects of Great-Britain: Yet here it will be necessary to distinguish between this and the true Commerce of the Indies; for, though we found a Way to free ourselves from this Dependence upon the Venetians, yet it was by breaking in upon their Levant Trade at first, and not by sailing directly to these Eastern Parts, which was a Work of great Time and Labour, and brought about by a great Variety of Accidents, with the Relation of which the English Reader cannot but be extremely well pleased, since it will show him the great and speedy Progress of our Maritime Strength and Power at Sea.

3. The first Person, so far as I have been able to learn, that ever proposed the establishing the East-India Trade in England, was one Mr. Robert Thorne, a Merchant of London, who settled at Seville in Spain, and residing there many Years, gained a perfect Knowledge of the Manner in which both the East and West-Indies were discovered. This very judicious Gentleman, who from his Writings yet extant, appears to have drawn his Knowledge, in an equal Degree, from Books and Experience, applied himself about the Year 1527, to his Majesty King Henry VIII. to whom he represented very fully, yet in few Words, the vast Advantages that would accrue to his Subjects by a direct Commerce to the East-Indies; and to suit his Proposal to the great Genius and high Spirit of that Prince, he advised him not only to encourage this new Navigation, but to attempt it by a new Rout; for as the Portuguese had pushed their Discoveries to the East, and the Spaniards to the West, so he was ambitious that the English Nation should find a Way to the Indies of their own, and that by the North.

But it is worthy of Observation, that this Gentleman was so early aware of the insuperable Difficulties that have been found in searching for a Passage to the North-East, and therefore proposed very sensibly, and for good Reason, sailing directly North, or at least very near it; from which he thought many Advantages might be gained, and many Inconveniencies avoided. As for instance, he conceived that this might be undertaken at such a Season of the Year, as to enjoy the Benefit of the half Years Day in that Climate; and he thought it absurd and ridiculous to suppose,

to Extremity for want of our Merchants of Londonation these great and inestimable Land by the *Venetians* enjoyed the Trade of *Turky*, which came out of *Perfia* them to us. They desired to come to our Hands by a served as we were at second to make an Overture by Letters to the Great *Turk*, from *England* to *Turky*, and again, with Ships of her

her Majesty, and received courteously by the Grand Seignior yet extant. He could honour to her Majesty, than embrace her gracious Conclusion, Articles were of great Privileges and Imblements, which have since decay of State in Matters of *Perfia*, which were wont to us, and we possess the ap. The Commodities of are brought by ourselves in of *Turky*, where we have in as we can desire. Such are wont to take Freight from Port to Port now we age; for all Strangers are goods into *English* Bottoms

this Trade, we may easily the Importance of it, and e, as well in the Affairs of when it came to be carried *Britain*: Yet here it will be this and the true Commerce found a Way to free our- upon the *Venetians*, yet it was ent Trade at first, and not tern Parts, which was a pur, and brought about by with the Relation of which be extremely well pleased, and speedy Progress of our at Sea.

I have been able to learn, the *East-India* Trade in *Borneo*, a Merchant of *Lon-* in, and residing there many ledge of the Manner in *Indies* were discovered. This from his Writings yet ex- Knowledge, in an equal ence, applied himself about King *Henry VIII.* to whom few Words, the vast Ad- Subjects by a direct Com- to suit his Proposal to the that Prince, he advised him Navigation, but to attempt *Portuguese* had pushed their *Spaniards* to the West, so *English* Nation should find a and that by the North. on, that this Gentleman was Difficulties that have been age to the North-East, and y, and for good Reasons, very near it; from which might be gained, and many or instance, he conceived such a Season of the Year, half Years Day in that Ch- and ridiculous to suppose, that

that the Seas were frozen under the North Pole, at a time when the Sun, from its long Continuance on the Horizon, must have such prodigious Force. He likewise judged, that whatever Difficulties might occur in the Beginning of such a Passage, they must be quickly and certainly got over, and be fully recompensed, by coming soon on the Coast of *Tartary* and *Japon*, and so to *China* and the *Manillas*. To say the Truth, if we consider the Time when this Proconful was made, the Sagacity and Penetration of this Gentleman can scarce be enough commended or admired, since it is very certain, that if ever any Discovery is made on this Side, it must be made by this Method.

But, how wise or how practicable soever Mr. *Thorn's* Scheme might be, I do not find that it was ever considered in any other Light, than as a Project too bold to be put in Execution; and to say the Truth, the first Person that gave us any Light into this Navigation was Sir *Francis Drake*, in the Year 1578. The very next Year Mr. *Stevens* went from *Lisbon* to *Goa* by the *Cape of Good-Hope*, and wrote a large Account of his Voyage while he resided at *Goa*. A. D. 1586, the famous *Candishe* made his Voyage round the World, which having clearly opened a Passage to these Parts, Captain *George Raymond*, in a Ship of his own, called the *Penelope*, accompanied by two others, called the *Merchant-Royal*, and the *Edward-Bonaventure*, sailed in the Year 1591 for the *East-Indies*, not with a View to trade, but to cruise upon the *Portuguese*. This Voyage was extremely unfortunate; for Captain *Raymond* found himself obliged, at the *Cape of Good-Hope*, to send home the *Merchant-Royal*, with the sick Men they had in the three Ships. Having doubled that Cape, and failed about sixty Leagues, he was lost in the *Penelope*; so that Captain *James Lancaster*, in the *Edward-Bonaventure*, was the only one that performed this Voyage, and that too with very indifferent Fortune; for after a disastrous Voyage to the *East*, he was obliged to pass from thence to the *West-Indies*, where having lost his Ship, he with much Difficulty, by the Assistance of a *French* Privateer he met with in those Parts, returned home.

But in this Space of Time, though no *English* Ships had been sent to the *Indies* for Commerce, abundance of *Englishmen* had been there in different Services, and on their return home, gave such an Account of those Countries, and of the Ease with which the *English* might settle Factories, and establish a regular Trade thither, that many great Men, and rich Merchants, began to entertain a Desire of establishing such a Commerce; and that they might do this effectually, they applied themselves to Queen *Elizabeth* for a Charter, and she accordingly granted them one, which was dated the 31st of December 1600, in the forty-third Year of her Reign. By this Charter she created them a Body Corporate, by the Title of the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading to the *East-Indies*; granted them a common Seal, appointed *Thomas Smyth*, Esq; Alderman of *London*, their first Governor, and established a Court of twenty Directors to be chosen annually on the first of July, or within six Days after. She likewise granted them Authority to make Bye-laws, allowed them to export Goods Custom-free for four Years, permitted them to export thirty thousand Pounds in Foreign Coin, with Licence to do the same in every Voyage, provided they brought that Sum by their Trade out of Foreign Countries into this Kingdom. This Charter was exclusive, and the Queen bound herself not to grant any Charter to other Merchants for the Space of fifteen Years; but with this Proviso, that if within that Space this Charter should appear to be in any respect detrimental to the Publick, it should, upon two Years Warning, under the Privy-Seal become void; but if from Experience it should appear, that this new Corporation was a publick Benefit, then she promised to renew their Charter, with such additional Clauses in their Favour, as should appear requisite.

I have been the more particular with respect to this Point, because I look upon it that there never was any publick Act of this Nature better considered, or drawn with greater Wisdom and Foresight, both for the Benefit of the Adventurers, and the publick Good; by which I mean the Interest of the whole Nation, Circumstances which ought to be equally considered in all such Cases, since whatever the

Design may be of the Persons concerned in such Adventures, it ought to be the Care of the Government, that even these exclusive Companies should be calculated for the common Advantage, and be so guarded, as that Persons concerned therein may never have it in their Power to sacrifice the general Interest of a People to their particular Profit, and private Advantage.

4. It was in Consequence of this Charter, that the Company immediately began to raise a joint Stock for carrying their Project into Execution; and this with such Industry, that in a very short Space their Treasurer had in his Hands seventy-two thousand Pounds; upon which it was resolved to fit out five able Ships to begin their Correspondence in that Part of the World. These were the *Dragon* of six hundred Tuns, Admiral of the Squadron: The *Heitor*, Vice-Admiral, of three hundred Tuns: The *Susannah*, of two hundred Tuns: The *Ascension*, of the same Burthen: The *Gift*, a Store Ship, of a hundred and thirty Tuns. The Complement of Men in all their Ships were four hundred and eighty, and the Expence of equipping them amounted to forty-five thousand Pounds, and their Cargo took up the other twenty-seven thousand Pounds. On the 2d of May 1601, they sailed from *Torbay*, and without any considerable Accident continued their Voyage to the *Indies*, where Captain *James Lancaster*, who commanded with the Title of Admiral, made a Treaty with the King of *Aben*, sent a Pinnace to the *Moluccas*, and erected a Factory in the Island of *Java*; after which the Admiral returned safely, and with good Profit, into *England*.

This was the only Voyage that was undertaken by the Company in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; but upon her Demise, they found a very kind Master, as well as powerful Protector in her Successor King *James*, who from his Accession to the Throne, shewed them all the Countenance, and afforded them all the Assistance that they could desire, which, with the Profits of their first Voyage, engaged them to undertake a second in the Year 1604, Sir *Henry Middleton*, in the *Red Dragon*, having the Title of Admiral, the *Heitor* Vice-Admiral, the *Ascension*, and the *Susannah*. These Ships visited the *Moluccas*, and the Island of *Java*, were well received by all the *Indian* Princes, but met with very indifferent Usage from the *Dutch*, who began already to lose all Sense of Gratitude to the Nation that had preserved them, endeavoured all that in them lay to misrepresent the *English* to the *Indians*, as a cruel, unjust, and ambitious People, who meant not to trade with them fairly for their Commodities, but to seize their Country, and to take them by Force. That this Disposition in the *Dutch* did not take Rise, either from their Hatred or Contempt of King *James*, but was bred in them by their own Self-love, and Aversion to all other Nations, appears most clearly from the Letter of the King of *Ternate* to King *James* by Sir *Henry Middleton*, in which he expressly asserts, that the *Dutch* had used their utmost Endeavours to root out the good Opinion which himself and his Subjects entertained of the *English* from the Time that Sir *Francis Drake* had visited their Island; and thus those Disputes began, of which we shall have so much to say in the Course of this Section.

When Sir *Henry Middleton* sailed from *Bantam*, he received from the King a Letter for his *Britannick* Majesty, and a Present of *Bezoar* Stones. In their Passage home they met with the *Heitor* beating off of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, with only ten Men left alive, by whom they were informed of the Loss of the *Susannah*, and in Company with this Ship they arrived safely in the *Downs*, May 6, 1606. The very next Year the Company undertook a third Voyage, in which three Ships only were employed, viz. the *Dragon*, the *Heitor*, and the *Consent*, under the Command of Captain *William Keeling*. Their Voyage was very successful, especially in the *Moluccas*, where they were, notwithstanding, extremely ill used by the *Dutch*. This did not hinder them, however, from bringing home a very valuable Cargo of all sorts of Spice, with which they arrived in the *Downs*, May 10, 1610, with this extraordinary Mark of good Fortune, that in their whole Voyage out and home, they lost not so much as a single Man. With this Captain *Keeling* went out Captain *William Hawkins*, with the Title of the King's Ambassador

to the Great Mogul, by whom he was very kindly received, and by his prudent Management a good Correspondence was established between the two Courts.

In the Spring of the Year 1607, the Company sent the *Swiftness* and the *Union* to the *Red-Sea*, and the Coast of *Arabia*, which, however, proved but indifferent in their Success. In April 1609, Captain *David Middleton*, in the *Expedition*, was sent by the Company to the *Moluccas*, where the *Dutch* now began to act as Masters, and had a Design of seizing the Captain's Ship, which by his good Management he prevented, and brought home with him a hundred and thirty-nine Tuns of Nutmegs, and the like Quantity of Mace, besides Pepper and other valuable Goods, which I conceive to have been the most prosperous Voyage that had been undertaken by the Company.

5. The *East-India* Company now began to make a great Figure, to employ a vast Number of Men, and to export large Quantities of *English* Goods and Manufactures, so that they conceived, that though their former Charter was not expired, yet upon due Application his Majesty might be prevailed upon to fulfil the Promise of his Royal Predecessor, inasmuch as they had already fulfilled the Terms upon which that Promise was made, and had rendered it manifest, that the continuing this Corporation would be for the common Benefit of the whole *English* Nation. Upon a Representation to this Purpose, his Majesty was graciously pleased, in the Month of May 1609, to enlarge their first Charter, in the Manner they desired, and to make it perpetual, upon which the Company began to build a very large fine Ship, of the Burthen of one thousand two hundred Tuns, which is taken Notice of even by our general Historians, because this was the first great Ship that had been built in this Kingdom, the Custom having hitherto been to buy them ready built in some of the *Hanse-Towns*; and it is farther observed both by *John Stowe* and *Sir William Monson*, that the *Jesus of Lubek*, which *Sir John Hawkins* lost in the *West-Indies*, was the last great Ship which was either built or bought beyond the Seas. They likewise built a new Pinnace of two hundred and fifty Tons, and two more of the great Ships; and when both were ready to be launched, the King, the Prince of Wales, and a great Number of the principal Nobility of the Kingdom, went down to Deptford, where they dined on Board the great Ship, and were all entertained in *China*, the Dishes and Plates, after the Dinner was over, though then great Curiosity, and of high Price, were left to be taken away by the Servants, or whoever else had a Mind to them.

His Majesty, at the Time of launching the Ship, called it the *Trade's Increase*, and gave the Pinnace the Name of the *Pepper-corn*. In the succeeding Spring the Company fitted out for their sixth Voyage this new Ship and Pinnace, together with two others, under the Command of *Sir Henry Middleton*, Knight, at the Expence of eighty thousand Pounds. In 1610, they sent a single Ship, and the succeeding Spring three Ships, under the Command of Captain *John Saris*, at the Expence of three-score thousand Pounds.

The *Portuguese* at this Time endeavoured to hinder the *English* from trading on the Coast of *India*, which obliged the Company to be at more than usual Pains and Expence in equipping out their next Squadron, which sailed in the Year 1611, and consisted of four large Ships, of which the biggest was the *Dragon*, commanded by Captain *Thomas Best*, who arrived safely at *Surat* in six Months, and settled a Factory there, which he had hardly come before the Viceroy at Goa fitted out a large Fleet to destroy him. It consisted of four great Gallies, and twenty six Gallies, in which were five thousand Men, and one hundred and thirty Pieces of Cannon; but Captain *Best*, though he had with him only a small Pinnace, resolved to maintain his Factory, and in Defence of it, engaged and defeated the *Portuguese Armada*, in which Action they lost twelve hundred Men. After this the *Portuguese* never more disturbed the *English* upon that Coast; and as for Captain *Best*, when he had tried every thing to his good liking at *Surat*, he sailed to *India*, and having taken a valuable Cargo on Board came, returned safely to London in the Month of July 1612.

In this Year Captain *Saris* also returned with a very rich Lading, and *Sir Thomas Smith*, Governor of the *East-India* Company, having represented to the King, that they had left Mr. *Paul Canning*, as their Agent, at the Court of the Great Mogul; but that they conceived it would be for the Benefit of the Company, and for the Honour of the Nation, if his Majesty would be pleased to send a Person of Distinction, with the Title of his Ambassador, to that great Prince; to this his Majesty consented, and appointed *Sir Thomas Roe*, Knight, his Ambassador. The Company also, to shew their Gratitude, fitted out a fine Squadron of four large Ships, under the Command of Captain *Keeling*, who carried *Sir Thomas Roe* safe to *India*, where he prosecuted his Affairs with great Success. The *English* and *Dutch* Companies in the *Indies* were now grown so powerful, that they began to extend the Sovereignty of their respective Countries over several Places in the *Indies*, and the *English* particularly procured from the Inhabitants of the Island of *Banda* a Surrender of themselves to the Crown of *England*, which they did by a formal Instrument, which, however, did not hinder the *Dutch*, who alleged, that they had prior Claims upon those Countries, from endeavouring to make themselves Masters of them. The *English* on the other hand proceeded in extending their Dominions in the *East-Indies*, without considering that they wanted a Force to maintain them, and procured likewise the Surrender of *Lanore* by another solemn Instrument, under the Hands of the Natives, dated the 24th of November 1620.

It is very certain that all this was very well designed, and that the *English* Company, if they had been strong enough, would by this means have procured to themselves a very large Share of the Spice Trade; but as it was, they only opened a Way to their own Destruction. While this was doing in the *Indies*, there was a Treaty carried on in *Europe* for the settling all the Differences between the two Companies, of which, as there is nothing laid in any of our general Histories, it is requisite that we should give a distinct Account here.

There had been two Commissions issued by King *James* for Treaties, for the Regulation of these Differences, the one in the Year 1613, when the Conferences were held at *London*, the second in 1615, when the Negotiation was carried on at the *Hague*; but both these proved ineffectual, and therefore a new Treaty was had in the Year 1619, between Commissioners appointed by each of the *East-India* Companies, *English* and *Dutch*, under the Inspection and Direction of Ministers Plenipotentiaries from the King of *Great-Britain*, and the States General. The Treaty between the two Companies was concluded on the seventh of July, by which it was agreed, that all past Offences on either Side should be buried in Oblivion, that both Companies should trade freely upon their own Stock, for their own Benefit, but with a mutual Regard to each others Interest; that the Price of Pepper, and other Spices, should be amicably settled between them; that the *Molucca* Islands, together with those of *Banda* and *Ambyna*, should belong to the *English* and *Dutch*; but in such a manner, that the *English* should have but one-third of the Trade, and the *Dutch* two-thirds.

That the Expence of the Fortifications in those Islands should be defrayed by a Duty or Imposition on the Spice exported from them; that a Council of Defence should be erected, composed of Members of both Companies, who should provide such Ships of War as are mentioned in the Treaty, for the joint Defence of both Companies; that the Fortresses erected in those Parts should remain in the Hands of those who are possessed of them; and that such as had been acquired by both Companies, should remain so, and be possessed by them both, and be garrisoned by *English* and *Dutch* Troops, according as this Matter should be settled and adjusted by the Council of Defence before mentioned; that for the future the whole Trade of the *Indies* should be free to both Nations, and that neither should attempt to shut out the other by Fortifications, or Contrabands, with the Natives; that to render this Treaty most effectual, his Britannick Majesty, and the States General, should be most humbly desired not to erect any other Com-

also returned with a very rich Governor of the *East-India* to the King, that they had an Agent, at the Court of the conceived it would be for the Honour of the Nation to send a Person of his Ambassador, to that Majesty contented, and ap- point, his Ambassador. The Gratitude, fitted out a fine Ship, under the Command of Sir Thomas Roe late to India, with great Success. The *Indies* were now grown to extend the Sovereignty of several Places in the *Indies*, secured from the Inhabitants of themselves to the they did by a formal Instru- ment hinder the *Dutch*, who Claims upon those Countries, themselves Masters of them proceeded in extending their, without considering that in them, and procured like by another solemn Instru- ment Natives, dated the 24th of

this was very well designed, any, if they had been strong as have procured to them of the Spice Trade; but as way to their own Destruction *Indies*, there was a Treaty carrying all the Differences between, as there is nothing said in it is requisite that we should

Commissions issued by King Regulation of these Differences, when the Conference were held, when the Negotiation was both these proved ineffectual, was had in the Year 1619, ed by each of the *East-India* Companies, under the Inspection and Attendants from the King of General. The Treaty be- concluded on the seventh of, that all past Offences on Oblivion, that both Com- pany their own Stock, for their Regard to each others In- terest, and other Spices, should them; that the *Moluccas*, *Banda* and *Ambony*, should them; but in such a manner, but one-third of the Trade,

Fortifications in those Island- or Imposition on the Spices, Council of Defence should be of both Companies, who War as are mentioned in the of both Companies; that the should remain in the Hands them; and that such as had them, should remain to, and and be garrisoned by *English* is this Matter should be let- til of Defence before men- the whole Trade of the *Indies* them, and that neither should by Fortifications, or Com- to render this Treaty more ly, and the States General, not to erect any other Com-

panies during the Time fixed for the Continuance of this Treaty.

That if in any of the Factories of the *Indies* belonging either to the *English* or *Dutch*, it should fall out by Death or other Accidents, that none should be left to take Care of the Effects in the Factory, that then they should be preserved by, and justly accounted for by the Members of the other Factory; that this Treaty shall endure for twenty Years, and in case any Disputes shall arise notwithstanding thereof, which cannot be either decided or accommodated by the Councils of the said Companies, his Britannick Majesty, and the States-General, are humbly desirous to take the same under their Cognizance, and finally, to adjust and determine them: All those Articles were to be faithfully and inviolably observed on both Sides, according to the Intention of the said Treaty, and the same to be ratified by his Majesty in one Month. This Treaty was accordingly ratified by King James, on the 10th of July 1619, under his own Hand, and sealed with his Broad-Seal: In this Ratification his Majesty promised not to grant any Charter or Powers to any other Company during the Continuance of this Treaty.

One would have imagined that all Things must now have gone on harmoniously and peaceably, and that an End had been put to all the Disputes between the *English* and *Dutch* Companies for twenty Years at least: But it fell out quite otherwise; for the *Dutch* General of the *East-India* Company having a Fleet of large Ships under his Command, attacked *Lamoor*, and having defeated the Natives, fired the Town, plundered the *English* Factory, took away the Cloth, Money, and Bullion, belonging to the *East-India* Company, together with twenty-three thousand Pounds Weight of Mace, and one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds of Nutmegs. The *English* Factors that were settled there, were stripp'd naked, bound, beaten, thrown over the Town-Wall, and afterwards dragged through the Streets in Chains. The Factory of *Poelaroon* had the same Fate; and thus all things were in a worse State after this Treaty than they were before in the *Indies*. What seems to be most extraordinary and astonishing is, that the *Dutch East-India* Company published in *Holland* a Defence or Vindication of these Proceedings, in which they alledge, that having a prior Right to these Islands, this could not be taken away by any subsequent Act of the Inhabitants, who were no longer their own Masters; that this War was prosecuted against the Natives as Principals, and against the *English* as Auxiliaries only. To this the *English* published an Answer, in which they absolutely de- manded, that the Inhabitants of the Island of *Banda* ever sub- mitted themselves to the *Dutch*, and insisted on their legal Tide to that Country.

But it does not appear, that the Government ever inter- fered properly in this Affair, or demanded just Satisfaction from the States of *Holland*, which might perhaps be owing to the perplexed Circumstances of our Administration, and the Differences that had arisen between King James and his Parliament. But if this ill Usage was hard to be born, there followed soon after much worse, when, to take from the *English* the small Remains of the Spice Trade, and to monopolize entirely a Commerce of such Import- ance into their own Hands, the *Dutch* were guilty of such unheard of Barbarities in *Ambony*, as tho' they may be forgiven, yet ought never to be forgot; and yet we find them very slightly passed over, even in those Works where we might reasonably expect the fullest Accounts of them, which is probably owing to the Inclination some Writers have to hide the Faults of their Neighbours, and to pub- lish the Excesses of no Government but their own.

Yet as at the very Time it happened, the *East-India* Company here took Care to give a full and large Account of the whole Transaction, from such Authorities as can- not be questioned, it seems but reasonable that for the sake of Truth, and the perpetual Preservation of so au- thentick and curious a Piece, which otherwise as a Pam- phlet may be in Danger of being lost, as well as for other Reasons which shall be expressed hereafter, we should in- sert it entire. It is indeed of some Length, and delivered in an un-outh and antiquated Style; but however, it is better it should stand so, than that we should run any

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Risque of altering the Facts, by endeavouring to amend the Language in which they are expressed.

6. *Ambony* is an Island lying near *Seran*, of the Com- pany of forty Leagues, and giveth Name also to some other small Islands adjacent. It beareth Cloves; for gathering and buying in whereof, the *English* Company, for their part, had planted five several Factories: The Head and Rendezvous of all at the Town of *Ambony*, and therein first Master George Muschamp, and afterward Master Gabriel Taversem, their Agents, with Directions over the smaller Factories at *Ilito* and *Larica* upon the same Island, and at *Lobo* and *Cambello* upon a Point of their neighbour- ing Island of *Seran*. Upon these Islands of *Ambony*, and the Point of *Seran*, the *Dutch* have four Forts, the chief of all is at the said Town of *Ambony*, and is very strong, having four Points, or Bullwarks, with their Curtains; and upon each of these Points six great Pieces of Ordnance mounted, most of them of Brass. The one Side of this Cattle is washed by the Sea, and the other is divided by the Land, with a Ditch of four or five Fathom broad, very deep, and filled with the Sea. The Garrison of this City consisteth of about two hundred *Dutch* Soldiers, and a Company of free Bughers. Besides these, there is always a matter of three or four hundred Markdiers in the Town, ready to serve the Cattle at an Hour's warning. There he also in the Road, diverse good Ships belonging to the *Dutch*, as well for the Guard of the Place by Sea, as for the Occasion of Traffick, this being the chief Rendezvous as well for the Island of *Banda*, as for the rest of *Ambony*. Here the *English* lived not in the Cattle, but under Protection thereof, in a House of their own, in the Town, holding themselves safe, as well in respect of the ancient Bonds of Amity between both Nations, as of the strict Conjunction made by the late Treaty before mentioned.

They continued here two Years conversing and trading together, with the *Dutch*, by virtue of the said Treaty, in which Time there fell out several Differences and De- bates between them; the *English* complaining, that the *Dutch* did not only lavish away much Money in Building and unnecessary Expences upon the Forts, and otherwise, and bring large and unreasonable Reckonings thereof to the common Account, but also did, for their Part, pay the Garrison with Victuals and Cloth of *Coremandel*, which they put off to the Soldiers at three or four Times the Value it cost them, yet would not allow of the *English* Company's Part of the same Charge, but only in ready Money, thereby drawing from the *English* more than two Thirds of the whole true Charge. Hereupon, and upon the like Occasions, grew some Discontents and Disputes, and the Complaints were sent to *Jaccatra*, in the Island of *Java Major*, to the Council of Defence of both Nations there residing, who also not agreeing upon the Points in Difference, sent the same hither over into *Europa*, to be decided by both Companies here, or, in Default of their Agreement, by the King's Majesty, and the Lords the States-General, according to an Article of the Treaty of the Year 1619 on this Behalf. In the mean Time, the Discontent between the *English* and the *Dutch* about these and other Differences continued, and daily increased, until at last there was a Sword found to cut in sunder that Knot at once which the tedious Disputes of *Ambony* and *Jacca- tra* could not untie; and this was used in the Manner as followeth.

About the 11th of February 1622, O. S. a *Japanese* Soldier of the *Dutch* in their Cattle of *Ambony*, walking in the Night upon the Wall, came to the Centinel, and there, among other Talk, asked him some Questions touching the Strength of the Cattle, and the People that were therein. It is here to be observed, that those *Japo- nese* did for the most Part serve the *Dutch* as Soldiers, yet were not of their trusty Bands always lodged in the Cattle, but upon Occasion called out of the Town to assist the Watch. This *Japanese* aforesaid, was, for his said Confe- rence with the Centinel, apprehended upon Suspicion of Treason, and put to the Torture; thereby he was brought to confess himself and sundry others of his Countrymen there, to have contrived the taking of the Cattle. Here- upon other *Japanese* were examined and tortured, as also a *Portuguese*, the Guardian of the Slaves under the *Dutch*.

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During this Examination, which continued three or four Days, some of the *Englishmen* went to and from the Castle, upon their Business, saw the Prisoners, heard of their Tortures, and of the Crime laid to their Charge, but all this while suspected not that this Matter did any wint concern themselves, having never had any Conversation with the *Japoneſe*, nor with the *Panagura* aforeſaid.

At the ſame Time, there was one *Abel Price*, Chirurgion to the *Engliſh*, Priſoner in the Caſtle, for offering, in his Drunkenneſs, to ſet a *Dutchman's* Houſe on Fire. This Fellow the *Dutch* took, and ſhewed him ſome of the *Japoneſe*, whom they had firſt moſt grievouſly tortured, and told him, they had confeſſed the *Engliſh* to have been of their Conſederacy for the taking of the Caſtle, and that if he would not confeſs the ſame, they would uſe him even as they had done the *Japoneſe*, and worſe alſo. Having given him the Torture, they ſoon made him confeſs whatever they asked him. This was on the 15th of February 1722, O. S. Furthwith, about Nine of the Clock the ſame Morning, they ſent for Captain *Towerſon*, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* that were in the Town, to come to ſpeak with the Governor in the Caſtle. They all went, ſave one that was left to keep the Houſe. Being come to the Governor, he told Captain *Towerſon*, that himſelf and others of his Nation, were accuſed of a Conſpiracy to ſurprize the Caſtle, and therefore, until further Trial, were to remain Priſoners. Inſtantly alſo they attacked him that was left at home in the Houſe, took the Merchandize of the *Engliſh* Company there into their own Cuſtody, by an Inventory, and ſeized all the Cheſts, Boxes, Books, Writings and other things in the *Engliſh* Houſe.

Captain *Towerſon* was committed to his Chamber, with a Guard of *Dutch* Solliers. *Emanuel Thomſon* was kept Priſoner in the Caſtle, the reſt, viz. *John Beaumont*, *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, *Timothy Johnson*, *John Furdo*, and *Robert Brown*, were ſent aboard the *Dutch* Ships then riding in Harbour, ſome to one Ship, and ſome to another, and all made ſail in Irons. The ſame Day alſo the Governor ſent to the two other Factories in the ſame Land, to apprehend the reſt of the *Engliſh* there, ſo that *Samuel Colſon*, *John Clark*, *George Johnson*, that were bound in the Factory at *Hitte*, and *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, and *John Sadler*, at *Larica*, were all brought Priſoners to *Amboyna*, the 10th of February; upon which Day alſo *John Perſi*, *John Weiſbeten*, and *Abraham Laiditch*, were apprehended at *Campole*, *John Beaumont*, *William Griſſi*, and *Ephraim Ramſey* at *Larica*, and brought in Irons to *Amboyna*, the 20th of the ſame Month. In the mean Time, the Governor and Fical went to work with the Priſoners that were already here, and firſt, they ſent for *John Beaumont* and *Timothy Johnson*, from on Board the *Uncorn*, who being come into the Caſtle, *Beaumont* was left with a Guard in the Hall, and *Johnson* went into another Room, where, by and by, *Beaumont* heard him cry out very pitiouſly, then to be quiet a little while, and then loud again.

After Taſte of the Torture, then *Abel Price* the Chirurgion that firſt was examined and tortured, was brought in to confront and accuſe him: But *Johnson* not yet confeſſing any thing, *Price* was quickly carried out, and *Johnson* was brought again to the Torture, where *Beaumont* heard him ſometimes cry aloud, then quiet again, then roar aſreſh. At laſt, after he had been about an Hour in this ſecond Examination, he was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in diverſe Parts of his Body, and ſo laid aſide, in a Bye-place in the Hall, with a Sollier to watch him, that he ſhould ſpeak to nobody. Then was *Emanuel Thomſon* brought to Examination, not in the Room where *Johnson* had been, but in another ſomewhat nearer from the Hall; yet *Beaumont* being in the Hall, could hear him roar moſt lamentably, and many Times: At laſt, about an Hour and half ſpent in torturing him, he was carried into another Room another Way, ſo that he could not be ſeen thro' the Hall. Next was *Beaumont* called in, and being demanded many things, all which he confeſſed, ſome of the Caſſes and Priſonations, was made ſail for *Amboyna*, clothed about his Neck, and two Men carried him a Jar of Water to be poured on his Head; and when the Governor had lookt him, he

would ſpare him a Day or two, becauſe he was an old Man; this was all *Saturday's* Work, the 15th of February aforeſaid.

On the 10th *William Webber*, *Edward Collins*, *Ephraim Ramſey*, and *Robert Brown*, were fetched from aboard the *Rottterdam* to be examined: At the ſame time came *Samuel Colſon*, *William Griſſi*, and *John Clark*, *George Sbaruck*, and *John Sadler*, from *Hitte* and *Larica*, and were immediately upon their Arrival, brought into the Caſtle-Hall, *Robert Brown*, *Taylor*, was firſt called in, and being tormented with Water, confeſſed all in order as the Fical asked him. Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and told that thoſe that were formerly examined had confeſſed him as accuſary to the Plot of taking the Caſtle, which, when he denied with great Oaths and Exccrations they made his Hands and his Feet ſail to the Rack, bound a Cloth about his Throat ready to be put to the Torture of the Water. Thus prepared he prayed to be reſpited, and he would confeſs all. Being let down, he again vowed and proteſted his Innocency; yet ſaid, that becauſe he knew they would, by Torture, make him confeſs any thing, though never ſo falſe, they would do him a great Favour to tell him what they would have him ſay, and he would ſpeak it, to avoid the Torture. The Fical hereupon ſaid, What, do you mock us? And bad up with him again, and to gave him the Torment of Water, which he not able long to endure, deſired to be let down again to his Confeſſion: Then he deviſed with himſelf and told them, That about two Months and a half ago, himſelf, *Thomſon*, *Johnson*, *Brown*, and *Furdo*, had plotted, with the Help of the *Japoneſe*, to ſurprize the Caſtle. Here he was interrupted by the Fical, and asked whether Captain *Towerſon* were not of that Conſpiracy? He answered, No; you lye, ſaid the Fical, did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that thoſe daily Abuses of the *Dutch* had cauſed him to think of a Plot, and that he wanted nothing but your Conſent and Secrecy? Then ſaid a *Dutch* Merchant, one *John Igeſi*, that ſtood by, Did not you all ſwear upon a Bible to be ſecret to him? *Collins* answered with great Oaths, that he knew nothing of any ſuch Matter: Then they bade made him ſail again; whereupon he then ſaid, all was true that they had ſpoken. Then the Fical asked him whether the *Engliſh* in the reſt of the Factories were not conſenting to this Plot? He answered, No; the Fical then asked him whether the Preſident of the *Engliſh* at *Jaccatra*, or Maſter *Welden*, Agent in *Banda*, were not Plotters, or privy to this Buſineſs? Again he answered No: Then the Fical asked him by what Means the *Japoneſe* ſhould have executed their Purpoſe? Whereat, when *Collins* ſtood ſtaggering and deviſing of ſome probable Fiction, the Fical helped him, and ſaid, Should not two *Japoneſe* have gone to each Point of the Caſtle, and two to the Governor's Chamber-door; and when the Huſilyburly had been without, and the Governor coming to ſee what was the Matter, the *Japoneſe* to have killed him? Here one that ſtood by ſaid to the Fical, Do not tell him what he ſhould ſay, but let him ſpeak of himſelf; whereupon the Fical, without attending the Answer to his former Queſtion, asked what the *Japoneſe* were to have had for their Reward? *Collins* answered 1000 Rials a piece. Laſtly, he asked him when this Plot ſhould have been executed? Whereupon, although he answered him nothing, not knowing what to deviſe upon the ſudden, yet he was diſmiſſed, and very glad to come clear off the Torture, though with certain Beliet that he ſhould die for this his Confeſſion.

Next was *Samuel Colſon* brought in, being newly arrived from *Hitte*, as is before touched, and was the ſame Day brought to the Torture, who, for fear of the Pain where-with he ſaw *Collins* come out, in ſuch a Caſe, that his Eyes were almoſt blown out of his Head with the Torment of Water, choſe rather to confeſs all they asked him, and to was quickly diſmiſſed, coming out weeping, lamenting, proteſting his Innocency. Then was *John Clark*, that came with *Colſon* from *Hitte* fetched in, and a little after was heard to cry out again. They tortured him with Water and with Fire, by the Space of two Hours. The Manner of his Torture, which was likewiſe that of *Johnson's* and *Thomſon's*, was as followeth: Firſt, they hoſtled

two, because he was an old
Work, the 15th of *Febru-*

er. Edward Collins, Ephraim
were fetched from aboard the
at the same time came *Samuel*
John Clark, George Sbaruck,
and *Larica*, and were imme-
diate brought into the Castle-Hall,
first called in, and being tor-
tured all in order as the Fiscal
and *Collins* called in, and told
examined had confessed him
ing the Castle, which, when
and Execrations they made
to the Rack, bound a Cloth
e put to the Torture of the
e put to be respited, and he
t down, he again vowed
yet said, that because he
make him confess any thing,
could do him a great Favour
have him say, and he would

The Fiscal hereupon said,
and had up with him again,
at of Water, which he nor
o be let down again to his
with himself and told them,
half ago, himself, *Thompson*,
had plotted, with the Help
the Castle. Here he was in-
quired whether Captain *Tow-*
sary? He answered, No;
he call you all to him, and
ses of the *Dutch* had caused
that he wanted nothing but
then said a *Dutch* Merchant,
Did not you all swear upon
Collins answered with great
of any such Matter: Then
whereupon he then said,
en. Then the Fiscal asked
rest of the Factories were
e answered, No; the Fil-
President of the *English* at
gent in *Banda*, were not
inets? Again he answered
him by what Means the *Ja-*
Purpose? Whereat, when
fing of some probable Fic-
said, Should not two *Ja-*
of the Castle, and two to
and when the Hurlyburly
ernor coming to see what
have killed him? Here
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Plot should have been et
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they asked him, and to
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n was *John Clark*, that
ed in, and a little after
they tortured him with
ce of two Hours. The
as likewise that of *John*-
eth. First, they hauld:



The Torments inflicted by the Dutch on the English in Amboyna.



The condition of the English in the Dungeon & their Execution.

him up by the Hands with a Cord, on a large Door, where they made him fast, upon two Staples of Iron fixed on both Sides, at the Top of the Door-Posts, haling his Hands one from the other as wide as they could stretch. Being thus made so fast, his Feet hung two Foot from the Ground, which also they stretched asunder as far as they could stretch, and so made them fast beneath, under the Door-Trees on each Side. Then they bound a Cloth about his Neck and Face so close, that little or no Water could go by; that done, they poured the Water softly upon his Head, until the Cloth was full up to the Mouth and Nostrils, and somewhat higher, so that he could not draw Breath but he must withal suck in the Water; which being still continued to be poured in softly, forced all his inward Parts to come out of his Nose, Ears, and Eyes, and often, as it were, stifling or choking him; at length took away his Breath, and brought him to a Swoon, or Fainting: Then they took him quickly down, and made him vomit up the Water; being a little recovered, they tied him up again, and poured in the Water as before, often taking him down as he seemed to be stifled. In this Manner they handled him three or four several Times with Water, till his Body was swollen twice or thrice as big as before; his Cheeks like great Bladders, and his Eyes starting and strutting out beyond his Forehead; yet all this he bore without confessing any thing, inasmuch that the Fiscal and Tormentors reviled him, saying, that he was a Devil, and no Man, or surely he was a Witch, at least had some Charm about him, or was enchanted, that he could bear so much; wherefore they cut off his Hair very short, as supposing he had some Witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they hoisted him up again, as before, and then burnt him with lighted Candles in the Bottom of his Feet until the Fat dropped out on the Candles, yet they applied fresh Lights unto him; they burnt him also under the Elbows, and in the Palms of his Hands, likewise under the Armpits, until his Inwards might evidently be seen.

At last, when they saw he could of himself make no handsome Confession, then they led him along with Questions of particular Circumstances by themselves framed. Being thus wearied and overcome by the Torment, he answered, Yea, to whatever they asked, whereby they drew from him a Body of Confession to this Effect; to wit, That Captain *Towerfon* had, upon *New-Year's-Day* then last past, sworn all the *English* at *Ambosyna* to be secret and assilant in a Plot that he had projected, with the Help of the *Japanese*, to surprise the Castle, and to put the Governor and the rest of the *Dutch* to Death. Having thus martyred this poor Man, they sent him out by four Blacks, who carried him between them to a Dungeon, where he lay five or six Days, without any Chirurgion to dress him, until his Flesh being putrified, great Maggots dropped and crept from it in a most loathsome and noisome Manner. Thus they finished their Sabbath-day's Work; and it growing now dark, sent the rest of the *English* that came that Day from *Hitto*, and 'till then attended in the Hall, first, to the Smith's Shop, where they were loaded with Irons, and then to the same loathsome Dungeon, where *Clark* and the rest were accompanied with the poor *Japanese*, lying in the Putrefaction of their Tortures.

The next Morning, being *Monday*, the Seventeenth of *February*, O. S. *William Griggs* and *John Fardo*, with certain *Japanese*, were brought into the Place of Examination. The *Japanese* were first cruelly tortured to accuse *Griggs*, which, at last, they did; and *Griggs*, to avoid the like Torture, confessed all that the Fiscal demanded. By and by the like was also done by *John Fardo* and other *Japanese*: But *Fardo* himself endured the Torture of Water, and, at last, confessed whatsoever the Fiscal asked him, and so was sent back to Prison. The same Day also *John Beumont* was brought the second Time to the Fiscal's Chamber, where one Captain *Newport*, a *Dutchman's* Son, born in *England*, was used as an Interpreter; *William Griggs* was also brought in to accuse him, who said, That when the Consultation was held for taking the Castle, he the said *Beumont* was then present; *Beumont* denied it with great Earnestness, and deep Oaths; at last, being stretched up, and drenched with Water till his Inwards were ready

to crack, he answered affirmatively to all the Fiscal's Interrogatories. Yet, as soon as he was let down, he clearly demonstrated to Captain *Newport*, and *Jobson*, a *Dutch* Merchant, then also present, that these Things could not be so; nevertheless, he was forced to put his Hand to the Confession, or else he must to the Torture again, which, to avoid, he subscribed, and so had a great Iron-bolt, and two Shackles rivited to his Legs, and then was carried back to Prison.

After this *George Sharrack*, Assilant at *Hitto*, was called in Question, who seeing how grievously others were martyr'd, made his earnest Prayer to God, as since upon his Oath he hath acknowledged, that he would suffer him to make some such probable Lies against himself, as the *Dutch* might believe, and so he might escape the Torment. Being brought to the Rack, the Water provided, and the Candles lighted, he was by the Governor and Fiscal examined, and charged with the Conspiracy. He fell upon his Knees, and protested his Innocence; then they commanded him to the Rack, and told him, unless he would confess he should be tormented with Fire and Water to Death, and then should be drawn by the Knees to the Gallows, and there hanged up. He still persisting in his Innocence, the Fiscal bid him be hoisted up; then he craved Respite a while, and told them, that he was at *Hitto*, and not in *Ambosyna* upon *New-Year's-Day*, when the Consultation was pretended, neither had he been there since *November* before, as was well known to sundry of the *Dutchmen* themselves that resided there also with him.

Hereupon they commanded him again to the Rack; but he craving Respite, as before, now told them that he had many Times heard *John Clark* say, that the *Dutch* had done them many unnumberable Wrongs, and that he would be revenged on them; to which End he had once broken with Captain *Towerfon* a brave Plot; at which Word the Fiscal and the rest were attentive, encouraging him to proceed; so he went on, saying, that *John Clark* had entreated Captain *Towerfon*, that he might go to *Macassar*, there to consult and advise with the *Spaniards* to come with Gallies, and rob the small Factories of *Ambosyna* and *Secan*, when no Ships were there. Here they asked him what Captain *Towerfon* said to this? To which he answered, that Captain *Towerfon* was very much offended with *Clark* for the Motion, and from thenceforth could never abide him. Hereupon the Fiscal called him Rogue, and said he prated all from the Matter, and should go to the Torture: He craved Favour again, and began another Tale, to wit, That upon *Twelfth-Day*, then last past, *John Clark* told him at *Hitto*, that there was a Practice to take the Castle of *Ambosyna*, and asked him whether he would consent thereto; whereupon he demanded of *Clark* whether Captain *Towerfon* knew of any such Matter, which *Clark* affirming; then the said *Sharrack* said, he would do as the rest did. Then the Fiscal asked him what Time the Consultation was held? He answered in *November* last: The Fiscal said that could not be, for the Consultation was on *New-Year's-Day*. The Prisoner said as before in the Beginning, that he had not been in *Ambosyna* since the First of *December* till now, that he was brought thither; why then, quoth the Fiscal, have you belied yourself? Where to the Prisoner resolutely answered, that all that he had spoken touching Treason was false, and feigned only to avoid Torment. Then went the Fiscal out into another Room to the Governour, and anon returned and sent *Sharrack* unto the Prison again.

The next Day he was called again, and a Writing presented him, wherein was framed a formal Confession of his last Conference with *Clark* at *Hitto*, touching the Plot to take the Castle of *Ambosyna*, which being read over to him, the Fiscal asked him, whether it was true or no? He answered no: Why then, said the Fiscal, did you confess it? He answered, for fear of Torment. The Fiscal and the rest, in a great Rage, told him he lyed, his Mouth had spoken it, and it was true, and therefore he should subscribe it, which, as soon as he had done, he fell presently into a great Passion, charging them bitterly to be guilty of the innocent Blood of himself and the rest, which they should look to answer for at the Day of Judgment;

in *Ambosyna*.

Execution.

ment; withal he grappled with the Fiscal, and would have stopped him from carrying in the Confession to the Governor, with whom he also craved to speak, but was instantly laid hold on, and carried away to Prison. *William Webber* being next examined, was told by the Fiscal, that *John Clark* had confessed him to have been at *Ambeyna* on *New-Year's Day*, and sworn to Captain *Towerfon's* Plot, &c. all which he denied, alledging he was that Day at *Larica*; yet, being brought to the Torture, he then confessed he had been at the Consultation at *Ambeyna* upon *New-Year's Day*, with all the rest of the Circumstances in order as he was asked.

He also further told them, he had received a Letter from *John Clark*, after which was a Postscript, excusing his brief Writing at that Time, for that there was then great Business in hand. But one *Kender*, a Dutch Merchant, then standing by, told the Governor, that upon *New-Year's Day*, the Time of this pretended Consultation, *Webber* and he were merry at *Larica*; so the Governor left him and went out: But the Fiscal held out upon the other Point, touching the Postscript of *Clark's* Letter, urging him to shew the same, which, when he could not do, though often terrified with the Torture, he gave him Reliance, promising to save his Life, if he would produce the Letter. Then was Captain *Towerfon* brought to the Examination, and shewed what others had confessed of him; he deeply protested his Innocency. *Samuel Colson* was brought to confront him, who being told, that unless he would now make good his former Confession against Captain *Towerfon*, he should go to the Torture, coldly reaffirmed the same, and so was sent away. They also brought *William Griggs* and *John Fardo* to justify their former Confessions to his Face. Captain *Towerfon* seriously charged, that as they would answer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, they should speak nothing but the Truth: Both of them instantly fell down upon their Knees before him, praying him, for God's Sake, to forgive them; and saying further openly, before them all, that whatsoever they had formerly confessed, was most false, and spoken only to avoid Torment. With that the Fiscal and the rest ordered them again to the Torture, which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former Confessions to be true. When *Colson*, who had accused the Captain before, was required to set his Hand to his Confession; he asked the Fiscal upon whose Head he thought the Sin would lie, whether upon his, who was constrained to confess what was false, or upon the Conspirator?

The Fiscal, after a little Pause upon this Question, went in to the Governor, then in another Room; but anon, returning, said he must subscribe it, which he did, yet withal made this Protestation; Well, quoth he, you make me to accuse myself and others, of that which is as false as God is true; for God is my Witness, I am as innocent as the Child new born. Thus have they examined all that belong to the *English* Company in the several Factories of the Island of *Ambeyna*. February the Twenty-first they examined *John Weiberal*, Factor at *Cambello*, in the Island of *Seran*. He confessed he was at *Ambeyna* upon *New-Year's Day*, but for the Consultation whereof he was demanded, he said he knew of no other but touching certain Cloth of the *English* Company that lay in the Factories rotting and worm-eaten, which they advised together how to put off to the best Avail of their Employers. The Governor said, he questioned him not about Cloth, but of Treason, whereof, when he had protested his Innocence, he was for that Time dismissed; but the next Day he was sent for again, and Captain *Towerfon* brought to confront and accuse him, having before confessed somewhat against him; but Mr. *Towerfon* spoke these Words only, O Mr. *Weiberal*, Mr. *Weiberal*, speak the Truth, and nothing but the Truth, as God shall put it in your Heart; so Captain *Towerfon* was put out again, and Mr. *Weiberal* brought to the Torture of Water, with great Threats, if Water would not make him confess, Fire should. He prayed them to tell him what he should say, or to write down what they would, he would subscribe it. They said, he needed no Tutor, they would make him confess himself; but when they had hoisted him up four several Times, and

saw he knew not what to say; then they read him other Mens Confessions, and asked him from Point to Point, as they had done others, and he still answered, *Yes*, to all.

Next was called in *John Powel*, *Weiberal's* Assistant at *Cambello*; but he proving that he was not at *Ambeyna* since *November*, save now, when he was brought thither Prisoner, and being spoken for by one *John Josse*, who had long been well acquainted with him, was dismissed without Torture. Then was *Thomas Ladbroke*, Servant to *Weiberal* and *Powel* at *Cambello*, at the Time of the pretended Consultation, and serving in such Quality, as that he was never acquainted with any of the Letters from the Agent of *Ambeyna*, he was easily and quickly dismissed. *Ephraim Ramsey* was also examined upon the whole Conspiracy, and particularly questioned concerning Captain *Weldon*, the *English* Agent in *Banda*; but denying all, and proving that he was not at *Ambeyna* at *New-years-tide*, being also spoken for by *John Josse*, was dismissed, after he had hanged in the Rack a good while, with brans about his Legs, and the Cloth about his Mouth. Lastly, *John Sadler*, Servant to *William Griggs* at *Larica*, was examined, and being found to have been absent from *Ambeyna* at *New-years-tide*, when *Griggs* and others were there, was dismissed.

Thus have we all their Examinations, Tortures, and Confessions, being the Work of eight Days, from the 15th to the 23d of *February*, after which was two Days respite before the Sentence. *John Powel* being himself acquitted as aforesaid, went to the Prison to visit *John Fardo*, one of these that had accused Captain *Towerfon*; to him *Fardo* religiously protested his Innocency, but especially his Sorrow for accusing Master *Towerfon*; for, said he, the Fear of Death doth nothing dismay me; for God, I trust, will be merciful to my Soul, according to the Innocence of my Cause. The only Matter that troubles me is, that through Fear of Torment I have accused that honest and godly Man Captain *Towerfon*, whom, I think in my Conscience, was so upright towards all Men, that he harboured no ill-will to any Man; much less would attempt any such Business as he is accused of. He farther said, he would before his Death receive the Sacrament, in Acknowledgment, that he had accused Captain *Towerfon* falsely and wrongfully, only through Fear of Torment.

On the 25th, O.S. all the Prisoners, as well the *English* as the *Portuguese* and *Japanese*, were brought into the great Hall of the Castle, and there were solemnly condemned, except *John Powel*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *John Sadler*, and *Thomas Ladbroke*, formerly acquitted as aforesaid; Captain *Towerfon*, during all his Imprisonment, having been kept from the rest, so that none could come to speak with him, writ much in his Chamber; but all was suppressed, save only a Bill of Debt, which one *Thomas Johnson*, a free Burgher, got of him, by Favour of his Keepers, for an Acknowledgment, that the *English* Company owed him a certain Sum of Money. In the End of this Bill he writ these Words, *Firmed by the Form of me Gabriel Towerfon, now appointed to die, guiltless of any thing that can be justly laid to my Charge. God forgive them their Guilt, and receive me to his Mercy. Amen.* This Bill being brought to M. *Weldon*, the *English* Agent at *Banda*, he paid the Money, and received in the Acknowledgment. *William Griggs*, who had before accused Captain *Towerfon*, writ the following Words in his Table Book: "We whose Names are here specified, *John Beasmont*, Merchant of *Lobo*, *William Griggs*, Merchant of *Larica*, *Abel Price*, Chirurgeon of *Ambeyna*, *Robert Brown*, Taylor, which do here lie Prisoners in the Ship *Rotterdam*, being apprehended for Conspiracy, for blowing up the Castle of *Ambeyna*, we being judged to Death this fifth of *March*, Anno 1622, which we, through Torment, were constrained to speak that which we never meant, nor once imagined, the which we take upon our Deaths and Salvation. They tortured us with that extremest Torment of Fire and Water, that Flesh and Blood could not endure; and this we take upon our Deaths, that they have put us to Death guiltless of our Accusation: So therefore that we desire that they that shall understand this, that our Employers may understand these Wrongs, and that yourselves would

then they read him other
from Point to Point, as
he still answered, *No*, to

Welsh's Assistant at
he was not at *Amboyna* since
was brought thither Pri-
one *John Jess*, who had
him, was dismissed without
Ladbrook, Servant to *Wa-*
at the Time of the pre-
ing in such Quality, as that
any of the Letters from the
sily and quickly dismissed,
ined upon the whole Con-
concerning Captain
Banda; but denying all,
Amboyna at New-years-tide,
est, was dismissed, after he
od while, with Irons about
his Mouth. Lastly, *John*
gs at *Larica*, was examin-
en absent from *Amboyna* at
nd others were there, was

aminations, Tortures, and
eight Days, from the 15th
which was two Days respite
ed being himself acquitted
to visit *John Fardo*, one of
Towerjon; to him *Fardo*
cy, but especially his Sor-
m; for, said he, the Fear
me; for God, I trust, will
ing to the Innocence of my
oubles me is, that through
ed that honest and goodly
I think in my Conscience,
that he harboured no ill-will
attempt any such Business as
said, he would before his
Acknowledgment, that he
sely and wrongfully, only

soners, as well the *English*
were brought into the great
were solemnly condemned,
Samley, *John Sadler*, and
itted as aforesaid; Captain
ment, having been kept
come to speak with him,
at all was suppressed, save
e *Thomas Johnson*, a free
ur of his Keepers, for an
ib Company owed him a
End of this Bill he writ
of me *Gabriel Towerjon*,
any thing that can be justly
them their Guilt, and re-

This Bill being brought
nt at *Banda*, he paid the
knowledgegment. *William*
Captain *Towerjon*, writ the
book: "We whole Names
r, Merchant of *Lobo*, *Wil-*
a, *Abel Price*, Chirurgion
ylor, which do here lie Pri-
ing apprehended for Con-
ttle of *Amboyna*, we being
March, Anno 1622, which
constrained to speak that
nce imagined, the which
Salvation. They tortured
of Fire and Water, that
ndure; and this we take
ve put us to Death guilt-
efore that we desire that
that our Employers would
d that yourselves would
"hav

"have a Care to look to yourselves, for their Intent was
"to have brought you in also; they asked concerning
"you, which, if they had tortured us, we must have con-
"fessed you also, and so farewell; written in the dark."

This Table-Book was afterwards delivered to *M. Weldon*
beforementioned, by one that served the *Dutch*. *Samuel*
Colson also, another that accused Captain *Towerjon*, writ
as followeth in the walle Leaves of a Book, wherein were
bound together the Common-Prayers, the Psalms, and the
Catechism. In one Page thus: "*March* the fifth, N. S.
"being *Sunday*, on Board the *Rotterdam*, lying in Irons,
"understand, that I *Samuel Colson*, late Factor of *Hitto*,
"was apprehended for Suspicion of Conspiracy, and for
"any thing I know must die for it; wherefore, having no
"better means to make my Innocency known, have writ
"this in this Book, hoping some good *Englishmen* will
"see it. I do here upon my Salvation, as I hope by his
"Death and Passion to have Redemption for my Sins, that
"I am clear of all such Conspiracy, neither do I know any
"Englishman guilty thereof, nor other Creature in the
"World. As this is true, God bleis me, *Samuel Colson*."

On the other Side, upon the first Page of the Catechism,
is thus written; In another Leaf you shall understand more,
which I have written in this Book. *Samuel Colson*. In
the Beginning of the Psalms, and in the Leaf so referred
unto, is thus written, viz. "The *Japanese* were taken with
"some Villany, and brought to Examination; being moit
"tyrannously tortured, were asked, if the *English* had any
"hand in the Plot, which Torture made them say yea.
"Then was *Matter Thomson*, and *Mr. Johnson*, *Mr. Col-*
lins, *John Clark*, brought to Execution, and were burned
"under the Arm-pits, the Hands and Soles of the Feet,
"with another most miserable Torment, to drink Water;
"some of them almost tortured to Death, and were forced
"to confess that which they never knew, by reason of the
"Torment which Flesh and Blood is not able to endure.
"Then were the rest of the *Englishmen* called one by one,
"amongst which I was one, being wished to confess, or
"else I must go to Torment; withal, caused *M. Johnson*,
"who was before tormented, to witness against me, or
"else he should be tormented again; which, rather than
"he would endure, he said what they would have him
"speak. Then must I confess that I never knew, or
"else go to Torment, which, rather than I would suffer,
"I did confess that which, as I shall be saved before God
"Almighty, is not true, being forced, for fear of Tor-
"ment. Then did they make us witness against Captain
"Towerjon; and at last made Captain *Towerjon* confess all,
"being for fear of most cruel Torment, for which we
"must all die. As I mean and hope to have pardon for
"my Sins, I know no more than the Child unborn of
"this Business; written with my own Hand: the first of
"March, N. S. *Sam. Colson*."

Yet in another Page were these Words; *I was born in*
New-Castle upon *Tyne*, where I desire this Book may come,
that my Friends may know of my Innocence. *Samuel Colson*.
This Book he delivered to one that served the *Dutch*, who
sewed it up in his Bed, and afterwards, at his Opportunity,
delivered it to *Mr. Weldon* beforementioned. All these last
Writings are yet extant, under the Hands of the several
Parties well known to their Friends here in *England*.

The twenty-sixth Day of February, O. S. the Prisoners
were all brought into the great Hall of the Castle, except
Captain *Towerjon*, and *Emanuel Thomson*, to be prepared
for Death by the Ministers. The *Japanese* now all in ge-
neral, as some of them had done before in particular, cried
out unto the *English*, saying, Oh! you *Englishmen*, where
did we ever in our Lives eat with you, talk with you, or
to our Remembrance, see you? The *English* answered,
why then have you accused us? The poor Men perceiv-
ing they were made believe each had accused others, before
they had so done, indeed, shewed them their tortured Bo-
dies, and said, if a Stone were thus burnt, would it not
change its Nature? How much more then we that are
Flesh and Blood? Whilst they were all in the Hall, Cap-
tain *Towerjon* was brought up into the Place of Examina-
tion, and two great Jars of Water carried after him; what
he there did, or suffered, is unknown to the *English*; but
it seemeth, they made him then to underwrite his Confes-

sion. After Supper, *John Powell*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *Tho-*
mas Ladbrook, and *John Sadler*, who were found not guilty,
as aforesaid, were taken from the rest, and put into another
Room; by and by also were *Samuel Colson* and *Edward*
Collins brought from the rest, into the Room where *Ema-*
nuel Thomson lay: The Fiscal told them, it was the Gover-
nor's Mercy to save one of those three; and it being indif-
ferent to him which of them were the Man, it was his Plea-
sure they should draw Lots for it, which they did, and the
free Lot fell to *Edward Collins*, who then was carried away
to the Chamber, where *John Powell*, and the rest that were
quit, lodged; and *Samuel Colson* back into the Hall. Anon
also *John Beaumont* was brought out of the Hall into the
Chamber, where *John Powell*, and the rest of the acquired
Persons were, and was told, that he was beholden to
Peter Johnson, the *Dutch* Merchant of *Lobo*, and to the
Secretary, for they two had begged his Life. So then
there remained in the Hall ten of the *English*; for Captain
Towerjon and *Emanuel Thomson* were kept in several Rooms
apart from the rest. To these that remained in the Hall
came the *Dutch* Ministers, who telling them how short a
time they had to live, admonished and exhorted them to
make their true Confessions; for it was a dangerous and
desperate thing to dissemble at such a Time.

The *English* still professed their Innocency, and prayed
the Ministers that they might all receive the Sacrament,
as a Seal of the Forgiveness of their Sins; and withal,
thereby to confirm their last Profession of their Innocence;
but this would by no means be granted: Whereupon
Samuel Colson said thus unto the Ministers, You manifest
unto us the Danger of Dissimulation in this Case; but tell
us, if we suffer guiltless, being otherwise also true Believers
in *Jesus Christ*, what shall be our Reward. The Preacher
answered, by how much the clearer you are, so much the
more glorious shall be your Resurrection. With that Word
Colson started up, embraced the Preacher, and gave him
his Purse, with such Money as he had in it, saying, *Domine*,
God bleis you: Tell the Governor I freely forgive him,
and I intreat you, to exhort him to repent him of his bloody
Tragedy wrought upon us poor innocent Souls. Here all
the rest of the *English* signified their Consent to this Speech.
Then spake *John Fardo* to the rest, in the Presence of the
Ministers, as followeth: My Countrymen and Brethren,
that are here with me, condemned to die, I charge you all,
as you will answer it at God's Judgment Seat, if any of
you be guilty of this Matter, whereof we are condemned,
discharge your Consciences, and confess the Truth, for Sa-
tisfaction of the World. Hereupon *Samuel Colson* spake
with a loud Voice, saying, according to my Innocence in
this Treason, so, Lord, pardon all the rest of my Sins, and
if I be guilty thereof, more or less, let me never be Par-
taker of thy heavenly Joys; at which Words every one of
the rest cried out, Amen; for me, Amen; for me, good
Lord. This done, each of them knowing whom he had
accused, went one to another, begging Forgiveness for
their false Accusation, being wrung from them by the
Pains or Fear of Torture; and they all freely forgave one
another; for none had been so falsely accused, but he him-
self had accused another as falsely; in particular, *George*
Skinner, who survived to relate this Night's Passage,
kneeled down to *John Clark*, whom he had accused of the
Tale at *Hitto* abovementioned, and craved Forgiveness at
his Hands: *Clark* freely forgave him, saying, how shall
I look to be forgiven of God, if I should not forgive you,
having myself so falsely accused Captain *Towerjon* and others.
After this they spent the rest of the doleful Night in Prayer,
singing of Psalms, and comforting one another, though
the *Dutch* that guarded them offered them Wine, bidding
them drink lustily, and drive away the Sorrow, according
to the Custom of their own Country in the like Cases, but
contrary to the Nature of the *English*.

Upon the Morrow Morning, being the Execution Day,
the 27th of February, O. S. *John Powell* being freed, as
before recited, came into the Room where the condemned
Persons were, and found them at Prayers. They all re-
quested him to relate unto their Friends in *England* the
Innocency of their Cause, taking it upon their Deaths,
that what they had confessed against themselves and others,
touching this Crime, was all false, and forced by fear of

Torture. The same Morning *William Webber* was called again into the Fiscal's Room, and there pressed to produce the Letter which he had before confessed to have received from *John Clark*, in the Postscript whereof some great Business was intimated: They promised him his Life, if he would deliver, or produce to them that Letter, which, tho' he did not, nor indeed could, yet at last they pardoned him, and sent him to the rest that were saved, and *Sharrack* with him. That Morning *Emanuel Thomson* understanding that *John Beament* was pardoned, made Means to have him come and speak with him, which with much ado he obtained. *Beament* found him sitting in a Chamber all alone, in a most miserable Fashion, the Wounds of his Torture bound up, but the Matter and gore Blood issuing through the Rollers; he took *M. Beament* by the Hand, and prayed him, when he came into *England*, to do his Duty to the honourable Company his Masters, to *M. Robinson*, and to his Brother *Billingley*, and to certify them of his Innocence, which, said he, you yourself know well enough.

All things being prepared for the Execution, the condemned were brought forth of the Hall along by the Chamber, where the quit and pardoned were, who stood in the Door to give and take the Farewel of their Countrymen now going to Execution; staying a little for this Purpose, they prayed, and charged those that were saved, to bear witness to their Friends in *England* of their Innocence, and that they died not Traitors, but so many Innocents merely murdered by the *Dutch*, whom they prayed God to forgive their Blood-thirstiness, and to have Mercy upon their own Souls. Being brought into the Yard, their Sentence was read unto them from a Gallery, and then they were thence carried unto the Place of Execution, together with nine *Japonefe* and a *Portuguese*, not the ordinary and short Way, but round about, in a long Procession through the Town, the Way guarded by five Companies of Soldiers, *Dutch* and *Amboynefe*, and thronged with the Natives of the Island; that upon the Summons given the Day before by the Sound of the Drum, flocked together to behold this Triumph of the *Dutch* over the *English*. *Samuel Calfon* had conceived a Prayer in Writing, in the End whereof he protested his Innocence, which Prayer he read to his Fellows the Night before; and now also at the Place of Execution, devoutly pronounced the same; then threw away the Paper, which the Governor caused to be brought to him, and kept it. *Emanuel Thomson* told the rest, he did not doubt but God would shew a Sign of their Innocence; and every one of the rest took a severely upon their Death, that they were utterly guiltless; and so one by one, with great Cheerfulness, suffered the fatal Stroke. The *Portuguese* prayed over his Beads very devoutly, and often kissed the Cross, swearing thereupon, that he was utterly innocent of this Treason, yet confessed, that God had justly brought this Punishment upon him; for that having a Wife in his own Country, he had, by the Persuasion of the *Dutch* Governor, taken another in that Country, his first being yet living.

The *Japonefe*, likewise, according to their Religion, shut up their last Act with the like Profession of their Innocence; so there suffered ten *Englishmen*, viz. Captain *Gabriel Towerfon*, the Agent for the *English* at *Amboyna*; *Samuel Calfon*, Factor at *Hitto*; *Emanuel Thomson*, Assistant at *Amboyna*; *Timothy Johnson*, Assistant there also; *John Weibrel*, Assistant at *Cambello*; *John Clark*, Assistant, at *Hitto*; *William Griggs*, Factor at *Larica*; *John Parls*, Steward of the Houle; *Abel Price*, Chirurgion, and *Robert Brown*, Taylor. The *Portuguese* also suffered with them, his Name was *Augustin Perez*, he was born at *Barcelon*. The Names of the *Japonefe* that suffered were as follows. *Hitijsa*, *Thijsa*, *Sijisa*, all born at *Firanda*; *Nancy Magal*, *Pedro Conzil*, *Thomas Correa*, born at *Nagarsaque*; *Quindarojo*, Native of *Coraceti*; *Tjabinda*, of *Tamokege*; *Zamboe*, of *Pifien*. Besides these there were two other *Japonefe*, the one named *Soyfimo*, born at *Firanda*, and the other *Sacumbo*, of the same Place; the former of which being tortured, confessed both to have been party to this private Treason, and to have offered his Service to the *English* to aid them in taking of the Castle; and the latter confessed to have had Knowledge of the Con-

sultation of the other *Japonefe* to this Purpose; but neither of them was executed, or so much as condemned; the Reason whereof was not known to the *English* that were saved. They had prepared a Cloth of black Velvet for Captain *Towerfon*'s Body to fall upon, which being stained and defaced with his Blood, they afterwards put to Account of the *English* Company. At the Instance of the Execution there arose a great Darkness, with a sudden and violent Gust of Wind and Tempest, whereby two of the *Dutch* Ships riding in the Harbour, were driven from their Anchors, and with great Labour and Difficulty saved from the Rocks. Within a few Days after one *William Dunchin*, who had told the Governor, that *Robert Brown* the *English* Taylor, had a few Months before told him, he hoped that within six Months the *English* should have as much to do in the Castle of *Amboyna* as the *Dutch*. This Fellow coming upon an Evening to the Grave, where the *English* were buried, being all, except Captain *Towerfon*, in one Pit, fell down upon the Grave, and having lain there awhile, rose up again stark mad, and so continued two or three Days together, and then died. Forthwith also fell a new Sickness at *Amboyna*, which swept away above one thousand People, *Dutch* and *Amboynefe*, in the Space wherein there usually died not thirty at other Seasons. These Signs were, by the surviving *English*, referred to the confident Prediction of *Emanuel Thomson* above-named, and were by the *Amboynefe* interpreted as a Token of the Wrath of God for this barbarous Tyranny of the *Dutch*.

The next Day after the Execution, being the 28th of February, O. S. was spent in Triumph for the new General of the *Dutch* then proclaimed, and in publick Rejoicing for the Deliverance from this pretended Treason. On the 1st of March, *John Beament*, *George Sharrack*, *Edward Collins*, and *William Webber*, were brought to the Governor, who told *Beament* and *Sharrack*, that they were pardoned in Honour of the new General, and *Collins*, that he was to go to *Jaccatra*, there to stand to the Favour of the Governor; so the Governor made them drink Wine with him, and courteously dismissed them, willing them to go and consult with the rest that were saved, who were fit to be placed in the several Factories; which done, and their Opinions reported to the Governor, he accordingly commanded each to his Place, adding, that he would thenceforth take upon him the Patronage and Government of the *English* Company's Business, to which Purpose he had within a few Days past opened a Letter that came from the *English* President at *Jaccatra*, directed to Captain *Towerfon*, being the first *English* Letter he ever intercepted; further saying, that he was glad that he found by the Letter that the *English* at *Jaccatra* were innocent touching this Business. The Governor and Fiscal having just made an End at *Amboyna*, dispatched themselves for *Banda*, where they made very diligent Enquiry against Captain *Weldon*, the *English* Agent there, yet found no Colour or Shadow of Guilt to lay hold on, but at last entertained him with courteous Speeches, professing to be very glad that they found him as well as the *English* at *Jaccatra* to be without Suspicion of this Treason.

Captain *Weldon* perceiving the Disorder and Confusion of the *English* Company's Affairs at *Amboyna*, by Means of this Dealing of the *Dutch*, forthwith hired a *Dutch* Pinnace at *Banda*, and passed to *Amboyna*, where instantly upon his Arrival, he recalled the Company's Servants, which were sent by the *Dutch* Governor to the upper Factories. Having inquired of them, and the rest that were left at *Amboyna*, of the whole Proceedings lately passed, he found by the constant and agreeing Relation of them all, that there was no such Treason of the *English* as was pretended, as also understanding what strict Command the Governor had given to the surviving *English* not once to talk, or confer with the Country People concerning this bloody Business, although the said Country People every Day reproached them with Treason, and a bloody Intention to have massacred the Natives, and to have ripped up the Bellies of Women with Child, and such like stuff, where-with the *Dutch* have possessed the poor Vulgar, to make the *English* odious unto them. The said *M. Weldon* therefore finding it to suit neither with the Honour nor Profit of the *English* Company his Masters, to hold any longer

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Residence in Amboyna, he took the poor Remnant of the English along with him in the said hired Pinnace for Jaccaira, whither the Governor had sent John Beaumont, and Edward Collins before, as Men condemned, and left to the Mercy of the Governor. When this heavy News of Amboyna came to Jaccaira, and the English there, the President sent forthwith to the General of the Dutch, to know by what Authority the Governor of Amboyna had thus proceeded against the English, and how he and the rest of the Dutch there at Jaccaira did approve these Proceedings. The Governor returned for Answer, that the Governor of Amboyna's Authority was derived from the Lords States-General of the United Netherlands, under whom he had lawful Jurisdiction both in criminal and civil Causes, within the District of Amboyna; further, that such Proceeding was necessary against Traitors, such as the English executed at Amboyna might appear to be by their own Confessions, a Copy whereof he therewith sent to the English President, who sent the same back to be authentically certified, but received it not again. Hitherto hath been recited the bare and naked Narration of the Progress and Passage of this Action, as it is taken out of the Depositions of six several English Factors, whereof four were condemned, and the other two acquitted, in this Process of Amboyna. All since their Return into England, examined upon their Oaths in the Admiralty-Court. The Particulars of Captain Towerfon's, as also of Emanuel Thomson's Examinations and Answers, are not yet come to Light, by reason that these two were kept apart from all the rest, and each alone by himself, nor any other of the English suffered to speak with them, except only that short Farewell which John Beaumont took of Thomson, the Morning before the Execution before mentioned. The like Obscurity is yet touching the Examinations and Answers of diverse of the rest that are executed, being, during their Imprisonment, so strictly looked to, and watched by the Dutch, that they might not talk together, nor mutually relate their Miseries; but because the Dutch defend their own Proceedings by the Confessions of the Parties executed, acknowledging feverally under their Hands, that they were guilty of the pretended Crime.

It will not be amiss to recollect and recall unto this Place, as it were unto one Sum and Total, certain Circumstances dispersed in several Parts of this Narration, whereby as well the Innocence of the English, as the unlawful Proceeding against them may be manifested.

First, therefore, it is to be remembered, that the Japanese were apprehended, examined and tortured three or four Days before the English were attacked, and the same as well of their Apprehension as Torture was rife and notorious in the Town of Amboyna, and the Parts adjoining. Thomson in this Interim, and the very first Day of the Examination of the Japanese, went to the Castle, to ask Leave of the Governor to land some Rice, and brought back the News with him to the English House, of the cruel handling of these poor Japanese. This had been item enough to the English, if they had been guilty, to shift for themselves, whereto also they had ready Means by the Curricuries, or small Boats of the Amboyners, which lie along the Strand, in that Number wherewith they might easily have transported themselves to Seran, to Battoun or Macassar, out of the Reach and Jurisdiction of the Dutch; but in that they fled not, in this Case, it is a very strong Presumption, that they were as little privy to any Treason of their own, as suspicious of any treacherous Train laid for their Bloods.

In the next Place, let it be considered, how impossible it was for the English to achieve this pretended Enterprise. The Castle of Amboyna is of a very great Strength, the Garrison therein two or three hundred Men, besides as many more of their free Burghers in the Town. What their Care and Circumspection in all their Forts is, may appear, not only from the quick Alarm they took at the foolish Jestings of the poor Japanese, made to the Centinel above recited, but also by that which a little before had happened at Jaccaira, where one of their Soldiers was shot to Death for sleeping on the Watch. Durst ten Englishmen, whereof not one Soldier, attempt any thing upon such a Strength and Vigilance? As for the Assistance of the Japanese, they were but ten neither, and all unarm-

ed, as well as the English: For, as at the Seizure at the English House, all the Provision there found, was but three Swords, two Muskets, and half a Pound of Powder; so the Japanese, except when they are in Service of the Castle, and there armed by the Dutch, are allowed to have no Arms, but only a Catan, a kind of short Sword; and it is forbidden to all the Dutch, upon great Penalty, to sell any Hand-gun, Powder or Bullets to the Japanese or Amboyners.

But let it be imagined these twenty Persons, English and Japanese, were so desperate as to adventure the Exploit, how should they be able to master the Dutch in the Castle, or to keep Possession when they had gotten it? What Second had they? There was neither Ship nor Pinnace of the English in Harbour. All the rest of the Japanese in the Island were not twenty Persons, and not one English more. The nearest of the rest of the English were at Banda, forty Leagues from Amboyna, and those but nine Persons, all afterwards cleared by the Governor and Fiscal themselves, from all Suspicion of this pretended Crime, as were also the rest of the English at Jaccaira.

On the other Side, besides the Strength of the Castle, and Town of Amboyna, the Dutch have three other strong Castles, well furnished with Soldiers, in the same Island, and at Cambello, near adjoining. They had then also in the Road of Amboyna eight Ships and Vessels, namely, the Rotterdam of 1200 Tuns, the Unicorn of 300 Tuns, the Freeman's Vessel of 100 Tuns, the Calk of 60 Tuns, Captain Gamal's Junck, of 40 Tuns, the Flute of 300 Tuns, the Amsterdam of 1400 Tuns, and a small Pinnace of about 60 Tuns, and all these well furnished with Men and Ammunition. It is true, that the Stories do record sundry valiant and hardy Enterprises of the English Nation, and the Dutch are Witnesses of some of them; yea, have reaped the Fruit of the English Resolution, yet no Story, no Legend, scarcely reporteth any such Hardiness either of the English or others, that so few Persons, so naked of all Provisions and Supplies, should undertake such an Adventure upon a Counter-Party, so well and abundantly fitted at all Points. But let it be further granted, that they might possibly have overcome all those Difficulties, yet to what End and Purpose should they have put themselves into such a Jeopardy? They knew well enough, that it was agreed between both Companies at home, that the Forts in the Indies should remain respectively in the Hands of such as had Possession of them at the Date of the Treaty Anno 1619, and that the same was ratified by the King's Majesty and the Lords States-General. They knew likewise, and all the World takes Knowledge of his Majesty's religious Observation of Peace and Treaty with all his Neighbours, yea, with all the World. What Reward therefore could these English hope for of their Valour and Danger? Certainly none other than that which is expressly provided by the Treaty itself, that is, to be punished as the Disturbers of the common Peace and Amity of both Nations.

But let these Englishmen have been as foolish as they will in this Plot, as the Dutch will have them, is it also to be imagined, that they were so graceless, as when they were condemned, and seriously examined, and admonished by the Ministers to discharge their Consciences, yet then to persist in their Dissimulation, being otherwise of such godly Behaviour, as to spend the Time in Prayer, Singing of Psalms, and spiritually comforting one another, which the Dutch would have had them bestow in Drinking to drive away their Sorrow? Let Colson's Question to the Minister be considered, his, and the rests, Offer and Desire to receive the Sacrament in Sign and Token of their Innocence, their mutually asking Forgiveness for their like false Accusations of one another forced by the Torture.

Thomson's last Farewell to Beaumont, Colson's Prayer, and his writing in his Prayer-Book Fardo's Farewell to Powell, also his conjuring Exhortation to his Fellows to discharge their Consciences, and all their Answers therunto, craving God's Mercy or Judgment, according to their Innocency in this Cause; their general and religious Profession of their Innocence to their Countrymen at their last parting with them, and finally, their sealing this Profession with their last Breath and Blood, even in the very Article

of Death, and in the Stroke of the Executioner. What horrible and unexampled Dissimulation was this? If some one or more of them had been so tearfully desperate, yet would there not one amongst ten be found to think of the Judgment to come, whereunto he was then instantly summoned, without Effoin, Bail or Mainprize? What! Had they hope of Reprieve and Life, if they kept their Countenance to the last? Yet what Hope had *Thomson* and the rest when Captain *Townson's* Head was off? Nay, what desire had *Thomson* and *Clark* to live, being so mangled and martyr'd by the Torture? They were executed one by one, and every one severally, took it upon his Death, that he was guiltless.

Now to blanch and smooth over all this rough and barbarous Proceeding, it is here given out, that the Governor and Fiscal found such Evidence of the Plot, and dealt so evenly in the Process, that they spared not their own People, having used some of their native *Dutchmen*, partakers of his Treason, in the same Manner as they did the *English*; but this, as well by the Relation here truly and faithfully set down, grounded upon the sworn Testimony of six credible Witnesses, as also by other sufficient Reports of diverse lately come out of those Parts, appeareth to be a meer Tale, not one alledged by any in the *Indies* in many Months after the Execution, but only invented and dispersed here for a Fucus, and a fair Colour upon the whole Cause, and to make the World believe, that the Ground of this barbarous and tyrannous Proceeding was a true Crime, and not the unfavourable Covetousness of the *Hollanders*, by this cruel Treachery, to gain the sole Trade of the *Moluccas*, *Banda* and *Ambeyna*, which is already become the Event of this bloody Process. To add hereunto by way of Aggravation, will be needless, the Fact is so full of odious and barbarous Inhumanity, executed by the *Dutch*, upon the *English* Nation, in a Place where both lived under Terms of Partnership and great Amity, confirmed by a most solemn Treaty.

It must be confessed, that this is in all respects a most astonishing and surprizing Relation. That the *Dutch* should be desirous of ingrossing the Spice-Trade, had nothing in it but what might be easily accounted for, because of the former Instances they had given us of their Avarice, that they should make no scruple of attacking and destroying the *English* that were settled in the Spice-Islands, and consequently stood in the Way of their Design, is what might have been expected from their boundless Ambition, by which they were become formidable, even to their own States; but that they should take this Method which was at once the most barbarous, the most provoking, and the most contrary to the solemn Treaty they had made, is strange in the highest Degree. But perhaps it may be accounted still stranger, that when they had done it, they durst justify it, and justify it even here; which however they did, which produced the Account we have given the Reader, as appears from that very Account which the *East-India* Company were not at Liberty to publish till the *Dutch* made this Appeal to the Publick themselves.

After this, indeed, the publishing of their Case could be no longer refused them, especially as what they offered, was supported by the fullest Proofs upon Oath, registred in the Court of Chancery. We see from hence, the great Consequence of the Liberty of the Press: had it been open at that Time, it had been impossible to have hindred the Nation from receiving ample Satisfaction for such a flagrant Injury, such an intolerable Insult. But as it was, we are told, there was a Party in King *James's* Court, that if they did not justify, at least excused this horrid Fact, from the *Dutch* Account of it before-mentioned, which renders it absolutely necessary, that this *Dutch* Account should be likewise given to the Reader, not only to prevent any Suspicion of Partiality, but that all the Circumstances of this Tragedy may appear in the clearest Light, there being some of them which could only be set forth by the *Dutch* themselves.

It may not be amiss, however, to observe previous to the transcribing this *Dutch* Account, that at this Juncture the States were actually demanding and receiving Assistance from the Crown of Great Britain, and that too as of its Nature, and as of actual in its Consequences,

as any which they had received in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and for which the States expressed as much Gratitude and Thankfulness to that Monarch, as ever they did to the Queen, and, as it clearly appears, with just as much Sincerity. I would not, however, be understood to mean, that the Tragedy of *Ambeyna* was acted in consequence of any Instructions from *Holland*, since that would not only be unfair, but untrue; but then the Reason of this ought to be attended to, which was, that the Prince of *Orange* was at the Head of their Affairs, and they could not, under the Eye of their Stadtholder, take any such bloody Resolutions. But in the *Indies* they were at full Liberty, and there therefore the true Genius of the Nation displayed itself; and the *Dutch* Writers, in those very times boast, that the General of the *East-India* Company kept as great a Court, and made in every respect as magnificent an Appearance as the Prince of *Orange* himself, which plainly proves, that as they hated the Government of the Princes of *Orange*, so they were willing that Strangers should take notice of their Independency and Power in another Part of the World, where the Government was in such Hands as they best approved.

These things being remembered, let us now proceed to the *Dutch* Account of the pretended Conspiracy at *Ambeyna*, addressed in a Letter to a Friend of theirs here, under the Title of a true Detail of the News that came out of the *Indies*.

7. "The very Causes and Beginnings through which the Governor and Council established in the Name of the United *Netherlands* in *Ambeyna* came into Suspicion that some was plotted against the Province, did first flow from the great Licentiousness of the *Tarnatanes* in *Molucca* and *Ambeyna*, who, contrary to the Contract of Alliance 1606, made with the High and Mighty Lords the States without our Consent and Knowledge, to make Peace with the King of *Fidore*, as also a Truce with the *Spaniards*, their and our ancient Adversaries, by which the said *Tarnatanes* had too much cast off all Respect, which they, both in regard of our Confederacy and manifold Assistance, did owe to this State. The *Spaniard* also was Master enough at Sea in the *Moluccas*, because the *English* Merchants there in the *East-Indies* were unwilling to furnish us with Ships of War towards the common Defence, as they were bound to do, according to the Treaties 1619, to the Number of ten, through which the Voyages to *Manilla* coming to cease, the Enemy trailed there without any Interruption, and procured Power to send Gallies, Ships and Pinnaces to *Molucca*, with great Succours of People and Provision, and that because again through the same Default of the *English* Merchants, there were no Ships of War kept as should have been. The Subjects of the King of *Ternate* began to commit great Insolencies against our Nation, having outrageously assaulted divers of us divers ways, and also slain some, and we, notwithstanding, would not obtain any Punishment upon them; and as one Outrage unpunished provokes more, through Hope of the like Impunity, or other Considerations, so were the said *Tarnatanes* of *Ambeyna* dwelling at *Lobo*, *Cambello*, and those near adjoining Places, proceeded farther, and have armed themselves at Sea, and invading divers Islands and Places standing under the *Netherlands* Governor in *Ambeyna*, spoiling them, and killing our Subjects, and taking others, and carrying them away for Slaves; and, notwithstanding the instant Request of the *Netherlands* Governor, no Satisfaction or Justice hath followed; but the said *Tarnatanes* are yet gone farther, and openly threatened to murder the *Dutch* Merchants, and to spoil and burn the Lodge, or Factory, which our People have many Years there enjoyed, so that our Merchants have taken out the *Dutch* Goods to avoid Damage; and the *Tarnatanes* at *Lobo* did actually let on Fire and ruin the said *Netherlands* Factory. In the *Manichels*, an Island being under the Province of *Ambeyna*, they have in like manner shortly after burned the *Netherlands* Lodge, with the Loss of all the Goods therein. The *Netherlands* Governor, that by his Presence and Authority he might cause such Rebels to cease, and to give Order for Time to come, and

ceived in the Time of Queen the States expressed as much to that Monarch, as ever they clearly appears, with just as it, however, be understood to *Ambosna*, since that would be; but then the Reason of which was, that the Prince their Affairs, and they could Stadtholder, take any such the *Indies* they were at full the true Genius of the Nation *Witch* Writers, in those very of the *East-India* Company made in every respect as mag- the Prince of *Orange* himself, they hated the Government they were willing that Stran- their Independence and Power where the Government was proved.

ered, let us now proceed to extended Conspiracy at *Ambosna* to a Friend of theirs here, of the News that came out

beginnings through which the blished in the Name of the *Indians* came into Suspicion that nst the Province, did first business of the *Tarnatans* in, contrary to the Contract with the High and Mighty our Consent and Knowledge, of *Fidors*, as also a Truce and our ancient Adversaries, had too much cast off all regard of our Confederacy owe to this State. The High at Sea in the *Moluccas*, ents there in the *East-Indies* with Ships of War towards they were bound to do, ac- 9, to the Number of ten, to *Manilla* coming to cease, out any Interruption, and es, Ships and Pinnaces to s of People and Provision, ough the same Default of were no Ships of War kept subjects of the King of *Ter- ntolencies* against our Na- faulted divers of us divers and we, notwithstanding, ment upon them; and as tokes more, through Hope r Considerations, so were a dwelling at *Lobo*, *Cam- Places*, proceeded farther, Sea, and invading divers der the *Netherland's* Go- nem, and killing our Sub- carrying them away for the instant Request of the satisfaction or Justice hath nms are yet gone farther, ter the *Dutch* Merchants, ge, or Factory, which our ere enjoyed, so that our e *Dutch* Goods to avoid s at *Lobo* did actually let *Netherland's* Factory.

being under the Province like manner shortly alter , with the Loss of all the and's Governor, that by might cause such Rebel- for Time to come, and
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" also to seek Satisfaction and Punishment upon the afore- said Insolencies, went towards *Lobo*, with a small Power of Sloops, and coming thereabout, was met otherwise than was wont, by a Navy of Sloops of the *Tarnatans* of *Lobo*, stronger than his were; those by their Confe- rences gave him well to know, how little Reverence they gave the *Dutch* Governor: They braved him with- out any hope of Restitution of any thing to come, so that he was fain to return to his Castle of *Ambosna*. By reason of these things, the said *Tarnatans* became so stout and daring, that they gave out openly, that they would come and spoil our Subjects, by a general Army, with above an hundred Frigates: With these, they said, they would come against *Ambosna*, to make an universal Spoil of our People, through which there came a great Fear upon the *Indians*, standing under the Subjection of the High and Mighty Lords the States, as also over the *Netherlanders*. In the Islands lying far Eastward of *Banda*, it was also said, and the News went currently there, that the *Dutch* were sure enough quit of the Castle of *Ambosna*, and at that Time there was divers secret Correspondencies between the *Indians* and others, which gave us great Suspicion.

" By this means the *Netherland's* Governor and Council of *Ambosna* were moved to have special Regard, and look narrowly into all things, seeing that it might thence be clearly gathered, that something might be plotted against the State in *Ambosna*, and that the *Indians* of themselves durst not offer to undertake any such great Design without some great Help of some of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, or some others; and also they understood, that these at *Lobo*, *Cambello*, &c. had great secret Correspondence with the *English* Merchants. When things were in such a State at *Ambosna*, there came forth, and was wonderfully discovered in February 1623, a horrible Conspiracy against the Castle and Person of the *Dutch* Governor, the whole State of *Ambosna*, and first by the Apprehension of a certain *Japanese*, who, at an unseasonable Time, was often seen upon the Wall of the Castle, where he also over-curious enquired of the most unskilful and silliest Soldiers, touching the Setting and Change of the Watch, and what Number of People might be in the Castle, and many other things: Whereupon in the very Act the said *Japanese* was apprehended, and being examined of many Circumstances, he confessed, that the *Japanese* Soldiers under our Service, had determined to make themselves Masters of the Castle, and that they should have let upon this by the Help of the *English*, who had solicited them unto it; and that he, with all the other *Japanese* in the *English* House, oftentimes, within three Months before, had conferred with the *English*, touching the Manner whereby they should bring this Treachery to pass. Then all the *Japanese* Soldiers, who were in our Service, were disarmed and imprisoned; and by Examination of them all, it appeared plainly, by an orderly and joint Confession, that all the said *Japanese*, upon the Treaty of *Gabriel Towerfon*, and other *English* Merchants and Officers, agreed to assist the said *English* to betray the said Castle, and to give it over into the *English* Power; and that *Gabriel Towerfon*, and *Abel Price*, an *English* Chirurgion, and other *English*, dealt often with them, on the Ways and Means how they should work it.

" The said *Abel Price* being before imprisoned for a foul and execrable Fact, and yet remaining so confined, and although it appeared sufficiently to the Governor and Council of *Ambosna*, out of the Confession of the *Japanese*, what the said *Gabriel Towerfon*, with his Merchants and other Accomplishes had before resolved to do, and that the Council had sufficient Information to imprison them all, yet the General Council would not precipitate, but commanded the said *Abel Price*, then a Prisoner, to come before the Council; and after the Places, Persons and Time nominated to him, where and when he had dealt with the *Japanese* and other *English* about the said Treachery; it was also from him well understood, how he and another *Japanese* had persuaded all the *Japanese* to consent to this Villany; and that consequently the said *Towerfon*, as the first Author, and all the other

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" *English* Merchants, had also Knowledge of the said Treachery. Upon this full and uniform Examination and Confession of twelve Persons, as well of the eleven *Japanese* as one *English*, the said *Gabriel Towerfon* was called to the Council, and there appearing, the said *Towerfon* called together all his People unto the Calle, upon the Request of the General Council, who were then taken and imprisoned, except the said *Gabriel Towerfon* himself, to whom, at his Request, and in regard of his Quality, being chief Merchant in *Ambosna*, in the Name of the *English* Company, his own House was allotted him for his safe keeping and forth-coming; and the said Prisoners were all lawfully and orderly examined; and it appeared by them jointly, according to their own Confession, every one having underwritten it with his own Hand as followeth:

" *Gabriel Towerfon*, about New-year's-day 1623, having with him almost all the *English* Merchants of the Foreign Cantore in *Ambosna*, assembled them in his Chamber, and propounded to them, that he had something of great Moment to impart unto them under the Fidelity of an Oath to be taken before, for the keeping secret thereof, and being trusty therein, saying, it is necessary so to be; for if the thing should come abroad which I shall make known unto you, it will cost all our Lives: Whereupon the holy Gospel was produced, upon which every one who was present did swear Secretly and Fidelity, as was required. Then *Towerfon* opened to the Conspirators, how he had a Way and Means to make himself Master of the Castle of *Ambosna*; and whereas some present made it difficult to do, being too weak for it; the said *Towerfon* answered, that he had already won to his Purpose the *Japanese* Soldiers, who were in the Castle, and that they should execute his Purpose, when the *Dutch*, who were in the Castle, were in their greatest Weakness, and worst provided, or when the Governor should be absent about some Exploit; and that they should wait till some *English* Ships or Ship were in *Ambosna*, whose People he might employ in this Attempt; as also, when all other the *English* Merchants and Slaves of the Foreign Cantore in *Ambosna* should be sent for to the Castle; and said farther, that he knew how to get Men enough, and they should leave this to his Care, and themselves do their best; and that they of *Lobo* should also come to help him, with certain *Correcurries*, &c.

" Upon which Inducements, all that were present swore to assist *Towerfon* herein, and concerning the Manner of Execution; the said *Towerfon* had prescribed to the *Japanese*, who were in the Castle, that they should send to every Point of the Bulwarks two Men, and the rest in the Court should attend the Governor, and murder him; and that at the Sign which should be given to the *English*, they should make themselves Masters of every Point of the Bulwark, and kill all who should resist, and imprison the rest; and further, should take and divide between themselves and the *Japanese* the Goods of the *East-India* Company, except one thousand Rials of Eight, which every *Japan* should have before; and that they should kill the Citizens, who would not consent with them, and do them all the Mischief they could; and touching the Time, he had not yet certainly set it; but that there should suddenly be another Assembly of the Conspirators, when *Gabriel Towerfon* would give Orders for all things, and would give a Sign to the *Japanese*, whereupon, when they shewed it, they should begin the Work within.

" The said *Gabriel Towerfon* being asked in particular, what moved him to such a wicked Fact? He answered, the Desire of Honour and Profit: Being farther demanded, who should enjoy the Honour and Profit, and for whom he would have taken the Castle? he answered, that if he did obtain his Desire, he should presently have advertised those of his Nation being in *Batavia*, and called for their Help, who, if they had sent him Succour, he would have kept the Castle for his own Company, viz. the *English* *East-India* Company, and if not, he would have held it for himself, and have endeavoured a Peace with the *Indians*; that so, by the one Means, and the other, he might attain his Purpose. After the Examination of *Towerfon* was ended, the *Dutch* Gover-

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"nor in *Ambeyna* upbraided him of his cruel Intention, and asked if this should have been the Recompence of the manifold Honours and Kindnesses he had done to him? Whereunto *Townson* answered with a deep Sigh, Oh! if it were to be begun it should not be done.

"This voluntary Confession and penitent Acknowledgment, with much Sorrow, was made the Ninth of *March*, being the Day when the Execution should have been done; but the Examination of *Townson* was ended the Eighteenth of *February*, so many Days before. This is the Substance of the Confession of the ten *Japoneſe*, of fourteen *Engliſh*, and of a *Netherlandiſh* *Merinho*, or Captain of the Slaves, who all confirmed theſe their Confessions with their own Hands. What Crime this intended Prodition was, is hence very many manifeſt, and undoubted; what Punishment is due to Treachery, according to the Law and Customs of all Nations, is alſo well known; no true Chriſtian Man will patronage any ſuch horrible Attempt, but will adjuſt it worthy of Death, as it was determined upon the Accomplices of the Conſpiracy, according to the Order of Juſtice, as there in *Ambeyna* is exerciſed, according to Deſert, by the Governor and Council, in the Name of the High and Mighty Lords the States. Here you have, Sir, the true Substance of the Truth, both of the Fact and Punishment, other than which many Things are ſpread abroad in *England*, but upon what Pretence or Argument I know not; let the Matter itſelf ſpeak

"The firſt Point which is objected againſt this Juſtice, in *Ambeyna* is, concerning the Proceedings, ſaid to be holden without Formality, and with Exceſſivity, againſt theſe Conſpirators: Your Wiſdom, and each reaſonable Man, knoweth that every Land hath their Laws, and Ordinances, and their particular Manner of Proceedings, as well in Civil, as in Criminal Cauſes; *England* here, *France*, *Spain*, *Dutchland*, and all other Kingdoms and Governments have alſo theirs, which are juſt and lawful to every one in their Dominion; ſo that when any one will judge of the Equity or Juſtice of a Proceeding uſed in any Land, he muſt examine the ſame according to the Laws and Customs of that Kingdom, or Dominion, where the Juſtice and Proceedings were holden. Theſe Proceedings were holden before the Governor of the *Netherlands*, in the Name of the Illuſtrious Lords the States, having ſupreme Power, many Years ſince, in the Iſles of *Ambeyna*, which were conquered in the Name of the ſaid Illuſtrious Lords the States, from the *Spaniards* or *Portugueſe*, who held the Caſtle in the Name of the King of *Spain*, our hereditary Enemy; therefore the, are now poſſeſſed in the Name of the Lords the States, and are under their Dominion, by a juſt and lawful Title of War, according to the Law of Nations. Theſe Juſtices adminiſtered according to the Law of the *Netherlands*, in that Manner as was uſed in the Proceedings againſt thoſe Conſpirators. I know that the Laws of *England* are diſtinct from ours in Criminal Caſes; yea, and from all the Nations in *Eure*.

"Howbeit therefore no Man hath any Ground of Reaſon to ſay that the Proceedings of the *Engliſh* Judges againſt Delinquents are not legitimate, tho' the ſaid *Engliſh* Proceedings do vary in the Manner from the Proceedings of *France*, *Spain*, &c. where other Customs are; for that is lawful which agreeth with the Laws of the Land where the Fact is committed. Now then, the *Japoneſe* Soldiers being in the Service of the *Netherlands* Company in *Ambeyna*, are diſcovered to have conſpired againſt the Caſtle and the Governor there, under whoſe Oath and Pay they were; they were apprehended, examined, and convicted of the ſaid Conſpiracy. This Proceeding is lawful, and toucheth no Man, becauſe the ſaid *Japoneſe* knew no other Maſter than the *Netherlanders*, under whoſe Oath, Service and Pay they ſtood. All theſe Conſpirators, with the ſaid *Merinho*, a Captain

"of the *Netherlands* Slaves, confeſſed with one Mouth, that they were moved and induced to this Conſpiracy by the *Engliſh* Merchants reſident in *Ambeyna*, whole Names they named. Now, not only the Right of the *Netherlands*, but *England*, and of the whole World, requireth that the Authors, Abettors, and Accomplices of Murder and Treason, ſhould be puniſhed with Death.

"Whereunto, according to the Common Law, as alſo the particular Laws of every Kingdom or Dominion, the ſuſpected Perſons firſt, and before all, ſhould be imprifoned, not only for preventing the Effect of their evil Purpoſes, but that they might alſo receive their deſerved Punishment; which Apprehenſions could not be done of any other Man than by the Command of the *Netherlands* Governor, to whom it belonged to take Care to ſee every Act concerning ſupreme Power to be there obſerved; and eſpecially the higheſt *Engliſh* Officer there could not apprehend theſe *Engliſh* Conſpirators, becauſe all the chief of the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Ambeyna*, were themſelves of the Conſpiracy, and Accomplices of the Fact upon which the Apprehenſion was made; therefore the Apprehenſion of the *Engliſh* Accomplices muſt be done by the *Dutch* Governor, who therefore hath therein proceeded according to the Cuſtom of all Nations of the World.

"And that theſe Apprehenſions may be holden more lawful, it appearing out of the written Proceſs, that the ſaid *Engliſh* Accomplices were not imprifoned upon the firſt Suſpicions and groſs Evidences which were had againſt them, but then, at laſt, when all the *Japoneſe* Soldiers were taken, examined, and convicted, and had diſcovered, by the uniform Confession of all the eleven,

"The Names, and Surnames of ſuch *Engliſh* as had perſuaded, and hired them to this Fact, of which *Engliſh*, viz. one *Axel Price*, Barber, was before apprehended as an Incendiary, for burnings, and other Violences done upon other Houſes, who alſo was firſt examined, and firſt confeſſed; as the other eleven *Japoneſe*. That he, by Name *Gabriel Townſon*, and other *Engliſh* Merchants, in the foreign Countries of *Ambeyna*, had Knowledge of this Conſpiracy, &c. ſo that it may be ſeen out of that which went before, that the *Dutch* Governor dealt no otherwiſe in the Apprehenſions and Examinations of the *Engliſh* than according to his Place and Power, and that with great Diſcretion, according to the Laws of the United Provinces. The ſecond Point, which is abſolutely diſperſed in *England* againſt this Execution is, that it is ſaid, that it did not appertain to the *Netherlands* in *Ambeyna*, to imprifon the ſaid *Engliſh*, and to proceed againſt them, or to puniſh them; but that it did belong to the Council of Defence, reſident at *Jaccara*, conſiſting half of *Engliſh* and half of *Netherlanders*, according to the Treaty of the Year 1619, made between his Maſteſty and the Lords the States, between the two *East-India* Companies.

"That I might the better inform myſelf thereof, I took in Hand, and peruſed the general Treaty of 1619, with the Explication following thereupon; but I profeſs, as I think, that every underſtanding Man muſt confeſs, that neither in the ſaid Treaty, nor in the Enlargement, any one Article or Word could be perceived; whereby, according to that which is truly ſaid in *England*, either this, or any ſuch thing, is ordained or decided by the ſaid Treaty, as it ought to have been in ſo great and important a Point as this Part of Jurisdiction is, I appeal to all wiſe Men, who I deſire may judge of this, whether this Speech of ſome in *England*, to wit, that the ſaid Council of Defence ſhould alone have judged theſe Conſpirators, be agreeable to the ſaid Treaty, or contrary to the ſame. I find many Arguments for my negative Opinions, to wit, that before the Treaty of 1619, the *Dutch* in *Ambeyna* adminiſtered Jurisdiction and Judicature upon all, and every one, who dwelt in, or under the Jurisdiction of the Caſtle, as well Inhabitants as Strangers, without Difference; and that in the ſaid Treaty,

confessed with one Mouth, induced to this Conspiracy resident in *Ambayna*, whole not only the Right of the whole World, rebellors, and Accomplices should be punished with

the Common Law, as also Kingdom or Dominion, and before all, should be preventing the Effect of it they might also receive which Apprehensions Men than by the Com-governor, to whom it be- every Act concerning su- served; and especially the could not apprehend these all the chief of the En- were themselves of the lices of the Fact upon was made; therefore the Accomplices must be nor, who therefore hath to the Custom of all Na-

ensions may be holden out of the written Procefs, plices were not imprisoned gross Evidences which were last, when all the *Japanese* and, and convicted, and had Confession of all the eleven. es of such *English* as had o this Fact, on which En- Barber, was before appre- burning, and other vio- ouses, who also was first ed; as the other eleven Name *Gabriel Toverjon*, ts, in the foreign Coun- ledge of this Conspiracy, out of that which went be- nor dealt no otherwise in iminations of the *English* and Power, and that with g to the Laws of the second Point, which is ab- gainst this Execution is, appertain to the *Neiber-* on the said *English*, and to punish them; but that it Defence, resident at *Jac-* and half of *Neiberjan-* y of the Year 1619, made Lords the States, between

es, inform myself thereof, I ed the general Treaty of m following thereupon; that every understanding her in the said Treaty, nor ne Article or Word could according to that which is ner this, or any such thing, he said Treaty, as it ought d important a Point as this eal to all wise Men, who s, whether this Speech of at the said Council of De- igned these Conspirators, be y, or contrary to the same my negative Opinions, to ty of 1619, the *Dutch* in idication and Judicature up- wel in, or under the J- well Inhabitants as *Sc-* and that in the said Treaty,

" the *Dutch*, with the *English* Merchants, made only a " League in the Manner of Commerce and Negotiati- " ons of Nutmegs, Mace, Cloves, and Pepper, in some " Quantities, without having any further Treaty, or " Communication in the Land. So that without the " Bounds of this common Negotiation, every one re- " mained free and unhindered in the Land by the Right " and Possession which either Company enjoyed and ex- " ercised severally, according as the same appeareth out " of the twenty-third Article of the Treaty, where it is " expressly said, that Castles and Forts shall remain in " their Hands who do at present possess them: And " out of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Arti- " cles of the Treaty, all may see that this Common Coun- " cil of Defence hath no more Power, save only over " the Fellowship of the Treaty, that is, over the Navy " of Defence in the Sea, to the Defence of common " Merchandize and Liberty of Commerce. And, " lastly, to tax the Charges for the Provision of Amu- " nition in the Forts; neither can any other Thing be " sincerely collected out of the said Treaty, so far as I " can conceive.

" Therefore, this second Point is found to be untrue " and abusive, being not founded upon the said Treaty, " which Treaty, notwithstanding, ought to be the only " Role both of the one and the other Company. Finally, " it is given out in *England*, that in the Examination of " the Conspirators, there was Excels in the *Netherlands* " Judges in the Point of Torture. I acknowledge, that " no Argument or Pretext against the Justice of this Ex- " ecution, hath more moved me in the Beginning, than " this Pretence of Excels aforesaid; because this stirreth " Christian Compassion; although I also judge, that wise " Men will not suffer themselves to be too much trans- " ported thereby, before the true Reasons do fully appear " which should move us thereunto; for I well remember " yet, that in the Time of former Mistaking in the *In-* " *diens*, many Things were pretended on both Parts; up- " on which Pretence were great Out-cries on either Side, " which yet, by due Examination, were found to be false " Pretences of some Ill-willers, and Men desirous to wran- " gle; which Pretences, being thoroughly sifted by the " high and much-admired Wisdom of his Majesty, and " the Lords the States, were well discovered to be no " such Matters as they were made; as it is also undoubt- " edly believed, that his Majesty and the States will yet " further do in this Affair, and to the Cause of the *Dutch* " Company may be rightly justified, of which I under- " stand, that the Lords the States have special Regard; " and that they have been thoroughly informed what is " the very Truth of the Things there past, and of the " Execution in *Ambayna* of the *English* Conspirators; un- " to which End the Lords the States resolved: to see and " peruse all the Papers and Letters touching the said Pro- " ceedings. And now, thereupon, Men speak far other- " wise than heretofore; for Pretences and Cavils cannot " stand with Truth. And it doth plainly appear, that " there is little Truth in the Matter of Torture, reported " to be most cruelly inflicted upon the *English* Conspira- " tors, as in *England* it is said; and I have ever suspect- " ed this for a Slander; for, I know the *Dutch* Nation " doth naturally abhor this kind of Cruelty, and are as " much moved to Commiseration as any other People. " But whether these evil-minded Men, who have scat- " tered this great Slander in *England*, and have so foully " defaced a just Cause, have done it by Occasion of an " Use of Tortures in these Lands in some weighty Causes, " according to the Custom of most Dominions in *Europe*, " I cannot judge.

" But is that to be censured and judged to be unjust " of the whole World, which is repugnant to the Laws of " *England* (or any one Nation) where Torture is really " used? Nothing so but the Justice or Injustice of a Cause " must be determined according to the Laws where it is " done, and not of other Lands. If this were not so, " why then should not the whole World much more judge " that as hard, and a thing unheard of, which in some Cau- " ses is used in *England*, according to the Laws there; when " they proceeded against some guilty Persons, who being

" once, and again asked of the Judge, and utterly refus- " ing to be legally tried, is adjudged to be dumb, that " is, by Contumacy, whose Condemnation then accord- " ingly followeth, that he is laid upon a Table, or Plank, " and another Plank upon him, that his Body is misera- " bly bruised, and so pressed violently to Death. The " which, according to the Confession of all Nations, and " by the *English* Writers, is judged to be one of the most " sharp and severe kinds of Deaths that can be invented; " yet cannot such an Execution be called cruel and un- " lawful, when it is done in *England*, because it is done " according to the Laws of that Land, though Strangers " shall judge otherwise of it; and in like Manner the *En-* " *glish* Nation cannot complain of the Torture which " Evil-willers say was used upon these *English* Conspira- " tors in *Ambayna*, because it was done according to the " Laws of this Government, and is not unusual in Cases " of Treason, neither with us, nor with any Nation in " *Europe*.

" And for *England* itself, it is well known, and his " most excellent Majesty doth acknowledge, by his own " princely Pen, that the Rack and the Manacles are the " only Tortures that are exercised upon Traitors, to force " them to confess what they know to be dangerous to " the State; and to lay the Truth, without taking Parts, " the *English* Conspirators being affronted with the uni- " form and written Confessions of the eleven *Japanese*, " their Accomplices, which would convince them suffici- " ently, according to the Laws, and find them guilty of " the same Conspiracy, and consequently of Death; if " now notwithstanding this, they had persisted in the " stout Denial of the Fact, were not this enough to judge " them dumb by Contumacy, and so to esteem them " worthy of this fore Punishment of pressing to Death as " aforesaid? But this Torture of ours, is to be judged far " less than that pressing where the Malefactor doth suffer " such extrem Miserie as cannot be imagined, and which " is not to be leneched or eased at all, but ended by " Death.

" But to the sufficient Satisfaction of myself, and your " Worship, and all Men, and not to speak according to " the Sentences and Consciences of others, I have used " all Diligence to get into my Hands the written Procefs " concerning the Conspirators in *Ambayna*, which I ob- " tained authentically, and read carefully, and I find, that " all by me above said is confirmed, to wit, that the " *Japanese* Accomplices were examined and made their " Confessions as aforesaid, for three Days, viz. the 23d, " 24th and 25th of February 1623; and that all this be- " ing done and consummated before, then at last is *Gab-* " *riel Toverjon*, first with the rest of the *English* Accom- " plices, imprisoned the said 25th of February, when " their Examination and Confession began, and contin- " ued divers Days, without ever hastening till the 3d of " March; and the said Examinations and Confessions be- " ing to finished, the *Netherlands* Governor and Council " deliberated whether the Punishment might be deferred " to any long Time, or referred to any other Place; but " it was so concluded, by joint Consent of all, that the " said Punishment there deferred, must be executed in " the same Place for Example; and that it could not in " any wise be delayed without extrem Danger, for Rea- " sons there related: And, among others, because the " *Tarnatons* and *Indians* about *Ambayna* had, otherwise " than they were wont, rebelled; neither could it be fur- " ther known what great Confederacy these Conspirators " had made with them and others.

" And touching any extraordinary and cruel Torture, " I have accurately looked over every ones Confession; " but I find not one Word in any one, which maketh any " Mention of such Torture, as is unjustly spoken of in " *England*; nay, scarce find any Mention of that ordi- " nary Torture which is in Use, save only these Words; " in one Act of the 25th of February 1623, viz. the " Council being gathered together, have thought meet " that all the *English* should be presently examined, one " after another, as accordingly it was instantly done, and " some of them before any Torture: Others, after a little, " or rather a Touch of it, confessed as followeth. Unto " which

" which followeth presently, the particular Confession of every one, subscribed with his own Hand, as aforesaid: So that hence it is manifest, that no extraordinary Torture was used in such Manner as is given out there by those that wish us evil; nay, that those few that felt any, were only touched (not punished) with ordinary Torture.

" And thus your Worship hath the upright and impartial Truth of this Business, touching the whole Passage as it proceeded, and the Punishment as it was inflicted, from which some of the *English* were exempted by Favour, that the *English* Goods should not be lost, according as Order had been given to that End. And I find that the Sentence had been given the 9th of *March*, 1623, by a competent Assembly of fourteen Judges, who, as it appeareth in the Sentence, in the doing thereof, did before earnestly call upon the Name of the Lord, that he would please to be President, and predominant in every one of their Hearts, in this sorrowful Assembly, and that he would inspire them only with that which might be judged to be expedient and just, &c. So that out of all that is above-said, nothing else can appear, but that this Business was managed lawfully and orderly, by Men of Honesty and Conscience, against such as had undertaken against the State, against the Wealth, and Advantage of this *East-India* Company, the Lives of their Officers, there placed against the State and Welfare of many, who as little deserved, and as little expected such Wickedness from their friendly Confederates in the same Society of Merchants there residing with them.

" And now (considering the Premises) I hope it shall be far from every Christian, in anywise, to protect, or excuse this wicked Fact; but rather to mourn and grieve, as we do, for this Conspiracy, and for the Evil the Conspirators have so deservedly drawn upon their own Heads, and to honour them who, in Justice, have punished Villany according to the true Merit thereof; for, we all know, that, without Justice, without Reward of that which is good, and Punishment of that which is evil, no Society of Mankind can consist.

" And for this Information, which I send in Love and Honour to your Worship, as unto a Lover of Truth, and a Hater of Treachery, you may make such Use as to you shall seem good in any Place where you come, both for Refutation of any thing already reported contrary thereto, and for Prevention of any further false Rumours or Clamours. And, finally, for the Propagation of that undoubted Truth, which here, to my best, I have endeavoured to discover.

" And if you shall meet with any thing of Worth, which can be truly avowed to be contradictory unto any thing I have written, I desire to understand it from you, and you to suspend your wise and impartial Judgment, till I have cleared it unto you: Truth remaineth ever the same. So I commend you to the God of Truth, desiring him to give us Minds, not to judge according to outward Appearance, but to judge with righteous Judgment."

8. It is evident enough, from the Style and Composition of this extraordinary Piece, that it was penned at the Request, and for the Use of some Person of Credit here, who was a great Friend to the *Dutch*, and highly instrumental in preventing the Government from interposing, as they ought to have done, in favour of the *East-India* Company, and obtaining the best; for a full Satisfaction could not be had, for the base and barbarous Usage of Captain *Townson*, and the rest of the *Englishmen*, who were thus cruelly murdered at *Ambonya*. But it is not so easy to say who this Person was. The Writers of Scandal in those Times, charged this, dissuading the King from interposing, upon two Persons, by Name, viz. the Great Duke of *Buckingham*, and the then Secretary of State Sir *Ralph Winwood*. And I have met with a Book, printed in 1651, in which it is affirmed, that the Secretary received a Bribe from the *Dutch* of 10 or 20000 Pounds for that Service only. I take this to be a horrid Calumny; for having taken some Pains in examining the History of

those Times, of which indeed I once intended to have written, I have met with so many Proofs of the Candour, Integrity, and publick Spirit of that worthy Secretary, that I make not the least Scruple of affirming, that this must be a prodigious Falshood.

As to the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Interest with King *James* was so great, that if he had not been some Way or other appealed, I cannot but think the Massacre at *Ambonya* would not have passed as it did; but, at the same time, I must profess, that I do not believe he was capable of being bribed to such a Behaviour: I rather think he was misled and imposed upon; and I make no question that this very Paper was transmitted to some Person in his Confidence for that Purpose. It is an easy matter to speak ill of the Dead, and too common a Practice to tear those Characters to pieces which are least like to be defended; but this I dare not do: Though, to shew that it is not without Reason, that I suspect the Duke of *Buckingham* to have had a large Share in preventing King *James* from testifying a becoming Repentment upon this Occasion, I will relate a particular Fact that led me into this Opinion. The *East-India* Company, to perpetuate the Memory of this barbarous Transaction, caused the Tortures and Sufferings of the *English* at *Ambonya*, to be very exactly painted, and hung up in their Hall; which Picture, by the Direction of *Buckingham*, was taken down; for which this Reason was assigned, that, as it had not been thought proper to involve the Nation in a War on this Account, it was, by no Means, decent, that such a Picture should remain in publick View; since, at the same time that it exposed the Cruelty of the *Dutch*, it threw some kind of Odium on the *English* Administration.

But tho' these Paintings in Oil were removed, the *East-India* Company could not be drawn, either to forget this Affair, or to suffer the Account that this *Dutch* Agent had published of it, to pass unanswer'd; and therefore they employed a very good Pen, to shew the Inconfluencies of this Relation, and furnished him with all the Materials that were requisite for that Purpose. This Design of his he executed with great Spirit and Diligence, and the Piece itself is so clear a Vindication of the Innocence of the *English*, and so full a Proof of the Cruelty and Barbarity of the *Dutch*, that I have thought fit to insert it for the same Reasons, which induced me to give Place to the other Papers; and I persuade myself that it will be very agreeable to my Readers, to see, at one View, and in so narrow a Compass, all the authentick Evidence that still remains of this cruel, arbitrary, and unjust Proceeding, by which so many brave Men were, at that Time, deprived of their Lives in so ignominious a Manner, and the *English* Nation for ever deprived of so important and valuable a Commerce. This Reply of the *East-India* Company was conceived in the following Terms:

" The Compiler of this Relation, perceiving that he had an hard Task to make it probable, that eighteen *Englishmen*, Merchants, and their Servants, all unarmed, should, with the Assistance of ten *Japoneses*, likewise unarmed, undertake the Surprise of a Castle, so provided every Way as that of *Ambonya*, is before in the Relation of the *English* truly described to be: As also the same Author well weighing, that albeit, all that he was to write of this pretended Conspiracy should be taken for true; yet the Fact would seem very poor to bear so rigorous a Punishment in Persons of that Quality, and of that Relation to those that inflicted it, provides more skillfully than fairly, for both these Points, in the Preamble of this Relation. To this End he rakes and heaps together all the Jealousies and Damners that the *Dutch* had in the *Indies*; yea, and more than they truly had at, or about the Time of the pretended Conspiracy, and applies them all to the Supposition of this Business, as if all their Enemies were likely to conspire with the *English*; and therefore the Facts, under Colour whereof they were condemned and executed, were possible and probable; and as if the State of the Time had been then so dangerous that every Shadow of Conspiracy was to be exquisitely enquired of, and the least Offence to be severely punished; where-

and I once intended to have any Proofs of the Candour, of that worthy Secretary, of affirming, that this

ham, his Interest with King had not been some Way or the Massacre at *Ambeyna*; but, at the same time, he was capable of being rather think he was misled, no question that this very Person in his Confidence for to speak ill of the Dead, to tear those Characters to defended; but this I dare it is not without Reason, *ingham* to have had a large from testifying a becoming, I will relate a particular Opinion. The *East-India* Memory of this barbarous and Sufferings of the exactly painted, and hung, by the Direction of for which this Reason was been thought proper to in this Account, it was, by Picture should remain in same time that it exposed some kind of Odium

were removed, the *East-India*, either to forget this Affair that this *Dutch* Agent had covered; and therefore they shew the Inconsistencies of him with all the Materials of. This Design of his and Diligence, and the of the Innocence of the he Cruelty and Barbarity of fit to insert it for the time to give Place to the other that it will be very agreeable View, and in so narrow Evidence that still remains just Proceedings, by which at Time, deprived of theiranner, and the *English* Nation, and the *English* Company was

lation, perceiving that he it probable, that eighteen of their Servants, all unarmance of ten *Japones*, like the Surprise of a Castle, to of *Ambeyna*, is before in truly described to be: As weighing, that albeit, all pretended Conspiracy should fact would seem very poor ment in Persons of that on to those that inflicted it, an fairly, for both these his Relation. To this End all the Jealousies and Dan the *Indies*; yea, and more about the Time of the pre lies them all to the Suspi their Enemies were likely; and therefore the Facts, were condemned and excusable; and as if the State dangerous that every Shabe exquisite enquired of, severely punished; where-

"fore, although this be no direct Charge of the *English*, but used by the Author to supply the Want of Probabilities in the Process itself.

"It will not be amiss to examine the several Circumstances, and how far they may yield any Suspicion against the said *English*. Now, this Author taketh the many Grounds of this Suspicion of some great Plot against the Province of *Ambeyna*, from the unwonted Boldness and Insolence of the *Tarnatanes*, first in the *Moluccas*, and then in *Ambeyna*: For those in the *Moluccas*, he saith, they had lately before the pretended Conspiracy of the *English*, gone about, contrary to the Treaty, Anno 1606, between them and the *Dutch*, to make Peace with the King of *Tidore*, and a Truce with the *Spaniards*, without the Consent or Knowledge of them the *Dutch*; which, how honestly and conscientiously it is alleged to this Purpose, may appear by the Journals of those Parts; which, evidently shew, that this Treaty between those of *Ternate* and *Tidore*, was in November, 1621; that is to say, fifteen Months before this forged Conspiracy, and that with the Knowledge of *Houtman*, the Governor of the *Dutch*, who, upon the 19th of November, the Year aforesaid, acquainted M. *Nichols*, the Agent of the *English* in those Parts, with the Preparations of this Treaty, which was actually holden at *Ternate* the 24th of the same Month. But the Matter was so well handled by the *Dutch* to keep those neighbour Islands in perpetual War, that the Treaty was dissolved *re infestis*; and the 7th of December following an Edict was published by the King of *Ternate*, commanding all the *Tidoriens* forthwith to depart the Island of *Ternate*, upon Pain to be made Slaves.

"After this, the Correspondence between the *Dutch* and *Tarnatanes* in the *Moluccas*, returned into as firm a State as ever. The *Tarnatanes*, performing daily Exploits against the *Spaniards*, and communicating the Triumph with the *Dutch*: as the 17th of February, 1622, being a full Year before the signed Treason of the *English*. The King of *Ternate*, with twenty Curricuries, took a *Spanish* Gally, slew forty in Fight, and took one hundred and fifty Prisoners, whom they sold to the *Dutch* for Cloth and Rice; and coming by the *Hollanders* Castle of *Maalao*, the 18th of the same Month, with the Heads of diverse *Spaniards* at his Stern, the *Dutch* saluted him from their said Castle with nine Shot of great Ordnance. The 25th of April following, the Admiral of the King of *Ternate*, took a Prow of the *Spaniards*, slew some, and sold the rest to the *Dutch*; the 28th of the same Month, both *Dutch* and *English* were feasted by the King of *Ternate*; the 28th of May next ensuing, the King of *Ternate* went forth to *Macbain* with six Curricuries, and at his Departure, was honoured with thirty Shot of great Ordnance from the *Dutch* Castle; the 15th of June the Admiral of the King of *Ternate* made a Voyage towards *Mindanao*, carrying diverse of the *Dutch* with him to assist him; the 3d of July the *Tarnatanes* took their Prisoners and sold them to the *Dutch*; the 24th of August the King of *Ternate* made one *Vogler*, a *Dutch* Merchant, his Treasurer, at whose Instigation in his new Office, the *Dutch* gave seven great Shot from the Castle. And this good Correspondence between the *Tarnatanes* and the *Dutch* in the *Moluccas*, continued even until, and after the Execution of the *English* at *Ambeyna*, which was, as has been shewed, in February 1623, N. S. upon the 14th of which Month the *Dutch* gave the King of *Ternate*, and other Blacks, two hundred Bales of *Japon* Rice, with other Presents; at the Delivery whereof there were shot off from the Castle seven Pieces of Ordnance, and three Volleys of Small-Shot: By all which may appear how sincerely this Author applyeth the Difference between the *Dutch* and the King of *Ternate*, which was none at all to this Business at *Ambeyna*.

"The next Point is, that the *Tarnatanes* in the *Moluccas* went about also to make Truce with the *Spaniards*, without Consent or Knowledge of the *Dutch*, wherein this Dealing of the Author is worse than the former; for this Treaty of Truce appeareth by the Journals to

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"have been holden the 19th of July 1623, which was five Months after the Execution of the *English* at *Ambeyna*, and so came too late to move Suspicion against them; and yet this pretended Fear and Jealousy of the *Moluccas* is further amplified by the Strength of the *Spaniards*, being then, as this Author affirmeth, Master of the Sea there; and that by default of the *English*, who, contrary to the Treaty of the Year 1619, had deserted the Defence, and sent no more Ships, neither to the *Moluccas*, nor to the *Manillas*; whence now the *Spaniards* had Means to send Ships, Gallies, and Pinnaces to the *Moluccas*. What the Strength of the *Spaniards* in the *Moluccas* by Sea was at the Time of this pretended Fear, may appear, by the Exploits before-mentioned, done upon them by the Curricuries of the *Tarnatanes*, without the Help of the *Dutch*.

"But for the Default of the *English*, which is here obviously alleged, it will be requisite to set down the true Causes wherefore the *English* relinquished the Action of Defence, as well at the *Manillas* as elsewhere, being a Matter much aggravated upon all Occasions by the *Dutch*, albeit themselves have given the Cause thereof. Wherefore shortly, the true Motives of the *English* their deserting from the Action of Defence is as followeth; the *English* had, by Agreement of the Council of Defence, two Years together maintained a Fleet of five tall and warlike Ships to join with the like Strength of the *Dutch* for the Action of the *Manillas*, and the Profit of the Voyage, as well as the Charge to be common to both Companies. The *Dutch* prepared another Fleet of seven Ships all of their own for *Macao*, bordering upon *China* near the *Manillas*, without giving Knowledge thereof to the *English* at *Jaccatra*, until their Fleet was ready to depart thence, well knowing, that upon such Warning, it would be impossible for the *English* to prepare a like Force to join with them: To these they appointed eight Pinnaces that were then abroad to join them, and afterwards sent another Ship with Provisions to them. This Fleet passing by two of the *English* Ships which were appointed for that Quarter of the *Manillas*, the *English* welcomed them, and offered to join them in their Exploit, which the *Dutch* refused, saying, that this being an Exploit of their own, the *English* should neither participate of the Fact, nor of the Benefit that might arise thereby. Likewise by Agreement of the Council of Defence of both Nations, there was another Fleet of ten Ships set forth at the Charge of the *English* and *Dutch*, for the Coast of *Malabar*, to secure the Trade in that Part.

"Of the *Dutch* Ships, about a Month after they set sail, two were found to be so weak and leaky, that they were fain to return to *Jaccatra*, the rest being come to their Quarter: Two of the best of the *Dutch* Ships were sent away by the *Dutch* Admiral for the *Red-Sea*, contrary to their Instructions and Commission at *Jaccatra* from the Council of Defence; and notwithstanding the Protestations, Obtestations, and Exclamations of the *English* against this Prevarication; so that four Carracks of the *Portuguese* coming that Way, the rest of the Fleet of the *English* and *Dutch* being thus weakened by the Default of the four *Dutch* Ships aforesaid, the first Opportunity that happened, either before or since the joining of the *English* and *Dutch* Companies, or is ever likely to offer itself in the future, was lost, and utterly defeated: By this it appeareth what Cause the *Dutch* have to complain of the *English* for deserting the Action of Defence, and what Reason and Encouragement the *English* have to continue the joint Action and Charge with those that use so little Sincerity, ever contriving the common Action and Charge to their private Advantage; that when the joint Forces are employed to give the Enemy Work in one Part, the *Dutch* might with Ease oppress them in another, and appropriate the whole Benefit to themselves.

"The next Suspicion that this Author gathereth is from the Infidelities of the *Tarnatanes* of *Ambeyna* dwelling at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, and thereabout, who, as this Author saith, presumed now, beyond former Example, to outrage the Subjects of the *Dutch*, slaying them, and

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" carrying them away for Slaves; yes, burning two of their Houses, one at *Lobo*, and another at *Manicobels*; for which, when the Governor went out with a Fleet to crave Justice and Reparation, he was braved by the *Tarnatanis* with a stronger Fleet than his own; yea, they threatened to come with a hundred Curricurries against *Ambayna*.

" This Dealing of the Author is like the former about the Treaty of Peace with the *Tidorianis*, and Truce with the *Spaniards*; for when the Governor of *Ambayna* let forth the Fleet of Curricurries, before the Apprehension of the *English*, he stood in good Terms with the *Tarnatanis* at *Lobo*, neither of the Factories here mentioned being then burnt, or injured; the Governor then went only, according to his yearly Custom, to visit the Skirts and Out-parts of *Ambayna*, and had no Affront offered him. After that upon occasion of a Slave of the *English* that ran away; and being afterwards laid hold on, was refused by a reputed holy Man of, or near that Part, the *English* craved Assistance of the Dutch Governor, who did his best, but was therein abused by those of *Lobo*; and not only some of his Men outraged by the *English* Factor, but *M. Beaumont*, to whom this Slave belonged, was Way-laid by the People of the holy Man; and instead of him one of the Servants of the Dutch was slain between *Cambello* and *Lobo*. The next Day also was *Beaumont* himself assailed, and shot in the Hand by the same holy Man's People, who also a little before did their best to kill *William Griggs*, another of the *English* Factors, that finding the said Slave at *Lobo*, laid hold on him there. Upon this Occasion both the *English* and Dutch left their Factory at *Lobo*, which was shortly after burnt by the *Tarnatanis*.

" That other, touching the burning the Factory at *Manicobels*, is more grossly applied than the former; for that Factory was burned after the *English* were apprehended; besides that, this Author dissembleth, that there was a vehement and common Suspicion at *Ambayna*, that this Factory at *Manicobels* was burnt, not by the *Tarnatanis*, but by the Dutch Factor himself, who being there alone, was first said to have conveyed away the Goods of the Dutch and *English* there for his own Use, and then to have burnt the Factory, laying the Fault upon the *Tarnatanis*. After this ended, the Governor of *Ambayna* made out a Fleet of Curricurries to procure Reparations of these Excesses, and therein, not going so strong as he might, was braved by those *Tarnatanis* of *Ambayna*; but this was after the Apprehension and Execution of the *English*, and so is as honestly applied to move Suspicion in this Place, as the joint Quarrel of the *English* and Dutch with those of *Lobo*, beginning upon occasion of the *English*; and as the Burning of the Factory at *Manicobels*, done after the *English* were apprehended and imprisoned. As for the Threats of the *Tarnatanis* here mentioned, that they would come with an hundred Curricurries against *Ambayna*, it is, for ought any of the *English* ever heard, a mere Fiction; at most, it was a vain Brag, and such as could not affright the Governor, that knoweth well that the *Tarnatanis* have no Gun-powder, nor other Provisions, for such an Exploit; and yet are far beyond the Governor of *Ambayna* for Number of Curricurries, besides the Dutch Ships and Castles.

" The next Cause of Suspicion this Author makes to be an idle Report in the East Parts beyond *Banda*, uncertain which, or by whom, that the Dutch were already quit of their Castle at *Ambayna*: A poor pretence, and not worthy to be answered. Yet still farther, discovering what Penury of good Matter this Author had, that he was fain to borrow such crazy Stuff. But the last, and that which is expressly applied to the *English* is, that about this time the Dutch understood that those of *Lobo* and *Cambello* held great and secret Correspondence with the *English*. How did the Dutch understand this? or why does not this Author express the particular Proof in a Matter so pertinent? It is true, the *English* had their Factories at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, but in the same Houses with the Dutch, and for their joint Account, and had Traffick with the Country People as the Dutch

" had; but what secret Correspondence is this? or what Danger to the Dutch? Was the Burning of the Factories, which belonged to the *English* as well as to the Dutch, a Note of good Intelligence between the *English* and the Incendiaries? What was that for Correspondence with those of *Lobo*, when at one time they Way-laid *M. Beaumont* to kill him, and at another time shot him in the Hand with an Arrow; offered to kill *William Griggs*, and from Time to Time outraged our People equally with, and as the Dutch? Further, our People, as well as the Dutch, now dissolved their Factory at *Lobo*, and were come all thence; What Letters or Messages did they ever send thither afterwards? or how, or by what means maintained they this Correspondence? Yet this was understood, perhaps, by the Governor's Dreams; for that, as he afterwards told Mr. *Welden, Hill, and Cartwright*, that came thither from *Banda*, was a Motive to him to examine the first *Japane*, which was the beginning of the whole Process.

" The Author having thus quitted himself in this Preface, proceedeth to the Matter itself, first setting down the Occasion and Manner of the Discovery of this pretended Plot, and then the Confessions of the *Japane*, and of the *English*; but he maketh no mention of any Torture used upon the *Japane* that first confessed, nor of any other Inducement or Presumption to torture or examine that *Japane*; but only his curious questioning, touching the fitting and changing of the Watch, and of the Number of the Soldiers in the Castle, which shewed what sufficient Inducement and Cause it was to torture a Soldier of their own that served them, had Reason to understand the Course of their Watches, and the Strength of the Aid he might expect, if any sudden Attempt should happen in his Quarter, is easily to be judged; and how this poor Man, and the rest of his Countrymen were tortured, appeareth in the *English* Relation. Here also is concealed, by what manner and kind of Questions this and the other *Japane* were led along in their Confessions, to make up the Plot just as the Dutch had devised it; and also what other Answers they made before they were thus directed: That they and the *English* both confessed what the Dutch would have them, is no Doubt nor Wonder, being so tormented, and scared with Torture, *etiam Innocentes cogit mentiri dolores*. But what Likelihood or Possibility there is of the Truth of their Confessions, if yet they confessed, as is here related, may appear by that which hath already been discoursed in this Point towards the End of the *English* Relation, which, for Brevity sake, is here forborn to be repeated; yet some Circumstances, which the Dutch Relation hath more than the *English*, deserve here to be examined.

" And first, that of *Abel Price*, the *English* Barber, who is made the Messenger and Negotiator of this Practice with the *Japane*: It is true, that he, and he alone, of all the *English*, had some kind of Conversation with some of the *Japane*; that is, would dice and drink with them, as he likewise did with other Blacks, and with the Dutch also: But is it credible, that Mr. *Tower* would commit any thing of Moment, nay, so dangerous a Matter as this, to a drunken, debauched Sot, who also, as the *English* that were there constantly report, threatened to cut his, the said *Tower*'s, Throat, for that he had punished him for his Misdemeanors? Further, this Relation maketh this *Abel Price* confess, that all the *English* Merchants in the Out-factories were privy and accessory to this pretended Treason; yet the Governor and Fiscal, in their own Process, found *John Powell, Ephraim Ramsay*, and two others, guiltless.

" After *Price*'s Confession, he sets down the general Substance of all the Confessions in one Body, where, first, having assigned Mr. *Tower* a Preface to the rest, to induce them to the Exploit, he tells us, that they made doubt of the Point of Possibility, as well they might, knowing the Weakness of their own Part, and the impregnable Strength of the Dutch, in Comparison of theirs; for Satisfaction of which their Doubt, he saith, Mr. *Tower* told them, that he had already won the *Japane* within the Castle to his Purpose, and that he would attempt this Matter, not when the Dutch were at

responfence is this? or what as the Burning of the Factor the *English* as well as to the diligence between the *English* but was that for Correfpon- when at one time they Way- im, and at another time that Arrow, offered to kill *Hil-* me to Time out-raged out as the *Dutch*? Further, our ch, now difolved their Fac- me all thence; What Letters fent either afterwards? or retained they this Correfpon- ftood, perhaps, by the Go- , as he afterwards told Mr. ght, that came thither from to examine the first *Japane*, of the whole Procefs.

quitted himfelf in this Pre- ter itfelf, firft fetting down of the Difcovery of this pre- Confessions of the *Japane*, maketh no mention of any nefe that firft confeffed, nor Prefumption to torture or only his curious queftioning, ng of the Watch, and of in the Cattle, which fhewed d Cause it was to torture a rved them, had Reafon to r Watches, and the Strength t, if any fudden Attempt ter, is eafily to be judged; the reft of his Commynen the *English* Relation. Here inner and kind of Queftions ere led along in their Con- juft as the *Dutch* had de- Answers they made before at they and the *English* both uld have them, is no Doubt- ted, and feared with Tor- mentiri dolor. But what re is of the Truth of their ted, as is here related, may already been difcourfed in of the *English* Relation, re forthorn to be repeated; h the *Dutch* Relation hath e here to be examined.

rice, the *English* Barber, and Negotiator of this is true, that he, and he some kind of Converfa- ; that is, would dice and fe did with other Blacks, it is credible, that Mr. ing of Moments, nay, fo drunken, debauched Sot, were there constantly re- fard *Towerfon's*, Throat, for his Mifdemors? n this *Abel Price* confeff, n the Out-factories were ended Treafon; yet the own Procefs, found *Joh* two others, guilelefs.

lets down the general a in one Body, where, *fon* a Preface to the reft, he tells us, that they poffibility, as well they of their own Part, and *Dutch*, in Comparison of their Doubt, he faith, e had already won the Purpose, and that he when the *Dutch* were at

" their Strength, and the *English* at the weakeft, but
 " would expect till the Governor fhould be fomewhere
 " abroad upon fome Exploit, and fome *English* Ships or
 " Ship, at leaft at *Amboyna*, the People whereof he would
 " ufe in the Enterprize; likewise he would fend for the
 " Factors, and Slaves of the other Factories, and fhould
 " have a Supply from the *Tarnatanes* of *Lobo* of certain
 " *Curricurris*, &c.

" Here he hath inrolled a goodly Army for this Action;
 " but let us fee the Manner how they fhould have executed
 " their Exploit; and firft, for the *Japane* in the Cattle,
 " we muft believe, if this Author or his Voucher fay true,
 " that Mafter *Towerfon* had acquainted thofe, and won them
 " to his Plot, before he had imparted it to his own Coun-
 " trymen the *English*; and yet in the Acts of the Procefs,
 " *Emanuel Thomfon* is recorded to have confeffed, that
 " eight Days after the Confultation, Mafter *Towerfon* told
 " him, that he had then fent out *Johnfon* and *Price* to
 " treat with the *Japane*, and win their Confeffent to this
 " Enterprize; but what could thefe do, being in all but ten?
 " Marry, faith the Relation by and by, Mafter *Towerfon*
 " had ordained that eight of them fhould have been be-
 " flowed by two in a Company upon the four Points of
 " the Cattle, to kill all thofe that would refift them, and
 " to take the reft Prifoners.

" It muft be therefore here imagined, that the *Dutch*
 " and their Mardikers in the Cattle, being three or four
 " hundred, would fcorn to take the Advantage of fending
 " forty or fifty, much more of an entire Company, to any
 " Point of the Cattle, but would combat with the *Japane*
 " at even Hand, by two at a Time, and fo give the *Japane*
 " the *Japane* Refpite to kill or take them by two, and by two;
 " a fweet Conceit, and fuch a Service as perhaps hath been
 " fometimes reprefented upon a Stage, but never acted in
 " Surprize of a Cattle in good Earnest. Thus we fee how
 " eight of the *Japane* were to be employed, what fhould
 " the other two have done? Forfooth, they fhould have
 " waited in the great Chamber to murder the Governor;
 " yea, but this Relation told us, yet while, that this Plot
 " fhould have been executed while the Governor was
 " abroad upon fome Action. How then fhould thefe two
 " *Japane* have killed him in the Cattle at the fame
 " time?

" But we fee how all the *Japane*, that is, all the pre-
 " tended Party of the *English* within the Cattle, fhould
 " have been occupied, who fhould have opened the Gates
 " to the *English*, and their other Aids? who fhould have
 " killed the Court of Guard at the Gate? Thefe Parts
 " were left for them that were without, therefore let us
 " take a Review of them what they were. The Relation
 " multereth them to be fourteen *English*, whereof eleven
 " were Merchants, one Steward of the Houfe, one Tay-
 " lor, and one Barber to drefs the Wounds; befides, God
 " knows how many Skippers, Slaves, and *Tarnatanes*.
 " Firft, for the *English* Merchants, of what Dexterity they
 " are to take Forts, is eafily judged; and in all the *Eng-
 " lish* Houfe, when it was feized by the *Dutch* upon this
 " pretended Treafon, the whole Provision was but three
 " Swords, two Hand-Guns, and about half a Pound of
 " Powder; yea, but the *English* Ships would have brought
 " both fitter Men, and better Provision: But how knew
 " Mafter *Towerfon*, that thofe of the *English* Ships, when
 " they came, would join with him in this Work, being
 " fo contrary to the Treaty, and itfelf fo dangerous? or
 " why did he not ftay the opening of the Plot, till his
 " Ship or Ships were come, that he might fwear the
 " Skippers alfo, at leaft the chief Officers amongst them,
 " and take their Advice? Is it poffible, that Mafter
 " *Towerfon* was fo flight to open this Plot to all the
 " *English* at *Amboyna*; yea, to the Taylor and Barber, fo
 " long before it was to be put in Execution, and before
 " he knew the Minds of the chiefest Affiftants, of whole
 " Arrival he was fo uncertain? Yea, but he was fure of the
 " Slaves of the *English*, and of the *Tarnatanes* of *Lobo*,
 " with their *Curricurris* in quilibet Eventum.

" This, indeed, is the Remainder of the Army; let us
 " view them; the Slaves were in all the *English* Facto-
 " ries, juft fix in Number, and all Boys; the *Tarnatanes*
 " were Enemies as well to the *English* as to the *Dutch*, as

" is before fhewed, in Answer to the Preface; when were
 " they reconciled? How came this, that in all the Examina-
 " tions of the *English*, this Point was not lifted, and
 " fomewhat confeffed of it amidst fo many Tortures?
 " There is no Confeflion thereof in all the Examinations,
 " and Mr. *Towerfon* in his exprefly denied it, and was
 " preffed no farther. The Truth is, the Governor and
 " Fical of *Amboyna* knew, that whatever had been con-
 " feffed in this Point, would not have been believed by
 " their own People there, who knew well enough, that
 " the firft Beginning of this Breach with the *Dutch*, and the
 " *Tarnatanes* of *Lobo*, was about the Slave of the *English*,
 " and the Outrages thereupon following were done upon
 " the *English*, as well as upon the *Dutch*. Yet this Au-
 " thor feems to hope, that they may be believed here in
 " *Europe*, which had no Colour at *Amboyna*.

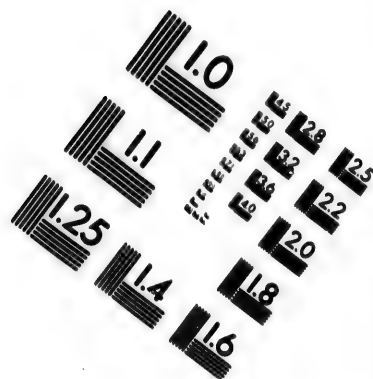
" Concerning the Time of executing this Plot, it was
 " not, as the Relation faith, yet prefixed, but left to the
 " next Meeting of the Conspirators, which fhould be
 " fhortly holden, when *Gabriel Towerfon* had prepared all
 " things, &c. Here was certainly a hot Practice of Treafon,
 " and worthy to be termed by this Author an horri-
 " ble Confpiracy. They met together on New-year's
 " day, and plotted, as is before related; and now it was
 " the five and twentieth of February, and not only nothing
 " done all this Interim, no not fo much as a new Conful-
 " tation; but this, forfooth, is the Body and Subftance of
 " the unanimous Confeflion of all the *English* by them-
 " felves, feverally fubfcribed.

" In the next place, the Author relateth fomewhat fingu-
 " lar in M. *Towerfon's* Confeflion, as that he faid he
 " was moved to this Faft by Hope and Defire of Honour
 " and Profit; and being demanded for whom he in-
 " tended this Honour and for whom he meant to hold
 " the Cattle? his Answer was, that if he could have com-
 " paffed his Projects, he would forthwith have given Ad-
 " vertiement thereof to the reft of his Nation at *Jaccatra*,
 " which now they have chriftened *Batavia*, and have
 " craved their Aid, which, if they had yielded to him,
 " then he would have held the Cattle for the *English* Com-
 " pany, and if not then, he would have kept it for him-
 " felf, and have ufed Means to have agreed with the *Indi-
 " ans*, and fo by one Means or other would have com-
 " paffed the Enterprize.

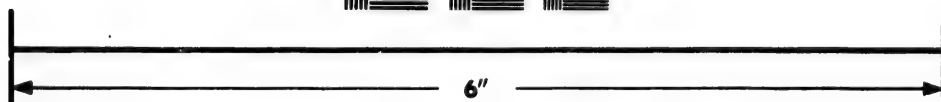
" Here firft is to be obferved, that he would not, as
 " the Author makes him fpeak, have fent for Aid to *Jac-
 " catra*, until he were firft Mafter of the Cattle; and yet
 " in the general Confeflion before, it is faid, he would at-
 " tend the Coming of fome *English* Ships before he would
 " adventure upon the Cattle. Next, let the ambitions
 " and alternative Refolution here faid to be confeffed by
 " Mafter *Towerfon* be confidered in both the Parts thereof,
 " and it will appear, that no Man in his Wits would have
 " any fuch Conceit as is here pretended. What Hope
 " could Mafter *Towerfon* have, that the Prefident and
 " *English* Council at *Jaccatra*, living under Command of
 " the *Dutch* Fort there, and altogether fubject to them, durft
 " join any fuch Action, thereby to give Occafion to the
 " *Hollanders* to arreft, torture, and condemn them of
 " Treafon?

" Mafter *Towerfon* knew well enough, that about fix
 " Months before the General of the *Dutch* at *Jaccatra*
 " had caught a very fly Occafion to entrap the *English*
 " Prefident there, who, having fent out two of his People
 " in the Night to the *English* Cow-houfe, to fee what
 " Watch the Blacks in their Service kept over their Cat-
 " tle, the faid two *English* were apprehended by the
 " *Dutch* Soldiers, kept in Prifon feven Days, and charged
 " that they had faid that they went the round; and one
 " of them being laft examined, was told by the Balien,
 " the Officer of the *Dutch* in criminal Caufes, that his
 " Fellow had confeffed, that they had faid, they went
 " their Round, and that by the *English* Prefident's Com-
 " miffion; and if he would not confeff the fame, he
 " fhould be tortured; but the Fellow being conftant in
 " the Truth, came off at laft without Torture: Yet this
 " was Item enough to the *English* Prefident and Council,
 " how the Intent of the *Dutch* was to entrap them upon
 " the leaft Occafion; and this, and other daily captious
 " Dealings





A resolution test chart featuring various patterns of horizontal and vertical lines. The patterns are arranged in a grid-like fashion, with some patterns being larger and more prominent than others. Numerical values are placed next to the patterns, indicating the resolution or frequency of the lines. The values include 1.0, 1.1, 1.25, 1.4, 1.6, 1.8, 2.0, 2.2, 2.5, 2.8, 3.2, 3.6, 4.0, 4.5, 5.0, 5.6, 6.3, 7.1, 8.0, 9.0, 10.0, 11.2, 12.5, 14.0, 16.0, 18.0, 20.0, 22.5, 25.0, 28.0, 32.0, 36.0, 40.0, 45.0, 50.0, 56.0, 63.0, 71.0, 80.0, 90.0, 100.0, 112.0, 125.0, 140.0, 160.0, 180.0, 200.0, 225.0, 250.0, 280.0, 320.0, 360.0, 400.0, 450.0, 500.0, 560.0, 630.0, 710.0, 800.0, 900.0, 1000.0, 1120.0, 1250.0, 1400.0, 1600.0, 1800.0, 2000.0, 2250.0, 2500.0, 2800.0, 3200.0, 3600.0, 4000.0, 4500.0, 5000.0, 5600.0, 6300.0, 7100.0, 8000.0, 9000.0, 10000.0, 11200.0, 12500.0, 14000.0, 16000.0, 18000.0, 20000.0, 22500.0, 25000.0, 28000.0, 32000.0, 36000.0, 40000.0, 45000.0, 50000.0, 56000.0, 63000.0, 71000.0, 80000.0, 90000.0, 100000.0, 112000.0, 125000.0, 140000.0, 160000.0, 180000.0, 200000.0, 225000.0, 250000.0, 280000.0, 320000.0, 360000.0, 400000.0, 450000.0, 500000.0, 560000.0, 630000.0, 710000.0, 800000.0, 900000.0, 1000000.0, 1120000.0, 1250000.0, 1400000.0, 1600000.0, 1800000.0, 2000000.0, 2250000.0, 2500000.0, 2800000.0, 3200000.0, 3600000.0, 4000000.0, 4500000.0, 5000000.0, 5600000.0, 6300000.0, 7100000.0, 8000000.0, 9000000.0, 10000000.0, 11200000.0, 12500000.0, 14000000.0, 16000000.0, 18000000.0, 20000000.0, 22500000.0, 25000000.0, 28000000.0, 32000000.0, 36000000.0, 40000000.0, 45000000.0, 50000000.0, 56000000.0, 63000000.0, 71000000.0, 80000000.0, 90000000.0, 100000000.0, 112000000.0, 125000000.0, 140000000.0, 160000000.0, 180000000.0, 200000000.0, 225000000.0, 250000000.0, 280000000.0, 320000000.0, 360000000.0, 400000000.0, 450000000.0, 500000000.0, 560000000.0, 630000000.0, 710000000.0, 800000000.0, 900000000.0, 1000000000.0, 1120000000.0, 1250000000.0, 1400000000.0, 1600000000.0, 1800000000.0, 2000000000.0, 2250000000.0, 2500000000.0, 2800000000.0, 3200000000.0, 3600000000.0, 4000000000.0, 4500000000.0, 5000000000.0, 5600000000.0, 6300000000.0, 7100000000.0, 8000000000.0, 9000000000.0, 10000000000.0, 11200000000.0, 12500000000.0, 14000000000.0, 16000000000.0, 18000000000.0, 20000000000.0, 22500000000.0, 25000000000.0, 28000000000.0, 32000000000.0, 36000000000.0, 40000000000.0, 45000000000.0, 50000000000.0, 56000000000.0, 63000000000.0, 71000000000.0, 80000000000.0, 90000000000.0, 100000000000.0, 112000000000.0, 125000000000.0, 140000000000.0, 160000000000.0, 180000000000.0, 200000000000.0, 225000000000.0, 250000000000.0, 280000000000.0, 320000000000.0, 360000000000.0, 400000000000.0, 450000000000.0, 500000000000.0, 560000000000.0, 630000000000.0, 710000000000.0, 800000000000.0, 900000000000.0, 1000000000000.0, 1120000000000.0, 1250000000000.0, 1400000000000.0, 1600000000000.0, 1800000000000.0, 2000000000000.0, 2250000000000.0, 2500000000000.0, 2800000000000.0, 3200000000000.0, 3600000000000.0, 4000000000000.0, 4500000000000.0, 5000000000000.0, 5600000000000.0, 6300000000000.0, 7100000000000.0, 8000000000000.0, 9000000000000.0, 10000000000000.0, 11200000000000.0, 12500000000000.0, 14000000000000.0, 16000000000000.0, 18000000000000.0, 20000000000000.0, 22500000000000.0, 25000000000000.0, 28000000000000.0, 32000000000000.0, 36000000000000.0, 40000000000000.0, 45000000000000.0, 50000000000000.0, 56000000000000.0, 63000000000000.0, 71000000000000.0, 80000000000000.0, 90000000000000.0, 100000000000000.0, 112000000000000.0, 125000000000000.0, 140000000000000.0, 160000000000000.0, 180000000000000.0, 200000000000000.0, 225000000000000.0, 250000000000000.0, 280000000000000.0, 320000000000000.0, 360000000000000.0, 400000000000000.0, 450000000000000.0, 500000000000000.0, 560000000000000.0, 630000000000000.0, 710000000000000.0, 800000000000000.0, 900000000000000.0, 1000000000000000.0, 1120000000000000.0, 1250000000000000.0, 1400000000000000.0, 1600000000000000.0, 1800000000000000.0, 2000000000000000.0, 2250000000000000.0, 2500000000000000.0, 2800000000000000.0, 3200000000000000.0, 3600000000000000.0, 4000000000000000.0, 4500000000000000.0, 5000000000000000.0, 5600000000000000.0, 6300000000000000.0, 7100000000000000.0, 8000000000000000.0, 9000000000000000.0, 10000000000000000.0,



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" Dealings of the Dutch at *Jaccatra*, which were too long here to recite, were all advertised, from time to time, to Mr. *Towerfon*, who therefore was sure he could expect no Assistance from them, that were themselves in such a Predicament.

" The other Part of Mr. *Towerfon*'s Resolution is said to have been to keep the Castle for himself, and to agree with the *Indians*, in Default of Help from the *Engliff*. This is yet more improbable than the former: Were the *Portuguese* and *Indians* not able to keep out the Dutch from *Ambeyna*, when they had no Footing there; and shall Captain *Towerfon* with twenty *Engliff* and *Japense*, without Ship or Pinnace, be able, with the Help of the poor naked *Indians*, to drive them out, having three Castles in the Island of *Ambeyna* and at *Cambello* hard by, all well furnished with Men and Provisions, besides their Power of Shipping, which makes them stile themselves Lords of the Sea? And yet how could Master *Towerfon* hope to win the *Ambeynese* (the *Hollanders* sworn Subjects) to his Side? He might rather assure himself, that after he had mastered the *Hollanders*, if yet that must be believed to be possible, the *Ambeynese* would have surpris'd him, and cast him out, being so weakly provided to stand of himself, that so they might utterly free themselves from their Servitude: Here also must be remarked, that this Author himself in his Preamble saith, that the *Indians* themselves durst not undertake such a great Design as he there feigneth against the State of *Ambeyna*, without some great Aid of some Nations of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards* or *Portuguese*, or some other; whereby is not only confessed how weak the *Indians* of themselves are, but withal it followeth, how small Hope Mr. *Towerfon* might have, being deserted of his own Nation, as here the Case is put, to hold the Castle for himself by the Help of those *Indians*, if yet he could once have won it.

" In a Word, they that know the Power of the Dutch in *Ambeyna*, and therabouts, and the Weakness of the poor *Indians*, will judge this Conceit of Mr. *Towerfon*'s to keep the Castle for himself, to be a mad Plot, and for which Master *Towerfon* should rather have been sent to *Bedlam*, or the *Dullen Kist*, as the Dutch call it, than to the Gallows. But this Author hath one voluntary Confession, upon which he taketh especial Hold, to wit, that Master *Towerfon*, after his Examination was finished, being expostulated with by the Dutch Governor, and demanded whether this should have been the Recompence of his (the Governor's) manifold Courtesies towards him, answered with a deep Sigh, *Oh! were this Matter now so done, it should never be done*. This voluntary Confession, and penitent Acknowledgment, saith this Author, was made the Ninth of *March*, being the Day when the Execution was to be done, and the Examination of *Towerfon* was ended the Twenty-eighth of *February*, so many Days before. But how shall we believe this? Forsooth, he hath it out of the Acts of the Process of *Ambeyna*; yea, but in these Acts are omitted many material Passages of these Examinations, as is already shewed, why may they not then be guilty of Addition, as well as of such Mutilation and Omission? But let us peruse the Words of the Act itself, which are these;

" We whose Names are hereunto subscribed, do declare upon our Troth, instead of an Oath, that *Gabriel Towerfon*, after that he had been already examined touching his said Offence; and that the worshipful *Van Speult* had expostulated with him thereupon, asked him, whether this should have been the Recompence of his Courtesies from Time to Time shewed unto him the said *Towerfon*? Thereupon he the said *Towerfon*, with a deep Sigh, answered him, and said, *Oh! if this were to be begun again, it should never be done*. Atum this Ninth of *March*, in the Castle of *Ambeyna*, and subscribed,

" *Harman Van Speult*,
" *Laurence de Maerjebalck*,
" *Clement Herjseboom*,
" *Harman Crayvanger*,
" *Peter Van Zanten*,
" *Leonart Clock*.

" Thus we see the Act itself, and this pretended voluntary Confession of Mr. *Towerfon*, which is not delivered upon the Credit of the Court or Council at *Ambeyna*, but upon the Attestation or Affidavit of the Governor, and five others, the principal Actors in this bloody Tragedy; and this not upon their Oath, but upon their Troth, or honest Word, forsooth, instead of an Oath. The Time when these Words were uttered by Mr. *Towerfon*, is not described by the Day when he spake them, but only by the precedent Act of his Examination; and yet the Circumstance of Time is not only an usual and customary Solemnity, and requisite in all such Attestations, but also in a Business of this Nature altogether necessary, as likewise in this Case that of the Place was; for if these Words were spoken in the Place of Torture, or incontinently after the Examination ended, they are by their own Law esteemed no more voluntary, than the Confession upon the Rack itself: Neither yet doth this Attestation affirm, that this Confession was voluntary.

" But this Author, unconscionably reporting the Date of the Attestation for the Time of the Confession, collects it to be voluntary, because, as he saith, it was made the Ninth of *March*, being so many Days after his Examination, which was taken the 28th of *February*; can a Man attest nothing but what was done upon the very Day when he maketh Affidavit? The Attestation saith, that these Words were spoken by Mr. *Towerfon*, after he had been already examined; why may not that rather have been upon the very Day of his Examination, than upon the Day when this Act was entered, if yet he ever spake any such Words, or meant them, as he is here interpreted, the contrary whereof is the more probable, by all the Circumstances of this Business truly set down in the Relation of the *Engliff*.

" But in that this Author makes so much of this poor Circumstance of Mr. *Towerfon*'s Profession of Sorrow for what was done, naming it a voluntary Confession, it is plain how destitute he was of voluntary Confessions, and of all true and concluding Circumstances. What, was there not a Letter, or other Paper to be found in all the Chests and Boxes of the *Engliff*, so suddenly seized at *Ambeyna*, *Larica*, *Hitte* and *Cambello*, to discover this Treason? Nor amongst so many Accomplishes of diverse Nations, a false Brother to betray the rest, and to accuse them voluntarily, but the Process must begin with the Torture, and the Heathens Confessions upon Torture be sufficient to bring Christians to Torture.

" That debauched and notoriously infamous Persons (such as *Price* was) to draw Torture upon the sober, orderly and untainted? And yet this Relation itself confesseth, that *Price*'s Confession was drawn from him by the Examiners, specifying of Place, Person and Time unto him; certainly one of their own Nation had Reason to advise that more Advocates might be sent over to the *Indies* to aid the accused, to make a legal Answer; for, saith he, they go to work there so villainously and murderously, that the Blood of the poor People crieth to Heaven for Vengeance. But why have we no Particular of any Man's Confession but this of *Price* and Mr. *Towerfon*, and all the rest blended together in one Body? Did none of all the rest go farther than his Fellows, or confess more than they? Where is *Starrock*'s Confession, that he was at *Ambeyna* upon New Years-Day, when ten or twelve of the Dutch themselves witnessed he was at *Hitte*? Where is his Confession of *Clark*'s Plot to go to *Macassar*, to deal with the *Spaniards* there to come and rob the small Factories? Where is *Collins*'s Confession of another Plot about two Months and a half before his Examination, undertaken by *Thomson*, *Johnson*, *Price*, *Brown*, *Fardo* and himself? Where be the leading Interrogatories that directed them to the Accusation framed by the Dutch, lest otherwise there had been as many several Treasons confessed as Persons examined? Not a Word of all this, nor of a great deal more of this kind, which is here in *England* proved by the Oath of six credible Persons to have passed in the Examinations, whereby

this pretended voluntary which is not delivered or Council at *Amboyna*. Affidavit of the Governor in this bloody Oath, but upon their Oath, instead of an Oath, were uttered by Mr. Price Day when he spoke Act of his Examination Time is not only an requisite in all such of this Nature although this Case that of the were spoken in the Place the Examination ended no more voluntary Rack itself: Neither, that this Confes-

ly reporting the Date the Confession, collects he faith, it was made any Days after his Examination of *February*; can be done upon the very The Attestation faith, by Mr. *Townson*, after may not that rather is Examination, than entered, if yet he ever them, as he is here is the more probable, unless truly let down

to much of this poor Profession of Sorrow voluntary Confession, voluntary Confessions, circumstances. What, paper to be found in *English*, so suddenly and *Cambello*, to distrust so many Accomplish to betray the ally, but the Process of the Heathens Con- to bring Christians

ly infamous Persons are upon the sobs, is Relation itself withdrawn from him by, Person and Time own Nation had Reason might be sent over to make a legal Answer there so villainously of the poor People But why have we on but this of *Price* blended together in go farther than his y? Where is *Star- Amboyna* upon News of the *Dutch* themselves is his Confession, to deal with the small Factories of another Plot his Examination, *Price*, *Brown*, *Farrington* Interrogatories framed by the en as many several ended? Not a Word of this kind, which path of fix credible minations, whereby " appeareth

" appeareth how faithfully the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* have entered the Acts of this Process?

" Well, at last he concludes the Narration of the Confessions with the summing up of the Number and Nations of the Parties that had thus confessed, which he faith, were ten *Japoneses*, fourteen *English*, and the *Netherlandish* *Marniche*, or Captain of the Slaves; by which last Words, he would give the Reader occasion to think, that this Fact was so clear, and their own Proceedings so even and just, that they had executed one of their own *Netherlanders* for it; which how true it is, is already declared in the Conclusion of the *English* Relation. The Truth is, this Captain of the Slaves was of the *Portuguese* Race, and born in *Bengal*; his very Name, *Augustin Perez*, sheweth he was no *Netherlander*.

" Having thus finished this Relation, this Author proceedeth to a Disputation, and taking Notice of some Aspersions in *England* cast upon these Proceedings at *Amboyna*, he divideth them into two Heads; the one, that the Process was without its due Formality, the other, that there was Excess and Extremity used against the Conspirators. For the Point of Formality, he first taketh great Pains to prove, that the Formalities of Processes in *Amboyna*, are not therefore unlawful, because they agree not with our Form in *England*; which Labour he might have spared, for no wise Man will deny him this Point; and such as shall be so ignorant as to blame the *Dutch* for varying from us herein, were not worthy the answering. Herewithal also, he deduceth the Title of the Lords the States-General to the Sovereignty of *Amboyna*, and so the Governor of *Amboyna*'s Jurisdiction in Causes as well criminal as civil to be rightly grounded. Thence he concludes, that the *Japoneses* being sworn Servants to the *Dutch*, and in their Pay, were subject to the Jurisdiction of the *Dutch* Governor. Then he telleth us, that the Author and Accomplices of Murder and Treason, are by the Laws of all Nations to be punished with Death; all which Points may be granted him without any Prejudice to the Cause of the *English* in this Question. At last he comes in Particular to their Case, and affirms, that the Chief of the *English* there might not apprehend the *English* Accomplices of this Conspiracy, because themselves were Accomplices of the Fact; all which also may be granted in this Point of Apprehension and safe Custody; but how it may proceed in the Point of Cognizance, shall be anon in due Place examined.

" In the mean time, this Author, to make the Point of Apprehension clear beyond Exception, faith, that the *English* were not apprehended upon the first Suspicion, when yet there was Evidence and Indicia sufficient to it. But after the Examination of all the *Japoneses*, and their joint Confession, that the *English*, whom they specified by Name and Surname, moved and hired them to this Treason: Yea, not until *Abel Price* had also confessed as much, and that all the *English* in the Out-Factories were privy therunto. For Answer hereof, that must be repeated, which hath been upon other Occasions before alledged; that the first Beginning of the Process was by the Torture, there being no sufficient Evidence or Indicum to torture the *Japoneses*, that only sought to inform himself of the Course of the Watch, and of the Strength of the Castle, where he himself was a Soldier, and so the whole Series of Examination proceeding from the Confession of one tortured Person, to apprehend and torture another, without other Evidence, though it brought forth more Confessions, and those with Name and Surname, and other Circumstances, according as the Interrogatories or Directories of the Governor and Fiscal led the Prisoners, was wholly against all Laws of Tortures: *Silicet in fabrica si prava est regula prima. Cetera mendose fieri, atque obsequia necesse est.*

" But here must be answered an Objection, that may be made against this from another Part of this Relation; that is, that some of the *English* confessed without, or before Torture. Yea, this *Price* here mentioned, was either not tortured at all, or very lightly; yea, but he was shewed the tortured Bodies of the poor

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" *Japoneses*, martyred with Fire and Water, and told; that unless he would confess that which they told him they had first confessed, he should be tortured as ill, or worse than they. This Fear of Torture is by their own Law equalled to the Torture itself, and consequently the Confession thereupon made no better Indicum, or Evidence, to bring another Man to the Torture, than the Confession made upon the Rack itself. Again, it must be here remembered, that the very Matter of *Price*'s Confession here mentioned; to wit, that all the *English* Merchants of the Out-Factories were privy to the pretended Treason, was confuted by the Process of the *Dutch* themselves, that found *Powell*, *Ramsay*, and two others of those Factories guilty.

" Next, this Author taketh Notice of an Objection made in *England* against the Jurisdiction of the *Dutch* Governor, and his Council at *Amboyna*, over the *English* there, because this Power is by the Treaty of the Year 1619 disposed of, and agreed to consist in the Council of Defence of both Nations at *Jaccatra*; for Information in which Point, this Author faith, he hath perused over all the several Articles in the said Treaty, and findeth in the twenty-third Article, that the Fortresses were to remain in the Hands of them that then possessed them; and in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, that the Council of Defence hath no other Power but only over the Fleet of Defence, over the Commerce, and finally, to tax the Charges of Maintenance of the Forts; but he could not see the thirtieth Article, which orders that all Disputes that cannot be decided by the Council of Defence, should be remitted into *Europe*, first, to the two Companies there, and in Default of their Agreement, to the King and States; why then was not this Dispute so proceeded in? There is nothing in the former Articles to limit the Council of Defence, and this general Article appeareth to be added by way of Amplification, to provide for that which was not particularly and expressly cared for in the former, which is most plain by the Words of the Explanation upon this thirtieth Article, agreed upon at the first, and subscribed by the Commissioners on both Sides, *Anno* 1619, where this Course of Proceeding is expressly directed, not only in Disputes about the Meaning of the Articles, but also about any other Matter happening in their commerce abroad; since which also the King's Majesty hath, upon a smaller Occasion than the Life of his Subjects, clearly declared himself in the Point of Sovereignty, that both Nations in the *Indies* should wholly lay aside all Pretence thereof, which Declaration was sent to the Lords States-General, and by them accepted before this bloody Butchery was executed. But if it were granted, that the *Dutch* were absolute Lords of their Partners the *English* in those Parts, without respect to the Treaty, yet at least the *Dutch* in *Amboyna* were bound to observe the Laws of the United Provinces, for so faith this Author himself. Do these allow to begin the Process as to the Torture, and to bring Persons of honest Fame to the Rack upon others Confession made in the Torture? Do their Laws allow of the leading Interrogatories above-mentioned, to direct the Prisoner what to say, to avoid the Torture, where, in the United Provinces, is that drowning with Water in Use? Or the Torture with Fire used to *Johnson*, *Thomson* and *Clark*? Or especially the splitting of their Toes, and lancing of the Breast, and putting in Gunpowder, and then firing the same, whereby the Body is not left intire, neither for Innocency nor Execution? *Clark* and *Thomson* were both fain to be carried to their Execution, though they were tortured many Days before.

" Lastly, their Confessions were contradictory, apparently false, and of things impossible to be done, much less practised before by the said Parties, and therefore ought not by their Law to have been believed, nor the Prisoners to have been condemned thereupon, without other sufficient Indicia, or Evidence besides. In the last Place, this Author handleth the Excess of Torture, whereof he taketh Notice, there is much Complaint in *England*,

10 S

" and

" and faith, that the Lords States-General took great
 " Care to inform themselves of all the Passages in this
 " Business, and to that End desired to see all the
 " Letters, Pieces, and Papers, that concern this Process,
 " by which it appeareth not that there was any cruel Tor-
 " ture used. But suppose the Acts made no mention of
 " them, is it any marvel that the Authors of this mur-
 " derous and tyrannous Process, being themselves the
 " Persons that also formed the Acts, would omit those
 " things that made against them?

" It is to be presumed also, that the Acts kept by their
 " People at *Poleway* in *Banda*, have omitted many things
 " of their Process against the poor *Polarons*, whom in
 " August 1622, being about six Months before this Exe-
 " cution of the *English*, their Governor there used in like
 " Sort as the Governor of *Ambeyna* did the *English*, and
 " gave him a Model and President of this Process, which
 " it will not be amiss to relate briefly, because this Au-
 " thor in the next Place alledgeth the merciful Disposi-
 " tion of the *Netherlandish* Nation in general, to infer
 " thence, that it is therefore unlikely, that their Gover-
 " nor at *Ambeyna* was so cruel as is reported in *England*.

" *Polaron*, one of the Islands of *Banda*, was in Possession
 " of the *English* at the Time of the Treaty *Anna* 1619,
 " and by Agreement was to remain theirs.

" After the Treaty came to the *Indies*, the *Dutch* for-
 " bore the publishing thereof in the Islands of *Banda*, until
 " they had taken *Polaron*; but knowing that it must be
 " restored again, according to the Treaty, they first take
 " all Courts to make the Island little or nothing worth.
 " They demolish and deface the Building, transplant the Nut-
 " meg-trees, plucking them up by the Roots, and carrying
 " them into their own Islands of *Nera* and *Poleway*, there
 " to be planted for themselves, and at least find a Means
 " to dispeople the Island, and to leave it so as the *English*
 " might make no Use of it, worth their Charge of keeping;
 " and that upon this Occasion was a young Man, the Son
 " of an Orankey, or a Gentleman in *Polaron*, that had
 " committed Felony, for which, by the Laws of his Coun-
 " try, he was to die. This Fellow, to save his Life, fled
 " to another Island of *Banda*, called *Rafaging*, and there
 " turned Christian; but quickly understanding that that
 " would not make him safe from Punishment, he went
 " back secretly into his own Country of *Polaron*, and
 " having lurked there for two or three Days, took his Pas-
 " sage for *Nera*, another Island where the *Dutch* have a
 " Fort, and told the *Dutch* Governor, that the Orankeys
 " of *Polaron* had conspired to massacre the *Dutch* as well
 " at *Polaron* as at *Poleway*, with Help of the People of
 " *Seren*, that should send over thirty Curricuties for that
 " Purpose. Immediately upon this Indicum of this Ma-
 " lefactor certain Prows or Fisher-boats of the *Polarons*
 " that were fishing at *Poleway* were seized, and the Peo-
 " ple made Prisoners, Command was sent by the *Dutch*
 " Governor to *Polaron*, that the Orankeys should come
 " over to him, that there might be farther Inquisition
 " made of this Matter.

" The Priest of the *Polarons* and seventy Orankeys
 " instantly took a Prow, or small Vessel of their own, and
 " embarked themselves for *Poleway*. As they were at Sea,
 " and yet out of Sight of the *Dutch* Castle, they were met
 " by a Fishing-boat of *Bandanzeret*, and told how all the
 " rest were apprehended, and that if they went to *Pole-
 " way*, they were all but dead Men. Nevertheless the
 " Priest and the rest, although they had Space and Means
 " to have escaped the *Seren*, and other Places safe enough
 " from the *Dutch*, yet were so confident of their Inno-
 " cency, that they would needs go to *Poleway* to purge
 " themselves, where, as soon as they arrived, they were
 " instantly carried Prisoners to the Castle, and withal the
 " Governor, with a Force of two hundred Men, went per-
 " sonally for *Polaron*, whence he fetched all the rest of
 " the Orankeys, and brought them Prisoners to the same
 " Castle: As soon as they were come, they were presently
 " brought to the Torture of Water and Fire, even in the
 " same sort that our People were afterwards at *Ambeyna*,
 " only herein differing, that of those of *Poleway*, two were
 " so tortured, that they died in their Tortures; the rest
 " being one hundred and sixty-two Persons, were all, upon

" their own forced Confessions, condemned and executed.
 " The Priest, when he came to the Place of Execution,
 " spake these Words in the *Malayan* Tongue: All ye
 " great and small, rich and poor, black and white, look
 " to it, we have committed no Fault; and when he would
 " have spoken more, he was taken by the Hands and Feet,
 " laid along, and cut in two by the Middle with a Sword;
 " forthwith the Governor caused the Wives, Children,
 " and Slaves of those of *Polaron* to be all carried out of
 " the Island, and distributed in other Islands subject to the
 " *Dutch*, and so have made a clear Country for the *Eng-
 " lish*, where they may both plant and gather themselves,
 " destitute of the Help of any of the Country People,
 " without whom neither the *English* nor the *Dutch* can
 " maintain their Trade in the *Indies*; and yet this is not
 " here recited, to the end thereby to charge the *Nether-
 " lander's* Nation with those cruel Proceedings, but the
 " Persons themselves that have committed these barbarous
 " Tyrannies, who, if we shall believe an Author of their
 " own, are not of the best of that Nation.

" For the *Major*, as this Author says, use the *Indies*
 " as a Tuck-house, or Bridewell, to manage their unruly
 " and unthrifty Children and Kindred, whom, when they
 " cannot rule and order at home, they send to the *Indies*,
 " where they are preferred to Offices and Places of Go-
 " vernment; yea, faith he, they prefer such to be *Fiscals*
 " there as never saw Study nor Law; so that it is no mar-
 " vel, that such Persons proceed not with that Justice
 " and Moderation as is used generally in the *Low Countries*
 " by the Choice of the Nation there; and this agreeth
 " well with the Report of our Merchants of Credit that
 " came lately from *Ambeyna*, who avers, that occupying
 " the Governor himself, who is well steep in Years of the
 " rest of the Council there, as well the *Fiscal* as others,
 " there was scarce any that had Hair on their Faces; yea,
 " that most of them are lewd, drunken, debauched Per-
 " sons, and yet must be judges, as well of our *English* as
 " the poor *Indians* there. Now to return to this Author's
 " Proofs, that there was no *Exech* used in the Proceed-
 " ings, at the last he taketh one Argument by way of
 " Comparison from the Law of *England* to press Men to
 " Death, which, he faith, hath much more Cruelty than
 " their Course of Torture used by the *Dutch* in *Ambeyna*,
 " and is bolden, as well by some Authors of our own Na-
 " tion as others, for damnable. How pertinently is this
 " Matter of pressing alledged for justifying their Tortures,
 " since no Man in *England* is pressed for not confessing,
 " which is the Cause of the Torture with the *Dutch*? But
 " the Cause why any is pressed is, for that he obstinately
 " refuses the Trial of his Country, and challengeth the
 " Judges as incompetent, which the Law appointeth him;
 " which he doth for the most part to save his Goods, which
 " but by that ordinary Course of Trial cannot be con-
 " ciliate; what is this to the Point of Confession? for Re-
 " fusal whereof the *Dutch* use the Torture, and yet no
 " Man blameth them for proceeding according to the Law
 " of their Country therein, nor yet in their Execution,
 " when they break the Legs, Arms and Thighs of the
 " Malefactors, and then set them upon a Wheel on the
 " End of a great Pole, there to languish to Death, an
 " Execution far more diabolical than the *English* pressing,
 " which is so suddenly done, and so seldom used.

" But why doth he not name the Author of our own,
 " or foreign Writers, which condemn this kind of Execu-
 " tion? Let him do it yet, and he shall have more Au-
 " thors of his own Country that shall condemn their Course
 " of Tortures, and yet the *English* complain not of the
 " Course in general, but of the unlawful Use of it, con-
 " trary to the Laws even of the *United Provinces*. Lastly,
 " in this Point the Author pretendeth, that little or no
 " Torture was used in this Process. What the Torture
 " was, and in what Degree, appears in the *English* Rela-
 " tion; but he can find little or none mentioned in the
 " Acts. What if he will not find it? or what if their Of-
 " ficers at *Ambeyna* have concealed it? Shall we not be-
 " lieve those that suffered it themselves? Shall we not be-
 " lieve those that being themselves acquitted, yet heard th-
 " Cries, and saw the Bodies of *Johnson*, *Clark*, and *Thom-
 " son*, and have confirmed their Relation by their corporal
 " Oath?

Author of our own, in this kind of Execution shall have more Autocrats than their Courts can complain not of the awful Use of it, con- sidered Provinces. Lastly, meth, that little or no What the Torture in the *English* Re- lation mentioned in the or what if their O- it? Shall we not be- yes? Shall we not be- quitted, yet heard th- on, Clark, and Thon- tion by their corporal "Oath."

“ After much Working, and Embassadors often passing between them and *France*, at last they concluded on an Offensive and Defensive League, by which *France* was to declare War against *Spain*; the Consequences of such a League being dangerous, and an unlimited Ambition never with Safety to be trusted, his Majesty had just Cause to be suspicious of these Innovations; he had Reason to weigh these Things, and to consider why *Holland* and *France* should so strictly combine and league together, both of them being Neighbours to him, and why it should be now halted more than in former Times, when *France* and *England* gave a sufficient Relief to *Holland* by Consent. The King also seeing the ambitious Enterprizes of *France*, assisted and animated by *Holland*, to disturb the Christian and peaceable Commonwealth of *Europe*, and unjustly to seize upon his neighbouring Territories, without Cause given, yea, not sparing, by Treachery and Force, to enjoy the Countries of his weakest and nearest Friends the ancient State of *Lorrain*, which lay in his Way to hinder his unlawful Designs. These were sufficient Motives

“and Reasons for the King's Majesty to behold his own
 “Cafe with an Eye of Prevention; but especially finding
 “a Combination betwixt *France* and *Holland* to take and
 “divide the Provinces of *Flanders* betwixt them, and to
 “possess the maritime Towns, as *Dunkirk*, and others
 “opposite to *England*. This made his Majesty think
 “how to quench the Fire that might flame into his own
 “House. And having Intelligence that they were both
 “to join in one Fleet, a Thing not usually done by the
 “*French*; and they making no publick Declaration of
 “the Design of their Ships, as commonly Princes use to
 “do in such Cases, his Majesty could make no less Con-
 “struction, than that they intended to deprive him of his an-
 “cient and allowed Prerogative of the Narrow Seas,
 “which behoved him as much to defend, as his King-
 “dom; for he that covets the one, will do as much by
 “the other, if it were in his Power to effect it. Where-
 “fore his Majesty armed these Ships following to Sea, to
 “enquire the Reason at their Hands, not intending to injure
 “any Nation, but to keep himself and Subjects from be-
 “ing injured, and to curb the Insolency and Pride of any
 “People that should go about to infringe his Royal Pre-
 “rogative.”

It may not be amiss to observe here, that the Word *Pre-rogative* is used in a Sense by this Author, which interests the Subject as much as the Prince; for the Prerogative here contended for, though nominally in the Crown, was virtually in the People of *England*; and it was to maintain their Right that the famous *Selden* was encouraged to compose his *Mare Clausum*, in Answer to *Grotius's* Book, entitled *Mare Liberum*, intended to justify, by Reason, the ambitious Projects of the *Dutch*. That this was truly the Case; and that the King had nothing in View but for the Benefit of his Subjects, appears plainly, by the Care he took for advancing the Trade to the *East-Indies*, which began now to decline exceedingly; for the *Dutch* had so frightened them by their Severities, that the Servants of the *East-India Company* were afraid to dispute with them, and not much inclined to settle in any Colonies there; so that by degrees, our Trade would have fallen to nothing, which was precisely what the *Dutch* desired, and were, by all Means, endeavouring to bring about.

The King, to redress this Evil, and to preserve this Trade, as far as it was possible, listened to the Proposals made by Sir *William Courten*, and some other rich Merchants of *London*, for sending a Squadron into those Parts to settle and trade, but without Prejudice to the Rights of the *East-India Company*; and accordingly by his Commission, under his Royal Signature, dated the 12th of *December* 1635, he did grant Licence to the Persons therein named, to send a certain Number of Ships into the *East-Indies*; and they accordingly did send six large Ships, Sir *William Courten* himself adventuring One hundred and twenty thousand Pounds. These Adventurers had very good Success abroad, if they could have found any Way to have got their Riches home; but the *Dutch* were too cunning for that; for, dreading the Establishment of a free Trade between the *English* and the *Indians*, they resolved to take Things in the Beginning, and accordingly to way-laid the *Dragon* and the *Catherine*, which were two of the largest Ships these Gentlemen had employed, that not far from the *Cape of Good-Hope* they sunk both the Vessels, and every Soul in them, by which a great Number of able Seamen were lost, together with a Cargo of the Value of One hundred and fifty thousand Pounds.

Neither was this the single Act of this kind, for in the Year 1637, the same Proprietors, except Sir *William Courten*, who was dead, fitted out seven more Ships, which likewise sailed to the *East-Indies*, and were again met with by the *Dutch*; by which a great Number of able Seamen were lost, together with a Cargo of the Value of One hundred and fifty thousand Pounds.

out any Manner of Succour or Relief, to the Damage of Mr. *Courten*, and the rest of the Interessed, the Sum of 10000 Pounds and upwards. And about the Month of *June* 1643, the *Bona Esperanza* making a trading Voyage from *Goa* to *Malacca*, in the Streights of *Malacca*, was violently set upon by two *Dutch* Ships, Men of War (belonging to the said Company) called *Vendito* and the *Portogallo*, whereof Seignior *Formuren* and Seignior *Gialand*, with the Lieutenant of the Fort of *Malacca*, were Commanders, who, in a hostile Manner, killed the Master, *Roger Tuckerman*, and divers Seamen were wounded, the rest took Prisoners, and robbed them of all their Goods, Merchandize, Books of Accounts, Writings, and Papers, and afterwards led the Mariners about the Streets of *Batavia* in Derision of the *English* Nation; dragging also the King's Colours after them in Triumph, contrary to the Laws of Nations and common Anity; all which tended to the Damage of Mr. *Courten* and the Interessed in that Voyage, to the Sum of 75000 Pounds, or thereabouts.

Upon the News of these inhuman Dealings, Mr. *Courten* was forced to absent himself from the *Exchange*; his Bills were protested in *England*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*; so he became insolvent, and was out-law'd, with Sir *Edward Littleton*, in the Years 1643 and 1645, for the Sum of Fifty thousand Pounds, or thereabouts. Sir *Edward Littleton*, being then sequestrated for his Fidelity and Allegiance to his Majesty, and in the actual Service of the King, could not appear to prosecute his Action, either before the Parliament, or the Courts of *Holland*, for Reparation of the violent Injuries aforesaid. Sir *Paul Pindar* having taken up several great Sums of Money, and advanced them to the King's Use, was with the rest of the Commissioners for the contracted Farms of the Customs, fined 150,000 *l.* by the Parliament; and also prosecuted at Law for the said Debts, whereby he became a Prisoner in his own House, and during the late distemper'd Times made incapable to look after his Proportion of the said Damages from the *East-India Company* of *Holland*.

Thus all this Project for reviving and restoring the *East-India Trade* came to nothing; but those Merchants, who had engaged in them such vast Sums, were utterly beggared. It is true, that King *Charles I.* interposed in their Behalf with the States, which serves rather to shew the Care of that Monarch, even in his lowest Circumstances, for the Interest of his Subjects, than to demonstrate the Justice of the *Dutch*, who with much ado were brought to pay 85,000 *Guilders*, which proves that the Charge must have been just, though the Satisfaction was almost below Notice. While things stood thus in *England*, the *Dutch East-India Company* carried all before them in the *East-Indies*, and having none to oppose them, established themselves so effectually, that it was not only impossible for the *English* to form any Designs to their Prejudice, but they were forced likewise to lay aside all thoughts of recovering their just Rights, and to abandon their Affairs as a trading Body for several Years. Such were the sad Effects of our Confusions at home, with regard to our Trade abroad, and this too at such a critical Juncture, when so much might have been done for the Service of this Nation.

This is, indeed, a very dark and dismal Scene, the Prospect of which was never clearly exhibited to the View of an *English Reader*; nor should I have dwelt upon it so long now, but that at this Distance of Time I suppose all Prejudices are worn off, and we may be allowed to judge freely of the Mischiefs of the Civil War brought upon us, not only by the Confusions and Slaughters it created amongst ourselves, but in the Injuries likewise, which by its Consequences it drew upon those Branches of our Commerce, which might otherwise have made us the richest and greatest People in *Europe*. This is a Consideration that ought never to be forgot, because while we retain it in our Memory, it is impossible that we should be guilty of any such Oversight for the future, or that we should suffer ourselves to be betrayed into so fatal an Opinion, as that any Advantages that can be procured by the Overthrow of one Party, or the prevailing of another amongst us, can in any degree compensate the vast Losses we sustain in Trade, when by reason of such Disturbances as these Struggles create, we are diverted from the Attention we ought always

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These great and necessary Cares can never be prosecuted as they ought, but in Times of full Peace, and perfect Settlement; that is, when the People and the Government look one Way, and have but one View, as they never can have but one Interest. We see how little, during these Distractions, it was in the Power either of the King or Parliament to obtain any Satisfaction for the Losses they sustained from foreign Nations, which being grounded in the Nature of things, must always be the Case whenever any thing of the like kind happens in proportion to the Degree in which it happens; for beyond a Question, the Prosperity of this Nation at home and abroad, depends solely on the Harmony subsisting between the Government and the People, which can subsist no other Way than by the former attending to the Concerns of the latter, with that Diligence and Disinterestedness that becomes those, who for the publick Benefit are entrusted with the Administration of the Concerns of a free People. We have nothing more to add during this Reign, and shall therefore proceed to such Matters as concern this Subject after the Death of the King.

10. The immense Wealth, and great naval Power of the *Dutch*, acquired, as has been before observed, in the Times of our Distractions, and when it was impossible for us to prevent it; encouraged them to think of establishing their own Wealth and Grandeur by a total Suppression of our maritime Force, to which, perhaps, they were tempted, from an Opinion, that the Parliament, or, as it was then called, the Commonwealth of *England*, would scarce adventure upon a War abroad, when she had scarce extricated herself from one at home. But they were mistaken, for the Parliament of *England*, however they came by their Right, or by their Power rather, were determined to make a just Use of it; and this produced the first *Dutch War*, in which they, for the Reasons before assigned, were the Aggressors, but suffered dearly for it in the End, since after repeated Defeats at Sea, and notwithstanding they helped to procure a new Revolution here, by setting up the Protector instead of the Parliament, yet they were forced to submit to a Peace upon the Terms prescribed to them, which was signed at *Westminster*, April the 5th, 1654, and by this Treaty the States were obliged to do that Justice to *Cromwell*, which they had refused to King *James* and King *Charles*.

The twenty-seventh Article of that Treaty being conceived in these Words: "It is agreed as above, that the Lords the States General of the *United Provinces*, shall take Care that Justice be done upon those who were Partakers or Accomplices in the Massacre of the *English* at *Ambogna*, as the Republick of *England* is pleased to term that Fact, provided any of them be living." In consequence of this Treaty, there was a Commission granted on both Sides, which sat at *Goldsmith's-Hall*, in order to hear and determine the Complaints that should be made to them both by the *English* and *Dutch East-India Companies*, and their Determination was to be final. The *English* Company put in a Charge, consisting of fifteen Articles, concluding, that besides the Loss of their Settlements, they had suffered to the Amount of the Sum of two Millions six hundred ninety-five thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine Pounds fifteen Shillings Sterling. The *Dutch East-India Company* on the other hand brought in their Demands, but without entering exactly into Particulars; yet ascertaining in the Close their Expenses at eight hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, which being considered, together with the Evidence offered on the Support of each Side, the Commissioners came to a Conclusion, which they filed a Regulation concerning the Losses and Damages sustained in the *East and West-Indies*, which was signed on the 30th of *August*, 1654.

And in this Paper, after reciting all the Demands before-mentioned at large, they proceed in the following Terms: "All which Complaints and Demands exhibited to us the said Commissioners, by the Deputy of both the *English* and *Dutch Companies*, expressly chose to this Purpose, have been laid before us with a great Number of Documents, Instruments, and Proofs, exhibited as well

"for forming and corroborating their own Demands, as
"for destroying and refuting those of the opposite Party;
"and at length the Arbitration of all those Controversies
"is submitted to us the aforesaid Commissioners by the
"said Deputies of both Companies. Wherefore we the
"aforesaid *John Exton*, *William Turner*, *William Thomson*,
"Thomas Kendall, *Adrian Van Aelmonde*, *Christiaan Van*
"Rodenburgh, *Lewis Houwen*, and *James Oysel*, after
"having seen, read, examined, and accurately considered
"all the Documents, Instruments, and Proofs exhibited
"to us on both Sides, together with all other things which
"seemed necessary for the Discovery of the Truth; and
"being desirous to reconcile and to establish a perpetual
"Agreement between both the Companies aforesaid, by
"virtue of the Power and Authority to us given and
"granted by the most high the Lord Protector of the Re-
"publick of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the High
"and Mighty Lords the States General of the *United*
"*Netherlands*, have decided, defined, and determined,
"and by this our present Award and Arbitration do decide,
"define, and determine, as follows:

"We make void, extinguish, obliterate, and altogether
"wipe out and commit to Oblivion (so as never to be re-
"vived at any time, and upon any Pretence, by any Per-
"son whatsoever) all Complaints, Pretensions, and Con-
"troversies mentioned more at large above, and all others
"whatsoever, which the *English* Company trading in the
"*East-Indies*, doth or may form against the *Dutch* Com-
"pany, without excepting any, of whatsoever kind, Na-
"ture, or Condition they may be; and particularly we
"appoint and ordain, that the said *English* Company shall
"not for the future sue or demand any thing of the said
"*Dutch Company* in *Persia*, or elsewhere, under the De-
"nomination of the Customs of *Ormuz* and *Gambroon*, so
"that the *Dutch* shall never be molested, or disturbed by
"the *English* for this Cause, under any Pretext: Provided
"nevertheless, that this does not prejudice any Action or
"Plaint, which the *English* Company may enter against
"the King of *Persia*, or any other Person whatsoever, the
"*Dutch* excepted. In like manner we make void, extin-
"guish, obliterate, and wholly blot out and commit to
"Oblivion, so as never to be revived at any time, and on
"any Pretence, by any Person whatsoever, all Complaints,
"Pretensions, and Controversies mentioned above more
"at large, and all others, whatsoever they be, which the
"aforesaid *Dutch East-India Company* doth or may form
"against the before-named *English* Company trading in
"the *East-Indies*, except none, of whatsoever Kind, Na-
"ture, or Condition they may be; and moreover we ap-
"point and decree, that the said *Dutch Company* shall
"yield and restore the Island *Poleton* to the said *English*
"Company, in the same State and Condition as it is now;
"provided nevertheless, that it shall be lawful for the said
"*Dutch Company* to take away and remove out of the
"said Island all military Furniture, Merchandize, Houf-
"hold-Stuff, and all Moveables, if they happen to have
"any in the said Island.

"And in the last place we declare and ordain, that the
"said *Dutch Company* shall pay the said *English* Company
"85,000 *l.* Sterling to be paid here at *London*, one Moiety
"before the last Day of *January* next ensuing, according
"to the *English* Style, and the other Moiety before the
"last Day of *March* following, according to the same
"Style; and all Controversies between the said Companies
"being by this means composed, decided, and deter-
"mined, to the end that a Stop may also be put to the
"Quarrels of private Persons.

"We have seen, perused and examined, all the Com-
"plaints and Demands exhibited to us in due time, in the
"Name of some private *Englishmen*, who complain of
"having received Injury and Damage at *Ambogna* in the
"Year 1623; and on the other hand, we have heard and
"considered the Matters which have been alledged and
"exhibited by the above-mentioned Deputies of the *Dutch*
"Company in their own Defence; and we the Commis-
"sioners aforesaid considering that no one Person besides
"these under-written has on this Account entered any
"Actions or Demands before us within the due Time, after
"which it is not lawful to enter any more, and being

" therefore desirous that no Relicks of Complaint should remain, and that all Cause of Wrangling may be removed, after having duly considered and weighed all things, do, by virtue of the full Power and Authority given and granted unto us by the most high Protector, and the high and mighty States of the *United Netherlands*, appoint and ordain, that all Complaint, Action, and Demand of the *English* whomsoever, whether publick or private, on the Score of any Injury or Damage which they pretend to have suffered at *Amboyna* in the Year 1622, the *English* Style, and 1623, N. S. may be made void, terminated, and committed to Oblivion; and that no Person, whomsoever he be, shall enter any Action on that Account, or molest, disturb, or vex the said *Dutch* Company, or any *Dutchman* on that Pretext; and on the other hand, we also decree and ordain, that the said *Dutch* Company shall pay here at *London* before the first Day of *January* next ensuing seven hundred Pounds Sterling to *William Towerfon*, Nephew and Administrator of the Effects of *Gabriel Towerfon*, late of *Amboyna*, deceased. To *William Caulson*, Brother of *Samuel Caulson*, &c. Administrator in like manner of his Effects, four hundred and fifty Pounds. To *James Bayles*, Administrator of the Effects of *John Pazel*, three hundred and fifty Pounds. To *Anthony Ellingham*, Administrator of the Effects of *William Grigg*, two hundred Pounds. To the Administrators of the Effects of *John Weteral*, two hundred Pounds. To *Jane Webber*, Administratrix of the Effects of *George Scharock*, 150*l.* To *John and Elizabeth Collins*, the Children and Heirs of *Edward Collins*, 465*l.* To the Administrators of *John Beaumont*, 300*l.* To *Jane Webber*, Widow, and Administratrix of *William Webber*, 200*l.* To *James Baile*, Administrator of the Effects of *Ephraim Ramsey*, 350*l.* to the Executors of the Will of *Thomas Radroffe*, 50*l.* and to *Thomas Billingsby*, Administrator of the Effects of *Emanuel Thompson*, 200*l.* all which Sums added together make the Sum of 3615*l.* Sterling, to be paid here at *London*, before *January* next ensuing: And, on this Condition, we insist that their Actions, or Suits, be altogether set aside and cancelled, so as never to be revived hereafter, by any Person whomsoever."

This Award, or Arbitration, was strictly put in Execution as soon as it was made, and ought therefore to be considered as decisive against the *Dutch*, who by these small and inconsiderable Satisfaction to the Representatives of those that were murdered at *Amboyna*, clearly admitted, and took upon themselves the Guilt of that whole Proceeding. After this Treaty, the Affairs of the *East-India* Company began to recover; and under the Protection of *Cromwell*, there was a Subscription of Eight hundred thousand Pounds for the carrying on of that Commerce; but before any great Progress could be made in the Execution of these Projects, the Constitution was restored by his Majesty's happy Return.

11. It was one of the earliest Acts of King *Charles* the II^d's Government to give that Satisfaction to the *East-India* Company which was requisite, to revive and establish its Commerce. This he did, by granting to the Company a new Charter, dated the 3d of *April*, 1661, by which he not only confirmed the Privileges which they had before received, but likewise added others. He enlarged the Quantity of Bullion to 50,000*l.* every Voyage, provided so much as brought into the Kingdom by the Exportation of *Indian* Goods. He confirmed their exclusive Trade, and gave them Power to license others to trade in the *Indies*, as also Authority to settle Civil and Military Government, and to make Peace and War with the Indians in the *East-Indies*: But still this Charter had the old Condition of being made void, if it should be found detrimental to the Nation upon three Years Notice.

As soon as a Negotiation was commenced for the King's Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*, it was resolved to procure a Cession of some convenient Colony in the *East-Indies*, as Part of her Portion; and by this Means the Island of *Bombay*, which has been so often mentioned, came into the Hands of the *English*. It must be owned

that the Soil of this Island is but barren, and the Air far enough from being wholesome. But, however, the Situation was extremely convenient; and as it was not in the Power of the King, or any of his Ministers, to alter the Nature of Things, they were forced to take up with what they could get; and it must be owned that, notwithstanding some Inconveniences, the obtaining this Island was both a convenient, and an important Acquisition, as by the Consequences attending it; and the present Condition of that Place did, and doth manifestly and unquestionably appear.

Very soon after the Marriage, King *Charles* sent the Lord *Marleborough*, with four or five Ships of War, to take Possession of it; and the King of *Portugal* sent a Viceroy to deliver it and all its Royalties, to the said Lord; and Sir *Abraham Shipman* was ordered to be Governor for King *Charles*. They arrived at *Bombay* in September 1663; but the Clergy withstood the Crown, and disobeyed the Order; nor would they acknowledge the Viceroy, unless he would come into their Measures, which, rather than lose his new Dignity, he did, and the *English* Fleet was forced to go to *Swally* to land their Men, and get Refreshments. The Governor of *Surat*, in whose District *Swally* is, grew jealous of the Numbers and Bravery of the *English*, threatened the Factory established at *Surat*, if they did not speedily re-embark, which, to avoid, they did; and the Governor allowed them the free Use of the Markets; so that they had no Want of Provisions and Merchandize while they stayed there. In *Jan.* 1664 his Lordship went back to *England*, carrying two Ships with him, and left Sir *Abraham* with the rest to pass the westerly Monsoons in some Port on the Coast; but he being unacquainted, chose a desolate Island, called *Anjadra*, to winter at. It is so far from an Harbour, that it is even but a bad Road for Shipping in those boisterous south-west Winds and turbulent Seas: However, he landed all the Land-Forces, and built Huts to defend them from the Weather. The Island is barren, but has some Springs of good Water. It is about a Mile long, and three hundred Paces broad. Here they stayed from *April* till *October*, in which Time they buried above two hundred of their Men.

When the Monsoons were over, the Squadron put to Sea, and put into *Bombay*, to try if the Church had considered on the Obedience due to the King of *Portugal*'s Orders, or if they had a Mind to draw the Arms of *England*, as well as their Sovereign, on them. Some of them, who had not forgot what Damages *Spain* and *Portugal* had sustained by the *English* Fleet in *Cromwell*'s Time, advised the Church to obey the King, setting forth the Miseries they should be brought into in case of Noncompliance. At length their holy Zeal abated, and they were content to admit of a Treaty; but before the Treaty was concluded, Sir *Abraham* died, and one Mr. *Humphrey Cooke*, who was next in Commission, continued the Treaty, and articulated, that the Inhabitants should enjoy their Lands and Religion under the King of *England*, but forgot to insert the Royalties appending on *Bombay*, which reached as far as *Verfua*, or *Sasser*; which Omission has been a Bone of Contention for both Parties ever since. Mr. *Cooke*, according to the Treaty, took Possession of the Island in the King's Name, and forthwith began to fortify regularly, and, to save Charges of building a House for the Governor, built a Fort round an old square House, which served the *Portuguese* for a Place of Retreat, when they were disturbed by their Enemies, till Forces could be sent from other Places to relieve them.

After the Fort was traced and the Foundation laid, Sir *George Lucas* arrived from *England* with two Ships; but Affairs being settled before he came, did not stay at *Bombay* longer than *January*, 1666, and left the Government of the Island in the Hands of Mr. *Cooke* and his Council, the Presidency for the then Company residing at *Surat*. Their Trade flourished and increased wonderfully: But after the Fort was finished, the King finding that the Charge of keeping *Bombay* in his own Hands, would not turn to Account, the Revenues being so inconsiderable, he made it over to the *East-India* Company in Fee-Tail, which continues to this Day. In building the Fort where it is, Mr.

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Mr. *Cooke* shewed his Want of Skill in Architecture, where a proper and convenient Situation ought to be well considered; for it is built upon the Point of Rocks that jets into the Sea, where there are no Springs of fresh Water; and it stands within eight hundred Paces of an Hill called *Dungere*, that over-looks it; and an Enemy might much incommode it from the Hill, as we found by Experience, in *Anno* 1689, when the Mogul sent an Army on *Bombay*.

As for the Magnitude, Figure, and Materials of the Fort, there is no Fault to be found in them, for it is a regular Tetragon; the outward Polygon is about five hundred Paces, and it is built of good hard Stone, and can mount above one hundred Pieces of Cannon, and that is all that is commendable in it. But had it been built about five hundred Paces more to the southward, on a more acute Point of Rocks, called *Mendham's-Point*, it had been much better, on several Accounts; first, it had been much nearer the Road for protecting the Shipping there; it had been farther off *Dungere-hill*; it would have had a pretty Spring of good Water, which served the Hospital that was afterwards built there, and the Shipping had been better secured that lay in the little Bay between the Point where the Fort now stands and *Mendham's-Point*. They went about building several other little Forts and Sconces, in convenient Places, to hinder an Invasion, if any of their Neighbours should have attempted one. At *Malagan* there was one, at *Sourat* one, at *Siam* one, at *Ma-him* one, and *Werlee* had one, and some great Guns mounted on each of them.

Notwithstanding the Company was at so much Charge in building of Forts, they had no Thoughts of building a Church; for many Years after, Sir *George Oxendon* began to build one, and charitable Collections were gathered for that Use: But when Sir *George* died, Piety grew sick, and the Building of Churches was grown unfashionable. Indeed, it was a long Time before the Island had People enough to fill a Chapel that was in the Fort; for as fast as Recruits came from *Britain* they died in *Bombay*, which got the Island a bad Name. There was reckoned above 5000 Pounds had been gathered towards building the Church; but Sir *John Child*, when he came to reign in *Bombay*, converted the Money to his own Use, and never more was heard of it. The Walls were built by his Predecessors to five Yards high, and so it continued till the Year 1715, that Mr. *Boone* came to the Chair, who set about building it, and in five Years Time finished it by his own Benevolence; and of other Gentlemen, who, by his Persuasions, were brought in to contribute; the Company also contributed something towards that pious End.

About the Year 1674, President *Aungier*, a Gentleman well qualified for the Government, came to the Chair; and leaving *Surat* to the Management of Deputies, came to *Bombay*, and rectified many Things that were amiss, and brought the Face of Justice to be unveiled, which before lay hid in a single Person's Breast, who distributed her Favours according to the Governor's Direction. He erected a formal Court, where Pleas were brought in and debated. But that Method lasted but a few Years: When Sir *John Child* came to the Chair, the Court expired. Mr. *Aungier* advised the Company to enclose the Town from *Dungere* to *Mendham's-Point*, for securing the trading People from the Insults of their troublesome beggarly Neighbours on the Continent: But his Proposals were rejected, and that necessary Piece of Work was reserved for Mr. *Boone* also. And happy it was for the Inhabitants that the Town was secured by a Wall, otherwise *Connojee Aungier* would have harassed them with continual Insults, since his War with the *English* began. The Name of Mr. *Aungier* is much revered by the ancient People of *Surat* and *Bombay* to this Day. His Justice and Dexterity in managing Affairs got him such an Esteem, that the Natives of those Places made him the common Arbitrator of their Differences in point of Traffick; nor was it ever known that any Party receded from his Award. There are no Dangers in going into *Bombay* Road, but one funk Rock, that lies about half a League from the Castle. It is dry at Low-water, and has a Channel within it deep enough for the greatest Ships to pass. I never heard of

any Damage done by that Rock, but to a small Ship called the *Radon*, which, by *Carlessness*, run on it at Noon-Day, and was lost.

In the Year 1673, the *Dutch East-India Company* having an Eye on *Bombay*, sent a Squadron of Ships, with a little Army to try if they could take it among their other Conquests of *India*; but, on their Landing, met with so warm a Reception, that they were glad to get off with the Loss of two or three hundred of their Men, and so left the *English* in the quiet Possession of it. The Governors proved tolerably good till 1682, that Sir *John Child* came thither. The *India Company* knowing how to make Use of King *Charles's* Necessities, made him some Presents, and he, in grateful Acknowledgment, granted them Power; but they used that Power to their own Destruction, for Mr. *Child's* Pride and Oppressions grew so very intolerable, then even the Gentlemen in the Company's Service, had not the free Exercise of Trade, and much less private Merchants: And he trampling on the established Laws of *England*, and by Advice of his Name-fake, who governed the Company in *Europe*, by imprisoning and murdering their Fellow Subjects, grew hateful to all.

In *Anno* 1684, he made his Brother-in-law, Mr. *Ward*, his Deputy of *Bombay*, who designed to fish in troubled Waters. Mr. *Child* being honoured with the Title of Baronet, by the powerful Motives of the Company's Money to the King; at the same Time got the Commission of General, which puffed him up so, that he contemned all Laws, human and divine. The military Gentlemen, who had made Contracts in *England* for their Salaries, though paid at 20 per Cent. less; yet, to shew himself a good Oeconomist for his Masters Interests, sent his Deputy fresh Orders to reduce their Pay to 30 per Cent. less than it was before, though it was so small that they could hardly bring both Ends to bear at the Month's End. That hard Pill the Sons of *Mars* could not swallow, and so bent their Minds on a Revolution; and having come to some Knowledge of Mr. *Ward's* Tampering with the *Sevagee* to land on the Island, they detected some Letters of his to that Purpose, which gave them a Ground for a Revolt. The *Sevagee*, indeed, sent a Fleet of eighty Sail of small Vessels to land on the Bay which faces the Ocean; but on their trying to land some Forces, they were warmly repulsed, and lost many of their Men, which made them draw off again in Confusion; and Mr. *Ward* being confronted with his own Letters, and having little to say in his own Defence, was made a Prisoner; and General *Child's* Faction was sent to *Surat* to him.

The Islanders taking the Government of the Island into their own Hands, chose Captain *Kegwine* Major of the Military, to superintend military Affairs, and one Captain *Thorburn* to regulate the Civil. General *Child* soon dispatched Letters to *England*, and gave an Account of the Rebellion; and King *Charles* dispatched a Frigate, called the *Phoenix*, for *India*, to demand the Restitution of the Island, and put it again into the Company's Hands. They arrived at *Bombay* in September 1685, and shewed the King's Letter, with a full Pardon to all who yielded Obedience, which the Islanders unanimously did; but for their own Security, drew up some Articles to be signed by General *Child*, and Captain *Tyrell*, who commanded the *Phoenix*; which Articles were, That any Person that had a Mind to go to *England*, should have free Liberty and Passage on board the Company's Shipping; which, being agreed to and signed, Captain *Kegwine* took his Passage on board the first Ship; but *Thorburn* being a married Man, and having a small Estate, as well as a Family on the Island, could not so easily remove, but trusted to the Act of Grace, and the Treaty they had made.

After General *Child* had got the Reins of Government again into his own Hands, he became more insupportable than ever. He erected a Court of Inquisition, and made an old *Greek*, one Captain *Gary*, Judge, who had condemned a Man to be hanged on a *Tuesday*, and the Man suffered according to Sentence: But, on the *Friday* after, the poor dead Fellow was ordered to be called before the Court, but he would not comply with the Orders. Captain *Thorburn* was the first that felt the Weight of Mr. *Child's* Displeasure; he got some Fellows to swear him out

of his little Estate, who brought in forged Bonds for Sums borrowed of one King, whom he never had any Dealings with, and found Witnesses to attest them. All that *Thorburn* had was too little to pay the Sums, for which his Estate was taken from him, and himself put in Prison, without the Permission of one Slave to attend him, or serve him in Prison; his Wife was not permitted to visit him, which hard Usage brought him into a violent Fever, that soon put an End to his Life. About two Days before he died, the Goaler acquainted his Lady with the Danger, and she, with two small Children, went to the General, and, on her Knees, begged that a Doctor might be permitted to visit her Husband, but he was inexorable, and would allow no such Favour, only granted her Leave to be in Prison with him till he died, and she stayed but one Day and Part of a Night, before he expired.

When the Tragedy was over, she was going home to her distressed Family, but found her Slaves and Children removed into a little Out-house of her's, and the Doors of her Dwelling-house shut against her. The Lady had two Sisters married on the Island, and she hoping to find Relief from them, went to see the eldest; but she met her at the Door, and told her she could have no Admittance, her Husband being liable to Prosecution if he admitted her into the House, and she believed the other Sister's Husband durst not entertain her in his House. The poor Lady, full of Sorrow and Grief, being abandoned of all her Friends and Relations, went back to her distressed Family, and having no visible Way of Support, had once some Thoughts of putting an End to her Miseries: But her Sisters, unknown to their Husbands, sent her some Relief by a trusty female Slave in the Night, and a Letter, that they desired her to burn as soon as she had read, wherein they promised to be assisting in the Maintenance of her and her Children, till the Almighty should think proper to deliver her out of the Persecution.

The poor Lady had both Beauty and Discretion enough to recommend her to the virtuous Part of Mankind; but none of the Gentlemen that wished her well, durst make Addresses to her; only one who had the Command of a Ship in the *Indian* Merchant's Service, as he had no Dependence on the General and his Masters in *England*, thought he could not well come within the Reach of their Persecution; so he courted her, and married her; but that was thought a capital Crime, and the General acquainted his *Indian* Owners, that without they discharged him their Service, they should also find the Weight of his Displeasure; and accordingly, to avoid Contests with his Excellency, he was discharged; but Grief put an End to his Troubles, for he died within a Year after his Marriage, and left the poor Lady another Child to take Care of, but left her above One thousand Pounds Sterling of Stock for her and her Family's Support.

As the *Phoenix* was in her Way for *India*, she called at the Island of *Jebonna*, and there found an *English* Ship, called the *Bristol*, stopping some Leaks in her Bottom. Captain *Tyrell*, by a dispensing Power from the King of *England*, seized her, and designed to have carried her to *Bombay*, in Company with a small Vessel that he had seized on the Coast of *Madagascar*. The *Bristol* sunk the third Day after they put to Sea, but the other came safe. The *Bristol* Men were looked on as Pirates; and one Mr. *Mews*, a Supercargo, was arraigned before the General's Tribunal, where he himself sat Lord Chief Justice; and after his usual Manner of bestowing opprobrious Names, he condemned Mr. *Mews* to lose all that he had in the World, and One thousand Pounds besides, and to lie in Prison at his own Charge, till the Fine was paid; but Mr. *Vaux*, who was Judge of the Island in petty Affairs, shewed him the Weakness of his Sentence, and persuaded him to set the poor Man at Liberty, and order him a Passage for *England*.

As I have taken these Passages from the Travels of one Captain *Hamilton*, so upon his Credit I must leave them. He had the Reputation of being an honest and a sincere Man, and one so far from being suspected of having but a slender Regard for Truth, that, on the contrary, he was held enthusiastically fond of it, so as to have spoke it upon

all Occasions, and without any Regard to the good old Maxim, *That Truth is not to be spoken at all Times*. I must likewise have Leave to say, that I knew not where else to find Materials for this Part of my Subject, and therefore I chose rather to let these Things down, than to leave so large a Chasm in my Collection. But if there be any Falshoods among these Facts, or any Truths written with a Spirit of Prejudice or Animosity, 'tis none of my Fault, and quite beside my Intention; besides all this, the Facts related are so notorious, and so very capable of being disproved from their very Nature, at the same time that publick and private Interests were equally concerned to disprove them, that I cannot help thinking their remaining so many Years as my Author's Book has been printed, unquestioned as well as unreputed, is a sufficient Reason to believe that though very extraordinary, they are yet consistent with Truth; and if so, I am very sure that no Facts can better deserve a Place in this History than they do.

The *Dutch* all this time very steadily pursued their Plan of driving us out of the *Indies*. In time of War they attacked us directly, and having a superior Strength, had generally the better of us; but in time of Peace, between the States of the *United Provinces*, and the Crown of *Great-Britain*, they contented themselves with attacking the *Indian* Princes, to whose Dominions we traded, and prosecuting the War against them, till such time as they were obliged, from a Principle of Self-preservation, to purchase their own Peace by excluding us. It was in this manner, and after a long War carried on for that Purpose, that the *Dutch* were so fortunate in the Island of *Java*, as to carry their Point entirely; so that after a long civil War set on foot, and encouraged by them between the old King and his Son, by the Help of the latter in *June* 1683, the *Dutch* dispossessed the *English* Company of their Factory of *Bantam*, on the West End of *Java*; and the *English* having a mind to regain it by Force of Arms, built several Ships of between sixty and seventy Guns, so that in *June* 1685, they had a Fleet ready victualled, and manned with seven or eight thousand Men, to the Number of twenty-three Sail of Line of Battle Ships; which Expence, and the continual Craving of the Court, brought their Stock very low; yet since the Maw of the Court was not enough crammed, the King laid Embargoes on the Fleet from Time to Time for nine Months, and then the *Dutch* Embassador had Orders to present his Majesty with one hundred thousand Pounds, if he would command the Company not to use Violence. He snapt at the Bait, and defeated the Design to all Intents and Purposes, which was of infinite Prejudice to the Company's Affairs, gave the *Dutch* vast Advantages, and was highly dishonourable, as well as detrimental to the Nation.

12. Upon the Accession of King *James* the Second to the Throne of *England*, the *East-India* Company found in him a still more powerful Protector than they had done in his Brother, though he granted them a new Charter, dated the 5th of *October*, in the twenty-eighth Year of his Reign, and extended this again by another Charter, dated the 9th of *August*, in the thirty-fifth of it. But King *James* not only extended their Privileges as a Company, but being persuaded that such Prerogatives were necessary to the carrying on their Trade, for the promoting of which he would deny nothing, he in a manner shared his Sovereignty with them, by granting them a Power to erect Fortresses, raise Armies, execute martial Law, and coin Money; all which was with a View to make them equal in Power with the *Dutch*, and to enable them to secure at least a considerable Share of this profitable Trade to his Subjects. Under so gracious and kind a Prince, we need not at all wonder, that the Company extended their Authority very considerably; but the great Misfortune was, that they extended it only over, and not for the Benefit of their Countrymen, as we shall presently see.

The Company having such a Number of great Ships on their Hands, were obliged to send them abroad; but having no Stock to employ them, ordered the Generals and Chiefs of the Factories in *India* to borrow what Sums they could on the Company's Credit from the *Indian* Merchants, to lade their Ships home, which accordingly they did, and

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what they could not lade home, they were to employ by
 Freight in India; and I saw a Letter from the Governor
 of the Company in England, intimating, that when they
 had got as much Credit of the Mogul's Subjects as they
 could, then they would pick Quarrels with the Creditors,
 and put a general Stop to their Trade, which was accordingly
 done; for in 1686 and 87, the Surat Merchants traded briskly
 by Sea to *Mocho, Persia, and Bassora*, to the Westward;
 and to *Bengal, Achen, Malacca, and Siam*, to the East-
 ward. The General granted Passes to all who required
 them then; but about the latter End of the Year 1687, he
 sent many Complaints and Grievances to the Governor of
 Surat, and demanded Redress and Satisfaction.

These Complaints of his were digested into thirty-five
 Articles, most of which related to Messrs. Pitt and Boucher,
 who were originally of the Governor's Council, appointed
 him by the Company, Men of fair Characters, and who
 had given him much Trouble, by opposing all his illegal
 and violent Measures, which made him use them so ill, and
 shew withal such an Inclination to use them worse, that to
 preserve themselves from Beggary and Ruin, they retired
 into the Mogul's Country; and Mr. Boucher having, by an
 Application to that Monarch, procured his Licence to trade,
 continued it with great Success; but as for Mr. Pitt, he
 had the Misfortune to be taken by Pirates at Sea, who at
 first would have ransomed him for five thousand Pounds,
 but were persuaded by the Governor to demand twenty-
 five thousand Pounds, so that he remained a Prisoner to
 the Day of his Death; and the Governor required Mr.
 Boucher, who resided at Surat, from the Governor, to-
 gether with his Wife, Children, and Effects; the rest of his
 Demands were alike reasonable, and all of them delivered
 in such Language, as would not become one Gentleman to
 use to another, much less fit from the Governor of a trading
 Company to so great a Prince, as may appear from one of
 them; in which he demands, that the Gates of Surat
 should not be shut, when he went to take his Pleasure, or
 should be opened at his Return, and due Respect paid him
 whenever he thought fit to unbend his Mind, and to amuse
 himself with such kind of Diversions.

These Grievances were the Foundation on which General
 Child built a Quarrel with the Mogul, without ever sending
 them to Court to know the King's Pleasure; but without
 declaring War, seized his Subjects Ships, where-ever they
 were found, although they had the Sanction of his own
 Passes. His Articles of Complaint were but weak Argu-
 ments to support and raise a War that cost his Masters above
 four hundred thousand Pounds before they could get rid of
 it, besides the Loss of their Credit with the Mogul, and
 his Subjects, which to this Time is not quite recovered.
 For by what Rule in Policy could Sir Josiah or Sir John
 Child think to rob, murder, and destroy the Mogul's Sub-
 jects in one Part of his Dominions, and expect the Company
 to enjoy a free Trade in the other Parts? Or how could they
 suppose that he would stand neuter? The General having
 such a great Number of Ships on his Hands, and little
 Employment for them, sent them to *Mocho, Persia, and
 Bengai*, where the *Suraters* had sent theirs, under the Pro-
 tection of his Passes. Captain Andrews in the *Ch. II.* went
 to *Mocho*, and set up the King of England's Flag on his
 Factory, and there he seized two English Ships, one from
 England, called the *Streight's Merchant*, commanded by
 Captain Bear, and another belonging to Mr. Samuel
 Whiteborn at Siam; she was commanded by one Captain
 Wren, whom they killed in the Cabin, because he would
 not deliver his Ship up voluntarily; there was but little of
 their Cargoes on Board of the Ships, so they might as well
 have let them alone. However, such doings displeased the
 Governor and Merchants of *Mocho*, and they had a Design
 to force Captain Andrews to restore the Ships; but he sus-
 pecting as much, fled on Board, and left his Colours flying
 on the Factory.

He soon after left *Mocho*, and carried his two Prizes
 with him; and Mr. Clive, Supercargo of the *Streights Mer-
 chant*, got Bills for his Stock, payable at *Grand Cairo*,
 except about sixty Bales of Coffee, that he carried with him
 to England, where it sold very well, and the Company were
 obliged by Law to make good all his Ship's Cargo pro

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rata, as those sixty Bails sold for, which amounted to
 thirty-two thousand Pounds. The *Brissot's* Cargo was altho
 made good to her Owners, with the Ship that was taken at
Tobama by the *Phenix*, which came to sixty thousand
 Pounds; and the *Little Betty*, that was also taken by the
Phenix, in her Way to India, cost them twelve thousand
 Pounds, though the and her Cargo at *Bombay* were sold for
 less than six hundred Pounds. The Owner of that Vessel
 was one Mr. Haffewell, a Quaker, and a substantial Mer-
 chant in London, who arrested Captain Tyrrell going off the
 Exchange. The Captain proffered King James for Ball;
 but the Quaker would not accept of him; yet was content
 to accept of Sir Joseph Hearn, who became Ball. The
Charles, Cesar, and Royal James and *Mary*, way-laid the
 Surat Shipping, and brought in fourteen Sail to *Bombay*,
 in Anno 1688, and yet no War with the Mogul, only with
 the Inhabitants of Surat, whom he threatened to humble.

In October 1688, he went to Surat Road in the *Royal
 James* and *Mary*, with three or four other Ships of Con-
 tinuance, to try if he could bully the Governor, and frighten
 the Merchants to a Compliance of losing their Estates; but
 was disappointed in both. He staid there till the Begin-
 ning of January 1689, and then left Surat in a Huff, and
 brought all the English Ships, except the Ship *Adventure*,
 which the *Phenix* had forced over the Bar, when she was
 lying at the River's Mouth, taking in a Cargo for Eng-
 land, under the Protection of Mr. Boucher's Firmans. How-
 ever, her Supercargo dying, the Ship's Bottom was eaten
 up with Worms in the River, and part of the Cargo re-
 mained many Years in Mr. Boucher's Possession. On the
 General's Passage to *Bombay*, he met with a Fleet of Ves-
 sels that were carrying Corn to an Army of the Mogul's
 that lay at *Dunder-rajah-pore*, about fourteen Leagues to
 the Southward of *Bombay*: That Fleet he also seized, and
 carried into *Bombay*, though against the Opinion of most of
 his Council. Before this Seizure, he asked the Opinion of
 some Sea Officers, and one Captain Hilder being the eldest,
 advised him not to meddle with the Corn Fleet, because it
 would straiten the Army, and force them to look abroad for
 Provisions, where it might be procured, and perhaps
 might affect *Bombay*, which was in a great Measure be-
 holden to its Neighbours for Suttenance and Fire-wood.
 The General insulted him with scurrilous Language, called
 him Coward and Fool, and bragged, that if *Sedee Yacoup*,
 which was the Mogul General's Name, should dare to
 come with his Forces to *Bombay*, he would blow him off
 again with the Wind of his Bum. Cowards are generally
 stout when Dangers are at a Distance, and so was our Ge-
 neral, who had never seen a Sword drawn in Anger, and
 who was consequently very ill acquainted with War; and
 when it came to his Door, none was ever so confounded
 and so dejected as he was, as appeared by his Conduct in
 that War, that he so foolishly brought on himself and his
 Country.

When the News came to *Sedee Yacoup*, that his Fleet
 with his Provision of Corn and Cloth, were seized, and car-
 ried to *Bombay*, he sent a civil Letter to our General to dis-
 charge his Fleet, protesting, that as he had not meddled
 in the Affairs between him and the People of Surat, he
 would continue neuter, unless he was forced to do other-
 wise. But our General gave him an insolent Answer, and
 the Fleet was unladed at *Bombay*. *Sedee Yacoup* sent again
 to desire the Delivery of his Fleet in plain Terms, other-
 wise he would be obliged to come with his Army and quar-
 ter in *Bombay*, where his Provisions were detained; and
 that if his Fleet was not set at liberty before the 11th of
 February, which was near at Hand, he would certainly be
 at *Bombay* the 14th. But still receiving uncivil Answers,
 he performed his Promise to a Title; for that very Night
 he landed at a Place called *Souree*, about four Miles distant
 from the main Fort, with twenty thousand Men at his Back.
 Our General's Security had made him neglect providing for
 receiving such Guests, trusting to the Reputation of his
 Forces, which were greater than ever they had been before,
 or ever were since that Time; and he had small Ships
 enough, had they been placed in proper Places, that might
 certainly have hindered his landing, and forced him home
 again; but all those necessary Preparations were neglected,

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and the *Seder* landed at Midnight, and the Redoubt, where he landed, fired a great Gun to give the Alarm, and so deserted their Post, and the *Seder* took Possession of it.

At One in the Morning the *Cattle* fired three Guns to give the General Notice, which brought such Fear on those that lived securely in their Houses without the *Cattle*, that the poor Ladies, both white and black, ran half naked to the Fort, and only carried their Children with them; but they were all obliged to wait without the Wall, till Day-light relieved them. Next Morning the *Seder* marched to *Masjagan*, a small Fort of fourteen Guns, and about a random Shot distant from the *Cattle*. On the Enemy's Approach, the Fort, though situated on a Point of Rocks, where the Sea defended three Quarters of it, was also deserted in such Precipitancy that eight or ten Chests of Treasure, which generally contain one thousand Pounds each, and four Chests of new Arms, were left behind, though the Seamen that were sent in Boats to bring them off proffered to carry them along with them; but the commanding Officer thought them not fit to be trusted with Money and Arms, and so they were left for a Present to *Seder Yacoub*, with fourteen Cannon, two Mortars, with some Powder, Shot, and Shells. But why that Treasure, and those Arms and Ammunition were deposited in *Mazagan*, few could account for; and the Reason why they were left to the Enemy was as wonderful: But it is plain, that the old Way of fishing in troubled Waters was known at *Bombay*, and the Officer was never called to account for his Oversight. *Seder Yacoub*, finding no Opposition, sent a Party of Men towards *Mashim* to plunder the poor Peasants, and to take the Fort, which he thought might be deserted as the rest had been, and was not in the least out of his Conjecture; for the Garrison had embarked in Boats, and came by Sea to *Bombay* before they saw an Enemy; the *Seder* taking Possession of *Mazagan*, hoisted his Flag there, and made it his head Quarters. The following Day some of the Enemy appeared on *Mazagan Hills*, which grieved our General's righteous Soul to see Infidels come to near him in a hostile manner.

He called a Minion of his own, one Captain *Pear*, who was no better Soldier than himself, and ordered him to take two Companies, each containing about seventy Men, and march to those Hills, and drive the Enemy out of Sight; he ordered one *Monro*, who had been a Soldier at *Tangier*, to be his Lieutenant. In *Tangier* he had received a Wound in his Head that spoiled his running, and accordingly they marched in good Order within Shot of the Enemy, who showed their Heads above the Surface of the Hill, but did not offer to advance, or expose their Bodies; several Gentlemen Volunteers took their Arms, and accompanied the little Army. The Lieutenant advised the Captain to march up the Hill in Platoons to separate the Enemy's Forces. The Captain, who took it as an Affront to be advised, told his Lieutenant, that when he had the Command in his own Hands, he might use it as he thought fit: But as it was intrusted to him, he would use it according to his own Mind, and so ordered his Men to spread as much as they could; and when they saw the Enemy open in the Plain, to discharge all at once amongst them, which he said would terrify them. *Monro* opposed his Scheme, and told him of the Danger he would bring himself and them into, if the Enemy should attack them, whilst their Arms were reloading; but nothing could dissuade him from his Project, and so commanded his Men to fire, as he had directed. The *Seder* being ten to one in Numbers, and better Runners than our Men, and better acquainted with close fighting with Sword and Target, took hold of the Opportunity, and advanced with all their Speed, which the Captain perceiving, betook himself to his Heels, and was the foremost Man to the Portuguese Church, where he took Courage to look behind him, to see what was become of his Men. Poor *Monro* thinking to stop the Enemy's Carrier by a Part of the Wing that he commanded, found himself deserted by all but thirteen or fourteen stout Fellows, who were soon surrounded by the Enemy, and cut to Pieces. *Pear* had not stopp'd at the Portuguese Church had he got found a Party of one hundred Men that lay there ready to support or receive him, as his Case should require. He was a Fellow as well made for running as any that was

ever seen, and was so much in the General's Favour, that he had not so much as a Reprimand for his Cowardice and Misbehaviour. This Relation I had, says Captain *II*, from a Gentleman volunteer, who always kept near the Captain, while he could keep Pace with him.

When the General left *Sarat*, there were several Gentlemen in it, some in the Company's Service, and some private Persons, who were all imprisoned, and put in Irons, except Mr. *Boucher* and his Dependents, who were protected by his Phirmaund. Those imprisoned were severely used, being obliged to pass through the Streets with Irons about their Necks, for Spectacles to please the Mob. Captain *Johnson* and Captain *Teaman*, though particular Merchants, were obliged to act their Parts in the Tragi-Comedy, and continue Prisoners, where Captain *Johnson* died; but Captain *Teaman* got his Liberty at the End of the War, which was about the Beginning of June 1690. I will now return back to the Year 1686, when Sir *John Wycherly* was sent from England with a Commission of Judge-Admiral from the King, and he had likewise another Commission from the Governor of the Company, which they made him believe was also from the King, to condemn and hang thirteen of the Inhabitants of *St. Helena*, where, in a Tumult caused by the Oppressions of the Governor of that Island, one *Johnson*, the Second, was killed. Sir *John Wycherly* took his Passage to India on board the Ship *London*, and in his Way called at *St. Helena*, and hanged up the thirteen proscribed Persons without Form or Process, for which the Company paid dear afterwards; and so had Sir *John*, had he lived. But he finding the illegal Proceedings of Mr. *Child* to be insupportable, and meeting with many Allrights (from that Man without Manners) died at *Bombay* about two Months before the *Seder* came on it. He was much lamented by all honest Men that knew him. He was Captain of the *Happy Return*, who accompanied the *Gloucester*, when she was bringing the Duke of York to Scotland, and lost by the Way. It was Captain *Wycherly* that lent his Barge to wait on the Duke, and brought him safe on board the *Happy Return*, who carried him forward to Scotland, for which good Service he was knighted; he was ever after a great Favourite with King *James*, who seeing he could not be brought into his Measures, put that Employment on him to diminish him with Honour: And now the *Seder* being Master of the whole Island, except the *Cattle*, and about half a Mile to the Southward of the *Cattle* he raised Batteries on *Dungree-Hill*, which overlooked the Fort Wall, and disturbed the Garrison very much; then he put four great Guns in the *Cyprus-House*, commonly called the *India-House*, and raised a Battery at the *Moodies-house*, within two hundred Paces of the Court, and another in the Lady's House, that he had been to unkind to, so that it was dangerous to go out or in at the *Cattle Gate*, till we got up an half Moon over it. All Men were then pressed into the Company's Service, and our Author among the rest.

We passed, says he, the Months from April to September very ill, for Provisions grew scarce, by the Addition of three thousand *Sotajers* that were employed as Auxiliaries in the military Service of the Company. When the Winter Months were over, in September we went to Sea with our small Ships to cruise on the Mogul's Subjects, and had pretty good Success. I was employed in that Service, and had the Command of a small Privateer of seven or eight Tuns, with twenty fighting Men, and sixteen Rowers. In three or four Months I brought nine Prizes into *Bombay*, laden most with Provisions and Cloaths for the Enemy's Army, which was now increased to forty thousand; but we were not allowed any Plunder, but were rather plundered ourselves; for when we brought our Prizes in, our Chests were severely searched, and if we had saved any of our Pay, it was seized for the Company's Use, as Money we had found in the Prizes, which made us careless in pursuing the Enemy at Sea: Except when Hunger pinched us never looked out for Prizes; by which Indifference of ours many of the Enemy escaped that we could have taken. The ill Success we had altho' with the Enemy made our General sick; and in December he dispatched two Factors to the Mogul's Court, with a *Sarat* Merchant called *Ameer Mazam*; he was our Friend, and had long Interest at Court.

General's Favour, that for his Cowardice and I, says Captain H. from kept near the Captain,

ere were several Gentle Service, and some pri- ned, and put in Irons, dants, who were pro- prisoned were severely the Streets with Irons pleads the Mob. Cap- ough particular Mer- Parts in the Tragi-Co- ere Captain Johnson Liberty at the End of nning of June 1690. 1686, when Sir John ith a Commission of he had likewise ano- of the Company, so from the King, to abitants of St. Helena, oppressions of the Co- Second, was killed. India on board the at St. Helena, and ons without Form or lear afterwards; and e finding the illegal ortable, and meeting hout Manners) did e *Sedee* came on it. Men that knew him, who accompanied the Duke of York as Captain of *Gyrons*, and brought him arried him forward was knighted; he King James, who Measures, put that ith Honour: And Island, except the Southward of the Hill, which over- the Garrison very the *Cygnon-Houls*, raised a Battery at faces of the Court, ad been so unkind or in at the Castle. All Men were and our Author

April to September Addition of three Auxiliaries in the en the Winter to Sea with our bjects, and had at Service, and seven or eight en Rowers. In into *Bombay*, r the Enemy's thousand; but re rather plun- Prizes in, our d saved any of e, as Money careels in pur- er pinched we erence of ours d have tak- my made our two Factors e called *Meer* g Interest at Court.

Court. They went under the Name of the *English* Em- bassadors; Mr. *George Wheldon* was first in Commission, and *Abraham Naeyer*, a *Jew*, was second. In fifteen Days they arrived at Court, being then at *Jahanabat*.

They were received but coldly; but about the Middle of April, by the special Assistance of Presents to the Officers at Court, they were admitted to Audience, but were brought to *Aurengzeb's* Presence, after a new Mode for Em- bassadors, their Hands being tied by a Sash before them, and were obliged to prostrate themselves. The King gave them a severe Reprimand, and then asked their Demands. They first made a Confession of their Faults, and desired Pardon. Then that their Phirmaund, which was forfeit- ed, should be renewed, and that the *Sedee* and his Army should be ordered off *Bombay*; their Submission he accept- ed of, and pardoned their Faults, on condition that Mr. *Child* should leave *India* in nine Months, and never come back again. The Phirmaund to be renewed on condition that Satisfaction should be given his Subjects on account of Debts contracted, Robberies committed, and Loss and Damages made good; and on Security given for the due Performances of these Promises, the *Sedee* and his Army should be ordered off the Island.

In *January* General *Child* died, which much facilitated their Affairs; but it was kept secret at Court, till they knew how the King would order the Affair about him. In *March*, *Mier Mezanis* died also, and it was supposed was poisoned by some Enemies contracted by his good Services to the *English*. When he was given over by the Physicians our Embassadors sent to know what he had done with the fifty thousand Rupees he had received for secret Services? He answered, that he was sorry that ever he had meddled in their Affairs; for he had served them even with his Life, and yet they were not contented; for what Use that Sum was put to, he durst not divulge. When our Affairs were in so bad Circumstances at the Mogul's Court, the *Dutch* Company had one Mr. *Baroon* their Ambassador there, who designed to impose on *Aurengzeb*, who he thought was ignorant of *European* Affairs. The News of the Revolution in *Britain* being arrived in *India*, when he had an Audi- ence of *Aurengzeb*, he began to magnify the Power and Au- thority of his Country, and vilify the *English*.

The Mogul seemed to be pleased with his Discourse and encouraged him to go on: He said, that the *English* were but contemptible in Comparison of his Sovereigns, for they were forced to send the *English* a King to rule over them; and that if his Majesty would exclude the *English* from the Trade of his Dominions, the *Dutch* would carry it to a much greater Height, and enrich his Treasury, and the *English* would not know where to goe Bread. The Mogul gravely answered, that if his Matters were so much super- ior in Power and Riches to the *English*, they might easily drive them out of *India*, and engross all the Trade of his Countries to themselves, and commanded him to tell his Matters, that he expected it from them. Then the Embas- sador excused himself, and said that he could act nothing in that Affair, till he received Orders from *Holland*: *Au- rengzeb* then reprimanded him, and shewed him wherein he had lyed; for, says he, about seventeen Years ago the King of *France* conquered most of your Country in a few Days, and then it was the *English*, and not the Power of *Holland*, that repelled him; and that if *England* did not hold the Balance of Power, either the Emperor, or the King of *France*, could conquer it one Campaign. The Ambassador knew not how to answer these Truths; but being sent to solicit some Indulgence in that Trade, he could obtain none, and so left the Court dissatisfied.

After our Embassadors had obtained Pardon, they began to be respected, and had Liberty to take their Diversions abroad, till a new Phirmaund was drawn up, which, ac- cording to the Method of Eastern Courts, took up some Time. However, Orders were sent to the *Sedee* to forbear Hostilities, and the *English* had the same Orders; so that frequent Visits passed between the *Sedee's* People and ours; and during the War, about sixty *Europeans* of several Nations had deserted us, and took Pay of the *Sedee*. The Reason they gave for their Desertion was ill Usage they re- ceived from some *Irish* Officers, yet most of them returned after the War, on promise of Pardon. The Phirmaund

being ready, and the required Security given, *Sedee Taceep* left *Bombay* the 8th of June 1690, but he also left a Pestil- ence behind him, which in four Months Time destroyed more Men than the War had done, and for Joy made a malicious Bonfire of his head Quarters, *Mazagan Fort*.

Now we may see the Mogul's Stile in his new Phir- maund, to be sent to *Surat*, as it stands translated from the Company's Interpreter, which runs thus in the printed Copy annexed to Sir *John Child's* Articles of Grievances: "The Occasion of your writing to me was, your being "in Fault in all these Troubles; that you have repented "of what you have done; that you made several Com- "plaints against former Governors; all which I have "here from several of my Omras, and the several "Abuses received from them and their Officers; all "which you should have acquainted me with before you "proceeded so violently. Having acknowledged your "Error, and desired Pardon, I do not only grant your "Request, pardoning what is past, but granting you a "Phirmaund, according to your Desire, and have order- ed *Affit-Cann* to forward it to the Governor of *Surat*, "with such Particulars as he will acquaint you with. At "the Arrival of my Phirmaund, receive it with great Re- spect, acknowledging the great Glory you have got in "obtaining the same. That you may trade as formerly "at your Pleasure, and as accustomed. That you deli- ver to the Merchants that have complained against you "their Ships, with their Effects. That, for the future, "you do not commit the like Error in doing as you have "done; and proceed according to my Will and Pleasure, "and be not forgetful of the same. If you receive any "Affronts from my Governors, or their Officers, or any "of my Subjects, be not negligent in acquainting me "of the same; I have ordered *Affit-Cann* to write accord- ingly. What you write concerning former Governors "protecting Mr. *Boucher*, that you have several Demands "on him; that you cannot call him to an Account, de- siring that he may be delivered to you; my Order is, "that you prove your Demands according to Law, that "Justice may be done accordingly. Dated the 31st "Year of *Aurengzeb's* Reign."

It seems, the King was not ignorant of the hard Usage his Subjects had met with; nor was he desirous of Seve- rity in punishing Offences and Affronts, but, like an in- dulent Prince, only told them of their Faults, and pru- dently admonishing them not to be guilty of falling into such-like Errors; and, in a Majestick Stile, advised them to receive his Favour and Graces with great Respect; and that they ought to make the Law the Standard of Justice, and in all his Words and Actions use a Christian Moderation. General *Child* being dead, Mr. *John Vaux* succeeded him in the Government of *Bombay*: But Mr. *Baribolo- new Harris*, who had been Prisoner at *Surat* all the Time of the Rupture, had the Seniority in the Company's Ser- vice; but it not being a Custom for one that had been the Mogul's Prisoner for any Crimes judged to be capital, to receive publick Marks of Esteem from the State, without a singular Amnesty from the King, Mr. *Vaux* was obliged to go to *Surat*, and receive the Phirmaund, and the King's *Serpaw*, or Present, which, on such Occasions, is generally a fine Horse, and a Suit of Cloaths from Head to Foot, made of rich Atlases, or Zeerbaitas; those are Sattins, or Taffaties, full of Gold and Silver Flowers wrought in them. The Horse must never after be sold on any Account whatsoever. They have also a fine Tur- ban, embroidered Shoes, and a Dagger of Value stuck in- to a fine Cumberband, or Sash; and being equipped in that Habit, the Phirmaund is presented by the *Goesber- daar*, or *Hofshalhoukain* (or, in *English*, the King's Mes- senger) and the Governor of the Province or City, makes a short Speech adapted to the Occasion, setting forth the great Honour conferred upon him by the greatest King in the World; with an Admonition to make his future Ac- tions deserve such Favours.

After the aforesaid Manner Mr. *Vaux* received the Phir- maund in a gilded Box; and, according to Custom, put it on his Turban for a little while, and, by an Interpreter, returned the Governor a Compliment, acknowledging the King's Favour and the Governor's Civilities; and then the

Go-

Governor conducted him from the Garden (where the Ceremony was performed) into the City, through a great Concourse of People, who welcomed him with Shouts of Joy as he passed through the Streets to the English Factory. After Mr. Vaux had stayed in the City about a Week, he sent to acquaint the Governor of the Necessity he lay under to return back to his Government of Bombay, but the Governor sent him Word, that none but he could be trusted by the King, to see the Performance of the Contract accomplished, and begged he would not think of leaving the City, lest the King should take it amiss, and repent him of the Favours he had shewed to the East-India Company; and so Mr. Vaux was detained a Hostage for his Master's future good Behaviour. Mr. Harris, according to that Company's ordinary Custom, demanded the Presidency from Mr. Vaux, who, to save Contention, gave it to him; though his Mind was so debilitated, that he was but few Degrees wiser than an Idiot; and, in two Years Time, Mr. Vaux was suspended the Company's Service, and left to remain their Hostage at his own Charges; and so he continued till the Year 1697, that, by Accident, he was drowned in Surat River by a Pinnace's upsetting, in which he and his Lady had been taking their Pleasure on the Water.

This Mr. Vaux had been Book-Keeper to Sir Josiah Child in England, and for his good Services and Behaviour was preferred by his Master to a Supercargo's Post in a Ship to China, which Trade in those Times was the most profitable of any within the Limits of the Company's Charter. In Anno 1684, he was sent thither on board a Ship, called the *Carolina*, commanded by one Captain Harding; but Mr. Vaux and Harding disagreeing in their Passage to China, Mr. Vaux laded the Ship, and sent her back to England, while he himself went a Passenger on board a Surat Ship for Bombay, where he was entertained in the Company's Service as a Factor, and wrote to Sir Josiah Child the Reason he had for leaving the *Carolina*, and his Resolution of Staying in India. Sir Josiah continued his Esteem for Mr. Vaux, and procured him several profitable Posts at one and the same Time, in the Company's Service; and, amongst the rest, constituted him Judge in Civil Affairs, which brought him both a good Salary and Perquisites.

After he was installed in that Office, Sir Josiah wrote him a Letter of Admonition and Reminiscence, wherein, after many Postulates, he put him in Mind of the many Favours he had done him; and that now having the Power of Condemning the Company's Enemies, or such as should be deemed so, particularly those who should dare to question the Company's Power over all the British Subjects in India; he expected his Orders from Time to Time, should be observed and obeyed as Statute Laws. Mr. Vaux gratefully acknowledged Sir Josiah's Favours in his Answer to that Letter, and promised that, as he had put him into the Post of Honour and Profit, he would strive to acquit himself with all the Integrity and Justice he was Master of, and that the Laws of his Country should be the Rules he designed to walk by. In Answer to that Letter Sir Josiah seemed to be angry, and wrote roundly to Mr. Vaux, that he expected his Orders were to be his Rule, and not the Laws of England, which were a Heap of Nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant Country Gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make Laws for the good Government of their own private Families, much less for the regulating of Companies and foreign Commerce.

I am, says Captain Hamilton, the more particular in this Account, because I saw, and copied both these Letters in Anno 1696, while Mr. Vaux and I were Prisoners at Surat, on Account of Captain Every's robbing the Mogul's great Ship, called the *Gunsay*. Having given an Account of some of Sir Josiah Child's Reign, I must also mark a few Ships in the Government of some of his Successors, and of the Ways they took to get into the Chair of Bombay. I remarked before, that Mr. Harris was a very weak and indolent Person, very unfit to govern a Colony and the Factories subordinate to Bombay; and by that Means, a cunning deligging Fellow, one Mr. Samuel Jackson, had the Reins of the Government wholly in

his Hands, who shewed that he had malicious Wit and Avarice enough to embroil both his Masters and the private Merchants Affairs in Surat in Harris's Time; and on Harris's Death got into the Presidency, or, rather Tyranny.

The Mogul's Subjects have a good many fine large Ships that trade all over India: The Owners of these Ships had a very great Regard for the Courage, Conduct, and Art of Navigation of the English above any other European Nation in India. And for these Qualifications the Indian Owners procured English Officers to go in their Ships, and allowed them very handsome Salaries and Indulgencies; the Captains had from ten to fifteen Pounds per Month, Mates from six to nine Pounds; and the Gunners and Boatswains had also good Salaries, besides the carrying of some Goods and Merchandize Freight-free. Mr. Annesley thought these Salaries and Indulgencies too great for Seamen; so he went about to reduce them to about one half, and the other Moiety he looked on as his own Due, by Virtue of his Post. Some through Fear and Necessity, complied; others again, who despised both his Power and Tyranny, would, by no means, come into his Measures, and those he looked on as Rebels, and prosecuted them to the utmost of his Power, bribing the Mogul's Governor to plague them; so some were ruined by his Villainy, whilst others had him open Defiance; and we were not wanting on our Side to expose him and his Masters to the Mogul's Subjects, which in the End was the Loss of both their Esteem and Credit among the trading People of that Country. The poorer sort, whose Maintenance depended on their Labour and Industry, losing their Employ in the Mogul's Merchant's Service, were obliged to fall on new Schemes to support themselves, not very well suited to the Company's Interest; for some went and joined themselves with the Pirates.

The Company in England receiving Accounts from every one that came from India, of Harris's and Annesley's Male-administrations, sent out Sir John Gayer to take Care of their Affairs. He arrived in Anno 1694, with the lofty Title of General of all India. He continued Annesley in the Company's Business till the Year 1700, but divested him of all Power of doing more Mischief; and, in the End, dismissed him the Company's Service. Sir John Gayer was a Man not vicious in his Temper, yet he made some Ships in his Government that proved prejudicial to his Character; tho' in Matters of common Commerce, he acted pretty regularly, till a young Laib of about 3000 Pounds Portion made him dispense with the common Methods of Matrimony. This young Gentleman was a Daughter of Mr. Ward's beforementioned: She had no Relations alive, and unadvisedly married one Mr. Solomon Lloyd, a Factor, and the Marriage was clandestine, which was positively against the Statute-Law of Bombay, where no Marriage is binding but when the Governor's Consent is tacked to it. This Law Sir John had got by heart, and unmarried the poor Factor after Confirmation, and married her to his own Son. Another Piece of ill Conduct was, in forcing the *Mocha* Frigate's Men on board against their Wills, to proceed on a Voyage to China, notwithstanding their just Complaints against Edgecombe, their Captain, whom the Mutineers shot in his Cabin, and then turned Pirates, and infested the Streights of Malacca, robbing and plundering all Ships that they could overcome. Captain Hide, in the *Darrel*, met them there in her Passage to China, and had a sharp Engagement with them, but got clear, with the Loss of sixteen Men killed, and some wounded, which disabled the *Darrel*, so that she proceeded no farther than Malacca. And another Fault of Sir John's was, in suffering himself and his Lady to be taken Prisoners at Swally by the Governor of Surat's Order, when he might have avoided that Disgrace by Force or Flight: But it was generally believed that, that was only a Piece of Policy to get to Surat in order to employ his Money, which he could do much better there than at Bombay. Sir Nicholas Waste supplanted Sir John in the Government of Bombay and in the Presidency. He was a Man of very loose Morals, and a bare-faced Injustice and Prevarication, so irritated the Inhabitants and Soldiery at Bombay, that they seized him,

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and sent him Prisoner to *England*. Though his Reign
was short, it was very pernicious to his Masters, as well as
to particular Merchants under his Jurisdiction.

But to return from this Digression: *Bombay* was govern-
ed by a Deputy, since the President was obliged to stay at
Surat, and of seven or eight hundred *English* that inhabited
before the War, there were not above sixty left by the
Sword and Plague. Thus *Bombay*, that was one of the
pleasantest Places in *India*, was brought to be one of the
most dismal Desarts; but the Spirit of Injustice still resided
in it; for those who had ventured through the War and
Plague in defence of the Island, had not the Liberty of
returning home to their own Country, nor to raise their For-
tune by private Trade; but all were continued pressed
Men, in the Right Honourable the Company's Service,
without the Hope of Preferment, which made some Dif-
contents; and even in the Time of War, when Strangers
should have been encouraged to have brought Provisions
into the Island, the Company's Taxes of five per Cent.
were exacted with great Severity; for it was common to
see the *Portuguese* Subjects bring twenty or thirty Poultry
to the Market, and five of the best taken for the Cu-
stom of the rest.

13. The Desire of continuing this historical Account of
the Affairs of *Bombay*, which I take to be very useful and
intrigative, as well as curious and entertaining, has led me
a little out of my Road of Chronology, and therefore I shall
be obliged to go back again with respect to the Affairs of
this Company, and the political Accidents that have at-
tended them during the Reign of King *William*; but the
Reader will not fall into any Perplexity or Confusion from
this Method of treating them, because what I have now to
say has little or no Reference to the Affairs abroad, and
consequently has no Connection with what goes before.

The first Transaction I meet with in this Reign is a
Charter of Regulations granted to the *East-India* Com-
pany, by their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*,
under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing date Nov. 11,
1695. Referring to a Charter of the 7th of *October*, by
which it seems their former Charters were confirmed, and
by this new Charter they were enabled to take in a new
Subscription for seven hundred and forty-four thousand
Pounds. The Company was also tied down to make pub-
lic Sales by Inch of Candle, to export yearly to the Value
of one hundred thousand Pounds of the Manufactures of
this Kingdom, and to furnish the Crown yearly with five
hundred Tun of the best Salt petre, at the Rate of thirty-
eight Pounds ten Shillings per Tun in Time of Peace, and
at forty-five Pounds per Tun in Time of War; they were
likewise directed to make no Dividend upon their joint
Stock, but in Money only. This Charter was to continue
for twenty-one Years, provided the Governor and Com-
pany complied exactly with the Rules therein prescribed;
as also with such other Orders, Directions, Additions,
Qualifications and Restrictions as their Majesties, by and
with the Advice of their privy Council should think fit to
appoint on or before the 20th of *September* 1694, otherwise
all their Powers and Privileges might be determined and
taken away, by Letters of Revocation.

In pursuance of this Provision, another Charter of Regu-
lations was granted to the said Company, under the Great
Seal of *England*, dated *September* 28, 1694, and in the
sixth Year of their Majesty's Reign, in which among other
things it is prescribed, that once every Year, in the Month
of *August*, the Governor and Company should present to
the privy Council a true Account fairly written, under the
Governor or deputy Governor's Hand, of the Nature,
Quantity, Value, and prime Cost of the Manufactures of
this Country, by them exported, and from what Place;
and this upon the Oath of the proper Officers and Ser-
vants of the Company. And, it was further ordered, that
none of these Goods should be again landed in *England*,
or carried elsewhere, than within the Limits of the Com-
pany's Charter. It was also directed, that, on the Applica-
tion in Writing, of any six or more, of the Proprietors,
each possessed of One thousand Pounds Capital Stock, de-
manding a general Court of the said Company to be cal-
led, then the Governor, or Deputy-Governor, should be
obliged within eight Days, to call such a Court, which

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should not be adjourned but by the Consent of the Majo-
rity of the Proprietors so assembled; and the Company
were required to signify their Acceptance of, and Submission
to these, and other Restrictions, under Pain of Dissolution.

But, notwithstanding all these Charters and Regulations,
which seemed so fully to confirm, and so much to enlarge
the Powers and Privileges of this Company, yet were they
never so precarious as at this Juncture; for, on the one
hand, their Authority was boldly disputed by such as had
an Intention to trade to the *Indies*, without any Regard
to the Company's Rights, and who, by them, therefore were
stiled Interlopers: And this, upon Pretence that it was not
in the Power of the Crown to grant any exclusive Charter.
On the other hand, the Government wanted Money, and
therefore the Ministers, who should certainly have defend-
ed the King's Privilege, since otherwise it was a high
Crime in them to advise him to grant such Charters,
struck in with the other Party; and, for the sake of mak-
ing more Money, and removing the Obstacles in the Way
of their own Administration, promoted the Ruin of those
Grants and Charters, which they had been most exorbi-
tantly paid for procuring; and upon the Faith of which
vast Numbers of Persons had subscribed their Fortunes in-
to the Company's joint Stock. But as it was not to be
supposed that any Set of new People would advance two
Millions, which was the Sum proposed upon a new Char-
ter, which might prove as precarious as the old one, it
was resolved to subject the whole of this Affair to the
Cognizance of the House of Commons, in order to have
every thing settled and secured by an Act of Parliament.
Accordingly, in the Year 1698, this Matter was proposed
to the House, not only with the Concurrence of Persons
in Power, but backed and supported by all their Interest;
so that though it was steadily and vehemently opposed by
the Members of the old Company, yet it was to very lit-
tle Purpose. They followed the Bill however into the
House of Lords, and were heard there by their Council, Sir
Thomas Povey, and Sir *Bartholomew Shewer*; who, with
much Eloquence and great Strength of Reason, maintain-
ed the Cause of their Clients, but without Success; and it
was a Point determined, that their Interest should give
Way to that which, whether truly or falsely, I shall not
determine, was called the Interest of the Publick.

Thus it came to pass that, in the Reign of King *William*
the Third, a new Company trading to the *East-Indies*, was
incorporated by Act of Parliament, they having advan-
ced the Government Two Millions of Money, for which
they, at first received Interest, after the Rate of Eight per
Cent. out of the Funds assigned for the same: But that
Interest hath been sunk by subsequent Statutes to Six and
Five per Cent. After this, the old and new Companies
having a due Regard to their own common Interests, for
the Prevention of divers Inconveniences that might other-
wise have happened, both to themselves and this Nation in
general, agreed upon several Articles for the Union of
the said Companies in manner following, viz.

It was agreed that the Effects of both Companies should
be brought home with all convenient Speed for their sepa-
rate Accounts, and all possible Provision made for the
enabling both Companies to bring home the same with Se-
curity; and that neither the Crown nor the new Company,
take any Advantage of the old Company, under Pretence
of Forfeiture; and that each Company give a Release to
the other, and to their respective Factors and Servants.

The old Company's 315,000 *l.* in Funds, upon the
Execution of this Agreement, to be immediately united
to the Capital Stock of the new Company; and that the
old Company purchase of the new Company, to be trans-
ferred by three of their Members in their political Capa-
city, 673,500 *l.* in the capital Stock and Fund of
1,662,000 *l.* with the Benefits to arise thereby; so that
the old Company may have 988,500 *l.* in the said Fund;
which will make that Company equal to the new in Fund
and Title to the Trade, and which Stock of 673,500 *l.*
shall be transferred at four several Times, each fourth
Part to be paid for at the Time of their Transfer, at 100 *l.*
for 100 *l.*

That the old Company's dead Stock at home and
abroad, be valued at 33,000 *l.* and the new Company's
dead

dead Stock both abroad and at home, at 70,000 *l.* and that the old Company, at the Time of transferring the first fourth Part of the said 673,500 *l.* do transfer all their dead Stock, abroad and at home, to the new Company, the new Company paying for one Moiety thereof at the same time 16,500 *l.* and that the old Company shall also pay to the new Company 95,000 *l.* for the Moiety of their dead Stock; and thereupon the old Company shall have, and be entitled to a Moiety of both the said dead Stocks, as Members of the new Company.

The Members of the new Company transferring, shall be entitled to the Arrears of their Annuity until the Time of the several Transfers; after which all Annuities arising by the old Company's 315,000 *l.* shall be paid to such Persons as shall be appointed for that Purpose, by the said old Company for their Use; and the new Company shall have the Benefit of all Money arising before their Agreement, and also 5 *l.* per Cent. on all Ships entered or cleared before the Execution of the said Agreement, each Company is to defist from any separate Exportation.

That, during seven Years, each Company shall have an equal Power in the Administration and Management of the Fund and Trade; and, to that End, twelve Persons shall be appointed by the General Court of each Company respectively, out of the Courts of Committees and Directors of the said Companies, who shall be called in the new Charter, *Managers of the United Trade to India*; and a new additional Stock shall be raised for carrying on the future Trade, and be advanced in such Proportions as the said Twenty-four Managers, or the major Part of them, shall, from time to time, appoint the General Courts or each Company agreeing thereunto.

The old Company, during the Space of seven Years, shall preserve their Stock in their political Capacity; and, for that Time, remain a separate Corporation, so as to transfer and assign in their own Books, as now they do; and, at the End of the said seven Years, the old Company shall transfer and assign in the Books of the new Company their Share in the Fund to their several Members who shall be then entitled to the same; and thereon the said Members of the old Company shall become, and be admitted Members of the new Company *gratis*.

That each Company shall indemnify the other from their respective Debts and Demands, and a proper Provision be made for that Purpose: And, that the new Company, after the executing their Agreement, shall not take up any Money upon their common Seal, or do any other Act, except what relates to their separate Effects as aforesaid, without the Concurrence of the old Company.

A Covenant to be entered into, that his Majesty shall make a Re-grant within ten Days after the making such Assignment as aforesaid; and that the old Company, within one Month after the said seven Years are expired, shall surrender their Charter and Corporation; and also that the King, within ten Days after such Surrender, shall make a new Grant to the same Trustees, and subject to the same Trust of all such Estate and Effects of the old Company as shall come to, or devolve upon the Crown, by reason of the said Surrender.

That immediately from and after the said Surrender, the new Company shall change its Name, and be called the *United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies*. Nevertheless, the future Management of the said Stock and Trade, after the said Term of seven Years is expired, is to be, according to the new Company's Charter, on the 5th of September, 1698. And for the better attaining the Purposes aforesaid, that there be a Tripartite Indenture, executed by his Majesty and both the said Companies, wherein such Covenants and Provisions may be made as shall be thought reasonable, with proper Releases from his Majesty to each Company; so that as soon as the aforesaid seven Years, allowed for the Convenience of Affairs on both Sides, are expired, the two Companies may be entirely one in Name and Effect.

This, in Truth, was the only Remedy that could be devised for the Cure of so great an Evil, many of the bad Consequences of which were fore-seen before it took Eff-

fect, which, however, proved but few in comparison of what was discovered by Experience. Some there were who imagined that this was a *Dutch* Design originally, and formed with a View to undermine our national Interest in this Trade to favour their own; and, to speak freely, there are some Circumstances which give some Probability to his Notion; and, perhaps, amongst these Circumstances, there is none stronger than that the Subscription of the Two Millions was chiefly promoted by Foreigners, as we are expressly told by the Author of the *Complete History of England*, in his Account of the Reign of King *William*, who magnifies the Alacrity with which that Sum was subscribed, and seems to think, that twice as much might have been obtained, if the Act of Parliament had extended so far. But it may seem a Paradox to say, that People would venture their Money to hurt the old *East-India* Company: But this is easily solved, by considering that little depended on that Trade where they were to have so large an Interest as Eight per Cent. for their Money.

The only Way to form a right Judgment of this Affair is, to take a View of the Situation of Things in the *Indies* after this new Establishment took Place: And of this, in his Account of *Bengal*, the before mentioned Captain *Hamilton* has given us a very full and fair Relation, interpersed with some Concerns of his own, which shews that he was an Eye-witness, and did not deliver any thing from Hearsay. If we wanted other Evidence, I might cite that of Mr. *Lalver*, who, in his Account of the Trade of the *Indies*, informs us, that the old and new Companies, had each of them a Factory at *Sarat*; and that those that managed them, acted with such Animosity against each other, that it was very hard, even after the Companies were united, to reconcile them. It is extremely difficult to find out, and bring together such Relations as these; but the Desire I have that the Readers should be perfectly acquainted with the State of this Commerce in different Periods of Time, that he may frame the better Notion of what has contributed to promote, and what has occasioned, at any Time, the Decay of this Trade, has encouraged me to take all the Pains I could to range the several Accounts I have been able to collect, in such Order as might make them best understood, and best answer the End that I proposed. It was solely with this View, that I resolved to give the following Passages from Captain *Hamilton's* Travels, which, I hope, will set this Matter in as clear a Light as either myself, or the Reader, could wish. The Country about *Bengal* described, he proceeds a little higher. Up the East-side of *Hughly* River, is *Ponjelly*, a Village where a Corn-mart is kept once or twice in a Week: It exports more Riches than any Place on this River. And five Leagues farther, upon the other Side, is *Yanna* Fort, built to protect the Trade of the River, at a Place convenient enough, where it is not above half a Mile from Shore, but it never was of much Use; for, *Anno* 1686, when the *English* Company quarrelled with the *Mogul*, the Company had several great Ships at *Hughly*; and this Fort was mann'd, in order to hinder their Passage down the River. One sixty Gun Ship approaching pretty near the Fort, saluted it with a Broad-side, which so frightened the Governor and his Myrmidons, that they all deserted their Posts, and left their Castle to be plundered by the *English* Seamen. About a League farther, upon the other Side of the River, is *Governorspost*, where there is a little Pyramid, built for a Land-mark, to confine the Company's Colony of *Calcutta*, or *Fort-William*, on that Side: And about a League farther up, stands *Fort-William*.

The *English* settled there about the Year 1690. After the *Mogul* had pardoned all the Robberies and Murders committed on his Subjects, Mr. *Job Channock*, being then the Company's Agent in *Bengal*, he had Liberty to settle an Emporium in any Part of the River-side below *Hughly*; and for the sake of a large shady Tree, chose that Place, though he could not have chose a more unhealthy Place on all the River; for three Miles to the North-eastward is a Salt-water Lake that over-flows in *September* and *October*, and then prodigious Numbers of Fish resort thither; but in *November* and *December*, when the Floods are dissipated, these Fishes are left dry, and with their Putrefaction affect the

in comparison of what there were who in the original, and formed a national Interest in this speak freely, there are Probability to his No-Circumstances, there is tion of the Two Mil- gners, as we are ex- mpleat History of Eng- of King William, who that Sum was subferib- as much might have ment had extended fo- day, that People would East India Company: ing that little depended have so large an Inte- rety.

Judgment of this Af- of Things in the took Place: And of the before mentioned full and fair Rela- of his own, which did not deliver any and other Evidences, I so, in his Account of s, that the old and a Factory at Surat; acted with such Ani- was very hard, even to reconcile them. It bring together such have that the Readers the State of this Com- that he may have tributed to promote, r, the Decay of this the Pains I could to en able to collect, in understood, and best was solely with this owing Passages from I hope, will let this myself, or the Reader, Bengal described, he East-side of Hugly Corn-mart is kept s more Riches than Leagues farther, up- to protect the Trade enough, where it is out it never was of the English Company many had several great nanned, in order to r. One sixty Gun r, saluted it with a Governor and his her Posts, and left the English Seamen. her Side of the Ri- little Pyramid, built mpany's Colony of ade: And about a

Year 1690. After beries and Murders Channock, being then ad Liberty to settle side below Hugly, t, chose that Place, re unhealthy Place e North-eastward is mber and October, resort thither; but floods are dissipated, Putrefaction affect the

the Air with thick stinking Vapours, which the North-east Winds bring with them to Fort-William, that they cause a yearly Mortality. One Year I was there, and there were reckoned in August about 1200 English, some military, some Servants to the Company, some private Merchants residing in the Town, and some Seamen belonging to Shipping lying in the Town; and before the Beginning of January there were four hundred and sixty Burials registered in the Clerk's Book of Mortality.

Mr. Channock chusing the Ground of the Colony where it now is, reigned more absolute than a Rajah, only he wanted much of their Humanity; for when any poor ignorant Native transgressed his Laws, they were sure to undergo a severe whipping for a Penalty; and the Execution was generally done when he was at Dinner, or near his Dining-room, that the Groans and Cries of the poor Delinquent served him for Music.

The Country about being over-spread with Paganism, the Custom of Wives burning with their deceased Husbands is also practised. Before the Mogul's War, Mr. Channock went one Time with his ordinary Guard of Soldiers, to see a young Widow act that tragical Catastrophe; but he was so smitten with the Widow's Beauty, that he sent his Guards to take her by Force from the Executioners, and conduct her to his own Lodgings. They lived lovingly many Years, and had several Children; at length she died, after he had settled in Calcutta. But instead of converting her to Christianity, she made him a Prostitute to Paganism, and the only Part of Christianity that was remarkable in him, was, burying her decently; and he built a Tomb over her, where, all his Life, after her Death, he kept the Anniversary-day of her Death by sacrificing a Cock on her Tomb, after the Pagan Manner. This was, and is the common Report, and I have been credibly informed, both by Christians and Pagans, who lived at Calcutta, under his Agency, that the Story was really Matter of Fact.

Fort William was built an irregular Tetragon of Brick and Mortar, called Puckab, which is a Composition of Brick-dust, Lime, Molasses, and cut Hemp; and when it comes to be dry, is as hard and tougher than firm Stone or Brick, and the Town was built without Order, as the Builders thought most convenient for their own Affairs, every one taking in what Ground best pleased them for Gardening; so that in most Houses you must pass thro' a Garden into the House, the English Building near the River-side, and the Natives within I and.

The Agency continued till the Year 1705, that the old and new Companies united, and then it became a split Government, the old and new Companies Servants governing Week about, which made it more anarchical than regular. Sir Edward Littleton was Agent and Consul for the new Company at Hugly, when this Union of the Companies was made, and then he was ordered to remove his Factory to Calcutta, and being of an indolent Indisposition, had let his Accounts with the Company run behind; he was suspended, but lived at Calcutta till 1707, that he died there. He was the only Precedent, or President, in the Company's Service, that lost an Estate of seven hundred Pounds per Annum in so profitable a Post in their Service.

This double-headed Government continued at Calcutta till January 1709, that Mr. Weldon arrived with the Company's Commission to settle it at Bombay and Fort St. George, which were under the Management of a Governor and Council, which thole of the Direction in England took to be a better way to promote their own Creatures, as well as their own Interest. His Term of governing was very short, and he took as short a Way to be enriched by it, by harrassing the People to fill his Coffers: There was one singular Instance of it. A poor Seaman had got a pretty Muske Wite, a little inclined to Lewdness in her Husband's Absence. She entertained two Armenians, who were like to quarrel about sharing her Favours, which coming to the Governors Ears, he reprimanded them; however, by the strong Persuasion of five hundred Rupees, paid in Hand by one of them, he awarded him to have the sole Right to her, and he carried her to Hugly, and bragged openly what his Purchase had cost him, to

the great Credit and Praise of the Governor; and when the poor Husband returned, he was forced to submit to lose his Mate under the Pain of Flagellation: Yet he was very shy in taking Bribes, referring those honest Folks who trafficked that way to the Discretion of his Wife and Daughter, to make the best Bargain they could about the Sum to be paid; and to pay the Money into their Hands. I could give many Instances of the Force of Bribery, both here and elsewhere in India, but am loth to ruffle the Skin of old Sores.

About fifty Yards from Fort William, stands the Church, built by the pious Charity of Merchants residing there, and the Christian Benevolence of sea-faring Men, whose Affairs call them to trade there; but Ministers of the Gospel being subject to Mortality, very often young Merchants are obliged to officiate, and have a Salary of fifty Pounds per Annum added to what the Company allows them for their Pains, in reading Prayers and Sermons on Sundays.

The Governor's House in the Fort, is the best and most regular Piece of Architecture that I ever saw in India, and there are many convenient Lodgings for Factors and Writers within the Fort, and some Store-houses for the Company's Goods, and the Magazines for their Ammunition.

The Company has a pretty good Hospital at Calcutta; where many go in to undergo the Penance of Physick; but few come out to give an account of its Operation. The Company has also a pretty good Garden, that furnishes the Governor's Table with Herbage, and Fruits, and some Fish-ponds to serve his Kitchen with good Carp, Calhops and Mullet.

Molt of the Inhabitants of Calcutta, that make any tolerable Figure, have the same Advantages, and all sorts of Provisions, both wild and tame, being plentiful, good and cheap, as well as Cloathing, make the Country very agreeable, notwithstanding the above-mentioned Inconveniences that attend it.

On the other Side of the River are Docks made for repairing and fitting their Ships Bottoms, and a pretty good Garden belonging to the Armenians. That had been a better Place to have built their Fort and Town in, for many Reasons; one is, that where it now stands, the Afternoon Sun is full in the Fronts of the Houses, and shines hot in the Streets, that are both above and below the Fort, whereas here the Sun would have sent its hot Rays on the Backs of the Houses, and the Fronts had been a good Shade for the Streets.

Most Gentlemen and Ladies in Bengal live both splendidly and pleasantly, the Forenoons being dedicated to Business, and after Dinner to rest, and in the Evening to recreate themselves in Chaises, or Palankins; in the Fields, or going to Gardens, or by Water in their Budgeroes, which a convenient Boat that goes swiftly with the Force of Oars; and on the River, sometimes there is the Dversion of Fishing, or Fowling, or both, and before Night they make friendly Visits to one another, when Pride or Contention do not spoil Society, which too often they do among the Ladies, as Discord and Faction do among the Men; and altho' the conscript Fathers of the Colony disagree in many Points among themselves, yet they all agree in oppressing Strangers, who are consigned to them, not suffering them to buy or sell their Goods at the most advantageous Markets, but of the Governor and his Council, who fix their own Prices, high or low, as seemeth best to their Wisdom and Discretion; and it is a Crime hardly pardonable, for a private Merchant to go to Hugly to inform himself of the current Prices of Goods, altho' the Liberty of Buying and Selling is entirely taken from him before.

The Garrison of Fort William generally consists of two or three hundred Soldiers, more for conveying their Fleet from Patana, with the Company's Salt-petre, piece Goods, raw Silk, and some Opium belonging to other Merchants, than for the Defence of the Fort: For, as the Company holds their Colony in Fee-tail of the Mogul, they need not be afraid of any Enemies coming to dispossess them; and if they should at any Time quarrel again with the Mogul, his prohibiting his Subjects to trade with the Company would soon end the Quarrel.

There

There are some imperious troublesome Rajahs whose Territories lie on the Banks of the *Ganges*, betwixt *Pattana* and *Cassambazaar*, who pretend to a Tax on all Goods and Merchandize that pass by, or through their Dominions of the River, and often raise Forces to compel Payment; but some Forces from *Fort William* in Boats generally clear the Passage, tho' I have known some of our Men killed in the Skirmishes.

In *Calcutta* all Religions are freely tolerated but the Presbyterian, and that they brow-beat. The Pagans carry their Idols in Procession through the Town. The *Roman Catholics* have their Church to lodge their Idols in, and the *Mohammedan* is not discountenanced; but there are no Polemics, except what are between our High-churchmen and our low, or between the Governor's Party, and other private Merchants, on Points of Trade.

The Colony has very little Manufactory of its own, for the Government being pretty arbitrary, discourages Ingenuity and Industry in the Populace; for, by the Weight of the Company's Authority, if a Native chancies to disoblige one of the Upper-house, he is liable to arbitrary Punishment, either by Fine, Imprisonment, or corporal Sufferings. I will give one Instance out of many, that I knew of the Injustice of a Governor of the double-headed Government in *June* 1706.

There was one Captain *Perrin*, Master of a Ship, who took up about 500*l.* on Respondentia, from Mr. *Ralph Skelton*, one of the Governors, in a Voyage to *Perfia*, payable at his return to *Bengal*. *Perrin* having dispatched his Affairs in *Perfia* sooner than he expected, called at *Goa*, as he came Home, and bought a *Surat* built Ship, very cheap, and carried her to *Calcutta*, and took in a Quantity of Pepper for the *Bengal* Market, and having brought in his other Ship good Store of *Perfia* Wines, called at *Fort St. George*, to dispose of what he could there: But finding no Encouragement from that Market, carried it to *Bengal*. On his Arrival, he complimented Mr. *Skelton* with the Offer of his Pepper and Wine, but he deputed meddling with that Bargain, farther than with as much of the Pepper, at the current Price, as would balance his Account of Principal and Respondentia. Accordingly, *Perrin* delivered so much Pepper, and on the Drive, required his Bond up; but the Governor told him, that being a Fellow troubled with the Spirit of Intemperance, in buying Goods, and taking in Freight where he could get them, he would keep the Bond as a Curb on him, that he should not spoil his Markets for the future. Poor *Perrin* used all his Rhetoric to get his Bond up, but to no Purpose, and the Governor moreover gave his Wine a bad Name, so that he could not dispose of that neither; and all this Oppression was in order to straiten him, that he might be obliged to sell his purchased Ship at a low Price to him, and his Associates, which at last he was obliged to do, holding a Quarter-part in his own Hands, to secure the Command of her to himself, which after all he could hardly do. *Perrin* made his Complaint to me, but I was in no Condition to assist him, because having three or four large Ships at *Bengal*, I was reckoned a Criminal guilty of that unpardonable Sin of interfering. However, I advised *Perrin* to comply with his inexorable Master, on any Terms of Agreement whatsoever, which he endeavoured to do, that he might at least keep the Command of his Ship, where he was so much concerned, and had hardly done it but by Accident. One Day meeting me on the Green near the Fort, he drop'd me to relate his Grievances, and begged, that if he was turned out of his own Ship, he might have an Employ in one of mine, which I promised he should.

Skelton cried us out of a Window, holding a long Contumacious, and being impatient to know about what, sent a Servant to call *Perrin*, and he obeying the Summons, was interrogated about what our Discourse was, and he told the Promise I had made him. *Skelton* told him, that he was a capable to employ him as I could be. *Perrin* answered, that he knew that, but wished that he would be as willing to do so to *Skelton* promised that he should command his own Ship to *Perfia*.

But the Wine still lay unsold, though it was scarce then in *Bengal*; but the Name that it is sold in *Fort St. George*,

and afterwards in *Fort William*, stuck so fast to it, that none of it would go off at any Price: So I advised him to carry it off in the Night in my Boats on board of one of my Ships, and I would try if I could serve him in selling it, which accordingly he did; and two Gentlemen of the Council being that Season bound for *England*, coming one Day to dine with me, I treated them and the rest of my Company with that *Perfia* Wine, which they all praised, and asked me where I got it? I told them, that knowing that good Wine would be scarce at *Bengal* that Year, I had provided a good Quantity at *Surat*, from whence I had come that Season. Every one begged that I would spare them some Chests, which I condescended to do as a Favour, and next Day sent them what they wanted at double the Price the Owner demanded for it while he had it, and so got off above one hundred and twenty Chests, which enabled Mr. *Perrin* to satisfy most of his Creditors. *Skelton* provided a Stock and Freight for *Perrin* to *Perfia*, and put on board some rotten long Pepper that he could dispose of no other Way, and some damaged Gunnies, which are much in Use in *Perfia* for embalming Goods when they are good in their kind; but, *volens volens*, *Perrin* must take them, and sign Bills of Lading for good well-conditioned Goods; and yet after he was ready to sail, he had been stopped, if he could not raise the Sum of 2500 *Ruppes* to discharge a Bill that at that Time became due, and was indorsed to *Skelton*. *Pallo* helped him out of that Difficulty, and took his Bond for the Sum, bearing Interest from the Date at the current Interest of one per Cent. per Month; so *Perrin* proceeded on his Voyage to *Perfia*, but called at *Calcutta* in his Way home again, and laid up his Ship there, and took Protection of a *Neger*, with the full Hand of 11,000 Pounds Sterling of *Bengal* Money, and wrote to Mr. *Skelton* that he might keep his former Bond, and he would take care of his Part of the Stock in his Hands. He also wrote to me that he would take particular Care to reimburse me, but in a short Time after he died, and his Effects came into the *English* Chief's Hands, who detained them several Years, denying that ever he paid any till Governor *Boone* came to the Government of *Bengal* in 1715, and then he made a lame Account. I have been so prolix and particular in this Story, that it may form an Idea of the Deformity and dismal Image of Tyranny and Villany, supported by a Power that neither divine nor human Laws have Force enough to bridle or restrain. The Company's Colony is limited by a Land-mark at *Governors-pore*, and another near *Burnagul*, about six Miles distant, and the salt-water Lake bound it on the Land-side. It may contain in all about ten or twelve thousand Souls, and the Company's Revenues are pretty good, and well paid; they arise from Ground-rents and Conflagration, on all Goods imported and exported by *British* Subjects, but all Nations besides are free from Taxes.

It is very clear from this historical Account of the Company's Affairs, and of their Government in *India*, that nothing held them together, but the slender Tie of Self-interest, which obliged such as otherwise hated each other, so far to comply, as to be able to make the Machine go on; but still this was doing Things uneasily, and nothing can be clearer than that the publick Interest must have suffered greatly, while it had no other Support than these left-handed Assurances, from such as wanted its Protection to make their private Fortunes. But we were all this Time engaged in a foreign War, from the glorious Motives of settling the Balance of Power, humbling *France*, and securing the Tranquillity of *Europe*, which to much took up our Ministers Heads, that they had scarce Time to think of Trade and Navigation. Yet there is nothing plainer than that to any Man who will study the Interest of this Nation, which one would imagine should be the Science of our Commerce, is the sole Means of raising the Power and Credit of this Kingdom, which must be rendered considerable Abroad, by its naval Force, and that naval Force cannot be kept up, or increased, any other Way than by promoting a Spirit of Trade and Navigation. However, as the Heads of the Ministry were now turned another Way, the *East India* Company was obliged to think of some Means of obtaining such Regulations in the

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their Favour, as might be sufficient to remedy the Incon-
veniences that had resulted from the setting two Compa-
nies; and in order to obtain such a Law as was requisite
for this Purpose, they, in the sixth Year of Queen Anne,
resolved to lend the Government the Sum of one Million
two hundred thousand Pounds, over and above what had
been lent already, which Proposal of theirs was accepted,
and in Consideration thereof, it was agreed, that the Par-
liament should give them such Assistance for carrying on
their Trade, as they required. The Reader will observe,
that by this Means, the *East-India* Company is to be con-
sidered in a double Capacity; that is to say, as Creditors
to the Publick; and as a trading Company. In the former
Capacity, they have a Security, as other Companies have,
for the Monies by them advanced, and a proportionable
Interest thereupon; and in their other Capacity, their Di-
rectors are Trustees for the Company's Trade, the Profits
of which likewise belong to the proprietors; and from
hence it appears, that the Dividends upon their Stock are
compounded of the Interest they receive from the Govern-
ment, and of the Profits accruing from their Trade to the
Indies. The first being fixed and invariable, serves as an
Index to the latter, since at all Times the Interest paid to
the Company being deducted from the Dividend, paid by
them to the Proprietors, shews clearly what the Profits
made by their Trade must be, as we shall farther explain
in the Course of this History. In the mean Time, let us
return to this Act of Parliament in the Reign of Queen
Anne, in order to see what Effects it had upon the Affairs
of the Company, and what Advantages they received in
Consideration of this large and necessary Supply for the
publick Service, and by the Way, let us remark that it was
but reasonable to grant a trading Company certain Advan-
tages, beyond the bare Interest of their Money, because
they might otherwise have employed it more to their Ad-
vantage. It was therefore enacted, that the *English* Compa-
ny trading to the *East-Indies*, shall advance and pay in to
the *Exchequer* 1,200,000*l.* on several Days appointed,
and in case of failure by the said Company, the Monies
not paid shall be recovered by Action of Debt, and 12
per Cent. Damages, and the said Company may borrow
Money by their Common-foal, on Security of their united
Stock, so as the principal Money at any Time to be ow-
ing don't exceed 1,500,000*l.* above what might lawfully
be borrowed thereon before this Act. In case the Govern-
ment and Company of Merchants of *London* trading to the
East-Indies, and the General Court of the said *English*
Company, whilst they separately continue, &c. shall think
fit to call in Money from their respective Adventurers to-
wards raising the said 1,200,000*l.* or repaying the Mo-
ney borrowed for that Purpose, they are impowered to
make such Calls accordingly, to make up the said Sum;
and if any Members shall neglect or refuse to pay their
Shares of the Monies called in, or which the said Compa-
ny in Pursuance of the Statute of 9 W. III. cap. 44. or
their Charters shall call in for carrying on their Trade (af-
ter Notice fix'd on the *Royal-Exchange*) then the said
Company respectively may stop the Dividends payable to
such Members, and apply the same towards such Payment,
until it be satisfied; and also stop the Transfers of the
Shares of such Defaulters, and charge them with Interest
at 5 per Cent. till Payment; in neglecting which, in three
Months, the Company may sell so much of the Defaulter's
Stock, as will pay the same. The aforesaid Sum of
1,200,000*l.* shall be deemed to be an Addition of the
Stock of the *English* Company, and be Tax-free. The
united Stock of the said *English* Company shall be subject
to the Debts contracted by the said Company, and Per-
sons entituled to 7,200*l.* Part of the two Millions, the
original Stock, who have not united their Stocks to the
Corporations, and who are authorized to carry on a Trade
for their separate Use, may hold and enjoy their Trade
as if the said Act had not been made. But the *English*
Company may repay the same at the End of three Years,
together with the Annuities due thereon, and then the
whole Trade shall be vested in the said Company. Mat-
ters in Difference between the two Companies, concern-
ing an Union between them, are referred to *Sidney* Earl
of *Goldsbrough's* Arbitration, and after the making the said

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Award and Surrender of the Charter of the Governor and
Company of Merchants of *London* trading to the *East-Indies*, the Persons who at the Time of the Surrender, pur-
suant to an Indenture Tripartite, made between the Queen
of the first Part, the said Governor and Company of the
second Part, and the said *English* Company of the third
Part, shall be Directors and Managers of the united Trade
of the *English* Company, shall be such until new Directors
are chosen, according to the Charter dated the 5th of Sep-
tember 10 W. III. This Act hath also a Provision, that on
three Years Notice, after a Time limited, and Repay-
ment of the said two Millions, and 1,000,000*l.* and all
Arrears then due for the Annuities, which Annuities
amount to 160,000*l.* per Annum, then the aforesaid Du-
ties on Salt, &c. and the Benefit of Trade given by this
and the former Act and Charters to cease. This Provision
of Redemption is enlarged as to the Time, by Stat. 10 Ann.
cap. 28. and by the 29th, the *East-India* Company may
enter such Goods as they shall import at the Custom-house,
by Bills at sight or sufferance, and shall give Security un-
der their Common-foal for Payment of the Customs and
Duties as are rated in the Book or Rates, and upon Cos-
fee, which is to be ascertained by the Oath of the Im-
porter, viz. for paying half thereof at the End of six Ca-
lendar Months, and the other half at the End of twelve
Months; and the Custom Officers shall grant to the said
Company such Bills at sight or sufferance, and take Secu-
rity as aforesaid, and make such Allowances and Deduc-
tions as are made to other Merchants, paying their said
Customs at, or before the landing their Goods and Mer-
chandize; but nothing herein shall extend to alter the Me-
thod of paying the Duties of 15 per Cent. on Muslins and
Calicoes, or the Duties upon any other Goods that are to
be ascertained by Sale at the Candle.

16. In the Beginning of the Reign of King George
the First, it was found, that various Attempts had been
made to discover the Secrets of the Company's Commerce,
for the Information and Benefit of Foreigners, and there-
fore a Law was obtained to remedy this Evil, viz. the
Statute of 5 K. George I. which ordains with a View to
render such Practices impossible. That if any Subjects
shall fail, or go to the *East-Indies*, or such Places of *Affa-*
&c. beyond the Cape of *Bona Esperanza*, to the Straits
of *Magellan*, where any Trade, or Traffick, or Merchandize
is, or may be used, or had, contrary to the Laws in being,
or the Tenor of this Act: Every Person so offending,
shall be liable to the Punishment inflicted by Law for such
Offence, and it shall be lawful for the united Company of
Merchants of *England* trading to the *East-Indies*, and their
Successors, to arrest and seize such Persons, being subjects
to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, at any Places where they
shall be found, within the Limits aforesaid, and to send
them to *England*, there to answer for their Offences, ac-
cording to due Course of Law. Every Person who shall
procure, solicit, obtain, or act under any Commission,
Authority, or Pass from any foreign Prince, State or Po-
tentate, to sail or trade in, or to the *East-Indies*, or any
the Parts aforesaid, shall forfeit 500*l.* the said Penalties
and Forfeitures to be sued for and recovered in any Court
of Record at *Westminster*, by Bill, &c. one Moiety to the
Informers, the other to the Crown.

But notwithstanding these Severities, this Law did not
produce the Effects expected from it; for our *East-India*
Company having for many Years divided 10 per Cent. up-
on their Capital, which in most foreign Countries was un-
derstood to be the Profits of their Trade, it raised such a
Spirit of sharing in this Commerce, and so many *Engli-*
men were found ready to join in such Projects abroad, that
a Company was established at *Ostend*, which made ano-
ther Act necessary, which passed in the ninth Year of the
same Reign, by which it was enacted, that if any Subject
of his Majesty shall contribute to, or encourage the esta-
blishing or carrying on any foreign Company trading from
any Part of the *Austrian Netherlands*, to or from the *East-*
Indies, and other Places beyond the Cape of *Good-Hope*,
described in former Acts for securing the sole Trade thi-
ther to the united *East-India* Company in *England*, or
shall be interested in any Share of the Stock or Actions of
any such foreign Company, or shall make any Payments

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in Money, or by Bills of Exchange, or otherwise, towards promoting or supporting such Company, or the Trade thereof, or shall subscribe to the establishing any other foreign Company, for trading to the *East-Indies*, or be concerned in any Stock therein, &c. the Person so offending shall forfeit their Interest and Share in the Stocks of any such Company, with treble the Value thereof, one Third to the Crown, and the remaining two Thirds to the *East-India Company*, if they inform or sue for the same; otherwise one Third of two such Thirds to the common Informer, recoverable by Action of Debt, &c.

And the Attorney-General, of his own Authority, or at the Relation of the said united Company, and for the Company, may file a Bill of Complaint in the Court of Chancery, or the Exchequer, against any Person, who shall have subscribed or contributed to, or promoted, or any Ways become interested in the establishing any such foreign *East-India Company*, or the Stock, or Trade thereof, for the Discovery of his Offence, remitting or waiving the Forfeiture of the treble Value of the Offender's Stock, or Concern in any such Company, and inflicting only on the single Value. And thereupon, such Person shall answer to the Bill, and not plead, or demur to the Discovery thereby sought; and in case the single Value only of such Interest or Share shall be decreed to be paid, one third Part thereof shall go to his Majesty, and the other two Thirds to the Company. If any Subject shall have accepted of any Trust, or know of any Interest, Share or Concern, which any of his Majesty's Subjects shall have, or be entitled to, in any such foreign Company, and shall not within six Months after accepting the Trust, or the coming to the Knowledge of any such Interest, &c. truly discover the same in Writing, to the said united Company of *England*, or their Court of Directors, he shall forfeit treble the Value of the Interest, &c. so accepted in Trust, or so known, and not discovered, one Moiety to the Crown, the other to him who will sue for the same, by Action of Debt, &c. or such Offender shall, at the Discretion of the Court where the Prosecution is commenced, suffer one Year's Imprisonment; and Persons that within the Time above limited shall voluntarily come to the Court of Directors, and make a true Discovery in Writing, of the Interest, Share or Concern of any Subjects in the Stock of any such foreign Company, shall receive one half Part of the clear amount of the Forfeitures owing by this Act.

In case any of his Majesty's Subjects (other than such as are lawfully authorized) shall go to, or be found in the *East-Indies*, they are hereby declared to be guilty of a high Misdemeanor, and may be prosecuted for the same, in any Court at *Westminster*, and being convicted thereof, shall be liable to such corporal Punishment, or Imprisonment, or to such Fine, as the Court where the Prosecution is commenced shall think fit; and the Offenders may be seized, and brought to *England*, and any Justice of Peace may commit them to the next County Goal, till sufficient Security be given by natural born Subjects, or Denizens, to appear in Court, &c. and not to depart out of the Kingdom without Leave.

All Offences against this Act, or against 9 W. III. cap. 24. or 5 Geo. I. cap. 21, &c. shall be laid in *London* or *Middlesex*, at the Pleasure of the Prosecutor; and a *Capias* in the first Process shall issue upon any Bill, Plaint, Indictment, &c. prosecuted for the said Offences. One might have imagined, that these Laws might have prevented any *English* Subjects from being concerned in Designs so ruinous and destructive, as these manifestly were to their own Country; yet when we come to speak more particularly of the *Opium Trade*, we shall be obliged, tho' unwillingly, to confess the contrary, and that all the Measures that have been taken in other Countries to lessen the Consumption of our *East-India Company*, have been brought to naught by the Intrigues of such ambitious Persons as were desirous to make their Fortunes at any Rate, and without Regard to the Views, sacrificed the Welfare of the Nation to their private Advantage.

What a true Measure contributed to this, might be easily seen by the Company to prevent the Frauds and Abuses that came in their own Service, in order to which,

a Law was passed in the seventh Year of the same Reign, for the better preventing an unlawful, and further securing a lawful Trade to the *East-Indies*, by which it was enacted, that all the Goods shipped on Board any Ship to the *East-Indies* (except Goods of the Company, or such as are licensed by them, and naval Stores, Provisions, and Necessaries for the Ship in her Voyage) and all Goods taken out of such Ship in her Voyage homeward bound from the *East-Indies*, &c. to *England*, before her Arrival here, shall be forfeited, and double Value, and the Master, or Officer of such Ship, knowingly permitting the Goods to be shipped or taken out of such Ship, shall forfeit for every Offence one thousand Pounds; and shall not be entitled to any Wages, &c.

Agreements or Contracts made, or entered into by any of his Majesty's Subjects, or any in Trust for them, on the Loan of Money, by Way of Bottomry, upon any Ship in the Service of Foreigners, and bound to the *East-Indies*, &c. and all Contracts for Loading, or supplying any such Ship with a Cargo of any sort of Goods, Merchandize, Treasure or Effects, or with Provisions, Stores or Necessaries, and co-partner Ships entered into, relating to any such Voyage, the Profits thereof, and all Agreements for the Wages of any Persons serving on Board any Ship to be employed in such Voyage, shall be void; and every Person, Subject of his Majesty, that shall go to the *East-Indies* contrary to the Laws now in Force, shall be deemed a Trader, and to have traded there, and all the Goods there bartered, or trafficked for, or purchased by any such Person, or found in his Custody, or any other in Trust for him, by his Order or Procurement, shall be forfeited, and double the Value.

And by this Act it shall be lawful for the Attorney-General, or for the united Company trading to the *East-Indies*, at any Time within the Space of six Years, to file in any of the Courts at *Westminster*, Informations against clandestine Traders, and if the Defendants shall be found guilty thereof, the Court shall forthwith proceed to give Judgment against them, &c. Also it is declared lawful for the Attorney-General, at the Relation of the Company, or by his own Authority, to exhibit Bills of Complaint in the Exchequer, against Persons trading, dealing, trafficking, or adventuring to, or from the *East-Indies*, &c. contrary to Law, or against any Person concerned as an Agent, or Factor, or Co-partner with such illegal Traders, for discovering of such their trading, &c. and for the recovering of the Duties and Damages, &c. and such Persons shall pay to his Majesty the Customs of the Goods ailing or purchased by the said unlawful Trade, and shall answer to the Company 30 per Cent. according to the Value thereof in *England*; and if such Offenders pay the Customs, or the Amount of the same, into the Exchequer, and Damages to the Company, they shall not be otherwise prosecuted by this Act, or any other Statute, for the same Offence; but if a Decree be obtained against the Defendants, they shall pay Costs to his Majesty, and the Relator respectively.

And if such Bills (being exhibited at the relation of the Company) be dismissed by the Court, so that the Parties are acquitted, the Company shall pay every Defendant his full Costs; the Forfeitures and Penalties herein before appointed, or in former Acts relating to the *East-India Company*, may be sued for, not only by the Attorney-General, or the said Company, but also by any Officer of the Customs, such Officer having the Consent and Direction of the Court of Directors of the united Company, as by the Act is particularly required; and one third Part of all such Penalties shall be to the Crown, one other Third to the Company, and the remaining Third to such Officers of the Customs as shall inform and sue as aforesaid. The said united Company shall be allowed to ship out Stores, Provisions, Utensils of War, and Necessaries for maintaining their Garrisons and Settlements, free of all Duties, so as the Duties, if they had been paid, do not exceed in any one Year three hundred Pounds. No *East-India Goods* to be imported into *Ireland*, or the Plantations, but from *Great-Britain*, on Pain of forfeiting Ships and Goods, &c.

of the same Reign, and further securing which it was enacted, that any Ship to the Company, or such as Stores, Provisions, and Goods, and all Goods to be bound from her Arrival here, and the Master, or Muttung, the Goods to, shall forfeit for ever, shall not be entitled

or, entered into by any a Trust for them, on Bottomry, upon any and bound to the East-Loading, or supplying fort of Goods, Merch with Provisions, Stores entered into, relating thereof, and all Agree- serving on Board any, shall be void; and, that shall go to the now in Force, shall be there, and all the for, or purchased by body, or any other in cument, shall be for-

for the Attorney-Ge- rading to the East-Inde of six Years, to file Informations againstendants shall be found (with proceed to give o it is declared lawful elation of the Compa-exhibit Bills of Com-fons trading, dealing, from the East-Indes, y Person concerned as with such illegal Tra-trading, &c. and for mages, &c. and such Customs of the Goods wful Trade, and shall according to the Vach Offenders pay the, into the Exchequer, y shall not be other- other Statute, for the obtained against the his Majesty, and the

ed at the relation of our, to that the Par-pay every Defendant enalties herein before ng to the East-India ly by the Attorney-also by any Other of e Consent and Direc- the united Company, and one third Part e Crown, one other maining Third to such ern and sue as afore- be allowed to ship War, and Necessaries Settlements, free of had been paid, do andred Pounds. No Ireland, or the Plan- Pain of forfeiting

It is very evident, from the whole Current of this History of our East-India Trade, that such as have been entrusted with the Management thereof, have had continual Difficulties to struggle with; whereas, our Rivals in this Trade, the Dutch, have all along enjoyed the full Protection of their Government; and, at the same time, have been allowed to manage their own Concerns in such a Manner as seemed to them most conducive to their own Interest. But of late Years, and since our Company have had the Authority of Acts of Parliament to support them, they have, in some measure, gained upon the Dutch, especially in those Countries where both Nations trade freely, and where, consequently, the Success of their Labours must, in a great measure, depend upon the Inclination of the Natives, and that Preference which their good Opinion gives to either Nation.

In the Island of Sumatra particularly, the English have extended their Trade with great Success, having not only a good Settlement at Achen, but also at the other End of the Island, where their principal Settlement was Ben- coulen, which first began to flourish about the Year 1685. They had also another at Sillebar, where they likewise carried on a considerable Commerce: By Degrees they became so considerable, that several of the little Princes of that Island, chose to put themselves under their Protection, as well to secure themselves from the Power of the Dutch, as that they may receive the Benefits of the English Trade; and have, generally speaking, continued very firm in their Attachment to the Company; though they have been sometimes but indifferently treated. The first Inducement the Company had to fix their Factories and Settlements on this Part of the Island was, the Advantage derived from the Pepper-Trade, carried on from Lampoun, which is in the Southern Part of the Island, and about twenty Leagues within the Straights of Sunda, very well situated in a deep Bay. Here they had a good Trade for Pepper, till they were deprived of it in 1683, by the Dutch, in consequence of the famous War with the King of Bantam, which we have so often had Occasion to mention: For, this Town of Lampoun lying opposite to his Territories in the Island of Java, made likewise a Part of his Dominions; and therefore, when the Dutch brought him entirely over to their Interest, or, in other Words, which however mean the same thing, and are the plain English of the foregoing Dutch Phrase, had reduced him under their Yoke, they obliged him to break off all Commerce with the English, which put an End to the Pepper-Trade at Lampoun, and forced the Company to remove to the Place before-mentioned.

The Country about Ben- coulen is mountainous and woody, and in the Heart of the Island there are several Volcano's, which render the Country subject to Earth-quakes, and filled the Air so full of malignant Vapours, that it is very far from being wholesome. We may add to this, that the Town itself stands in a Morass, which obliges the Natives to build their Houses upon Posts, to defend them from the bad Effects of the continual Moisture of the Soil. These Inconveniencies did not hinder the English from making it their principal Residence in this Country, and where, for their greater Security, they erected a Fort, of no great Strength indeed, but which seemed sufficient to answer their Purposes. This Fort was garrisoned with Bugajses, which is the Name given to the Macassars when transplanted out of their own Country; and as they depended on these for military Services, so with regard to their Revenues, they consided in the Chief of the Chinese, who had the Title of Captain, a Thing customary in all the Settlements where the Chinese reside. As for the Natives, they lived, as they had formerly, under the Jurisdiction of their own Princes, called in the Malayan Language Pengarans, of whom there were two that were particularly under the Protection of the Company. One whole Dominions lay North from Ben- coulen, and who was stiled Pangaran-Musco Rajah; and the other called Pangarang-Soongé-Etam, whose Country lay to the South. Though their Territories were not large, yet they were divided into several Districts, each under a Governor, called a Dupatty, the Place of whose Residence was, in their Language, stiled their Dusan: And these Governors had

under them lesser Magistrates, called Dattoes. The Company had also a good Correspondence with the most powerful of the Princes in the inland Parts of the Island, such as the Sultan Gubeel, and several others, which induced them to believe they might take any Measures they thought necessary for the Advantage of the Company, and Safe of the Factory.

It was this that in the Year 1719, engaged the then Chief to think of removing from Ben- coulen, where, from the Cause before-mentioned, abundance of English People died every Year; and it was with this View that a Place was fixed upon a few Miles distant, for erecting a new Fort and Factory, which was to be called Marlborough Fort; and the Ground being traced out, the Work began to be carried on with great Vigour and Spirit. But, it seems, they had not sufficiently consulted the Temper and Disposition of the Natives, who were not at all well pleased with this Design. There had been some little Jealousies and Heart-burnings amongst them before, which not breaking out into an open Quarrel, had been over-looked; but these People considering with themselves that this new Fortification rose apace, and that it looked as if the English were dissident of them, or had a Mind to punish some Offences that they hoped had been forgotten. They from thence grew absolutely disaffected, and meditated nothing less than a total Revolt, and an absolute Destruction of that Power which they now began to dread. They concealed, however, their Sentiments so well, and shewed so little Sign of Uneasiness or Resentment, that the English went on without any Apprehension of what was contriving against them, till it was on the Point of breaking out. The remaining Part of this History will best appear, and the Conclusion of this Conspiracy be most naturally made known, from the following Account, written by the Persons principally concerned, to the Company's chief Officer in the Indies, which I have therefore chosen to insert, as containing the most remarkable Piece of History within this Period of Time.

To the Honourable Joseph Collet, Esq; President and Governor of Fort St. George, &c.

Honoured Sir,

It is with the greatest Concern that we acquaint you with the Misfortunes that have befallen us and our honourable Matters Affairs since our Advices by the Queen and George Brigantine, wherein we did, with too much Confidence, assure you of the perfect Peace and Tranquillity we then enjoyed at Marlborough-Fort, which the Satisfaction the Natives seemed to express in our Administration, gave us but little Reason to imagine would prove of so short a Date. Our Pepper, for some Time after, coming in very plentifully, and we having frequent Promises from them of much greater Quantities ready to be brought out of the Country, we had made a Progress in our Buildings, even beyond our own Expectations; the Foundation of one Gorge and two Curtains of our Fort-walls being laid, and raised in Brick and Chinam a Foot above Ground, and the Earth laid open for a third, in the Space of a little more than a Month; and we had made such Provision for Bricks and Chinam, that we should have had sufficient to compleat the whole, which, at the Rate we had begun, might have been finished in less than twelve Months. Thus we thought ourselves successful in our Undertaking; and it was no small Pleasure to us, to think that, by diligently serving our Masters, it would add to our Credit, and in a more peculiar Manner recommend us to their Favour hereafter: But, in the midst of our Prosperity, all our Hopes were blasted by a secret Combination of the whole Country against us, which they certainly designed to put in Execution whilst we had no Ship in the Road to assist us, the Merchblapetam having been at Bantam from the 21st of January, but fortunately returned to our Assistance the 18th of March, being but very few Days before this horrid Plot was discovered.

"It was late at Night, on the 23d of *March*, before we had the least suspicion of any Treachery, when Captain *Gibb* advised the Deputy-Governor, that *Dupatty Benierin* had got together between four and five hundred Men in his *Dufan*, and he believed they designed to make War with the Company. The Deputy-Governor immediately dispatched a Letter to him, to know the Reason of his entertaining such Numbers of People in his *Dufan*, ordering him immediately to disperse them, and to come himself to the Fort in the Morning, where, if he had any Complaints to make, they should be heard, and he should have Redress; which, if he did not immediately comply with, we should no longer esteem him our Friend, but treat him as an Enemy. Early in the Morning he sent a trifling Answer, assuring us of his Friendship; but taking no Notice of dispersing his People, or coming himself to the Fort, as ordered. Whereupon the Council was immediately summoned, and acquainted with what had passed, when it was agreed to send Mr. *Mackay*, who was the Dupatty's Friend, to bechar, or confer with him, and persuade him to come to the Fort. About Noon he returned with the Dupatty's Answer, who promised to wait on the Governor the next Morning. In the mean time our *Pangarans* and *Daitos* were sent for to advise with on this Occasion, who were the Persons that ought to have given us the first Notice thereof; but they seemed to make slight of it, and persuaded us the Dupatty was an honest good Man, and one that would not be guilty of an ill Action against the Company, the People of his *Dufan* being only Friends that he had invited out of the Country to feast with him. This different Opinion of theirs made us jealous of their Fidelity, which made us desire them all to take a fresh Oath of Allegiance to the Company; and the present Deputy-Governor and Council, before we bechar'd farther with them on this Affair, which they did with much Persuasion consent to, and it was performed by one of their *Padres*; after which *Pangaran Munco Rajah*, undertook to bring in the Dupatty, and do accordingly set out himself for *Banerin*; but not an Hour after he was gone out of the Fort, we were alarmed at the dreadful Sight of the Sugar-Plantations being on Fire, it being then about Six o' Clock at Night.

"A strong Party was immediately sent out to *Bencoulen*, under the Command of Ensign *Adaire*, with Orders to proceed next Morning, on the 25th of *March*, to *Dufan Benierin*, and to engage the Enemy either there, or where he should meet them, using his Endeavour to destroy the *Dufan*, and as many of their People as he possibly could: But in this we had no Success for want of the *Pangaran's* Assistance, who had promised to supply him with Sampan's to ferry his People over the Water at *Banerin*, or where he should have Occasion for them; but in this they deceived us; for our Party finding a Body of the Enemy had fortified themselves with a strong Breast-work of Fire-Wood, and some small Guns on the other Side the River, over-against the Sugar-Plantations, and not one Sampan sent by the *Pangarans*, according to their Promise; for want of which he could only come to an Engagement across the River, in which Manner they continued till about Four in the Afternoon, when most of our *Bugafes*, *Blacks*, and *Chinese* having left the *English*, the Ensign with the rest returned to the Fort about Six in the Evening, having performed but little Execution on the Enemy. By the Account we had from the Ensign, we plainly found that the whole Country were concerned in this Rebellion. The principal Persons that he saw and knew amongst them were *Rajah Roefong*, *Pangaran Munco Rajah*, under most of the *Dupatties* of the *Dufans* adjacent to us, with many of the Inhabitants and *Bazar* People of *Bencoulen*, who were headed by *Dupatty Benierin* and *Selebrian*; but he could not well guess at their Number, they being under the Cover of the Trees and Breast-work they had raised of Fire-Wood; and Mr. *Alcock* from *Sillebar*, had given us an Account the same Day, that *Pangaran*

"*Jantenally* and his Country also were in Concert with them.

"On the 26th of *March* in the Morning, the strongest Party we could muster of *English*, *Bugafes*, *Blacks*, and *Chinese*, were ordered out to engage them, under the Command of Mr. *Newcome* and Ensign *Johnson*; but when they came to *Bencoulen* to join the *Bugafes*, they were strangely surpris'd to find them refuse to fight without a present Reward; and Mr. *Newcome* was credibly informed, that a considerable Number of the *Bugafes* were laid in Ambush to fall on the *English*, of which he immediately sent Advice to the Fort; whereupon the Sign was given to recall the Party, which prevented our coming to an Action that Day. The Sultan being examined, pretended that a wrong Interpretation was put upon what he said at *Bencoulen*, and would have persuaded us that he had always been, and was still ready and willing to fight for the Company; but our Suspicion of his Treachery made us unwilling to trust him at that Time. About Eleven o' Clock the same Day, *Pangaran Munco Rajah* brought a Token, which, as he said, was from his Uncle *Rajah Bojong* from *Singledemend*, to give us Notice that two hundred *Orangsoones* were come on our Side at *Singledemend*, and desired we would lend the *Malays* some Weapons to defend themselves. This we had great Reason to suspect was false, *Rajah Bojong* himself being at that Time in Arms against us at *Banerin*; but the *Pangaran* positively affirmed he was then at *Singledemend*, notwithstanding Ensign *Adaire* had seen and spoke to him the Night before at *Banerin*.

"When we found ourselves so deeply involved in Trouble on all Sides, that we were betrayed by our *Pangarans*, and our *Bugafes* had given us just Cause to suspect their Honesty, so that we had none but the *English*, *Blacks*, and *Chinese* to trust to; the former of which did not exceed one hundred and twenty-five Persons in Number both civil and military, and most of them unexperienced or disabled Men; and the latter had given us but small Encouragement to depend on them by their deserting Ensign *Adaire* at *Banerin*. With this small Force, we thought ourselves in some Danger of being overcome; wherefore a General Council was called of all the Company's Servants, and Inhabitants of the Place, to consult about saving what we could of the Company's Effects, and making some Provision for our Passage, if we should be put to flight; when every one gave their Opinion, that it was for the Company's Interest, as well as for our own Safety, to put on board the Ship *Matclapatam* the Company's Treasure and Books, with what Stores and Provisions our Time would permit, with all the Expedition and Secrecy it could be possibly contrived: After which, if we were oblig'd to it, we might make our Escapes in the best Manner we could, by the Help of the Ship *Matclapatam*, and what Boats we had by us. The Remainder of that Day was spent in Pursuit of that Resolution, but no Boats could be got off that Evening: About Seven o'Clock the next Morning, being the 27th of *March*, the Company's Treasure, &c. as per enclosed Bill of Lading, were sent on board; about Eight, News were sent that both the *Pangarans* with their Wives and Children, were eloped from *Bencoulen*, in the Night-time, and no Account could be given which Way they were gone. About Ten, Sultan *Cutcheel*, who was come from *Bentak* in the Ship *Matclapatam*, undertook to accommodate Matters with the Country People, provided we would consent to their chusing new *Pangarans*, to which we agreed; but before we could come to a Bechar with them, the Portuguese *Padre's* Slave brought News from *Bencoulen*, that the *Bugafes* and *Malays* were risen there, and had cut off the *Padre* and most of the Portuguese, Men, Women, and Children, in a most barbarous Manner. He had hardly done telling his Story, when a large Fire broke out at *Bencoulen*; another near the Fort behind *Cunbury Pagar*; another towards *Sillebar*; and soon after, the *Hernage-house* was set on Fire: All this time

were in Concert with

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and Ensign Johnson,
to join the Buggas's,
find them refuse to
and Mr. Newcome
miserable Number of
to fall on the English,
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to recal the Party,
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" no Enemy appearing, but still fresh Fires breaking out
" in different Places, which could not have been done
" otherwise than by our own Buggas's or Malaya's, that
" are in our own Service: No Enemy yet appearing, we dis-
" charged what few great Guns we had mounted, at the
" thickest of these Fires, as we thought; in doing of
" which, one of the Wadd's of our own Guns unfortu-
" nately fell upon the Tops of the Fort Buildings, which
" took Fire, and burnt to fire, that there was no extin-
" quishing of them: At which Time, we marched out of the
" Fort in one Body to meet the Enemy. We first passed
" the Lower Guard; from thence, round the Horse Stable-
" Hill, to the Hermitage, and so by the China-Town and
" Brick-fleds, which were all on Fire, but no Enemy
" to be seen.

" We then came to the Sea-side, where we saw some
" Thousands of the Malaya's, headed by our Sultan and
" Buggas's; which Train reach'd from Benaulen to
" Marlborough: Most of the Chinese had secured them-
" selves in Boats, and on board of their own Prow. We
" had then none left to stand by us but the Blacks: Un-
" der these Disadvantages, we thought it in vain to haz-
" ard our Lives any longer, against so numerous an Ene-
" my; our Fort and most of our Buildings being destroyed
" by Fire, which put every Man upon saving his Life by
" swimming, or getting on board the Boats in the best
" Manner he could: In which Attempt, near Half our
" People were either drown'd or kill'd by the Enemy,
" before they could make their Escape. The next Morn-
" ing, we computed near Three Hundred and Fifty black
" and white Men, Women, and Children, were saved on
" board the Ship *Matchlapatam*, Mr. Newcome's Barge,
" and three Tombongons, or Boats for going on board
" Ships; for which Number we had not Water for
" above five Days, at a Pint a Man each Day. Our
" first Design was to go to *Bantal*, but both the Wind
" and Current were so strong against us, that we
" could not stir that Way, and so it continued 'till the
" 29th of March; till which Time, we remained in the
" Road, when we were obliged to alter our Resolution,
" and make the best of our Way to *Batavia*; where, in
" all Probability, we might sooner arrive, as the Wind
" and Current were then set; or at some Place where we
" might get some fresh Water, which we could not expect
" to be supplied with on the Coast of *Samatra*, to the
" South of *Bantal*. After we had supplied each Boat with
" five Days Provisions of Water and Rice, we weighed
" Anchor and set Sail in Company for *Batavia*. On the
" Second of April, we lost Sight of all our Boats: On
" the ninth, we anchored at *New-Island*, where we wa-
" tered, and got some Provisions: On the 11th, we
" weigh'd from thence, and arrived at *Batavia* on the
" Sixteenth.

" On the 18th and 19th, fifty out of our Military,
" who where sent in Boats to guard the Blacks and Slaves,
" arrived at *Batavia* from *Lampoon*, where they had put
" in for Water; where the Blacks mutined, and cut away
" the Rigging of their Boats, which occasioned their dri-
" ving on Shore: Then the Blacks left them, encouraged
" by one Sergeant *Thomas Wright*, who also went with
" them: The rest of our Europeans, after being plundered
" of their very Shirts off their Backs, were at last kindly
" assisted by them with two large Sampans; in which
" they saved their Lives, and arrived at *Batavia*. We
" met with kinder Usage as to our Entertainment at *Ba-
" tavia*, than indeed we expected; for they assisted us in
" transporting one Hundred and Twenty of our People,
" on their own Ships, to this Place: Seventy of which,
" had their Passage free, and the Ship's Provision, they
" working for the same; and for fifty more, we were
" obliged to pay twenty Rix Dollars each for their Trans-
" portation; and twenty Rix Dollars each more, to the
" Captains for their Provisions, in their Voyage. Thirty
" Persons more came with the Deputy-Governor on the
" Ship *Matchlapatam*; and seven more are on board the
" *Madras* Brigantine, who left *Batavia* in Company with
" us; so that we had saved one hundred and fifty-seven
" Persons from the Hands of our Enemies, besides twenty
" Slaves belonging to the Honourable Company, and
" private Persons which were disposed of in *Batavia*.

NUMB. 62.

" One of the Dutch Ships arrived here the 24th Instant,
" when Mr. Newcome, &c. advised the Governor of our
" Misfortunes, but the Letter we understand is not yet
" gone from this Place. The *Matchlapatam* arrived here
" Yesterday, and this Day the other two Ships, on which
" are our whole Complement; and we shall stay here no
" longer than absolutely necessary, to provide for our Pas-
" sage to Fort St. George; where we hope to arrive soon
" after this comes to your Hands. The *Madras* Brig-
" antine is not yet arrived. Whilst we were in *Batavia*,
" we used all our Endeavours to send some Assistance to
" *Bantal*, tho' we had but little Reason to hope that Place
" had escaped the same Fate we ourselves had met with;
" but in this the Dutch opposed us in all our Proposals.
" The Deputy-Governor would have gone himself on the
" *Matchlapatam*, with as many of our People as he could
" conveniently carry; but this they would not allow with-
" out he could take all our People along with him, which
" was altogether impossible; nor would they supply us
" with a Vessel on that Occasion.

" We endeavoured to hire the *Madras* Brigantine, for
" that Purpose, but the Master and Supercargoes alledged,
" she was not in a Condition to proceed. We then pro-
" posed to the Dutch, that we might have four Chests of
" Treasure, and some Gun-powder to be forwarded to
" them on the *Amelia*, on her Arrival; but they refused to
" take Charge of it, as they pretended, left Disputes
" might ensue: We then requested, to leave it in the
" Hands of any private Persons; or that we might leave
" some of our own Servants there, to take Charge of it;
" but they would not consent to any one of these Proposals,
" nor suffer the Treasure to be left behind in any manner
" whatsoever. We had drawn out a Protest against them
" for this Refusal, but when we were going to deliver it,
" the Shawbander, who had been our Friend, plainly told
" us, what the Effects of it would be, that the next
" English Ships that fell in there, would suffer for it, in
" meeting with worse Treatment than ever any had yet
" done; whereas we ourselves had been civilly treated in
" all other Respects.

" Upon this, we considered, that the *Amelia* would
" shortly arrive, for whom we have left Orders to pro-
" ceed first to *Bantal*, and from thence to Fort St. George,
" with Advice, if she arrives Time enough to get away
" by the 15th of June; if not, to come directly for Fort St.
" George; as also the outward-bound China Ships: And
" probably this Year's Shipping from the West Coast,
" might be obliged to put in there for Provisions; which,
" if they should fail of our Company, might suffer more
" than the Advantage they would reap by our Protest:
" Upon which Consideration, it was agreed, it should not
" be delivered. This is a true Narrative of our Proceed-
" ings, since our Troubles commenced; and what we
" have omitted herein, you will find more particularly in-
" serted in our Diaries and Consultations, when we come
" to lay them before your Honour, &c. for your Perusal,
" which we hope will be sufficient to demonstrate, that this
" Misfortune is no Way owing to our Misconduct, which
" we submit to your Honour's favourable Construction,
" and beg Leave to subscribe,

Honoured Sir,

Your most Obedient, and

Obliged Humble Servants,

Negapatam,
June 28, 1719.

Thomas Cook, Dep. Governor,
Stephen Newcome,
William Palmer.

" The foregoing is an Account of our proceeding, as
" it was remitted to the Governor and Council of this
" Place from *Negapatam*; to which it will not be amiss to
" add, the Reasons that were the Occasion of this Mis-
" fortune, which is omitted in the foregoing Narrative:
" First, it is to be considered, that the English had been in-
" volved in Troubles with the Country Government, both
" at *Marlbrough* and *Bantal* for some Time before they
" arrived on the Coast; which tho' I was so fortunate as

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to

" to bring to a Conclusion, and had for many Months
 " after kept a fair Correspondence with the Natives; still
 " they harboured in their Minds a secret Resentment of the
 " former Injuries they had suffered, which they concealed
 " under a Cloak of Friendship, and seeming Satisfaction
 " of my Administration, till they had brought the whole
 " Country into a Combination, and being sensible how
 " briskly our Fortifications were carried forward, took
 " the Opportunity of Revenge before our Brick-buildings
 " could be finished, and at a Time, as they thought, we
 " should have no Ship in the Road to assist us; but the
 " *Met. blapatam* very fortunately arrived a few Days be-
 " fore they put their Design in Execution. Not long be-
 " fore this Rebellion, a Difference had happened between
 " *Dupatty Benterin* and *See Gibb*, Captain of the *China-*
 " *men*, and Undertaker of the Company's Sugar and Ar-
 " rack Plantations. The *Dupatty* is one of the second
 " Men in the Kingdom, and Governor of *Dujanor*, a
 " Town of that Name, situate on the Side of the River,
 " opposite to the Company's Sugar and Arrack Plantations.
 " He is a Person well beloved among the Natives, being
 " esteemed a Priest amongst them, and always thought
 " to be a good Friend to the *English*.

" The Difference first began by the *Chinamen* killing
 " some of the *Dupattay* Buffaloes, that had broke through
 " some of their Fences, and done some small Damage
 " to the Plantations, and indeed, the Fences were not so well
 " secured as they ought to have been; and this they af-
 " firmed to me they had done, by an Order given them
 " by Mr. *Farmer*, when Deputy-Governor. But consider-
 " ing the ill Consequences that might attend granting
 " such Liberty to the *Chinese*, I immediately forbid them
 " doing the like for the future, and obliged them to
 " make the *Dupatty* Satisfaction for some Buffaloes they
 " had killed, and if the like should happen again, I prom-
 " ised that the *Dupatty* should make good to them what
 " Damages the Plantations appeared to have sustained,
 " provided they kept their Fences in repair. Notwith-
 " standing what I had done in this Affair, some of the
 " *Dupatty*'s People, out of Revenge, got into the *China*
 " Compound, in the Night-time, and killed one of *See*
 " *Gibb*'s Slaves, as he was sleeping in his House. The *Du-*
 " *patty*'s Brother was seen, and known to be one of the
 " Company; whereupon he was taken and brought to the
 " Fort, where he was put into the *Cock-house* for about
 " twenty-four Hours, till he could be brought to his Trial;
 " when he was acquitted, without any further Punish-
 " ment, there being no plain Proof, that he was the Per-
 " son that actually committed the Murder, though by
 " the Evidences that appeared against him, there was
 " circumstantial Proofs enough to have condemned him.
 " However, out of Respect to the *Dupatty*, whom I al-
 " ways esteemed to be my Friend, and being well ac-
 " quainted with his Interest, and the Influence he had
 " over the Country People, I thought it convenient to
 " pass the most favourable Construction on this Accusa-
 " tion, which I accordingly did, and made the *Dupatty*
 " and *See Gibb* shake Hands, and promise Friendship
 " each other before they parted, and so they remained
 " for some Time after, till the *Dupatty* had got his Forces
 " together in his *Dujan*, and then he again renewed this
 " Dispute, resenting the Wrongs they had received from
 " the *Chinese*, as also the Disgrace of having his Brother
 " put in the *Cock-house*, and brought to his Trial, not-
 " withstanding I had been so favourable to him on this
 " Occasion, and under this Pretence our Trouble com-
 " menced. *Thomas Cook*.

The two following Letters were intercepted by the *En-*
glish in the Year 1717, which shews, that the Natives had
 formed this Conspiracy some Time before it was put in
 Execution.

" This comes from Sultan *Msmjore*, *Raja Guillamot*,
 " *Dative Pandah*, all the great Men in *Bandat*, *Sapool*,
 " and the Overseers of Trade in *Bantayan*, and *Tego Loora*;
 " to *Datta Raja Quasso*, with all the *Proaters* and *Le-*
 " *misetars*, from *Sablai* at *Cottonen*, to *Calaboon*, *Surambe*,
 " and *Malacca*.

" *Raja Quasso*'s Letter sent by *Tuan Mallin* and *Du-*
patty Loora Sambelan, is received, which we like very

well. We are now assuredly certified the whole Coun-
 try as far as *Abang*, likewise *Tuan De Gonne* with his
 People, will unanimously join us, and when this ar-
 rives, send *Tuan Mallin* into the Country, to advise
 that we intend utterly to destroy the *English*, and raze
 the Settlements throughout the whole Coast, because
 they have broke Faith, and become quite otherwise
 to what they formerly were. We shall proceed as soon
 as the Festival is over, therefore would have you *Datto*
Raja Quasso dispatch a Messenger with your real Sen-
 timents of this Affair, signifying also how the *Proaters*,
 and *Lemicetus* are affected. The Answer. " This
 Letter comes from him that eats nothing, to *Raja Man-*
fora, and Sultan *Guillamot*, assuring them, that he will
 gather together all those like himself, with the most va-
 liant Men herabouts, and march directly against *Ben-*
conlen, therefore desires the Assistance of Arms, which
 yourselves and *Raja Passajer* must not fail to send to
Tuan De Gonne, who is resolved, if the Kings are
 agreed, to be their Ally, and you may depend on his
 Fidelity, for he knows not how to tell a Lye: When he
 comes down from the Country, will bring over to his
 Interest the People of *Serangi* to *Benconlen*, and *Loat*
Cowot, with those belonging to *Pangarran Munco*
Auncom, even as far as *Pallombong*. This is what I
 promise to do, desiring your Letter in Answer to it.
 So God bless and keep you in all your Undertakings;
 give my Service to *Datto Raja Quasso*." Faithfully
 translated per

Robert Dymond, Linguist.

" Found at *Tanjoeng Arang*, up *Sablai* River, by *Orang-*
kio Bandabarrab Munco Raja, January the 27th, 1717,
 " while Mr. *Farmer* was Deputy-Governor of the West
 " Coasts of *Sumatra*."

Notwithstanding the Natives had thus driven the *En-*
glish from *Benconlen*, they suffered them in about a Year's
 Time to return again, and go on with the Fortifications
 at *Marlborough* Fort, without Opposition. It is true,
 there had been some *English* Chiefs sent thither, who were
 not endowed with so much Discretion as they ought.
 These Gentlemen, by an imperious and assuming Behav-
 our, had highly provoked the Natives; but this being ve-
 ry tolerable in comparison of the Tyranny the *Dutch* had
 exercised in every Place where they prevailed, the *Mal-*
lays, upon the Expulsion of the *English*, began to be un-
 der terrible Apprehensions lest the *Dutch* should come and
 settle amongst them by Force, and put an iron Yoke up-
 on their Necks, as they had upon their Neighbours. They
 soon laid aside their Reluctance therefore, and over-look-
 ing the Indiscretions of the *English* Chiefs, gave all En-
 couragement to our Countrymen to settle among them;
 and it was very happy for the *English*, that they removed
 from *Benconlen*, for there were buried Multitudes every
 Year, whereas a late Chief of *Marlborough* Fort assures
 us, that during the whole Year, they did not bury one
 Gentleman; such a Difference there is in the Situation of
 these two Places, notwithstanding they are no more than
 two or three Miles asunder, and *Marlborough* Fort be-
 ing much more defensible in its Situation than *York* Fort;
 for at *Marlborough* our People are not so apprehensive of be-
 ing surprized by the Natives as formerly, if there should
 happen any misunderstanding between them again. By this
 Means the *British* Commerce is greatly extended on this
 Island of *Sumatra*, and with very good Effect.

16. The Company of late Years have been extremely at-
 tentive not only to the general Characters, but so far as it
 has been possible for them to be informed as to the Edu-
 cation, Genius and Behaviour of their Chiefs, by which
 wife and prudent Conduct, they have given quite a new
 Face to their Affairs, and if it had not been for the setting
 up new Companies in different Parts of *Esrope*, by which
 their Trade has certainly been very much hurt, they must
 by this Time have been in a Condition to have almost
 doubled their Dividends; yet I cannot but acknowledge,
 upon this Occasion, that as these new Companies were
 erected abroad chiefly from the Opinion that Foreigners
 entertained of the Profits that were made by our Company,

ified the whole Court. *De Goens* with his, and when this was Country, to advise, the *English*, and rate whole Court, because come quite otherwise shall proceed as soon would have you *Datto* with your real Sentiments, also how the *Proterus* the Answer. "This nothing, to *Raja Man-* thing them, that he will self, with the most va- directly against *Ber-* dance of Arms, which it not fail to lend to d, if the Kings are may depend on his tell a Lye: When he will bring over to his *Beaconsfield*, and *Lord Pangarran Alanco* ang. This is what I tter in Answer to it, your Undertakings, *Quaffo*." Faithfully

Dymond, Linguist.

blat River, by *Orang-* muary the 27th, 1717, governor of the West

thus driven the *En-* em in about a Year's with the Fortifications position. It is true, ent thither, who were action as they ought. and assuming Behavi- is; but this being ve- ranny the *Dutch* had prevailed, the *Mal-* is, began to be un- ch should come and ut an iron Yoke up- r Neighbours. They fore, and over-look- Chiefs, gave all En- tle among them; , that they removed ed Multitudes every through Fort assures y did not bury one as in the Situation of ey are no more than Marlborough Fort bet- tion than *Tork Fort*; o apprehensive of be- erly, if there should them again. By this atly extended on this d Effect.

ve been extremely at- ters, but so far as it rmed as to the Edu- ir Chiefs; by which e given quite a new e been for the setting of *Europe*, by which uch hurt, they must tion to have almost ot but acknowledge. ew Companies were ion that Foreigners de by our Company.

in the Discovery of this was, in a great measure, owing to the factious Disputes that have long reigned amongst us; for great Complaints being made of the Decay of our Trade, the Ministry caused the Amounts of the Company's Sales to be constantly published, which struck Foreigners with Amazement, and contributed greatly to the forwarding the Projects they had formed of obtaining a Share in this lucrative Traffick.

At the same time these Designs were vigorously pursued abroad, there wanted not some Projectors at home, who were desirous of laying open the *Indian Trade*; and abundance of plausible Things were said upon that Subject, which, as it very naturally might, greatly alarmed the Company, more especially as it happened at a Time when they had Reason to apprehend that popular Opinions might prevail to their Prejudice; and therefore it is not to be wondered that they entered likewise on their Side, into such Schemes as were most likely to defeat these Designs, and to secure them in the Possession of their Rights and Privileges. I shall not take upon me to decide so nice and intricate a Question, as whether the laying open this Trade would, or would not, have been for the Advantage of this Nation; because, on the one hand, I am sensible much may be said on both Sides; and on the other, that I have not Room to examine here what might be alledged on either Side. I confine myself therefore to Matters of Fact, and endeavour, with all the Brevity that is consistent with my Design, of giving as complete History as is in my Power, of our Commerce to the *Indies*, which, so far as I know, is a Subject not attempted before, and consequently more necessary, which leads me to observe, that the Result of the Company's Considerations on this Head was, the proposing to such as had the Direction of the publick Affairs, a new Agreement with respect to the Company's Powers, so apparently beneficial to the Nation, as that it might effectually secure them from listening to the Proposals that were, or might be made, for laying this Trade open, in which, without doubt, such as were then entrusted with the Direction of the Company's Concerns, did their Duty to the Proprietors, and were so successful therein, as to obtain the Concurrence of the Administration; and, in consequence thereof, such a Law as they desired for the preserving the Powers and Privileges of their Principals.

At all Events, this was much better for the Nation than the Method taken in King *William's* Time upon the like Occasion, when the old *East-India* Company found it requisite to distribute an immense Sum of Money to the Ministers and Favourites, to obtain a new Charter, by which the Publick did not gain a single Shilling in Return for the Advantages that were granted to this Corporation. This Observation of mine will be fully justified, and the Truth thereof effectually proved from the Contents of the Act of Parliament before-mentioned, which was passed in the third Year of his present Majesty, in consequence of the Agreement, of which I have before taken Notice, and was intended on both Sides, to be absolutely final, and, in every Respect conclusive.

This Act therefore, after reciting several Acts, Proviso's, Charters and Agreements, &c. relating to the United Company of Merchants of *England* trading to the *East-Indies*, Enacts, That in Pursuance of their late Agreement, the said Company shall pay into the Receipt of the *Exchequer*, on or before a certain Day appointed, the Sum of 200,000 Pounds, to be applied towards the Supplies granted to his Majesty, for which no Interest shall ever be payable to the Company, nor any Addition be made to their capital Stock or Debt from the Publick, on Account thereof; nor shall the same, or any Part of it, be paid to the Company. And after the 29th of *September*, 1730, the Annuity, or yearly Fund of 160,000 *l.* shall be reduced to 128,000 *l.* in respect of the capital Stock or Debt of 3,200,000 *l.* which reduced Annuity shall be charged on the same Duties and Revenues by the like Weekly, or Quarterly Payments, and with the same Provisions for making good Deficiencies in the said reduced Fund, as their present Annuity or Fund is now charged on, till some new, or other Provision shall be made by Parliament, with Consent of the Company. But, upon one

Year's Notice to be given by Parliament after the 25th of *March*, 1736, on the Expiration of that Year, and on Re-payment of the said Debt of 3,200,000 *l.* to the Company, and all Arrears of their reduced Annuity of 128,000 *l.* which shall be due at the End of the said Year; then, and from thenceforth the said Annuity, or yearly Fund, shall cease, and be no longer payable.

At any Time, on a Year's Notice after the said 25th of *March*, 1736, given by Parliament, at the said Year's Expiration, upon Re-payment to the Company of any Sum, not being less than Five hundred thousand Pounds, in Part of the capital Stock of 3,200,000 *l.* and on Payment of all Arrears which shall be then due on their reduced Annuity, after such Payments made to such of the said Annuity as shall bear a Proportion to the Money so paid in Part, shall cease and be abated; and so from time to time, upon such yearly Notices and Payment of such other Sums in Part of the said capital Stock, till the Whole of their Annuity shall be entirely sunk and determined. Notwithstanding any such Redemption, all Persons entitled to any Interest in the said capital Stock in Trade, or Money paid in for carrying on the same, or in the Factories, Settlements, Lands, &c. belonging to the United Company, shall be, and continue a Body politick and corporate, &c. and have perpetual Succession; and they, and their Successors, shall be capable in Law to purchase Lands, &c. not exceeding at any one time the yearly Value of Ten thousand Pounds in the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, and also to aliene the same; and may also enjoy all Privileges, Stocks, and Estates, and Advantages, &c. which are not hereby altered as by former Acts or Charters founded thereon, the Company might hold or enjoy the same; and after such Redemption of the said yearly Fund or one Moiety thereof, the Company may, at their General-Courts, declare how much, and what Share in the remaining capital Stock, &c. shall qualify Members of the same Company to be Directors, or to give Votes in any General-Court. And, notwithstanding such Redemption as aforesaid, the Company shall, subject to the Proviso of Determination herein after contained, enjoy the whole and sole Trade to the *East-Indies*, and have the only Liberty of trading thither, &c. And the *East-Indies*, or Islands, &c. within the Limits of the said Company, shall not, before the said Determination, be failed to by any other of his Majesty's Subjects.

And if any of the said Subjects, other than the Factors, &c. of the United Company, shall at any Time fail, trade, or adventure to or from the *East-Indies*, and Parts aforesaid, they shall incur the Loss of all Ships which shall be employed in such Trade, &c. and the Goods laden therein, and double the Value thereof, which Forfeitures shall be sued for, recovered, and distributed, as by the 7 *Geo. I. c. 21.* is directed, concerning the Penalties and Forfeitures mentioned in that Act.

The said Company shall, at all Times hereafter, have all the Powers which by any Charters, &c. are granted them, and not altered by this Act, freed and discharged from all Proviso's of Redemption, &c. as fully as if the same were here severally repeated, but subject to the Restrictions contained in the Acts and Letters Patents now in Force, and also to the Proviso's following, *viz.* Provided that upon three Years Notice to be given by Parliament, after the 25th of *March*, 1736, upon the Expiration of the said three Years, and repaying to the Company of the whole capital Stock of 3,200,000 *l.* and all Arrears of Annuities payable in respect thereof; then, and from thenceforth the Right, Title, and Interest of the said Company, to the whole, sole, and exclusive Trade to the *East-Indies*, &c. shall cease and determine. But after the Determination of that Company's Right to the sole and exclusive Trade to and from the *East-Indies*, the Corporation, with all, or any Part of their joint Stock, Goods, Estates, &c. may trade in common with other the Subjects of his Majesty trading to and from those Parts.

Any Notice in Writing, signified by the Speaker of the House of Commons, shall be deemed a due and proper Notice by Parliament, to all the Ends and Purposes for which such Notices are directed by this Act to be given to the Company. Nothing in this Act shall extend to sub-

jeft the Governor and Company of Merchants of England trading to the *Levant-Sea*, to any Penalties and Forfeitures thereby enacted, in refpect to their Trade in thofe Seas; and nothing herein fhall reftain or prejudice fuch Trade or Navigation within any of the Limits of the *Eaft-India* Company, as the *South-Sea* Company are any ways entitl'd unto.

With this Act I fhall conclude the historical Part of this Section, having, as I promifed, deduced the Tranfactions of the *Eaft-India* Company, and with them the Commerce of the *Britifh* Nation to the *Indies*, from the earlieft Accounts we have of their trading to this Part of the World, and from their firft Eftablifhment in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, down to the prefent Time; in which Series of Fafts, we hope the Reader will find a greater Satisfaction, fince it exhibits to him in one View, and confidering the vaft Variety of Matter in a very narrow Compafs, a regular Chain of Events, which demonftrates the vaft Importance of this Commerce to the Nation, the Means by which it was at firft acquired, the Progreff made therein, the Difficulties and Obftructions it has met with, the Methods by which they have been overcome, and the Manner in which the Company has at laft acquired a happy and fecure Eftablifhment, which we have Reafon to hope will laft as long as our prefent excellent Conftitution, fince it is founded on the fame Bafis, and is fortified by the ftrongeft Authority that the Laws of this Country can afford.

It remains, in order to conclude the Plan laid down at the Beginning of this Section, that we fhould prefent the Reader with a clear and fuccinct View of the Poffeffions of the Company in the *Indies*, and the State of their Commerce in thofe Parts, as it ftands at prefent, which we fhall do with all the Brevity poffible, and in that Order which feems moft natural, both with regard to the Situation of Places, and the avoiding unneceffary Repetitions, having nothing more in View than to ftate every thing as clearly as it is poffible, and to confine ourfelves within as little Room as the Purfuit of that Defign will allow.

17. We fhall begin then with the Port of *Gambra*, or, as fome write it, *Gombroon*, on the Coaft of *Perfia*, which became famous after the Deftitution of the Ifland of *Ormus*, and the Ruin of the *Portuguese* Power in the *Indies*. The City was built by the Great Shah *Abas*, from whence it is called by the *Persians* *Bander-Abbas*, that is the Court of *Abas*. It ftands in the Lat. of $27^{\circ} 40'$ North, and and is looked upon as a Port of the greateft Trade in this Part of the World. We have elfewhere given a large Account of the Situation, Climate, and Condition of the Country in the Neighbourhood of this celebrated Mart, and fhall here therefore confine ourfelves ftrictly to what concerns the Commerce of the *English*.

Our firft Eftablifhment was about the Year 1613, and the Great Shah *Abas* having, at that Time, Occafion for our Affiftance againft the *Portuguese*, granted us by Treaties, in Confideration of our Services in that War, half the Customs of this Port, which were duly received for a confiderable Time; but, at length, under various Pretences, were reduced to one thoufand Tomans a Year, which amounts to Three thoufand, three hundred thirty-three Pounds, fix Shillings and Eight-pence of our Money; and even this, for forty Years paft, has been but very indifferently paid; and at prefent, as I conceive, we have the Right only, and not the Poffeffion. But the *Eaft-India* Company ftill maintains a noble Faftory here, by which it manages the whole Trade of the Empire of *Perfia*, and exports thither a vaft Quantity of *European* Goods. In the Year 1720, the Faftory fuffered feverely, and the Confufions induced by repeated Rebellions in *Perfia*; but as the Affairs of that Empire are now pretty well fettled, there is no doubt that thofe of the Company will be alfo reftored, and that we fhall regain that important Commerce which has been fo long carried on here.

The City of *Mocha* ftands at the Entrance of the *Red Sea*, in the Latitude of $13^{\circ} 11'$ W. and is a Place of very great Trade, as we have fhewn in the former Part of this Work. The *English* are likewise well received here; carry on a great Commerce in Coffee and other Commodities, as well as in all the adjacent Ports of *Arabia*, as has

been already fhewn in the foregoing Sections. It is true, that we have been fome Times expofed to the Injuftice of the *Arabian* Princes, and to the Depredations of Pirates in thofe Parts; but in this we have only fhared the fame Fate with other Nations, and perhaps have efaped rather better than they.

We fhall next proceed to the *Indian* Coaft, where we have either Faftories or Ports, and Settlements, at the following Places, viz. *Baroach*, *Swally*, *Surat*, *Bombay*, *Dabul*, *Carwar*, *Tellesbery*, *Ajengo*, Fort *St. David*, *Commer*, all along the *Malabar* Coaft, and turning up to thofe of *Coromandel*, where we come next to what may be called the Capital of our Poffeffions in the *Indies*, I mean Fort *St. George*. We have in the Courfe of this Work, and particularly in this Section, given a large Account of moft of the Places before-mentioned; which is the Reafon that we have not dwelt upon them here; but as for Fort *St. George*, which ftands in the Latitude of $13^{\circ} 20'$ North, it requires a more particular Difcription for many Reafons, and therefore, I have thought fit to infert a large Historical Account thereof, as well as a clear and circumftantial Difcription, written by one who was perfectly acquainted therewith, as well as with all the Tranfactions that occur in his curious Relation, which will contribute to render the Hiftory of this Part of our *Indian* Settlements complete, by furnifhing as exact an Account of this, as we have here before given of other Places; and therefore cannot but afford the Reader an agreeable Entertainment.

Fort *St. George* or *Maderaji*, or as the Natives call it *Chinn Patam*, is a Colony and City belonging to the *English* *Eaft-India* Company, fituated in one of the moft incommodious Places I ever faw: It fronts the Sea, which continually rolls impetuously on its Shore more here, than in any other Place on the Coaft of *Coromandel*: The Foundation is on Sand, with a Salt-Water River on its Backfide, which obftructs all Springs of freffh Water from coming near the Town; fo that they have no drinkable Water within a Mile of them, the Sea often threatening Deftitution on one Side, and the River, in the rainy Seafon, Inundations on the other. The Sun from *April* to *September* fcorching hot; and if the Sea-Breezes did not moiften and cool the Air, when they blow, the Place could not poffibly be inhabited. The Reafon why a Fort was built on that Place, is not well accounted for; but Tradition fays, that the Gentleman who received his Orders to build a Fort on that Coaft, about the Beginning of King *Charles* the Second's Reign, after his Reftoration, for protecting the Company's Trade, chofe that Place to ruin the *Portuguese* Trade at *St. Thomas*; others again alledge, and with more Probability, that the Gentleman aforefaid, which I take to be Sir *William Langborn*, had a Miftrefs at *St. Thomas*, of whom he was fo enamoured, that it made him build there, that their Interviews might be the more frequent and uninterrupted; but whatever his Reafons were, it is very ill fituated.

The Soil about the City is fo dry and fandy, that it bears no Corn, and what Fruits, Roots, and Herbage they have, are brought to Maturity by great Pains and much Trouble. If it be true, that the Company gave him Power to fettle a Colony in any Part of that Coaft that pleafed him beft, I wonder that he chofe not *Cabellan*, about fix Leagues to the Southward, where the Ground is fertile, and the Water good, with the Convenience of a Point of Rocks to facilitate Boats landing; or why he did not go nine Leagues farther northerly, and fettle at *Policat*, on the Banks of a good River, as the *Dutch* have done fince, where the Road for Shipping is made eafy by fome Sand-Banks that reach three Leagues off Shore, and make the high turbulent Billows that come roling from the Sea, fpend their Force on thofe Banks, before they can reach the Shore. The Soil is good, and the River commodious, and convenient in all Seafons: Now, whether one of thefe Places had not been more eligible, I leave to the ingenious, and thofe concerned, to confider.

However, the War carried on at *Bengal* and *Bombay*, by the *English*, againft the *Mogul*'s Subjects, from 1685, to 1689, made Fort *St. George* put on a better Drefs than

ions. It is true, to the Injustice of Nations of Pirates shared the same have escaped rather

Coast, where we settlements, at the *Surat, Bombay, Fort St. David*, and turning up next to what may be in the *Indies*, I the Course of this ven a large Account ed; which is the m here; but as for atitude of 13° 20' scription for many e fit to infer a large clear and circum- so was perfectly ac- the Transactions that ll contribute to ren- an Settlements com- count of this, as we ces; and therefore agreeable Entertain-

as the Natives call ry belonging to the in one of the most onts the Sea, which ore more here, than *Coromandel*: The Water River on its of fresh Water from have no drinkable sea often threatening er, in the rainy Sea- Sun from April to Sea-Breezes did not ey blow, the Place Reason why a Fort accounted for; but who received his Or- about the Beginning h, after his Restora- Trade, chose that *St. Thomas's*; others bility, that the Gen- *Sir William Lang-* of whom he was lo there, that their In- and uninterrupted; very ill situated.

ry and sandy, that it ts, and Herbage they eat Pains and much Company gave him rt of that Coast that e chose not *Cabellan*, where the Ground is the Convenience of landing; or why he rtherly, and settle at er, as the *Dutch* have ping is made easy by eagues off Shore, and at come rolling from e Banks, before they good, and the River Season: Now, whe- been more eligible, I concerned, to con-

at *Bengal* and *Bombay*, Subjects, from 1685, on a better Dress than he

he wore before; for the peaceable *Indian Merchants*, who hate Contention and War, came flocking thither, because it lay far from their Incumbrances of Trade, and near the Diamond Mines of *Golconda*, where there are many Times good Bargains to be made, and Money got by our Govern- ners; the black Merchants resorting to our Colony, to se- cure their Fortunes, and bring their Goods to a safe Mar- ket, made it populous and rich, notwithstanding its nat- ural Inconveniences. The Town is divided into two Parts, one where the *Europeans* dwell, is called the white Town: It is walled quite round, and has several Bastions and Bulwarks to defend its Walls, which can only be attacked at its Ends, the Sea and River fortifying its Sides. It is about four hundred Paces long, and one hundred and fifty broad, divided into Streets pretty regular, and *Fort St. George* stood near its Centre. There are two Churches in it, one for the *English*, and another for the *Romish* Service. The Governor superintends both, and in filling up Vacan- cies in the *Romish* Church, he is the *Pope's* Legate *à la- tere* in Spiritualities. There is a very good Hospital in the Town, and the Company's Horse-Stables are near, but the old Colledge, where a great many Gentlemen Fac- tors are obliged to lodge, is badly kept in Repair. They have a Town-Hall, and underneath it are Prisons for Debtors. They are, or were a Corporation, and had a Mayor and Aldermen, chosen by the free Burghers of the Town, but that curvy Way is grown obsolete, and the Governor and his Council, or Party, fix the Choice.

The City had Laws and Ordinances for its own Prefer- vation, and a Court kept in Form, the Mayor and Aldermen in their Gowns, with Maces on the Table, a Clerk to keep a Register of Transactions and Cases, and At- torneys and Solicitors to plead in Form, before the Mayor and Aldermen; but after all, it is but a Farce; for, by Experience I found, that a few Pagadoes rightly placed, could turn the Scales of Justice, to which Side the Govern- or pleased, without respect to Equity or Reputation. In smaller Matters, where the Case on both Sides is but weakly supported by Money, then the Court acts judi- ciously, according to their Consciences and Knowledge, but often against Law and Reason; for the Court is but a Court of Conscience, and its Directions are very irregular, and the Governor's dispensing Power of nulling all that the Court transacts, puzzles the most celebrated Lawyers there, to find Rules to justify such Conduct.

They have no martial Law, so that they cannot inflict the Pains of Death any other Ways than by Whipping, only for Piracy they can hang, and some of them have been so fond of that Privilege, that *Mr. Yale* hang'd his Groom (*Cress*) for riding two or three Days Journey off, to take the Air; but in *England* he paid pretty well for his arbitrary Sentence: And one of a latter Date, *viz.* the Orthodox *Mr. Collett*, hang'd a Youth who was an Ap- prentice to an Officer on board a Ship, and his Master going a pirating, carried his Servant along with him, but the Youth ran from them the first Opportunity he met with on the Island of *Jonckeyloan*, and informed the Mas- ter of a Sloop which lay in the River there, that the Pi- rates had a Design on his Sloop and Cargo, and went arm- ed in Company with the Master, to hinder the Approach of the Pirates, and was the first that fired on them, yet that merciful Man was inexorable, and the Youth was hanged.

The Power of executing Pirates is so strangely stretched, that if any private Trader is injured by the Tricks of a Gov- ernor, and can find no Redress, if the injured Person is so bold as to talk of *Lex talionis*, he is infallibly declared a Pirate. The black Town is inhabited by *Gentous, Mo- hammedans, and Indian Christians, viz. Armenians and Portuguese*, where there are Temples, and Churches for each Religion, every one being tolerated, and every one follows his proper Employment. It was walled in towards the Land, when Governor *Pit* ruled it. He had some Apprehension that the Mogul's Generals in *Golconda* might some Time or other plunder it; so laying the Ha- zard and Danger before the Inhabitants, they were either persuaded, or obliged to raise Subsidies to wall their Town, except towards the Sea, and the white Town.

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The two Towns are absolutely governed by the Gover- nor, in whole Hands the Command of the Military is lodged; but all other Affairs belonging to the Company, are managed by him and his Council, most Part of whom are generally his Creatures; and I have been, and am ac- quainted with some Gentlemen, who have been in that Post, as well as some private Gentlemen who resided at *Fort St. George*, Men of great Candour and Honour, but they seldom continued long Favourites at Court. One of the Gates of the white Town looks towards the Sea, and it is for that Reason called the Sea-gate, the Gate-way being pretty spacious, was formerly the common Ex- change, where Merchants of all Nations resorted about Eleven o'Clock to treat of Business in Merchandize; but that Custom is out of Fashion, and the Consultation-cham- ber, or Governor's Apartment, serves for that Use now; which made one Captain *Perrin*, a very merry Man, say, that he could never have believed that the Sea-gate could have been carried into the Consultation-room, if he had not seen it.

The Company have their Mint here for coining Bullion, that comes from *Europe*, and other Countreys, into Ru- pees, which brings them in a good Revenue. The Rupee is stamp'd with *Persian* Characters, declaring the Mogul's Name, Year of his Reign, and some of his Titles. They also coin Gold into Pagadoes of several Denomina- tions and Values. There are also Schools for the Educa- tion of Children; the *English* for reading and writing *English*; the *Portuguese* for their Language, and *Latin*; and the *Mohammedans, Gentous and Armenians*, for their particu- lar Languages, and the *English* Church is well endowed, and maintains poor Gentlemen in good Houewifery, and good Cloaths and Palankines.

The Diamond Mines are but a Week's Journey from *Fort St. George*. Some Customs and Laws at the Mines are, when a Person goes thither on that Affair, he chooses a Piece of Ground, and acquaints one of the King's Of- ficers, who stay there for that Service, that he wants fo many Covets of Ground to dig in, but whether they agree for so much, or if the Price be certain, I know not. How- ever, when the Money is paid, the Space of Ground is enclosed, and some Centinels placed round it. The King challenges all Stones that are found above a certain Weight; I think it is above sixty Grains; and if any Stones be car- ried clandestinely away, above the stipulated Weight, the Person guilty of the Theft is punished with Death. Some are fortunate, and get Estates by digging, while others lose both their Money and Labour. The current Trade of *Fort St. George* runs gradually slower. The Trader meeting with Disappointments, and sometimes with Op- pressions, and sometimes the Liberty of buying and sell- ing is denied them: And I have seen, when the Gover- nor's Servants have bid for Goods at a publick Sale, some who had a Mind to bid more, durst not, others who had more Courage, and durst bid, were brow-beaten and threatened; and I was Witness to a Bargain of *Surat* Wheat, taken out of a Gentleman's Hands, after he had fairly bought it by Auction, so that many trading People are removed to other Parts, where there is a greater Li- berty and less Oppression.

The Colony produces very little of its own Growth, or Manufacture for foreign Markets. They had formerly a Trade to *Pegu*, where many private Traders got pretty good Bread by their Traffick and Industry, but the Trade is now removed into the *Armenians, Moors and Gentous* Hands, and the *English* are employed in building and re- pairing of Shipping. The Trade they have to *China* is divided between them and *Surat*; for the Gold and some Copper are for their own Markets, and the Gros of their own Cargo, which consists in Sugar, Sugar-candy, Allum, China-ware, and some Drugs, as China-roots, Gallin- gal, &c. are all for the *Surat* Market. Their Trade to *Persia* must first come down the famous *Ganges*, before it can come down *St. George's* Channel, to be conveyed to *Persia*. They never had any Trade to *Mocha*, in the Pro- duct and Manufactures of *Coromandel*, before the Year 1713, and *Fort St. David* supplies the Goods for that Port; so that *Fort St. George* is an Emblem of *Holland*, supplying

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supplying foreign Markets with foreign Goods. The Colony is well-peopled, for there is supposed to be 80,000 Inhabitants in the Towns and Villages; and there are generally about 4 or 500 *Europeans* residing there, reckoning the Gentlemen, Merchants, Seamen, and Soldiers. Their Rice is brought by Sea from *Ganjam* and *Orixa*; their Wheat from *Surat* and *Bengal*; and their Fire-wood from the Islands of *Diu*, a low Point of Land that lies near *Matculpatam*; so that an Enemy that is superior to them in Sea-Forces, may easily distress them.

Mr. *Lodger*, in his Account of this Place, tells us, that the Administration is vested in the Governor and Council, which consists of six grave Merchants in the Company's Service; and though these Officers have but small Salaries, yet their Perquisites and Advantages they derive from Trade, are so considerable as to enable them to make a good Figure while they live there, and carry home, notwithstanding, very large Estates. He seems to differ with other Writers as to the Properties of the Soil and Climate; and therefore it may not be amiss to attend a little to his Account. The Inhabitants, says he, enjoy as perfect Health as they do in *England*, which is plainly discovered in their ruddy Complexions, which few of our other Settlements can boast. The Heats in Summer are the greatest Inconvenience they labour under; yet, I never heard of any ill Effect from them. The delicious Fruits that the Country abounds with, are a great Help in this Extremity; nor are they wanting to themselves in other Respects, Bathings and wet Goneyes being often apply'd with Success to the Relief of the paining. It seldom lasts above four or five Hours in a Day, when the Sea-Breeze coming on, the Town seems to be new born. The Governor, during the hot Winds, retires to the Company's new Garden for Retirement, which he has made a very delightful Place of a barren one. Its costly Gates, lovely Bowling-greens, spacious Walks, Teal-pond, and Curicities, preserved in several Divisions, are worthy to be admired. Lemons and Grapes grow there; but so much Pains is necessary to bring either to Maturity, that a Bunch of one, or a single Fruit of the other, will stand its Owner in five Shillings before it is ripe.

The Governor seldom goes abroad with less than three or fourscore persons armed, besides his *English* Guards to attend him: He has two union Flags carried before him, and Country Music, enough to frighten a Stranger into Belief the Men were mad. Two Dubashes attend to cool him with Fans, and drive away the Flies, that otherwise would molest him. He is a Man of great Power, respected as a Prince by the Rajahs of the Country; and is, in every Respect, as great, save that these are for themselves, thus his Masters. When a Person of Note dies, the Funeral is solemnized with the greatest Magnificence. The Governor, Council, and Gentlemen of the Town attend, nor is the Fair-Sex wanting in their Duty to their deceased Countryman. The Executors are liberal in all Respects to express their Concern for their Friend; whence the Ceremony is provided with all that is necessary for the Interment of a Christian. The Burying-Place is at the further End of the Back-Town, adorned with many stately Tombs in Honour of the Defunct; some with lofty Squares carved to different Fancies, after the *Indian* Manner. Others, in a lower Sphere, gravely express the Merits of the Person for whose sake they were erected, and all in general have the most curious Workmanship in *India* bestowed on them.

Much of the Powder expended in the Garrison is made on the Place, about a Gun-shot from the Town. It has not the Force of that which comes from *England*, for no other Reason than not well incorporating the Ingredients. They have the finest Salt-Petre, and Brimstone, with good Gunpowder, which ought to make the best Powder; but for want of Skillful Managers and good Contrivances, these Excellences are of no Effect. And, in truth, the Company in other Cases of the like Nature, are very much wanting to themselves. There is not an *English* Carpenter, Smith, Joiner, or other Artificer in the City, who knows half his Trade; whence they are obliged to black Fellows for what they have Occasion for in these Trades; nor is there so much as one Shop of any sort in the *English*

Town, the Benefit of which all the *Dutch* Settlements sufficiently demonstrate; for they are so sensible of it, that they take due Care never to be deficient that way. This is a Thing easily brought to pass by a Body so considerable in the Kingdom. I shall rather admire it has been so long neglected, than offer at the Means for effecting it. However, I wish, for the Honour of the *English* Nation, they would decline sending such diminutive, dwarfish, crooked Recruits, as of late have gone to supply their Settlements. To say no better can be had in Time of War, is an Evaporation, my own Experience proves altogether light; for, since it is no matter what Country in *Europe* they are of, let but three Captains be sent to *Ireland*, in less than three Months they could raise a Regiment of picked Fellows, who would be able to do them Service; besides, they look like Men, which is enough for them at *Fort St. George*. Objecting their Religion, looks like Partiality, for the *Tepases* in *India* are all of the same Principles; our Officers list none but Protestants to serve in our Troops, wherefore that Country is quite over-run with lousy Men, who are ready to starve for want of Employment.

But, to proceed regularly in our History of the Settlements of this Company. Along the Coast of *Ceramandul*, there were formerly several Places along the Coast to the Northward, which had *European* Factories settled in them, but are now neglected and unfrequented. There were also some Places farther up the Country, where the *English* and *Dutch* settled; but the Rajahs, who possessed the adjacent Countries, giving great Interruption to Trade, by their unjust and unreasonable Impositions, obliged them to withdraw their Factories. That of *Matculpatam* was the last they quitted, and, about three-score Years ago, was esteemed the most flourishing Colony the *English* had in all *India*; but now their House is deserted, and the *Dutch*, who remained behind them, are preparing to take the same Course. It is not a great many Years ago since the Mogul's Viceroy, upon this Coast, offered the Governor of *Fort St. George*, to make him a Present of the Islands of *Diu*, and the Inhabitants were well inclined thereto; but the Governor delayed taking Possession so long, that both the Viceroy and the People changed their Minds; and when he would have erected a Factory, or a Fort there, they would not permit it.

Next to *Matculpatam* is *Narsipore*, where the *English* had a Factory for long Cloth, for the Use of their Factory of *Matculpatam*, when they manufactured Chints there. It also affords good Teak-Timber for Building, and has a fine deep River, but a dangerous Bar, which makes it little frequented. And passing round *Carrango* Point, a little up *Carrango* Bay, is *Angerang*, that has the Benefit of a large deep River, that penetrates far up into the Continent. It has a Bar, soft at the Bottom, and three and an half Fathoms on it at High-Water. Here the best and finest long Cloth is made that *India* affords, and is sold cheap; but the inland Countries lying near the River, are in the Hands of several Rajahs; and each being Sovereign in his own small Dominions, lays such Impositions and Exactions on the Cloth that comes down the River, that they ruin that beneficial Trade of *Angerang*, and make it little frequented. In *Anno* 1708, the *English* from *Vizagapatam* settled there; but whether the Factory was starved for want of Money, or whether the constituent and constituted Chiefs of the Factories disagreed about dividing the Bear's Skin, I know not; but the Factory was soon withdrawn, and the Project lost.

Coasting along Shore, there are several little Ports between *Matculpatam* and *Vizagapatam*, besides *Narsipore* and *Angaran*, but *Wabow* is the most noted, for it produces Rice for Exportation, besides some Cloth, but it is not frequented by *Europeans*; and therefore I proceed to *Vizagapatam*, a fortified Factory belonging to the *English*. It is regularly fortified with four little Bastions, and has about eighteen Guns mounted in it. It has the Advantage of a River, but a dangerous Bar to pass over before we get into it. The Country about affords Cotton-Cloths both coarse and fine, and the best Durcas, or thin Muslins in *India*; but the Factory is generally heart-sick for want of Money to refresh it.

Settlements sufficient of it, that that way. This is so considerable has been so long settling it. How-*lish* Nation, they warlike, crooked their Settlements. War, is an Ever-*light*; for, *rope* they are of, in less than three of picked Fellows, *ce*; besides, they them at Fort *St.* *ks* like Partiality, same Principles; to serve in our te over-run with for want of Em-

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In Anno 1709, the Factory drew a War on themselves from the Nabob of *Chickacul*; for one Mr. *Simoon Halcomb*, who had been Chief at *Vazagapatam*, had borrowed considerable Sums of the Nabob, and affixed the Company's Seals to the Bonds he gave for them. Mr. *Holcomb* dying, the Nabob demanded his Money from the succeeding Chief, who would not pay him, alleging that *Holcomb* had borrowed it for his own private Use, and not for the Company's, and that he must get Payment out of *Holcomb's* private Estate, if there was enough found to pay the Debt, otherwise he might get his Money from some inland Rajahs, who stood indebted to *Holcomb*, by his Books of Accounts, in a greater Sum than would pay his Principal and Interest; and that he being the Mogul's General, could compel those Rajahs to pay their just Debts, which they would make over to him; but the Nabob, not caring to enter into a War with his Countrymen on such a Foundation, sent Agents to acquaint the Governor and Council of Fort *St. George* with his Affairs at *Vizagapatam*; they proved deaf to all the Agents Propositions and Arguments, and hardly treated him civilly; so he went back to his Master with the Account of his bad Success; upon which the Nabob came to a Garden, about half a League from *Vizagapatam*, accompanied with 500 Horse, and 3500 Foot, to demand his Money.

I, says Captain *Hamilton*, being accidentally there in a small *Dutch*-built Ship that I had bought from the *French* on my Credit at Fort *St. George*; and the Factory being but ill mann'd, Mr. *Hofings*, who was then Chief, and my Friend, desired the Assistance of my Arms and Council in that Juncture of Affairs, which I very freely gave him; and being asked in Council what I thought about the Affair, I advised him and his Council to compound the Matter as well as they could, and spin out Time, that we might better fortify the Avenues to the Factory. My Advice of compounding the Matter was rejected, but the other Part was followed; so, with seven *Europeans* that belonged to the Factory, and twelve that were with me, and twenty Topazes, and two hundred Natives, most of them Fishers, that lived under the Company's Protection, we fortified some Rocks that the Enemy were obliged to pass within Pistol-Shot of, if they had a Mind to attack us.

We threw up Breast-works between the Rocks, and moored my Ship within Pistol-Shot of the Shore, and had eight Minion-Guns to scour the Sands, if they had attempted to come that Way; and for six Weeks we continued on our Guard, and were often alarmed in the Night, but finding us always ready to receive them, they did not think it proper to force an Entry into the Town. I had the Honour to command all the Out-guards, and the chief with eight *Europeans*, and twenty Blacks, kept the Fort. Thus we continued in perpetual Watching and Alarms, till Reinforcements arrived from Fort *St. George*, and then I left them, and proceeded on a Voyage to *Pegu*. Both Parties being very busy, one striving to get his Money by Compulsion, and the other to save the Company's Money on any Terms, right or wrong. The War being drawn to a greater Length than was imagined at first, and Charges rising higher than was expected, inclined them to make all up amicably, which was at last effected by the Company's paying near the Sum that was at first demanded.

The Nabob, whose Name was *Takerly Cawn*, would hear of no Peace without the Company's Merchant, who was a *Gentoo*, called *Agapa*, and a Subject of the Mogul (who was very active in the War, in encouraging the Town's-people to defend themselves and the Company's Interests, and who also had wrote to some neighbouring Rajahs to embroil the Nabob's Affairs in his Absence, in order to divert him from pursuing his Demands on *Vizagapatam*) should be delivered up to him, which at last he was, and was put to a very cruel Death. He was set in the hot scorching Sun three Days, with his Hands fastened to a Stake over his Head, and one of his Legs tied up till his Heel touched his Buttock, and in the Night put into a Dungeon, with some venomous Snakes to bear him Company; and this was repeated till the third Night he ended his miserable Life. But the Company's Merchants,

for the future, will be careful how they espouse the Company's Interest again. There was one *Baily*, a Recruit from Fort *St. George*, on some Discontent deserted the Company's Service, and entered into the Nabob's; but falling into an Ambush, was taken Prisoner by our Men, and was sent to Fort *St. George*, where, for his Desertion, he was deservedly whipped out of this World into the next, and there I leave him.

After the War was ended, and all was quiet, the Nabob returned to *Chickacul*, but could neither forget nor forgive his Treatment at Fort *St. George* and *Vizagapatam*; but finding by Force he could not get the Factory into his own Hands, without a great Loss of Men and Money, he had Recourse to Stratagem, for surprising it: He came into the Town one Day with one hundred Horse, and some Foot, without advising of his coming, as was usual, at the Town-gate, and before the Chief could have Notice, he was got into the Factory, with twenty or thirty of his Attendants. The Alarm being given a resolute bold young Gentleman, a Factor in the Company's Service, called Mr. *Richard Harden*, came running down Stairs with his Fuzee in his Hand, and Bayonet fixed on its Muzzle, and presenting it to the Nabob's Breast, told him in the *Gentoo* Language (which he was Master of) that if any of his Attendants offered the least Incivility, his Life should answer for it. The Nabob was surprisingly astonished at the Resolution and Bravery of the young Gentleman, and sat down to consider a little, Mr. *Harden* keeping the Muzzle of his Piece still at his Breast, and one of the Nabob's Servants standing all the while behind Mr. *Harden* with a Dagger's Point close to his Back; so they had a Conference of half an Hour long in the above-mentioned Posture, and then the Nabob thought fit to be gone again, full of Wonder and Admiration at so daring a Courage.

The next Kingdom to *Golconda*, in which the Places we have been last speaking of lie, is that of *Orissa*; and proceeding along its Coast, we come to the Mouth of the River of *Ballafore*, where there is a very dangerous Bar, sufficiently noted for the many Wrecks and Losses made by it. Between *Cannaca* and *Ballafore* Rivers there is one continued sandy Bay, where prodigious Numbers of Sea-Tortoises resort, to lay their Eggs, and a very delicious Fish, called the Pampice, some in Shells, and are sold for Two-pence a hundred; two of them are sufficient to dine a moderate Man. The Town of *Ballafore* is but four Miles from the Sea by Land, but by the River twenty. The Country is fruitful to Admiration, producing Rice, Wheat, Gram, Doll, Callavances, several sorts of *Pulse*, *Annis*, Cummin, Coriander, and Caraway-Seed, Tobacco, Butter, Oil, and Bee's-Wax. Their Manufactures are of Cotton in Sanis, Castles, Dimities, Mulnuls, Silk, and Silk and Cotton Romals, Gurrachs, and Lungies; and of *Herba* (a sort of tough Grass) they make Gingham, Pinasco's, and several other Goods for Exportation. The *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, have their respective Factories here; but at present are of little Consideration; though, in former Times, before the Navigation of *Hugly* River was cultivated, they were the head Factories of the Gulph of *Bengal*.

The Town of *Ballafore* drives a pretty good Trade to the *Maldives*. Those Islands have no Rice or other Grain of their own Product; so that *Ballafore* supplies them with all Necessaries they want; and in Return bring Cowries and Cayer, for the Service of Shipping. The Sea-shore of *Ballafore* being very low, and the Depths of the Water very gradual from the Strand, make the Ships in *Ballafore* Road keep at a good Distance from the Shore; for in four or five Fathoms they ride three Leagues off. From April to October is the Season for Shipping to come into the Bay of *Bengal*; Pilots lie ready at *Ballafore* to carry them up the River *Hugly*, which is a final Branch of the famous *Ganges*. The *European* Companies before mentioned, keep theirs always in Pay; but when none of their own Shipping is there, their Pilots have the Liberty to serve other Ships, which is no small Advantage to them. The Sides of the River are over-grown with Bulshes, which give Shelter to many fierce and troublesome Tygers, which do much Mischief. A good Author says, he knew an *Englishman* that was in the Ship's-boat laden with fresh

Water,

Water, lying in the River, waiting the Tide to carry her over the Bar, and this Man had the Curiosity to step ashore, and being a little Way from the Boat, had a Call to ease himself, and had no sooner put himself in a Posture, near the Bushes, but out leaped a Tyger, and caught both his Buttocks in his Mouth, and was for carrying him away; but one of the Seamen in the Boat seeing the Tragedy, took up a Musket, and placed a Bullet in the Tyger's Head, while the Man was in his Mouth helpless. The Tyger immediately let him fall, and skulked into the Bushes, and the wounded Man was carried on board his Ship, where the Surgeon made a perfect Cure of the Wounds.

Piply lies on the Banks of a River, supposed to be a Branch of the *Ganges*, about five Leagues from that of *Ballafore*; formerly it was a Place of Trade, and was honoured with the *English* and *Dutch* Factories. The Country produces the same Commodities that *Ballafore* does. At present it is reduced to Beggary, by the Factories removing to *Hugbly*, and *Calacutta*, the Merchants being all gone. It is now inhabited by Fishers, as are also *Angliche*, and *Kidgiere*, two neighbouring Islands on the West-side the Mouth of the *Ganges*. These Islands abound also in same Swine, where they are sold very cheap. There are near these Islands dangerous Sand-banks, that are both numerous and large, and make the Navigation out and into *Hugbly* River both troublesome and dangerous; and and after we pass these Islands, in going up the River, the Channel for Shipping is on the East-side, and several Creeks run from the Channel among a great Number of Islands, formed by different Channels of the *Ganges*, two of which are more remarkable than the rest, *viz.* *Coxes* and *Sagar* Islands, where great Ships are obliged to anchor, to take in Part of their Cargoes, because several Places in the River are too shallow for such Ships to pass over, when their whole Cargoes are aboard.

There are no Inhabitants on those Islands, for they are so pestered with Tygers, that there could be no Security for humane Creatures to dwell on them; nay, it is even dangerous to land on them, or for Boats to anchor near them; for in the Night they have swam to Boats at Anchor, and carried Men out of them; yet among the *Pagans*, the Island *Sagar* is accounted holy, and great Numbers of *Jongies* go yearly thither in the Months of *November* and *December*, to worship and wash in Salt-water, who many of them sail Sacrifices to the hungry Tygers. The first safe Anchoring-place in the River, is off the Mouth of a River above *Sagar*, commonly known by the Name of *Rogues River*, which had this Appellation from some *Banditti Portuguese*, who were Followers of Sultan *Syabb*, when Emir *Jemal*, *Aurenzeb's* General, drove the unfortunate Prince out of his Province of *Bengal*. For those *Portuguese* having no Way to subsist after their Master's Flight to the Kingdom of *Aracan*, betook themselves to Piracy among the Islands, at the Mouth of the *Ganges*, and that River having Communication with all the Channels from *Xatigam* to the Westward from this River, they used to fall upon and commit Depredations on those that traded on the River *Hugbly*.

About five Leagues farther upon the West-side of the River of *Hugbly*, is another Branch of the *Ganges*, called *Ganga*; it is broader than that of *Hugbly*, but much shallower, and more incumbered with Sand-banks. A little below the Mouth of it, the *Danes* have a thatched House, but for what Reasons they kept a House there we are in the Dark. Along the River of *Hugbly*, there are many small Villages and Farms interspersed with those large Plains, but the first of any Note on the River-side is *Calacutta*, a Market-town for Corn, coarse Cloth, Butter and Oil, with other Productions of the Country. Above it is the *Dutch* Banks Hall, a Place where their Ships ride when they cannot get farther up for the too swift Currents of the River.

Calacutta has a large deep River that runs to the Eastward, and so has *Juanpardao*, and on the West-side there is a River that runs by the Back of *Hugbly* Island, which leads up to *Radnagur*, famous for manufacturing Cotton-cloth, and silk *Nomals*, or Handkerchiefs; *hussundri* and *Fresindi*, or *Gorgat*, and *Cobong*, are all on that River, which produce the greatest Quantities of the best Su-

gars in *Bengal*. We are now arrived at the greatest Settlement the Company have on this Coast, which is *Fort William*, but having already given a large Account of this Place, and of such others as are of any Note in its Neighbourhood, we will proceed. The Kingdom of *Dacca* is the first on the Eastern-side of the *Gange*, next to that lies the Kingdom of *Aracan*, then the Kingdom of *Ava*, which is next to that of *Pegu*; on all which Coasts we have some, but very little Trade; and as to the Islands along the Coast, though well enough situated for Commerce, yet, as they are uninhabited, they do not deserve, or require our Notice.

The next Place on the Continent to the Southward, is *Merjee*, a Town belonging to the King of *Siam*, situated on the Banks of the River of *Tanacerein*, lying within a great Number of small uninhabited Islands. The Harbour is safe, and the Country produces Rice, Timber for Building, Tin, Elephants Teeth, and Agale-wood. In former Times, a good Number of *English* free Merchants were settled at *Merjee*, and drove a good Trade, living under a mild indulgent Government; but the old *East-India* Company envying their Happiness, by an arbitrary Command, ordered them to leave their Industry, and repair to *Fort St. George*, or to serve them, and threatened the King of *Siam* with a Sea-war, if he did not deliver those *English* up, or force them out of his Country, and in *Annno* 1687, sent one Captain *Weldon*, in a small Ship called *Courtesy* to *Merjee* with that Message; he behaved himself very insolently to the Government, and killed some *Siamese* without any just Cause. One Night, when *Weldon* was ashore, the *Siamese* thinking to do themselves Justice on him, got a Company together, designing to seize or kill the Aggressor; but *Weldon* having Notice of their Design, made his Escape on board his Ship, and the *Siamese* missing him, tho' very narrowly, vented their Rage on all the *English* they could find; the poor Victims being only guarded by their Innocence, did not so much as arm themselves to withstand the Fury of the enraged Mob, so that seventy-six were massacred, and hardly twenty escaped on board of the *Courtesy*; such was the tragical Consequence of one Man's Insolence.

Before that fatal Time, the *English* were so beloved, and favoured at the Court of *Siam*, that they had Places of Trust conferred upon them, both in civil and military Branches of the Government. Mr. *Samuel White* was made *Sherbandaar*, or Custom-master at *Merjee* and *Tanacerein*, and Captain *Williams* was Admiral of the King's Navy; but the troublesome Company, and a great Revolution that happened in the State of *Siam*, made some repair to *Fort St. George*, others to *Bengal*, and others to *Aracan*.

Since that Time, Things are quite altered, and the Affairs of the Company being thoroughly settled, all Things are carried on with the utmost Regularity, so that though it has not been found necessary to establish new Factories, or to settle Colonies along the Coasts, which would infallibly have alarmed other Nations, without contributing much to the Service of our own; yet the Commerce of the whole Gulph, from the Mouth of the *Ganges*, to the very Extremity of the Peninsula of *Malacca*, is properly provided for, by which Means the Company reaps the Profit, or at least a reasonable Part of the Profit of the private Trade thither, without being put to any unnecessary Expence. As to our Factories on the Island of *Sumatra*, they are now so numerous, that it is conceived we enjoy the best Part of the Traffick which that rich Island affords. Our Factories therein are *Morbe*, *Bantal*, *Cattoun*, *Bencoolen*, *Marlbrough Fort*, of which we have spoken largely before, and *Sillebar*, of which we have also taken Notice.

It is true, that the *Dutch*, being Masters of the neighbouring Island of *Java*, have found Means from thence to fix themselves upon Part of this Island, and it is said, they are possessed of a gold Mine, which they work, but to no great Advantage, at least to the Company. On this Occasion, I cannot help taking Notice, that the Conduct of our *East-India* Company is to the full as commendable in their not endeavouring to follow this Example, since I am satisfied, that Commerce is a much more valuable Thing than Mines of Gold, especially in the Hands of a Company. Because this may seem a Paradox, I think I shall not mis-

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pend either my own or the Reader's Time, by endeavour-
ing to explain it. There is certainly no Country in the
Indies which abounds so plentifully in Gold as this Island
of *Sumatra*, if we except *China* and *Japan*, and that *Me-*
thod must certainly be the best, by which most of this
precious Metal can be obtained. But the establishing by
Force any Settlements in that Country, is not like to prove
the most effectual Means, for many Reasons, for, in the
first Place, the Natives will not work the Mines for them-
selves, and considering it as an intolerable Slavery to work
them for others, have an unconquerable Aversion for such
as would put them on such Labours; so that from the
Time this Method is tried, there is an End of all free
Correspondence with the People of this Country.

In the next Place, the Mines are far from yielding in
any Proportion to what is expected from them, the Rea-
son of which is not hard to discern; for all the Nations on
that extensive Island, being employed in picking out of the
Sands and Channels of the Rocks, such Gold as is
forced into them by the Torrents, that pass through the
Mines, the Quantity of Metal obtained by the Industry, of
such Multitudes, all working for their own Benefit, must
exceed, in a transcendent Degree, what is dug out of a
single Mine, under the Discouragements before-mention-
ed. Several Colonies therefore, in different Parts of this
Island, the gentle Usage of the Inhabitants, and the bring-
ing them to consume and esteem *European* Commodities,
is the true, safe and certain Means of acquiring peaceably,
and by their own Consent, the Gold that is thus gathered;
and these three several Advantages arise from proceeding
in this Way.

First, the vast Hazard of maintaining an absolute Power
over a numerous Nation with a Handful of Men, is avoid-
ed. Secondly, an Intercourse is established, by which not
only a vast Quantity of Gold is returned to *Europe*; but,
which is a thing of no less Consequence, it is returned not
by the Labour of *Indian* Slaves, but for Goods and Ma-
nufactures belonging to, or wrought amongst ourselves.
Thirdly, by this Means a great Quantity of Shipping is
employed; whereas the Possession of Gold or Silver-
Mines requires only a few Ships, and as it is acquired by
Tyranny abroad, so such a Return of this Wealth can only
serve to promote Idleness and Luxury at home. From all
which Considerations, I conceive the Point I first laid
down to be fully established, viz. that the Policy of our
East-India Company, especially if considered in a national
Light, is much preferable to that of the *Dutch*; and I
make no question, that the Experience of future Times
will abundantly justify this Observation. We had former-
ly Settlements on the Coasts of *Cochin-China*, and in the
Kingdom of *Tonquin*, which have been since with-
drawn; but we have still an occasional Trade there, and
especially in the last-mentioned Kingdom.

As to our Trade to the Eastward to *China* and the *Ma-*
nillas, I have not much to say of it here. The former is
so well known in every Respect, that there is no Need of
dwelling upon it; and, as for the latter, there is so little
can be said with Certainty, that I can scarce persuade my-
self to meddle with it at all: However, for the sake of
Method, and that I may not seem to conclude this Matter
abruptly, I shall just touch upon both. As to the *China*
Trade, it has been found, by Experience, that we manage
it as well, or better, at *Canton* than we did formerly at
Amoy, when we had a Factory in the Island of *Chusan*.
To say the Truth, the Affairs of our Company were in so
good a Condition thirty Years ago, that we bid fair for
monopolizing this Trade; but the high Duties laid upon
Teas and other *Chinese* Commodities, defeated our Indus-
try abroad, and gave Encouragement to the pernicious
Practice of Smuggling, which, in a very short time, put
our Trade in *China* almost on a Level with that of other
Nations; but, perhaps, by a right Management, and a
due Regard shewn by the Government for the Interest of
the Company, Things may be set right again.

As to the *Manilla* Trade, the *French* say, that we carry
on a considerable Part of it under *Irish* Colours; but I must
confess, I believe there is no good Authority for this,
though it is very highly probable that something of this
sort may be done under *Spanish*, or rather under *Portu-*

guese Colours; for the *Spaniards*, contrary to their Cu-
stom in all their other Colonies, have laid open this Trade to
all Nations, the *English* and *Dutch* only excepted, which
Exception by the Government is of no great Consequence;
where it is the Interest of their Subjects, as well as ours, to
break through it. But, with respect to *Japan*, which lies
still farther to the east, we have, as I have already shewn at
large, lost all Correspondence therewith, and whatever Com-
modities of that Country are brought into ours, we derive
from our Trade with the *Chinese* and *Dutch*.

Thus, according to the clearest Lights that I have been
able to obtain, I have performed my promise, and given
the best Account that was in my Power, not only of the
Rise and Progress, but also the present State of our Com-
merce to the *Indies*, which, I hope, appears to the Reader
to be in a much more flourishing State than ever; and that it
may still continue, or rather that it may yet improve
beyond what it has hitherto done, it is absolutely necessary
that three Points should be universally well understood; the
first is, that this Trade is highly beneficial to the Na-
tion; the second, that as Things now stand, it cannot
be effectually carried on otherwise than by supporting the
present Company; and lastly, that the Objections heretofore
made, and which are still circulated among the common
People, are false and groundless; so that if we should
grow careless enough to lose this Trade, it will go near to
carry all other Trade with it. We will succinctly demon-
strate each of these Points, and so conclude this
Section.

First, then, I am to shew that it is a Thing advanta-
geous to this Nation, that the *East-India* Trade should be
carried on. If we consider this generally, there is nothing
easier, nothing more certainly to be made out than this;
for have we not seen that the *Hebrews*, *Tyrians*, *Egypt-*
ians, *Greeks*, and *Romans* in ancient Times; and that the
Venetians, *Genoese*, *Portuguese* and *Dutch*, among the
Moderns, have all raised themselves to immense Wealth,
and to a surprising Degree of naval Power, by being pos-
sessed of this Trade? What Need then of arguing to
persuade the People of this Country, that what has en-
riched all others, must be beneficial for them, that what has
bestowed the Dominion of the Sea in Times past and pre-
sent, is necessary to them, and that if in a Matter of this
Nature, we are guided by Experience, it is scarce possible
that we should be mistaken. But, to defend to Particu-
lars, the *East-India* Trade, I speak in reference to this
Kingdom, has all the Marks and Characters of Advan-
tage that any Trade can have.

In the first Place, its Navigation is very considerable;
it maintains a vast Number of Seamen, more indeed than
can be easily computed: But to place this Point in a pro-
per Light, we must, first of all, consider the Number of
Ships that are annually taken up by the *East-India* Com-
pany; we must next call to Mind the Number of Seamen
continually employed in the *Indies*, in trading from Port
to Port; and lastly, we must reflect on the Shipping em-
ployed in exporting *East-India* Goods to all the different
Parts of *Europe*, and then we shall have a competent No-
tion of the Value of this Trade in this respect, provided
also that we bear in Mind the great Improvement that such
long Voyages naturally make in those who are employed in
them, and the great Consequences of this to a Country,
the Power and Welfare of which depend upon a maritime
Force.

In the next Place, there is nothing more certain, than
that we derive a great Part of our Wealth from this Com-
merce, which brings in large Quantities of Gold and other
intrinsick Riches immediately from the *Indies* in its ordi-
nary Course. It is no less evident, that private Men
make vast Fortunes in the *Indies*, which, sooner, or later,
they bring home: And all these Estates are consequently
Accessions to the Wealth of this Kingdom. We must
add to this the Balance that accrues to the Nation from
the exporting of *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures,
which is in itself so vast a thing, that it would require Vo-
lumes to explain it thoroughly. But this is not my pre-
sent Business; all I aim at is, to give a general Notion of
the Advantages derived to us from this Commerce; and,
in order thereto, it is sufficient that I put the Reader in

mind, that there is scarce a Branch of Trade which we at present enjoy, but is some way or other affected by our Importations from *India*, and which, consequently, must so far depend upon them, since, if we had not these Goods, we could not carry them on.

Another great Advantage this Commerce bestows, is the Exportation of our Manufactures, to which the *East-India* Company are bound, by their Charters, with which they not only comply, but have greatly exceeded what was expected from them; and, of late Years especially, have constantly increased their Exportations, so that a great Part of those valuable Effects which they bring home are, strictly and properly speaking, the Produce of the Labour and Industry of our own People. But, besides this, they bring home several raw and unmanufactured Goods, such as Silk, and Cotton, which are wrought up here, and vast Quantities of them exported to our Plantations, by which we obtain a great Part of that prodigious Balance in our Favour which arises from that Trade.

There is yet another Point which I must insist upon, which is the furnishing us for our own Wear, with large Quantities of cheap and beautiful Stuffs, that might enable us, if our Poor were properly regulated, and our Care taken to excite an universal Spirit of Industry, to make and send abroad vast Quantities of woollen Goods: For though it be true, that our own Consumption of those Goods is of great Consequence to such as are employed in the making of them, yet with respect to this Nation, it is of no Consequence at all; for what we gain one by another, is to a great deal of Wealth to the Publick, for that must arise from what we draw from other Nations, either by paying for the Goods and Manufactures which we receive from them by what we export to them, or bringing over the Balance in Money; or, which is still better, in such as we can again export, and so add the Freight and Profit upon those Goods to the Balance by which they accrue. If there are not clear and convincing Proofs of the Benefit resulting to us from this Trade, it is simply impossible that we should have any such; and if our Opinions are not to be guided by these, it is not easy to say upon what they must be grounded.

But perhaps it may be expected that I should form some Computation of the Profits arising from the *East-India* Trade, which, I must confess, will be a very difficult thing, and would require much more Room than I have to spare; to which I may add, that this has been already done by Dr. *Davenant* and others, in a Way that will convince any Man who has Leisure, Attention, and Capacity, of the Truth of what they have delivered. However, that I may not seem altogether deficient in what many of my Readers may conceive the most material Point in this Enquiry, I will venture to lay down a Fact, the Pivot of which I am ready to undertake whenever I am properly called upon to do, which, I hope, will satisfy them, and it is this, that the Nation gains *Cent. per Cent.* by all the *East-India* Company exports: And, indeed, it is my private Opinion, that for every five Pounds which the *East-India* Company employs in that Trade, the Nation gains six Pounds; but how far this may be lessened by the setting up so many different *East-India* Companies in all Parts of *Europe*, is a Consideration of another Nature, and with which therefore I shall not meddle here.

The second Thing I promised was to shew the Expediency of supporting the *East-India* Company, and of leaving that Trade in the Channel it is now in. In the first Place, I must premise, that I am absolutely disinterested in this Matter, and so far from having any Direction or Influence from, that I have not the least Connection with the Company, or any of its Directors, and am likewise far from being a Friend to exclusive Companies in general, that I think this the only one that is, or can be beneficial to this Kingdom, for which I shall very freely assign my Reasons. The first is, that the Trade to the *East-India* is not of a Nature that it is of the utmost Consequence to the Nation to have, from time to time, distinct Accounts of its State and Condition, which could not be so well, or at least, not so easily received, if it was not managed by a Company. And, on the other hand, the necessary Instructions and Regulations, could not, with

such Facility, be any other Way conveyed. What seems to strengthen and enforce this Opinion, is the Conduct of all other Nations, who whenever they have adventured to interfere in this Trade, have constantly put it under the Management of a Company; and to say the Truth, whoever shall consider how Things are to be distributed in the *Indies*, and what a Connection there is between the Commerce of the several Countries included within the Extent of the *East-India* Company's Charter, will very easily discern, that if the whole were not under the Management and Direction of a Body of Men conversant therein; and not only capable of giving Directions, but properly empowered to see those Directions carried into Execution; it would be impossible, that this Commerce should thrive, or even, that it should subsist.

One may in like Manner conceive, that if the Possession of the Colonies and Ports in the *Indies* were in the Crown, and the Management of the Trade only in the Hands of the Company, it could not but be attended with numberless Inconveniences, as indeed Experience shewed, in the Reign of King *Charles II.* when *Bombay* came to the Crown, by his Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*, and therefore both that Island, and the Island of *St. Helena*, have been granted to the *East-India* Company, for the sake of publick Convenience. We may likewise discover from the Disorders of the *East-India* Company's Affairs in that Reign, and in the Reign of King *James*, that it is very detrimental to this Commerce, and to the Benefits resulting from thence to the Nation, that the Company should be immediately under the Power of the Crown, so as to stand indebted for all Encouragement, and to have no other Resource in case of Grievances, than what they can draw from Royal Power; for this on the one Hand renders Trade precarious, and on the other, interests a great Body of People in the support of the Privilege, which might be of dangerous Consequence.

The Mischiefs flowing from two *East-India* Companies subsisting at one Time, we have known to our Experience; and so great they were, that soon after their coming very soon sensible, that nothing but the Union of their Interests, could possibly afford a proper Remedy. Yet I think one may safely conclude, that the more the Trade opens, which is what has been often contended for, would be a Scheme big with still greater Inconveniences, because it would be at the Bottom a Multiplication of Companies, all acting upon separate Interests, which frequently would be perpetually clashing and interfering with each other. But as Things stand at present, and as all other Countries carry on this Trade in this Way, there remains no other for us, and we must either support the *East-India* Company, or relapse to give up our Commerce to the *Indies*, there being no middle Course for us to steer; and it was, without Doubt, from a just Sense of this, that in the two last Reigns, so much has been done by Parliament, in Favour of this Company, and to many new Powers granted them.

I am very sensible, that even these Powers, and indeed, all the Powers with which the Company are intrusted, may be liable to many, and some of them just Objections; but if the Powers of the Board of Trade were enlarged, and its Jurisdiction properly enforced, all these Inconveniences upon which these Objections are grounded, might be easily taken away; and besides, we very well know, that the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer can, and do interpose, as well in Favour of Foreigners, as Natives, whenever the Power of the *East-India* Company, or any of its Officers, is so exercised, as to commit Acts of manifest Injustice.

But at the same Time, that from all these concurring, and, as I conceive, unanswerable Reasons, I am persuaded, that this Trade is best carried on by an incorporated Body. I am very far from contending, that they should act without controul, or that they should not be in all respects subject to whatever Regulations the Legislature shall from Time to Time think fit to enact, for rendering the Commerce they carry on more and more beneficial to this Nation. It is from a due Sense of this, that I could heartily wish, Proposals might be made to the Board of Trade,

conveyed. What this Opinion, is the whenever they have, have constantly put any; and to say the things are to be distributed in this connection there is several Countries included Company's Charter, whole were not un- of a Body of Men capable of giving Directions to those Directions impossible, that this that it should submit.

that if the Possibility the Indies were in the Trade only in the not but be attended is indeed Experience 1712. when *Bombay* with the *Indians* of the Island, and the *East-India* Company. We may of the *East-India* and in the Reason of tal to this Commerce, hence to the Nation, early under the Power for all Encouragement in case of Great Royal Powers for the precarious, and the People in the State can be of dangerous

to *East-India* Company known to be expected in various things, but the Union of a proper Reason, that the necessary, that the necessary, later Inconvenience, a Multiplication of Interests, which is something and interesting and at present, and as in this Way, that that either support the live up our Commerce the Cause of the to from a vast Number much has been done Company, and to many

these Powers, and in- Company are intru- of them just Out- of Trade were en- interest, which is in- tions are grounded, besides, we very well and Exchange can, of Foreigners, as Na- *East-India* Company, as to commit Acts

all these concurring, sons, I am persuaded, an incorporated Bo- that they should act and not be in all respects Legislature shall from rendering the Com- beneficial to this Na- that I could heartily the Board of Trade,

for opening a direct and immediate Correspondence, either by the *Cape of Good-hope*, or by the *Straits of Magellan*, with the Southern-continent; and in case any Project of that sort should be laid before them, that was thought practicable, I should esteem it highly reasonable, that upon their Recommendation, the *East-India* Company should be obliged to make such an Attempt, or if they refused, that any private Persons might be allowed to undertake it, and have proper Assurances and Encouragements given them by the Publick. For it is, and will be ever my Sentiment, that this, and all other Companies, are but for many Corporations endowed with Powers in Trust for the Publick, for which they are, and must be accountable to the Publick, and also be subject to such Alterations, Extensions, and Restrictions, as may render them most serviceable to the Publick.

I rather insist upon these Points at this Time, because, without some Accession of new Trade, which we may possess as a Nation exclusive of all others, I do not see how it is possible we should maintain our maritime Power at its present Height. As on the other Hand, I can see no reason whatever, why, if any Thing can be done for the Service of the Nation, in this Respect, by opening a Trade to the southern *Indies*, by recovering the Trade of *Japan*, by discovering any Countries to the North of that Empire, or by any other Method whatever, it should be left undone out of Respect to the Powers or Privileges possessed by any Corporation.

I come now to the last Point that I have undertaken to clear, and that is the popular Objections which have been raised against the Commerce to the *Indies*, of which there are many, and some of them so plausible, that Men of great Parts, and good Intentions, have been led away by them. The first of these is grounded upon the Exportation of Bullion, and which, if I conceive it right, is thus stated. The common Measure of all Things in a commercial Way, is Silver, and consequently the great Mark of a Nation's Wealth, is her drawing this common Measure from other Nations; but the *East-India* Trade is carried on by exporting this real and intrinsic Wealth, which never returns, but is employed to bring back Things that are not necessary, but meer Instruments of Luxury.

Before I proceed to the direct Solution of this Difficulty, I must observe, that if we give this Objection its full Weight, it will destroy all Commerce. The Necessaries of Life are in every Country, or at least in every habitable Country, and it is to what some People call Luxury, that all Trade whatever is owing; so that if we admit this Principle, we should not only drink Sage instead of Green-ten, but make Use of Honey instead of Sugar. In short, we should endeavour to cultivate and improve the Produce of our own Country, live upon it, and leave all the rest of the World to shift for itself. How just a Maxim this would be, for People who inhabit an Island, and how reasonable it is, for Folks who derive most of the Blessings they enjoy from Trade, and maritime Power, to talk thus, I leave the Reader to judge. But it once we set this Objection to rest, as to allow that Trade is a commendable Thing for the very Reason the Objection assigns, viz. that it makes the Country in which it flourishes, Rich; the Trade to the *East-India* comes as defensible as any other: For, if exporting of Bullion does not impoverish the Nation, then there is no Force at all in the Objection; and that it does not in this Case, I am very well able to prove. When the first Charter was granted to the *East-India* Company, this Evil was foreseen, and properly guarded against by a Provision, that the Company should be obliged to bring in as large a Quantity of Bullion as they carried out, in the Interval between the Voyages made, at the Risk of the Company. In reality therefore, there never was any Foundation for this Complaint, that the Quantity of Silver in this Kingdom was diminished by the *East-India* Trade. But by Degrees, and as this Commerce has increased, instead of impoverishing, it has greatly encreased the Wealth of this Nation, by bringing in on one Hand large Quantities of Silver for the *Indian* Merchandize exported, and detaining here on the other as great Sums of Money, that must otherwise have been exported for foreign Manufac-

tures, which would have been worn here, if we had not been better and cheaper supplied from *India*.

Another Objection is, or at least was, that the wearing of *India* Piece-goods hurt our own woollen and silk Manufactures; but this in a great Measure has been cured by the Laws passed for that Purpose. It may not be amiss, however, to observe, that those Manufactures are chiefly to be encouraged, which contribute to Exportation, since it is certain, that the cheaper People can be clothed here, let that clothing come from where it will, the cheaper they can afford to work; and it is the Cheapness of Labour, that is the great Point to be studied in a Nation; for if we can Under-work other Nations, we shall infallibly undermine their Trade, and extend our own; for, as I observed before, private People may be enriched by home Consumption, yet the Publick gets nothing thereby, and this Consideration is sufficient to enable the intelligent Reader, to discern how a Clamour may be raised in Favour of Trades, no Way advantageous to the Publick, and against such Trades as are highly beneficial to the People, and this from confounding the Interest of private Men, or of great Bodies of Men, with the Interest of the Publick, which it requires great Skill, Industry, and Disinterestedness to disentangle, and set in its proper Light.

There is besides, a great Disadvantage in arguing on Topics of this Nature, because, while a Man is really pleading for the Publick, he is maliciously misrepresentsed as an Advocate for the private Interest of that Body of Men whose Cause he espouses, tho' in Truth he does not espouse their Cause out of regard to their private or particular Interest, but merely from a Conviction of Mind, that their Cause is in this respect the Cause of the Publick.

A third Objection is, that even the Exportation of *Indian* Goods is disadvantageous to the Nation, because it lessens, or at least is supposed to lessen the Consumption of our own Manufactures, in those Countries to which the Produce of *India* is exported: A very strong Objection this, in all Appearance, and yet at the Bottom a meer Fallacy, and not at all grounded on Truth. For this Objection supposes what is manifestly false, viz. that it depends upon our Exportation, whether the Inhabitants of those Countries to which we send them, shall wear the Manufactures of the *Indies*, or not; but as it is notorious, that if we did not supply them, they would receive them from the *Dutch*, or *French*, which would have the same Effect as to the Exclusion of our Manufactures; the true State of the Question comes at length to this, whether we shall take their Money, or their Goods for *Indian* Commodities, or whether we shall submit to let them lay out that, or part with those for *Indian* Commodities, which we might supply, to other People?

The Truth of all this, as it will appear to every candid and ingenious Reader, from the Reasons and Arguments already advanced, so, at this Juncture, it must be evident to every Man who has but common Sense, from the Light of Experience; for do we not see, that the *Russians*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, and other Nations, are bent upon establishing a direct Correspondence with *India*, in order to obtain greater Quantities of the Goods of that Country; and does not this manifestly prove, that the Appetites of these People for those Things were so strong, that it was no Way in our Power to check, or correct them?

The Truth of the Matter is, that the sole Objection against this Commerce, that has any Force, lies in this simple Proposition, that it is against the Interest of the western Part of the World, to correspond with the *East*. The Reasons which are brought to prove this, are indeed very plausible. It is said, that the Balance of Trade is against us, that we import the Commodities and Manufactures of the *Indies*, and export Silver to pay for them. That this drains *Europe* to such a Degree, as that since the Discovery of the Passage by the *Cape of Good-hope*, it is demonstrable, that the *Indians* have gained from the *Europeans* upwards of two hundred Millions in Silver, which immense Wealth they possess, while all that we received for it, is long ago lost and consumed. It is contended, even by the warmest Writers in Favour of the *Indian* Trade (tho' I freely own I am of a different Opinion) that this sufficiently proves, that it would be for the

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Benefit of the western Part of the World, if they had no Commerce at all with the East; and that it would be an Advantage to Europe in general, if the Commerce to the Indies were totally abolished.

Admitting this to be true, what is it to us? We are not yet the Legislators of Europe; we cannot bid the Dutch dissolve their Company, and recall their Subjects from the Indies; we cannot forbid the French to trade thither; and if our Ministers at Stockholm, and Copenhagen, should persuade those Courts not to send any more Ships to China, it is not at all probable, that they would take our Advice. We must be content then, to take the World as it lies before us, and since the Humour of trading to India cannot be extinguished, we, as a trading Nation, must endeavour so to manage that Humour, and our Commerce, as that both may turn to our Advantage.

We must contrive to maintain and support the Acquisitions made by our Company in that Part of the World; we must engage them to take off as great a Quantity of our Manufactures as is possible; we must encourage to the utmost the Exportation of such Goods and Manufactures as the Company brings home, and which is of the greatest Consequence to this Nation; we must, at all Events, and by whatever Means it can be done, prevent the smuggling of Indian Commodities into these Kingdoms, for such as promote that Practice, are the most notorious

Enemies of their Country, and cannot get a single Shilling, without robbing the Nation of five.

Thus I have entirely finished what I proposed with respect to our Commerce, with this Part of the World. I have shewn, that it is the great Wheel which moves all the rest; that we have no reason to be dissatisfied at seeing it managed by an exclusive Company; that by Degrees, and by a Variety of Accidents, this Company is now placed on the best Basis that can be for the Nation; that there is no doubt, their Trade is extremely beneficial; that the Objections against it, are very far from being well founded, and that at this Juncture, it imports us more than ever to be well informed, and clearly convinced as to these Things, because there never was a Conjunction when the thorough understanding of them was of so great Consequence to the Publick. If in the managing so extensive, so intricate, and in some Cases, so invidious a Subject, I shall be thought to have performed well, it is the Height of my Ambition; but if I have failed therein, it will be still my Comfort, that it was my Endeavour. I might with much greater ease to myself have contracted this Section into a narrower Compass, but I have sincerely studied the Benefit of the Reader, and how to render the Time he bestows in the Perusal of this Work beneficial to himself, by inspiring him with such Sentiments as may render him useful to his Country.

SECTION XXXIV.

A Succinct History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Dutch East-India Company, with a View of the immense Profits arising from that Commerce, and a Prospect of their Affairs, and the Manner in which they are conducted, as well at Home, as in their extensive Settlements Abroad.

Collected chiefly from their own Writers.

1. An introductory Account of the Situation of Affairs in Holland, at the Time their Commerce to the East-Indies was first undertaken.
2. Houtman's Imprisonment in Portugal, proves the Means of their learning the true Rout to the East-Indies.
3. The first Voyages made under the Direction of Houtman, at the Close of the sixteenth Century.
4. A new Company of Merchants engage in this Trade with great Success.
5. The States-General and Prince Maurice interpose in Order to put this Company on a proper Establishment.
6. The Dutch East-India Company formed, and Letters Patent dated March the 20th 1602, for twenty-one Years.
7. A great Struggle between the Dutch and Spaniards about the Moluccas, in which the former at last prevailed.
8. An Account of the surprizing Success of the Dutch Company, and of the prodigious Dividends made by them to their Proprietors in a few Years.
9. The Rise of the Company's great Power in the Indies, and the Causes thereof truly assigned.
10. Their Charter renewed and enlarged, with the Consequences arising from thence.
11. The Progress of their Trade in the Indies, and other remarkable Occurrences.
12. The History of this Company continued till the Expiration of their second Charter.
13. An Account of their Affairs to the Year 1660.
14. The Continuation of this History to the Close of the last Century.
15. A concise Deduction of this History to the present Times.
16. A short Account of their present Settlements in the Indies.
17. A curious and particular Relation of the Manner in which they manage their Affairs.
18. Of their Councils and Government in the Indies.
19. The Oeconomy of their Fleets, Squadrons, and single Ships, with other Particulars relating to their naval Concerns.
20. A View of their Management of Orphans Effects, and of the Care taken by them of their Poor.
21. Of the Management of the Company's Affairs in Holland, with a Table of their Dividends, from 1610 to 1717.

THESE could not certainly be any nobler Subject to an Author inclined at once to instruct and to entertain his Readers, than an Inquiry into the State of Industry and Trade may be to advance a People, notwithstanding any Difficulties they may be under from the Situation of their Country, the Poverty of the Soil, and the Opposition of neighbouring Powers. Such a Plan as this might enable a Man of moderate Understanding, quick Wit, and competent Learning, to treat of a political System as useful, and at the same Time, as very pleasant and agreeable, than the famous *Principles of Human Nature*, which have hitherto been esteemed in-
 valuable, and which a small volume contains the Principles of

Veil of Fictions. But if the Composition of such a Work be a Task so hard as scarce to be expected, an Author of a cooler Genius than is requisite for such a Performance, might perform something very laudable in this kind, by writing a copious History of the Establishment of the Dutch Republick, which would sufficiently shew, that the Desire of preserving religious and civil Liberty, maintaining the natural Rights of Mankind with respect to Trade, and transmitting the Blessings of an equal and mild Administration to Posterity, are Principles capable of raising such an heroic Spirit in any People, as will enable them to overcome all Difficulties of what kind soever, and that to such a Degree, as to give them a Capacity of changing, at least in Appearance, the very Laws of Nature, so as

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to render the meanest Country a Paradise, and the most distressed and dejected of the human Race, the bravest Soldiers, and the most enterprising Seamen.

Such a History would particularly shew, that Providence can conduct, by the most unlikely Means, the noblest Designs to the highest Degree of Perfection, and lay the Ground-work of the most exalted Power and Liberty in the midst of Tyranny and Oppression. For most evident it is, that if the *Spaniards* had not pursued the most barbarous Plan of Politicks in Reference to their Subjects in the *Low-Countries*, the Republick of the *United Provinces* had never existed, nor had the People of *Holland* ever arrived at any Part of that Wealth, Dignity and surprizing Power, as for the two last Centuries they have enjoyed. It is the peculiar Glory of the Almighty, to produce Order out of Confusion, Good out of Evil, Strength and Happiness out of Weakness and Misery, and of this, no Period of History affords us a more illustrious Instance, than that which is to be the Subject of the present Section. It was the Bigotry of the *Spaniards*, and their illegal Introduction of the bloody Inquisition into the *Netherlands*, that introduced that Firmness to their religious Principles, and that zealous Concern for the Liberty of Conscience, which has proved the Source of the Grandeur of the *Dutch*. It was the barbarous, as well as arbitrary Government of the Duke of *Alva*, Cardinal *Granville*, and such Ministers of Oppression, that established those Notions of civil Liberty, that enabled the distressed Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* to establish a Form of Government capable of procuring and maintaining their Freedom; and it was the Measures taken to curb, to distress, and to ruin the little Trade they then had, which forced these People upon those Methods that in a very small Space of Time rendered them the most considerable trading Republick the World ever saw.

It must be allowed, that of all the Monarchs that were ever seized with a Passion for universal Empire, there never was one who seemed to have it more in his Power to gratify Ambition in its largest Extent, than *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, who was not led thereto by the Encitements of Ministers more capable than himself, but formed his own Schemes, and conducted them with such Wisdom and Policy, that if the End he aimed at had been attainable by human Abilities, one could scarce conceive how he came to be frustrated in his Design. He had gained the Court of *Rome* entirely to his Interest, and was thereby able to bend the predominant Religion in *Europe* to his Purposes. He had the whole Force of the *Spanish* Monarchy, and of the House of *Austria* in *Germany* at his Command; the greatest maritime Power in the World was at his Disposal, a great Part of *Italy* was in his Possession; he had a strong Party in *England*, and a stronger in *France*, and all the Riches in the *Indies* flowed into his Coffers; but what was still of greater Consequence, he had the most able Ministers, and the most experienced Generals, and the best disciplined Troops in the World at his Devotion; all which Advantages were doubled by his Skill in making use of them; for he had a Soul above the Reach of Fortune, and a Capacity more extensive than his Dominions; so that had he undertaken what was in the Power of Man to achieve, he had easily and happily performed it; but as his Project was without Bounds, so the Methods he used, tho' wisely contrived, and generally speaking, well carried into Execution, proved not only fruitless, but so dissipated the Wealth and Strength of his Empire, that as he died himself of Discontent, so he left the *Spanish* Monarchy under an incurable Consumption.

But amongst all the vast Designs which this Monarch formed, that which was best digested, was attended with the worst Effects. He knew, that a Monopoly of Trade, was the first Step to universal Empire, and therefore formed a Plan for fixing the whole Trade of the World to his Dominions. It was with this View, that he set on Foot two Schemes which proved abortive indeed, but which will eternally prove the Strength of that Genius which devised them. The first was the seizing and securing the Sound, or narrow Passage into the *Baltick*, by which he hoped to become Master of all the Trade of the North: The other was building a City of his own Name in the

Streights of *Magellan*, and establishing such a Colony there, as might put it out of the Power of other Nations to trouble the Commerce of the *South-Sea*, or find a Passage that Way to the *East-Indies*. But failing in these Designs, he turned his Thoughts another Way, and finding that his revolted Subjects in the *Netherlands*, began to make a great Figure in Trade, especially after the Ruin of the City of *Antwerp*, he resolved to cut them short in that, as much as lay in his Power, and being become Master of *Portugal*, he absolutely forbid them all Commerce, not only with the *Indies*, but in the Commodities of the *Indies*, which they had hitherto purchased at *Lisbon*, and with great Profit to themselves, had distributed to the northern Parts of *Europe*. It was by this Prohibition, expressly calculated for the Ruin of their Trade, that the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* were compelled to those Undertakings which have since made them Lords of *India*. If the *Spaniards* had never forbid them, they had never thought of going thither; if they had remained the sole Carriers of Spices, or even been allowed a reasonable Proportion of that Trade, they had never been the Proprietors of it.

But the making this unexpected Stroke at their Commerce, at a Juncture when they had many rich Merchants amongst them, and their Country swarmed with able Seamen, instead of damping their Spirits, and depriving them of all Hopes, excited them to form a multitude of Projects for averting this Evil, more especially when they found that his Catholick Majesty remained firm to his Point, and actually caused their Ships to be seized, and such as were on Board them to be imprisoned. This convinced them, that they must either abandon all Thoughts of this Commerce, or strike out some new Rout for themselves, which was so much the more difficult, because even while they lived under the *Spanish* Yoke, they had never been permitted to make Voyages to the *Indies*. They derived, however, some Assistance from the Merchants who had settled among them, after the taking of *Antwerp*, for they were better acquainted with the *Spanish* Trade, and with the Method used in carrying it on, and it was those People who advised the taking up to their Service such Seamen and Pilots as had served under Sir *Francis Drake*, the famous *Candish*, and other *English* Commanders of Note. The Informations gained from these People, gave them such Lights, that by Degrees, their Merchants began to think an *Indian* Expedition practicable, and began likewise to be willing to run the Hazard of such an Undertaking, from the Prospect of the prodigious Profit that must necessarily accrue to them, if they met with Success, which bore scarce any Proportion to the Expence necessary for making such a Trial.

2. Among others, *James Valk*, and *Christoffer Roelins*, the one Treasurer, and the other Pensioner to the States of *Zealand*, in Conjunction with several Merchants, particularly *Baltazar Meuckeren*, *Jacob Jansen*, *Charles Dirk Van Oe*, and many others, took up a Resolution to open a Passage into the *Indies*, from whence they were unjustly excluded by the Emperor *Charles V.* and *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*. They conceived, that by steering North-East, they might run along the Coast of *Tartary*, and to reach *Cathay*, *China*, *Japan*, *India*, and the *Philippine* and *Molucca* Islands: The Execution of this Project was committed to two excellent Mariners, *William Barentz*, and *James Heemskirk*, and afterwards to divers others; but hitherto the Almighty has not favoured the Discovery of that Passage, or of the People that live in those Climates, while they were in quest of this Northern Passage. One *Cornelius Houtman*, a *Dutchman*, happen'd to be in *Portugal*, and there satisfied his Curiosity by a diligent Enquiry into the State of the *East-Indies*, and the Course that one must steer, in order to come at it. He had frequent Conferences upon this Subject with the *Portuguese*, who gave Notice of it to the Court.

At that Time, all Foreigners were prohibited to make such Enquiries; and upon that Score *Houtman* was put in Prison, and ordered to stay there 'till he paid a heavy Fine: In order to raise such a considerable Sum of Money, he address'd himself to the Merchants of *Amsterdam*, and gave them to understand, that if they would pay his Fine,

he would discover to them all that related to the *East-Indies*, and the Passage thither: Accordingly they granted his Request, and he performed his Promise.

After mature Consideration of what he had offered, they resolved to erect another Company, called the Company for remote Countries. The Directors of this Company were, *Henry Hudson*, *Renier Pauw*, *Peter Hasselaar*, *Jahn Jans*, *Charles de Oude*, *John Poppen*, *Henry Baysk*, *Dirck Van Os*, *Gevert Pieterz Seem*, and *Arenten Grootenbuijs*. These Directors considering as yet that 'twas very uncertain, whether the North Passage was practicable, tho' at the same time they were sensible, that it was the shortest and freest Passage, and withal the most healthy, in regard that in it they did not cross the Equinoctial Line: Upon this Consideration, they came to a Resolution *Anno Domini* 1595, to send four Vessels to the *Indies*, by the Way of the *Cape of Good-hope*.

3. *Houtman*, and some others, who had the Command in this Expedition, were ordered to observe the Course they steered very nicely, and to settle with the *Indians* the Commerce of Spices and other Goods, especially in those Countries where the *Portuguese* had no Settlements. They looked upon this Commerce as a very valuable Thing, especially considering that it would save them the Trouble of fetching that sort of Goods from *Portugal*, which they could not do without great Hazard. These Ships returned to *Holland* in the Space of two Years and four Months after their setting out; and though they had made no great Profit of the Voyage, yet their Success animated their Owners, and several other Merchants, to carry on the Design yet further.

In Effect, a Member of that Company being dead, they presently put into his Place *Gerard Bicker*, a very considerable Merchant. Then they had Advice that some other Merchants of *Amsterdam* designed to set out Ships for *India*. The Names of those Merchants were *Vincent Van Bronsbeest*, *Simon Janz*, *Gevert Dirrickz*, *Cornelius Van Campen*, *Jacob Thomasz*, *Elbert Simonz Jenderson*, and *John Harmanz*. The Company, to avoid Animosity, thought it necessary to unite with those Merchants, and, accordingly, the two Fleets, consisting of eight Vessels, joined under the Command of *James Van Nek*, their Admiral, and sailed from the *Texel* *A. D.* 1595.

A Design of the same Nature was likewise set on Foot in *Zeland*, and accordingly *Balthazar Mouckeron*, and *Abraham Hondrickzen Haaf*, with some other Partners, fitted out Ships for the *Indies*. The Inhabitants of *Rotterdam* being spurred forward by such Examples, presently formed a Company, and fitted out five Ships, under the Command of *James Miba*, with Orders to sail to the *America* Islands, by the Strait of *Magellan*, and the *South-Sea*. In the mean time, the *Amsterdam* Merchants grew impatient upon the Matter, and the Company before mentioned, without staying for the Return of the Fleet they had sent already, fitted out three Ships more, which put to Sea *May* 4, 1599, under the Command of *Stephen Vander Horst*. On the 5th of the then next *July*, four of the eight Ships that went out first, arrived in the *Texel*, and after they were unloaded, were immediately sent back again under the Command of *James Willekens*.

4. About the same time, several *Amsterdam* Merchants, most of whom were *Privateers* by Birth, formed another Company, on the same Design, and fitted out four Vessels, which put to Sea *February* 1599, in Confront with four of the Company's Ships. Two Years after all these Ships came home, with rich Cargoes: But before their Arrival the new Company had fitted out two Ships, which were sent by the order of the old Company, all of them put to Sea *December* 1601, under the Command of *James Van Nes*, and in the Space of Time, all of them returned safely to their respective Ports. Upon the Consideration of these lucky Adventures, several fresh Ships were fitted out at *Amsterdam*, *Zeland*, and elsewhere, among others, that were sent from *Amsterdam*, *October* 1602, the old, and four to the new Company, *January* 1603, under the Command of *James Heensfirk*, and *James Grootenbuijs*, more of the old Company, bound for

the *Moluccas*, under the Command of *Wolphart Harmanz*; all the thirteen set sail from the *Texel*, *April* 1601.

At this, the *Spaniards* were enraged with Anger and Grief, partly in regard of the Affront they suffered in seeing such petty Merchants compass their Ends in spite of their Teeth; and partly upon the Account of the Loss they sustained, and were likely to sustain hereafter. With this View they fitted out a strong Squadron, in order to surprize the *Dutch* Ships. This Squadron consisting of thirty Men of War, well manned, fell in with eight of the *Dutch* Ships in the Month of *May*, in the Lat. of 14°. The *Dutch* perceived the Inequality of their Number and Forces, notwithstanding that they had some Soldiers aboard: However, they were not daunted, for they fought bravely, and the *Spanish* Admiral was so warmly received, that he thought it convenient to let them pass.

The next Year, three Ships came home from the *Indies* richly laden; they brought Advice, that the King of *Achen* had attempted to seize two of the *Maucherons* Ships that had set out from *Holland*, *A. D.* 1599. that *Cornelius Houtman*, the Commander, had lost his Life in the Adventure; and in fine, that the Ships had escaped, but that some of the *Dutch* continued Prisoners in the Hands of the King of *Achen*.

Paul Van Caerden, having set out for the *Indies* that same Year, arrived at the Port of *Achen*, without knowing what passed, and there was exposed to the like Danger; for that the King being egged on by a *Franciscan* Monk, who resided there in the Quality of a *Portuguese* Envoy, and had come thither from the *Moluccas* on purpose to wheedle him. The King, I say, thus solicited, let all Instruments at work to seize *Caerden's* Ship; but all his Attempts proved abortive, and the King owned, afterwards, that he was seduced by the *Portuguese*, and accordingly gave a very good Reception to the Fleet commanded by *Laurence Bicker*, which had set out from *Zeland*, *A. D.* 1601: Nay, when the Fleet had taken in its Lading, which was very considerable, he sent some Embassadors with them.

This Fleet putting into *St. Helens* to take in fresh Water, happened to meet with a *Portuguese* Carrack, richly laden, which they took, and brought along with them. The same Year *George Spilbergen* and the Ships he commanded were as favourably treated by the same King of *Achen*. The *Spaniards*, finding themselves inferior in Strength, endeavoured to ruin the *Dutch* by all manner of Stratagems and Tricks; they sent Emiffaries to all the *Indian* Kings, to decry the new Adventurers to brand them for Pirates, and Men of no Faith or Honour. In fine, they used all possible Efforts to affect their Ruin, as will appear in the Sequel.

5. The States-General and Prince *Maurice*, having received Advice of what passed, resolved to give Commissions to all Ships that sailed that Way; and indeed the Commanders of the Ships stood in Need of them, in order to stifle the Calumnies of their Enemies. By these Commissions, they were empowered not only to defend themselves, but to attack and commit Hostilities upon all that should disturb their Commerce. The valiant *James Heensfirk*, being clothed with such Authority, sailed with two Ships from *Bantam* in order to have them loaded at *Jabor*, and falling in with a rich Carrack upon her Return to *Macao*, or *China*, with above seven hundred Men on board, attacked her, and forced the *Portuguese*, after a slender Shew of Defence, to strike, and ask Quarter, which was granted them. This was a Proof, that things were much changed with this Nation, and that the *Dutch* had not to do with those gallant and glorious *Portuguese*, who had spread the Terror of their Name, and the Authority of their Crown over the finest Provinces in *Asia*. Neither had the *Dutch* yet learned to behave with that Haughtiness and Insolence, with which they have since been reproached in this Part of the World. On the contrary, they behaved so kindly to their Prisoners, and contracted every thing in relation to them, with so much Honour, that they obtained ample Testimonials to this Purpose from the *Spanish* Governor in the *Molucca* Islands, as also from him who presided at *Malacca*, by which, as they

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no way diminiſhed their Wealth, they greatly raiſed their
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which, to render them odious, the *Spaniſh* Government
had thrown upon them.

This Capture was of prodigious Conſequence, becauſe
it gave them a complat View of the Riches and Commo-
dities of the *Indies*; ſo that themſelves and their Country-
men now knew exactly what they were ſeeking, and could
form a juſt Notion of the Value of that Prize, for which
they drew their Swords. This heightened that Spirit
which was already ſufficiently raiſed of joining in Adventu-
res to *India*; and as good or ill Fortune ſeldom comes
alone, ſo, in this Caſe another Circumſtance happened,
which gave ſtill greater Credit to, and excited warmer
Hopes from ſuch Undertakings.

At the ſame time *Oliver Van Noort* returned to *Holland*,
after a three Years Voyage: He had been fitted out by
Peter Van Beveren, *Hugh Buſe*, and *John Hoekbaker*, and
ſet ſail from *Goeree* September 1598. He made but very
inconſiderable Returns for the Merchants, but he acquired
a great deal of Glory, a Share of which redounded to
his Country; for, at that time, the *United Provinces*
shared this common Glory with the *Portugueze* and *Engliſh*.
That one of their Natives had ſailed round the
World, by the Straits of *Magellan*. We have given a
large Account of this Voyage in the firſt Chapter of this
Work, and therefore need not inſiſt upon it here. It was,
to be ſure, a glorious Undertaking, and the Fame that
attended it had ſuch an Effect on the enterpriſing Spirits
of thoſe Times, that it induced many rich Merchants to go
and ſettle at *Amſterdam*, and drew thither the moſt experi-
enced Seamen and Commanders from all Parts of *Europe*.

This is what the *Dutch* Writers tell us; and, indeed,
we follow them entirely in this Account of their Com-
pany, as being the beſt inſtructed, and the moſt intelli-
gent Guides. It is, indeed, very poſſible, and probable,
that they have repreſented theſe Things to their own Ad-
vantage, for which the judicious Reader will make a proper
Allowance. But, upon the whole, I believe it would have
been difficult to have found any where better Materials,
ſince, to do them Juſtice, they have been more careful to pre-
ſerve and record the Riſe and Progreſs of this Commerce,
from the Time it fell into their Hands, than any other
Nation that was ever concerned therein; and the Pains
they have taken to infer the principal Succesſes of their
Eaſt-India Company in their general Hiſtories, is what
can never be too much commended.

6. While their Navigation continued to be thus ſucceſsful,
and the Trade of the *Indies* flouriſhed more and more, there
happened an Accident that diſcontinued their former good
Fortune, and threatened Ruin to the whole; I mean the Plu-
rality of Companies that were then formed, and the ſorry
Underſtanding that was between them. Oftentimes
many of them fitted out Ships for the ſame Port, which
lowered the Price of their Goods, and diſcouraged the
Sailors. The States-General being acquainted with theſe
Inconveniencies, called a Meeting at the *Hague* of the Di-
rectors of the Companies, both of *Holland* and *Zealand*,
and obliged them to unite in one Body for the future, to
which their High Mightineſſes joined their Conſent and
Authority. The Treaty that was then agreed upon was
confirmed by a Patent from the Sovereign Power, for
twenty-one Years, commencing from the Date, viz.
Merſch 20, 1602.

The Patent being given out, the Company became a
very conſiderable Body, and made a joint Stock of
6,000,000 *Livres*. Upon this Bottom they promiſed
themſelves great Things, and fitted out a Fleet of four-
teen great Ships, which put to Sea in *June* 1602, under
the Command of *Wybrand Van Warwyk*. The next Year,
in the Month of *February*, the Yacht called *Wachter*, re-
turned, and gave Advice that five of the other Ships
would be at home very ſpeedily. By this Yacht an Ac-
count was brought of what paſſed before *Bantam* between
Wolpert Harman and his Vice-Admiral, *Hans Bouwer*,
on one Side, and *Don Andreas Fartado de Mendoza*, who
had formed a Deſign to drive the *Dutch* out of the *Indies*.
In Effect *Don Andreas* was beat, and the *Dutch* Admirals

purſuing their Courſe to the *Moluccas*, arrived there at ſe-
veral Times one after the other.

The ſame Yacht brought the News of an Engagement
at the *Moluccas* between *James Van Nek*, Admiral, and
three *Portugueze* Ships, which did not turn to his Ad-
vantage; for that, after the Loſs of eight or nine Men,
and ſome of the Fingers of his own Right-hand, he was
obliged to ſheer off. It was this Veſſel likewiſe that
brought the firſt Intelligence of the taking of a *Portu-*
gueze Carrack by *James Heemſirk*. Upon the Arrival of
this News, another Fleet of thirteen Ships was fitted out,
and ſailed *December* the 18th, under the Command of *Ste-*
phen Vander Hagen.

In the Year 1605, the King of *Spain* iſſued forth a
ſevere Declaration, in which he prohibited the Inhabitants
of the *United-Provinces* to trade to the Dominions of the
King of *Spain*, or to the *East* and *West-Indies*, under the
Pain of corporal Punishment. But the Company was ſo
far from being over-awed by this Ediſt, that it rather in-
ſpired them with freſh Courage, and animated them to
purſue their Deſign with more Vigour and Diligence. In
a Word, they preſently fitted out a Fleet of eleven Veſſels,
which were fit not only for Traffick, but for warlike Ex-
ploits, and gave the Command of them to *Cornelius*
Matelief. This Fleet had ſcarce put to Sea, when the Di-
rectors gave Orders for preparing another of eight Ships,
which were manned not only with a full Complement of
Seamen, but with Soldiers, that were engaged to ſtay and
keep Garrifon in the *Indies*, if Occaſion required. This
third Squadron was commanded by *Paul Van Caerden*.
Soon after two Ships of the firſt of theſe two Squadrons
came home with a rich Cargo of Cloves and other Spices:
They brought Advice that Admiral *Vander Hagen* would
follow them very quickly; and accordingly he arriv-
ed the next *July*, after taking ſeveral *Spaniſh* and *Por-*
tugueze Veſſels, and poſſeſſing himſelf of the Port of *Am-*
boyna, the demolishing that of *Tidore*, and entirely dilodg-
ing thoſe two Nations out of the *Molucca* Iſlands.

This Expedition gave Riſe to a mighty Diſpute between
the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh*, upon the Account that the latter
favoured the *Spaniards*, and by ſupplying them with Pow-
der, enabled them to hold out longer. The next *October*
three other Veſſels arrived in *Holland*, and gave Intelli-
gence that *Wybrandt Van Warwyk* was upon his Way
home, but was obliged to put in at the Iſland of *Maurice*,
becauſe his Ship was leaky, and that he had taken a Car-
rack at *Patana*. This Admiral arrived in the Spring
1607, but in the preceding Winter the Company had ſent
two Ships more to the *Indies*, under the Command of
John-Janſz Moldie, to whom they owed the taking of
the Fort of *Tidore*.

7. A Negotiation being then ſet on Foot for a Peace in
the *Netherlands*, the Company fitted out a freſh Squadron
of thirteen Ships, under the Command of *Peter-William-*
ſen Verboven, who had given a ſignal Proof of his Cou-
rage and Conduct in the Engagement at *Gibraltar*, where
he was Vice-Admiral under the illuſtrious *James Heemſ-*
kirk. This great Fleet was fitted out with a Deſign to give
the World to underſtand, that no Treaty of Peace ſhould
tempt the *United Provinces* to drop their Trade to the *In-*
dies. Immediately the *Spaniards* ſtarted a warm Diſpute
in Reference to this Article, which proved the Subject of
their principal Conferences; upon that the Company gave
in frequent Remonſtrances both to the States-General, and
to the Mediators, and preſented to them written Memori-
als, in order to make them ſenſible that there was a
Neceſſity of being reſolute upon that Head.

In fine, this Point being looked upon as a principal Ar-
ticle by both Parties, ſo that it could not be adjusted, the
States, upon a final Reſolution, made this Propoſal, that
either the *Spaniards* ſhould conſent to their *Indian* Trade
in the Treaty of Peace, or allow it them by a Truce, for
ſome Years, or elſe, that Things ſhould continue beyond
the Tropick of *Cancer* upon the ſame Bottom that they
then ſtood on, and that either Party ſhould make War
there, and do what they could for their own Advantage.
This done, the Truce of twelve Years was accepted and
concluded, and upon certain Conditions 'twas agreed, that
both

both the *Portuguese* and the *Dutch* should continue their Trade where they pleased, and live in mutual Peace. This Affair was in Agitation without coming to any Resolution in the Year 1608; at which Time Admiral *Mateliff* returned from the *Indies* with several Ships. This Admiral had laid Siege to *Malacca*, but was obliged to break it up, in order to give Battle to the *Portuguese* Fleet, that came to relieve it; however, he had concluded an Alliance with the King of *Ilebor*. In the Year 1609, the Company sent a very expert Pilot, called *Henry Hudson*, with a Fly-boat, to find out a North-east, or North-west Passage to *China*, but he returned without bringing his Design to bear. At that Time they heard nothing from the *Indies* since the Arrival of Admiral *Mateliff*, except some Advice by the Way of *England*; but the next Summer, four of their Ships arrived with a large Cargo; they reported, that the *Spaniards* were still possessed of *Ternate*; that the *Dutch* had mastered *Macbian* of the *Malacca* Islands, and that they hoped in Time to possess themselves of *Ternate*.

The Truce being concluded and proclaimed in the *Netherlands*, they resolved that a Pinnace should be sent to the *East-Indies*, with a Passport from the King of *Spain*, and the *Archbishops*, to acquaint the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch* with the Treaty: This Project was accordingly put in Execution, and towards the End of the Year, nine Vessels were fitted out under the Command of *Peter Horib*, both the Seamen and Soldiers being allowed to carry their Wives and Children along with them.

8. It may not be amiss to observe here, that it was by this Truce, the new Republick of the *United Provinces* came to be owned for a legal and independent State by all the Governments in *Europe*; neither was this Negotiation of less Use in the *Indies*, where the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* had begun to recover their Spirits, and to distinguish themselves by a vigorous Defence of what they possessed in that Part of the World, against the Attempts of the *Dutch*.

Don Juan de Silva, who then commanded for the King of *Spain*, in the *Philippines*, was a Nobleman of such Courage and Conduct, that no Advantages were to be gained while he held the Government. For having received Intelligence, that a *Dutch* Admiral, whose Name was *Wilbert*, was at Sea with a Squadron of four Sail, and had sunk a *Spanish* Galleon richly laden from *China*; not contented with which, they were still cruising for some other Ships that were expected from *China* and *Japon*: *Don Juan* resolved to hazard his own Life to retrieve the Honour of *Spain*, and to free those Seas from such unwelcome Guests. It was with this View, that he embarked his own Guards, and such other Troops as were at *Manila*, on Board such Vessels as could be drawn together on a sudden, and with them he attacked the *Dutch* Admiral with such Fury, that he made himself Master of three of his four Ships, the Admiral himself having his Head taken off by a Cannon-ball in the Beginning of the Engagement, in which he lost one hundred and twenty-five Men. This Battle was fought on the 25th of *April* 1610, and the *Spaniards* following their Blow, made themselves Masters of the Island of *Tider*, and came before that of *Ternate*, while the Inhabitants of the Island of *Banda*, encouraged by these Successes, revolted from the *Dutch*, and having surprized their General, *Peter William Verbeff*, at some Distance from their Fort, killed him, and all that were with him.

Admiral *Paul Van Caerden*, who was then in the *Indies*, thought to put a Stop to their Evils by his Presence, and going on Board a Sloop, with twenty-five Men, proceeded for the Island of *Banda*; but being attacked by a *Spanish* Vessel in his Passage, and his Crew having mutinied, he was taken Prisoner, and the *Spaniards* demanding for his Ransom the Island of *Macbian*, 30,000 Ducats in Money, and half a Year's Wages for the Mariners, he chose rather to be carried to the *Philippines*, than submit to such Conditions. This happened on the 25th of *July*, in the same Year, and it was this News that induced the Company to send to strong a Fleet as that before-mentioned, under the Command of Admiral *Peter Horib* to the *East-Indies*.

They likewise thought fit to send a solemn Ambassy to the Emperor of *Japon*, at the Head of which were *James* *Spex*, and *Peter Sagerjon*, who, on the 10th of *August*,

1611, had an Audience of the Emperor at *Mence*, and obtained very advantageous Terms from that Monarch, notwithstanding all the Opposition that could be given them by the *Spaniards* and the *Portuguese*. But while Things went on thus prosperously Abroad, the *East-India* Company were not altogether free from Difficulties and Discouragements at Home, occasioned chiefly by the Covetousness of some Merchants concerned in their Stock, who had fallen into a Practice of Jobbing, which was attended with many Inconveniences, so that the Government interferred for the Remedy of these Grievances, which the States General redressed by a Placard published *February* 27, 1610.

In *May* 1611, the Company sent out four Ships more, under the Command of *Laurence Real*, which were followed by a strong Squadron that put to Sea from the *Texel*, in the next *December*, under the Command of *Adrian Block Mariz*, near the *Cape Verd* Islands; this Squadron met with seventeen *Spanish* Men of War, which fell upon them, but were so warmly received, that only four of them were left in a Condition to sail for *Spain* with the News of their Success. When the Directors received Advice of a sharp Engagement, they conceived, that their Ships must needs have received some Damage, and in order to reinforce them, fitted out two other Ships the next *May*, under the Command of *John Peterz Coen*. In fine, the Commerce to *India* became so extensive, that the Forces of the Company grew to that Height, that in the Years 1613, and 1614, they fitted out twenty-seven Ships at several Times, under the Command of several Commodores, particularly *Reyest* and *P'Lam*.

In order to a full View of their great Success, we need only to cast our Eyes upon the following List of the Dividends that were made within the Compass of eight Years.

The Dividends made by the *Dutch East-India* Company, viz.

		l.	
Anno Dom.	1605 in June	15	} per Cent.
	1606 April	75	
	1607 July	40	
	1608 April	20	
	1609 June	45	
	1610 August	50	
	1613 May	57	

The Company being in such a flourishing Condition, the next Year, viz. 1615, the States joined in sending a strong Squadron to the *South Seas*, by the Way of the *Magellan* Strait, upon the Prospect of surprizing the *Spaniards*, and weakening them on that Side, after which they might have an easy Passage to the *Indies*. *George Van Spilbergen* was Admiral in this Expedition, of which we have given a large Account in the former Part of this Work. In the mean Time, the War in the *Indies* continued, where the *Spaniards* did all that in them lay to preserve and to augment their Conquests in the *Malaccas*, which appeared to them of the greater Consequence, because of their Situation which was extremely favourable for securing a Communication between the Colonies and Settlements of their Countrymen in the *East* and *West-Indies*.

But the *Dutch* Admiral *Verbeugen*, perceiving clearly that *Don Juan de Silva* was under great Difficulties from the Quarrels that continually arose between his Officers and the *Portuguese*, and that the latter was extremely backward in sending *Don Juan* the Succours that he expected, he resolved thereupon to lay hold of this Opportunity of crushing the *Spanish* Strength, and having fitted out a considerable Squadron, he cruized on the Coast of *Malacca* for the *Portuguese* Galleons, that were going to the Assistance of *Don Juan de Silva*. They were four in Number, and had a considerable Body of Troops on Board, but Admiral *Verbeugen* nevertheless gave a good Account of them all; for the largest he sunk, with all that were on Board her, made himself Master of the second with all her Equipage, and forced the other two on Shore with very little Loss to themselves. This News was brought to *Holland* by a Fleet of four Ships richly laden with Spices, and other Commodities, to the Value of three

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three Millions of Ducats, which small Fleet arrived in the Month of September, 1616, and soon after the Company received the agreeable News that the King of Ternate, and the English settled in his Country, had joined the Dutch, and had obliged the Spaniards to abandon all the Places of which they were Masters in the Moluccas, by which that Nation was entirely driven out of the Spice Trade, for which they had formerly struggled so warmly with the Portuguese.

o. The Year before this, some Merchants, among whom were *Ijaac le Maire*, made the greatest Figure, endeavoured to supplant the Company, and draw some Part of their Commerce into their own Hands, with this View, they resolved to search for another Passage to the South-Sea, than that of the Magellan Straights, and for that End, fitted out two Ships in June 1615, under the Command of *Cornelius William Schouten*, and *James le Maire*. In Effect, those Commanders found out a Passage to the Southward of the Strait of Magellan, which they called *le Maire* Strait. By that Passage they entered the South-Sea, and sailed as far as the Moluccas; but when they came to *Batavia*, their Ships were stopp'd and sequestered, upon the Pretence their going upon an Expedition contrary to the Patent given to the Company by the States. At that Time the Company sustained great Losses, and their Trade was much impaired by the Means of some Powders that were imported, and mixed with the Spices by the retail Merchants: This the Company represented to the States, and thereupon a Placard was issued, for preventing the like Abuses for the future.

In June 1617, *George Van Spilbergen* returned to Holland, after two Years Absence, in which he failed round the World. *Cornelius William Schouten*, and *James le Maire*, who had set out for Holland the same Year with himself, returned on Board of him, but *James le Maire* died by the Way, on the 22d of the preceding December. The States perceived, that some Potentates were alarmed with the Company's Prosperity, and did their utmost to oppose it, particularly by inveigling their best and ablest Seamen, and drawing them off from their Service. Upon this Apprehension, the States published an Edict, by which the Desertion of Seamen was expressly prohibited. In the Year 1618, and 1619, the Company had very good Fortune, for they received from the Indies, at several Times, ten Ships with rich Cargoes, valued at six or seven Millions. This new Progress inspired them with fresh Courage, not only in resisting the Spaniards, but in concerting their Ruin by Way of Reprizal. This Work was carried a great Way by the Diligence and Affection of *Laurence Real*, a very knowing and prudent Man. This Gentleman served nine Years in the Indies, where the Company honoured him with the most considerable Post, and then he returned to Holland, A. D. 1620.

The Reader must observe, that all these Facts are taken from the Dutch Historians, and placed in that Light in which they represent them, because it would take up a great deal of Room, and oblige us to repeat many Things that have been said before, if we should labour to correct such Deviations from Truth, as from a Propensity towards magnifying the Power of the East-India Company, these Writers have now and then thought fit to make.

But with regard to *Ijaac le Maire*, it may not be amiss for us to note, that we do not at all depart from the Judgment already given, concerning this Expedition, in the History of the Circumnavigators, but merely insert this, to shew in what Light the Dutch Authors would have us consider this Point, out of regard to their East-India Company. One Observation we shall take Leave to make by the Way, which is this, that the Treatment given to these Adventurers, has, in all Probability, been sufficiently punished by its Consequences; all that rich Trade that might have been derived from the Discoveries, and the Pursuit of the Discoveries of *Le Maire*, has been totally lost by Neglect, which perhaps has done as much Damage to the Dutch, as their East-India Company has done them Good. Of this, *John de Witt* was aware, and has very wisely remarked, that tho' the Pursuit of such a Commerce might have been beyond the Strength and Power of the East-India Company at that Time, yet

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there was no good Reason why the States should have abandoned it, or should not have encouraged the setting up a new Company, in order to have made a Trial of what this new Trade would have produced; for if new Trades do not prosper, they occasion only a temporary Loss to private Persons, and none at all to the States; whereas, if they thrive and turn to good Account, they not only produce immense Riches to such as are concerned in them, but prove also a mighty Advantage to the Publick. For new Trades, especially under such a Government as that of Holland, bring new People, and increase the Subjects of the State that encourages them, for Wealth is a powerful Attractive; and where Men are sure to be rich and free, there will never be any Want of People.

But the Dutch East-India Company began now to feel their own Strength, and like all other Companies, attended to nothing but the promoting their own Power, which induced them, about this Time, to engage in the War of Java, where they had not only the Natives of that Country, but the English also to deal with; and by degrees, and their obstinately persisting in their Design, they overcame both, though not without great Difficulty and some Loss, which however was abundantly repaired by the Reduction of *Jacatra*, and the settling their new Colony at *Batavia*, which was done in 1619, chiefly by the great Assistance which the States-General afforded to their East-India Company, while ours was slighted and neglected by the Government here, either from a Want of knowing the Importance of that Commerce, or from a Want of Power to afford the Assistance necessary in case they had a just Apprehension of the Value of that Trade: But, however it was, most certainly the Establishment of *Batavia* proved the Basis of such a Power in the East-Indies, and gave the Company such an Opportunity of disposing all her Factories and Settlements, in an Order to agreeable to that Government which the established in this new Capital, that we may from thence date her Acquisition of that Empire in the Indies, which not only renders her superior to all the trading Companies in the World, but in point of Power, Riches, and Dominion, very little, if at all, inferior to the Dutch Republick itself.

They began likewise, about this Time, to extend their Alliances in that Part of the World, and to treat with the Indian Princes in every Respect as Sovereigns; appointing at the same time Officers, who had not only the Titles of Generals, Commanders in Chief, Admirals, Governors, and such like, but had also the Power, and were effectually such as these Commissions spoke them to be; and were, at the same time allowed such Salaries, and invested with such Authority as did not seem either very agreeable to their Dependency upon the Republick, or consistent with the Modesty and Frugality of the Dutch Government at home. This, the States however were content to overlook, because, that such as had the Direction of the Company's Affairs, pretended that these Titles, Revenues, and Commands, were absolutely requisite in the Eastern Part of the World, to preserve the Respect and Obedience of the Natives of those Countries, who were to be wrought upon only by the Splendor of Dress, Equipage, and such like exterior Marks of Superiority. The Truth however seems to be, that the Common-Wealth Party in Holland, paying a very unwilling Obedience to their Stadtholders of the House of Orange, were not a little pleased to behold a kind of new Republick rising in the Indies, independent of these Princes, and where their Relations might be sent to acquire Fortunes, to learn Principles, and accustom themselves to the Discharge of publick Offices, without being immediately under the Direction of these Stadtholders who, by the Necessities of State, were placed at the Head of the Government at home.

Yet the Governor, General, and other principal Officers, always acted under the Prince of Orange's Commission as Stadt-Holder, and in most Part of the Indies magnified his Power, making the Indian Monarchs believe that he was a King, nay, and one of the greatest Kings in Europe. But this was only to serve their own Purposes, and to extend their Power the better; for the Directors of the Company continued to administer its Affairs in a manner independent of the Government of Holland, and only made use of

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these Commissions, because they could not well do their Business without them.

Two Things especially contributed to their Grandeur, and to their quiet enjoying a Power of such extravagant Extent. The first was the Factions and Divisions that reigned at that Time in *Holland*, which so occupied the Cares of the Government, that they were the less able to look abroad; for it was at this Juncture that those Troubles happened, which cost *Barneveldt* his Life, and the famous *Grauw* and other worthy Members of the State, a tedious Imprisonment. The second Cause was, the vast Riches which flowed in from the *East-India* Trade, and which were evidently of such prodigious Benefit to the *Dutch* Nation in general, as rendered it very improper to take any Measures capable of lessening the Interest or Authority of that Company, by which the Trade was managed, from which such mighty Profits accrued. Besides, it is not at all improbable, that both Parties had their Views upon this Company, and were in hopes of turning that Indulgence which was shewn it to their own Advantage, more especially because the Term granted by their Charter was drawing towards a Close, when it might have been practicable to have given it a new Term, and to have remedied all those Inconveniences, which, for particular Reasons, and perhaps from private and very different Views, had been hitherto passed by and over-looked: But, as we shall see hereafter both Parties in the *Dutch* Government were mistaken in their Conjectures, and the Company, instead of losing, or abating any Part of her Powers or Privileges, acquired still greater, and more extensive, by the new Charter which she obtained, as is usually the Case in Countries where Oppositions prevail; and the Government, whatever its Form may be, is not at Liberty to pursue such Measures as are most consistent with her Interest.

But to return from these Reflections to the Thread of our History, as it is taken from the *Dutch* Writers. The vast Success which attended this Company in all its Undertakings, so raised the Spirits, and exalted the Hopes of the States, that they at length began to think of doubling these Advantages, by erecting a new Company, with the same Power of trading to the *West-Indies*, which this Company enjoyed in trading to the *East*. But though this was a Project both reasonable in itself, and which had all the Countenance the Governour could give it, yet being secretly opposed by the *East-India* Company, it went on but heavily, and they were forced to make several Alterations in the Charter, before the Capital of this new Company, which consisted of 7,200,000 *Livres*, could be made up; and the State likewise presented the new Company with three large fine Ships, equally fit for Trade and War.

But while so much Care was taking of the younger Child of the Republick, the elder was very well able to go alone; and there wanted not some who were for hurrying at too great a pace, and sending such Numbers of Ships to the *Indies*, as if the *Dutch* had not fought the Commerce but the Conquest of *Asia*, in which however they were checked, and all Things kept within due Bounds; which however it might displease arbitrary Spirits, was certainly right in the main.

About this Time the Abuses and unwarrantable Practices relating to the Sale of the Actions or Stock of the Company, began to revive; upon which the States found themselves obliged to renew the Placard of 1610, with a few Amendments suitable to the Circumstances of the Time. In the Year 1621, the Ship called *Geede Vrede*, arrived in *Zealand*, having on board five Children of Kings or Princes, in order to their Education, in the Provinces, and Instruction in the Christian Religion, pursuant to the Tenor of the Letters that were written to the Prince upon that Subject. In February 1622, two Ships more came home with rich Cargoes; they brought Advice that the *Indian* Trade flourished still, that they continued to wage war with the People of *Bantam* in *Java*, and with the *Spaniards* in the *Molucca* and *Manila* Islands, and that they had already possessed themselves of the Island of *Banda*. Soon after there arrived three more, with Advice that the last Ships that went out had arrived safe in the *Indies* in four Months and three Days Sailing.

10. The Company's Patent expired this very Year, viz. 1622, and a Difference arose between the Directors and Subscribers, that might have extended to a great Height, if the States had not interposed. These wise Mediators appeared all by their Prudence. The Directors Accounts were called for, and pursuant to the Measures of Equity and Reason, a Dividend of 25 per Cent. was allotted to the Subscribers, and paid them in Cloves. After that the Company obtained a new Patent for twenty-one Years, commencing from 1623. By Virtue of the Renewal of the Patent, the Company had the Satisfaction to see four Ships richly laden, return in *October*. The Difference between the *English* and *Dutch* that had lain so long in Suifence, was then accommodated upon the Payment of 800,000 *Livres* by the *Dutch* to the *English*.

The infinite Advantages that redounded to the Country by the erecting of this Company, could not dissuade the Envious from thwarting it to a flaming Degree: To remedy this, and prevent the other Inconveniences that might happen, the States thought fit on March 13, 1623, to add new Clauses to their new Patent, after the Discovery of a new Passage to the *Pacific Sea*, made by *James le Maire*. Their High Mightinesses, in Conjunction with the Company, came to a Resolution to send another strong Squadron that Way to the *Indies*, in order to ruin their Enemies. This Fleet set sail in April, under the Command of *James l'Hermitte*, but, before their Departure, two Ships and a Yacht set out for the *Indies* by the common Course. The next May two Ships came home, and found a very good Market. The Abuses in the Sale of Actions obliged the States to revive a third Time their Placard upon that Head.

In September *John Peter Corn* arrived at *Goerze* with four Ships on the Company's Account, and a fifth, which had straggled from them by the Way, arrived the next November. At that time a Handful of Merchants bonght up, at one Sale, all the Company's Pepper, the Quantity of which amounted to 19,000 Bales, and the Sum which they paid for it amounted to 4,500,000 *Livres*, which was certainly a very remarkable Thing. In May 1624, the *Haes* Yacht returned, having sailed to *Batavia* and home again in the Space of nine Months and seven Days. Their Intelligence imported, that all things went well in that Country, excepting that the *English* had raised some Commotions at *Ambeyna*, but the *Dutch* used their utmost Efforts to hinder the *Spaniards* to trade in *China*, and hoped for Success; that three or four Ships were taking in their Lading in order to come home; accordingly three homeward-bound Ships arrived the next September; and in May 1625, another, called the *Huisden*, arrived from *Surat*, which gave Advice that their Affairs were in a pretty good Posture at *Ormaz*, and in the neighbouring Countries, from whence three Ships more returned the next Spring. The *Scheamboven*, an outward-bound Ship for the *Indies*, met with a violent Storm on the Coast of *Spain*, and was cast away off *St. Jago*, where twenty-six of the Men were saved, and carried to *Spain*.

This Affliction was alleviated by the Arrival of two Ships from *Surat* in February 1626, and two more soon after, having on board an Ambassador from the King of *Persia*. They brought the News of the Victory obtained over the *Portuguese*, and of the great Commotion in *Surat*, occasioned by the King's Son taking up Arms against his Father, inasmuch that both Armies were in the Field when the Ships came off. Upon this Intelligence they fitted out a Squadron of nine Ships, bound for that Country, under the Command of *Hybrandt*, who fought so bravely at *Sera Leoni* with *Campaen* the Pirate. In June two Ships of *James l'Hermitte's* Squadron came home, and before the Year was out, a Ship returned from *Coromandel*. It was in this Fleet, that the famous Mariner, *William Tybrantz Bonteboc* returned safe to his native Country, whose Adventures, though related by himself with all the Plainness and Simplicity becoming his Condition, yet were long held absolutely beyond the Power of Belief, till, by a careful and strict Enquiry, every Circumstance was verified.

It is true, that a Thing of this Nature does not seem to fall so immediately under the present Section, but, undoubtedly,

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edly, it has a very strict Relation to the Business of this Collection, and therefore I shall give as clear an Account of this Man's Misfortunes, as is possible, and in as few Words as I can.

William Bontekoe, Native of the Town of *Horn*, failed on the 28th of September, 1618, from the *Texel*, for the Indies, on board a Vessel of eleven hundred Tons, having two hundred and six Men on board, in Company with two Ships of a smaller Size. The Difficulties he met with began very early; for being separated from the rest of his Squadron by a violent Storm, which lasted for several Days, he therein endured such Hardships, and ran thro' such Variety of Dangers, that neither himself nor any of the experienced Seamen he had on board, expected to escape. At length, however, the Violence of the Tempest abated, and they found themselves in the Straights of *Sunda*, where they met with another Accident still more terrible; for one of the Crew going down to pump, at the same time that the Steward went to draw Brandy, it fell out unluckily, that the former had a Candle in his Hand, out of which a Spark flew into the little Hole which the Steward had pierced in the Brandy-Cask, and that consequently took Fire. The Captain, soon apprised of the Accident, ran down and ordered them to throw Water upon the Cask, which, in their Confusion, they rolled down into the Place where their Smith kept his Coals; but, however, the Water seemed to have put out the Fire: But in about half an Hour they were fatally convinced, that the Coals being covered with the flaming Brandy, had taken Fire. In this Distress, they continued to throw great Quantities of Water upon the Coals, in hopes of extinguishing them, from whence a new Evil arose; the sulphureous Smoke of the Coals coming up through the Scuttles in such thick Clouds, that they were not able to see what they were doing; and, which was worse, they were so suffocated thereby, that they were no longer able to mind what they were about.

In this Distress they were constrained to shut the Scuttles, and to make Holes in the Ship's Sides, thro' which, by the Help of Canes, they continued to pour Water. Captain *Bontekoe* fore-seeing that their greatest Danger lay in the Fire reaching the Powder-room, sent for the Supercargo, without whose Consent he could do nothing, and endeavoured to persuade him to consent that the Powder should be thrown over-board; but he was not to be moved, alledging, that if they threw over the Powder, and should afterwards be attacked, tho' by a Vessel ever so much inferior to them in Strength, they must be obliged to strike, without making any Defence. By this Man's Obstinacy, they were left in this dreadful Condition, fluctuating between Hope and Despair, the Fire appearing sometimes, and sometimes was so little to be distinguished, that they had Reason to think it had been out. But alas! they were soon convinced of their Mistake, for the Coals lying at no great Distance from a Tire of Buns, filled with Oil; the Fire very soon reached them, and then the Crew began absolutely to despair. Their Case indeed was miserable, beyond Description, for they were out of Sight of Land, the rolling Ocean on every Side, and the Fire immediately under them. It so happened, that their Shallop had been for some Time in Tow, and to make Room for the Men to bring Water to put out the Fire; they had likewise heaved out the Long-boat. The Crew observing this, slipped some to the Fore-castle, and some into the Galleries, from whence they dropped into the Sea, and then swam on Board the Shallop, or Boat; so that while the Captain was using his utmost Endeavours to preserve the Ship, he lost a great Part of his Men.

When he discovered this, he endeavoured to get them on Board again; but finding that impossible, he made all the Sail he could to come up with them, and while he was doing this, the fatal Blow which he expected, took Place, that is to say, the Ship blew up, and he was thrown from the Quarter deck with two great Wounds in his Head, his Body half scorched, and his Legs and Arms so bruised, that he could hardly move them. However, his being so suddenly plunged into the Water, brought him to his Senses; so that seeing the Mainmast of

the Ship near him, he with much ado got upon it, and by the Help of two Boards, kept himself floating till he was taken up by the Shallop with much Difficulty. It was by this Time Night, and though the Captain, as soon as he came on Board, advised them to keep as near the Wreck as they could, yet they kept rowing all Night long, as if they had been sure of making Land. But when the Day broke, and they saw neither Shore nor Ship, they came to the Captain, beseeching him to tell them what they should do. They were without Sails, without Compass, without Water, and had not above seven or eight Pound of Bisket, but were still rowing as hard as if they had been within Sight of Shore. The Captain exhorted them to Courage and Obedience, and in the first Place made a Review of them, by which it appeared, that there were forty-six in the Shallop, and twenty-six in the Long-boat. He advised them to lay aside their Oars, as serving only to weaken them, and bid them make use of Sails. They asked where they were to be had, the Captain replied, that every Man must pull off his Shirt, that by sewing them together, they might make as good Sails as they could. It was then objected, that they had not either Needle or Thread, but the Captain taught them to supply the first with Nails, and the latter by untwisting the Ropes. While they were at work upon the Sails, he employed the Carpenter in making a *Jacob's Staff*, for taking Observations; and tho' he was so ill, that he could not sit up, yet he made shift to draw a Compass, and a Chart, in which he laid down the Islands of *Sumatra*, *Java*, and the Straights of *Sunda*.

While they were thus at Sea, they got some *Mews*, and some Flying-fish, and when it rained, they collected the Water in their Sails, and preserved it in two or three Casks. But notwithstanding all this, they were in a Fortnight's Time driven to such Necessities, that it was with great Difficulty the Captain prevailed upon them to desist from a Design they had formed of killing and eating two or three Boys they had on Board. It was the 20th of November, that the Ship blew up, and on the 3d of December, they, with much Difficulty, made an Island on the Coast of *Sumatra*, from whence, with infinite Danger, they reached that Shore, and after running thro' Variety of Perils, in which they were preserved by the wise Counsel of their Captain, they at last passed the Straights of *Sunda*, and arrived safe on the Coast of *Java*, where they were taken on Board the *Dutch Fleet*, commanded by *Frederick Houtman* of *Alemaer*, who sailed out of the *Texel* at the same Time with Captain *Bontekoe*.

After he had remained some Time with him, the Admiral sent Captain *Bontekoe* to *Batavia*, to the General *John Peter Coen*, who then commanded in the Indies, and who immediately gave him another Ship, as the just Reward of his Toils, and sent him with naval Stores and Provisions to the *Moluccas*. After this, he was employed by the same General in several other Services for the Space of two Years, and then he was sent to *China*, on Board the Fleet of *Cornelius Reggers*, who was entrusted with an Expedition of great Importance, which was to establish a Commerce with the Inhabitants of that Empire, either by fair Means, or by Force; and in case the latter only was found practicable, they were ordered to make themselves Masters of the Island and Fortrefs of *Macao*, or one of those Islands on the Coasts of *China*, to which the *Portuguese* had given the Name of *Pisjadores*.

This Expedition, tho' very well concerted, and a Force employed, every Way sufficient for the Execution of it, yet failed by unforeseen Accidents, and the *Portuguese* at *Macao* having repulsed them in their Attempt upon that Place, they were obliged to think of executing the latter Part of their Commission by attacking some of the Islands before-mentioned. This proved a Work of Time, and was likewise attended with innumerable Difficulties, chiefly through the wicked and peridious Temper of the *Chinese*, who were too numerous to be wrought upon to Advantage by Force, and who under colour of Peace, betrayed and murdered such as trusted themselves in their Hands. They likewise frequently endangered the *Dutch Squadrons* by their Fireships, and in fine, gave such Disquiet to Captain *Bontekoe*, that he re-

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fulved as soon as the Time for which he was engaged elapsed, to return to *Europe*, nor could all the Offers that were made him either of Power or Profit, induce him to alter his Resolution, or to think of staying in the *Indies*.

Accordingly, on the 6th of *February* 1624, he sailed from *Batavia*, in Quality of Captain of the *Holland*, with two other large Ships, viz. the *Middlebourg* and the *Gouda*; but in their Passage, they met with such a Storm, as carried away the Mainmast of the *Holland*, all the Masts of the *Middlebourg*, and sunk the *Gouda* to the Bottom. In this Distress, Captain *Bontekoe* behaved with his usual Courage and Prudence, by which both Ships were for that Time preserved; for notwithstanding the perilous Distress his own Ship was in, he, with much difficulty, and yet, without using any other Course than that of Persuasion, prevailed upon his Men to spare their Mizenmast and Boltprit to the *Middlebourg*, which otherwise could not have been kept above Water. This was on the 22d of *March* 1624, and having performed this good Office for their Friends and Countrymen, Captain *Bontekoe* bore away with his own Ship for the Island of *Madagascar*, where, in the Bay of *St. Lewis*, he found Means to careen, refit, and remast his Ship, with which he then proceeded for *Holland*.

On the Coast of the Island of *St. Helena*, they met with a Spanish Carrack, so stationed in the Road, as to prevent their watering, which was what they absolutely wanted. Captain *Bontekoe* did all that in his Power lay to have engaged the Spaniards to allow them to put on Shore, and take in Water, but they could not be persuaded by fair Means, and thereupon an obstinate Engagement ensued, without any Advantage to either Party; for the *Dutch* were at last obliged to continue their Voyage, with the little Water they had, and the Carrack was so dreadfully torn in the Fight, that the Spaniards finding it impossible to keep her above Water, took out her Guns and Cargoes, and then let her sink. The remaining Part of their Voyage was not attended with any remarkable Accident, except their being able to perform it with so small an Allowance as a Quart of Water a Day per Man, from the Island of *St. Helena* to the Coast of *England*. At length, on the 13th of *September* 1625, Captain *Bontekoe* arrived safely at *Zeeland*, after having been absent from his Country seven Years, and in that Time run through such a Variety of Fortunes, as scarce any other Seaman ever met with. It may not be amiss, to lose this Account with observing, that the *Middlebourg*, tho' so happily preserved by Captain *Bontekoe*, never returned to *Holland*, but was undoubtedly lost, tho' its impossible to say when or where.

After the *Holland* parted with her, she put into the Island of *Madagascar*, and there buried a Part of her Ships Company, amongst whom was the famous *William Cornelius Sebouten*, who sailed round the World with *James le Maire*, as the Reader has already seen in the large Account given of their Voyage in the first Chapter of this Work. But to return from this Digression to the Thread of our History, which will shew, how as the first Beginning of the Company was fortunate, so in her future Progress her Prosperity has never failed.

11. Their Commerce flourished so much, that they were obliged to enlarge the Number of their Ships every Year, and the Company being sensible, that their Prosperity was chiefly owing to the good Conduct of their Admirals, they solicited *John Peter Coen* to make a second Voyage to the *Indies*, in the Quality of Governor-General; at last *Coen* consented, and put to Sea in *April* 1627, soon after the *Rotterdam* came Home, and was quickly followed by four other Vessels, under the Command of *John Wilham Verbeeck*, who had sailed from *Holland* with *Plermotte*, and arrived at this Port in *July*. The rich Cargoes of these Ships was scarce unloaded, and lodged in the Warehouses, when *Adrian-Block Marissen* was ready to sail with a Squadron of eleven Ships, this being his second Voyage as well as Admiral *Coen's*. He put to Sea in *October*, and lost two of his Ships in a Storm, but saved the Men and the Cargoes. In the same Month of *October*, *John Karstenz of Embden*, a Merchant, whose Vigilance and Experience rendered him very famous, return-

ed to the *United Provinces*, after several Years Administration. He brought with him three rich Ships laden at *Surat*, and had been obliged to put in at *Perispaub*, where an Embargo was put upon his Ships, for some Time. In *June* 1628, the Company had the Satisfaction of seeing five other Ships come Home, under the Command of the *Sieur Carpentier*, who had been the Company's General in the *Indies*, and the Cargoes of these Ships were as valuable as that of the former.

Notwithstanding these lucky Adventures, the Company was perplexed by some Accidents, most of which they had no Reason to expect. The *English* stopped their Ships as often as they had Occasion, and the *Dunkirk* Privateers never failed to give them chase. This obliged them to resolve upon keeping a strong Squadron every Year in the *German Ocean*, in order to cruise for their homeward-bound Ships, and conduct them safe to their Ports. The first Squadron that scoured the *German Ocean* was commanded by *John Dierkiz Lam*, who had been in the *Indies*; upon his Approach the *Dunkirk* Privateers retired. The three Ships that I mentioned above as coming from *Surat*, under the Command of *John Karstenz of Embden*, being stopped for some Time in *England*, were afterwards dismissed, and their Arrival inspired the Company with fresh Courage. Soon after their Arrival, a Squadron of eleven Ships set off for *India* in *October*, under the Command of *James Spex*, who was accompanied by *John Fa'beck*, a famous Mathematician.

On the other Hand, the Company had the Mortification of seeing a Ship, called the *Nana*, arrive with the unwelcome News that they had let sail from *Batavia* the fore-going *January*, in hopes to pass the Strait of *Bab* in Time; but being disappointed, run ashore in the Lat. of 21°, upon the South-side of the *Terra Mogelanicacognita*; upon which they were obliged to throw overboard a great Quantity of their rich Effects, and so got the Ship afloat again with great Difficulty and Danger. Upon their Way they met with *Black's* Squadron, which had likewise had very stormy Weather. By this Ship they had Notice, that the People of *Java* had formed a Conspiracy to assassinate *John Peter Coen*, which was discovered by a young Chinese Boy, and thereby the Execution of that detestable Design entirely defeated.

It was within this Compass of Time that those great Discoveries were made by the *Dutch* Officers on the Southern Continent, of which we have so often spoke. The large Country of *Carpenteria*, now better known by the Name of *New-Holland*, was so called from General *Carpenter*, who discovered it in 1628. The western Part of the same Country, which lies to the South of *Java*, was discovered the same Year, on the Behalf of the Company, and from the Name of the Commodore who commanded the Squadron, was stiled *Dreutt's-Land*. But all the southern Coasts lying towards the Sea, which separates this Continent from that which lies close to the South Pole, was discovered in *January* 1627, by *Peter de Nuyt*, who had thereby an Opportunity of bestowing his Name on one of the finest Countries in the World.

All these Discoveries, together with a just Report of their Affairs, the Company received from General *Carpenter*, who returned with five Vessels richly laden. And upon his Report it was that the Directors resolved to send a Squadron of eleven Sail into those Parts, under the Command of Commodore *Franis Pelsort*, of whom we have elsewhere given a large Account. It may not be amiss to observe, that while the Company was doing all these great Things, their Country was torn with civil Dissentions, chiefly thro' the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange*, who endeavoured to make himself in some measure independent of the States; so that if the Affairs of the *Indies* had not been under a Direction distinct from that of the Government, it is simply impossible that they should have succeeded as they did, or brought such Advantage to the *Dutch* Nation.

12. The Year 1629 was as favourable to the Company as those that went before, for they had the Satisfaction of the Arrival of six Vessels, under the Command of three several Commodores, who informed them, that after several dishonourable Attempts, in order to surprize the

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Dutch, the King of *Mataram* had at last laid Siege to *Bata-
via*, and at the End of three Months was forced to break up
with the Loss of 16,000 Men. *Peter Vanden Broecke*, who
had likewise been long in *India*, and was the first Introducer
of Trade upon the *Red-Sea* and the adjacent Countries, re-
turned home the next Year: He brought with him seven
Ships, the Cargoes of which were valued at Eight Millions.
But these happy Incidents were accompanied with a very
disagreeable Circumstance; for of the eight Vessels he
commanded, he brought home but six, one being lost by
Fire under the *Apoes-Ilands*, and the other having strag-
gled from the Fleet; however, the last went round by
Ireland, and came safe home. *Broecke* acquainted the
Company that General *Coen* died suddenly two Days be-
fore the Arrival of *James Spex*'s, and that *Spex* acted as
General by way of Provision. In fine, *Antony Van
Diemen* returned in the Year 1631, with seven Vessels,
which brought the Company incredible Treasures.

These mighty Advantages enabled the *East-India* Com-
pany to prosecute their Designs to their utmost Extent to en-
large their Commerce in the *Indies* by every Method possible,
and in order thereto made use, with great Dexterity, some-
times of Force, and sometimes of fair Means, to compass
their Ends, and to secure to themselves the largest Share of a
Trade, which, by Experience, they found of such won-
derful Benefit. It was with this View, that in 1641, they
attacked the Importance of *Malacca*, the strongest Place
the *Portuguese* had left in the *Indies*, and which was of
so much the greater Consequence, because it not only se-
cured their Commerce with the Kingdoms of *Jobore*, *Siam*,
and *Pegu*, but also afforded them vast Advantages for the
Management of their Trade with *China* and *Japan*; at
the same time it made them Masters of that Strait which
is of so great Consequence to the Commerce of the *Indies*
in general; so that whoever is Master thereof may, in
time of War, be in a Condition to give Law to all the
Nations that carry on any Trade in that Part of the
World.

It was in the same Year that the *Dutch* secured to them-
selves the entire Possession of the rich Commerce of *Ja-
pon*, by the total Exclusion of the *Portuguese*, and all
other Christians. We have already mentioned this Mat-
ter more than once, and given the Reader such Lights
therein as may enable him clearly to conceive how that
Matter was brought about, and how far the *Dutch* may be
justly charged with contributing thereto. Instead there-
fore of insisting farther upon that Matter here, I shall con-
tent myself with a single Remark, which I think of some
Importance.

It is this, that whatever other Nations, or the *Dutch*
themselves, may think of the Benefits accruing from this
Exclusion of other Nations; it is however, demonstrable,
that they would have carried on a more extensive Trade to
that Country, and with much more Ease to themselves, if
that Trade had remained on the old Foot; for immedi-
ately after the Expulsion of the *Portuguese*, the *Dutch*
themselves were obliged to quit the Port of *Firando*, where
they had erected a noble Magazine, built all of Stone, and
were obliged to shut themselves up in the little Island of
Disma, where they have ever since been subject to the Ca-
price of the *Japanese*, and exposed to a Multitude of In-
sults and Inconveniences, which never could have befallen
them but from this Event; so that, though I confess, the
Dutch are much enriched by the *Japanese* Trade, yet, I
think, I have Reason to deny that they are at all the better
for the Exclusion of other Nations.

13. The Power and Credit of the Company was now
grown to such a Height, the Wealth they brought into
the Nation was of such Consequence, and so necessary to
the State, and the Circumstances of Things were so chang-
ed in their Favour, that without any Difficulty, at the
Time of the Expiration of their present Charter, they pro-
cured the Renewal thereof for the same Term of twenty-
one Years, to commence from the First of *January* 1644.
And so effectually did their Directors twist the Affairs of
the Company with those of the Government, that upon
the Conclusion of the general Peace, the same Care was
taken of their Interests as of those of the Republick, to
which the *Spaniards* consented, and thereby relinquished

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their Right, as they had long before lost the Power of
questioning the Conquests of the Company in the *East-
Indies*. It was in Gratitude for all these Favours, that the
Company entered the same Year into a Project of erecting,
at an immense Expence, a Monument to the commercial
Fame of the City of *Amsterdam*.

The Occasion was this: The old Town-house, or
Guild-hall, which had hitherto served well enough as an
Exchange for the Merchants, in which they met to trans-
act Business, was now thought too little, and also too mean
an Edifice for a City of such Wealth and Trade. Upon
this the two great Companies of the *East* and *West-Indies*,
undertook to build a new Stadthouse, the first Stone of
which was laid on the 29th of *October* 1648. While this
noble Structure was raising, an Accident happened, which
rendered it not only convenient, but necessary; for by
some Means or other the old Town-house took Fire, and
was burnt down to the Ground, which obliged them to
hasten the Erection of the new one, which was fit for
Use in the Year 1655, and has been ever since considered
as one of the finest Structures in the World, in which
all the Power of Architecture is displayed to the ut-
most without, and all the Riches of the most distant Coun-
tries in the World are assembled to render it magnificent
within. There never was a Time in which the Company
were better able to launch into so vast an Expence, her
Commerce being now at its greatest Height, and her
Power raised to such a Degree, that, from the *Cape of
Good-Hope* to the most distant Parts of *China*, there scarce
inhabited a Nation which had not learned to respect her,
by having experienced the Effects either of her Resent-
ment or Good-will.

Yet all this Power, Wealth, and Trade, did not ren-
der such as had the Care of the Company's Concerns at
all slothful or negligent; on the contrary, they were al-
ways contriving some new Scheme for the Benefit of those
by whom they were entrusted; and being very desirous of
overcoming those difficulties which had hitherto cramped
their Trade in *China*, the General and his Council at *Bata-
via*, in the Month of *July*, 1655, sent a solemn Em-
bassy, at the Head of which were *Peter Boyer* and *James
Kysel*, with rich Presents to the *Chinese* Emperor. He
then resided in the City of *Peking*, to whose Presence,
after a Stay of eight or nine Months, they were admitted,
and from the Civility shewn them at their first Audience,
they had great Hopes of Success; but they soon disco-
vered that there were Persons in that Court who traversed
all their Designs, and found Means to misrepresent all the
Propositions they made. The Chief of their Enemies
was Father *Adam Schaal*, a Native of *Cologne* in *Germany*,
and by Profession a Jesuit. He had resided in *China* up-
wards of five and thirty Years, and had wrought himself
so highly into the Emperor's Favour, that he raised him to
the Degree of a Mandarin of the first Rank, and placed
him at the Head of all the Philosophers and Mathemati-
cians in the Empire. This Man, by his great Interest,
and Knowledge, effectually baffled the Designs of the
Dutch, for he represented them as a People without any
Lands or Settlements in *Europe*, who lived merely by
Peddling and Piracy, and had by Treachery and Cruelty
raised themselves a large Empire in the *Indies*, at the Ex-
pence of the Natives, and more especially of such Princes
as suffering themselves to be deceived by their fair Pre-
tences, had admitted them into their Dominions, and by
that Means afforded them an Opportunity of distressing
them and their Subjects.

The *Chinese*, who are naturally suspicious, having once
got these Notions into their Heads, began to put such
Questions to the *Dutch* Embassadors as might best enable
them to judge of the Truth of what they had been told:
And, upon their asking at how great a Distance the Seat of
their Government lay from *China*? they answered, about
five thousand Leagues; and being interrogated as to the
Power and Strength of the Colony at *Batavia*, they gave
such Answers as were true in themselves, and most likely
to create Respect: But these were precisely the Things
that turn most to their Disadvantage; because they seemed
exactly to agree with what Father *Schaal* had laid down.
So that towards the latter End of the Year 1657, the Em-
bassadors

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ambassadors quitted *China*, without being able to make any Progress in the Execution of their Commission; so strong were the Prejudices raised against them, and so great the Apprehensions the *Chinese* had of their Danger, in case these Strangers were admitted to trade in the Ports of their Empire.

But if they were disappointed in their Hopes on this Side, they had better Success in *Japan*, to which Country they sent *Zachary Wagbanaer*, with the Title of Ambassador to the Emperor, with Orders to use his utmost Endeavours to gain a perfect Knowledge of the Policy of that great Empire, and to make himself likewise as agreeable as possible to the Emperor and his Ministers, which Commission he was very capable of performing, being a Man of deep Reach, very great Experience, and extremely courteous and affable in his Deportment. He had not been long however at *Edo*, before a sudden Fire reduced that City to Ashes, which occasioned such Confusion at the Court of *Japan* as induced the *Dutch* Ambassador to return home.

He was scarce arrived at *Batavia* before News came that great Disputes had arisen between the *Japanese* at *Nagasaki* and the *Dutch*, who were settled in their Factory there, which alarmed the General and Council so much that they obliged Mr. *Wagbanaer*, much against his Will, to make a second Voyage to *Japan*, where he did not arrive till the Beginning of the Month of *March*, 1659. He found Ways and Means to ingratiate himself with the Emperor and his chief Ministers, and by promising two Things on the Part of the *Dutch*, obtained all that he could reasonably ask in their Favour. The first of these was, that they should give early Intelligence of any Designs that might be formed in the *Philippines* to the Prejudice of the *Japanese* Empire: The other, that they should forbear taking *Chinese* Ships upon the Coast of *Japan*, because the Emperor allowing them to trade in his Dominions, it was but reasonable that he should be able to protect them.

While these Negotiations were carrying on in the most distant Parts of the East, there arose a new War in *Java*, which threatened Ruin to the *Dutch* Affairs. We have touched upon this more than once, but, for the better understanding this History, it will be necessary to give a concise View of the whole Matter from the *Dutch* Histories. The Island of *Java* had been under the Power of a single Monarch, sometimes styled by the *Dutch* simply the Emperor, and at other Times called King of *Japara*, from whom the Governor of *Bantam* revolted, assumed the Title of King, and was supported in the Quality of an independent Prince by the *Dutch*. It was by the adroit Management of these Divisions that they maintained and supported their own Power; for, whenever the Emperor of *Java* attempted any thing to the Prejudice of *Batavia*, the King of *Bantam* was sure to take Arms in their Favour; and on the other Hand, whenever the King of *Bantam* took up Arms against them they never failed to have Recourse to the Protection of the Emperor of *Java*. But in the Year 1651, the Emperor being very much embarrassed at home, the King of *Bantam* laid hold of this favourable Opportunity to raise a great Army, and to attack the *Dutch*, supposing that for want of the Emperor's Assistance, he should soon be able to make himself Master of *Batavia*, to which he immediately laid Siege. He found himself however extremely mistaken, for the Company was by this time become so potent, that they were able to defend themselves by their own Strength, which they did so effectually, that after the Loss of a great Part of his Forces, the King of *Bantam* found himself obliged to raise the Siege, and to retire precipitately into his own Dominions.

The Emperor of *Japara* had still worse Success; for though he was assisted from time to time by an invincible Hatred to the Company, yet they made him feel the Effects of their Power, and made him suffer severely for his Obstinacy, when they were never able to conquer it, or to bring him to their System of Trade, to have any Correspondence with them. These Difficulties at home did not however prevent the Governor and Council from engaging in a foreign War, for the support of one of their Allies, which

was the King of *Bengal*, who was in great Danger of being dethroned by his Brother. At first the *Dutch* only furnished him with Provisions and Artillery, and offered him, in case he was expelled, a Sanctuary at *Batavia*. But afterwards, finding that a considerable Part of his Subjects adhered to him firmly, they sent over Troops to his Assistance, and thereby not only delivered him from the immediate Danger he was in, but restored him to his former Dignity: In Gratitude for this seasonable Assistance, he gave them Leave to erect, not only a Factory, but a Fort at *Hugly*, well fortified with twelve Pieces of large Cannon mounted, and a good Ditch. It was by this Means that they ruined the *English* Trade there, and secured all the Commerce of those Parts to themselves.

Yet these remarkable Instances of good Fortune could not make them forget the Misfortune of their Affairs in *China*, much less incline them to forgive the *Jesuits*, to whom they attributed the Defeat of that Embassy, which cost them an immense Sum of Money, and which, as we have shewn before, ended in an absolute Disappointment. To be revenged on the Authors of this Disgrace, they fitted out a Fleet of thirty Sail, with Orders to sail to the Island of *Macassar*, and to attack the City of the same Name, in the Port of which they knew there was a *Portuguese* Fleet, richly laden, and in which the *Jesuits* were deeply concerned. On the 7th of *June* 1660, the *Dutch* attacked *Macassar* by Land and Sea, and tho' the *Indian* Monarch of that Place defended his Allies with his whole Force, yet the *Dutch* obtained a complete Victory; for they burnt three of the *Portuguese* Ships, sunk two, and took one, so richly laden, that it sufficiently reimbursed the Expence both of the *Chinese* Embassy, and of this Expedition. What was still more honourable for the *Dutch*, the unfortunate King of *Macassar* was obliged to send a solemn Embassy to *Batavia*, and to submit to such Terms as the *Dutch* Governor-General thought fit to prescribe, which were hard enough, since he was obliged, not only to expel all the *Portuguese* in his Dominions, but also to promise, that he would never admit them, or any other *Europeans*, to settle in his Territories; so that we may justly affirm, that never any Expedition was more completely executed, or turned more to the Reputation of the *Dutch* Company than this, which not only humbled their Enemies, but brought vast Advantages to themselves.

But as the greatest Fortune is seldom the most secure, so immediately after this mighty Success, the *Dutch* Company received one of the severest Checks they had ever met with since their Establishment in the *Indies*. They had at this Time a very fine Settlement on the Island of *Formosa*, one of the fairest and most fruitful Countries in the East, abounding with all the Necessaries of Life, producing various rich Commodities, and affording them the Opportunity of carrying on a vast Commerce from thence. They had built for the Protection of their Colony, a square Fort, with large Battions, and below these, towards the Sea, they had another Fortification, which covered the Palace of their Governor, consisting of two regular Battions, an excellent Covered-way, and four Half-moons, the whole united to the Fort by very strong Walls defended by a great Number of Cannon, and the whole protected by a numerous Garrison. The Town was long and large, extremely well peopled, and the Inhabitants, from seven Years old and upwards, being charged with a Poll-tax, at the Rate of half a Guilder a Head, produced a Revenue more than sufficient to discharge the Expences necessary for the Maintenance of this important Colony. Such indeed it might be well styled, since by its Situation, at the Distance only of twenty-four Leagues from the Coast of *China*, and one hundred and fifty from *Japan*, it afforded them the Means of carrying on, with the greatest Ease, a Trade to both that was excessively beneficial.

The *Chinese*, in the Year 1653, had laid a very deep Design for the Destruction of the *Dutch*, by an universal Conspiracy amongst the Natives, which however had not the designed Effect; for being luckily discovered in Time, it was absolutely detected. This Piece of good Fortune made those who were entrusted with the Care of this Settlement, more remiss than is usual with the *Dutch*, in so much, that they neglected the Fortifications, and suf-

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ferred their Magazines to grow empty, while by a steady Application to Trade, they were labouring to advance their private Fortunes. At the Time the *Tartars* made their last Conquest of *China*, there dwelt in the *Dutch* Town, upon this Island, a Taylor, whose Name was *Cbin-chitung*, by the *Dutch*, and other *Europeans*, called *Iquon*. This Man had a prodigious Spirit, a vast Capacity, and a Courage equally stubborn and enterprising; and, from an unconquerable Aversion to the *Tartars*, got together a few Men, two or three small Barks, and with this Force turned Pirate, or Privateer, which ever you will please to call him. In a short Space of Time, his Power increased to such a Degree, that he became extremely formidable to the *Tartar* Emperor, who finding that his Foible was Ambition, offered to make him King of the two great Provinces of *Canton* and *Fokien*, and sent for him to *Fochou*, where he promised to give him the Investiture of his new Dignity; but instead of keeping his Word, he caused him to be seized, and conducted to *Peking*, where he was soon after poisoned.

This Taylor, who was so near being a King, had a Son, whose Name was *Coxfina*, or *Coxenga*, and who had been Taylor to Mr. *Puttman*, Governor of *Fort Zealand*, and who, on his Father's Imprisonment, took upon him the Command of the Fleet. He at first demanded Succours from the *Dutch*, and promised them great Advantages if he was successful against the *Tartars*, which they refused; and this provoked him to such a Degree, that he resolved to turn his whole Force against *Formosa*, the rather, because he had a good Intelligence from the *Dutch* Town, and knew that their Affairs were in a very bad Condition. He assembled, with this View, a Fleet of six hundred Sail, most of them Frigates of small Force, but near one hundred were stout Men of War, of forty Guns and upwards. The News of those great Preparations reaching the Ears of the *Dutch* Governor, who was at that Time Mr. *Frederick Cojet*, Successor to *Cornelius Keiser*, he immediately dispatched Advice to *Batavia*, and demanded a speedy Succour, and also to *Japon*, for the Assistance of such *Dutch* Ships as happened to be there. All this, however, was to no Purpose; for before any Relief could come, *Coxenga* sent his Fleet under the Command of his Uncle *Souja*, which appeared before the Place in the Month of March 1661.

The *Dutch* Governor sent a Detachment of three hundred and fifty Men to prevent the debarking of their Troops, who behaved as well as Men could do, but to very little Purpose, as we may easily guess, since the *Chinese* landed forty thousand Men. They soon cut off the Communication between the Town and the Island, and having made themselves Masters of the adjacent Country, *Coxenga* treated all who had joined the *Dutch*, in the same Manner that *Nicholas Werburgh*, who was Governor in 1653, did such as were concerned in the Rebellion; that is to say, he put them to Death with all the Marks of Shame and Cruelty he could invent, and without the least Regard to Age, Sex, or Quality. After this, he attacked all the Outworks at the same Time, which prevented the *Dutch* from succouring each other; so that these Places were very soon carried, tho' with a vast Effusion of Blood, and the Governor was forced to retire into *Fort Zealand*.

The Conqueror considering the great Strength of the Place, and how unfit his Army was to undertake Sieges, made choice of Mr. *Anthony Hanchbroeck*, the eldest of the *Dutch* Clergymen, and sent him with his Brethren, two or three Schoolmasters, and some of the gravest Men among his Prisoners, to persuade the Governor to surrender, declaring, that he was content they should retire in Safety from *Formosa*, and that he would not touch the Hair of a *Dutchman's* Head, or one Farthing's Worth of their Goods; but if they refused this Proposition, he would put them all to the Sword, without Mercy. The Governor told those who brought him this Message, that he had all the Sorrow and Concern in the World for their Misfortune, but at the same Time, that there was nothing could induce him to betray his Trust, or to give up the Place he commanded into the Hands of the Enemy. With this Answer they returned to *Coxenga*, who, as soon as he

heard it, caused all his Prisoners to be put to Death, Men, Women and Children.

When this was done, he embarked the best Part of his Army on board three hundred Juncks, a very light Sort of Vessels, with which he blocked up the Port, while he fired upon the Forts from two Batteries of twelve Pieces of Cannon each. While Things were in this Situation, there arrived from *Batavia*, a stout Squadron of nine Men of War, commanded by Commodore *James Carwen*, who immediately made the best Disposition he could for the Relief of the Place. With this View, he landed the Troops he had on Board, and being joined by a Part of the Garrison, marched to attack 6000 *Chinese* that were covered by a Redoubt, not yet mounted with Cannon. These Troops being well armed, and completely disciplined, received them in Order of Battle; and tho' the *Dutch* fought with great Resolution, and renewed the Attack several Times, they were at length obliged to retire with the Loss of four hundred Men. The Commodore then ordered his Ships to force a Passage into the Port, but the Juncks drawing very little Water, kept close under the Shore, where the great Ships durst not follow them; and in this Attempt the *Dutch* lost two of their best Men of War, of which one ran ashore, and had all her Crew, to the Number of three hundred and eighty Persons, killed by the *Chinese*, the other was blown up by a Shot fired into her Powder-room.

Commodore *Carwen* perceiving that it was impossible for him to do any Thing more, detached two of his Ships to *Japon*, and having taken on Board two hundred Women and Children that were in the Fort, he sailed back to *Batavia* with the five Ships remaining of his Squadron, and made an exact Report to the Governor of the Council of the State of their Affairs in *Formosa*.

The News was received there with deep Concern, and a Resolution was immediately taken, to send an Ambassy to the Emperor of the *Tartars* in *China*, to inform them, that they were in Danger of losing *Formosa*, on account of refusing to assist this *Chinese* in his Rebellion; but not depending altogether on the Success of this Ambassy, they ordered five Ships of War to be equipped, and to sail forthwith to the Relief of the Place. The Governor *Cojet* made so obstinate a Defence, that old *Souja*, the Uncle of *Coxenga*, resolved to raise the Siege without the Knowledge of his Nephew, with, at least, that Part of the Army which he commanded. But tho' he managed this Design with the utmost Secrecy and Caution, yet *Coxenga* came to have a Suspicion thereof; upon which, forgetting the Nearness of his Relation, he caused old *Souja* to be arrested, and put in Irons; after which, notwithstanding he had the Plague and Famine in his Camp, he pushed on the Siege so vigorously, that the Governor found himself obliged to surrender, notwithstanding that the Succours he expected were in Sight.

Accordingly the Place being given up to the *Chinese*, he marched out with the Remains of his Garrison, and being taken on Board the Squadron, he returned to *Batavia*, where, instead of having received the Thanks, as he might reasonably have expected of the Governor-General and Council, he was committed to Prison, and kept there a long Time, under Pretence, that he had given up the Place too soon, because the *Dutch* Squadron was in Sight. To say the Truth, we may, in some Measure, pardon the Injustice of this Proceeding, when we consider the Importance of the Place, that the Loss was irreparable, and that, instead of having the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* Trade at their Mercy, their own was now so much exposed, that it was very difficult for them to send their annual Squadron to *Japon*. This Misfortune, however, brought about a Correspondence with the *Chinese* Emperor, who consented to give them his Assistance, to restrain the Power of *Coxenga*, to hinder him from pirating in those Seas, and thereby disturbing the Commerce of *China* and *Japon*.

14. It was about this Time, and by the Mediation of King *Charles II.* who had married the Infanta of *Portugal*, that a Treaty of Peace was set on Foot between that Crown and the Republick of *Holland*, which was soon after concluded, to the mutual Satisfaction of both Parties; for the

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East-India Company were much too strong for the *Portuguese* in that Part of the World, and had in a short Time, deprived them of their most valuable Settlements; yet, in the *West-Indies* the *Portuguese* were too hard for the *Dutch*, and had not only recovered *Brazil* out of their Hands, but were also in a fair Way of making still greater Conquests; and besides all this, their Privateers were so numerous, that the *Dutch* found their Trade in the *Mediterranean*, and on the Coast of *Africa*, very precarious; so that notwithstanding the Advantages made in the *Indies*, they had no Reason to desire the Continuance of the War.

The Company however, as if they had been really Sovereigns within the Bounds of their Charter, took little or no Notice of the Peace; so that in the Year 1660, they attacked *Coulon* on the Coast of *Malabar*, and having reduced it, they next attacked *Cananor* on the same Coast; of which, tho' with some difficulty, they became Masters; and tho' their first Design was to have demolished the Place, and to have established only a Factory there; yet, on second Thoughts, and when they came to consider the Convenience and Importance of its Situation, they changed their Minds, and determined to repair their Fortifications, and keep it as a Settlement of their own. After the Reduction of *Cananor*, they next proceeded to *Cochin*, a City of still greater Force and greater Consequence, as being a Bishop's See, and a Place of great Trade. The *Dutch* Commodore *Geens* met here with greater Resistance than he expected, and during a Siege of some Continuance, lost a considerable Number of his People; but being resolved to master it, cost what it would, he prosecuted his Attempt with such Steadiness, that at last he prevailed; and the *Portuguese*, who had lost a vast Number of Men during the Siege, were constrained to surrender the City into his Hands.

When he was possessed of it however, he scarce knew how to act, because on the one Hand he saw that the Preservation of it was a Thing of great Consequence; and, on the other, that it would require a very numerous Garrison, and a great Expence, to put the Fortification into a proper repair: He apply'd himself therefore to the General and Council at *Batavia*, who immediately sent him Orders not to spare for any Expence, either of Men or Money, but to push his Fortune to the utmost; and at the same time they sent him this Message, they sent likewise a fresh Squadron and a considerable Body of Troops on board it. This so encouraged Commodore *Geens*, that he marched with his Force by Land to attack the City of *Porca*, which was the Capital of a little *Rajah* or *Indian Prince*, who had been subject to the *Portuguese*: But he not caring to dispute with those who had beat his Masters, offered to become their Tributary, and to pay them the same Obedience which he had formerly done to the Crown of *Portugal*, and this being as readily accepted as offered, put an End to the War on that Side.

The City of *Cranganor* which is situated between *Callicut* and *Cochin*, fell next into his Hands without a Blow; and thus, in the Space of one Year, the *Dutch* expelled the *Portuguese* out of all the Places they held on the Coast of *Malabar*, and acquired to themselves a Territory of one Hundred and fifty Leagues in Length, with all the Trade belonging to it, and which the *Portuguese* had enjoyed without Interruption from the Time of their first Settlement in *India*. They likewise contracted Alliance with the *Sultan* of *Calicut*, the King of *Cochin*, and other *Indian Princes*.

It was on this Occasion, to send a solemn Embassy to *Starchel*, who had just mounted the Throne of the *Mogul*, by whom they were most graciously received, and an Assurance of Friendship settled between them: They took the same Method with respect to all the Monarchs whose Dominions lay on the Gulph of *Bengal*, and with to great Success. It was not long however, before they began to quarrel with the King of *Sumatra*: Upon which they drove their Factories out of his Dominions, which so alarmed that Prince, that he immediately dispatched a *Batavia*, to demand the Cause; which the *Dutch* refused to satisfy, except by a respectful Letter. On which the *Batavia* sent an Ambassador to invite them to a Conference, to the great Annoyance, not only of *Redem* in

respect to the Grievances they complained of, but of any other that might happen in Process of Time; and the Company accordingly re-settled their Factories at *Siam* and *Ligor*.

Not long after the composing these Differences, there arose fresh Grounds of Complaint, but on the opposite Side; for the Crew of a *Dutch* Bark murdered thirty-five *Siamese* in cold Blood, after having ravished their Wives and Daughters. But before the Inhabitants or their Monarch had Time to complain, the *Dutch* Council at *Malacca* caused the Offenders to be apprehended; four of whom they broke alive upon the Wheel, and five they hang'd; which gave such Satisfaction to the Natives, that they never heard any more of this Matter.

In the midst of all those Successes, they could not forget the Loss of *Formosa*, or the Overtures made by the Emperor of the *Tartars* in *China*, for restoring to them that Place. There was the greater Reason to expect that this Monarch would act sincerely with them, because *Coxenga*, not satisfied with *Formosa* and its Dependencies, had actually made himself Master of several Islands on the Coast of *China*, and some Towns upon the Continent. On the Assurances therefore given them by Mr. *Borel*, who was their Ambassador to the Emperor, they fitted out a great Fleet, consisting of no less than seventeen Sail of large Ships, under the Command of *Baltazar Borib*, with Orders to join the *Tartars*, and to act with the utmost Vigour against *Coxenga*. On his Arrival on the Coast of *China*, he found that Conqueror in Possession of the Island of *Quemoy*, which the *Tartars* with all their Force were not able to take from him. The *Dutch* Commodore observing, that the principal Fortrefs in this Island stood upon the Sea Coast, resolved to try whether it was not possible to take it by Assault; supposing that this would not only strike a Terror into the Enemy, but also raise the Credit of the *Dutch* Army with the *Tartars*; but he quickly found, upon Trial, that the Soldiers of *Coxenga* did not at all resemble any of the *Chinese* that he had seen, for they gave him to warm a Reception, that he was very soon obliged to abandon his Design.

He next determined to attack their Fleet, while the General of the *Tartars* engaged their Forces on Shore; to which the latter consented. This Fleet of *Coxenga's* consisted of Four score large Juncks, and Twenty small ones, all full of Soldiers and Seamen, and very well provided with Bras Cannon. The Battle was very oblitmate and bloody, and *Coxenga* distinguished himself as a gallant Soldier, an experienced Seaman, and a great Captain: But the *Dutch* large Ships tore his Juncks to Pieces, so that after an Engagement which lasted for several Hours, he was forced to retire; but he did it in Order and with a good Countenance. The *Tartar* General before the Battle, began to draw up his Forces in a regular Line, and while it lasted, looked on very quietly: After all was over, he expostulated this Matter a little warmly; but the *Tartar* General answered, That he could not prevail upon his Men to fight; but in case the *Dutch* would attack the Enemy a second Time, he believed they would behave better. Admiral *Borib* took his Word, and attacked the Fleet of *Coxenga* a second Time, and routed them entirely: But the *Tartar* General was still a Spectator as before. This Victory however, was of greater Consequence than the former, since it not only cost *Coxenga* all his new Conquests, but his Life.

The *Tartars* laid hold of this Opportunity to demolish the Fortresses they had raised as fast as they felt them, and the *Dutch* were very brisk in carrying off whatever they met with that was valuable. After this they made themselves Masters of the Island of *Amoy*, and the Recovery of *Formosa* was looked upon as a Thing certain; yet when they came to attempt it, they were strangely disappointed; for old *Songa*, who had now recovered his Liberty, drew together the Fleet and Army of his Nephew, and disposed every thing in such a Manner that there was nothing to be done but by Force, and even of doing any thing that way there was great Uncertainty. The old *Chinese* however, being a Man of great Wisdom and Experience, was not willing to risque all, if it might be saved without running any Hazard, and therefore had a mind to make Peace

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with the *Tartars*, and to grant the *Dutch* a Settlement
and a free Trade, which he thought might content both
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The Son of *Coxenga*, however, having discovered the
Design, defeated it, and procuring himself to be elected
General, seized the old Man, and sent him a second time
to prison, where, in a Fit of Melancholy, he dispatched
himself with his own Hands. This young Officer inherited
all the Spirit and all the Abilities of his Family, and ma-
naged his Affairs with such Courage and Conduct, that the
Admiral soon found himself obliged to return to *Batavia*
with his Fleet, without being able to execute the Com-
mission he had received, which was the Reason that he
met from the General and Council no extraordinary
Welcome.

The War in which the States engaged with King *Charles*
the Second, retarded in some measure the Progress of the
Company in the *Indies*; and when this was finished, they
very unexpectedly found themselves a fresh embarrassed in
that Part of the World, by the Insults and Depredations
committed by the King of *Macassar*, as their Writers re-
port; for his Subjects had murdered some of the *Dutch*
that had landed in his Dominions, and had likewise plun-
dered several Ships that had run ashore upon the Coasts of
his Dominions; but before any Hostilities were commit-
ted on either Side, a Treaty was let on Foot, by which the
King promised to make full Satisfaction for the Injuries done
to the Company; as also to make such Submissions as
they should require from him on account of these Dif-
ficulties.

The Company, however, suspecting the Sincerity of
the King's Promises in this respect, thought proper to send
their Admiral, *Cornelius Speelman*, who had been Governor
of the Coast of *Coromandel*, with a Squadron of thirteen
Men of War, and a certain Number of Transports, with
eight hundred Soldiers on board, with Orders to see the late
Treaty executed according to the Letter in every Article;
and he arrived with this naval Force before *Macassar* on the
19th of *December*, 1666. The very next Morning came two
Deputies from the King on board, and brought with them
a thousand and fifty-six Ingots of Gold, which had been
promised in Satisfaction for the Murder of the *Dutch*; and
also the Sum of One thousand four hundred and thirty-
five Rix-Dollars, in Satisfaction for the Vessels that had
been plundered, but at the same time they declared in the
Name of the King their Matter, that the Submissions re-
quired of him were inconsistent with his Dignity; and
therefore such as he could not comply with. As this was
precisely what the Company expected, and as they were al-
so informed that the King of *Macassar* had sent a large
Fleet in order to attack the Island of *Bouton*, Admiral
Speelman immediately declared War; and having made
two Descents upon the Enemy's Country, carried off an
incredible Quantity of Plunder, burned fifty Villages to
the Ground, and about an hundred of his Ships in his
Ports.

After so signal a Revenge the Admiral sailed from *Ma-*
casar in order to relieve the Island of *Bouton*, which was
hard pressed by the Fleet and Army, which the King of
Macassar had sent against it; Admiral *Speelman* arrived
before that Place the last Day of the Year before-mentio-
ned; and on *New-Year's-Day*, 1667, he forced a Pas-
sage with his small Vessels into the Haven of *Bouton*, and
then proceeded to attempt the Relief of the City, which
was besieged by the King of *Macassar's* General, at the
Head of ten thousand Men. But the *Dutch* attacking
them in their Entrenchments, and finding Means to set
their Magazines on Fire, forced them immediately to
raise the Siege; which Disaster was followed by such
a Prodigious Defection among the Troops of their Allies,
which made up the best Part of their Army, that the Ge-
nerals of the King of *Macassar* found themselves obliged
to enter into a Treaty with the *Dutch* Admiral; and be-
ing able to obtain no better Terms, surrendered at Dis-
cretion. Thus this War was ended in the Space of four
Months, with great Glory to the Company.

The first thing they did was to disarm their Prisoners,
of whom they sent five thousand five hundred to people a
desert Island not far from *Bouton*. Four hundred of them

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they kept for Slaves, and five thousand *Bougies*, or Aux-
iliaries of different Nations, they delivered up to the King
of *Palacca*, who had been their faithful Ally during the
Continuance of this War. They restored to the King of
Bouton three hundred Vessels, together with whatever
Plunder had been taken from his Subjects by the Enemy,
and could be found after their Defeat; the rest of the
King of *Macassar's* Junks they incorporated with their own
Fleet of Transports, and with an hundred and ninety-five
Standards, and all the Arms and Ammunition of the
Enemy, with the principal Officers of their Army, whom
they kept Prisoners. Admiral *Speelman* returned in Tri-
umph to *Batavia*, where he was received with universal
Applause.

The King of *Macassar* however remained still fixed to
his Purpose; and notwithstanding all these Losses, abso-
lutely refused to submit to the Terms which the Company
prescribed; but knowing, by Experience, that the whole
Force of his Island would not be sufficient to protect him
from their Relentment, he resolved to employ his Endeav-
ours in persuading most of the little Sovereigns, who
were his Neighbours, to assist and support him in his De-
signs, which he declared to be no less than shaking off the
Yoke of the *Dutch* Company for good and all. He suc-
ceeded so effectually in making this Alliance, that Admiral
Speelman was obliged to solicit all the *Dutch* Confederates
for their Assistance; and, at last, having drawn together
all the Force they could raise, he, on the 8th of *June*,
sailed from *Ambeyna* with sixteen Vessels, great and small,
and fourteen Shallops, on board of which were the Suc-
cours furnished by the King of *Palacca* and *Ternate*. He
sailed first to *Bouton*, but in his Passage Part of his Fleet
was separated, which, however, did not hinder him from
landing in several Places on the Coast of *Macassar*, where,
notwithstanding the great Inequality of the others in Point
of Numbers, he had tolerable Success.

At length, on the 19th of *July*, in the Morning, he
attempted to force a Passage into the Port of *Macassar*,
but in this he was disappointed; for the King having
erected a Royal Fort for the Defence of the Place, the
Dutch, after twenty-four Hours cannonading, were forced
to retire. A few Days after the Admiral was joined by
that Part of the Fleet which had been separated from him
by the Storm; and, on the Second of *August*, he made a
Descent with his whole Force at a Place called *Gliffon*.
The Army of the Company consisted of six hundred
Dutch Troops, three hundred disciplined *Indians* in their
Pay, three thousand Men from *Ternate* and *Bouton*, seven
thousand *Bougies*, eight hundred Seamen, and two inde-
pendent Companies, under the Command of the Captains
Joncker and *Stryker*. But the Forces of the Enemy were
incomparably greater; for they amounted to no fewer than
twenty thousand Men, under the Command of all the
little Kings and Princes that the Monarch of *Macassar*
had drawn over to his Party.

Admiral *Speelman* kept the main Body of his Forces
near his Fleet, and detached one hundred Men, the bravest
and the best armed under his Command, to attack the
Castle of *Gliffon* in the Night. The King of *Palacca*,
who was intrusted with the Management of this Affair, ex-
ecuted it with such Courage and Conduct, that, by three
in the Morning, he became Master of the Place, of which
he gave Notice to the *Dutch* Admiral, who immediately
sent him such Reinforcements and Supplies as were requi-
site to preserve it. This was a dreadful Blow to the En-
emy; and as the Admiral very justly foresaw, the first thing
they did was to attempt the Recovery of it, in which, how-
ever, they were so far from succeeding, that after three ge-
neral Assaults, in each of which they lost a great Number
of Men, they were forced to give over that Design; nei-
ther was this all, for taking Advantage of the Situation
of this Fortrefs, such Multitudes of Bombs and red-hot
Bullets were fired from thence into the Enemy's Camp, as
threw them into the utmost Consternation and Confusion,
which Opportunity was not let slip by the *Dutch* General,
who, with the best Part of his Forces, attacked the En-
emy's Entrenchments, at the same time that a vigorous
Sally was made from the Castle, which obliged the Enemy
to quit all their Posts.

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General *Speelman* soon after embarked his Forces, and transported them to another Part of the Island, where he committed great Ravages, and destroyed a great Multitude of Villages. As this War was apparently attended with great Loss, and Inconveniences on both Sides, Deputies were at last chosen, to try what could be done towards settling a Peace. The King of *Macassar* was very unwilling to let these Deliberations be spun out to any length, because he found his *Indians* Aliens deserting him by Degrees, and making Peace for themselves on the best Terms they could; which Example of theirs he resolved to follow, by submitting to such Terms as he could get, which were, indeed, none of the most reasonable; and so the Treaty was concluded on the 18th of November, 1667; in consequence of which, the Regents of the Island, and all the neighbouring Princes, as well as the King of *Macassar*, sent a numerous and solemn Embassy to the Governor-General, *John Maetsuicker* at *Batavia*, to make their Submission to the Company.

All this Time the *Dutch* Army and Fleet continued in the Island, and the rainy Season coming on, there ensued such a Mortality among them, as induced the *Indians* to hope they might gain some Advantages over them, by which they were tempted to break the Peace, which they did by massacring a great Number of the dying Soldiers, and two of their Captains; upon which the War broke out again, and continued with as great Violence as ever for two Years; in which Time the Success of Admiral *Speelman* was so great, and the Calamities he brought upon the Natives of *Macassar* were so many and so heavy, that, at last, they were forced to implore a Peace, to send a new Embassy to *Batavia*, and to make all the Submissions the Company could require; and, after all, they were left to the Mercy of *Speelman*, who, by a new Treaty, concluded on the 15th of June 1669, not only renewed the Treaties of the 19th of August, 1660, and the 18th of November, 1667, but also imposed upon them other Conditions still more grievous and more intolerable. By this Treaty the Company became entirely Mistress of the Commerce of the Islands of *Celebes*, which, though very considerable in itself, was still more so by being taken from the *European* Nations, who under Colour of trading for the Commodities of the Islands, came in for a considerable Share of the Trade in Spices; so that it served likewise to secure to the *Dutch* what was of more Consequence to them than any thing else, their absolute Sovereignty over the *Moluccas*.

I have been the more particular in writing the History of this War from the Memoirs furnished me by the *Dutch* Authors, because it is the last of any Consequence that the Company has carried on in the *Indies*; and has, with respect to the Natives, established their Power so effectually, that there is no great Danger of their being obliged to sustain such another War. Before I part however with this Subject, I shall take the Liberty of making a few Remarks, for the sake of such Readers as seek Instruction rather than Amusement, and are truly desirous of understanding what in this Section I have undertaken to explain.

My first Observation is, that how rude and barbarous however we may esteem these Nations, yet most evident it is, that the King of *Macassar* acted like a great and wise Politician, and that the *Indian* Princes, who joined with him, were entirely guided by a Principle of publick Spirit, and a very just and rational Desire of preserving a Balance of Power in those Parts upon which their own immediate Safety and quiet Enjoyment of their Dominions depended. They miscarried indeed, but it was in a noble Cause, and even their Miscarriage sufficiently proves the Rectitude of their Intentions; for since the Conclusion of this fatal Peace, to which they were driven by absolute Necessity, they have lost all Commerce with Strangers, and are, to all Intents and Purposes, the Vassals, or to speak in plain *English*, the Slaves of the *Dutch*. This plainly shews, that the Balance of Power is not such a Chimera as some People would represent it; and my next Remark will make this still more evident.

It is very strange, that while these *Indian* Princes were so ready fighting for their own Freedom, but for the Li-

berty of trading with *Europeans*, all the *European* Nations settled in the *Indies* should be quiet Spectators of a War which so much concerned them, without interposing in the least for the Preservation of those who were engaged in their Cause as much as in their own. If they had stirred ever so little, we may easily discern, even from these *Dutch* Accounts, that the King of *Macassar* and his Allies might have been supported in their Pretensions, and might have been enabled to have thrown off the Yoke of the *Dutch*, so that if Barbarity consists as surely with respect to Nations it does, in political Ignorance, than the *Europeans* in the *Indies* may, with greater Justice, be styled barbarous than the poor Natives, who certainly did all they could; and the wisest, greatest, and bravest Nations never did more.

My third Remark is, that the *Indians* who joined with the *Dutch*, were Enemies to themselves, and by destroying the Power of the King of *Macassar*, not only contributed to the Ruin of the only Monarch who understood and pursued the true Interest of the *Indians* in general, but likewise subverted and took away their own Importance: For, while the King of *Macassar* continued a great and powerful Prince, the *Dutch East-India* Company considered, and must have always considered such Princes as lived in Friendship with them in the Light of Allies, and durst never have treated them but as Allies ought to be treated. But when this Power was gone, which made their Friendship to necessary, and of such Importance, they became as much the Vassals, as much the Servants, or, as I called them before, the Slaves of the *Dutch*, as that King and those Princes, who by their Alliance, the *Dutch* subdued. This is a very useful and a very important Lesson; for Men are the same in *Europe* and in the *Indies*.

It is now time to resume our History, which leads me to take Notice, that while the *East-India* Company carried all before them abroad, the Republick was excessively distressed at home; for now it was that the *French*, jealous of her Power, and the *English*, in Resentment of former Injuries, concurred in that fatal Alliance, which was very near bringing the States as low as when they first shook off the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*; nay, which actually did bring them into such Distress, that it is reported that they had once thought of seeking that Protection from their *East-India* Company, which they had hitherto afforded it, and of transferring that Government to *Batavia*, which they almost despaired of preserving at the *Hague*.

Providence however interposed, and by touching the Hearts of the *English* Nation with a generous Concern for their Neighbours, whom though they might wish to see humbled, yet they had no Desire, as indeed they had no Interest to see them destroyed, delivered them from this Calamity, and raised them once more to Power and Freedom.

Yet the *East-India* Company, though it felt but little of this Storm, was not altogether exempt from its Force, since the *French* sent a powerful Squadron into the *Indies*, with a View to have torn from them a Part of their Possessions. This Squadron was commanded by the *Sieur de la Hay*, who proposed first attacking *Ceylon*, with a View to make the *French* Masters of the Cinnamon Trade as once, as the shortest Means of introducing the Commerce of the *Indies* according to the Project of one Mr. *Caren*, a *French* Refugee, who had been long in the *Dutch East-India* Company's Service, understood their Affairs perfectly well, and made his Peace at home by betraying all he knew. This Man embarked on Board the Fleet, and was principally depended upon in the Management of every thing. It cannot be denied, that he served the *French* Ministry very effectually; but they had not sufficiently considered the Importance of the Expedition in which they employed him, or the Force of the Enemy with whom they had to deal; for if they had, they would undoubtedly have sent a second Squadron to have supported that which Mr. *Hay* commanded; and this might have been of some Use; but, as it was, it only shewed the Disposition of the *French*, and served to put the *Dutch* upon their Guard.

In the Summer of the Year 1673, the *French* Fleet appeared on the West-Coast of the Island of *Ceylon*, and immediately landed and attacked the Citadel of *Trincom-*

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male, of which they became Masters; and by fair Pro-
mises, and magnifying the Power of the French King,
drew the Natives to join with them; so that thus far they
had all the Success they could expect. But *Trinquimalé*
was a Place of too great Importance for the Company to
let it remain long in the Hands of these new Conquerors;
they therefore sent Commodore *Goens* from *Batavia* with
a Fleet of sixteen Sail, all of them large Ships, and well
mann'd. On the first Appearance of this Squadron Mr.
de la Hay retired with his Ships to *Surat*, leaving a small
Garrison in his new Conquest. The Commodore blocked
up *Trinquimalé* by Sea, and debarking his Forces, besieged
it at the same time by land; so that he soon recovered it,
together with one hundred and twelve Pieces of fine Bras-
Cannon, which the French had left there for its Defence;
so that here ended their Views upon *Ceylon*, almost as soon
as they began.

But Mr. *de la Hay*, when he came to *Surat*, advised
with Mr. *Caron* about the Measures which they should
next take; and, pursuant to his Advice, resolved to at-
tack the Fortrefs of *St. Thomas*, which about twelve Years
before, the Dutch had taken from the Portuguese; and in
this sudden Attempt they were as successful as they had
been before in surprizing *Trinquimalé*, and just as unlucky
in keeping it. After leaving a good Garrison here, and
seeing the Magazines put into the best Order possible, the
Sieur de la Hay thought proper to return to France with
the only Ship that was left of his Squadron. But it fell
out unluckily enough for him, that even this poor Con-
solation of bringing home a few of the People he had car-
ried out, was denied him; for in the Road of *Lisbon*, his
only Ship was wrecked, by the Malice of his Pilot, as it
was supposed, more than by any Violence of Weather; the
rather because Mr. *Caron*, two Captains, and several other
Officers were drowned in their Endeavour to get ashore
in the Long-boat, which was the Effect, as is supposed,
of some Practices which the Treachery of *Caron* to the
Dutch put them upon taking; but as this is a bare Sufpi-
cion, and absolutely destitute of Proof, to insist upon
it farther would be needless.

This was the last Attempt made against the Commerce
of the East-India Company; and during the Remainder
of the Century, they were continually improving and aug-
menting both their Power and their Commerce; so that
at the Close of it, they were in a much better Condition
than ever; for in the Year 1687, we find that they
brought over One hundred and seventy thousand Pounds
Weight of Cinnamon; and yet they brought over less
that Year than they had done for many Years before,
which shews the prodigious Importance of their being
solely possessed of the Island of *Ceylon*. On the 11th of
August 1698, their Charter was renewed for forty
Years, which gave them such an Accession of Power and
Credit, as rendered them almost as considerable in the
Eyes of all Europe, as they were before in the Indies: And
having said that, it may seem altogether unnecessary to
add any thing by Way of Explanation.

15. We have now conducted the History of this fa-
mous Company, from its earliest Establishment to the Be-
ginning of the present Century; and for what regards the
Transactions thereof from thence to the present Time,
there is so much said in the first Chapter of this Work in
the Account we have given of Commodore *Roggeveen*,
that there seems to be the less Occasion for our insinua-
ting much on that Subject here, therefore we shall content our-
selves with mentioning only a few Particulars that have
not hitherto fallen in our Way; that as far as in our Power
lies, there may be nothing deficient in the treating a Sub-
ject so curious and important in itself, and the Knowledge
of which is so peculiarly necessary to a trading Nation.

In the first Place, though we have mentioned them oc-
casionally before, we will more exactly distinguish the
Dates of the Company's Charters; the rather, because
many of the Dutch Writers are not very exact in that Par-
ticular. The first Charter was dated the 20th of March,
1602, and was to continue for twenty-one Years. The
second was granted the Year in which the former expired,
for the like Term, but with this Variation, that it was to
commence from the first of January, 1623, so that it de-

termined in 1644, when they procured a new Charter for
the same Term. Their fourth Charter bore Date the 7th
of February, 1663, and was to extend to the 31st of
December, 1700; but the Company thought proper in
1698 to obtain another Charter for forty Years, from the
Determination of that which was then in being. And,
again, in the Year 1717, the Company thought it requi-
site to apply for new Favours, but they were not able to
obtain a new Charter, as they expected; however they
procured a Placard, by which the States-General forbade
all their Subjects to send any Ships to the East-Indies, or
any where within the Limits of the Company's Charter:
They likewise prohibited their Interfering in any manner
in the Commerce of the Indies, without the Licence of
the Company first had and obtained for that Purpose; as
also to have any Concern in foreign Companies, or to
serve on board any of their Ships; which Precautions were
thought necessary not only for the East-India Company's
Security, but for the preserving this rich and beneficial
Trade to the Subjects of the Republic.

There happened, about the Time that their Charter
should have been renewed, some Commotions in the
Indies, which had like to have been of very fatal
Consequence to their Establishment; and of which we
have not, as yet, received in Europe any Account of
these Transactions that can be thoroughly depended upon;
all we know of them is this, that the Conspiracy having
been discovered among the Chinese at the very Juncture
that it should have been executed, the Governor was con-
strained to have Recourse to the most speedy Methods for
securing the Safety of the Inhabitants, and preserving the
City and Fortrefs of *Batavia* from falling into the Hands
of the Enemy. It was in Consequence of this Necessity
that all the Seamen were landed from the Fleet, and had
the Plunder given them of the Chinese Suburb, to en-
courage them to serve the Company effectually, which
they did, by attacking and putting to the Sword the great-
est Part of the Conspirators. By this speedy and severe
Proceeding, the City and the Dominions of the Compa-
ny in the Island of *Java* were preserved, but not without
a vast Effusion of Blood, which was followed by a formi-
dable Rebellion, that was not suppressed for some time.

Such as favoured the Governor and Council of the In-
dies, pretend that all this was owing to the Wickedness
and Treachery of the Chinese, who, notwithstanding the
Mildness of the Company's Administration, had formed
a deep and dark Conspiracy, the Design of which was to
extirpate totally the Dutch that were settled in *Batavia*
and Places adjacent. Such again as are Enemies to the
Governor and his Council, attributed the whole of this
bloody Affair to their Male-administration; and would
have us believe that the Chinese and their Accomplish-
ments, were driven into all they did by the most horrid Oppres-
sions, in order to afford an Opportunity for thus falling up-
on and destroying them, and thereby putting it out of
their Power to demand the immense Sums of Money
which were due to them from such as were industrious in
bringing this Calamity upon them. Some again who pre-
tend to speak impartially, without Favour to the Chinese,
or Prejudice to the Governor, give quite another Turn to
this Affair, and tell us that he was so far from being an
Enemy to the Chinese, that he had been rather too much
their Friend; and for the sake of considerable Sums of
Money and several rich Presents that had been made him,
granted them such Liberties as were inconsistent not only
with the Interest, but with the Safety of the Company,
which were the true Causes of their endeavouring to sub-
vert the Government, and to make themselves Masters of
Batavia, and the Country about it, agreeable to the true
Nature of the Chinese, who are known and acknowledged
throughout the East, to be an insolent, ungrateful, and per-
fidious People.

However this Matter might be, it made a prodigious
Noise in Europe; and Baron *Imhoff*, the present Gover-
nor-General, was sent over to *Batavia* to settle the Con-
cerns of the Colony and Company, and to make a very
strict Enquiry into this Affair. The Charter of the Com-
pany, when it was near expiring in 1740, was renewed
only for one Year; but since that Time, all Affairs have
been

been adjusted in the *Indies*, and at Home, to the Satisfaction both of the Company and of the Government, as shall be shewn hereafter. At present, it is our Business to shew, after giving so copious an Account of the Growth and Grandeur of this Company, how its Affairs are conducted, and what Form of Government it is, that has been able, not only to render a Body of Merchants formidable to the greatest Monarchs in the *East*, but to acquire them Dominions very little inferior to any of these Monarchs, and Revenues, Armies and Fleets, superior to most of them; this is a Thing so admirable in itself, and demonstrates so clearly, what it is in the Power of an extensive and well regulated Commerce to do, that I flatter myself my Reader will pay a very strict Attention to the following Account of it.

16. Their whole Business in *India* is divided into Governments and Directions, after the following Manner: I. *Batavia* is the chief and capital, where reside the Governor General, and Council ordinary of *India*, to whom all the Governments and Directions are subordinate, sending their Accounts to them, the Balance whereof is entered into the Accounts-General of *India*, kept there; besides which, there are several Places immediately under the Government and Direction of the Governor and Council of *Batavia*, viz. *Japon* a Chief-ship, *Tenquin* a Chief-ship, *Macassar* a Commandant, *Siam* a Chief-ship, *Bantam* a Factory, *Japara* a Factory, *Jambee* a Chief-ship, *Pallambam* a Chief-ship, *Arrakan* a Chief-ship. II. *Amboyna* a Government, under which are several Islands, where they pay a yearly Pension to the Inhabitants, not to suffer Cloves or other Spices to grow. III. *Banda* is a Government, and under it are several Islands, to the Natives of which they likewise pay Money yearly to destroy the Spice. IV. *Ternate* is a Government. V. *Malacca* is a Government. VI. *Zelon*, or *Ceylon*, is a Government, where they have many Factories, and all their Accounts are sent to *Columbo*, the principal Place. VII. *Cochin* is a Government, and under it lies all the *Malabar* Coast. VIII. *Policat* is a Government, under which are the Coasts of *Corromandel* and *Pegu*. IX. *Bengal* is a Direction, and under it, all the Factories in that Bay: *Hugly* is the Chief from whence they send their Accounts to *Batavia*. X. *Surat*, another Direction, under which are many Factories. XI. *Persia* a Direction, the chief Residence *Gombroon*, and under it are *Ipahan* and *Bassora*. XII. *Cape of Good Hope* a Government, and under it, the *Mauritius*, or Island of Prince Maurice.

To understand this perfectly, it must be observed, that Governments are when the Places are their own, Directions when they are under a foreign prince, and have no Garrisons. *Batavia* excepted, no Government, Direction or Command, hath Precedence of Place; but the Persons in those Places, and all other Degrees and Qualities take Place according to their Seniority in standing.

This Account sufficiently explains the general Scheme of their Government, from whence we shall descend into Particulars, that it may appear, with how much Wisdom, Justice and Prudence, all things are regulated by this Company, to prevent either Corruption or Confusion, which though it is very probable they may not absolutely do, yet it is very certain, they must do it in a great Measure; for otherwise the Company's Affairs must have fallen long ago into a very distracted State, whereas, we see them at this Day, in as good a Condition as ever.

This I conceive to be especially owing to that Nicety of Judgment shewn in adjusting all their Salaries, and Allowances for Diet, to the several Qualities and Degrees of their Servants, so that none has either so little as to be pushed by Necessity, nor any so much as to set them above the Performance of their Duty, which is, generally speaking, the Ruin of such Governments as pursue a contrary Conduct; for the more easy understanding of this Point, we shall take their inferior Officers first, and so ascend gradually to the Governor-General of the *Indies*. The under-assistant, Scrivener or Writer, is the lowest Degree, and is chiefly supplied with Soldiers, taken out of the Guards, from nine to fourteen Guilders *per mensum*. Next is the Assistant at twenty Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and four Rix-dollars Diet. After him the upper-assistant Book-

keeper, or Secretary, from twenty-eight to thirty-six Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and four Rix-dollars Diet. In the fourth Place, the Under-copeman, from thirty-six to forty-five Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and eight Rix-dollars Diet. Then the Copeman from fifty to sixty-five Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and eight Rix-dollars Diet. Next to him, Upper-copeman, from eighty to one hundred and twenty Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and twelve Rix-dollars Diet: Some from the lesser Chambers are sent out at seventy-two Guilders *per mensum* Salary.

At *Batavia* and *Zelon*, where Provisions are dear, they have thirteen Rix-dollars Diet. In the seventh Rank a Commandore has one hundred and fifty Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and twenty Rix-dollars Diet; Commandant, a new Title, somewhat less than Commandore. The eighth, Director, has two hundred Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and thirty Rix-dollars Diet. The Governor has the same, as also a Member of the extraordinary Council of *India*. A Member ordinary of the Council of *India* at *Batavia*, each of them, three hundred and fifty Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and one hundred Rix-dollars Diet; and lastly, the Governor-General of *Batavia* has one thousand two hundred Guilders *per mensum* Salary, and two hundred Rix-dollars Diet, and every Time he goes to the Fleet, one thousand five hundred Rix-dollars Gratuity, which has been usually done upon a Fleet's Departure for *Europe*: But this General has not taken it for some Years past.

All Persons in the Service, whether Merchants, Divines, civil Magistrates, Soldiers or Seamen, are ranked in their Degrees, and take their Places accordingly. The General is allowed Wine, and all other Liquors and Provisions out of the Company's Warehouse, without Limitation. All others, down to the Assistants, are allowed monthly Liquors, Spice, Oil, Wood, Rice, Vinegar, Candles, &c. according to their Quality, very large. The Upper-copeman's Allowance is twenty Canadars of *Spanish* Wine *per mensum*, besides Mum, White-wine, and other Liquors; twenty-four Pounds of Wax for Candles, Corn for Poultry, Rice for Slaves, &c. so that the Diet-money allowed them, is only for fresh Provisions.

Soldiers are ranked in the same Manner, viz. first a common Soldier, or private Centinel, is from nine to fourteen Guilders *per mensum*, as the Under-assistant. Next, Sergeant's Pay and Diet as the Assistant. Then Ensign's Pay and Diet as the Under-copeman. After him Lieutenant's Pay and Diet as the Copeman. The fifth Captain's Pay and Diet as the Upper-copeman; and the sixth Major's Pay and Diet as the Commandore. Military Persons give place to the Civil of the same Rank, viz. a Commandore precedes a Major, and Upper-copeman a Captain, and a Copeman a Lieutenant; but a Major precedes an Upper-copeman, a Captain a Copeman, and a Lieutenant an Under-copeman. There are three Majors in *India*, one at *Batavia*, one at *Ceylon*, and one at *Amboyna*, or *Banda*. They assist the Governor in military Affairs, and have the Command over all other Officers and Soldiers, but have no proper Company of their own. There are not Captains over every Company, but one over two, three, four or five Companies; every Company has Lieutenants and Ensigns, and they often make provisional Officers, who, upon some Merit in Service, do attain to the Pay of such Places.

Seamen are ranked in the same Manner, viz. first a common Seaman, from nine to fourteen Guilders *per mensum*, as a common Soldier; next third Mate, Gunner, Boatwain and Steerman, from eighteen to twenty-four Guilders *per mensum*, and the Assistant-carpenter's Wages from forty to fifty Guilders *per mensum*. The Under-steerman, or second Mate, from twenty-four to thirty-six Guilders *per mensum*, as the Upper-assistant. After them, Upper-steerman, or Chief-mate, from fifty to sixty Guilders *per mensum*, in the Under-copeman's Rank. The fifth are Skippers, from sixty to one hundred Guilders *per mensum*, in the Copeman's Rank; and the sixth, Commodores from one hundred to one hundred and fifty Guilders *per mensum*, besides which, they have the Ship's Allowance for Provision, and when in *Batavia*, they have Road-money paid them every Month for fresh Provisions.

eight to thirty-six Guilders per month. In man, from thirty-six to forty, and eight Rix-dollars from fifty to sixty-five Rix-dollars Diet. From eighty to one hundred Rix-dollars Salary, and twelve lesser Chambers are sent to the same Salary.

Provisions are dear, they in the seventh Rank a fifty Guilders per month. The Governor has the extraordinary Council of the Council of India at hundred and fifty Guilders Rix-dollars Diet. At Batavia has one thousand Rix-dollars Salary, and twenty Rix-dollars Gratuity. A Fleet's Departure for not taken it for some

her Merchants, Divines, are, are ranked in their accordingly. The General Quarters and Provisions out without Limitation. All allowed monthly Liquors, Candles, &c. according to the Upper-copeman's Allowance. Wine per month, other Liquors; twenty Corn for Poultry, Rice money allowed them, is

the Manner, viz. first a Lieutenant, is from nine to Under-assistant. Next, Assistant. Then Ensign's Lieutenant. After him Lieutenant. The fifth Captain's; and the sixth Major's Military Persons give, viz. a Commandore, a Captain, and a Lieutenant. A Lieutenant in India, one at Amboyna, or Batavia, Military Affairs, and Officers and Soldiers, their own. There are, but one over two, Company has Lieutenant make provisional Office, do attain to the

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Fruit; but in other Roads, they are supplied with these things from the Factories on Shore. They have none who have the Title or Pay of Captain at Sea, and the Commodores are very few, sometimes not more than one in India.

The Ministers Pay and Allowance stand thus, viz. first the Predicator, or Preacher's Pay and Diet, the same as the Upper-copeman's. The second Dominies, or Visitors of the Sick, twenty-four Guilders per month, as the Assistant. The Ministers are all sworn not to write of, nor intermeddle with any Matter relating to the Affairs of the State, or Commerce. In all Governments they are allowed a President, and in Batavia two or three to spare, in case of Mortalities. In all Directions they have no Dominies, only read the Scriptures, and printed Forms of Prayer, Mornings, Evenings, and Sundays. With them the Surgeon's Pay is from forty to fifty Guilders per month.

17. In all Qualities from Under-assistant to Upper-copeman, they generally serve five Years, and some but three, as they agree; which Term being expired, if they please, they may quit the Service; but they are usually continued, and upon their Petitions, if they are deserving, and the Company's Occasions require, the Governor and Council entertain them again, to the next Degree they served in before, and for such Terms for Salary, &c. as they find them deserving within the settled Salary of each Degree; but on any Merit in Service, they are often preferred from one Degree to another, though they have not served six Months in a Station; so that upon Account of Merit, some have risen in two or three Years from Assistant to Under-copeman, and others, in as little Time, from Under-copeman to Upper-copeman; in this they have respect to Succession, as if a Chief, or Second of a Factory dies, and the Third performs the Business of the Place to Content, tho' he be but a Book-keeper, for that Service he shall be an Under-Copeman, and Chief of the Place; and as he gives further Content, a Copeman in one or two Years more. Married Persons receive all their Pay in India, and the unmarried but half theirs at an Over-rate: As at Batavia, the Rix-dollar is valued at sixty Stivers, which is worth but forty-eight, and at Polcat, the Pagoda is valued at five and an half Guilders, which is really worth but four and half; but this is in a Way of Regulation, as they say, upon Complaint of it to the Governor.

The Company find all their Servants Accommodations for Lodgings, for which, and Warehouses, they have spacious Buildings in all their Factories. All, or most Persons sent out of Europe, are of the Qualities from Assistant to Upper-copeman, seldom in a higher Degree; sometimes they may be of the extraordinary Council: But such, and all others, are left to the General and Council at Batavia, to be disposed of in Employments according to their Qualities or Abilities, who give them Preference as they merit. Such Persons as are of Capacity, may gradually rise by Time of Service to the Quality of Upper-copeman, but they must stand there, and cannot rise higher, till they are made Commandores. When Directions or Governments fall vacant, an Upper-copeman, capable of being made Governor, Director, or Commandore, generally succeeds; and some have been fifteen or twenty Years Upper-copeman, before they have been put into any of those Places: Some stand there, and rise no higher, and many never come to that, but remain in lower Degrees, according to their Capacities.

All Persons in those Degrees or Qualities, precede one another, according to their Seniorities and Standings in the same Degree, or that are of the same Profession. As the first Assistant precedes all others that are made after him; so likewise a Copeman made this Month, precedes him that is made a Month after; but the Profession of the Merchant (or as they commonly term it, the Pen) hath the Preference of all others, and he that is an Upper-copeman in that Quality, precedes all others, whether Preachers, Soldiers or Seamen (as is said before) tho' they may be his Seniors in the same Degree.

All these Salaries and Wages for Merchants, Soldiers, Seamen, and others, go on for their outward bound and home Voyages, and every one has a Copy of his Accounts

out of the Book of Wages, every Year, which he keeps, or carries Home with him, or sells to another; and when he returns to the Chamber from whence he was sent, he is punctually paid the Balance of his Account, together with what is due for the Term of the Voyage; and such as have served out their whole Time, and desire to be Freeman in India, sell their Accounts, or send Letters of Procuration Home, upon Sight of which they are paid; so that neither the Company, nor their Servants, have ever any Trouble in adjusting their Accounts.

These Freeman are such as have served out their Time, and are then cleared of the Company's Service, and suffered to live in the Country, or such as of late have been permitted, or encouraged to come out of Europe, on their own Accounts. They are always obliged to have Families, and live in garrisoned Towns, and in their Plantations on the Spice Islands, where they are allowed to trade too and fro in Provisions of all Sorts, and other Commodities, where the Company do not trade, and sometimes where they do trade, with the General's and Council's Licence, even in the Company's Commodities: This being their Policy, that the Benefit of some Trades may not be lost, but reserved to the Company, when they are so considerable, as to be worth their minding, or will be at the Charges of a Factory. All Freeman perform the publick Offices of the Towns, and take their Turns to watch and ward as in the Netherlands, none excepted.

18. The first ordinary Council of India is chosen by the *Bewinthebers*, or *Directors*, out of such of their Servants, as have served the Company as Governors, or Directors, and none under those Qualities; by which Means their head Council consists of Men of Estates, and Experience in the Business of all Parts of India. The extraordinary Council are also nominated by the *Bewinthebers*, and they, when they are at Batavia, sit with the General and Council, but have no other Vote than one of Advice. Several of the Directors and Governors are of the extraordinary Council, and there is a late Order, that three of the extraordinary Council shall always reside at Batavia. By another Order of late, all of the ordinary Council are to reside there likewise, and not to remove from thence, but upon Business of great Importance; and the General, and Director-General, are not to remove upon any Occasion whatever.

There are often Boxes sent out of Europe with private Directions, which are sealed, and ordered not to be opened but on extraordinary Accidents, as in case of the General's decease, or other Occasions of great Moment, which keeps the great ones in Awe of each other. The General hath Power in a particular Commission to himself, to send Home any one Person of the ordinary Council when he thinks fit, that shall not behave himself well towards him, and to take to himself what Salaries, and other Allowances he thinks proper, which the great *Matzuyker* caused to be read on some Clashing of the Council at Batavia.

The General, and all the ordinary Council, the Secretary, the Major, the Upper-copeman, called the two chief Factors, and the Upper-copeman, who keeps the general Books of Accounts, live within the Fort, or Castle, with their Wives and Family, in Apartments fitted according to their Offices and Places. The General and Council are so near together, because of all Letters being opened and read in the Council, that often sits in an Evening, after Prayers, and never misses upon Sundays, for an Hour to dispatch small Business, Petitions and Complaints, and twice a Week constantly, *Tuesdays* and *Fridays*, at Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, about managing the Company's Business. The Secretary has good Accommodation, and large Offices to write in; the Major lives in the the Fort to receive Orders from the General, and to assist him in the Government of his Soldiers, and the two chief Factors are near the Second, or Director-General, who has the most laborious Employment, having the Care of all Ships, Goods, Treasures, and Stores, and proposes all Voyages and Cargoes.

These two Upper-copemen, whom they call Factors of the Castle of Batavia, are his Assistants, to examine Accounts, and Advices, and thereupon draw up Lists, and

Calculations, of the Sorts, Qualities, and Quantities, of the Goods, that are sold at any Place, and let down whether they increase or diminish, with the Loss and Gain thereon, which Notes they send to all the Factories where these Goods are provided. The chief Book-keeper lives in the Fort, because all Registers and Books are kept there, and the Offices for Accounts must be there standing. Every one of the ordinary Council of *India* has his particular Charges and Employments allotted to him, wherein he is most experienced, viz. one is ordered to read, examine, and answer all Letters and Papers from the Government of *Ceylon*. Another the Letters, &c. of the Governments of *Amboyna*, *Banda* and *Ternate*; another, the Coast of *Cormandel* and Bay of *Bengal*; another the Directorship of *Surat* and *Persia*, and another the *Cape* and *Mauritius*; the General only writes Letters to the Company in *Europe*.

Besides which, they have other particular Employments and Places of Trust and Importance at *Batavia*. I. The General proposes and concludes in Council, and directs all Matters of Government to the Council, and superior Officers. He is sworn to be faithful to the States in his Office, and that he will not prefer any one in the Company's Service, for Fear, Favour, or Affection, but only such as are most faithful, most able, and most fit to manage the Business for the Company's Advantage. II. The Director-General, as aforesaid, proposes the Employments and Cargoes of all Ships. He sells, and orders the Disposal of all Goods, Stores and Provisions, has the Charge of the Treasure and Cash, and orders the Receipts and Payments of Money. III. Another is President of the Chamber of Orphans, and the Council, his Assistants, are half Company's Servants, and half Burghers, whose Office and Trust are the same as in the *Netherlands*. They sit once a Week in Council. IV. Another is President of the College of the Rate of Justice, who is always a Civilian. He gives Judgment in all Cases civil or criminal, between the Company and their Servants, or the Burghers. In this Court, the Company's Servants only are of the Council, none of them under the Quality of a Copeman, and they are usually Advocates, or such as have been bred up to the Civil Law. V. Another is President of the College of Skepen and Burgomasters.

He judges in all Cases, civil, military and criminal, between the Burghers and others. The Counsellors, or Judges, who sit with the President at this Court, are three Upper-copemen in the Company's Service, and three of the chief Burghers. Both these Courts sit twice a Week, constantly, and oftner, as occasion requires, in the Stadt-houfe, or Town hall. All of the ordinary Council are sworn to be true to the General and the States, to prefer none for Fear, Favour, or Affection, but the fittest and ablest Persons to the Offices in their particular Disposals. Besides the Second, or Director, is no Precedency of Place, but Employments or Offices are appointed to those who are the fittest for them. The Secretary of the Council at *Batavia*, is a Person of great Ability and Experience, of the Quality of Upper-copeman; he takes Place next to the extraordinary Council, and has the Pay and Allowance of a Commander. The minor Votes are always carried by the major in Council, the Fiscal hath a double Vote, and no dissenting, none may enter any Exceptions, except the Matter concluded be expressly against the Order of the Company, and then they may enter Dissent, given out for the Reason.

In extraordinary Occasions, which require Secrecy, a Governor, or Director, may call a Council of any two or three Copemen, and may act according to their Resolution. Ambassadors of the Quality of Copeman, and Upper-copemen, also Captains and Lieutenants, are capable of being called in all Governments and Directorships. The Seconds of Governors and Lieutenants, and Upper-copemen, and the Chiefs of subordinate Governments, are commonly Copemen, and Upper-copemen; but if it so happens, that one of a higher Degree, or Quality, comes to a Place where a lower Degree is Chief, he, of the higher Degree takes Place, and gives his Advice in the Company's Business,

but does not govern or direct in any Affair without special Commission.

In all Governments and Directions, the Consultations are entered in Books, and signed by the Council. The Offices for the Secretary and Accountants, and the Ware-houses for the Company's fine Goods and Treasure, are built in the Forts, and Houfes, or Factories, and those who officiate in them, must dwell there. In subordinate Factories, they keep no Consultation-books, only Copy-books of Letters, Accounts and Diaries. All Letters and Orders from *Batavia*, are signed by the General and Council, and those to *Batavia*, must be signed by the Governors, or Directors, and their respective Councils; but all Letters and Orders from Governors and Directors to subordinate Factories under them, are signed only by the Governor or Director singly. The Cash at *Palicat*, is at the Disposal of the Governor, to be put into the Hands of an Upper-copeman, that shall be on the Place; and the Sorting of Cloth is done by the Governor, Second, and others, who are of the Quality of Copeman, and Under-copeman, every one setting down his Opinion of the Price of the Goods when sorted.

They have Fiscals in their Governments, who are under an Oath to discover and seize all forbidden private Trade, and detect what else may be done to defraud the Company. They are usually of the Quality of Copeman, or Under-copeman, and seldom continue longer than three Years in that Office, except at *Batavia*, where they have two principal Fiscals, of the Quality of Upper-copemen, who continue many Years in that Employ. One of them is called Advocate-fiscal, i.e. makes Enquiry, and takes Cognizance of all Faults, Frauds and Misdemeanors in the Company's Service, in all Parts of *India*, makes and maintains the Process, and has half of what is recovered thereon, the other half goes to the Company, who gives one Third of it to the Poor, after the Process and Condemnation is paid, before the President of the Council of Justice; so that the Governors, Directors, &c. are not concerned in the Discovery of any private Trade.

The Company sends every Year printed Papers of the News and Affairs of *Europe*, which are dispersed over all their Factories in *India*, by which they are instructed in the Interest and Concerns of the several Powers and are directed to behave themselves accordingly to all *European* Nations in *India*. Also they send Abstracts of the Sale of their Goods, and the Loss and Gain thereon in *Europe*. It is very easy to observe, that all these Regulations are calculated for the Improvement of the Persons in the Service of the Company, for enabling them to discharge their Duties punctually and perfectly, and with such a Measure of Knowledge and Understanding, as may fit them for whatever Places they may be called to serve in.

It is not easy to conceive, what mighty Effects flow from such wise and just Regulations, what Order and Harmony they may beget, and how easily all Things are managed, where so much Care is taken, that every Man shall be acquainted with the Importance of his Station, and with a Probability of his bettering his Circumstances by his discharging his Functions with Diligence. It is by settling these Orders, and taking care they shall be constantly carried into Execution, that we find the *Dutch* are never at a Loss for Men fit to be employed on any critical Occasion, as Ambassadors, Plenipotentiaries, and ordinary Residents in the Courts of *Indian* Princes, whereas other Nations, that carry on other Trade in that Part of the World, are at a Stand in this respect, and in all such Emergencies, are forced to take such as come to Hand, or which is worse, such as push themselves forward, and mistaking Vanity for Talents, get into Employments only to expose themselves, and those under whose Authority they act.

It is a received Opinion, and I believe founded on Reason, that the Capacities of Men are much alike, and that where one makes a Figure by dint of what is called Genius, there are a hundred become able Men from Discipline and Experience. It is therefore extremely commendable in the *Dutch*, that they take so much Pains to propagate real Knowledge among such as are in the publick Service,

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and that they do not content themselves with barely qualifying their Under-officers for the Discharge of the Places they are in, but oblige them likewise to take Pains to fit themselves for more important Services. It is one Thing to read News-papers for Amusement, and another Thing quite to oblige People to read them for Instruction; and it is very easy to conceive, that a Person in the *Indies*, who has a good general Notion of the Affairs of *Europe*, and of the Situation Things are in there, will have vast Advantages over another Person of equal Abilities, who has never turned his Thoughts that Way, but has lived all along in an Opinion, that if he did his Business in the Counting-house, his Superiors had no farther Title to the Disposal of his Time, but that he was at full Liberty to employ it in such Amusements or Diversions as best suited his Humour or Disposition.

But to bring these Reflections to a Point, and not to detain the Reader too long upon so grave a Subject, I shall finish them with observing, that whatsoever Company takes Care to give its Servants true Notions of Merit, rewards and encourages Merit, and leaves no other Road open to Preferment; but Merit will be always sure to have more capable Servants, and will consequently have its Affairs better carried on than any other Company, in the Management of whose Concerns Inclination, Interest, or Chance, governs all Preferments. It may be said that these are just and general Observations, very easily made, and which never will be disputed. The Question however is not where these Rules are owned and admitted, but where they are recommended and practised. Since we took Occasion to enter upon these Remarks, not from the general Principles of the *Dutch* Nation, but from the settled and invariable Regulations of their *East-India* Company, which have the Force of Laws to those in their Service.

19. The Government, Order, and Provision for their Ships and Fleets runs thus, viz. all their Ships are the Company's own, and the Men belonging to them are all in their Pay, sworn to serve them either by Sea or Land, as Occasion shall require. They have two Persons, who have the Style of Admirals, and are of the ordinary Council of *India*. For the Care of their Shipping at *Batavia*, they have one called Equipage-master, who is of the Quality and Pay of an Upper-copeman, a seafaring Man, and vulgarly called a Commandore: He hath the Care of fitting all their Ships, and is continually visiting them in the Road, if Occasion requires, and supplying them with what they want.

There is a small Island, about three Miles from *Batavia*, where they have a Fort, which serves them as a Store-house for all Manner of Necessaries for Ships, under the Charge of a Master-Shipwright, who has also Command of the Fort and Island. He is of the Quality of Upper-Copeman, and has large Pay and Allowances. When they send out a Fleet of War on any Expedition, they make a Merchant of the Quality of Upper-Copeman, and sometimes of the extraordinary Council Admiral or General, who has a Council of Merchants and military Officers to assist him, as Occasion requires. The Admirals of the Fleet that go from *Batavia* to *Europe*, are such as have served the Company as Governors, Directors, Commanders, or Upper copemen, and are willing to go home, they have their Salaries allowed them till their Discharge in *Europe*; and if there be none that return of their own Choice, they appoint at least a Copeman to command, who comes back again, if he thinks convenient.

As to their Admirals out of *Europe*, the Flag is worn by Turns; *Amsterdam* Squadron carries it three Years, and the *Zealand* Squadron every fourth Year. The *Amsterdam* having two Parts of the Stock, the other lesser Chambers add theirs to it, and the *Zealanders* have one Quarter of their own. The Merchant who is sent Admiral, must either take his Passage on the *Amsterdam* or *Zealand* Squadron. If a Copeman, or Under-copeman goes from Port to Port on any Ship, they have the Command of her, and also of the Fleet or all Ships in Company, by the Company's settled Order in their Articles. When there is a Fleet together under the Command of a Commandore, the Council is to consist of Copemen and Skippers. When

a Ship is single, the Council is to be of Copemen, Skipper, Under-copeman, Book-keeper, and Steermans, and they are always to steer their Course by the printed Directions, and to set off their Work every Day upon Charts, which are delivered up the very Day when they come to *Batavia* or *Holland*.

There is an Under-copeman, or Book-keeper in every Ship, who keeps an Account of the Ship's Expenses, as Stores, Provisions, and Mens Wages, in the Nature of a Purser, and they are to see the Provisions for given out that none be spoiled. These take Place as they are capable of Preferment in their Factories by their Time of Service, and they are often taken out of Factories where they are wanted, and others put in their Places. If he that is upon a Ship, as a Book-keeper, be but an Assistant, he takes Place of the Steermans, or next to the Skipper, by Reason of his Office, or, as they in Respect, term it, the Pen. All Chiefs of Factories, &c. have free Power to dispose of their Ships and Men, while they are under their Chief-ship, and, as Occasion requires, in the Company's Service. They may take out Men, Ammunitions, Provisions and Stores, though such Ships come there casually, through Accident or Necessity. Thus every thing relating to this Subject, is so fully and clearly regulated, that Doubts or Difficulties rarely arise.

20. At *Batavia*, and all other Governments, they have a Chamber of Accounts for Orphans and Overseers of the Poor thus provided: There is a President and Master of the Chamber of Orphans at *Batavia* of the ordinary Council, who has for his Council half the Companies, Servants of the Quality of Copemen, and Upper copemen, and half of the best Burghers, besides a Secretary, and other Assistants. They sit once a Week, and order the Disposal of all Orphans and deceased Mens Estates, as they think fit. At *Policat*, and all Governments under *Batavia*, they have but two Persons of the Chamber of Orphans, and a Secretary to them, all Company's Servants. The Chambers in those Governments are not accountable to *Batavia* or *Europe*; nor do they send Copies of their Books of Accounts to any Place, but always keep them at *Policat*, &c. and the Estates of Persons who decessate in any Place under that Government, are under the Charge of that Chamber, whose Wills, Inventories and Accounts, are there registered; for which Purpose they have a particular Chamber in the Fort.

They must keep plain and fair Books of Accounts, Journals, and Ledgers. At *Policat* the Master of the Orphans Chamber, is every three Months to shew the Balance of the Books to the Governor. Those appointed for this Office do continue in it two Years or longer; and when one goes out the other must stay a Year to instruct the next Comer, though his two Years be out.

They are sworn to deal justly, and to keep secret the Concerns of the Chamber.

The Secretary of the Office must give three thousand Pagodas Security for the Performance of his Trust, and and be responsible for all Goods sold at Outcries, for which he receives Three per Cent. upon the Account of the Sale; and by reason he is responsible, he may deny any Man to bid or buy, whom he thinks not safe to trust. The Secretary also enters the Wills, and Inventories, and posts the Journal, which is kept by one of the Masters, and takes Care of the Papers that belong to the Office. The Chamber of Orphans may call whom they will into Council to advise with in difficult Matters; and no Person may deny to come and sit with them, though it be the Governor himself. The Council is allowed Two and an Half per Cent. out of the Estates of the Deceased, for what is received upon the Sale of Goods, but nothing on Money left in Cash; which Two and an Half is equally divided betwixt the President and all the Masters; besides which they have each Money for a Gown yearly, which is charged on the deceased Person's Estate. If any Man or Woman dies, leaving Children under Age, the Chamber of Orphans take Care of the Estate, and provide for their bringing up, till they arise to the Age of Twenty-three Years, and then they receive what their Parents left them, with Interest, and the Encumbrance thereof. If the

Parents of the Children have any Estates in *Europe*, the Chamber of Orphans where such Persons die, writes for the Effects to be sent to them, which is accordingly done.

The Money the Chamber of Orphans pays into the Company's Cash at *Batavia*, brings in Nine *per Cent.* and it is often let out to Freemen and others at Twelve *per Cent. per Annum*, upon good Security: But at *Polistat* it is usually put into the Company's Stock, at Six *per Cent. per Annum*. If a Person dies and leaves no Will, or Relation in *India* to inherit, the Chamber of Orphans takes Care of the Estate, and gives the deceased Man's Account current Credit for the same; and there it remains till the right Heir demands it. If any Person dies with a Will, and leaves his Widow in Trust for the Children, tho' their Mother, the Chamber of Orphans may, if they please, require the Estate at her Hands, and keep it for the Children. And if they do allow the Mother to keep the Estate and the Children, they always take a Copy of the Will, and an Obligation from the Mother for the Estate.

The Chamber of Orphans may keep the Estate in their Hands, and manage them as they please; but, for the better Security, it is usually put into the Company's Hands, at the Interest before-mentioned; and they have the Company's Obligation for it. If any Person dies, leaving a Will, and therein does not give such a Proportion of his Estate to his Children as the Law requires, they will not allow of the Will, but require a full Part for the Children. If a Man dies in the Company's Service, the Official is not to touch his Papers; nor is the Chamber of Orphans to admit of any Discovery of his Concerns to the Publick. Again, if any Man dies in the Company's Service, and they owe him Money for Wages, the Chamber receives it, and enters it to the Creditor of the Deceased. The Company, besides One third of their Half of the Fifth's Confiscation, allow also Fines on Offences; and the Commissioners of the Estates of Men executed for the Poor. There are many Overseers and Masters of the Poor at *Batavia*. At *Polistat* they have but two, and those not of the Masters of Orphans, but others. They have Cognizance of all poor Christians under the Government, whether they be *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, or others, and take Care for their Relief, by making Collections in Churches every Sunday, and Distributions according to their Number and Necessities.

The Poor has always a considerable Stock before-hand, which has been gathered from the Confiscations of private Trade, and charitable Gifts. This Stock they also let out to the Company upon Interest, which they constantly receive, and employ as is found needful; and tho' the Interest of the Stock be sufficient to maintain the Poor, yet they never neglect the weekly Gatherings in Churches, to increase the Stock as much as they can. For, say they, it may so happen, that by great Wars and Losses, many may be maimed, made Widows and Fatherless, and then the Principal may not be enough to maintain them. The Overseers, or Masters of the Poor, must keep a fair Book of all Receipts and Payments, that is, an Account of Cash, and an Account of what's paid into the Company's Stock, at Interest, with a Roll of the Names of all Persons to whom they give Alms, and what they give to every one. At *Batavia* there are Collections for the Poor every Sunday, Morning and Evening, in all their Churches.

When the ingenious and intelligent Reader shall have perused and considered this Scheme of *Dutch* Policy in the *Indies*, I am persuaded that he will very easily account to himself, for their having raised so extensive and solid an Empire in this Part of the World. He will see that they excel all other Nations in the *Indies*, not from Accident, Fortune, or a Concourse of lucky Incidents, but from a very wise and well disposed Establishment, and a constant Attention to the Principles on which it is founded. They will see, that how much soever the *Dutch* may be inclined to a Republick, and how steady soever in their Notions of a Common-wealth, yet they have made no Scruple of de-

parting from those Sentiments in the *Indies*, for the sake of complying so far with the Genius of the People in that Part of the World, as to establish such a Power in a single Person, as may contribute to keep up at once the Grandeur and Authority of the Company, and facilitate the Direction of their Affairs. But if the Governor-General of *Batavia* has the Splendor, Revenues, and Power of a Prince, he earns them very dearly, by that perpetual Application to Business, which is required from him, and which he has it not in his Power to shake off: The same Thing may be said of the Director-General, and of the Members of the Council of the *Indies*; if they have great Appointments, they have a great deal of Business, and if their Power be large, they are obliged to give a very strict Account of the Manner in which it is used.

These Examples are of inexpressible Consequence, since they oblige all their Officers in their several Stations, to a constant and diligent Attendance, from whence they can never hope for any Dispensation, when they see such as are at the Head of Affairs, tied to a stricter and more laborious Attendance than themselves. The due Care that is taken, that every Man shall have a just Satisfaction for his Pains, a proper Subsistence, and a Certainty of receiving whatever is due to him, without Difficulty or Delay, and without needing the Assistance or Favour of any Man, must be acknowledged a Circumstance of infinite Importance. The Frugality shewn in their military and naval Establishments, and the Care taken to preserve a due Dependence on the civil Government, are Steps worthy not only of Attention but Imitation, because they are equally calculated for increasing and extending, as well as preserving and securing the Dominions and Trade of the Company. The Tenderness shewn for Orphans, and the Security that this affords to private Men, that their Children shall certainly enjoy the Fruits of their Labour, is both a Spur to Industry, and a Means of promoting Marriages and Settlements, both of the utmost Consequence to their Affairs in the *Indies*, as it serves to increase their Force, without draining their Mother-country. Their Regulations for the Poor are copied from those in *Holland*, and highly laudable they are, in this respect; I mean, in not suffering any Distance of Country or Climate to deprive their People of their Birth-rights, which is the Benefit of their Laws, and to this I suppose it is owing, that the *Dutch* are observed never to lose, or even to impair their Affection for their native Country, which they particularly distinguish, by the tender Appellation of Fatherland, and to which therefore all their Cares are confined, and in which all their Acquisitions center.

To be the better satisfied of this, and to bring this Section to a Conclusion, by what most of all concerns us, the Knowledge of that Profit which accrues to them by the *East-India* Trade, we shall next consider the Oeconomy of this flourishing Company at Home, and demonstrate the Means by which all the Proprietors receive the clearest Satisfaction, that the whole Profits upon their Capital, are fairly divided out to them, and are not put into the Pockets of such as are intrusted with the Direction of the Company's Affairs, as also how the State preserves such an Influence over the Company, as is requisite for its own Security; and finally, how an Estimate may be made of the Wealth brought into the *United-Provinces* by this Company, from the Time of its original Establishment to this Day.

21. The great Power, prodigious Wealth, and vast Importance of this Company to the *Dutch* Republick, has occasioned a great Variety of Treaties on its Form, Constitution, and Manner of Government; so that it is very far from being an easy Task to reduce the Subtlety of what they had delivered within the narrow Bounds which we are obliged to keep. To begin as methodically as possible, we will first state the original Stock of the Company, and the Proportions in which it was advanced, and which have never been varied since that Time: A Stroke of Policy of infinite Consequence to them in the Management of this extensive Commerce.

The Capital Stock of the Dutch East-India Company.

	Florins.
Amsterdam	3,674,915
Zealand	1,333,888
Delft	470,000
Rotterdam	177,400
Horn	166,868
Enchuyfen	536,775
In all	6,459,840

Those six having advanced this Money, they settled a Chamber in each of the Towns (that of Zealand being in *Middelburg*) from whence they chuse the seventeen Deputies, who direct the Affairs of the Company. They meet four Times a Year successively at *Amsterdam*, for the Affairs of the Company, and twice at *Middelburg* alternately; but not at the other Towns. These Deputies are the Sovereigns of this illustrious Company, yet under the Authority of the *States-General*. The seventeen Directors are chosen in the following Manner; eight by the Chamber of *Amsterdam*; four by that of *Zealand*; *Delft*, *Rotterdam*, *Horn* and *Enchuyfen*, one each; and the *Maes*, *Middelburg*, and *North-bolland*, chuse one by Turns. These seventeen Directors govern the Company, and represent the Sovereignty of the whole Body by Plurality of Voices. They regulate all Affairs of Consequence, as the making of Counsellors, Captains, Lieutenants, and equipping of Ships, the Sale of the Goods, the Division of the Profits, and all the particular Chambers must conform themselves to their Orders. They likewise appoint the Time for the Sale of the Goods, one half of which is fold in the Chamber of *Amsterdam*, a fourth in that of *Middelburg*, and a sixteenth in each of the other four Chambers, at the Time by them appointed, to the highest Bidder.

But besides these seventeen Directors, each of the Chambers have more belonging to the same Body: Thus *Amsterdam* has ten more, besides the eight sent to the sovereign Court; and *Haarlem*, *Leyden*, *Utrecht*, *Dort* and *Tergoe*, have each of them one there, as have the Provinces of *Guelderland* and *Friesland*, and *Zealand* likewise, besides their four Directors, have eight or ten more from other Towns of the Province. All the Deputies are to give their Advice in their respective Chambers for the Good and Advantage of the Company; and when any of the Deputies die, the Towns to which they belong, name three others in their Stead, out of which the Magistrates chuse one. This Committee meets twice a Week, and change their President each Month, so that every one presides in his Turn. There are two Advocates belonging to the Company, who make their Report of what is resolved upon to the *Indies*, upon which the Officers of the Company there form their Resolutions, and issue their Orders. There are eight Deputies for the Affairs of the Marine, War, and Building of Ships, four to inspect their Magazines, and the Goods that are sent to and come from the *Indies*, four which take Care of the Money which the Company pays and receives, and the rest take care of the Accounts, and other Affairs relating to Order and Justice, which is done to the meanest Mariner as well as to the greatest Officers.

The whole, though it seems at first sight in a manner independent of the State, is however kept in great Subordination, by Means of the wise Regulations made in establishing the Directors, and the Care taken, that not any two of them shall be related to each other, which prevents Combinations, and all those Practices by which publick Establishments are converted into private Jobbs, and what ought to redound to the common Benefit of a Nation, conveyed into the Pockets of a few private Men. Once in three Years the *States-General* demand and receive a strict Account of the Company's whole Transactions, in order to be satisfied, that they keep within the Bounds of their Charter, that they do Justice to their Proprietors, and that they manage their Trade so, as that it may not be prejudicial to the State, which Regulation may be justly esteemed the principal Cause, that hitherto

the Affairs of this Company have been so perfectly well conducted.

In order to this Examination, or Controul of the Company's Accounts, the ancient Practice was for the *States-General* to name a Committee of their Members to go to *Amsterdam*, and there examine the Books of the *East-India* Company upon the Spot, which took up a considerable Time, and during that whole Space, this Committee from the *States* had their Charges defrayed at the Expence of the Company. In the Year 1728, the Company thought fit to make a Representation to the *States-General*, setting forth the Inconveniences and unnecessary Charge this Method occasioned, and therefore praying, that their *High Mightinesses* would consent to its Alteration, and allow the Company to send a Deputation to the *Hague*, in order to lay their Accounts before them, which, after mature Deliberation, was assented to.

The Magazines of the Company are always kept in excellent Order. Such as are entrusted with the Care of them, give large Security, and are liable besides, to the severest Punishments in case they are guilty of any Breach of Trust. The same Degree of Strictness is shewn to all Degrees of Persons in their Service, nor are the Directors themselves exempted, in whom the smallest Fraud would be punished with a speedy and exemplary Justice. This keeps up that Spirit of Care and Diligence which is so absolutely requisite to the right Management of Commerce, and all the Under-officers moved by the Example, as well as constrained by the Inspection of their Superiors, discharge their Duty very exactly; so that the Dock, or Yard, in which their Ships are built and repaired, is kept in as exact Order, as that of any private Man, tho' there are seldom less than twelve hundred Persons employed therein.

They do not however exert the same Authority over the Sailors and Under-servants of the Company, that return from the *Indies*, but on the contrary, allow them all the Liberty they can desire, and suffer them to live in what Manner, and at what Expence they please, which is likewise done from a Principle of true Policy, since it affords them the Means of spending, in a short Time, all that they have acquired in long Service; so that in the Space of five or six Weeks, they are, generally speaking, reduced to their primitive State of Indigence, and consequently are obliged to enter again into the Company's Service for a fresh Term. Thus the Liberty of the Subject is preserved intire, and the Company nevertheless seldom wants a regular Supply of able and seasoned Seamen, which has very good Effects, because Experience shews, that such as are used to these eastern Climates, go many Voyages without Prejudice to their Health, whereas fresh and raw Seamen die in great Numbers, to the vast Prejudice of the State. The greatest Care is taken, that all employed in this Service, both at Home and Abroad, shall be properly qualified for the Stations in which they serve, and therefore it is a Rule, that none shall be admitted into any Office, before they have undergone a proper Examination; and though there may be some Instances where Interest or Favour may have procured Dispositions in this respect, yet these occur but seldom, and are not therefore of very great Consequence.

In order to have a just Idea of the Manner in which this great Mass of Property is managed, it will be necessary to explain the Meaning of a Term frequently made use of here, and yet but indifferently understood. The Term I mean is the *Actions* of the *East-India* Company. The general Signification of this Phrase, both here and in *France*, is precisely the same with what we call *Stocks*. When therefore it is said, that *Actions* rise or fall, the Meaning is plain and obvious; but then it is absolutely necessary to know the Value of *Actions*, or rather the Value of the *Actions* in a particular Company, before we can form any just Notions of them. The original *Actions* of this *East-India* Company were fix'd at three thousand Florins; that is to say, a Person possessed of so much of the original Stock, was said to hold one *Action*, he who had twice as much two, and so on. This Phrase is still kept up, though the Value is very much altered, since a single *Action* is now worth from twenty-five to twenty-six thou-

and Florins. These Actions vary in their Price, according as the Dividends made upon the Company's Capital rise or fall; but whatever their Price be, a principal Director must have two in his own Possession to qualify him for that Post, and none are capable of giving a Vote in an Election, who are not possessed of one Action at least. The Salaries of the Directors vary, according to the Chambers to which they belong. Those eighteen that are chosen by the City of *Amsterdam*, have three thousand Florins a Year, but there are others that have but twelve hundred.

The Manner of buying and selling *East-India* Stock is very easy and expeditious. When the Parties have settled the Price between themselves, they go together to the *India* House, where the Seller applies himself to the Clerk of the Book in which his Stock is entered, and desires him to transfer so much from his Account to that of the Buyer; which being done, he signs it, and afterwards signs a Receipt for the Purchase-money, and the whole Transaction being performed in the Presence of a Director, he signs the Book likewise; so that there is not a Possibility of any Fraud being committed, yet the whole Expence of this Transfer does not amount to more than seven Shillings and Sixpence of our Money.

The Directors, who have the sole Management of the Company's Concerns, settle not only the Times, but the Quantities and Qualities of the Company's Goods, that are to be exposed in their Sales from the Produce of which their Dividends are wound, and are high and low, according to the Profit made by the Company. This, however, must be understood with some Restriction; for most certain it is, that from their first Establishment to this Day, they have never divided to the full Extent of their Profit, and this for very good Reasons. First, because long Wars, and other chargeable Expeditions, must be defrayed out of this reserv'd Stock, to prevent a great Decrease in their Dividends, which would necessarily occasion a very great Fall of their Actions. Secondly, they have constantly paid the State very large Sums for the renewing of their Charters, and they have likewise paid largely for such other Acts of State as they have procured from Time to Time in their Favour. Thirdly, it has been found requisite for them to keep large Sums in Bank, to answer the Emergencies of the State as well as the Company, in Times of great Difficulty and Danger. Besides all this, they have likewise reserved vast Quantities of Spices, and other rich Commodities, that their Sales might not lower the Price of them too much; and upon this Principle, they have sometimes burned great Quantities of Spices. They have also formerly had recourse to another Method for the Benefit of their Proprietors, which has been paying their Dividends in Cloves, Mace and Nutmegs, at a very low Price, by which those who received them, gained very considerable Advantages.

It may, indeed, be surmised, that these Methods afforded room for the Directors to make great Advantages to themselves, but when it is considered, that their general Accounts, upon the Balance of which their Dividends have been declared, have been every three Years constantly audited by a Committee of the *States-General*, there is no just Reason to apprehend, that any Thing of this kind has been ever practised. Thus it clearly appears, that as the *East-India* Company in *Holland*, by a wise and prudent Disposition of their Affairs abroad, have been able to erect and maintain a Sovereignty, very little, if at all, inferior in Power to the greatest Monarchs in *Asia*, without which it would have been impossible for them to have maintained and supported that Commerce which has been the Source of such immense Riches; so, on the other Hand, by their prudent and exact Oeconomy at Home, they have constantly sustained the Reputation of the Com-

pany at the greatest Height, and thereby proved of infinite Advantage to their Country.

This indeed is the main Point, and the Thing which of all others we have laboured to set in the fullest and strongest Light in this Section. For though it be true, that both the Glory and the Profit accruing from the right Management of the Affairs of this great Corporation, belong to the *Dutch* alone, and not to any other Nation, yet the Example of so extraordinary a Constitution as this is, by which a Body of Merchants have been able to raise an Empire in the *Indies*, and a kind of new Republick in the Bosom of that by which they were erected, is common to all the World, and therefore the entire History of its Rise, Progress, and present Condition, concerns not only all the rest of *Europe*, and in a particular Manner every maritime Power, but ought likewise to be transmitted to Posterity. This, as it inclined me to take so much Pains, and to turn over so many Books, in order to bring all that has been said of it into such a Method, as that the *English* Reader might clearly comprehend, not only its past and present Condition, but the Means by which the former was acquired, and the latter is, and probably will be maintained as long as the Republick of the *States-General* shall subsist: So I hope it will merit a Degree of Attention equal to the trouble it has cost, and inspire every Reader with a sincere and hearty Concern to see the Affairs of *English* trading Companies put into a like Train of Management, that as we have not equal only, but greater Advantages for the promoting and supporting an extensive Commerce than the *Dutch*, we may not be always as much behind them in this respect as we are at present.

There remains but one Thing more to complete the Aim and Design of this Section, and that is, to give an Account of the Dividends which have been made since the Establishment of this Company, which when I began this Enquiry, I thought could not have been brought lower than the Year 1717; but by a diligent Search I have continued them eleven Years further, and have Reason to hope, that in the Appendix to the next Volume, I shall be able to gratify the Reader's Curiosity to its utmost Extent, by bringing them still farther down, perhaps to the present Year. As they stand in the next Page, they will fully answer three very great and useful Ends. In the first Place, they will fully support, and undeniably prove the Truth, not only of the Facts recorded, but also of the Observations made upon those Facts through the Course of this History, and thereby convince the Reader, that it is not an over-weening Passion for Trade, or any particular Fondness for the *Dutch*, that has led me to treat so largely of this Subject, but an honest and laudable Zeal for Truth, and for the Interest of my Country. It will in the next Place shew, what incredible Advantages result from Commerce, when wisely established, and steadily pursued, and how this alone contributes more, not only to the enriching, but to the raising the Power and Credit of a Nation, than all other Methods taken for that Purpose put together; and lastly, it will demonstrate, beyond all Question, the Falseness of that Objection, which, of all others has been thought the strongest against the *East-India* Trade, viz. that it exhausts and impoverishes Nation which carries it on, by exporting annually vast Quantities of Silver; for, if there had been any Truth in this, the Experience of so long a Course of Time, as one hundred and thirteen Years, must have rendered it visible to a Degree beyond all Contradiction; whereas, this Account of the Company's Dividends, is the fullest and most authentick Evidence of the contrary; so that it is to be hoped, we shall never hear that Objection urged again, or if it be, that it will have as little Weight as an Argument built upon Conjecture ought to have, when opposed to the Lights of Experience.

A complete TABLE of the DIVIDENDS made by the DIRECTORS of the Dutch-East-India Company, upon their Capital; from Anno 1605 to 1728, inclusive.

Years.	Months in which paid.	In what Manner.	Years.	Months in which paid.	In what Manner.
1605	July 1 - 15	per Cent.	1673	June - - 33 $\frac{1}{2}$	per Cent.
6	March - 75	In Money.	76	February - 25	In Bonds payable by the Province of Holland.
7	July - 40		79	January - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	
8	April - 20		80	January - 25	Bonds at 4 per Cent.
9	June - 25		81	January - 22 $\frac{1}{2}$	
10	April - 75	Mace.	81	July - 33 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ditto on the Province of Holland.
11	November - 50	Pepper.	85	February - 40	
12	December - 57 $\frac{1}{2}$	Money.	86	May - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Company's Bonds.
15	August - 42 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ditto.	87	April - 20	
16	February - 62 $\frac{1}{2}$		88	April - 33 $\frac{1}{2}$	Money.
20	April - 37 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ditto.	89	April - 33 $\frac{1}{2}$	
23	November - 25	Cloves.	90	April - 40	Bonds of the Company's at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. payable in 1740.
25	August - 20	Money.	91	August - 20	
27	March - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$		92	April - 25	Money.
29	January - 25		93	April - 20	
31	January - 17 $\frac{1}{2}$		94	April - 20	Bonds of the Company's at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. payable in 1740.
33	December - 20	Cloves.	95	November - 25	
35	March - 20		96	June - 15	Money.
36	May - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Cloves.	97	June - 15	
37	August - 12		98	June - 15	Money.
38	March - 15	Spices.	99	September - 15	
39	November - 25		99	June - 20	Money.
40	November - 15	Cloves.	100	December - 15	
41	November - 25	Money.	1	July - 25	Money.
42	February - 15	Cloves.	1	May - 20	
43	November - 25	Cloves.	2	May - 20	Money.
44	December - 50	Money.	3	May - 25	
45	January - 15	Cloves.	4	June - 25	Money.
46	November - 25	Cloves.	5	May - 25	
47	December - 20		6	May - 25	Money.
48	January - 22 $\frac{1}{2}$	Money.	7	April - 25	
49	December - 25		8	May - 25	Money.
50	January - 25	Money.	9	May - 25	
51	January - 30		10	May - 25	Money.
52	January - 20		11	May - 25	
53	January - 15	Money.	12	May - 15	Money.
54	January - 25		13	May - 30	
55	January - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Money.	14	May - 33 $\frac{1}{2}$	Money.
56	June - 15		15	April - 40	
57	January - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Money.	16	May - 40	Money.
58	December - 27 $\frac{1}{2}$		17	May - 40	
59	December - 40	Money.	18	May - 40	Money.
60	December - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$		19	May - 40	
61	November - 40	Money.	20	May - 40	
62	November - 25		21	June - 33 $\frac{1}{2}$	Money.
63	November - 30	Money.	22	May - 30	
64	January - 27 $\frac{1}{2}$		23	May - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Money.
65	June - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Money.	24	May - 15	
66	July - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$		25	May - 20	Money.
67	June - 40	Money.	26	June - 25	
68	June - 45		27	May - 20	Money.
69	July - 15		28	May - 15	
70	June - 15	Money.			
71	June - 15				
72	June - 15	Money.			

In all 2784 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent.

It may, perhaps be said with Truth, that so clear, so accurate, and so satisfactory an Account as this is, for such a Number of Years, and also of such an extensive Commerce, is scarce in the World to be met with. Let us therefore make Use of this Account, in order to raise such Observations as may enable us to penetrate clearly into the Subject. In the first Place, we must remember, that by the Constitution of the *Dutch* Government, all Ranks of People were allowed originally, and are, to this Day, permitted to invest their Fortunes in the Stock of this Company; by which Means every Body became interested in its Welfare; and the Support thereof was considered as equally beneficial to the Publick, and to private Per-

sons, which Spirit has been kept alive for upwards of one hundred Years, by that Skill and Oeconomy which we have described, and by making all the Proprietors sensible of the Profit and Loss of the Company's Trade, by the Rise and Fall of their Dividends. In the Course of this Time, it clearly appears, by comparing the Total of what has been divided, with the Number of Years in which that Sum has been divided, that, one Year with another, the Proprietors of this Stock have constantly received somewhat more than twenty-four per Cent. which is so considerable a Thing, that a very little Attention will convince us, that it must have laid the Foundation of a great many private Fortunes in *Holland*, and is still of very great Use,

Use to the Publick, and of prodigious Benefit and Advantage to private Persons in the same Way.

But then, if we consider it in a larger and more extensive View; and as it hath a Reference to the Commonwealth of *Holland*, and the *Dutch* Nation, we shall find that this *East-India* Commerce has been so far from exhausting and drawing out the Wealth of these Provinces, that, on the contrary, it has brought in a much greater Proportion of Wealth than could have been obtained any other Way. In order to be satisfied of this, we need only consider the original Capital of this *East-India* Company, which consists of not quite six Millions and an half of Florins, that is, to take it in round Numbers, about six hundred and fifty thousand Pounds Sterling; and yet upon this, in the Year 1728, they had divided Eighteen Millions of our Money.

It may, indeed, be objected, that before we can draw any Consequence from this, we ought to know the Quantities of Silver that have, within that Space of Time been exported from *Holland*; because, till these Sums are known, and deducted from the Eighteen Millions, divided amongst the Proprietors, it cannot, with any Certainty, be known how great Profits have accrued to the *Dutch* Nation from this Trade. But, in answer to this Objection, which is the only one that can be made; I say, first of all, that the Dividends made by the Directors of the Company, arise from the Sales by which the Goods brought from the *Indies* on the Company's Account, are thrown into the Hands of private Merchants, by whom the greatest Part of them have been exported into other Countries of *Europe*, and a vast Profit acquired thereby, which Profit is not at all taken Notice of in the Account before stated. I say, in the next Place, that the home Consumption of *India* Goods in *Holland*, bears so little Proportion to the Quantities of those Goods vendid by the Company in their publick Sales, that it is impossible to conceive they can conduce to any considerable Impoverishment of the People; and that there is the highest Reason to believe the whole Eighteen Millions before mentioned has been drawn from foreign Countries into *Holland*, by the Sale of those Commodities; and consequently this Sum at least has been gained, not only by the Company, but by the Nation.

I say, in the third Place, that this is the more credible, because this is so far from being the whole of the Profits which the Company has gained by its Commerce, that there is good Reason to believe it is not much above one half of them; for we must consider that the Company has, at several Times paid for the renewing its Charters and Privileges more than its original Capital; that it has likewise expended, from the Time of its first Establishment, an immense Sum every Year for the building, repairing, and equipping the Ships employed in its Service, and in discharging the Wages due to all who are in its Service, which, with many other Articles, that I need not enumerate, must have arisen from the Gain produced by their Trade. I say, in the fourth Place, that as the Company has very wisely avoided very high Dividends, and has always retained a vast Stock, and an immense Treasure for its Support in case of any extraordinary Emergency, so all this, let its Amount be what it will, is excluded from the before-mentioned Sum of Eighteen Millions, and belongs to a separate Account.

I say, farther, that all the Property of which the Company is possessed in the *East-Indies*, and which is capable of being transferred from thence into *Europe*, ought to be considered as the entire Produce of this Trade, as it never could have accrued to, or have been by any Means in the Power or Possession of the Subjects of the States of *Holland*, but by the Establishment and Management of this Company: So that if we take in all these various Branches, which make no Part of these Eighteen Millions, I believe, there is no reasonable Man, at least no competent Judge of Matters of this Nature, who will not readily allow that they must vastly over-balance whatever Quantities of Silver have been exported by the Company, since its Establishment, for the carrying on of the *India* Trade. So that on the whole, I think, I may very fairly, and with the

greatest Justice conclude, that if this Article of the Trade of *Holland* could be balanced with the utmost Nicety, it would appear, that, at least, this Sum of Eighteen Millions has been gained by the *Dutch* Nation, as well as by the Proprietors of their *East-India* Company.

But it should be said, that the Wealth of the *Dutch* Provinces does by no Means correspond with this Calculation, and that therefore it is very improbable; my Answer to this is, that in the first Place, this ought to be proved, and in the next, that supposing it could be proved, it is no reasonable Objection to the Truth of what I say, since it is very possible, and indeed highly probable, that a great Part of the Wealth brought into *Holland* by this Commerce, and by the numberless Branches of Trade which depend upon it, may have been in Part dissipated and dispersed by the great Wars maintained by the Republick, and by various other Exigencies of State; so that allowing there were not eighteen Millions in the Hands of all the Subjects of this Republick, yet this does not prove, that they may not have gained so much by this Commerce, because, as I have said before, they may have spent it. I may add to all this, that there is no great Difficulty in setting this Argument in such a Light, as that it may operate strongly in my Favour; for, if we consider the prodigious Sums the *Dutch* Government have levied upon their Subjects, the many and long Wars in which they have engaged, and the great Difficulties and Distresses to which they have been driven, it is as difficult to imagine, how they should have been able to find Money for their Expences, and yet leave their Subjects so rich as they are at present known to be, without admitting such a Profit upon this Trade as it is to believe, that the best Part of these prodigious Expences was taken out of that Wealth which this Company brought in.

That a great deal of Time has been spent in examining and tracing the History of the *Dutch* Commerce in the *Indies* for such a Number of Years, that I have been very large in my Description of its Establishment Abroad, and have bestowed no less Labour in setting forth the Oeconomy of this *East-India* Company at Home, is what I cannot deny; but at the same Time, I must profess, that they bringing such a Multitude of Things into the Compass of this Section, and thereby exhibiting in one View, what it would cost the Reader much Time and Trouble, and I might add, Expence likewise, to pick up, from a Multitude of different Writers, was my sole Motive thereto; and therefore I hope this will be thought a just Excuse for any Inconveniencies that may have attended it; the rather, because in the Course of my Enquiries, I have met with such Helps, as I did not, and indeed could have no Reason to expect, which has enabled me to render the Account I have given, much more perfect than at first I had any Hopes of making it. There is no Possibility of judging, on the first laying of a Plan of this Nature, how all the Materials are to be collected, what Space they will fill, or what Accessions may be made to them, while the Structure is erecting; but it is always clear, that an Author, who has a due Regard for his own Reputation, and a just Concern for the Performance of what he has promised to the Publick, will be always attentive to the main Object, and will let Circumstances of smaller Consideration give Way thereto, for which, when all Things have been sufficiently weighed, his Readers will not think that he ought to be blamed.

But if we have dwelt so long upon a Subject so fruitful of Matter as this has apparently been, it will prevent our employing so much Time as we should otherwise have done in accounting for the Endeavours of several other Nations in *Europe*, to share in this Trade, by erecting new Companies for carrying it on, of which it will now be necessary to say no more than what is requisite, to shew how, when, and by whom they were erected, and what their Situation and Expectations are at present, which will conclude all that we have to add concerning the *East-Indies*, as it will also do this our first Volume.

SECTION XXXV.

The History of the French East-India Commerce from its first Original, together with a clear and concise Account of the several Alterations it has undergone; and a full and plain Description of its present Circumstances at home and abroad; interspersed with some curious Remarks on the Nature of the French Government when the Powers thereof come to operate upon Trade.

Collected entirely from the French Writers.

1. *The fruitless Endeavours of Francis I. Henry III. and Henry IV. to engage their Subjects in long Voyages, and the first Appearance of an Indian Trade in that Country.* 2. *The Pains taken in this Respect by the great Cardinal Richelieu, and his noble Plan on that Subject abortive.* 3. *The first effectual Establishment of this Commerce owing to the Wisdom and publick Spirit of M. Colbert, who interested the Crown in this Affair.* 4. *The Protection of the King, the Patronage of that able Minister, and the most zealous Endeavours of the Merchants in France fail in promoting the Interests of this Company.* 5. *After the Decease of M. Colbert it declines continually, and loses all Countenance from the Court, which brings it into a very low State.* 6. *Transition from the Affairs of the Company in France, to the Management of their Commerce in the Indies.* 7. *A succinct History of the Acquisition, fortifying, and erecting a Town at Pondichery, with the Reasons which induced the Company to make it their capital Residence.* 8. *Remarkable Revolutions that have happened to this Place, and to the Affairs of the Company in the Indies.* 9. *A Description of the Fortrefs and Town of Pondichery at it now stands, a Calculation of the Number of Inhabitants, and the Importance of this Place set in a new Light.* 10. *The Condition of the French East-India Company at the Demise of Louis XIV. impartially represented.* 11. *A View of the Regent Duke of Orleans's Scheme for a Coalition of the French Trading Companies for the Improvement of Commerce, and the Support of publick Credit.* 12. *A short historical Account of the China, Senegal, and West-India Companies that were united to the Company of the Indies by the Regent's Edict.* 13. *A perfect Representation of the Nature, Power, Privileges, and Establishment of the present French East-India Company since the Execution of that Scheme.* 14. *A brief Account of the Company's Trade from 1720 to 1741, with an impartial Account of its present State at home as well as in the Indies, and the true Value of its Actions.* 15. *Remarks and Observations on the Facts related in the foregoing Sections, explaining the Nature and Consequences of maritime Powers.*

WE opened the former Section, with observing, that Zeal for Freedom, a due Portion of publick Spirit, and great Industry, were capable of conferring the Blessings of an extensive Trade, even upon Nations labouring under the greatest natural Impediments: But it will be the Business of this Section, to shew, that where Freedom and publick Spirit are wanting, Power cannot supply their Place; and even Industry itself, though it may procure Credit to such a People, will never be able to purchase Wealth. Commerce loves to find its own Channels, and will not submit to any Restraint. Hope will nourish it in the most barren Soil, provided that Hope be cherished by a mild and prudent Government; for Trade is found to be of the same Nature with certain Plants, which, though they become fair and large by Cultivation, yet can never be forced.

There have been few Governments, at least, where the Monarchs affected arbitrary Power, which could boast of being so happy in Ministers as France; neither has this Country wanted some great Princes who have both understood their Subjects Interests, and laboured to promote them: And yet, with respect to the Commerce of which we are treating, both have laboured in vain. The first Monarch of this Country, who strove to excite his Subjects to extend their Commerce, by making long and distant Voyages, was Francis I. who, by his Declarations in the Year 1537, and 1543, exhorted the French Nation to emulate their Neighbours, and to labour to obtain a Share in those important Discoveries, by which they were so much exalted both in Reputation and Riches. Henry III. renewed these Exhortations by an Edict, dated December 15, 1578, but without any Effect.

It was under the Reign of his Successor, Henry IV. one of the wisest, greatest, and which is still a higher Character, one of the best Princes that ever sat upon the French Throne, that this Nation first attempted to share in the Commerce of the Indies. One Gerard le Roy, a Native of the Low-Countries, and who had made several Voyages

to the East-Indies on board the Dutch Ships, came into France, and offered his Service as a Pilot to some Merchants, who were desirous of associating themselves for carrying on that Trade; of which the King having Notice, gave them all the Encouragement they could desire; and by an Arret, bearing Date June 1, 1604, erected the first East-India Company that had been seen in France, and granted them exclusive Privileges for the Term of fifteen Years, which however proved of no Use, either through the Divisions and Disputes which arose amongst the Merchants that composed this new Company, or from their finding it impossible to raise a Fund sufficient for carrying so great an Undertaking into Execution.

But notwithstanding this Company failed, yet Gerard le Roy still continued in France, and still laboured to set on foot an East-India Company, which at length however, he effected, under the Reign of Lewis XIII. who granted the Merchants that were engaged in this Project, his Letters patent, dated March 2, 1611, by which they had all the Privileges that they could desire confirmed to them for twelve Years. But, notwithstanding this, they suffered four whole Years to relapse without fitting out so much as a single Ship; and thereupon two Merchants at Rouen petitioned the King, that these Privileges might be transferred to them, offering to fit out a certain Number of Vessels that very Year. But the Company before erected interposed, and declared that this Delay of theirs arose from unavoidable Difficulties, and not from any Design of dropping or abandoning their Project; upon which the King very wisely directed that these Merchants should be associated with the old Company, in order to encrease their Capital, and carry on their Trade the better.

In pursuance of this Resolution, they had new Letters Patents granted, dated July 2, 1615, which were registered in Parliament the Second of September following; and, in consequence of the ample Privileges that they had thus obtained, they began to fit out Ships, and actually

possessed themselves of the Island of *Madagascar*, which was then considered as a very great Thing, and mighty Hopes were conceived therefrom. But this, instead of facilitating their Commerce to the *Indies*, proved the Ruin of it under this Establishment; for, it being found by Experience, that the Profits arising from the Possession and Commerce of this Island, were of very little Consequence, it was too hastily concluded, that the Whole of this Trade would prove as insignificant; and so, notwithstanding all the fair Promises made at the Beginning, this Company, like the rest, sunk, and was totally lost.

2. The great Cardinal *Richelieu* however resolved to revive this Commerce, and undertook it with great Spirit, and consequently with all the Appearance imaginable of Success. The Royal Privileges granted to this new Company were dated the Twenty-fourth of *June* 1642, and contained all that could be thought necessary for promoting the Interest of a Society, under the peculiar Protection of so great a Minister; yet, it fell out unluckily, that he did not long survive this new Grant, which without doubt, was a great Prejudice to the Company's Affairs: However, *Louis XIV.* or rather the Regency, acting in his Minority, confirmed those Privileges by an *Edict* dated the Twentieth of *September*, 1643, and the Company entered into Possession of all the Advantages derived therefrom immediately.

All these it quietly enjoyed for twenty Years; during which Space, this third Company sent every Year a Vessel, but the far greater Part of them were either cast away in their Passage, or lost the best Part of their Crews by the Scurvy; so that tho' the Name of an *East-India* Company was still kept up in *France*; yet, in fact, they were possessed of no such Trade, but contented themselves with a Number of fruitless and fatiguing Attempts to settle a flourishing Colony at *Madagascar*; a Design, which, after all, they could never bring to bear. The Time of their Privilege being expired, the Duke de la *Meilleray* thought fit to attempt an *Indian* Trade upon his own Bottom, which, however ended in sending a Ship or two to *Madagascar*, where he got into the Possession of the *French* Settlements, and found them not worth keeping, though it is said that he made this Attempt at a pretty easy Rate, because being Master of the Ordinance, he made so free with the King's Stores, as to send large Quantities of them to *Madagascar*, and placed the same to his own Account. On his Death however, his Son, who was styled the Duke de *Mazarin*, sold his Interest in this Island for about one thousand Pounds of our Money, which proved a great deal more than it was worth.

Thus we have spent our Time hitherto in contemplating the Progress of the *French India* Companies for about threescore Years, within which Space they did nothing; though some private Men from *St. Malo* sent Ships thither, and found their Trade turn to some Account. This very plainly shews, how little the *French* Government agrees with Commerce, and how difficult her ablest Ministers find it to establish Trade by dint of Power: And yet it must be allowed, that Cardinal *Richelieu* took all the Pains in this Respect that it was in the Power of Man to do; for he sent for Persons who were best versed in this Trade from *Holland*, drew abundance of rich Merchants from various Parts of *Europe* into *France*, drew the Plan for the Establishment of the new Company himself, and engaged some of the principal Persons for Quality and Fortune in *France* to embark in it.

What he conceived would most promote it, proved the Ruin of the whole Design; for there being always some great Nobleman or other at the Head of this Business, such as endeavoured to obtain Employment in the Company's Service, were forced to become his Creatures; by which happy Contrivance there were hardly any employed who had either Merit or Capacity; so that the Merchants and such as were the best Judges of the Means of carrying on such a Commerce with Success, treated the *East-India* Company as a mere Phantom, and never concerned themselves at all therewith: As, on the other Hand, the *English* and *Dutch East-India* Companies were under no Apprehensions about it, but being solely guided by Experience, treated the Affair of a *French East-India* Company with

Contempt; while the rest of the States of *Europe*, seeing that *France*, with all her Power, could make nothing of these repeated Attempts, took it for granted that the *India* Trade was designed by Nature for the maritime Powers, and so never troubled their Heads about it. Thus Things remained quietly in this Situation for the major Part of the last Century; and while *France* gave Law to her Neighbours by Land, she made as inconsiderable a Figure by Sea as any of the little States in *Italy*. But the Scene was soon changed when *Louis XIV.* came to manage his own Affairs, and had taken into his Service such Ministers as were equally capable of undertaking great Designs, and of foreseeing and overcoming all the Difficulties that could possibly be met with in the Execution of them.

3. The famous M. *Colbert*, so much distinguished by *Louis XIV.* and whose Activity and Prudence procured him most of those Successes which distinguished the former Part of his Reign, and rendered him the most powerful Monarch in *Europe*. This active and intelligent Minister, I say, was the Person who conceived the Design of reviving the *French East-India* Company, notwithstanding all the Misfortunes that Scheme had met with, and which had, over and over, disappointed the Skill and Care of all his Predecessors. But before he made his Intentions known to the Publick, he took Care to make himself perfectly well instructed in the Affair he was to undertake, which he did, by drawing to his Acquaintance such Merchants and Seamen as were held to understand this Subject best. It was from them he learned that there were three principal Difficulties in the Way of that Structure, which he laboured to raise, and which, as they had never hitherto been overcome, so it appeared extremely doubtful whether, considering the Nature of the *French* Government, and the Temper of the *French* Nation, it was possible they should be got over.

The first was, the finding a sufficient Fund for the effectually fixing and establishing such a Company, as to which nothing hitherto had ever been done worth mentioning, or that could afford any probable Hopes of Success: The *French* Merchants, being extremely fond of new Projects, were ready enough in promising Subscriptions, but very slow in performing what they promised, and in complying with the Terms of their Contracts, even after they had subscribed. The second Fault was said to be a peremptory Exclusion of Foreigners, notwithstanding it was so evident, that the necessary Funds for the carrying on so extensive a Trade, were not easily, at least, to be found in *France*. The third and greatest Difficulty of all was, the affording such a Degree of Liberty and Independence to this Company as might satisfy both Strangers and Natives as to the Security of their Properties, and put the entire Management of their Affairs into the Hands of such only as were chosen and entrusted by themselves.

All these Things M. *Colbert* weighed in his own Mind, and when he thought he had sufficiently ripened his Project, he reduced it into Writing, but knowing at the same Time, the great Consequence of having the most solid Sentiments helped by a proper Method, and adorned with the Graces of Writing, he communicated his Plan to Mr. *Charpentier*, of the *French* Academy, esteemed one of the best Pens in *France*. This Gentleman having new dressed our Statesmen's Thoughts, by digesting them into their proper Order, and clothed them with the plainest and significant Language; the Scheme came Abroad with all the Advantages that could be desired, and was attended with all the Success that could be expected. As this Paper was esteemed a Master-piece in its Kind, had amazing Effects, and contains Abundance of curious Circumstances, it may not be amiss to give the Reader an Extract of its Contents.

It was in the first Place observed therein, that as former Schemes of the like kind had failed for want of proper Funds, there was no Danger, that any Thing of this Nature should happen here, since, besides the constant Protection and Support which the Government determined to give thereto, the King himself and the greatest, and the wealthiest Persons in the Nation were resolved to furnish such large Sums at the Beginning, as might put it on a Level,

States of Europe, seeing could make nothing of for granted that the *Indies* for the maritime Power. Heads about it. Thus Situation for the major *France* gave Law to made as inconsiderable a States in *Italy*. But the *XIV.* came to manage into his Service such Undertaking great De- coming all the Difficulties in the Execution of

much distinguished by and Prudence procured distinguished the for- red him the most pow- tive and intelligent Mi- conceived the Design of company, notwithstanding he had met with, and pointed the Skill and fore he made his Inter- took Care to make him- the Affair he was to ing to his Acquaintance ere held to understand m he learned that there he Way of that Struc- and which, as they had it appeared extremely Nature of the *French* the *French* Nation, it

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erein, that as former for want of proper y Thing of this Na- the constant Pro- government determined the greatest, and the r resolved to furnish might put it on a Level,

Level, at least, with the *Dutch East-India Company*, at its first Establishment. In regard to any Objection that might be raised from the various Disappointments which had overturned three several Companies already, it was observed, that few, or no Undertakings of this Sort were attended with immediate Success. That the *Spaniards* suffered greatly in their first Expeditions to *America*, which, however, did not hinder them from persevering in their Designs by which they had acquired the Empire of the new World. That the *English Colony to Virginia* had failed four or five Times, and yet was brought to Perfection at last; and that even the *Dutch East-India Company*, which so much excelled all others, was far enough from being fortunate in its first Beginnings.

These Principles being laid down, it was shewn, that the Island of *Madagascar*, a considerable Part of which was then in the Possession of the *French*, was a Country capable of being improved to such a Degree, as to become of more Consequence, and of greater Advantage, than any of the Settlements possessed by the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*. In Support of this, it was said, that no body would deny, that his Settlement was incomparably more commodious and more secure than that of *Batavia*, in the Island of *Java*, which the *Dutch* had nevertheless made the capital Residence of their Company in the *Indies*. For with respect to the Commodiousness of the Place, the Country of *Madagascar* was extremely agreeable, the Climate equally temperate and pleasant, and the Soil affording all the Necessaries of Life, in the greatest Abundance, whereas the Territory about *Batavia*, was so far from being fruitful, that the Company were obliged to procure from distant Places, Rice, fresh Meat, and other Provisions, for twenty-five, or thirty thousand People, which could not but be attended with great Difficulties, as well as with a vast Expence. In respect to Security, it was well enough known, that only a small Part of the Island of *Java* was in the Power of the *Dutch*, and that the rest of the Country, which was very large, and very populous, was inhabited by a Variety of Nations, agreeing, however, in the Perverseness and Brutality of their Natures, and in a bigotted Zeal for the *Mohammedan Religion*, which made them hate and despise all Christians to the last Degree. That the Territories of the *Dutch* bordered on one Side on those of the King of *Mataran*, who had more than once invaded them at the Head of an Army of one hundred thousand Men; that on the other, the City of *Batavia* itself, was but twelve Leagues distant from the Dominions of the King of *Bantam*, who had likewise shewn himself their powerful and inveterate Enemy; whereas, on the other Hand, the Inhabitants of *Madagascar* were of a mild and excellent Disposition, and so much inclined to receive the Doctrines of the Gospel, that a Settlement consisting only of one hundred Men, would be in greater Security there, than a like Settlement even of a thousand and upwards in the Island of *Java*.

That besides all this, by fixing their capital Colony in *Madagascar*, the *French* Company would be better seated for Trade than the *Dutch* in *Batavia*, because it was equally convenient for carrying on the Commerce of the Red-sea, or of the Gulph of *Bengal*, and lay at the same Time very properly for the Dispatch of Ships to *China* and *Japan*, affording a convenient Place for re-fitting and refreshing in their Return: In Reference to the Execution of a Project which these Arguments were supposed to demonstrate probable and feasible,

It was said in this Memorial, that a Fund of six Millions, or six hundred thousand Pounds of our Money, would be necessary in order to the equipping twelve or fourteen large Ships, from 800 to 1400 Tuns, in order to embark such a Number of Persons for this Island of *Madagascar*, as might effectually, and at once establish a considerable Colony there. That there was no reason to doubt, that his Majesty would advance a tenth Part of this Sum. That the Nobility and other Persons of large Fortunes, would advance also the Sums requisite to set this Design on Foot, and that as the king was willing to take a tenth Share in the setting out, they had Reason to expect he would concern himself largely in future Expeditions. That as a farther Encouragement, he was willing

to grant the Company an Exemption from half their Duties both Inward and Outward, on all the Goods they exported to, or imported from the *Indies*; and over and above all this, his Majesty was content to take upon himself all the Loss that might arise for the first eight or ten Years, which was sufficient to shew, how much, and how sincerely he had this great Design at Heart, and how willing he was to contribute to its Success. That as to private Persons; they should be at Liberty to subscribe in what Proportions they pleased; till the Fund was full; after which, no farther Subscriptions should be received on any Terms.

That the king would not only permit Foreigners to take what Share they pleased in these Subscriptions, but to encourage them thereto, would likewise consent, that such as subscribed ten thousand Livres (this was afterwards changed to twenty thousand) or upwards, should thereby acquire the Right of Naturalization, without any farther Ceremony; by which their Relations, tho' Strangers, should be capable of inheriting their Effects in the Kingdom of France; and farther, that in case of a Rupture with the State, to which such Strangers were Subjects, their Effects should never be liable to Confiscation, on any Pretence whatever. That the Affairs of the Company should be managed by their own Directors, chosen from amongst themselves, in whose Hands the Funds of the Company should constantly remain, and that Foreigners should be capable of being elected Directors, provided they were interested in a reasonable Degree in the Stock of the Company, and resided in France. That in Point of Law Suits, the Company should be made as easy as possible, and after being heard, in the first inferior Court, near the Place where the Cause of Action arose, they should be at Liberty to appeal directly to the Parliament.

Such was the Memorial which this great Minister caused to be dispersed through all Parts of the Kingdom of France, in the Month of June, 1664, and upon which, the Edict for establishing the *East-India Company*, which still subsists, and which bears Date in the Month of August, in the same Year, was founded. We have been the larger and fuller in this Account, because it answers two Purposes; for, first, it clearly explains the Methods taken by this great Minister to accomplish what in his own Opinion appeared to be a most difficult Undertaking, and next, it affords us an easy, and at the same time, a perfect View of the principal Points upon which the present *East-India Company's* Establishment rests; for, tho', as we shall shew in the Course of this Section, the royal Authority has been often exerted in changing and new modelling, as the Circumstances of Affairs in general, and those of the Company in particular required, certain Articles in this Plan; yet has it been always considered as the Basis and Foundation of their Privileges, and consequently it was necessary to be well acquainted therewith, in order thoroughly to understand the subsequent History of their Transactions.

But first, it will be necessary to observe, that this Edict for the Establishment of the Company, was digested into forty-seven Articles, and that the Value of the original Actions (and by the Way, this was the first Time that Word was used in France) was fix'd at one thousand Livres, and the subsequent Call restrained to five hundred more, which Edict of Establishment was registered in Parliament the 7th of August 1664.

4. As soon as this Edict was published, his most Christian Majesty ordered the Sum of three hundred thousand Livres to be paid out of the royal Treasury, into the Hands of the Cashier of the *East-India Company*, and M. Colbert, who had been so warm and so industrious in bringing Things thus far, continued to apply himself with equal Attention to whatever might promote the Concerns of a Society, that he had taken so immediately under his Protection. The Affiduity of a first Minister in France is capable of putting any Thing into Motion, as appeared manifestly upon this Occasion, since in the following Spring, there sailed four large Ships from *Brest* for *Madagascar*, all of which arrived safely there on the 10th of July. This new Colony changed the Name of the Place where they were established, from *Madagascar* to the *Dauphin's*

phon's Island, by which last Name it is still known to the *French*, and according to the Accounts they published of it, ought to be esteemed a perfect Paradise. In a short Time, however, they began to change their Opinion, either from the natural Levity of that Nation, or because Opportunities presented of extending their Views in the *Indies*.

Two Persons offered themselves upon this Occasion, to promote the Interest of the new Company; the one was Mr. *Caron*, who has been already often mentioned. He was a Native of *France*, but had been for many Years in the *Dutch* Service, and had been raised in that Service to the Rank of President of the Factory of *Japan*, where, for Reasons which we have assigned in another Place, he suffered severely. And not thinking himself sufficiently considered for his Sufferings, quitted the *Dutch* Service, and returned to *France*, at a Juncture when a Man of his Abilities was much wanted, and therefore he was carelessly and employed. The other was Mr. *Mariara*, a Native of *Spoken*, in *Persia*, and nearly allied to several Persons of great Rank in that Kingdom, as also to some who enjoyed Governments, and other great Employments in the *Indies*; he also was employed by the Company, and did a considerable Service. In Conjunction with Mr. *Caron*, he settled a Factory at *Surat*, and by his own Interest purely, procured for them an Establishment in the Kingdom of *Golconda*, in the Year 1669.

But it afterwards fell out, that these two Gentlemen differed, and Mr. *Caron* sent Home heavy Accusations against the *Persian*, who cleared himself, however, so effectually, of all that was laid to his Charge, that he was honourably acquitted, and continued in his Employment. It was also in this Year 1660, that the Directors of this *East-India* Company began to dislike their Settlement in the Island of the *Dauphin*, which had been always considered as their chief Residence; but now they were desirous of transferring that Honour to *Surat*, to which the Court of *France* assented; and that nothing might be wanting for the Support and Encouragement of this Commerce, the Harbour of *Port-Louis* was granted to them, with all its Dependences, together with full Power to make such Alterations and Improvements as they judged requisite; and it was in virtue of this Grant, that they built and established their Magazines at what is now called *Port l'Orient*. But notwithstanding all these Acts of Favour, the Affairs of the Company were so far from taking a successful Turn, that it was found, upon stating a general Account, that they were indebted in no less a Sum than four Millions to the Crown, which, however, the King, agreeable to the Promise made them at their Establishment, clearly forgave, and took that Loss upon himself.

About this Time, some private Persons, having insinuated, that they were willing to embark their Fortunes in a Trade to the *Indies*, provided they might have the Company's Licence; and the Company likewise having signified to the King, that it might prove beneficial to them, if they had it in their Power to grant such Indulgences, the Favour likewise was added to the rest, and private Traders were permitted to engage in this Commerce, upon the following Conditions; first, that they should transport themselves and their Effects on Board the Company's Ships, both coming and going. Secondly, that they should pay their Freight and Passage before their Departure. Thirdly, that the Goods they brought Home, Jewels and precious Stones only excepted, should be exported in the Company's Sales, and their Produce fairly accounted for. Fourthly, that these Licences should be in Force only for five Years; and fifthly, that if they should be found prejudicial to the Affairs of the Company, the Directors might abridge or cancel them at their Pleasure.

There was yet another, and still more considerable Act of Grace obtained by their powerful Protector Mr. *Colbert*, which was an Exemption from all Duties on the Goods they brought Home. But notwithstanding these mighty Advantages, and though they scarce asked any Thing of their Patron but what was granted, yet their Affairs continued declining, and as he died in 1683, the Spirit of

this Commerce might be said to expire with him. The Body, indeed, of the Company, was kept up, not much perhaps to its Advantage; they had not only a Court of Directors at *Paris*, but in Imitation of the *Dutch East-India* Company, Chambers of Direction, at several Ports, a Council in the *Indies*, and in short, the Appearance and Trappings of a great and powerful Society, when at the Bottom they were distressed and poor, so that upon stating a general Account in 1684, it clearly appeared, that instead of gaining one Penny by their Commerce, they had actually run out one Half of their Capital, or about three hundred thousand Pounds of our Money.

This was attributed to several Causes, but principally to these three; first, to the War with the *Dutch*, which lasted from 1672 to 1678, and of which we have spoke largely enough in the last Section. Secondly, to the Negligence and Fraud of the Persons employed in their Service in the *Indies*, who thought, though they were sent by the Company, they had no other Business there, than to mind their own Interests, which they did at the Expence of their Masters, so that some private Fortunes were made, while the Concerns of the Publick were running to Ruin; and lastly, to the Supineness, Timorousness, or Inability of their Subscribers, who had not paid in, as they ought to have done, to the great Detriment of their Affairs. To remedy these Disorders, and to retrieve, if possible, the Trade of the sinking Company, it was resolved to change the System of their Government, to suppress all the little Chambers of Directors, and to put the whole Management of the Company's Concerns into the Hands of twelve Directors residing in *Paris*, who were each of them to pay in thirty thousand Livres upon the forfeited Actions, and to be allowed reasonable Salaries for the Business they did. It was also resolved, that all who had not paid in, should forfeit their Shares to the Company, with a Proviso, that if in two Years, they made good their Payments, they should enter into their former Rights, and have all their Actions restored.

This Regulation was confirmed by a royal Edict, dated in February 1685, by which the King left the Company free Liberty either to resume the Sovereignty of *Madagascar* which they had surrendered in 1670, as has been beforementioned, or to leave it as it then was in the King's Hands. As the Company had thus their Option, and were left at liberty to do as they thought fit in this Affair, they, after mature Deliberation, thought proper to adhere to their last Resolution, and to quit this Island intirely to the Crown; which Act of theirs was confirmed by the King's Arret, bearing Date the 4th of June, 1686. All these Regulations at home were supported by an Alliance abroad, which it was hoped would have had a very good Effect, and totally restored the Company's Affairs.

The History of this Treaty will be given in the succeeding Volume, and therefore we shall be very short in what we have to say of it here. The King of *Siam*, a very powerful Prince in the *Indies*, had raised one Mr. *Constance*, who was originally no better than a Servant in an *English* Factory, to the Rank of his First Minister; and he being a bold enterprising Man, took it into his Head that it was very possible to convert his Master and all his Subjects to the Christian Religion, by engaging him in a very close Correspondence with the Court of *France*; in which last Part of his Scheme he succeeded so well, that not only Missionaries were sent over to convert the *Siamese*, but a Squadron of Men of War likewise, with some Troops on board, to make the King as absolute as his Brother of *France*. This raised such a Jealousy in the Minds of his Subjects as created a universal Revolt, in which the King was murdered in his Palace; his Prime Minister cut off in the same manner, and the *French* Garrison in the Citadel of *Bangkok*, after an obstinate Defence, totally destroy'd; and thus ended that Affair, and all the Advantages that were expected from it; so that in about two Years time the Company's Affairs were in as bad a Condition as ever, and all the high Hopes they had conceived from the Change of their Administration, and the grand Alliance in the *Indies* vanished into Air, and were blasted almost as soon as they bloom'd. This tell the heavier upon them, because abundance of new Subscribers had been drawn

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carriage, and induced a general Opinion that it was abso-
lutely impossible for the *French* Nation to carry on a Trade
to the *Indies* with Advantage.

5. But all these vexatious Circumstances at home and
abroad were nothing in comparison of the Loss of their
generous Protector Mr. *Colbert*, who was ready at all
times to exert his Influence in their Favour, and whose
Influence was so great that he never exerted it in vain.
There was nothing of Self-Interest or Views of private Ad-
vantage in this Conduct of his; he acted purely from a
Principle of publick Spirit and the Desire he had of con-
tributing to the Glory of his Prince, by pursuing what he
took to be the true Interest of his Subjects. These it
must be confessed were great and laudible Notions, and
such as he carried into Action with surprizing Success;
yet taking all this together, it is perhaps the clearest and
most convincing Argument, that the *French* Nation are
altogether incapable of carrying such great Designs into
Execution with such Advantage to themselves as accrues
to their less powerful Neighbours, because it is impossible
that Trade should flourish in a Country where its Welfare
must depend solely on the Will and Capacity of a single
Person.

Accidents are not to be trusted to, especially in Matters
of Property and Things of Importance. Yet what great-
er or more apparent Accident can there be than the rising
of an able, experienced, and honest Minister, in an arbitrary
Government? It is such an Accident as not only seldom
happens, but is very rarely to be expected; and when it
does happen, like every other accidental Good, misleads
unwary Minds, and makes Men mistake for a solid and
certain Foundation, what is in fact no more than a lucky
continuance of Things in the same Posture; so that such
as are tempted to hazard their Substance in Building upon
such a Basis, are not to be esteemed wiser than if they
were drawn in to contribute to the erecting a large Struc-
ture upon the Ice, because it had been known to remain
firm for nine or ten Weeks.

As these are reasonable and just Principles in themselves,
so in this Case, they were fully justified by Experience.
The Successor of Mr. *Colbert* was Mr. *Pont-Chartrain*, a
Man who was far from wanting Abilities, or being destitute
of Probity, but whose Notions with respect to Commerce,
were either crude and indigested, or, which was worse, narrow
and obscure. He was, from the Beginning of his Administra-
tion, no Friend to the *East-India* Company, as appeared
very clearly by his crossing every thing they asked, and
countenancing every Attempt that was made against them.
To enter into a long Detail of the Facts necessary to ju-
stify in its largest Extent this Observation, would be at
once tedious to the Reader, and draw me much beyond
the Bounds I have prescribed to myself in this Work,
therefore I shall take Notice of one Thing only, which is
this; the *East-India* Company finding that all Sorts of
painted Cottons, gold and silver Brocades, and such other
showy Goods as they imported from *India*, went off at a
great Rate in *France*, they struck into that Trade, and
began to make considerable Advantages of it. This
encouraged them to venture upon another Undertaking,
which was the importing vast Quantities of white Cottons,
and causing them to be painted in *France* after the Manner
of the *Indies*, which occasioned a prodigious Outcry
among the Manufacturers in *France*; who let forth, that
the Sale of these Cottons and Silks were excessively inju-
rious to them, and that if they continued, it was impossi-
ble that their Manufactures should subsist.

Upon the Representation of these Things to the Prime
Minister, he took the Thing so warmly, that he immedi-
ately procured an Edict, dated the Twenty-seventh of *Ja-*
nuary, 1687; by which the importing them was abso-
lutely prohibited. On the Application however of the
East-India Company, and the Interposition of some Friends
at Court, which they had still left, the Execution of this
Law was, in some measure, suspended in Favour of the
Company; that is to say, they were allowed a certain
Space of Time, in which to dispose of the Goods then in
their Hands; as also of such as might be brought from
the *Indies* within a limited Time: But the great Blow was

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not to be parried; and the Edict, which required the de-
stroying all the Molds, and other Utenils for painting
Linnen in *France*, was to take Place absolutely on the
First of *January* 1689. The Company indeed endea-
voured, and by the Help of its Friends made great Ef-
forts to defeat this Design; but, all they could do proved
ineffectual in the main, and procured only a Suspension
for three Months; and, in the mean time, they were obliged
to take back what they had sold to private Merchants, and
to return them their Money. As to the gold and silver
Brocades, and other *Indian* Silks, they were permitted to
import these to a certain Value, viz. One hundred and
fifty thousand *Livres*; but this was upon Condition, that
they exported to the Amount of Five hundred thousand
Livres in *French* Manufactures; and they were afterwards
restrained to the Exportation of such Manufactures only
as would sell to Profit in the *East-Indies*. The Company's
Commerce was before declining, and they had but this
single Chance of supporting themselves by the Humour
which prevailed of buying these printed Cottons, Bro-
cades, and Silks; so that the Reader may easily judge
that when this Prohibition came to take Place, it gave the
Death's Wound to their Trade.

It must however, be owned, that upon certain Occasi-
ons, they did procure the Dispensation of this Law for a
certain Space of Time, which might afford them a tem-
porary Relief, and just keep them from sinking: But
they had no longer a Power of trading as a Company;
their Factories in the *Indies* grew low, those who were
employed in their Service lost their Credit, and the *French*
Flag in the *Indies* was little regarded, and indeed scarce
known. The Farmers-General of the King's Duties like-
wise attacked the Company; and as their Employments
gave them the Ear of the Ministers, they were almost al-
ways too hard for them; so that by Degrees, the Com-
pany lost the Benefit of most of those great Privileges
which had been procured by Mr. *Colbert*, and yet with-
out their being taken away; for in *France*, and perhaps
in some other Countries, Methods are found out for
eluding the Laws by the Manner of executing them, and
without any formal Repeals. Some other Laws were like-
wise made for laying Penalties upon such as dealt in
wrought up, or in any way exposed to Sale any Chints,
or any other painted Cottons; which being executed with
great Severity, put a full Stop to that Branch of Trade,
as the Want of Money had done to most other Branches.
So that between those Oppressions peculiar to themselves,
and the Mischief they endured in common with the rest
of the Subjects of *France* by the long Continuance of the
War, they found themselves in so low a Condition as to be
scarce able to keep up the Appearance of the Company;
and those who had formerly yielded them Assistance at
Court, began to be tired, and listened no longer to their
Sollicitations.

There arose likewise a new Spirit in *France* of curbing
and distressing this almost-broken Company, under Col-
our of augmenting the Revenues of the Crown, and
protecting the Manufactures which afforded Bread to the
People; under Pretence of which, they first restrained the
Company from selling Chints and other Piece-goods to
Foreigners, which was not only a very great Loss to the
Company, but to the *French* Nation in general, among
whom the Money would have infallibly circulated
for which these Manufactures had been sold; whereas, by
this Prohibition, so much ready Money was kept out of
France, and not a Thread more of their own Manufac-
tures vended. Afterwards a Duty was laid upon the Raw-
Silk, which they imported: And notwithstanding this
produced a great Sum of Money, yet it was not long be-
fore a Prohibition was applied, under Pretence that the
Company importing every Year seven thousand Pounds of
Raw Silk, did thereby great Damage to one of the staple
Commodities of the Kingdom; whereas, in Truth, the
greatest Part, if not all this Silk, was sold by Strangers;
But it was the Misfortune of the Company, that while
they were distressed and ill treated abroad, on purpose to
drive them totally out of the *Indies*, they were envied
and persecuted at home, on Account even of that small
Trade which they drove thither; and all this under the

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plausible Appearance of publick Spirit, and Concern for the Poor; but, in reality, from private Views and selfish Principles, as will be shewn hereafter.

The Ministers that then governed *France*, were very different from *M. Colbert*; they were unacquainted with the extensive Nature of Commerce, took every Thing that was alleged by the Farmers of the Revenue on one Side, and by the Agents for Manufactures on the other, for granted, and made whatever Orders were desired on either Side; but, as for the Company, their Applications were continually slighted; and the Decay of their Commerce, though produced by these very Measures, was pleaded as a sufficient Excuse for this Treatment, and made a Reason for continuing it. In the mean time all their Settlements abroad were sinking as fast as they could; and the few Servants they had were not so much bound by a Sense of Duty, as fixed to the Places where they resided by the great Debts they had contracted, and which neither they, nor their Masters, knew how to discharge. But as the Scene soon after changed surprizingly; and as this Company has since made some kind of Figure, it will be necessary to enter more particularly into the History of their Settlements in the *Indies*.

6. We have already observed, that when the Company was erected, they placed the Seat of their Government, and proposed to fix their capital Settlement in the Island of *Madagascar*, which, in a warm Fit of Loyalty, they called the Island of the *Dolphin*, and which they represented to the World in the fairest Light possible. They suggested, that the Climate was extremely agreeable, not warmer for two Thirds of the Year, than it is in *France*, during the Spring, and not hotter for the remaining four Months than it is in that Kingdom, during the Summer.

The Country abounding with fine Fruits, wholesome Herbs, and pleasant Roots, producing three Crops of Rice in a Year, and all Sorts of *European* Grain, better in Kind, and more in Quantity, than in any Part of *France*. They added to all this, that there grew Vines there naturally, which bore admirable Grapes, and from which it was very practicable to make excellent Wine. As to Animals, besides black Cattle in Abundance, it afforded Goats, Swine of several sorts, and many other useful Creatures. In Point of Riches, they affirmed, that there were Mines of Gold, which, by the Way, could never be found, besides Iron, Lead, and other Metals: They with more Truth, asserted, that Cotton, Wax, Sugar, black and white Pepper, and Indigo, might be raised there to Advantage; that the Country afforded both Mulberry-trees and Silkworms, and that there was great Store of Ebony, and other rich Woods. The Colony they settled there, cost them immense Sums, and remained for some Years in a very flourishing Condition, sending Home yearly several Ships richly laden, and would very probably have answered their Expectations, if they could have had Patience.

But after they had once settled Factories in the *Indies*, those who were in the Company's Service, found it so much easier to raise Fortunes for themselves in these Settlements, that by their Representations, they procured the Removal of the Council of the *Indies* to *Surat*, where they built a most noble and convenient House, and added to it Warehouses, Magazines, and other Offices, much superior to the Trade which they had established to support it, and from these excessive and extravagant Expences their first Misfortunes arose.

7. But after the first *Dutch* War, in which they made themselves Masters of *St. Thomas*, which they lost again to the *Dutch*, the *Sieur Martin* retired to a Place called *Pondichery*, where, by the Leave of the Viceroy of the King of *Vijapour*, he settled himself. This was in the Beginning of the Year 1674, and as the Company had at that Time a great Demand for Piece-goods, it was thought they could not establish themselves in a better Place. It was for this Reason, that the *French* Company commissioned *M. Martin* to procure that Place for them, on the best Terms he could; with which Order he complied exactly. This Gentleman appears to be one of the honestest and most capable Person they ever had in their Service, and he procured from the Governor who first gave him

Leave to settle there, a Licence to fortify, and to secure his People and Effects, in the best Manner he could, which he accordingly did, and settled under the Protection of his Factory a little *Indian* Village, of about forty Houses, in which those who wrought for the Company lived quietly and happily.

Things had not remained long in this Condition, before he was threatened with total Ruin; for the famous *Seva-Gi* falling with a vast Force into that Part of the Country, endeavoured to overwhelm him as a Dependent upon his Enemies. However, *M. Martin* supplied by Prudence, what he wanted in Force, and by a timely Application, brought about a Treaty, which was managed on his Side by an *Indian* Priest, which ended in a Licence to trade in his Dominions, for which he paid one thousand six hundred *Ruppes*. This was in the Year 1680, and he had the Year before purchased the Territory of the King of *Vijapour*, whose Inheritance it was; so that now he was tolerably secure, only he was apprehensive, that the Son of *Seva-Gi*, who was Sovereign of the Place, might take it amiss, if he presumed to raise a regular Fortification without his Consent, which he obtained in 1689, and then put it in a Posture of Defence. This was a very timely Provision, for the *Dutch* began to be extremely disturbed at the flourishing Estate of this little Colony, and offered very large Presents to the *Rajah*, in whose Dominions it lay, in case he would dispossess the *French* of *Pondichery*; but the *Indian* Prince, who was also Son to *Seva-Gi*, rejected these Offers with Contempt. He said, the *French* had fairly purchased that Settlement; that they had applied to his Brother for a Protection, for which they paid him a valuable Consideration; and that therefore, all the Money in the World should never tempt him to dislodge them: A glorious Instance of the natural Probity of the unconquered *Indians*, and which deserves more Praise from Mankind, than the most extensive Conquests.

The *Dutch*, however, resolved to carry their Point, and the War having broke out between them and *France*, they made Dispositions for attacking it by Force, which, however, they did not do till the Year 1693, when they came before the Place with a Squadron of nineteen Sail, landed an Army of between two and three thousand Men, with a fine Train of Artillery, and six Mortars. To make their Conquests the surer, they applied to the new *Rajah*, who was not of the same Temper with the old one, and for the Sum of about twenty thousand Pounds of our Money, purchased the whole District in Property. They then invested and attacked the Place, which after a good Defence, *M. Martin*, who was then Director-General for the *French* East-India Company, surrendered upon very honourable Conditions, on the 6th of September 1693. This Stroke, which seemed to put an End to the Company's Authority in those Parts, proved in its Consequences the happiest Thing that ever befel them. For the *Dutch* were no sooner in Possession of the Place, than they raised new Walls, seven regular Bastions, and whatever else was necessary to render it one of the completest Fortresses in the *Indies*.

In the Year 1669, upon the Conclusion of a general Peace, the Place was restored to the *French*, who thereby acquired the Property of *Pondichery*, and all these fine new Fortifications, and this for so trifling a Sum as five thousand Pounds, which they paid to the *Dutch* Governor, upon his delivering up all that he was possessed of, which probably he would never have done, if he had not been compelled thereto by the Orders of the *States-General*, who, as they were great Gainers by that Peace in *Europe*, would not perplex themselves with the Disputes between the two Companies.

8. As soon as the News of this was brought into *France*, the East-India Company received Orders from the Government to put that Place into such a Condition, as that, in case of a second War, they might not lose it so easily as they had done before; and, to enable them to do this, a Squadron was sent from *France*, with two hundred regular Troops, for the Augmentation of the Garrison; several able Engineers, a vast Quantity of military Stores, and whatever else was requisite to secure *Pondichery* from any future Attempts of the *Dutch*. The *Sieur Martin* was again intrusted

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scarce to be known. He not only completed the Fortifi-
cations according to his Instructions, and assembled a good
Garrison of seven or eight hundred Men, but likewise
built one hundred new Houses, and laid out a regular Plan
for a large Town, into which, by his own Prudence and
good Management, he drew within the Space of five
Years more, fifty or sixty thousand Inhabitants; so that
in the Year 1710, it was become one of the most confi-
derable Places in the Indies, in the Hands of the Euro-
peans; and if the Affairs of the Company in Europe had
kept Pace at all with the Improvements made by this Ge-
ntleman in the Indies, the French Company might very
soon have been upon a Level with their Neighbours the
English and the Dutch.

This, however, was so far from being the Case, that
both this Gentleman and succeeding Governors, were ob-
liged to find Ways and Means to support themselves;
the Factory and the Town, by the Trade carried on in
it, and by the Industry of the Indians settled there, in
which they were so fortunate, that while the Company was
daily declining at Home, every Thing carried the Face
of Plenty and Prosperity there, and none knew, or felt
Difficulty or Pain, but the Governor and their Council,
who yet were never tempted to oppress the People with
Taxes, or to endeavour to make their own Circumstances
easier, by laying any Part of the Load upon others. It
is true, that when the Town grew too large for the old
Fortification, it was found necessary to surround it with a
new Wall; but how clear sooner that Necessity might ap-
pear, and however advantageous for the People, yet the
Governor found it absolutely impracticable to defray the
Expence without the Assistance of the Inhabitants. In
order to procure this, he acted with equal Integrity and
Caution; for, having first ordered the Wall to be marked
out, and Part of it to be erected at each End, he there-
by shewed his People at once the Advantages which would
be derived from such a Fortification, and the Expences
that would attend it; so that when, in order to compleat
his Design, he imposed upon the Inhabitants a Tax of
Two-pence a Month for every Head, they were equally
satisfied, as to the End for which it was imposed, and the
Sum that would be raised by this Imposition, and there-
fore, instead of Murmuring or Complaining, they paid
it with the greatest Cheerfulness, and gave the Governor
heartly Thanks for the Care taken of their Interest.

I have dwelt the longer on this Incident, for a very
particular Reason, with which, when communicated, I
am thoroughly satisfied, the Reader will be very well pleased.
The French, who in Europe pride themselves so much in
the Grandeur and absolute Power of their King, and talk
in so high a Strain of his Conquests, affect quite another
Language in the Indies; for they value themselves there
upon their Justice and Moderation; their having pur-
chased the small Territory, which they possess; their hav-
ing lived always upon good Terms with their Neighbours,
and their establishing so large a Town, and acquiring so
many thousand of Subjects, purely by the Equity and
Mildness of their Administration: The Fact is equally
true and strange, at the same Time that it demonstrates
that common Sense directs all Nations to think the same
Way, and that the great Difference of Opinions, and
what we call the Temper and Disposition of Nations, arises
purely from Accidents in Education and Government. In-
dependent of these, Reason, is every where the same, and
Men think exactly alike, which shews the Reality and
Certainty of the Laws of Nature, to which all Men re-
turn of themselves, when the Influence of Power, and
other accidental Restraints are removed.

9. As we have shewn by what Course of Events this
Fortress of Pondichery is become the chief Seat and capi-
tal Residence of the French East-India Company, it will
be necessary to give the Reader a more particular Descrip-
tion of it, and of the Government established therein. The
Town then of Pondichery is situated in the Province of
Gingy, on the Coast of Coromandel, in the Latitude of
twelve Degrees North, and in the Longitude of one hun-
dred and fourteen from the Meridian of Paris. It stands

at the Distance of one hundred Yards from the Sea-shore,
and has nothing more than a Road before it; so that they
are obliged to carry all their Goods in Boats for a full
League. The Magazines of the Company, and of pri-
vate Persons, are both numerous and magnificent, as far
as any Thing of this Nature can be so; they have a large
and very beautiful Market-place, six fine Gates, eleven
Bastions for the Defence of their Walls, a regular Citadel
well fortified, upwards of four hundred Cannon upon their
Works, besides a good Train of Field-pieces, Bombs,
Mortars, and other military Stores in their Arsenal.

The Governor has a very fine House, with conveni-
ent Offices, and whatever else is requisite for the Service, or
Credit of the Company. On the West-side of the Town,
the Company have a very fine Garden, beautifully laid out in-
to publick Walks, and whatever else may contribute to
the Satisfaction and Pleasure of the wealthier and better
sort of Inhabitants: adjoining to which Garden, there is
a very fine House, richly furnished, made use of for the
Reception of foreign Princes and Ambassadors, who,
whenever they resort thither, are treated with infinite Res-
pect, and all their Expences defray'd by the Company,
which has been found a very wise and useful Contrivance,
of much more Consequence to the Interest of their Com-
merce, than the Expence it occasions. The other pub-
lick Buildings consist of a large Convent of the Jesuits,
where they have usually twelve or fifteen Priests, who,
besides officiating in that Character, likewise teach School,
and instruct the Children of the Inhabitants in Reading,
Writing, and the Mathematicks, and whatever else may be
of Use in civil Life; for, as to the learned Languages,
they trouble not themselves about them, and indeed, the
Knowledge of them would be of little Service in this
Part of the World: There are, besides that of the Jesuits, two
other Convents, but not so considerable by any Means as
the former. The Houses of the Town are as regularly
laid out, as if it had been all built at once, tho' it is now
near four Leagues in Extent. The Europeans build with
Brick, but the Indians, and other Nations, use only Wood,
building in that Manner which we call here in England
Lath and Plaster. For the latter, they have the best in
the World, which is composed of all sorts of Shells ground
to Powder, and wrought up into a kind of Paste, which
when exposed for some Time to the Air, becomes altoge-
ther as white, and almost as hard as Stones.

These Houses are one Story only, and are usually eight
Yards in Front, and six in Depth, and yet there are fifteen
or twenty People live in them. They are but very indif-
ferently lighted, so that it is not easy to conceive how they
are able to dispatch their Business in them. Their Roofs
are all flat, for the Convenience of lying upon them,
which they do almost naked, agreeable to the Custom of
the Country; for Pondichery, lying in the Torrid-zone, is
extremely hot, tho' otherwise the Climate is found by Ex-
perience very wholesome. One Thing there is in it very
singular, and which therefore deserves Notice, and this is,
that it never rains there, except seven or eight Days at the
most, towards the End of October, which falls out regu-
larly, and is therefore the more singular and extraordinary.
The native Indians, or as they are called here Gentiles, are
most of them Weavers, or Painters; and tho' the very
best Workman cannot earn above Two-pence a Day, yet
upon this he is able to subsist himself, his Wife and his
Children, their principal Food being Rice boil'd in Wa-
ter, or wrought up into a Paste, and baked upon the
Coals. The Country round about is extremely well culti-
vated, and produces Rice in Abundance, so that there is
hardly a Place in the Indies of greater Plenty, or where
they have Flesh, Fish and Fowl, on more reason-
able Terms; and this, notwithstanding they have no other Wa-
ter than what is derived to them from the over-flowing of
the Colram, and other great Rivers, which they preserve
in Lakes, or Ponds, and draw it for Use, through their
Country, in artificial Canals, after the same Manner as in
Egypt.

The Governor General for the Company, as he is lodged
in a fine Palace, so he makes a Figure equal thereto in
every Respect. He has twelve Horse Guards clothed in
Scarlet laced with Gold, and an Officer with the Title of
Captain

Captain who commands them; he has also a Foot Guard of three hundred Men, Natives of the Country, called *Peons*, and when he appears in publick, he is carried in a Palankin very richly adorned with gold Fringe. But all this Pomp and State is displayed only on proper and particular Occasions, upon the receiving of Princes, or Ambassadors; at other Times his Guards are employed in the necessary Service of the Company, and earn to the full the Wages they are paid for, as we have already shewn, there are few Settlements better regulated, or more dexterously governed than this, which the Reader will more easily believe when he is told, that according to the last Account taken of the Inhabitants of this Place, there appear to be in it no less than one hundred and twenty thousand Christians, Mohammedans and Gentiles; a thing altogether incredible, if the Fact was not supported by Testimonies, the Authority of which is not to be disputed.

There cannot be a Place better suited for Trade than this, being in the midst of the *European* Settlements on the Coast of *Ceramandel*, and having all the Bay of *Bengal* open before them; so that here the Company's Magazines are full of all the Commodities and Manufactures, not only of the Coast of *Ceramandel*, but of other Parts of the *Indies*, such as *Bengal*, *Surat*, and the Coast of *Malabar*, as also of such as are imported from *Persia* and the Coast of the Red Sea; and here likewise are their Warehouses for all sorts of *European* Commodities, which are conveniently transported from thence as Occasions require, to all the Markets in the *Indies*. The Staple Trade however of the Place is esteemed to be Piece Goods, of which the finest are made in the neighbouring Kingdom of *Golconda*, and the best painted here; they likewise have great Quantities of Silk raw and manufactured, Gold and Silver Brocades, Perfumes, Spices and Diamonds; in which last Trade they are said to have made a great Progress of late, and for which it is certain they are very conveniently situated, as being at a very small Distance from the finest Mines in the *Indies*, and by having amongst them Persons as well skill'd in Jewels as any in the World. The *French East-India Company* therefore can neither be blamed for their Choice of this Residence, which all things considered is the fittest for them of any in the *Indies*, or for the Pains and Expence they have bestowed about it, amounting in the whole to about eight hundred thousand Livres, or forty thousand Pound Sterling. Since thereby they have rendered it so strong and so commodious, that it might very easily drive ten times the Trade they have ever had in this Part of the World.

10. We are now to return into *France*, and to consider the Situation of Things with respect to the Company, as low as the Demise of the late King *Levis XIV.* The War, as it brought numberless Mischiefs on all other Branches of the *French Commerce*, so it particularly affected the *East-India Company*, and this as much through the wrong Notions that were formed of that Trade at home, as from the Interruptions it met with abroad. The Farmers of the Royal Revenue not only continued their Persecutions, by attacking from time to time the Privileges of the Company, and almost always without Success: But new Enemies were daily arising, that added to the Number of their Hardships and Misfortunes.

The Office of High-Admiral, which had been for a long time suppressed in *France*, was given by the King to his Natural Son, the Count de *Toulouse*, who took Exceptions against two Privileges of the Company. The first granted them the entire Property of all the Prizes taken by Ships in their Service, and the second exempted them from the Rights of the Admiralty, in regard to Wrecks. This occasioned a very long Dispute, which at last ended in a Decision contrary to the Interest of the Company. It appeared clearly from hence, that on the one hand the Company had entirely lost its Credit at Court, and on the other, that their Privileges were far enough from resting on a firm and settled Foundation, since they were liable at every turn, to be subverted and taken away by such kind of Judgments to the Company's Prejudice.

Such a continued Series of Mischiefs and Misfortunes not only crushed the Trade, but broke the Spirits of the Company, and that to such a degree as to oblige them to have recourse to Expedients for their own Support, which were not very advantageous, though at the same time they were highly dishonoured. We have before observed, that in the Year 1682, they had entered into a Scheme for permitting private Trade upon certain Conditions, which we have mentioned; but their Affairs were now fallen into such Disorder, that they were not only content to suffer private Persons to share in their Trade, but even to resign it to them, and that upon very moderate Conditions.

Accordingly, in 1708, they granted Leave to Mr. *Croizat* to fit out two Ships in the Name of the *East-India Company*, upon Condition that he paid them fifteen *per Cent.* upon all the Goods imported under this Privilege, and two *per Cent.* upon all the Prizes they should make beyond the Line with a farther Reservation, that the Company might be at liberty to bring home on board his Ships ten Ton of whatever Commodities they pleased, without paying any Freight. The Reason they assigned for this extraordinary Step was, that their Affairs were become so embarrassed, and the Persons employed in their Service so loaded with Debts, that without the Assistance of this Project they must have been obliged to relinquish their Settlements in the *Indies*. It is reasonable to believe that they found from this Expedient some little Relief, which induced them to extend their Project, and for the Preservation of their Servants in the *Indies*, who by this time were above ten Millions in Debt, they fairly sacrificed themselves.

For in the Year 1712, they entered into a Treaty with some private Traders at *Saint Malo's*, by which they yielded up to them all their Privilege as a Company, upon the best Terms they could obtain, and this with a View to furnish such as were employed by them in the *Indies*, with Sums sufficient to keep under the Interest of their Debts, and thereby prevent all things from falling into Confusion. A miserable Situation this, and yet the Company found themselves unable to undertake any thing upon their own Bottom, so that on the Expiration of their own Privileges, about the Time of this King's Death, they warmly solicited a renewal of them, not from any Hopes of reviving their Trade, but purely with an Intention to renew their Agreement with the Merchants of *Saint Malo's*, that they might gain enough thereby to preserve their Settlements, and not suffer such as they had employed to be utterly undone in their Service.

It is very clear from hence, that the Ruin of the *French East-India Company* has hitherto been the Nature of their Government, which is a Point I shall take the Liberty of laying open for the Information and Satisfaction of the *English Reader*. In the first Place, I must observe, that the Edicts for their Establishment, and the extensive Privileges granted by them, though they are in one Sense, necessary to the Being and Foundation of the Company, yet are hurtful and disadvantageous to it in another. Since though few dare express their Thoughts freely upon the Subject, yet all Men of good Sense cannot help discerning, that in a Country where so much depends upon the Will and Pleasure of the Crown, no Commerce can ever be secure; for as the same Power that gives may take away; so it may likewise alter, abridge, and even destroy by new Edicts, any of those Privileges, though granted and confirmed in the strongest Terms that Words can express.

In the next Place, as the Company must be almost supported by Acts of royal Favours, so the obtaining these must always depend upon the Temper of the Administration, or, in other Words, and in plain Terms, upon the Will of the Prime Minister for the Time being, which is such a dangerous and precarious Tenure, that no Man, who thinks at all, can believe he has any Property while it depends thereupon. In the third Place, the Maxims of the Government, rendering it absolutely necessary to prefer the Interest of the royal Revenues, upon which the Administration of the Government itself depends, to any other Interest whatever; this is such a Source of Dan-

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ger and Disquiet, as must necessarily banish all Trust and Confidence in the Faith of such a Government. Hence it may be observed, in the fourth Place, that such as are engaged in the Management of a Company's Concerns, under such Circumstances, will look very little farther than the Time present; and, instead of placing their Hopes in the future Success and Prosperity of such a Company's Affairs, will confine their Views to the making the most they can of immediate Advantages, in order to secure (if possible) their private Fortunes, let what will become of the publick.

Lastly, we may easily discover, from these Reflections, how it came to pass, that private Traders in *France*, such as the Merchants at *St. Malé's* were able to encrease their Fortunes, and carry on a Trade to the *East-Indies* with Advantage, under the Authority of a Company that was, in a manner, become bankrupt; and this, notwithstanding they paid considerable Sums out of their Profits for participating in its Privileges; for, as private Men, they could drive a good Bargain with the Company, with some reasonable Assistance of having the Terms of their Contract comply'd with, because made only for a certain Time; enjoying also the full Benefit of those Settlements which the Company had made, without contributing any thing to the Expence which they originally cost, or even to that by which they were supported; so that, considered in this Light, the Company stood between them and the Government, and these private Traders might be said to enjoy in *France* itself, those Advantages that could be expected only in a Land of Freedom, and by the Enjoyment of which solely their Trade became advantageous.

The more we reflect upon these few Observations, the more we must be convinced, that it is not from any Defect in the Country, any Want of Skill or Industry in the People, but for the Want of a right Government in *France*, that her Trade never has been established on a secure and solid Basis. This likewise demonstrates, that however dangerous and destructive the Ambition of this Power may be to her Neighbours, from that arbitrary Force, with which, by the Policy of her Ministers, she has been long armed; yet this, at the same time, is an Evil that preys upon her inward Strength, and keeps her in a continual, though slow Consumption; so that if her Neighbours would but unite among themselves for their own Defence, the arbitrary Disposition of the Court of *France* must necessarily turn upon itself, and sooner or later procure its own Dissolution.

There are, however, certain Seasons, when from a Variety of Accidents, there appears even in such a Government a strong Spirit of promoting the publick Welfare, not from any real Principle of that kind, but to cover some other Design, which could not otherwise be carried into Execution: As for Instance, upon Changes of Administrations, more especially in Minorities, when such as are at the Head of the Government find the Measure of their Power must, in some measure, depend upon the Extent of their Reputation. At such Times as these, I say, there may be a temporary Cessation of those pernicious Notions which infect the Heads and Hearts of arbitrary Rulers, or, which is the same thing to the People, a Suspension of the Practices which flow from them; so that, for some little time, the Government seems to act upon new Principles, and consequently Affairs change their Face in the same Proportion.

This happened to be the Case at the Period of Time when the *French East-India Company* were struggling for a new Grant of the Privileges which they had enjoyed for fifty Years, though sometimes in a larger, sometimes in a less Degree. But the Renewal of these Privileges in that State in which they then stood, was all that they desired, to have them augmented was what they scarce hoped; but to have this done, and their Term rendered perpetual, exceeded the Limits of their Expectations, and was entirely owing to such a Revolution in their Government as has been before-mentioned, and which it is now necessary that we should describe as clearly, and at the same time as concisely as possible.

11. The Duke of *Orleans*, who defeated the old King's Will, and in some measure established a new Government

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in *France*, contrary alike to the Wishes of the most potent of the Nobility, and of the meaner sort of People, found himself obliged therefore to sustain his Authority, by endeavouring to acquire to his Administration such a Reputation as had never attended all the Victories and Power of *Lewis the Great*. It was with this View, that from the Time he took the Reins of Government into his Hands, he affected to act on Maxims directly opposite to those of his Predecessors; he declared openly, that the great End of Government was the Good of the People; that it was impossible this should be promoted by being engaged in perpetual Wars, or in continual Quarrels with their Neighbours; that Peace was an universal Blessing, and must therefore be the Interest of *France*, as well as of all other Nations; that Commerce was the natural Produce of settled and quiet Times; and that the Effects of an extensive Trade were more certain Resources of Power and Strength than Conquests, or arbitrary Dominion.

Whether the Duke-Regent was persuaded of the Truth of all this, or whether he pretended only to be so persuaded, is a Point not at all important for us to determine, since it is sufficient for our Purpose that he acted upon these Maxims, whatever he might believe about them; and that by acting upon them, he really carried his Point, and came to be considered as a Prince who had great Notions of Liberty and Commerce. The *East-India Company* therefore, or at least, such as had the Management of the Affairs of the Company, entertained the warmest Hopes of Succour and Protection: For though, before the Death of the late King, they had obtained a Prolongation of their Privileges for ten Years, to be accounted from the First of *May*, 1715; yet this, like most of the royal Favours they had received, was of very little Use, since they had no Funds left for the carrying on their Commerce; and, besides, the Term they now had was so short, that it added very little to their Credit at home or abroad. It was from the Duke-Regent that they expected more solid Assistance, and such Help from the Treasury as might enable them to revive their Trade.

But the Regent and his Ministers were in Sentiments quite opposite to those the Company had flattered themselves with, and, instead of being at all inclined to part with Money out of the royal Treasury, for other People to employ in Trade, they were contriving how to make Use of the Sound and Reputation of Commerce to fill the King's Coffers, to pay off the Debts of the Crown, and to discharge the Loads which lay heavy on the Government upon the Shoulders of the Nation, by that Series of Contrivances which are still known in *France* by the Name of *the System*. It was with this View that the Regent shewed so much Favour and Kindness to the *West-India Company*, and established its Capital at One hundred Millions, and thereby procured an Opportunity of lessening that immense Quantity of Paper-Money which the long War had made requisite. But when the *East-India Company* came to repent the Condition they were in, and to sue for Assistance and Protection, they soon found that they had to do with those who understood their Affairs to the full, as well as themselves; therefore, instead of governing them as they had done former Ministers, they were forced to put themselves entirely into their Hands, and trust absolutely to their Generosity and Discretion.

The Consequence of this was, very probably, what they had not foreseen, since it proved to be the Dissolution of the Company, or, which is the same Thing in other Words, the Union of it to the *Western Company*, which had already swallowed up some others. This Edict of Union or new Establishment extinguished the Title of both the Companies, as well as of the rest of the Societies comprised therein, and gave to the whole the comprehensive and significant Title of the *Company of the Indies*. In the Preamble of this Edict, we have an excellent History of the Transactions upon which this Union of the Company was built; for therein it is said, that the King having principally apply'd himself to the restoring the Commerce of the Kingdom, and thereby repairing the Losses and Decays occasioned by a very long and expensive War, and

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having already had the Pleasure to see the Circulation of Money sensibly quickened by the Establishment of the *Indes* Company, his Majesty had from thence been led to look into the State of the old Companies, conceived before his Accession to the Throne; and in particular into the State of the *East-India* Company, which he found to be most deplorable. In the Space of fifty Years they had notwithstanding repeated Assurances from the Crown, managed their Affairs so indifferently, as to be obliged to abandon their Commerce entirely, and to take up with such trifling Advantages as could be obtained by letting out their Privileges to hire.

The King declared, he was satisfied that this did not proceed at all from Disadvantages in the Nature of that Commerce, but from the Mistakes and ill Conduct of such as had been entrusted with the Management of the Company's Affairs, who, in the first Place, had made their Bottom too narrow, and had undertaken the Traffick of the *Indies* upon much too small a Capital. That, in the second Place, to keep up the Credit of their own Administration, and to countenance their taking such considerable Salaries to themselves, they had made large Dividends, where there was no Profits; and having, by this Means, exhausted the Company's Stock, they carried on their Trade by borrowing as much Money as they could at very high interest. That however, the King his Great-grandfather, having always protected and encouraged this Company, and even granted them a new Term towards the End of his Life, they might have enjoyed it, or, at least have drawn all the Profits from it they could, if their Conduct had not become so flagrantly bad, that neither the Glory of the King, nor the Interest of his People, could permit him to overlook it any longer. On the one Hand, there were continual Complaints from the *Indies*, that the Company had borrowed vast Sums of the *Crown*, without paying them either Capital or Interest, having in the Space of sixteen Years, not sent so much as one single Ship to *Surat*. On the other, the private Merchants carrying on this Commerce in the Name, and under the Authority of the *East-India* Company, were so cramped and oppressed by the Duty of Ten per Cent. and other Gratuities to the Company, that they are unable to pursue their Trade with the same Spirit and Advantages which are enjoyed by the Subjects of other Nations; and, besides, being afraid to go to *Surat*, on account of the Danger they were in of having their Ships seized for the Company's Debts, they found themselves obliged to purchase most of the *Indian* Commodities and Manufactures which they brought into *Europe* from Foreigners, at a very high Price, and this equally to their own and the Nation's Disadvantage.

For these Reasons, and others of the like Nature alleged against the *China* and *African* Companies, his Majesty declares, that the Privileges of all those Companies are, by this Edict of his, dated in the Month of May 1719, revoked, extinguished, and suppressed. He granted at the same Time, to the new Company of the *Indies*, an exclusive Privilege of trading from the *Cape of Good-hope*, to the utmost Extent of the *East-Indies*, as also to the Islands of *Madagascar*, of *Bourbon*, and of *France*, the Coast of *Seffala* in *Africa*, the *Red-sea*, *Persia*, the Dominions of the *Mogul*, of the King of *Siam*, and of the Emperors of *China* and *Japan*, as also of the *South-sea*, from the Straights of *Magellan*, or *la Maire*, to the *East-Indies*; that Way, forbidding all the rest of his Subjects these several Trades, under Pain of the Confiscation of their Vessels and Effects.

He likewise gives and grants to this Company, the Possessions and Effects of the other Companies, at the same Time charging them, however, with all the just Debts which those Companies had contracted, and were liable to. The better to enable them to discharge those Debts, and to carry on the vast Trade granted them by this Edict, he creates in their Favour, twenty-five Millions of new Actions, to be purchased only for ready Money, on the same Terms that the *West-India* Company possessed one hundred Millions of Actions, and with the like Privileges and Advantages in every Respect. He likewise granted full Licence and Authority to import all

Sorts of Manufactures of Silk, Silk and Cotton, gold and silver Stuffs, dined Cottons, as also painted and striped, on Condition, however, that none of these shall be vend- ed in his Dominions, but be intirely sold and disposed of to Foreigners; for which Reason they were to be deposited in Magazines under double Locks, the Keys of one to be kept by the Farmers-general, and the other by the Directors of the Company, for the better preventing Frauds and Collusions. He likewise grants them Leave to import all sorts of white Cottons, Raw-silks, Coffee, Drugs, Spices, Metals, and whatever else the *East-India* Company might have imported under their Privileges.

This Edict had all the Effects, and even more than was expected from it, and such an Eagerness there appeared of subscribing to this Company, that instead of twenty-five, the Subscriptions amounted to fifty Millions, which encouraged the *French* Ministry to venture upon some new Regulations, which were made publick by an Edict of the Month of *June*, in the same Year. The Principal of which was, that they should take off four Times the Number of old Actions, in order to be entitled to the new; so that in order to purchase five thousand Livres of the new Actions, the Subscribers were obliged to take twenty thousand Livres of the old ones.

The great End the Government proposed by all this, was, as we have hinted before, to find the Means of calling in and suppressing that immense Quantity of Paper-money which was such a heavy Burden on the State; and to this End Annuities to the Value of twenty-five Millions are created, which not answering that Intention, the new Company of the *Indies* offered their Assistance, and undertook to discharge them at the Rate of fifty Millions in one Month; so that the whole Load of this Paper-credit, amounting in the whole to near sixty Millions of our Money, was to be taken away and extinguished, by the End of *July* 1721. In Consideration of the Zeal and publick Spirit manifested by the Company in this Proposal, the King was pleased, by his Arret dated in the Month of *July* 1720, to change the Terms on which the Company held their Privileges, and to declare them perpetual, restraining himself and his Successors, from ever treating them as other Companies had been treated, in order to their Establishment; and thus this Company acquired that Title by which they are now known in *France*, *The perpetual Company of the Indies*, with all the Privileges of the other four Companies confirmed to them for ever. In two Years Time it was settled and declared, that in Consequence of the Annuities granted and assigned to the Company from the Crown, they should be able to divide annually the Sum of Ten per Cent. which should be paid duly and exactly for ever; in Consequence of which, the Directors were to be at full Liberty to export and import what they thought proper, without being accountable annually to their Constituents, because the Dividend was to be regular and certain, and they were to manage Things so, as that the Deficiencies of one Year might be made up by the Profits of another.

This Course of Management, though it had certainly one great Convenience in fixing and ascertaining the Interest as the Proprietors were to receive it, yet the Circumstance of not accounting for the Profits, has proved of such ill Consequence, that notwithstanding these Dividends have been all along very duly and regularly paid till lately, yet the Proprietors could never be cured of a Suspicion they entertained, that the *East-India* Commerce has not been carried for their Profit, but in their Name, for the King's, and this has contributed to keep their Actions low, though they had such extraordinary Interest paid them, with such Regularity. The Grounds of this Suspicion lying in the Annuities paid by the Crown to the Company, which are sufficient for securing such a Dividend, without the least Assistance from the Profits of their Trade, made the Thing not altogether incredible, especially when it was perceived, that for twenty Years together, the Dividends remained fixed and settled, though the Trade of the Company has for that Time been apparently encreasing.

But to understand this Point perfectly, as well as the true State of the Company's Affairs, and how they came to have

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have a Fund capable of discharging regularly so high an
Interest for such a Number of Years, as well as to clear
up some Things that may seem obscure in this History of
the Establishment of the Company now subsisting, it will
be requisite to give as clear and concise a Relation as is
possible, of the Rise and Progress of the other Compa-
nies that have been united to this by the Edict before-
mentioned, and of the *West-India* Company in particular,
in which abundance of curious and instructive Passages
will occur that never hitherto have appeared in the *Eng-
lish* Language.

12. The *China* Company in *France* was originally set
on Foot in the Year 1660, but was very soon after ab-
sorbed by that of the *East-India* Company, which, as we
have shewn, had the Sanction of royal Authority given
it in 1664; but when that Company began first to decline
in its Affairs, those who had the Management of its Con-
cerns, were content, in some measure, to revive this old
Company, by granting their Licence, which was likewise
confirmed by the Crown to one Mr. *Jordan*, a very rich
Merchant, who fitted out a very large Ship, called *Am-
phitrite*, for that Voyage, which failed in March 1698,
and returned safely to *France* on the Third of August,
1700, very richly laden. The Success of this Voyage
encouraged the Merchant before-mentioned, and those
who were concerned with him, to fit out the same Ship
again, and which they accordingly did in the following
Spring, and she returned in the Month of September,
1703, with as great Profit as from her former Voyage,
though the very narrowly missed being shipwrecked fall-
ing down the River of *Canton* at her Return. The Suc-
cess of these Voyages, one would have thought, might
have established this new Company; but the general War
in which *France* was then engaged against most of the
Powers of *Europe*, rendered it impracticable: And thus the
Company lay dormant, though still possessed of its Rights,
which extended to the Coasts of *China*, *Tonquin*, *Cochin-
China*, and the Isles adjacent, till such Time as, for
Reasons of State, it was united to the *Western* Compa-
ny.

The Company of *Senegal*, though under another Name,
was one of the earliest in *France*, being carried on by a
Society of Merchants at *Dieppe*, though without the San-
ction of any publick Authority. They fixed a little Set-
tlement in an Island at the Mouth of the great River *Ni-
ger*, called also the River of *Senegal*, and carried on a con-
siderable Trade thither. This Commerce came afterwards
into the Hands of the Merchants of *Rouen*, who, in the
Month of November, 1664, yielded it up to the *West-
India* Company. But when that Company was dissolv-
ed about ten Years afterwards, the old Company of *Se-
negal* was revived, and three rich Merchants undertook
that Commerce, which they carried on with great Profit
to themselves till the Year 1681, when Mr. *Colbert*, whose
Character we have already given concerning this Traffick,
might be greatly enlarged, prevailed upon these Merchants
to accept of a valuable Consideration for their Privileges,
and to admit of its going into the Hands of a larger
Number of Persons, with new Privileges which they en-
joyed for many Years. But it being discovered, that the ex-
clusive Rights they had were, by much, too extensive for
their Capital, it was thought, for the publick Benefit, to di-
vide this Company; and hence arose the *Guinea* Company,
to whom the greatest Part of their Privileges were assign-
ed, and the rest remained to the old Company of *Senegal*,
which still continued in a thriving Condition.

Yet, in Process of Time, and from a Variety of Acci-
dents, it fell out, that the Proprietors of this Company
came to be reduced into such low Circumstances, that the
Company must have failed, if it had not been for the
Wealth and Spirit of a single Merchant, whose Name was
Mr. *D'Aupouy*, who, at length, for the Sum of three
hundred thousand Livres, bought out his Associates, and
in the Year 1694, by the Consent of the Crown, had the
whole of their Privileges conveyed to himself, and he
erected a new Company, which, however, was so unfor-
tunate, that after struggling a long Time to no Purpose,
at last, yielded up their Privileges to some rich Merchants
of *Rouen*, who carried on this Trade with tolerable Suc-

cess, till the Year 1718, when it was united, as we have
seen, to the Company of the *Indies*.

As for the Company of *Guinea* beforementioned, it had
several Rises and Falls till the Accession of Philip V. to
the Crown of *Spain*, who in the Year 1701, granted
them the Liberty of transporting Negroes to the *Spanish
West-Indies*, and then it took from thence the Title of
the *Affiento* Company, under which it continued to flour-
ish, when almost all the Branches of *French* Commerce
languished and decayed, by reason of the War; and as
it was singular in this, so it was no less singular in its
Conclusion; for it lost all its Privileges, and even its Be-
ing, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which revived the other
Branches of *French* Trade, but conveyed this to the *Eng-
lish*, and gave Rise to our *South-Sea* Company.

We must now pass to the *West Indies*, where the
Course of a great River, Navigable from within seven or
eight Leagues of its Source for eight hundred Leagues,
where it falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*, was discover'd
by *Robert Cavalier de la Salle*, a Native of *Rouen*, who
brought the News of it into *France*, in 1680. This Ri-
ver, called by the Natives of the Country *Mississippi*,
and by the *French*, *Mississippi*, and the Country about it
being held of infinite Consequence, as affording the great-
est Conveniencies for establishing a Settlement in one of
the finest Climates, and most fruitful Countries in *Ame-
rica*, the Motion for attempting such a Colony was readi-
ly embraced in *France*, and all imaginable Encourage-
ment given to Mr. *de la Salle*, who undertook the Perfor-
mance. He, by Letters Patent, dated in 1684, establish'd
a Company for that Purpose, and embarked on board a
Squadron of four Ships, filled with People, and with
every thing necessary for his Design; but was so un-
lucky as to miss by Sea the Mouth of that River which he
had discovered by sailing down it, and fixed upon another,
where his Colony began to decline in such a manner, that
he had not above one hundred Persons left; yet in the
midst of these Misfortunes he kept up his Courage, and
endeavour'd to repair his past Mistake, by using all possi-
ble Means to discover the Place he sought, which it is ve-
ry probable he would have done if his Company had not
mutinied; in which unlucky Accident one of the Villains
shot him with a Mullet Ball, on the 20th of March,
1687.

Seven or eight Years after his Death, one Mr. *Hiber-
ville*, a Gentleman of *Canada*, discovered the Mouth of
this famous River, erected a Fort, and began to establish
a Colony there, but died before it was thoroughly settled,
and so the Design miscarried a second time, and the Af-
fair slept till the Year 1712, when Mr. *Anthony Crozat*, a
Gentleman of large Fortune, undertook the fixing a *French*
Colony on the River *Mississippi*, a third time. He ob-
tained the King's Letters Patent, dated 14 September,
in the same Year, and succeeded so far as to discover the
River and Country effectually, and to raise a Fort and
some Settlements there. This Gentleman, according to
the Custom of the *French*, changed the Names of all the
Places he visited, or, to speak with greater propriety, were
visited by those he sent thither. The great River was no
longer to be called *Mississippi*, but the River of *St. Lewis*,
and the Country round about it was *Louisiana*, and an
Island at the Mouth of it, which till then had been stiled
the Island of *Moussacre*, was thenceforward to be known
by the Title of the *Dauphin's* Island.

The Consequences of these Discoveries were great in
themselves, and the Expectations raised from them much
greater, of which Mr. *Crozat* made a very wise Use, by
taking this Opportunity to surrender his Patent, which he
did in 1717, that the Publick might have the Benefit of
these important Settlements. The Regent was consider-
ing at that Time of the Project offered him by the fa-
mous Mr. *Laro*, a Scotch Gentleman, whose Name is
well known to the present Generation, and is not like to
be forgot by Posterity. The End aimed at by his Pro-
ject, was to reduce all the publick Debts in *France* into
some Form; and for this Purpose it was necessary to erect,
under plausible Appearances, a new Company in the like
manner, that by the Advice of Sir *John Bleunt*, the Lord
Treasurer *Oxford* had done the same Thing in *England*,
by

by establishing the *South-Sea Company*. But whereas that Nobleman had very wisely and honestly rejected the remaining Part of the Project, which was cheating credulous People of their Money, by running the Actions or Stock of the new Company to an excessive Rate. This was accepted by the Regent, and made that Part of the Design, which is styled in *France* the System, and which was at once the most iniquitous, and the most infamous Contrivance that ever entered into the Heart of Man.

But as it was necessary, in order to carry this Scheme into Execution, that a new Company should be set up with such Privileges as might create probable Hopes of vast Gain to the Proprietors, this new Settlement was thought of for that Purpose, from whence the Project itself is generally called the *Mississippi Scheme*, tho' that was not the Title of the Company. It cannot be expected, that we should enter here into a long Detail of the Conduct of the Regent's Scheme, because it is not the proper Business of this Section; all that is aimed at herein, is to shew the several Steps by which almost all the foreign Commerce of *France* was thrown into the Hands of the single Company of the *Indies*, which Title, as we have already seen, the Company acquired by the Union of the old *East-India Company* with the *Western Company*, which had before swallowed up several others that have been already mentioned.

The Royal Bank also was united to the Company of the *Indies*, which was the Engine employed for bringing about the great Ends of the System, which being once effected, the Regent and his Ministers began to turn their Thoughts on the Means of recovering the Company from that dreadful Confusion into which it had been thrown by undertaking the Execution of a Design equally prejudicial to the general Commerce and private Property of the Inhabitants of *France*, which had very justly overturned and destroyed their Credit, and put it entirely out of their Power to carry on any Part of the Trade, to which they had an exclusive Right. It was therefore high time certainly, for the Government to interpose, and endeavour to remedy some of the many Inconveniences they had introduced, since the Welfare of the Kingdom was now so closely connected with that of the Company of the *Indies*, as that it was neither in the Power of the Government to neglect the one without neglecting the other, or to separate, as perhaps they would have done those Interests, which by their own Management were so closely united.

To understand this Matter clearly, we must consider the Company of the *Indies* in two very different Lights; that is to say, as a trading Company, and as Creditors of the Government; neither of which Points, if we advert what is daily written about them, seem to be well understood here, and therefore we shall take some Pains in representing them, both to the *English Reader's* View, in Terms that may remove all these Mistakes. In the first Place then, with regard to their Trade, the Company of the *Indies* in *France*, is generally called here the *French East-India Company*; which Title does by no means express the Nature and Importance of their Trade; since they have not only the Commerce of the *Indies*, but likewise that of *Africa* and the *South-Sea* under their Direction, and though it be true, that they are not able at present to exert themselves in carrying on all these Trades; yet it is no less true, that they retain the Power of doing it whenever they are able, and that the *French Government* will most certainly put them upon it as soon as any favourable Opportunity offers.

The Inference I make from this is, that we ought to consider the Company of the *Indies*, as the Center of *French Commerce*, and to look upon the Rise and Fall of the Actions of that Company, as a political, or if you will, as a Commercial Barometer which constantly points out the Condition of the Trade of *France*. I look upon this Observation to be a Matter of great Consequence to us, and it was for the Sake of setting it in a clear Light that I have taken so much Pains to shew how the several Branches of foreign Trafficks came to be thrown into the Hands of a single Company, the chief Motive to which, was undoubtedly this, that the Cares of the Government, with respect to Trade, might be brought into a narrower

Compass, and consequently be attended to with more ease by the Ministers.

For such is the Constitution of the *French Government*, that every Thing in that Kingdom must depend upon it; and we must allow, that Experience has shewn, that some of its Ministers have understood it as well, and prosecuted it better than the ablest Merchants could have done. I do not say this as it what had happened in *France* ought to be a Rule to any other Country, blest with a better Constitution: God forbid it should! But what I say, is, that the Relation between the Government and Commerce of *France*, being rightly understood, it will appear, that the latter is entirely dependent upon the former, and must either prosper or sink, as it is supported by the Crown, and attended to by the Ministers, or as it is neglected by both.

This shews, that a general War, which demands all the Power, all the Revenues, and all the Attention of *France*, must sink and ruin its Commerce, and that to such a Degree, as cannot happen to any other Country, the Constitution of which is not the same with that of which we are speaking. This I am sensible has been often said, but I do not know, that it was ever demonstrated before, and I hope by that Time I have finished this Section, to make this Subject so clear, and so intelligible to every *English Reader*, as that he shall have no sort of Doubt as to the Interest and Policy of the *French Court* on this Head. Thus much as to the Company of the *Indies*, with respect to its Trade; let us next consider it as a Society of the Creditors of the *French Government*.

We have heard, that this Company has for many Years divided Ten per Cent. annually upon their Capital, which, till the present War, and indeed to the present Year, has been justly and regularly paid. But this Interest, or Dividend of Ten per Cent. never arose from the Profits made by the Company, nor in Truth any Part of it, but was paid to the Proprietors, as Creditors of the Publick, out of the stated and settled Funds assigned them for that Purpose, and therefore we can attribute the Lowness of the *French Actions* in Time of Peace, to nothing but their Diffidence of their own Government.

The Reason why the Ministers of *France* have made it their Choice to continue Things in this Situation, seems to have been this, that the regular Payments made by this Company to the Proprietors, might have a double Effect, and sustain at once the publick Credit and that of the Company. The former was necessary to prevent those Confusions ever falling out again, which happened on the Ruin of the System, and which had like to have been attended with the most fatal Consequences to the Nation, from which nothing could have saved them, but the arbitrary Power of the Government, which forced them to bear their Misfortunes till Ways and Means could be found to relieve them. On the other Hand, the regular Payment of their Dividends has been of prodigious Service to the Company in their trading Capacity, in which, to say the Truth, they could not have subsisted without them; because it kept the Proprietors from either requiring, or receiving any general Accounts of their Dealings, which enabled the Directors to do many Things which otherwise they could never have done; and has, in fact, been the sole Support of their Commerce: For, we must observe, that on the founding of this new Company, they had Rights and Privileges given them, without either Powers or Funds to make Use of them. They had the nominal Advantages of several Companies bestowed upon them, but upon Condition that they took likewise the real Load of Debts and Incumbrances for which those Companies stood engaged. They received vast Sums of Money from their Proprietors, but not for their Use as a Company to trade with, but as Agents for the Government, which, very probably, the far greater Part of their Proprietors did not understand; but which they might very easily have understood, if they had considered the Funds out of which their Dividends were paid; for they could never conceive that such a Government as theirs would grant them so high an Interest for Money, without making Use of it.

On the whole therefore, this was one of the great Secrets of the *French Councils*, and the Design of restoring the

led to with more ease

French Government, must depend upon it; has shewn, that some well, and professed could have done. I ened in *France* ought self with a better Con- what I say, is, that at and Commerce of will appear, that the former, and must ci- d by the Crown, and s neglected by both. which demands all all the Attention of mmerce, and that to any other Country, e same with that of sensible has been of- as ever demonstrated ave finished this Sec- and so intelligible to shall have no fort of of the *French* Court Company of the *Ju-* next consider it as a b Government.

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France have made it his Situation, licen- ayments made by this ave a double Effect, and that of the Com- prevent those Contu- appened on the Ruin have been attended to the Nation, from ut the arbitrary Power to bear their Misfor- und to relieve them. r their Dividends mpany in their Truth, they could use it kept the Pro- ceiving any general enabled the Directors they could never the sole Support of sserve, that on the y had Rights and r Powers or Funds e nominal Advanta- tion them, but upon real Load of Debts ompanies stood en- Money from their mpany to trade ment, which, very their Proprietors did might very easily ed the Funds out of or they could never theirs would grant without making Use

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the Affairs of the Company, that which, of all others, they have managed with the greatest Address; for by this Means they have gained Time, which, in such Affairs is all Things, and by affording the Company such Sums of Money as could be spared; and at the Seasons they could spare it, they have revived the *East-India* Trade, kept it constantly and regularly on Foot, put all the Company's Debts in a Train of Payment, relieved and replaced all her Factories; and if this War had not broke out as it did, would very soon have placed her, as a Trading-Company, in as fair and good a Condition as, for many Years, she has stood in, considered in her other Capacity as a Corporation of publick Creditors. This has been generally attributed to the wise and peaceable Administration of the late Cardinal *Flcury*, but was no otherwise due to him than as he continued the Direction of these Affairs in the Hands of Mr. *Orry*, who has had the entire Management of them for ten Years past; in which Time he has done more Service to this Nation, than all the Statesmen and Generals that have been employed in this Reign; and though it has so fallen out of late, that his Method has been interrupted and thrown into Disorder, yet we shall presently make it appear, from the Consideration of the present State of the Company, that he has overcome the greatest Difficulties, and put her Concerns into such a Channel, as must strike all who attentively weigh the Particulars, which we shall impartially relate with Amaze and Surprise.

But, before I quit this Part of my Subject, I must again remind my Reader, that all this Success has been owing to the Firmness and Steadiness of the Administration, for so many Years, flowing in some measure from the King's Temper, in some measure from the long Life of the late Cardinal, and from a Variety of other Circumstances, that demonstrate the commercial Interest of *France* to be continually liable to Accidents, and to be consequently always in a precarious Condition. I do not say this with any Intention of lessening our Jealousy of the *French* Traffick, which I acknowledge to be extremely reasonable and well founded; but, for the sake of Truth, and that Things may appear to be as they really are, which I think the most likely Way to enable us to judge of what will be most for our Interest and Advantage.

I may likewise add, that by proving, as I have done, that this is truly the Case, it will afford great Encouragement both to the Government and People of *Great-Britain*, to pursue whatever rational Schemes shall be offered for promoting and extending our Commerce, since our Situation is such; that we need only the Countenance of the Legislature, and the Repeal, perhaps, of a very few Laws, which restrain and cramp our Trade, to be able to undertake new Branches of Commerce, which must necessarily increase our Seamen, augment our Shipping, carry off our Manufactures, and by reviving a Spirit of Industry, find Employment for all our People, which would effectually root out factious and seditious Humours, and find something else for the meaner Sort of Folks to do, than to rail at, or resist the Government. But if we neglect the Advantages we have, and the *French* should grow wise enough to resolve upon keeping upon fair Terms with their Neighbours twenty or thirty Years, they may go near to shew us within that Time, that in spite of all the Difficulties they struggle with, their Company of the *Indies* may be put into such a Condition as will enable her to put in for a large Share of that Trade, which by being hitherto engrossed by us and by the *Dutch*, has obtained and secured the honourable Title of a *Maritime Power*, which, as it was acquired by, will certainly be lost with our Trade.

13. The Capital of the present Company of the *Indies*, was, as we have before observed, composed of the original Capital of the *Western* Company, and of twenty-five Millions added thereto, upon the Union of the *East-India* Company therewith; but after the Ruin of the System, when all Things fell into Confusion, it was found requisite, in order to restore them, that the King should make a Revision of the Actions possessed by the Proprietors of this Company, in order to distinguish between such as had acquired their Property fairly, and by

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Purchase; and such as had thrust themselves into the Company's Books only to serve their own Purposes by stock-jobbing. It was in Consequence of this Revision, that by an Edict in the Year 1723, the King fixed the Actions of this Company to fifty-six thousand, and which formed a Capital of One hundred and twelve Millions; for their Dividend upon which, they had a yearly Revenue assigned them of Eight Millions four hundred thousand Livres. By another Arret in 1725, Five thousand of these Actions were cancelled and burnt; so that the Capital of the Company, by this means, was reduced to Fifty-one thousand Actions, and their Dividends secured by the annual Payment of Eight Millions from the Farmers-general of the Farm of Tobacco, the exclusive, perpetual, and irrevokable Privilege of vending which, was granted to the Company in 1723, and confirmed to them in 1725, together with the Profits arising from the Furs imported from *Canada*; so that the Fund for the Payment of their annual Dividends was as effectually settled and secured, as it was possible a Thing of that Nature could be in *France*.

In the mean time the Commerce of the *Indies* was assigned to them as a collateral Security not to be touched for the present, but to be employed in strengthening and enlarging the Funds for restoring and maintaining that important Trade, discharging all the Incumbrances thereon, and putting it thereby in a Condition to become as certain and indubitable a Security for the Payment of still higher Interest to the Proprietors than they have hitherto received. The Condition of the Company therefore considered in this Light, appears to be such as ought to satisfy all who have rational and moderate Views for the Security and Encrease of their Fortunes, since though no more than fifteen hundred Livres have been paid in upon each Action; yet the Proprietors have constantly and regularly received their Interest of Ten per Cent. which is more than they could have made of their Money in any Part of *Europe*, and have still a clear and undoubted Title to the Profits that have arisen, or shall arise from the Commerce of the Company in the *Indies*.

It is indeed true, that, hitherto they have received nothing upon this Head; but to balance this, it is to be considered, that, till within these few Years, this Trade has been carried on in a very languid and negligent Manner; that since it hath been put on a better Foot, they have been obliged to repair the Losses sustained by the Shipwreck of some of their largest Vessels, to pay off abundance of old Debts, to discharge several Annuities, which the Company were obliged to pay, and which have extinguished very slowly, to rebuild and restore several of their Factories, which were in a very bad Condition, to repair many, to build some new, and to equip all the Vessels in the Company's Service, to purchase new Houses for the Establishment of new Factories, and to add proper Ware-houses, and Magazines to these, to lay out upwards of Fifteen Millions for the Improvement and Security of *Louisiana*, to complete the necessary Works at the noble Haven of *Port l'Orient*, and all the lesser Creeks, Docks, and other Places that depend thereupon, and to be at other very considerable Charges and Expences for supporting its Commerce, maintaining its Marine, subsisting its Forces, and keeping every where in good Order its Fortifications.

Whenever these great Expences shall have so far answered their End as to be no longer necessary, and the Affairs of the Company, in Point of Commerce, are in such a Situation as that there is no imminent Danger to be apprehended, but, on the contrary, certain annual Profits coming in, these will be instantly added to the present Income of the Company, who will likewise enjoy all that Stock which has been raising both in *Europe* and the *Indies* for their Benefit. The rising or falling therefore of the Company's Actions, cannot any Way affect its real Security, which depends in the first Place on those settled Funds before-mentioned; and upon this Trade, which, before the present War, was in a very thriving and flourishing Condition. The common Notion therefore which has so long prevailed in *France*, and might be very easily imposed upon Strangers, viz, that the King has

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carried on this Trade for many Years, and after paying a Part of the Profits, suffered all the rest to pass immediately into his own Coffers, or into those of the Directors, is an absurd and ridiculous Calumny, equally repugnant to Reason and to Fact, as well as utterly inconsistent with the express Words, and direct Intention of the eleventh Article of the Edict of 1725, in which, after declaring the Company of the *Indies* to be a Society for promoting the Trade of the *French Nation*, to that Part of the World, under the Protection of the King, and the Administration of their own Directors, his Majesty proceeds thus: "Our Will and Pleasure is, that it shall remain, conformable to its Institution, a Company purely for Commerce, applying itself solely to the Support of that which is confided to its Care, and endeavouring by its Wisdom and Oeconomy, to contribute as much as is possible to the Welfare of our Subjects interested therein; so that the Funds of the said Company of the *Indies*, shall be, and remain for ever employed in the Maintenance of the said Commerce, and to no other End or Purpose whatsoever."

Such is the Description of the Situation of the *East-India Company*, as laid down to us by one of the ablest Pens in *France*, who tells us besides, that both the Security and the Interest of Money placed in this Company, are much better than when employed in the Purchase of Lands in *France*; for, says he, with respect to Security, the Purchaser of Lands has nothing more than his own and his Lawyer's Knowledge to direct him in the Assurance of his Title, and he can very rarely purchase at such a Price as to make more than five *per Cent.* of his Money, after which he runs very great Hazards with respect to bad Tenants, being forced to lay out large Sums in Repairs, besides risking the Inclemency of Seasons, which may put it out of the Power of his Tenants, how honest soever, to pay him punctually his Rent, and to the full; so that he may very often be at a Loss for a Subsistence, and not know where to borrow Money, tho' at the same Time a landed Man of so much a Year; whereas, he who lays out his Money in the Actions of this Company, has double their Interest, paid him regularly and constantly every half Year, without having any Reason to be apprehensive of his Capital, or ever being in Danger of wanting Money by an unlucky Turn of Affairs.

We may easily judge from this Representation of the present State of the Company's Affairs, that they are in a far better Condition, or at least were so at the breaking-out of the present War, than ever, and more likely to produce considerable Profits to the Nation, and to the Company, than ever. But on the one Hand, the natural Impatience of the *French*, unable to bear being put off for above twenty Years together with fair Words and fine Promises; and on the other, their Apprehensions that either the king would never suffer them to enjoy this Commerce at all, or else would deprive them of the Fund they already possessed, and leave them to the precarious Dividends arising from Trade, has constantly kept their Actions, I will not say below the real Value, but much below what they would have been esteemed worth in this, or in any other free Country, especially after remaining for so many Years in so strict and regular a Course of Payment. But their continual Jealousies as to the true Intention of the Crown, and as to the future State of their Affairs, has constantly kept them in a precarious Situation, in spite of the wisest Measures the *French* Ministers were able to take, the large Sums purchased by Foreigners, the frequent Edicts in their Favour; and which is still more extraordinary than all the rest, the regular coming and going of their *East-India* Fleets, and the vast Sums of Money brought in by their publick Sales.

Yet so far was this from contributing to make the People easy, whose Fortunes were engaged in this Undertaking, that they pretended it administered sufficient Cause for all their Apprehensions and Complaints. If, said they, the Commerce of the *Indies* be ours, if all this Money that we receive belong to us, if all the Improvements that have been made for so many Years are legally and indisputably our Property; and if those who direct and manage all these are only Trustees for us, or rather our Ser-

vants, why should we be kept so much in the Dark, why not have it in our Powers to call these People to an Account, or why not receive from Time to Time some Part of the Profits by way of Addition to the Dividends already made us? It was in vain to tell them that all these Precautions were taken for their Sake, that the Company owed its Restoration to this Method of managing their Affairs, that they had visibly overcome by these Means most of those Difficulties which had been found insuperable by former Companies, and that this happy Progress of their Trade ought to make them perfectly content with regard to the Manner in which it was carried on, and give them entire Satisfaction as to the Integrity of such as directed their Affairs.

It was in vain, I say, that these Arguments were used or that Scheme of their Circumstances which the Reader just now perused, submitted to their Consideration, the Proprietors remained firm to their old Opinion, and their Suspicions could never be got out of their Heads, till that very Mischief fell upon them which they had so long apprehended, I mean, the Suspension of their Dividends, which, however, produced that general Account for which they had so long clamoured. But before we come to speak of this, it will be requisite to resume the History of the Company's Affairs in the *Indies*, and to give a succinct View of the real Improvements of their Commerce, which will both support what has been already said, and render the Close of this Section more intelligible.

14. At the Time the Company of the *Indies* was formed in *France*, their Affairs in that Part of the World had taken a very bad Turn; for their sovereign Council, which had been established at *Surat*, was suppressed, most of their Colonies sunk to nothing, many of their Factories in the same State, and the rest declining in such a Manner, as that little better than an entire Extinction could be expected, and that too in a very short Space of Time. This was undoubtedly a very melancholy Situation for the Servants of the Company to be in, who, while they meditated nothing more than how to obtain a Passage Home to *Europe*, and an Indemnification for the Debts contracted in the *Indies*, at least with respect to themselves, were surprized by the Arrival of three Ships, not only laden with the richest Merchandize of *Europe*, but also with very large Quantities of Silver; so that they were immediately in a Condition to discharge a great Part of their Debts, which if it did not restore it, at least revived their Credit, and gave them some Degree of Reputation in the *Indies*. It is requisite, that the Reader should know how this strange Alteration happened, and the Secret is no more than this. When the Regent executed his Scheme, the Company of the *Indies* being the principal Machine made use of, there consequently came into the Hands of that Company a considerable Part of the Plunder of the Publick, which enabled the Directors to fit out these three Ships in the Manner before-mentioned, not only with the Consent, but to the great Satisfaction of the Government, inasmuch as it made a Shew of Trade, and thereby kept up the Spirits of the People, and gave a Reputation to the Company at Home. But this, however, did not last long, for Reasons we shall quickly shew.

This Treasure was not employed in Commerce, but in discharging the Debts contracted by the old Company at *Surat*, at *Camboya*, at *Bengal*, and other Places; so that the Returns made to *France* were but very inconsiderable, in Proportion to the Cargo sent out. But this was not all; for, before these Returns arrived, the System, as it was called, was entirely over-turned; so that taking all Things together, the Company, in the two succeeding Years, 1721 and 1722, were not able to send so much as a single Ship to the *Indies*, which exposed them to the Contempt and Scorn of the trading Nations in *Europe*, and subjected such as were in their Service in the *Indies*, to the Insults of the *English* and *Dutch*, who did not fail to represent them to the *Indians* as down-right Bankrupts, without either Effects, Money, Credit, or Resources. We may therefore truly affirm, that in the Year 1723, the Affairs of this Company were in the lowest and most deplorable Condition.

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The Directors at Home, however, represented their Distresses to the Government in the strongest Terms possible, and at the same Time, shewed, how prejudicial it was to the Glory of the *French* Kingdom, that Things should remain in this Situation, and that after the Government had taken the Company under its immediate Protection, it should be suffered to fall at once into Ruin, without the least Effort made to sustain it. One would have imagined, that the more natural Method would have been to have had recourse, in this Situation of Affairs, to the Proprietors themselves; but both the Directors and the Ministry were sensible enough, that this would have been attended with still worse Consequences, since by laying open the true State of their Affairs, they would infallibly have driven their Proprietors to Despair. Instead of obtaining a Subscription for putting their Commerce on a better Foot, the *French* Ministry, sensible of the Truths contained in this Representation, resolved to take this Opportunity, as they were in full Peace, to try what might be done to retrieve Things in the *Indies*, and prevent the entire Ruin of the Company, which was then justly apprehended. It was from these Considerations, that two Ships were sent that Year, with an Assurance to such as were in the Company's Service, that they might rely upon annual Supplies from *France*, and that therefore they should order their Affairs accordingly, and put their Debts into such a Method of Payment, as might discharge them all by Degrees, and from the Prospect thereof restore their Credit for the present.

Things went on in this Way for about fourteen Years, during which Time, sometimes three, sometimes four Ships were sent every Year, and thereby the Affairs of the Company were recovered, and restored, though but slowly. They had still great Difficulties to struggle with; for, in Proportion as their Commerce revived, their Expenses were enlarged, by their being obliged to re-settle their old Factories, and to establish new ones; so that in all this Space of Time, there was very little, if any Profit accrued from their Trade; on the contrary, they ran some Years into Debt, but not, however, without some Prospects of future Advantages. But as the other trading Nations in the *Indies* were entirely unacquainted with the Secrets of the *French* Commerce, so judging by Appearances only, they were fully persuaded, that the *French* Trade was in a flourishing Condition, because they saw it visibly extended, and the Returns made to *Europe*, far more regular, and at the same Time, much more considerable than they had hitherto ever been. Yet notwithstanding all this, if they had gone on in the same Manner, it would have been many Years before they had been brought into such Circumstances as to have been able to support themselves, and carry on their Trade upon their own Bottom.

But in the Year 1737, M. *Orry de Fulcy*, being at the Head of the Finances, or Revenues of *France*, which he has managed with most surprizing Success, the Company fell naturally under his Care and Protection. He saw plainly, that greater Supplies were necessary to extricate them from the Difficulties under which they laboured, and therefore, having first made a strict Enquiry into the Situation of their Affairs, and put them into the best Order possible, he next furnished them with such Sums as were necessary for enlarging and augmenting their Commerce; so that in the short Space of two Years, he doubled their Returns, and in three Years more, brought them to thrice as much as they had formerly been. By his Management, their Sales at Port de l'*Orient*, became regular, and considerable, increasing in such a Manner, that the publick Sale in the Year 1742, produced twenty-four Millions of *French* Livres, or about one Million of our Money; besides which, they reserved in their Magazines, Goods, to the Value of four Millions of Livres more; and the first Ships that arrived in 1743, brought Home still a richer and more valuable Cargo. This sudden and extraordinary Change in the Company's Affairs, alarmed and amazed all *Europe*, but more especially the Maritime Powers, who saw with infinite Concern, a Company that but a few Years before was looked upon as entirely sunk and destroyed, now rising into as high Credit, as any in *Eu-*

rope; and on the other Hand, this encouraged the northern Powers to prosecute their Schemes of falling into the *East-India* Trade, with greater Warmth and Diligence.

But what was still more extraordinary than all the rest, the War did not seem to affect the Company so much as might have been expected, for their Dividends were still regularly paid, and this kept up their Credit to such a Degree, that so lately as *Christmas* 1744, their Actions were at two thousand. But the War with *Great Britain*, increasing the Expenses of *France* on the one Hand, and lessening her Income on the other, the Secret at last came out, and Mr. *Orry* was forced to acquaint the Directors of the *East-India* Company, that the King's Affairs were in such a Posture as would no longer permit him to supply the Company in the manner he had hitherto done; so that now they were to stand upon their own Bottom, and to carry on their Trade for the future, as well as they could. This unexpected Stroke demolished the whole Fabrick which had been raising for so many Years, and reduced the Actions of the Company to eight hundred; neither has the Eloquence of Mr. *de Orry*, or the Arts which the Court has made use of to recover the Proprietors from their Fright, been able to carry their Actions above one thousand, or at least very little above it ever since.

The main Cause of this was the Propositions made by Mr. *Orry* to their Directors, that either the Proprietors should subscribe such a Sum of Money upon their Actions, or should suffer their Dividends to be postponed for a certain Time, or that they should come to some Agreement amongst themselves for compounding these two Methods, by advancing some Part in ready Money, and allowing their Dividends to go in discharge of the rest. The Motive that obliged the Ministry to this Discovery, was the Necessity of having Money to carry on the *East-India* Trade, which they knew must be ruined, even by a temporary Stagnation; which Money, since the Crown could no longer furnish, it was necessary that the Proprietors should. But to this it was answered, that hitherto the Proprietors had been no Gainers by that Trade, had no general Accounts made up to them of it, nor, according to the Confession of the Directors themselves, were to have received any such Accounts, if this Accident had not happened; by which they asserted, that their Properties had already lost one half of their Value, and might very probably lose a Part of the other half; so that they were least in a Condition to pay, when this Demand was made, which would have been sufficiently grievous, even in the midst of Peace, and when their Actions were at the highest.

To this it was replied, that they had no Reason to complain of the King, or of his Ministers, who had hitherto supported this Trade for their Advantage, without their contributing to it at all. That if they had received as yet no Profits from their Trade, it was because no Profits had accrued from it; and this, not through any ill Management in such as were intrusted with their Concerns, or because this Commerce had not been carried on to great Advantage, but by reason of that immense Load of Debts which lay upon them, at their first Establishment, and which the Profits of the Trade was obliged to pay off, and the prodigious Expence the Company had been at, both in *Europe* and in the *Indies*, for putting their Commerce on a solid and certain Footing. That to put all Doubts upon this Subject entirely out of the Question, and that they might be satisfied of the Truth of these Particulars, a general Account of their Trade should now be laid before them, by which they would, in the first Place, see, that, tho' slowly, it had been continually improving, and that of late Years especially, it had thriven exceedingly.

In the next Place, they might be satisfied, that even at present, it was so far from being in a desperate Condition, that notwithstanding an immediate Sum was necessary for carrying it on, yet there was no Danger of their being called upon for another Supply, since what was now asked, would be sufficient to put the Company into a Condition to maintain itself without intrenching upon their Dividends, which should,

should, for the future, be as regularly paid, as ever they had been in Times past. It is from this general Account, that Strangers, as well as the Proprietors of this Company, have come to so distinct a Knowledge of their Affairs; since, had it not been for this unforeseen and unexpected Accident, they would never have let the World into the Truth of an Affair which they had concealed with so much Care for such a Number of Years. We will begin with the Account of the Shipping employed by the Company in the *Indies*, which will demonstrate the Truth of what has already been advanced upon this Subject, both as to the Matter and Manner of it: But then the Reader is to observe, that the same Number of Ships were sent annually from *Bengal* as from *Pondicherry*, and consequently the Numbers of this List are to be doubled. In the next Place, he is to take Notice, that the Sums set down are the Prime-cost of the Goods in *India*. And, lastly, that the Value of a Pagoda is about nine *French* Livres, or seven Shillings and Six-pence of our Money; by the Help of which Directions this Table will be found to comprehend a short History of the Progress of this Company, to the present Time.

A Scheme of the Commerce of the French Company of the Indies, shewing the Number of Ships returning annually from Pondicherry, and the Value of their Cargoes.

From 1727 to 1742, inclusive.

In	Ships.	Pagoda's.
1727, <i>October</i>		
1728, <i>January</i>	3	248,265
<i>September</i>		
1729, <i>January</i>	3	20,032
<i>September</i>		
1730, <i>January</i>	3	248,083
<i>October</i>		
1731, <i>January</i>	4	600,711
<i>October</i>		
1732, <i>January</i>	4	302,006
<i>September</i>		
1733, <i>January</i>	4	260,640
<i>September</i>		
1734, <i>January</i>	4	392,987
<i>September</i>		
1735, <i>January</i>	4	375,341
<i>September</i>		
1736, <i>January</i>	3	223,484
<i>October</i>		
1737, <i>January</i>	5	351,691
<i>October</i>		
1738, <i>January</i>	5	322,315
<i>October</i>		
1739, <i>January</i>	5	386,156
<i>October</i>		
1740, <i>January</i>	4	485,732
<i>October</i>		
1741, <i>January</i>	4	555,643
<i>October</i>		
1742, <i>January</i>	7	954,376

It would be needless to fatigue the Reader with the rest of this Report, calculated only to shew that the present Stop of their Dividends, was a Measure absolutely necessary for the Company, as well as the State, and alike calculated for the Service of both; since, on the one Hand, it would enable his Majesty to employ, for the pressing Occasions of his Government, those Sums which otherwise the Company might have made use of; and on the other, though it might be a present Inconvenience to the Proprietors to raise this Money for their own Service, yet it would entirely take away another Inconvenience to which they had long been subject, *viz.* their not having a sufficient Fund of their own to carry on their Trade, which hindered them from receiving general Accounts, or knowing the true State of their Affairs, and when they might expect to have their stated annual Dividends augmented

ed by the Profits arising from their Traffick, which they were now given to understand was a Thing not far off, and ought therefore to console them for the Trouble they were put to by this unfortunate Accident.

I shall not pretend to reason on these Particulars, or to point out the Causes why all these Assurances have given so little Satisfaction: It is sufficient for our Purpose, that the Fall of their Actions has very fully demonstrated the Truth of the Fact, that they have given no Satisfaction, and that the Affairs of this Company are at present in a very lamentable Condition, and are not likely to be in a better, at least, so long as the War continues. Our Business is now to conclude the Section, with a few useful Remarks, deduced from the Facts contained in it, hitherto unpublished in our own, or any other Language, but entirely collected from Memoirs furnished to me by some intelligent and inquisitive Persons, who thought it would be of publick Service, to have the true State and Condition of this *French* Company of the *Indies* exhibited to the View of the *English* Reader. This likewise must be my Apology for the small Delay which the waiting for these Memoirs has occasioned, and which, I hope, will be fully attoned for by their Publication.

15. After the Reader has perused this History, he will not need many Arguments to persuade him, that Trade, or, at least, the Commerce of the *Indies*, is by no means suitable to the Genius, Disposition, or Condition of the *French* Nation, since he sees not only how often Attempts of this Sort have miscarried, but also how hardly, and with what prodigious Difficulties they have been ever brought to succeed in any tolerable Degree, notwithstanding all the Pains and Assistance the Government has bestowed upon them. In all other Countries, but particularly *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, Undertakings of this Sort have been the Work of private Men in the Beginning, and have never claimed the Aid, or even the Protection of the State, till they were, in some Degree, of Forwardness, and then only from the Apprehension of this Difficulty, that the Desire of Gain might engage such Numbers of Adventurers in the same Branch of Commerce as might prove prejudicial both to the Publick and to themselves.

But in *France* it has been quite otherwise; private People never did any thing till excited and encouraged by the Government, and then were able to do little more than ruin themselves, by launching out into Enterprizes beyond their Abilities. This evidently demonstrates, that Commerce, at least extensive Commerce, is not the natural Growth of the Climate of *France*; and therefore, though with much Care and Cultivation, it may be brought to some Degree of Perfection; yet it can never be naturalized, or brought to grow spontaneously in that Region, but will be ever drooping and pining, if the Care necessary at the first Raising it, be either through Negligence, or by Accident withdrawn. It may indeed, be said, and the Facts laid down in the foregoing Section, may be brought to prove it, that some great Ministers have shewn Talents equal to, if not exceeding those of Merchants, for extending, maintaining, and supporting Trade; but then the Trade they support must be temporary, and can last no longer than they have Power, which is so precarious a Situation, that no extensive or advantageous Trade can flourish therein.

But this is not the only Contingency neither, for how well soever a Minister may be disposed, it will be impossible for him to act but in favourable Conjunctions, that is to say, in a Time of full Peace, when his Master's Affairs are perfectly well settled, as well as his own Power; for, if there be any thing wanting as to either, it is impossible that the Commerce under his Protection should thrive. What we have seen therefore in this short History of the Company of the *Indies*, proves no more than that once or twice in two or three Centuries, *France* has a Chance of fixing such an Establishment, and that is all. The whole Series of the History of that Kingdom hardly furnishes an Instance of so steady an Administration as, from the time of the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, to that of Cardinal *Fleury*; so that we may look upon the Consequence of this Administration as a kind of Miracle.

All the good Effects however which it hath produced to this Company, are like to vanish into Smoke, by Means of the present War, which has been equally fatal to it at home and abroad: For at home it has occasioned that high Demand for Money, which has brought on the Suspension of their Dividends, and thereby the Ruin of their Credit; and the Blow struck by Commodore *Barnet* in the *Indies*, and the Loss of the Ships taken at *Cape-Breton* has gone so far towards the Ruin of their Commerce abroad, that another such Stroke will go very near putting an End to it: For the *French*, like other People of lively Tempers, are easily discouraged; and if once, after all the Care has been taken of it, their present Company of the *Indies* should fail, they would infallibly despair. This sufficiently shews the Consequence of making a proper Use of our Naval Force in a War with that Crown; since, if we destroy the Commerce of *France*, we must necessarily enlarge our own. There is so much the more Force in this Argument, because Trade in that Kingdom is a new Thing; a Thing, which, as we have abundantly shewn, they have nursed with the greatest Care, and yet have raised with the utmost Difficulty; so that if it can be overthrown, they are set back for twenty or thirty Years at least, which is a Thing of far more Consequence to us than all the Conquests we can gain upon the Continent.

To say the Truth, our Title to *Maritime Power* is that which we ought chiefly to regard; and as it is impossible to succeed in all, if we engage in too many Designs at once; so, if we fix our Attention upon this, and pursue it with Vigour, we shall find that it will have a better Effect, both with Regard to ourselves and our Allies, than if we diverted our Views to other Objects, which, at first Sight, may appear of equal Importance. The Truth of this will be clearly discerned, if we consider that the encreasing of our Naval Power will render us more formidable than any thing else, and the recovering and extending our Trade, prove the surest Means of bringing in Riches. The former will render us most dreadful to our Enemies, as the latter will make us most useful to our Friends. While we are able to carry Terror into the most distant Parts of the World, our Foes can never be out of our Reach; and

while we can, without empowering ourselves, grant timely and suitable Assistance to our Allies when attacked, there is no Danger either of the disturbing domestic Quiet, or losing the Balance of Power. For whatever speculative Politicians may pretend, we must derive our Title to both from the Superiority of our Fleets, and the Wealth of our Subjects. Arbitrary Governments may attain Strength and Influence from other Maxims, but a free People never.

It is our peculiar Happiness, that the Glory of the Crown, and the Interest of the People, depend upon the very same Thing; so that whatever advances one, must necessarily enlarge the other; and what diminishes this may, sooner or later, destroy that. In *France* the Government is obliged to take unwearied Pains for the Encouragement and Protection of Commerce. In *Great-Britain*, again, this may be entirely spared; for, provided the Government does not oppress Trade, private Men will carry it on with all the Success that can be wished for; and the less the Hand of Power meddles therewith, so much the better. This shews, at once, the Difference between our Constitutions, and the Excellence of that under which we live. It is to this Constitution that we owe, our Trade being natural to our Island. It is to their living under a different Constitution, that the *French* feel, by Experience, the Difficulty of carrying on Commerce to any Advantage. If ever our Trade fails, it must be owing to ourselves; if ever theirs flourishes, it must be the Effect of Accidents, or rather of Miracles. In short, nothing but Tyranny, under the Mask of Corruption, can possibly hurt the Commerce of this Nation; whereas nothing but the wise and gentle Administration of despotical Power, can possibly raise the Trade of that. These Reflections shew sufficiently what we have to hope, and they have to fear. They arise naturally from the Subject; they are of the greatest Consequence to my Readers, and if by Dint of these Reasons, founded upon Facts, I shall be able to impress them as strongly upon their Minds as they deserve, my End will be fully answered. In the mean time, having executed all that was proposed in this Section, I shall proceed with as much Brevity as is possible, to finish the few that remain, in order to make this Volume complete.

SECTION XXXVI.

A succinct, but complete History of the Rise, Progress, and Suppression of the Imperial Company of the Indies, established at Ostend, by the late Emperor Charles VI.

Collected from private Memoirs, as well as publick Histories and Acts of State.

1. *The first Grounds and Beginning of this Trade from the Austrian-Netherlands to the East-Indies, and the Difficulties with which it was attended from its Infancy.*
2. *The Plan of its first Charter, and the Motives which induced the Court of Vienna to consent to its Establishment, set in a true Light.*
3. *An Account of the Reasons alledged by the States-General for its Abolition, and an Extract of the Memorial presented by their Minister on that Subject to the Court of Vienna.*
4. *The Use made of that Memorial by the English East-India Company, to obtain an Act of Parliament to prevent the Subjects of Great-Britain from having any Concern in the Capital of that Company.*
5. *An Abridgement of the Imperial Letters Patent for the Establishing of the said Company, with a concise Account of the Privileges granted to the Proprietors.*
6. *The Apprehensions raised by this Establishment, in Great-Britain and Holland, and the Methods used to overturn it.*
7. *The Kings of France and Spain also take Umbrage at this Company, and publish their Disapprobation of it to all Europe.*
8. *The Emperor and the King of Spain being suddenly reconciled, conclude a Treaty of Commerce, by which the Ostend Company obtains the Protection of both Monarchs.*
9. *An excellent Memorial of the Dutch East-India Company, demonstrating the Incompatibility of this Treaty of Commerce with the Emperor's Title to the Netherlands.*
10. *The Grounds of the Treaty of Hanover concerted for the impeding the Execution, and defeating the Views of that of Vienna.*
11. *The Substance of M. Vander-Meer's Memorial to the King of Spain, in Defence of the Rights of the Maritime Powers.*
12. *A succinct Detail of the remaining Part of this Dispute, and the Conduct of their High-Mightinesses.*
13. *The Letters Patents of the Ostend Company are suspended, by which the Commerce of the East-Indies is secured to the Maritime Powers.*

As soon as those Provinces which were formerly titled the *Spanish* Low-Countries, were yielded to the late Emperor *Charles VI.* by the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Rastadt*, all the rich Merchants

in the several Cities of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, set their Heads at Work, to find out Ways and Means by which their Commerce might be extended through the Authority and Influence of their new Master. One of the first

Things that occurred to them, was the opening a Trade to the *East-Indies*, for which they thought their Country, at least, as well situated, as either *Great-Britain* or *Holland*. In order to make Trial of this, they first of all formed a private Company, without Patent, Charter, or even Licence from the Imperial Court, which, notwithstanding, was thought to have advised them to this Method, and furnished them with Passports. They had, however, but very indifferent Success at the Beginning, one of their Ships being taken on the Coast of *Africa*, richly laden, on the 8th of *December*, 1718, by the *Dutch*.

This Accident had very probably dashed their Hopes in the very Beginning, if they had not been encouraged by *Vienna*, with a Promise of Letters Patent, and Leave immediately given them to take in Subscriptions. The Emperor went yet farther, and demanded Satisfaction of the *States-General* for this Insult offered to a Vessel provided with his Passport; but before that Complaint was well laid before them, a fresh Occasion afforded room for another, the *Dutch* having seized a second Ship, and shewing very little Inclination to give Satisfaction for either. Upon this, the Merchants at *Ostend* applied for Commissions, that in case of any farther Insults, they might, at least, be in a Condition of defending themselves. This being looked upon as a very reasonable Request, was readily granted them, and in Consequence thereof, one of their Vessels, well armed, took a *Dutch* Ship, and brought her into *Ostend*. The *States* did not fail to make loud Complaints of this to the Governor-General of the *Austrian* Low-Countries, who answered, that the Merchants of *Ostend* had done no more than they were entitled to do by virtue of his Imperial Majesty's Commission, in order to obtain Satisfaction for their Losses.

This gave so much Credit to the new Company, that in the Year 1720, they equipped five large Ships for the *Indies*, and the Year following, they fitted out six more, three for *China*, one for *Moca*, another for *Surat*, and the Coast of *Malabar*, and the sixth for *Bengal*. This irritated the *Dutch* to such a Degree, that they immediately seized a Vessel richly laden by the Merchants of *Bruges*, and ordered her Cargo to be sold, notwithstanding the Applications of the Imperial Ministers at the *Hague* to prevent it. This Misfortune was followed by another, an *English* Privateer taking very soon after on the Coast of *Madagascar*, an *Ostend* homeward bound Ship, very richly laden from the *Indies*, which so discouraged the new Company, that they ordered a new Ship they were then fitting out, to be laid up.

But in the Months of *May* and *June* 1722, they received two Ships from the *Indies*, and in the Month of *September*, two more, the Cargoes of which being exposed to Sale, went off at so good a Rate, that they found themselves not only indemnified for all their Losses, but likewise in a Condition to carry on their Commerce with greater Spirit and Success than ever. The only Thing they wanted, was a legal Establishment; for, tho' the Imperial Court had for a long Time flattered them with the Hopes of Letters Patent, yet they had hitherto delayed them, to avoid a down-right Quarrel with the Maritime Powers.

2. After the Arrival, however, of these last mentioned Ships, the Company having Money in their Hands, and very powerful Friends at the Court of *Vienna*, resolved to neglect nothing that might put their Affairs on the best Foundation possible, and with this View, they sent some of their Directors to Court, very well furnished with Instructions, as also with other Credentials, no less necessary at that, and most dangerous Courts, viz. Bills for considerable Sums of Money. These Gentlemen managed their Affairs with such Diligence and Prudence, that they obtained a Promise of a Charter as extensive as they could wish, or any Company in *Europe* had ever received, the Plan of which was immediately drawn, and gave them entire Satisfaction.

This Charter was to have consisted of several Articles, importing first, that the Directors should be fixed to the Number of Eight, to be chosen out of the wealthiest,

most reputable, and best experienced Merchants in the *Low-Countries*; that they should be allowed four thousand Florins a Year Salary; that none of them should continue above six Years, or be capable of being re-chosen, till they had been a full Year out of Office. Secondly, That a general Court of the Proprietors should be held every Year for the Choice of Directors, when the Company should name twenty-four, out of which List the Emperor should choose Eight. Thirdly, That the Court of Directors, the Treasury, and Books of Account belonging to the Company, should remain the first three Years at *Amsterdamm*, and the next three Years either at *Ghent* or *Bruges*; but that their Sales should be constantly made either at *Ostend* or *Bruges*. Fourthly, That the Company's Capital should consist of ten Millions of Florins, and should be divided into ten thousand Actions, of one thousand Florins each. Fifthly, the Prizes which the Vessels in the Service of the Company should take in Time of War, were to belong entirely to the Company, and were to be sold, and disposed of for their Profit. Sixthly, All the Ammunition, Provisions, Artillery, and naval Stores, requisite for the Forts and Factories of the Company, were to be exempted from all kinds of Duties and Impositions in their Passage through the Territories, either of his Imperial Majesty, or of any of the Lords, or Ecclesiastical Communities in the *Low-Countries*. Seventhly, That all the Goods transported on Board the Ships of the Company, should pay for all Customs and Duties Inwards and Outwards, four per Cent. and no more, till the Expiration of the Month of *September* 1724, and from that Time six per Cent. for ever.

The Emperor likewise promised, in which he also kept his Word, to send a Person vested with a publick Character to the Great *Mogul*, in order to settle an Alliance with him, and to return him Thanks for the Permission he had granted the Company, not only to erect a Factory, but also a Fort, to protect their Commerce in his Dominions. The Prospect his Imperial Majesty had of enriching his Subjects in the *Low-Countries*, and augmenting the Revenues he drew from thence, by fixing so extensive and profitable a Commerce there, engaged him to assure the Agents of that Company of still greater Favours. He even intimated, that he would remit all Customs and Duties for three whole Years, and would likewise make the Proprietors a Present of three hundred thousand Florins in ready Money, to indemnify them from any Losses they might sustain on the first Establishment of their Commerce.

When all this good News came at once into the *Austrian* Netherlands, it raised such a Spirit, not only among the Merchants, Bankers, and other Persons concerned in Trade, and in Money; but also among the Nobility and Gentry who had Fortunes and Estates in this Part of the World; that they shewed an eager Inclination to exert themselves to the utmost in the Support of the new Company, of the Success of which, there seemed to be now no longer any Doubt. It may not be amiss, however, to observe, that it was not the Inhabitants only of these Provinces, and other Subjects of his Imperial Majesty, that encouraged this Undertaking, but Strangers also, particularly the *English*, *French* and *Dutch*, who were chiefly concerned in the Shipping, and in the Management of the Company's Affairs, notwithstanding that they very well knew, they could never prosper, but at the Expence of their native Countries, and of the Establishments for the same Commerce long ago erected in them, and which hitherto had been carried on with so great Profit and Reputation.

3. We need not wonder, therefore, that the erecting this new Company at *Ostend*, should occasion, as it did, such Noise and Opposition throughout all *Europe*, so as to render the Subject of this Section as remarkable a Part of the general History of this Age, as any that finds a Place therein; but it must, however, seem a little strange at first Sight, that the warmest Friends, and most faithful Allies of his Imperial Majesty, should be the most violent in this Opposition. One would have imagined, that the Emperor had the same Right in his Dominions, that other Princes and States have in theirs; and that how con-

ed Merchants in the allowed four thousand them should continue being re-chosen, till Sixce. Secondly, That should be held every when the Company which Lift the Empe- That the Court of of Account belonging the first three Years at either at *Ghent* or constantly made either at the Company's Ca- of Florins, and should ons, of one thousand which the Vessels in the ke in Time of War, any, and were to be Sixthly, All the Am- d naval Stores, requi- the Company, were to ies and Impositions in s, either of his Impe- rors, or Ecclesiastical Seventhly, That all the Ships of the Com- and Duties Inwards and more, till the Expira- , and from that Time

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itary forever the erecting such a Company in the *Low-Coun-* tries, might be to the Interests of other Nations concern- ed in the same Trade, they could, however, have no just Claim to demand, or expect, that his Imperial Majesty should forego such apparent Advantages for their Sakes, or, in plain Terms, hinder his own Subjects from becoming rich, that theirs might remain so. Yet this was, in plain Words, the Case, and the Maritime Powers declared, in exprefs Terms, that they expected his Imperial Ma- jesty should do this, and that he was bound by Treaties to comply with their Demands.

The *States-General*, who thought themselves most ag- grieved, were both the earliest and the loudest in their Com- plaints; and as it is impossible to give the *English* Reader a fuller, or clearer Account of the Grounds upon which they were founded, than by laying before him the Mem- orial presented by *M. Bruynius*, Envoy from the *States- General* to the Court of *Vienna*, which contains the Sub- stance of all that was alledged against the Emperor's Right of establishing such a Company, we have, with this View, made as short and succinct an Extract of that very long Memorial, as is consistent with the Design of preserving its Sense and Spirit.

We must at the same Time observe, that tho' the *States- General* themselves were very ready and willing to take this Step, which they very well knew was absolutely neces- sary for securing the Commerce of their Subjects; yet they were not a little quickened therein by the Application of their own *East-India* Company, who, as they felt the Danger most, bore it with the least Patience, and there- fore pressed this Application might be made in Time, before the Letters Patent for this Company were actually granted, or while they might be revoked, with a better Grace, because of their turning less to the Disadvantage of the Subscribers to the Company's Capital, before their Money was actually paid, or vested in Merchandize. Ac- cordingly, on the fifteenth of *March* 1723, *M. Bruynius*, by Order from the *States-General*, actually presented to the Ministers of his Imperial Majesty his famous Memo- rial, which was to the Purpose following, viz.

" Their High-Mightinesses, who have the Honour to live in good Correspondence and Amity with his Imperial Ma- jesty, having nothing more at Heart than the Continuance of the same good Correspondence and Amity which has at all Times subsisted between his Imperial Majesty and this State, and between the Subjects of both Parts, can- not behold, without extream Grief, that the Inhabit- ants of the *Austrian* Netherlands, Subjects of his Im- perial Majesty, are undertaking Matters no Ways con- sistent with the good Correspondence and sincere Ami- ty; but are extremely prejudicial to the State, and con- trary to this Treaties concluded between his Imperial Majesty and their High-Mightinesses. Their High- Mightinesses have the more Reason highly to complain in this Matter, because the Instances that have been made, and from Time to Time reiterated on their Part, to obtain proper Redress, have not only been fruitless, but his Imperial Majesty's said Subjects in the *Austrian* Netherlands, extend even daily their Enterprizes, in which they seem encouraged and confirmed, by their obtaining of his Catholick and Imperial Majesties, as their High Mightinesses have been informed, a Licence to sail from the *Austrian* Netherlands to the *East-Indies*, particularly from *Ostend*.

" Their High-Mightinesses foreseeing the unavoidable Troubles that must attend this Affair, if his Catholick and Imperial Majesty should, contrary to all Expecta- tion and Equity, permit his Subjects of the *Austrian* Netherlands to proceed in their Undertakings, with re- spect to Navigation and Trade to the *East-Indies*, con- trary to the Tenor and Letter of Treaties; and if Op- position should be made to their High-Mightinesses, in case they attempt to make Use of their Right obtained by Treaties. But their High-Mightinesses being de- sirous of nothing more than to prevent such kind of Troubles, could not in the present Juncture avoid making such Representations to his Imperial Majesty, that by the Treaty concluded in 1648, at *Munster*, be- tween his Majesty the King of *Spain* then reigning, and

" his Successors on the one Part, and their High-Mighti- nesses on the other Part, Commerce and Navigation to the *East* and *West-Indies* were regulated and limited with regard to the Subjects of *Spain*, upon the Foot they then were established, without Power of farther Extension, and with regard to the Subjects of this State, it was agreed, that the former should refrain from Places which the latter possessed.

" These Articles have always been religiously observed, and the Inhabitants of the *Spanish-Netherlands*, at pre- sent *Austrian*, have never been permitted or tolerated to trade to the *Indies*. The said *Netherlands* being fall- en under the Dominion of his Catholick Imperial Ma- jesty, have not thereby acquired larger Privileges than before; nor can it ever be imagined that their High- Mightinesses, who have made such signal Efforts, con- tributed so much to the Recovery of the *Spanish Ne-* therlands, and so many other Parts of the *Spanish* Mo- narchy, in Favour of his Catholick and Imperial Ma- jesty, pursuant to their Engagements on that Behalf, could possibly, by entering into those very Engagements, depart from, or ever intend to depart from their Cha- racters, and their Right of maintaining themselves therein to Perpetuity, obtained by the said Treaty of *Munster*; or that his Catholick and Imperial Majesty had any Intention in recovering the said *Netherlands*, to make Alterations in the said Treaty, much less design, contrary to the Stipulation therein so plainly expresse, to cause any Prejudice to the State, in a Point so es- sential and important to them, upon which it was so strongly insisted in the Negotiations at *Munster*, and without which that Treaty could not have been con- cluded.

" Moreover, it is expressly stipulated by the twenty- sixth Article of the *Barrier* Treaty, that Commerce and all Things relating to it, should remain, to all Intents and Purposes, upon the same Foot it was established at the Treaty of *Munster*, and in the Manner expressed in the Articles of the said Treaty; inasmuch that the said Treaty of *Munster* is evidently confirmed by the Treaty of the *Barrier*, even at the Time his Catholick and Imperial Majesty was already in the Possession of the said *Netherlands*; as likewise by the Guaranty of his *Britannick* Majesty.

" And whereas the Right of the States in this Particu- lar, is so manifest, that their High-Mightinesses have the utmost Grounds to expect, from the so much re- nowned Friendship and Equity of his Catholick and Imperial Majesty, that he will not favour, or tolerate any Prejudice to the said Right of the State. They therefore amicably require that the Patent, which is said to have been granted for Navigation and Commerce of the *Austrian-Netherlands* to the *Indies*, may not be pub- lished, but withdrawn, or at least rendered ineffectual, and that such Orders may be given by his Imperial Majesty, that such kind of Navigation and Commerce, whether with Patents or without, may entirely cease, and that the Treaties in that Respect may be executed, &c."

4. This Memorial was no sooner transmitted to *Eng- land*, than it was translated, and printed by Order of the *East-India* Company, who directed that it should be given to the Members at the Door of the House of Commons, in order to quicken them in their Proceedings on a Com- plaint already exhibited to them on the Subject of this new Company, of which the Subjects of *Great-Britain* had the very same Right to expect the Abolition that the *States-General* had expressed.

The Method they took had, in every Respect, the with- ed for Effect; for this Memorial, which so thoroughly explained the Thing, had so good an Operation on the Members of the House, that, upon the 30th of *April*, 1723, Sir *Nathaniel Gold* reported from the Committee appointed to enquire into the Nature of a Subscription said to be carried on by several of his Majesty's Subjects, to promote an *East-India* Company now erecting in the *Au-* *strian Netherlands* the Matter, as it appeared to them, and the Regulations of the Committee thereupon as follows, &c.

1. That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that several Subjects of *Great-Britain* have been concerned in promoting and carrying on a Trade from the *Austrian-Netherlands* to the *East-Indies*, and negotiating and establishing of a Company for that Purpose, to the great Prejudice of the Trade of this Kingdom.

2. That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the House be moved for Leave to bring in a Bill, effectually to prevent his Majesty's Subjects from subscribing, or being concerned in encouraging or promoting any Subscription for an *East-India* Company in the *Austrian-Netherlands*, and for the better securing the lawful Trade of his Majesty's Subjects to and from the *East-Indies*.

The first of the said Resolutions being read a second Time, was agreed unto by the House *Nemine contradicente*, and it was also unanimously ordered, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill effectually to prevent his Majesty's Subjects from subscribing, or being concerned in encouraging or promoting any Subscription for an *East-India* Company in the *Austrian-Netherlands*, and for the better securing the lawful Trade of his Majesty's Subjects to and from the *East-Indies*.

This Bill afterwards passed into a Law, under the Title of, "An Act for preventing his Majesty's Subjects from " subscribing, or being concerned in, or encouraging or " promoting any Subscription for an *East-India* Company in the *Austrian-Netherlands*, and for the better securing a lawful Trade of his Majesty's Subjects to and " from the *East-Indies*." We have already, in the thirty-third Section of this Work, given the Reader an Account of the Scope and Contents of this Law, upon which, therefore, it is not necessary that we should dwell longer here; only we shall observe, that, henceforward, the Maritime Powers looked upon themselves as equally obliged to prosecute this Affair with Vigour, and to oblige his Imperial Majesty to abolish the new Company in the *Netherlands*, as a Sacrifice necessary to preserve the Friendship of his ancient Allies.

5. But, notwithstanding the joint Solicitations of the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers, the Emperor seemed more and more determined to maintain his Point; and therefore, in the Month of *August*, 1723, actually granted his Letters Patent to the *Ostend* Company, though with some Variations from the Plan before laid down. In the Preamble to these Letters, the Emperor not only took all the Titles of the Head of the House of *Austria*, but likewise those of the King of *Spain*; and, in particular, styled himself King of the *East* and *West-Indies*, of the *Canary-Islands*, &c. with a View, probably, to grace this new and ample Grant to the *Ostend* Company, which was established for thirty Years, with Licence to trade to the *East-Indies* and *West*, and on all the Coasts of *Africa* on this Side, and on the other Side the *Cape of Good-Hope*, observing the usual Customs.

The Capital however of the Company was, by these Letters, reduced to Six Millions of Florins, and the Number of their Actions to Six Thousand; but, in other Respects, they had all the Powers and Privileges laid down in the first Plan, and many more: For they were permitted to build Forts and Castles in whatever Parts of the *East-Indies* they should think fit; as also to furnish them with all kind of Arms, Artillery, and Ammunition that they thought convenient. They were likewise allowed to build and equip Ships of what Size and Strength they thought proper, in any of the Ports of his Imperial Majesty's Dominions in the *Low-Countries*, *Italy*, or elsewhere; as also to make Leagues, Treaties, and Alliances with the Sovereign Princes and States of the *Indies*, in the Name of his Imperial Majesty, with this Restriction only, that they should not make War on any Potentate whatever, without the Leave of his Imperial Majesty, and his Successors, first had and obtained.

In Consideration of all which Grants, Privileges, Benefits, and Advantages, the said Company bound themselves to offer as a Homage to his Imperial Majesty, his Heirs, Successors, on every Succession, a Golden-Lion, crowned of the Weight of twenty Marks, holding under his two Fore-Paws, the Arms of the Company, which were a Spread-Eagle, display'd with the terrestrial Globe

between his two Heads, surmounted by an Imperial Crown. Lastly, his Imperial Majesty undertook to protect and defend the said new Company against all who should unjustly attack them; and should, even in case of Necessity, employ the whole Force of his Dominions to support and maintain them in the full and free Possession of the Enjoyment of the Commerce and Navigation granted them by these Letters, and obtain for them full Damages and Satisfaction from any Nation, State, or Potentate, that should presume to trouble or disturb them; and should likewise, for the future, provide, in every Respect, for their Safety and Welfare, by any Treaties, Alliances, or Leagues, into which his Imperial Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors should hereafter enter with any Powers whatever. Such was the Rise, and such the Establishment of this famous Company at *Ostend*, from which both the Company and his Imperial Majesty, promised themselves so many and so great Advantages.

6. As soon as these Letters Patent were published and registered in the Sovereign Courts of the *Austrian Low-Countries*, the Directors taking Possession of their Offices, held soon after their first General-Court, in which it was resolved, that the Books of the Company should be opened at *Antwerp* on the Eleventh of *August*, which was accordingly done, and that with such Success as surprized all *Europe*; for, the next Day, by Noon, the Capital was entirely subscribed, and by the End of the Month of *August*, the Stock of the *Ostend* Company was 15 per Cent. above Par. The Affairs of this new Society were no less flourishing in the *Indies*, where the Persons they employed, being most of them such as had served before, either the *English* or the *Dutch East-India* Companies, found Ways and Means to settle Factories with amazing Facility and Success, and to push their Trade in such a Manner as very evidently shewed, that if the Interests of such as opposed this Company, did not get it suppressed in *Europe*, their Efforts in the *Indies* would do little, unless they had Recourse to open Force.

The *Dutch East-India* Company was so far convinced of this, that, in less than a Fortnight, they presented two Memorials to the States General, in which they scarce kept any Measures, but plainly intimated, that as the Establishment of this Company was in direct Violation of Treaties, so they ought to be left at Liberty to act, as if those Treaties no longer subsisted, and do themselves that Justice by Arms, which it was every Day more and more apparent, could not be obtained any other Way. The States however were, by no means, inclined to break absolutely with his Imperial Majesty, if by any Methods possible they might avoid it, and therefore still continued their Applications at the Court of *Vienna* in Conjunction with *Great-Britain*, in order to obtain the Revocation of the Authority by which the new Company acted, or at least a Suspension of it, and in the mean Time, they made such Laws at Home, in Favour of their own last *India* Company, as they thought requisite, to prevent any of the Subjects of their High-Mightiness from having any Concern, either in the Capital of the *East-India* Company in the *Netherlands*, or in the Management of their Affairs in the *Indies*.

As on the other Hand the *Dutch* Company, tho' they did not proceed to direct Acts of Violence, took such Methods in that Part of the World, where their Power is so great, and so extensive, as gave this new Society infinite Trouble, by cramping their Trade, and rendering it in a great measure precarious, in which they were so well seconded by the *English*, that nothing but the Activity and Abilities of the Persons concerned in this new Trade, and their finding themselves in a manner desperate, in case it did not succeed, could have kept it on foot in spite of the Difficulties and Inconveniences which they every Day experienc'd.

7. But it was not only *Great-Britain* and *Holland* that exerted themselves with so great Vigour against this new Establishment for *France*, likewise began to take Umbrage at a Scheme which threatened direct Destruction to that Establishment of the same kind, which she was endeavouring to erect, and therefore his most Christian Majesty's Council published a Declaration, dated the 16th of *August*

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August 1723, by which all the Subjects of the Crown of France were forbid to interell themselves in any manner whatever in the Capital of the *Ostend* Company, under pain of forfeiting three thousand Livres for every Act of Offence, besides incurring the Confiscation of whatever they should subscribe into the Capital of the said Company, and in case of a second Offence, the same Fine and Forfeiture, together with Banishment for three Years. By the second Article of this Declaration, his most Christian Majesty directed, that in case the Effects his Subjects might acquire by interesting themselves in the Stock of this new Company, could not be reached, so as to make them liable to the Confiscation before mentioned, then their Effects and Fortunes in France, should be liable to the like Seizures and Forfeitures, until the Sums in which they were so concerned in the *Austrian* Company should be raised and levied, and all this in the short, summary, and extraordinary Method described by the Royal Ordinance of 1670. By the third Article all Seamen, Manufacturers, Tradefmen, and in general all the Subjects of his most Christian Majesty were strictly prohibited and forbid to enter, in any Manner or Quality, into the Service of the said *Ostend* Company, on Pain of Imprisonment and Forfeiture of all their Effects. By the fourth Article, all Persons whatever were prohibited from inviting, inliting, inrolling, or otherwise entering into the Service of the said Company, any of the Subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, in Quality of Officers, Soldiers, Seamen, or in any other Quality or Manner; as also to sell, or buy, or lend, or equip any Vessel for the Service of the said Company, on pain of the Pillory for the first Offence, and of being sent to the Gallies for the second, besides the Confiscation of all that should be thus bought or sold, and a Fine of Three thousand Livres each on both the Buyer and Seller.

His Catholick Majesty likewise joined heartily with the Maritime Powers in this Affair, as appears plainly from a Representation presented to his *Britannick* Majesty by the *Spanish* Minister on the 26th of *April*, 1724, conceived in the clearest and most exprets Terms, and demonstrating fully the Injustice and Illegality of this new Establishment, by proving it utterly inconsistent with the Treaty of *Munster*, by which the Crown of *Spain* engaged not to disturb the Navigation of the *Dutch* to their *East-Indies*, in Consideration of a reciprocal Engagement on their Side, not to disturb the Commerce of the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* in that Part of the World. It was by these reciprocal Stipulations, that the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries*, were restrained from trading to the *East-Indies*: And it was under these Restrictions, that the *Spanish Low-Countries* were yielded to the Elector of *Bavaria*; and by *France*, with his Consent, to the House of *Austria*, upon exprets Condition, that this House should hold them in the same Manner, and under the same Restrictions as they had been held by the Crown of *Spain*; for which their High Mightinesses likewise engaged: So that if the *Ostend* Company might be legally established, it would turn as much to the Detriment of *Spain* as to that of the States-General, contrary to the plain Meaning and Intention of all these several Treaties and Alliances made, as is most apparent for establishing and securing the Tranquillity of *Europe*; but, by this Construction, if it could be put upon them, rendered hurtful and ruinous to all Parties (save the Emperor alone) and destructive of themselves.

Such was the Representation of the Marquis *de Pozzo Bueno* at the Court of *London*; and so clearly was his Catholick Majesty convinced, that the Establishment of the *Ostend* Company was utterly inconsistent with his own particular Interest, and with the general Sytem of the Affairs of *Europe*.

8. But, in much less than a Year, the whole Face of Affairs was changed; his Catholick Majesty saw, or was persuaded by his Ministers to think he saw, his Interests in another Light; and he no sooner took this in his Head, than the general Sytem of Affairs in *Europe* must change likewise, and every State and Power therein, alter not only their Notions and Maxims, but their Politicks and Conduct. To explain this, we must observe, that for

twenty-five Years together *France* had been struggling to set *Philip V.* on the Throne of *Spain* and the *Indies*, notwithstanding the Pretensions of the House of *Austria*; in maintaining which, almost all the rest of *Europe* was engaged, and even at this very Time a Congress was sitting in the *Low-Countries*, and endeavouring to adjust and settle amicably the Disputes between his late Imperial Majesty *Charles VI.* and this same Prince *Philip V.* in whose Quarrels so many Princes and States had almost ruined and exhausted their Subjects.

Yet such was the Obliquity of both these Princes, that all the Methods their best Friends could employ, proved ineffectual for procuring a Reconciliation; when, of a sudden, they took a surprizing Resolution, not only of reconciling themselves, but of doing it at the Expence of their Friends; and as such violent and unnatural Motions generally exert themselves with extraordinary, not to say extravagant Force, so they not only concluded a Peace, but likewise a Treaty of Commerce, dated at *Vienna* the First of *May*, 1725; by which his Catholick Majesty sacrificed the Interest of *France*, to whom he owed his Crown; and his Imperial Majesty those of his Allies, to whom he was under so many, and so great Obligations, that they were scarce to be enumerated or computed. It was one great Design of this new and amazing Treaty of Commerce, to fix and establish the *East-India* Company at *Ostend*; not only by his Imperial Majesty's Authority, whose Interest visibly led him thereto, but also by that of his Catholick Majesty, to whose Interest it was directly repugnant, and, that as appears by the foregoing Declaration in his own Sense and Judgment, expressed in the clearest and most direct Terms.

This shews how weak and ridiculous a Thing it is, at least for free Governments, where it is always understood, that Power is to be solely exerted for the common Benefit of their Subjects in general, to interell themselves in the Support of any particular Sytem which must always depend on the Wills and Inclinations of many arbitrary Princes, who, without any Regard to the Principles upon which such Sytems are founded, or to the Obligation they are under to such free States as risque the Wealth and Well-being of their Subjects for the establishing and maintaining such Sytems, think themselves at Liberty, not only to alter and change, but to subvert and overturn them whenever they see, or imagine they see, that greater Advantages are to be obtained by such Actions, how unjust or unworthy soever, than by steadily adhering to their Allies. Such ever has been, and such ever will be the Fate of these Kind of Engagements, fatal to those who, from Principles of Probity and good Faith, constantly and justly observe them, and profitable only to those who keep their Promises, and observe their Treaties no longer, than till they can have their own Price for breaking them.

A Lesson this, that Reason has always, and Experience often taught us, though we have most unaccountably neglected to learn, or, at least, to practise it; but a Lesson never dictated to us in stronger Terms than by this singular Treaty of *Vienna*, by which two Princes, who owed their Power and Territories to the Friendship and Faith of others, gave up their Benefactors from a Prospect, and, as it proved a false Prospect too of particular Advantages to themselves. However, upon the Conclusion of this Treaty, the *Ostend* Company seemed to be fixed upon so firm and solid a Foundation, that both Enemies and Friends concluded, that they were not to be moved or shaken, much less ruined and dissolved by any thing less than a general War: A Thing hard and difficult of Digestion to the Maritime Powers, who were very unwilling to pull down the Work of their own Hands, and to destroy that Bulwark which with so much Difficulty, and such vast Expence of Blood and Treasure, they had erected for their own Security.

As, on the other Hand, they were no less unwilling to see the Commerce of their Subjects torn away by the Violence of a Prince who had never been invetted with this Power of ruining them, but by the Pains they had taken for his Preservation. But, to return from these Reflections, which, however, are very well worthy the Notice and At-

Con of the *Eng. & Reader*, and to return to Matters of Fact, and the Methods employed by the Maritime Powers, in Conjunction with *France*, which now, out of regard to its own Interest, very heartily joined them, for the pulling down this Edifice, which while it stood, threatened its Neighbours with the Loss of those Advantages that had for so many Ages rendered them considerable, and by maintaining the Wealth of their Subjects, and the Naval Power of their respective Governments, had placed them in a Condition to hold the Balance of Power, and to prevent the Madnes of ambitious Princes from reducing the Inhabitants of *Europe* into that abject State of Slavery, which renders *Asia* the most despicable, tho' in itself the richest, most populous, and most delightful Quarter of the Earth.

9. The *East-India Company in Holland*, were so much alarmed at this Accident, and so terrified with the Thoughts of seeing this new Company almost in its very Dawn, on a better Foot than themselves, that they could not forbear once more representing their Apprehensions to their High-Mightinesses, which they did in a Memorial so closely worded, and in which all the Facts concerning this important Affair, are so fully and clearly set forth, that for the sake of avoiding Variety of Abstracts, we will give the Substance of these various Treaties therein to the Reader.

The Directors of the *East-India Company* in this Country, having observed their Commerce in the *East-Indies* decline from Time to Time, ever since it hath been attempted in the *Spanish*, now *Austrian Netherlands*, to carry on a Trade in the *Indies*, have presented several Memorials to your High-Mightinesses, shewing, That the said *Netherlands* have no Right by Treaties to this Navigation and Commerce; that they never could claim it under the Kings of *Spain*, and that consequently they have it neither by virtue of the said Treaties, nor of these that have been made with his Imperial Majesty, and his Predecessor the Emperor *Leopold* of glorious Memory. The rather, since the chief Aim and Tendency of these Treaties and Negotiations was, that in the Countries and Dominions which his Imperial Majesty might acquire by virtue of the grand Alliance with *England* and this *State*, nothing should be attempted that might be more prejudicial to these two Nations, than if the said Countries had remained in the Hands of *Spain*. It was therefore very wisely stipulated by the Barrier Treaty, that his Imperial and Catholick Majesty should possess the *Spanish Netherlands*, in the same Manner as the Kings of *Spain* his Predecessors had done, and that their Commerce should be carried on in the Manner stipulated by the Treaty of *Münster*. But though the Directors could have heartily wished they had not been obliged by fresh Incidents to trouble your High Mightinesses again by new Writings, seeing they flattered themselves, that his Imperial and Catholick Majesty would forbear carrying on that Commerce any farther to their Prejudice.

Yet they have been with Grief, first, That the private Navigation begun some Years ago at *Ostend*, has been changed into a formal Company trading to the *East-Indies*, and authorized by an ample Patent; and secondly, That all sorts of Means are now used to improve and maintain this Company by Treaties with other Powers, to the great Prejudice of the Rights and Privileges the *East-India Company* in this Country has formerly obtained, as it evidently appears to the said Directors from the Treaty of Commerce lately concluded between his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, and the King of *Spain*, where it is said in the first and third Articles, "That the Men of War, and the Merchants Ships belonging to their said Majesties, or to their Subjects, shall be freely admitted to all the Ports, Coasts, Countries, and Provinces on either Side, without asking any previous Permission, which extends also in a special Manner to the *East-Indies*, where they may ask for every Thing necessary for Navigation, with this singular Restriction, with respect to the *East-Indies*, that it shall not be allowed to carry on any Commerce in each others Dominions, and that the Men of War, especially in those Countries, shall behave themselves so, as not to give to the *Spaniards* any Cause of Fear or Suspicion." This more-

ver said, in the thirty-sixth Article of the said Treaty, "That his Imperial and Catholick Majesty's Ships and Subjects, shall be allowed to import into, and sell in all the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, all sorts of Fruits, and Effects and Merchandizes, brought by them from the *East-Indies*, provided it appear by Affidavits of the Deputies of the *East-India Company* established in the *Austrian Netherlands*, that the same came from the conquered Places, Colonies or Factories of the said Company; in which case they shall enjoy the same Privileges granted to the Subjects of the United Provinces by the Treaty of *Münster* in 1648, both with respect to the *Indies*, and any other Thing applicable to the said Treaty, and which shall not be contrary to it, any more than to the present Peace." Which by the forty-seventh, or last Article of the said Treaty, is moreover extended. "To all what the *British Nation* has stipulated in their Favour by the Treaties of 1667, 1670, 1713, and last of all, by a certain Treaty and Convention, the Day and Date whereof are not expressed, so much as it may be applicable to the Emperor's Subjects." Moreover, "To all what has been granted to the States of the United Provinces, not only by the Treaties of Peace of 1648, but also by the Treaty of *Münster* in 1648, and the Treaty of Peace 1714." With this Addition, "That all these Treaties shall serve as a Rule in doubtful Cases, or such as are omitted, or not plainly expressed in the present Treaty between their said Majesties."

Upon which doubtful Cases, and which are passed by in Silence, it may be pretended and established in the first Place, that his Catholick Majesty has been willing to grant to the Imperial Subjects by the second Article, free Access to all the Countries, Sea-ports, and Places of his Dominions, seeing that neither in that Article, nor in the whole Treaty, any express Restriction, or Exclusion are found, which are inserted in all other Treaties of that Nature, to wit,

That this is only to be understood of those Countries and Places which the King possesses in *Europe*, or those where other Nations have always had a free Commerce, as it appears by the fourth Article of the Treaty of Truce concluded by the King of *Spain* and this *State* in 1609, where it is said, "Which the said Lord the King understands to be restrained and limited to the Kingdoms, Countries, Dominions and Lordships, which he holds and possesses in *Europe*, and other Places and Ports where the Subjects of the Kings and Princes his Allies trade." Moreover, by the Treaty of *Münster*, in the fifth Article it is said, "That the Directors and Commissioners of the *East and West-India Companies* shall have free Access and Commerce in all the Countries within the King's Dominions in *Europe*, but all the States Subjects are not to frequent the *Catholic* Places in the *East-Indies*." And lastly, by the thirty-fourth Article of the Treaty concluded at *Utrecht* in 1714, between his present Catholick Majesty and this *State*, wherein it is expressly said, "Tho' it be mentioned in several of the foregoing Articles, that the Subjects on either Side may freely come to, frequent, stay, sail to, and trade in the Countries, Lands, Cities, Ports, Places and Rivers, belonging to the abovesaid respective contracting Parties, yet it is to be understood, that the said Subjects are only allowed that Liberty in their reciprocal Dominions in *Europe*, since it is expressly agreed, that as to the *Spanish West-Indies*, it shall not be allowed to sail to, or trade there, but pursuant to the thirty-first Article of the said Treaty." On the other Hand, the like unlimited Terms are again to be met with in the thirty-sixth Article of the above-mentioned Treaty, between their said Majesties, wherein it is stipulated, "That the Emperor's Subjects shall be allowed to import into all the Countries and Dominions belonging to the King of *Spain*, without any Distinction, all sorts of Effects, Fruits and Merchandizes, from their Colonies and conquered Places in the *East-Indies*, provided they have the necessary Affidavits required by the said Article; in which Case they shall enjoy all the Privileges granted to the Subjects of this *State* by the King of *Spain*." Letters Patent in 1764.

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of the said Treaty, Majesty's Ships and Port into, and fell in all all sorts of Fruits, and by them from the by Affidavits of the any established in the same came from the ories of the said Com- enjoy the same Privi- the United Provinces 1608, both with respect ing applicable to the be contrary to it, any Which by the forty- Treaty, is moreover tish Nation has stipu- aties of 1667, 1670, Treaty and Conven- are not expressed, for- the Emperor's Sub- it has been granted to ces, not only by the alio by the Treaty of Peace 1714." With eadies shall serve as a s are omitted, or not Treaty between their

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od of those Countries s in Europe, or those ad a free Commerce, f the Treaty of Truce d this State in 1609, Lord the King under- ed to the Kingdoms, Ships, which he holds Places and Ports where nces his Allies trade." y, in the fifth Article- Commissioners of the all have free Access and thin the King's Domi- Subjects are not to fre- East-Indies." And lat- the Treaty concluded at Catholick Majesty and "Tho' it be mention- Articles, that the Sub- me to, frequent, stay, Lands, Cities, Ports, the above said respec- e understood, that the at Liberty in their re- ce it is expressly agreed, it shall not be allow- rfuant to the thirty-first in the other Hand, the be met with in the mentioned Treaty, be- e is stipulated, " That lowed to import into all long to the King of all sorts of Effects, their Colonies and con- y, provided they have by the said Article; in the Privileges granted y the King of Spain."

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Although the Directors of the *East-India* Company in this Country do not know of any other Privilege, but that which allows them to import the Products and Merchandizes from the *Indies*, into the Dominions the King of *Spain* possesses in *Europe*, or in such Places where all other Nations have a free Trade, and that indeed by certain Letters Patent issued by the King of *Spain* in 1663, it was enjoined, that at the entering of those Products and Merchandizes into such of his Majesty's Dominions where their Importation has always been allowed, Affidavits should be produced, to make it appear, that they are brought from the Countries, Colonies and conquered Places our *East-India* Company is possessed of in the *East-Indies*, to the End they might be distinguished from the Merchandizes brought from the *Portuguese East-Indies*, *Spain* being then at War with that Nation. Yet your High Mightinesses Minister then residing at *Madrid*, strenuously opposed it, in the Name of the *State*, and having represented to his Catholick Majesty, the Impossibility of complying with this Demand, it was dropped in all Appearance, since they never heard, that the like Affidavits have been afterwards required in *Spain*, for the Products and Merchandizes brought from the *East-Indies*.

But as these Things have in all likelihood been interpreted according to the ancient Practice, or that they might be susceptible of such a Construction from preceding Acts and Treaties, the Directors glance upon them occasionally, to shew only, that the implicit Meaning and Intent of these Articles is altogether unknown to them, or at least does not appear so clear as what is established in the abovesaid second Article, wherein, " The said free " Access, and Refort to all his Catholick Majesty's Ports " and Places is expressly extended to the *East-Indies*." Which the Directors do not remember to have been granted in such a Manner to any Nation whatsoever, and especially to the Subjects of this *State*, since by the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munster* so often quoted, it is expressly stipulated, " That the Subjects of this *State* shall " forbear frequenting the *Castilian* Places in the *East-Indies*." This has been strictly observed ever since by the *Spaniards*, as it appears by a particular Case, the Directors had the Honour to lay before your High Mightinesses, by their Memorial in the Year 1720, viz. " That " in 1687, a Ship belonging to their Company, having " on Board two Friars, who had been ship-wrecked on " the Coast of *China*, and having at their earnest Request " carried them to the *Philippine* Islands, the Captain of " that Ship only demanded, on this Occasion, a small Pro- " vision of Water, which he wanted, by Reason he had gone " so much out of his Way; but instead of granting him " this, or any other Favour, they ordered him forthwith " to retire."

Hence it is manifest, how far the King of *Spain* was from designing, that his Sea-ports and Places in the *East-Indies*, which extended no farther than the *Philippine* Islands, otherwise called *Manillas*, should serve for Staples, or Places of Refreshments to the *East-India* Ships, of this *State*, as knowing very well what might be the Consequence of it; but the Directors think they have a more particular Reason to complain of the said thirty-six Articles, because the King of *Spain* grants thereby to his Imperial and Catholick Majesty's Subjects, not only all that has been granted, but moreover yielded to the Inhabitants of this *State*, by the Treaty of *Munster*, both in regard to the *Indies*, and otherwise, which they take to be directly contrary to the fifth Article of the said Treaty of *Munster*, by which it is stipulated, " That the *Spaniards* " shall continue their Navigation within the same Limits, " as at the Time of that Treaty, without extending it " any farther in the *East-Indies*." As on the other Hand, it was stipulated by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, in 1714, between his *Spanish* Majesty and this *State*, " That the Naviga- " tion and the Trade in the *East* and *West-Indies*, belong- " ing to the Lords the *States-General*, shall be carried on " in the same Manner as it had been practised hitherto." Which proves evidently, that no Change ought to be made on either Side, with respect to this Navigation, whether it be by their own Subjects, or those of another Power, nor comprehended in the fifth Article of the

Treaty of *Munster*, seeing the tenth Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* says moreover, " That the Privileges relating " to the Navigation and Commerce in the *East-Indies*, " expressed in the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munster*, " shall only concern the two high contracting Powers, " and their Subjects, namely, *Spain* and this *State*, and " no others."

So that the true Meaning and Intent of these Words appear plain and manifest by the Report of the Plenipotentiaries at the Congress at *Utrecht*, inserted in the Verbal and the Notes, or Resolutions of your High Mightinesses of the Fourth of *January*, 1714, in the same Terms: " First, upon the fifth and sixth Articles of the " Treaty of *Munster*, which the said Plenipotentiaries " looked upon as deserving some Remarks, as being appli- " cable to others, saying, that the *States* and their Inha- " bitants ought indeed to enjoy all the Advantages stipu- " lated by this Treaty, but that the other Nations, and par- " ticularly the *Hans Towns*, shall not partake of the " same." A convincing Proof that the Exclusion, or Non- admittance of other Nations from enjoying what has been agreed upon by the fifth Article, about the Navigation and Commerce of the *East-Indies*, was the only true Aim of that Treaty; which having been thus inserted at the Request and Instances of the *Spanish* Plenipotentiaries, and agreed to by both Parties, it is not allowed to either of these two Powers to transfer this Right by Treaty, or make another Nation partake thereof without the Concurrence and Consent of the other Powers comprehended in the same Convention, and concerned therein. Besides that, after the King of *Spain* had once yielded in Favour of the Inhabitants of this *State* the Part of the *Indies*, which the privileged *East-India* Company possesses, with Promise that the *Spaniards* should not extend themselves on that Side, he has no Right to make over a second Time to other Nations, what his Majesty had formerly desisted from by so solemn a Treaty, and which he has always left to the privileged *East-India* Company of this *State*, or to such who having been formerly his Majesty's Subjects, are also comprehended in the Article of Exclusion. Neither is he entitled to tolerate publicly, that the Districts yielded, and which have been peaceably enjoyed without any Lett from the *Spanish* Subjects, but frequented by Men of War and Merchants Ships, that Forts, Colonies, and Factories for Trade be set up there, and generally to do every thing that could be done had there been no Treaty, to the great Prejudice and impairing, if not entire Extinction of the Privileges of this *State* formerly stipulated and obtained.

And, forasmuch High and Mighty Lords, as the Directors of the *East-India* Company in this Country are more and more confirmed in what they did foresee long ago; that in Case the *East* and *West-India* Company erected in the *Austrian-Netherlands*, will thus carry on their Navigation and Commerce, within the Limits of the Grant made to the *East-India* Company of this Country, and disturb the Commerce every where in the *Indies*, the Consequences of this Affair will every Day grow more important; and seeing, besides, that this Navigation and Commerce, with the Grant relating thereto, is now of late confirmed on the Part of the King of *Spain*, by an important Treaty, and highly prejudicial to the Commerce of the *East-India* Company of this Country; and that, in some Respects, the *Austrian* Company is favoured more than the Inhabitants of this *State*, they could not forbear representing at this Juncture their Grievances, most humbly beseeching your High Mightinesses to take them into your serious Consideration, and that you would be pleased, according to the Importance of this Affair, to use the most effectual Means, as well at the Court of *Vienna* as at that of *Madrid*, and elsewhere, where it might be of any Service to have the said Grievances redressed, and that Navigation entirely put down, hoping withal, and expecting that it will not be taken amiss, that, seeing they cannot acquiesce to the new Grant and Treaty, they stick close to the ancient Treaty, and apply the same as a Rule, not only in Cases that are doubtful, or omitted, but in all other Cases.

10. In this Memorial we see, at one View, and in the most expetitive Terms possible, the Nature of those Grievances under which the Maritime Powers laboured from this Treaty of Commerce concluded at *Vienna*, and the Reasons which induced them to hope that they would be redressed. We see plainly that there could be nothing in Nature more flagrantly injurious to the Maritime Powers than the several Clauses in this Treaty, of which they complained, nor any thing more plain or self-evident than the Rights upon which they insisted, of which the States-General were so sensible, that they resolved to repeat their Applications at the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, in order to obtain Satisfaction and Redress. They were strongly seconded by the Courts of *London* and *Paris*, who, in the mean time however, considering how little Advantage had hitherto been obtained by the slow and pacific Measures, resolved, if possible, to quicken them by some Step of another kind, which might convince both the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, that they were not to be frightened with high Words, or to be persuaded out of their Properties, by the Parchment Agreements of other Princes.

They took Advantage therefore of the Disposition the King of *Prussia* was in, who saw with some Displeasure the exorbitant, and as he conceived, Anti-constitutional Power of the Emperor in *Germany*, the Consequences of which he thought might be fatal to the Prerogatives of himself and of other Princes, with which Notions striking in, they concluded a defensive Treaty at *Hanover*, dated September the 3d, 1725, which Treaty was to subsist for fifteen Years, and to which the States-General were to be invited to accede. Tho' there is not the least mention in this Treaty of the *Ostend* Company, yet in the second Article it being provided that the contracting Powers guaranty not only each others Dominions, Countries and Cities, as well in as out of *Europe*, but also all their Rights, Privileges and Advantages, particularly those relating to Trade, it was well enough understood, that under this Phrase particularly the *Ostend* Company was included, since it was impossible it should continue to subsist, and the contracting Parties to this Treaty reserve their Rights and Privileges relating to Trade. As soon as this Alliance was concluded, it was not only made known to the States-General at the *Hague*, but they were likewise invited and pressed to come into it, as the most effectual, and indeed the only way of procuring what they of all other Powers were most interested to procure, viz. the Abolition of the new Company.

For while the Emperor and the King of *Spain* continued to closely united, and the rest of the Princes of *Europe* unconnected by any counter Alliance, it was most evident, that they had it in their Power to give Law, and to do what they pleased; which Power it was likewise very visible they intended to use for many Purposes, absolutely irreconcilable to the Interest of other Princes and States, more especially in the Case of this Company, which stood now upon such a Foundation as might have enabled it, in the course of a few Years, to have sustained itself against any Force that could have been brought to disturb it; of this we may be easily sensible, if we consider that never any Establishment of this kind was possessed of equal Advantages, or supported by the Authority of two such Potentates. Neither for the Time it continued did ever any Company run into such an extensive Trade, or make so rapid a Progress as this of the *Austrian* Netherlands. So that unquestionably had it been left to itself, or been opposed only by the dilatory Methods of Memorials and Applications, it would have risen to such a Height as must have astonished those, who from narrow and particular Views, treated it as a political Chimera.

But the *Dutch* however, though they could not help acknowledging in general Terms the Wisdom and Prudence of the Treaty of *Hanover*, yet they did not immediately accede to it, but on the contrary, resolved to try once more the Force of Applications at the Court of *Madrid*. It was with this View that they directed Mr. *Vander Meer*, their Ambassador at that Court, to present a Memorial, in order to demonstrate the Injustice that was done them by this late Treaty with the Emperor, which Memo-

rial was actually presented on the 4th of Nov. 1725, and as it is in itself one of the most instructive, as well as one of the plainest Papers that appeared in this whole important Controversy, in which the whole commercial Interest of *Europe* were at Stake, we shall, omitting those Parts of it which are purely Matters of Form, insert, as the best Account that can be given of this Matter, and therefore the last Paper which we shall mention upon this Occasion. But it may be proper to put the Reader in Mind, that tho' Mr. *Vander Meer* presented this Memorial only in the Name of his Masters the States-General, yet it contains likewise the Grounds of Jealousy and Dissatisfaction given to *Great-Britain*, and therefore concerns us as much as it did them; and it is very possible there may come a Time when these very Points may as much concern us again. The Arguments we used were these that follow.

11. Treaties being understood to be the Basis and Foundation of the Union of Nations and Potentates, it seems just, that each Party should make it an inviolable Law, not only to forbear all open Infraction of them, but likewise not to alter them in any manner, nor permit their Ministers to make use of Subterfuges for explaining the Tenour and Articles of them in another Sense than what was intended at the Time of their mutual Conventions. It is with these Notions of good Faith that their High Mightinesses have always rigorously executed all they have stipulated, without infringing or altering in the least Point any Article whatsoever; making it a strict Rule to themselves, to redress any Abuse, and give Satisfaction for it upon Complaint made, and causing such of their Subjects to be severely punished who presume to deviate from the literal Observations of their Orders; and as for entering into Engagements with other Powers to the Prejudice of their Allies, whatever Solicitations have been made to them, they have given evident Marks to your Majesty of their perfect Attachments to your Interests, by refusing generally all the Advantages that were offered them if they would have gone into the Quadruple Alliance.

My Masters flattered themselves, Sir, that after such real and such particular Regards, they should find in your Majesty's Person, not only an Ally, but a sure Protection against all those who should attempt any Invasion in the Treaties to their Prejudice. Nevertheless they have now the Grief to see Things bear quite another Face, and that far from being supported by your Majesty in their manifest Rights, in relation to their Commerce to the *Indies*, they find in your Royal Person the Protector of a Company, whose Commerce cannot subsist without ruining that of their High Mightinesses Subjects and People; and to whatever Evaluation your Majesty's Ministers may have recourse, when they insinuate that nothing has been granted to the Emperor which is not conformable to all the ancient Treaties, it is easy to demonstrate that it cannot be without a strained Construction, contrary to the Expressions of the Articles; for by taking them literally, and in the Sense they were penned, it is obvious to every Eye how wide this new Treaty of Commerce is from the Aim of those who (after such cruel Wars, and so much Blood shed for maintaining the Rights of the Republick, as well with respect to their Navigation to the *Indies*, as to their Commerce in general) did at length conclude the Treaties of *Munster* and *Utrecht*.

I come, Sir, to these Demonstrations, by the second and third Articles of the Treaty of *Vienna*, all Men of War, or Merchant Ships, belonging to his Imperial Majesty, and his Subjects, are allowed to enter all the Towns and Ports of the Dominions of *Spain* (those of the *East-Indies* included) there to take in Refreshments, Provisions, and generally whatever they may want for continuing their Voyage, with this sole Restriction, that they shall not trade, or traffick there. In the thirty-sixth Article of the same Treaty, it is said, that the Subjects of his Imperial Majesty may import and vend in the Territories and Dominions of *Spain*, all the Goods, Merchandizes, and Products, which they shall bring from the *East-Indies*, provided they shall produce a Certificate from the *India* Company of the *Austrian* Netherlands, that those Merchandizes, or Products, are of the Growth of their Colonies and Conquests; giving besides, to these Subjects

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of the Emperor, all that was yielded to the *Dutch*, by the Treaty of *Munster* in 1648, and afterwards by particular Grants in 1663, and by the Treaty of *Utrecht* in 1714.

The forty-seventh Article of the same Treaty of *Vienna*, grants likewise to the said Subjects of the Emperor, all that the *English* obtained in 1667, 1670, 1713, and lastly, by a certain Treaty, or Convention, the Date of which is not specified, with this Addition, that in Cases doubtful, or not sufficiently clear, those Treaties should serve for a Basis, and Foundation, nor is it explained, that the Entrance of the Emperor's Subjects into the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain*, ought to be understood to comprehend only the Ports, Towns and Harbours, of your Majesty in *Europe*, and not those of the *Indies*, which Restriction is most expressly specified in the Treaties made with their High-Mightinesses, my Masters.

So that, under this Pretext, the Subjects of his Imperial Majesty would enjoy much greater Advantages than any other Nations; for never was any Person permitted to frequent, in any Manner, under any Pretence whatever, your Majesty's Ports and Towns in the *Indies*. And for a Proof that this is observed with extraordinary Rigour, on the Part of *Spain*, it may suffice to relate, that in 1687, a Ship belonging to the *Dutch East-India Company*, having taken on Board two Monks, who had been ship-wreck'd on the Coast of *Cuma*, and having at their Intreaty carried them to the *Philippine Islands*, the Captain, on that Occasion, desired the Governor of the Country, to allow him to take in a little Water, of which he had not Store sufficient, because he had gone far about, to carry those two Monks whither they had desired, which had retarded his Voyage; but far from obtaining his Request, he received Orders to retire immediately, without being allowed the least Refreshment, which (setting aside the Ingratitude of the Governor) is an evident Proof, that the Kings of *Spain* have never understood, that the resorting to Ports of their Dominions, ought to comprehend their Towns and Harbours in the *Indies*; wherefore this Article being granted to the Emperor's Ships, is manifestly opposite to the Treaty of *Munster*, as is also the thirty-sixth Article of the said Treaty of *Vienna*, by which (besides what has been already alleged above) your Majesty gives to his Imperial Majesty's Subjects, not only all that was granted, but even yielded to the Inhabitants of the Republick, by the Treaty of *Munster*, as well with respect to the *Indies*, as otherwise, which is also directly contrary to the sixth Article of the said Treaty of *Munster*, where it is said, that the *Spaniards* should limit their Navigation within the Bounds it was at the Time of the Treaty, without extending it further in the *Indies*, and this was confirmed by that of *Utrecht*, in 1714.

These Articles prove evidently then, that no Change ought to be made in that Navigation, the one Side, or the other, whether by the Party's own Subjects, or by those of any other Power, who is not comprehended in the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munster*, considering further, that the tenth Article of that of *Utrecht* declares, that the Privileges, with respect to the Navigation and Commerce of the *East-Indies*, comprized in the said fifth Article of the Treaty of *Munster*, shall have Place solely in what concerns the two high Powers contracting, and their Subjects (that is to say, *Spain* and the Republick) not others. Accordingly, the true Sense and Meaning of these Words appear clearly, by the Report of the Plenipotentiaries at the said Congress of *Utrecht*, inserted in the Journal, which is among the Acts of the Negotiations, where it is said, concerning the fifth and sixth Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*,

That the Intention of your Majesty's Plenipotentiaries was, that the *States-General* of the United-Provinces, and their Inhabitants, ought of Right to enjoy the Advantages stipulated by that Treaty, but that other Nations, and particularly the *Hanse Towns*, ought not to enjoy them, a certain Mark, that the Exclusion (or Non-Admission) of other Nations to the Enjoyment of what is settled by the fifth Article touching the Navigation and Commerce to the *East-Indies*, was the only Aim of that Treaty. And seeing those Conventions were inserted at the

Requisition and Instance of your Majesty's Plenipotentiaries, and were agreed to on both Sides, one of the two Powers ought not to transfer his Right by a particular Treaty, or let another Nation participate therein, without the Consent and Concurrence of the other Power, who is so particularly interested in the said Convention. Besides, *Spain* having yielded to the Republick, that Part of the *Indies* which it now possesses, with a Promise, that the *Spaniards* should not extend themselves on that Side; that Crown has no Right to yield a second Time to other Nations, what it desisted from, and yielded by so solemn a Treaty in Favour of the Republick.

How is it possible then, that your Majesty's Ministers should permit those Articles to be infringed, by giving an authentick Permission to the *Ostend Company*, and by bestowing on them Privileges, which there would have been no Right to grant, had that Part of the *Netherlands*, which they inhabit, remained under your Majesty's Dominion. And seeing that the Kings of *Spain* had anciently the Power, and were in the Possession of excluding all the Subjects of their Dominions (except those of *Spain*) from the Navigation to the *Indies*, the Inhabitants of the *Austrian Netherlands*, who at that Time were their Subjects, were excluded, and it was only by the Treaty of *Munster*, that the United-Provinces obtained the Privileges they enjoy, with the mutual Conditions, that the Division of the *Indies* being made, the two Parties were obliged to abstain from the Navigation within each others Liberties.

Whence it follows, that the Republick having engaged, that her Subjects should not navigate in the *Spanish Indies*, she at the same Time acquired the Right of excluding all the Subjects of the Dominions of *Spain*, and consequently those of the *Spanish Netherlands*, from the Navigation within their Limits. For the rest, the Cession which was made of the said *Netherlands* to the Emperor, being such, that his Imperial Majesty should possess them under the same Conditions the Kings of *Spain* had done; it is clear, that these Countries, by changing their Master, could not acquire any Right prejudicial to the Republick, and contrary to all the Treaties.

Besides the express Terms of the thirty-first Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* are, that your Majesty promises and engages, not to permit any foreign Nation whatsoever (and for any Reason, or under any Pretext whatsoever) to send Ships, or to trade in the *Spanish Indies*; but that on the contrary, your Majesty obliges yourself to maintain Things on the same Foot they were during the Reign of King *Charles II.* and conformable to the fundamental Laws of *Spain*, which absolutely prohibit, and interdict all foreign Nations from entering and trading into those *Indies*, in which even the *States-General* had engaged to support and maintain your Majesty against all those who should have attempted the contrary. Whether therefore the Subjects of the *Austrian Netherlands* be considered as having been formerly Subjects of the King of *Spain*, or whether they be considered as Foreigners, nothing does authorize the granting them Privileges opposite to the Tenor of the mutual Treaties and Conventions between your Majesty and the Republick.

All these Considerations, Sire, are reducible to the four following Heads, viz. I. That by the Treaty of Commerce between your Majesty and the Imperial Majesty, the Emperor's Subjects are permitted to trade in the *Indies*, which is entirely contrary to the Aim and Intention of the Treaties of *Munster* and *Utrecht*. II. That by the said Treaty of Commerce, the Emperor's Subjects have acquired Permission to enter and frequent your Majesty's Towns and Ports in the *Indies*, under Pretext of taking in Refreshments there, &c. a Thing which has always been refused to the Ships of their High-Mightinesses, and consequently, by virtue of the Treaties, cannot be granted to other Nations to their Prejudice. III. That your Majesty supports and authorizes the Establishments of a Company formed by the Inhabitants of a Country which have heretofore been under your Dominion, is specifically under the Prohibitions which were stipulated with regard to all the Subjects of the Crown of *Spain* (the *Spaniards* excepted) which is very different from the Tenor of the Treaties, wherein it is declared, that your Majesty will not only

hinder all foreign Nations from trading in the *Indies*, but likewise that you will support their High-Mightinesses in all their Rights and Prerogatives in that respect; and Lastly, That your Majesty and their High-Mightinesses standing engaged to assist each other mutually for hindering any other Nation from going to Trade in the *Indies*, it is evident, that neither of the two contracting Parties could have a Right to alter, or desert from those Articles, without the Participation and Consent of the other Party interested.

Sire, all the Considerations above-mentioned, do, at this Time, form just Ground for the Complaints of their High-Mightinesses, my Masters, who cannot sufficiently wonder how your Majesty's Ministers (without making due Reflections on the manifest Contradiction between the Treaty of *Vienna* and those of *Munster* and *Utrecht*) could venture to grant so considerable Advantages to the Subjects of the *Austrian* Netherlands, to the great Prejudice of their High-Mightinesses, and if one may be allowed to say it, even to the great Prejudice of your Majesty, and of your People, who, if that continue, will in Time see themselves frustrated of the Advantages of their own Commerce, by that very Company which is now so signally protected. Their High-Mightinesses most earnestly entreat your Majesty, therefore, by my Mouth, to be pleased to order, that the most serious Regards, and the most suitable to the Importance of the Case, may be had to the present Remonstrances, well weighing how far these Contradictions to the Treaties of *Munster* and *Utrecht*, may in Time lead to ill Consequences, and create Troubles in *Europe*.

Their High-Mightinesses are thoroughly persuaded from your Majesty's Zeal and Piety, that it was not your Intention to over-turn the Rights and Prerogatives of the Republick, founded on such authentick Treaties, so that they can impute only to your Majesty's Ministers, the Attempts made against them by that of *Vienna*. But if your Majesty has not the Goodness to apply in Time the necessary Remedy, this Republick will find themselves frustrated of all the Advantages they had acquired at the Expence of so much Bloodshed, for the Support of its Navigation; whence it is easy to conclude, Sire, that Commerce being in general Part of the Basis and Foundation of the State, their High-Mightinesses can never desert in the least from the mutual Conventions of the Treaties of *Munster* and *Utrecht*.

They therefore flatter themselves, that your Majesty will be pleased to cause the Articles of the Treaty of *Vienna*, which are contradictory thereto, to be reformed, and will provide, that the *Ostend* Company may not in any Manner, nor under any Pretext, go, and navigate in the *Indies*, to the End, their High-Mightinesses, my Masters, may satisfy and calm the alarmed Minds of their People, who look upon this Treaty of *Vienna*, as the entire Subversion of the Rights and Prerogatives of their Commerce, and claim the Performance of the Treaties of *Munster* and *Utrecht*.

12. This Representation, however, though extremely clear and plain, had none of the Effects that were expected from it. Their Catholick Majesties had formed to themselves very extensive, but at the same Time very groundless Expectations from the Treaty of *Vienna*, and were therefore obdurate in their Resolutions of supporting it at all Events. The *Ostend* Company was visibly of no Advantage, but in its Consequences, very likely to prove a great Prejudice to the *Spanish* Trade; but the Reason which induced the Court of *Madrid*, notwithstanding, to consent to the Support of it, was, the Assistance she expected from the Emperor, in the Execution of a favourite Design of her own, which was the recovering the Fort-ress of *Gibraltar* from the Crown of *Great Britain*.

But the great and all-powerful Motive which induced *Spain* to act as she did, was, the vain Hopes of obtaining the Heiress of the House of *Austria*, the present Empress and Queen of *Hungary*, for Don *Carlos*, the eldest Son of the Queen of *Spain*, and at present King of the *Sicilies*. This Notion, tho' very indifferently founded, made such an Impression on the Minds of their Catholick Majesties, that nothing appeared to them in the Light of an Inconvenience, which they apprehended might contribute there-

to, and this it was that engaged them to comply so readily with whatever his Imperial Majesty demanded, and even induce them to make such Dispositions as looked like engaging in a War with the *Hanover* Allies. The Emperor, also, on his Side, shewed as great Obstinacy, and indeed, with more Reason; for all the Articles of the *Vienna* Alliance, were entirely in his Favour, and the establishing the *Ostend* Company, in the Manner he designed, was a Point of such infinite Consequence, both with respect to Honour and Interest, that we need not at all wonder he pushed it in the Manner he did, or that he laboured, by several Negotiations in the North, to engage most of the Crowns there in the Support of his Schemes, in which at first he had extraordinary Success, but by Degrees, the Aspect of Affairs was changed, by Measures which we shall next explain.

13. The *States-General*, seeing how little they were able to effect by Memorials and Representations, and beginning to feel daily more and more the bad Consequences of the Establishment of the *Ostend* Company, with regard to their Commerce in the *Indies*, took at last a Resolution of acceding to the Treaty of *Hanover*, notwithstanding all that their Imperial and Catholick Majesties could do to hinder it. They did accede accordingly, which very clearly demonstrated to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, that it was impossible to prosecute their Designs farther, without running the immediate Hazard of a War. *Spain* seemed resolved to run this Risk, and actually committed Hostilities against *Great Britain*, by besieging *Gibraltar*, with very little Effect however, and without any Assistance from the Emperor, who, on his Side, was unable to make the necessary Provisions for a Rupture, without the Assistance of such Supplies in Money from *Spain*, as at that Time she could not afford. The Court of *France* remained also steady to her Engagements, and appeared so willing to enter into a War against *Spain*, in Conjunction with the Maritime Powers, that this Court began to dislike exceedingly the Situation she was in, and to wish for a Peace upon reasonable Terms.

The Court of *Vienna* too perceiving that *Spain* began to open her Eyes to her own Interest, and having never had really any Inclination to comply with that Marriage, which their Catholick Majesties had so fondly set their Hearts upon, thought likewise of a timely Return to her old Friends, and those Engagements which had been formerly productive of so many Advantages. Things being in this Situation, it was not long before Preliminaries were settled, in which there was an Article that took away for the present those Apprehensions that the Settlement of this Company had raised.

It was some Time before it could be so worded, as to satisfy all Parties; but at length, the Preliminaries being absolutely settled and signed at *Paris*, on the 10th of May, 1727, the first Article of them ran thus; "His Imperial and Catholick Majesty having no other View than to contribute to the publick Tranquillity of *Europe*, and observing that the Commerce of *Ostend* has given Birth to Jealousy and Uneasiness, consents that there shall be a Suspension of the Charter of the *Ostend* Company, and of all Traffick between the *Austrian* Netherlands and the *Indies*, during the Term of seven Years." By the fifth Article of the same Preliminaries it was agreed, that the Ships which sail'd from *Ostend* before this Convention, the Names whereof were to be given in a List on the Part of his Imperial Majesty, were to be permitted safely to return home, and in case any of them should be taken, it was agreed, that they should be, *bona fide*, restored with their Cargoes.

It is unnecessary to pursue the political History of this Point any farther, since by this Suspension the *Ostend* Company was in fact destroyed, and tho' some Sales were afterwards made with considerable Advantage to the Proprietors, yet they lost the Power of continuing their Commerce, and the Maritime Powers carried their Point. Thus ended this troublesome and perplexed Affair, which had very near given Birth to a general War, and by which, as it has been very plainly and fully proved, that if his Hands had not been tied by Treaties, his Imperial Majesty might in a few Years have restored the Commerce of the *Austrian* Netherlands,

Netherlands, and made the little Port of *Ostend* of more use to his Dominions than hitherto *France* has been able to make the many Parts in her Dominions, which is a Point worthy of our Consideration, and indeed, of that of all *Europe*, to whom the raising a new Maritime Power would be found a thing of great and dangerous Consequence, more especially in the Hands of a Prince otherwise powerful on the Continent.

But before we quit this Subject, it will be requisite to take Notice of some few Points, which rendered it so absolutely necessary to consider this Matter, and to consider it so largely as we have done in this Section. In the first Place let it be observed, that a stronger Proof there cannot be of the Importance of the *East-India* Commerce, than that all *Europe* should be thus as it were in Arms upon that Subject, and having felt so lately the Mischiefs of a general War, should notwithstanding hazard the breaking out of another about the settling the Right of this Commerce. It is impossible to conceive how this should have been reconcileable to the Wisdom of their Councils any other way than by supposing it was a Thing self-evident to them, that the Trade of the *Indies* was the great Wheel which moved the whole commercial System in *Europe*. It was in this Light, and in this Light only, that the pulling down the *Ostend* Company could be looked upon as an Enterprize equally great and glorious, as the pulling down universal Monarchy. To say the Truth, when closely considered, they came to be the same thing; for the sole Reason which induced *Spain* to depart from her own Interest, so far as to countenance this Company, was the Hopes she entertained of seeing a Prince of her Blood Heir of the *German* Branch of the House of *Austria*, to whom she could not grudge a Share in the Commerce of the *Indies*.

But tho' her Hopes were vain, because very probably the late Emperor never intended any such thing; yet that would not have lessened the Value of the Present she made him; for if the *Ostend* Company had been once effectually established, the whole *East-India* Trade, in less than a Century, would have been confined to the *Austrian* Netherlands, and perhaps, the greatest Part of the Trade in *Europe* must have followed it. In order to explain this, we must remember, that the *Austrian* Low-Countries are in themselves much finer than the Provinces which compose the *Dutch* Republick, and much better situated for Trade. Their Sales of *East-India* Commodities would have brought prodigious Sums of ready Money into those Provinces, and this must have revived and restored those Manufactures, which formerly flourished here more than in any Part of *Europe*, which would have immediately secured to them all the Commerce of *Germany*, and by Degrees that of the North. In such Circumstances, what should have hindered their attempting and acquiring the Fisheries, and by opening the Ports of *Trieste* and *Fiume* on the *Adriatick*, what could have prevented their engrossing the *Italian* Trade? It may be said, that all these are Suppositions; but what then, they are reasonable Suppositions, and which is much more to my Purpose, they were such Suppositions as induced the late Emperor to establish this Company, and to struggle so hard as he did for the Maintenance of it, nay, what is still more, the *Dutch*, who beyond a Question, were the best Judges in the World of what might be done, and what could be done, thought all these Suppositions both possible and practicable, which induced them to act in the Manner they did. Take then all this together, and it will appear a very strong, and not to be refuted Argument, that the Trade of the *East-Indies* is in itself the Foundation of Commerce, and Maritime Power, at least in the Hands of such as know how to manage it, and have it in their Power to manage it as they would do; which, I think, fully justifies the Pains I have taken upon this Subject, and all that I have advanced in this Section.

The Desire I have of making every thing as clear and plain as it is possible, induces me to think of resolving a

Question that will naturally arise in the Mind of an inquisitive Person upon this Occasion, and it is this: How it should come to pass that the Emperor, or rather the Subjects of the Emperor in the *Low-Countries*, should, in so short a Space of Time, and having no better a Port than *Ostend*, be able to erect and establish a Company capable of carrying on immediately such a Commerce in the *Indies* as alarmed and astonished the Maritime Powers beyond any thing that *France* had been able to do in a much longer Space of Time, with the utmost Assistance the Court could give, and that Assistance too under the Direction of her ablest and greatest Ministers, who scarce ever failed in any thing else. This, without question, is a very difficult Point for common People to get over; but to such as are well acquainted with the Situation of the several Countries, the Genius and Disposition of their Inhabitants, and the Nature of the Governments under which they live, it carries in it little or no Difficulty at all.

For, in the first Place, the *Austrian Low-Countries* are better seated for Trade, the People, generally speaking, are not only more inclined thereto, but are also better qualified for it, since they are not only sober and frugal, but diligent also and industrious. Their Country is rich and fruitful, their Towns large and populous; many of them still have, and all of them once had noble and flourishing Manufactures. Add to all this, that though the *Flemings* have lost much of their ancient Freedom, yet they still retain more of it than the *French*, and it will be no difficult Matter to conceive how this Affair happened. In few Words, the Cause was this: *Flanders* was, for several Ages, the Center of the Commerce of *Europe*; among such a People therefore Trade might be easily revived. In regard to *France*, the Cause was quite otherwise; they never knew the Blessing of a flourishing Trade, or that kind of Government, under which extensive Traffick can only rise and spread. But, to return to what is more immediately our Province, and to inform the Reader of the Consequences that attended the establishing this new Company, notwithstanding its Suspension; and in consequence of that Suspension, its Dissolution.

The great Struggle which this Company occasioned divulged the Advantages of the *East-India* Trade throughout all *Europe*; and in every Nation inquisitive and publick spirited People began to look seriously after this political Philosopher's Stone, which they heard was universally confessed to be the grand Source of Riches, Commerce, and naval Power. One would have thought that the Ruin of this Company would have damped at least, if not destroyed this Desire of establishing a Trade to the *Indies*. So far from it however that the Fall of the *Ostend* Company actually increased it, and that for these three Reasons; First, it lent abroad abundance of active and intelligent Persons who had been employed by this Company, and were, of all others, the most likely and the most capable of setting on Foot, and of conducting Projects of this Nature in other Places. Secondly, the great Success this Company had, during the short time it continued, was a very strong and prevailing Argument to persuade the setting up a Company in any other Place, and an Argument which the Persons I have just mentioned, knew how to represent in the fairest Colours possible. Thirdly, as the Fall and Ruin of this Company was owing entirely to the Treaties subsisting between their Imperial and Catholic Majesties and the Maritime Powers, which, not extending to other Princes and States, it might well encourage them to hope for equal good Fortune, and to apprehend fewer Inconveniences. Such were the Motives that determined the *Danes* and the *Sweeds*, one to revive, and the other to erect Companies of this kind, of which, as they are still subsisting, we are bound, from the Nature of the Subject, as well as by the express Terms of our Plan, to give the Reader a satisfactory Account, which is all that remains for us to do in reference to this Compleat History of the Commerce of *Europe* with the *Indies*.

SECTION XXXVII.

The History of the Danish Commerce to the East-Indies, their Establishments there, the Decay of their Old Company, and the Motives which induced them to set up a New One.

Interspersed with Original Papers and Memoirs.

1. The Danes anciently very powerful by Sea, famous for maritime Expeditions, and always remarkable for keeping up a considerable naval Force in the North.
2. Their first Voyages to the Indies, their Establishment on the Coast of Corromandel, their Fortress and Town of Tranquebar, or Trincombar, and the Fate of their Colony there.
3. An Account of their long War with the Rajah of Tanjour, the Siege of Tranquebar, the Intrigues of the Dutch to the Prejudice of the Danes, and the Relief of that Town by the English, thro' the Generosity of Mr. Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George.
4. The History of the Danish Colony, continued down to the Time of the New East-India Subscription at Hambourgh on the Fall of the Ostend Company.
5. An impartial View of the new Establishment, or the Incorporation of the New Company at Altena, with the Old East-India Company at Copenhagen.
6. Objections raised against that Establishment, and the Probability of its succeeding in its Commerce.
7. Answers to those Objections, and a farther Account of the Privileges and Immunities granted to the incorporated Company by his Danish Majesty.
8. The Opposition made to the New Company (as it was called) at Altena by the Maritime Powers, Memorials presented on this Subject to the Court of Denmark, and Issue of that Dispute.
9. The thorough Completion of this Scheme under the Auspice of the present King (then Prince) of Denmark, and Progress of this incorporated Company, from its Foundation to the present Time.

THE Danes were anciently as remarkable for a Naval Force as any Country in the North, which manifestly appears, not only from their Chronicles, but ours. It was by this Means that they became Lords of almost all the Countries round about them, and were so formidable by their Fleets as to undertake various Expeditions into remote Countries. Thus, under the Name of *Normans*, they conquered a Part of *France*, and even settled themselves in the Kingdom of *Naples*. It is true, that the naval Concerns of *Europe* were then in a Condition very different from what they are now; yet this, instead of lessening, will, to a Man of good Sense and Consideration, rather increase the Difficulty; for if we find it so hard with all the Advantages we enjoy to transport a small Body of Troops to the opposite Part of the Continent, what must we think of the Danes landing such numerous Armies in this Island, in *France*, and in other Countries.

These Facts are not to be disputed, and, at present, it is not my Business to account for them; all I aim at is, to shew that the Danes had many Ages ago a great Maritime Power, and I believe Experience will shew, that where once a Nation has been possessed of such a Power, and escapes being conquered by her Neighbours, she generally preserves somewhat of her ancient Spirit, which exerts itself, more or less, as Occasions offer, and is never totally overwhelmed. If the Danes had applied themselves more to Trade, and less to foreign Conquests, they would have made a much more considerable Figure in *Europe* than at this Time they do, since it is certain that their being driven out of *Sweeden* and Part of *Norway*, exhausted them extremely, and the Civil Wars in their own Country proved another great Cause of weakening their Force.

Yet they have never been totally deprived of Maritime Power, or of a Maritime Spirit, but have frequently shewn an Inclination to attempt considerable Discoveries in the Northern Parts of the World, to establish Colonies and Empires in those Parts, and have even made very long Voyages, with a View of extending their Commerce, if not with all the Success they could wish, yet with more than some of their Neighbours; and have been also more tenacious of what they acquired, as if they meant to retain these distant Conquests, till such a Government arose at home, as by giving due Attention to Trade, and just Encouragement to those who endeavoured to promote it, might enable them to turn such an Establishment to greater Advantage. By this Means they have been, and still are, in a Condition to embrace any Opportunity that offers, and will, in all Probability, sooner or later, distinguish

themselves as much by Commerce as ever their Forefathers did by Courage and Force, as from the Contents of the present Section, we shall evidently make appear.

It was very early in the last Century that the Danes thought of attempting a Trade to the *East-Indies*; and about the Year 1612, King *Christian IV.* granted his Protection to a Company established at *Copenhagen*, for carrying on a Commerce from thence to the *Indies*. The Capital of this new Company consisted of two hundred and fifty Shares, of the Value of One thousand Rixdollars each, and about four Years afterwards they fitted out some Vessels for the *Indies*, with such Success that they established themselves on the Coast of *Corromandel*, at no great Distance from the *French* Settlement at *Pondicherry*. The Name of this Place is very differently written; the *Portuguese* and *Indians* call it *Tranquebar*, the *English* Sailors *Trincombar*; but I take the true Name of it to be *Tranquebar*.

It is situated fifteen Miles to the Northward of *Negapatan*, and enjoys a considerable Trade. The Danes have built here a regular Fort, faced with Stone, and surrounded with a deep Mote, which makes it esteemed one of the strongest Fortresses in the *Indies*. The Town also, which is about two Miles in Circumference, is surrounded with a noble Wall, faced with Stone, having large Batteries at proper Distances, mounted with Cannon. The Houses which the Danes and other *Europeans* inhabit, are of Brick or Stone, built all upon a Floor, but commodious enough; the Streets are wide and straight, and paved on the Sides with Brick; but the Houses of the *Indians* are very mean, having Clay-Walls, and thatched Roofs, as in most other Towns of *India*. The Garrison is not answerable to so large an Extent of Ground, consisting only of one hundred and fifty *Europeans*, or thereabouts, and some *Indians*, who are only fit to oppose Soldier-like themselves. In the long Space of Time however, that the Danes remained here, they collected together a great Number of *Indian* Subjects, who live very happily, and even grow rich under their Protection. They have likewise taken Care to make Proselytes to the *Lutheran* Religion of a great Part of those who live among them, and they have thereby bound them more effectually to their Service; so that their Colony is very considerable, and grows more so every Day, and this chiefly for the following Reason, that it supports, at least, and pays the *Danish* Company Ten thousand Rixdollars a Year, by Way of Tribute.

Their Trade in this Part of the World has suffered various Alterations, being sometimes better and sometimes worse, according to the Revolutions that have happened in that Part of the World, and the Accidents which befel the Company in *Europe*. However, as far as I am able to judge, it was most considerable about twenty-four Years after it was first settled; for then, I find, a very eminent *Dutch* Writer comparing the *Danish* Trade to that of the *English*, and affirming that the former, with a little Application, might be made as considerable as the latter. The Reader will observe, that this was said in the Time of our civil Wars, when, as we have shewn, in our History of the *English* Company, their Trade declined exceedingly; so that it is not at all improbable, that this Observation might be then true. It is, notwithstanding, certain, that the Trade of the *Danes*, was rather profitable to private Persons, such as the Governor of *Tranquebar*, and the principal Merchants employed there, than to the Publick; and the Reason was plainly this, that they seldom received any considerable Supplies from *Denmark*, and as seldom sent home Ships laden with the Commodities and Manufactures of the *Indies*; so that they subsisted chiefly by the Trade they carried on with their Neighbours and into different Parts of *Asia*, since they sometimes sent Ships as far as *China*, from whence they obtained considerable Returns.

But they had from their first Establishment very great Difficulties to struggle with, being very often engaged in Wars with their *Indian* Neighbours, and very seldom upon good Terms with the rest of the *European* Nations settled in *India*, who, though they affected to despise and condemn the *Danes*, and to treat their Trade as very despicable and inconsiderable, yet they could not help envying them even the little Trade they had, to which, perhaps, the convenient Situation of their Fortrefs might, in some measure, contribute, from a Persuasion that, in other Hands, it might become a much greater Consequence, more especially with regard to the Diamond Trade, for which, without doubt, it stands as well, or better, than any of the *European* Factories in that Part of the World.

But the most considerable War in which they were ever engaged, was towards the latter End of the last Century, when this Fortrefs very narrowly escaped being taken, of which, as it is the most remarkable Transaction of which I can obtain any Account, I think it will not be amiss to insist upon it a little more largely, the rather, because it was the principal Occasion of the old *Danish* Company running into Debt, and bringing their Affairs into a worse Condition than they ever were before.

3. The Ground of the War was this; the *Danish* Colony lying on the Frontiers of the *Indian* Rajah of *Tanjour*, the *Dutch* stirred him up to attack and destroy it, promising him considerable Assistance under Hand, and to give him a Tun of Gold, which, as we have elsewhere shewn, amounts to above Ten thousand Pounds of our Money, for the Place when taken. That this was a very base and barbarous Design, an *English* Reader will very readily allow; but it was, nevertheless, very well contrived, and had very near taken Effect, for the *Indian* Prince was very brave in his Person, esteemed by his Countrymen a good Officer, and had, without doubt, Troops enough to have done his Business, if he had not been prevented by the Interposition of Mr. Pitt, who was at that Time Governor of *Fort St. George*, who very generously assisted the *Danes*, from a Principle of Humanity, which ought to be applauded.

We have, by this Means, a tolerable Account of the whole Transaction, which I shall give in as few Words as possible. When the Prince of *Tanjour* had resolved upon this Enterprize, he assembled the whole Force of his Dominions, and marched directly towards *Tranquebar*, in order to attack it. The *Indians* were to extremely cautious, that they began to open their Trenches above a Mile from the Town, and carried on two Attacks; the Earth being a dry Sand, they drove down the Bodies of Cocoa-nut Trees, instead of stakes, both on the Inside and on the Out, and filled up the Space between them with Sand, so that their Trenches were almost as thick as a Town-wall,

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and very high, so that they were perfectly covered from our Fire. They had about twenty or thirty thousand Men employed in this Siege, and with incredible Labour and Patience, in about five Months Time, they brought down their Trenches within Pistol-Shot of the Walls, and with their Batteries, had almost ruined one of the Bastions, when the *English* Reinforcements arrived. The *Danes* expected every Day an Assault, and were preparing to move their Effects into the Fort and quit the Town; and indeed they gave the Enemy very little Disturbance, as far as I can learn, in carrying on their Works, for the Garrison did not consist of more than two hundred *Europeans*, as many *Indian* *Portuguese*, and about a thousand Blacks; and, besides the Fort they had to defend, the Circumference of the Town-wall was not less than a Mile and an half. It was faced with Stone indeed, but had no Ditch, and therefore the *Danes*, to prevent the Enemy's scaling it, had set high Pallisadoes upon the Top of the Ramparts.

A Day or two after the *English* arrived, a Sally was resolved upon, and about Sun-rise in the Morning, a Detachment of the Blacks marched out of a Bastion, and were followed by the *English*; but the Blacks were no sooner out of the Gates, than they opened to the Right and Left, and made Room for the *English* to advance, never intending to engage themselves. A Body of the Enemy moved out of their Trenches to oppose our Troops, and came on in tolerable Order with their Broad-swords and Shields, without shooting an Arrow, or firing a Piece. They were all decently clothed in white Vests and Turbans, and seemed determined to engage our People hand to hand, in the Plain between the Town and the Trenches. The *English* Officers were in some Pain, seeing this Body of *Indians* advance with that Resolution, knowing their Men were several of them new raised, and mixed with *Portuguese*, on whom there is very little Dependence: But our great Guns from the Walls, beginning to play upon the Enemy, put them into Confusion, and they retired to their Trenches, with much greater Hast than they came out. And our Men advancing, while they were in that Confusion, drove them still farther. But there being no Preparations made for levelling the Trenches, and the Day growing hot, the *English* retired into the Town, and the Enemy returned into their Works, without any great Loss on either Side.

A few Days after, it was resolved to make another Sally, with the greatest Part of the Garrison, and accordingly they marched out at the great Gate, which faced their principal Attack; the Black Soldiers, according to Custom, retired under the Walls almost as soon as they were out, to make Room for the *Europeans*. The Enemy kept close in their Trenches firing at us; but between the two Attacks upon the Plain, there stood a considerable Body of Musketeers and Pike-men, against whom the *English* Commander thought fit to advance; but he had not marched many Paces, before an unlucky Ball wounded him in the Middle of his Foot, which compelled him to quit the Field.

The next Officer thereupon took upon him the Command of the *English*, and led them towards the Enemy, who were drawn up in the Plain; that Body retreating, drew the *English* so far from the Town, that they were intercepted by the *Moorish* Horse; and the *Danes*, whom the *English* expected to have supported them, never advanced a Step. In this Exigency, the *English* Officer resolved to throw himself into the Enemy's Trenches, finding it impossible to retreat into the Town over the Plain; and having thrown some Granades into the Trenches, the *Indians* were so complaisant as to quit them, and make Room for the *English*, who marched quite along them towards the Town, till they came to the End of the Works; but here, they were met by the *Moorish* Horse; yet upon making one general Fire, in which great Execution was done, the Horse scoured off, and left the *English* at Liberty to march on to the Walls, where they found the *Danes* drawn up in perfect Security.

In this Action, the *English* were one half of them killed or wounded. Among others, one of the Granadeers,

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a drunken Shoemaker received twelve or fourteen Wounds, and yet was brought alive into the Town and recovered. It was by this feasonable Assistance afforded them by the *English*, that the *Danes* preserved this Town and Forts; for soon after, the Rajah of *Tanjour*, growing weary of a War, that harraided his Subjects, and brought himself no Advantage, retired into his own Territories, and left the *Danes* at Liberty to pursue their Trade as before.

4. They have since that Time remained in quiet Possession of this Place, and carried on the little Trade they have in Quiet. Besides the Town of *Tranquebar*, and the Forts of *Danbourg*, which is a regular Citadel, with four strong Balleions, they have a small District of Country dependent upon them, the Inhabitants of which, partly *Moors*, and partly *Indians*, are their Subjects, and for the Education of their Children, they have built and endowed a publick School, where they are taught all Kinds of useful Knowledge; and the *Danish* Missionaries being compleat Masters of the *Malabar* Tongue, preach in all the neighbouring Countries, and make many Converts. They have formerly built very good Ships here, which they not only employed in their own Commerce, but also let them out to their Neighbours upon Freight, which if it did not turn to a very great Account, it at least enabled them to subsist, and not only to keep what they had got, but also to enlarge and improve their Colony. I must not, however, forbear mentioning another Method by which some of their *European* Neighbours suggest, the *Danes* made use of to better their Fortunes, and that is, their allowing their Ships to cruise, not only on the Infidels, but also on the Shipping of some Christian Nations, which, if true, it must certainly have been a most illegal and unwarrantable Practice.

But we must not yield too easy to a Belief to such kind of Accusations, since it is very certain, that those who framed them, were strongly prejudiced against the *Danes*, and from thence inclined to speak ill of them, whether with, or without Foundation; and not only to speak ill, but also to use them ill, when it lay in their Power, as is evident from the Behaviour of the *Dutch*, not only in raising the War before mentioned, but in their Behaviour towards the People of *Tranquebar*, when in that distressed Situation; for the Enemy being possessed of the Springs by which the Town was furnished with Water, they sent Deputies to desire the Assistance of their Neighbours the *Dutch*, who, instead of complying with so necessary and reasonable a Demand, first whipped their Messengers, and then sent them back without Water. We may therefore justly suspect the Testimony of such People as were capable of an Action of this Nature towards their fellow Creatures, when in such Distress. On the Whole therefore, I think, instead of wondering, that after above one hundred Years Possession of this Place, and of some other little Factories about it, they should be considerably in Debt, which is no more than what has happened also to their Neighbours, we ought rather to wonder, that the *Danish* Company were able to go on at all, especially since they received so little Assistance from Home, and had nothing to depend on but their own Industry in the *Indies*, and the small Revenue arising from their Territories there.

We are now to open a new Scene, by relating what chiefly gave Occasion to this Section, I mean the establishing what its Enemies thought fit to call a new *East-India* Company in *Denmark*, the Occasion of which was this: Upon the Ruin of the *Osind* Company, a *Dutchman*, whose Name was *Johann van Asperen*, who had been concerned in that Affair, went to *Copenhagen*, where he presented himself to King *Frederick* the IVth, a Prince of great Goodness and Virtue, and who had nothing more at Heart than promoting the Welfare of his Subjects by all the Means that lay in his Power. The Scheme proposed by *M. Asperen* to his *Danish* Majesty, had a very fair Appearance, and great Probability of Success; he observed, that there was a great Spirit raised of opening a new Trade to the *Indies*; that many People, who were very well versed in that Trade, and engaged in the Service of the *Osind* Company, the Success of which would unquestionably have answered their Expectations, if they had not been cut off; that the Causes of its Ruin were

such, as could not attend that Project in any other Country, but least of all in *Denmark*, which had enjoyed an uninterrupted Commerce to the *Indies* for above a Century; that therefore there was nothing farther necessary to render the *Danish* Company as flourishing as those of *England* and *Holland*, than to increase its Capital, by opening a new Subscription upon advantageous Terms.

By the Force of these Arguments, the King was prevailed upon to suffer his Scheme to be put in Execution, and that it might be done more conveniently, the *Danish East-India* Company was transferred from the City of *Copenhagen*, to the Borough of *Altena*, a Place belonging to the Crown of *Denmark*, but situated close to the rich and free City of *Hamburg*, and therefore made Choice of, upon this Occasion; in order to induce Foreigners to engage in this Undertaking, his *Danish* Majesty thought fit to grant a new Charter, dated in *April* 1728, for promoting the Commerce of the said Company to the *Indies*, *China*, and *Bengal*, the chief Articles of which were these, *viz.* The new Subscribers shall have an equal Share and Right with the old Members, in all the Concessions, Odstroys and Privileges granted to the said Company by his present Majesty and his august Predecessors. And likewise in all the Forts, Settlements, Revenues, Houses, Magazines, Ships, Effects, and in short, whatever the Company is possessed of at this Day, or may acquire in Time to come. The old Shares, or Actions, which are in Number two hundred and fifty, of one thousand Rixdollars each, shall subsist and remain as they are, and will have the same Rights as the new Shares. The Directors shall declare, and affirm upon their Honour, that all the Debts of the Company do not exceed one hundred and sixty thousand Rixdollars in Specie. The united Company are obliged to discharge and pay the said Sum of one hundred and sixty thousand Rixdollars, upon Condition that the old Shares shall have no Dividends till the Year 1733.

Though there is no Question, that the Accounts of the Company are just, and that their Debts do not exceed the said Sum of one hundred and sixty thousand Rixdollars, it is nevertheless stipulated, That if the said Debts should appear to exceed the said Sum, the old Shares shall be answerable for the Overplus, and that the new Subscribers shall not be obliged to contribute thereunto. Each new Share shall be one thousand Rixdollars in Bank, or Specie, whereof twenty per Cent. shall be paid upon the Account of *M. Alexander Bruguier*, Banker at *Hamburg*, or in the Manner prescribed in the Project published by the Company at *Copenhagen*, December 16, 1727. If there was any absolute Necessity to make a further Call the present Year 1727, the same shall not exceed five, or ten per Cent. at the farthest. The Call for the next Year shall not exceed twenty, or twenty-five per Cent. The Remainder of the Subscription shall not be called in without the Resolution and Determination of a general Court of the Company. If the entire Sum of the said one thousand Rixdollars, for the new Actions, is not paid in the Year 1738, the Proprietors of the old Shares shall have an Interest at the Rate of five per Cent. allowed them, for the Sum they have paid more and above the new Subscribers. There will be no other Actions than Shares of one thousand Rixdollars, and half Shares of five hundred Rixdollars each. Every Subscriber shall be allowed to take Shares for the Bearer, signed by the Company, and such as please, may have them inscribed in the Company's Books. There shall be paid for each Transfer two Rixdollars to the Company, and half a Rixdollar to the Poor. The Creditors of the Company are allowed to take new Actions for the Sums due to them, provided they discount on the said Debts thirty per Cent. for the present Year, for each Share, and twenty-five per Cent. for the next. The Shares they shall purchase on this Condition, shall have the same Dividends as the other new Actions. The said Shares shall not be liable to any *Suzanne*, or Stop, upon any Account whatsoever, as it is declared in his Majesty's Odstroy.

The Directors shall yearly communicate to the Subscribers, an exact and particular Account of the Affairs of the Company. The Dividend shall be regulated upon the said Account, in a general Court of the Company, by the Majority.

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Majority of Voices. The Directors are not allowed to un-
dertake any Trade but the Commerce in the *East-Indies*,
upon the Company's Account, without the Consent of
the Members thereof. And leis still shall they dispose of,
or lend the Company's Money to any Person whatsoever,
for which they are to be answerable in *solide*, in their own
Name and Estate. They shall take an Oath of exact Ob-
servation of this Article, and for a faithful Administration
of the Affairs of the Company, for the common Benefit
and Advantage of the Members thereof. All the Mer-
chandizes which shall be sold in any other Place than *Co-
penhagen*, shall be paid in the Bank at *Hamburg*, to one
or more Merchants, and most substantial Traders, for the
Company's Account. These Merchants shall be chosen,
and appointed in a general Court, by a Majority of Voices,
and in no other Way, upon any Pretence whatsoever.
The said Merchants, or Cashiers, shall pay no Money,
but upon Orders, signed by three or four of the Direc-
tors at least. The Money to be paid this Year, shall be
at the Disposal of the present Directors, till the new ones
to be added to them are chosen. The Money arising by
the new Subscriptions, shall be laid out, in sending Ships
to *Tranquebar*, *Bengal* and *China*, and for no other Use
whatsoever. No more Money shall be kept in Cash, than
what will be necessary for the fitting out and sending of Ships,
as in the preceding Article. A general Court of the
Company shall be called as soon as possible, in order to
choose four new Directors, out of the new Subscribers, who
may be all Foreigners, &c.

6. Upon the Publication of these prodigious Advan-
tages, granted to the new Company for carrying on a
Trade to the *East-Indies* from *Denmark*, there followed a
great Consternation in *Holland*, where they began to sus-
pect, that all the Pains they had taken in destroying the
Old Company, was merely thrown away, and that this
new Establishment in *Denmark*, would prove as prejudi-
cial to their Interest, as the former, which they had so
much dreaded. They began therefore at *Amsterdam*, *Rot-
terdam*, and all the great Cities in the United-Provinces,
to decry the new Company, and at the same Time, they
formed a Process against M. *Van Afferen*, whom they
condemned and executed in Effigy. But they soon found,
that this did not answer their Purpose, and therefore they
had recourse to other Methods.

They discovered that this Gentleman had written in very
strong Terms to his Friends, both in *Holland* and in *Great-
Britain*, to solicit them to subscribe into the Capital of the
Company at *Altena*, upon which they had recourse to the
Answers of these Letters, which they framed in the best
Manner they could, for the answering their own Ends, and
then caused them to be published in all the *English* and
Dutch News-Papers, that they might the more effectually
spread their Objections to this new Company, and thereby
disappoint the Labours of M. *Van Afferen*, and the Di-
rectors, to procure Subscriptions. In these Writings they
insinuated, that the old *East-India* Company in *Denmark*
was actually become Bankrupt, and that there was but
very little Reason to confide in the Privileges granted to
the new. But it will be best to give these Objections in
their own Words, that the Reader may judge of them
with a greater Certainty, and therefore we will make as
succinct an Extract of them as possible, reducing their Ob-
jections under four Heads, concerning which they express
themselves in the following Manner. The Reader is to
observe, that these Objections are delivered as from a Cor-
respondent of the Projectors, in Answer to what he had
written in the Favour of the Company at *Altena*.

First, That these Articles, tho' to Appearance suffici-
ently inviting, are not to be depended upon under arbi-
trary Governments, especially as long as the Words *Visa*
and *Liquidation* are in Memory; and all agree, that the
Reason why other Nations lodge large Sums, and conti-
nue them in the Funds of free Governments, is, that they
are secure by the established Laws of those Countries. Se-
condly, That they think the Word and Honour of two
Directors, as expressed in the last of the thirty-eight Ar-
ticles, is but a slender Security, or Guaranty for the old
Company's Debts, being no more than one hundred and
sixty thousand Rixdollars in Specie, more especially, when

they reflect, that one of the two Directors, tho' now a
Count, and honoured with a white Ribband, is the same
individual Person, who, during the late War with *France*,
became a Bankrupt, for upwards (as was then said) of six
Millions of Florins, and fled by Way of this Country in-
to *England*, for Protection; but so soon as the Queen was
apprized of his Situation, that he was not persecuted by
the Court of *France*, as he pretended, but prosecuted by
his fair Creditors, for large Sums he had defrauded them
of, and brought away with him; the good Queen, tho'
at War with *France*, and altho' he had been naturalized
in *Scotland*, before the Union, withdrew her Protection
from him; whereupon he came over here again, and set-
tled at *Vianen*, where it Cost him, as you may remember, a
great Sum of Money for a Protection; but he was so closely
followed by his numerous Creditors, with the Assistance
of the *States-General*, that not finding himself safe any longer,
he fled into *Denmark*, where he found both Protection
and Honour. Now, say the People here, and in *Eng-
land*, this same Man being the Author, Prompter, and
principal Manager of this new Scheme, we will never ven-
ture our Money in such Hands, to make a Jobb for him.
Thirdly, I find it objected here, by all who know the
East-Indies, that there is a great Demand upon the old
Company in *India*, and particularly in the Bay of *Bengal*,
for a large Ship which they formerly seized, with a full
Lading, bound to *Surat*, carried her off, and sold both
Ship and Cargo at *Tranquebar*, for which the *Moors* drove
them off, and they have not appeared there since. This
Debt alone has been computed at three hundred Rixdol-
lars in Specie, seven Years ago, and will be demanded by
the Government, and must be paid with full Interest up-
on Interest, at the Rate of twelve per Cent. per Annum,
according to the Custom of the Country, before they will
be permitted to trade again in that Port, and this Account
is confirmed to be true by several Persons here and in
England, that have resided in *Bengal*, some of them at
the very Time when the said Ship was taken and carried
off.

Fourthly, 'tis objected, That there can be no Profit
made equal to the Hazards a Man must run of various
Kinds, besides these before mentioned. And thus having
freely given you the unanimous Opinion of all that I have
talked with, or wrote to on this Subject, which is exactly
agreeable to my own Way of Thinking, I hope you will
not give yourself, nor me, any further Trouble on this
Subject; and, before I conclude, as you have been my
old Friend and Acquaintance, I cannot help saying, I wish
you would retreat in Time, and endeavour to obtain For-
giveness for the Injuries you have endeavoured to do your
own native Country, in Defiance of the Laws in being;
for nothing can be plainer, than that this new Scheme is
principally intended for Stock-jobbing, and to draw the
ready Money of other Nations into *Denmark*, at all Events;
but when it comes to be understood, that all, or most of
the Profits, that can be made on this Scheme, belongs to
Foreigners, whenever they want to call the Profits and
principal Money Home, I leave you to judge of the
likelihood there is, that publick Faith will be maintained:
You cannot forget what was done in *Mississippi*, when they
found the Money was going out of the Kingdom.

It was hoped, that by the publishing these Objections,
Subscriptions would have been stopped, and that the new
Company of *Altena* would have sunk of itself, or, to speak
with greater Propriety, would never have made any con-
siderable Figure, or have been capable of carrying its Plan
into Execution, or of sending so much as a single Ship to
the *Indies*; but it fell out quite otherwise, notwithstanding
what was published on this Subject in *England*, *France*,
and *Holland*.

7. As soon as this was perceived, and it was certainly
known that the *Danish East-India* Company was actually
preparing to send Ships to the *East-Indies*, agreeable to
their Plan, and to the Power given them by their Charter,
a Resolution was taken by the Maritime Powers, to act in
Concert in this Affair, and to endeavour to deprive the
new Company of their sole Support, which was his *Dan-
ish Majesty's* Charter of Incorporation. It was with this
View that Orders were sent to the Ministers of *Great-
Britain*

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Britain and Holland at the Court of *Denmark*, to act jointly in this Affair, and to use their utmost Industry to procure the Repeal of the Powers granted to this Society; and, in consequence of these Instructions, those Ministers soon after drew up, and presented the following Paper to the Court of *Denmark*.

"His Majesty, the King of *Great-Britain*, and their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, fore-seeing the Injury the transferring the *East-India* Company from *Copenhagen* to *Altena*, will do to the Commerce of their Subjects; and perceiving, with Concern, that almost at the same Instant they are making so great Efforts to stop the Progress of the *Ostend* Company, the King of *Denmark*, their good old Friend and Ally, is setting up another equally prejudicial to their Subjects, have ordered the subscribing Ministers, to make most humble Representations to his *Danish* Majesty, hoping, from his Majesty's Friendship, that, as soon as he shall be informed of the Uneasiness this Novelty gives them, he will withdraw the Privilege lately granted to that Company, and leave it on the ancient Foot as it has always subsisted at *Copenhagen*; accordingly the subscribing Ministers desire your Excellency to make a Report thereof to the King, and to procure them a favourable Answer. Done at *Copenhagen*, July 31, 1728. Signed,"

Glenorck,
Affenstedt.

8. The King of *Denmark* and his Council, did not at all relish this Memorial, to which however an Answer was given, wherein his *Danish* Majesty insisted that the Maritime Powers had totally mistaken the Point; because it never was the King's Intention to erect a new Company, or to transfer that which had now subsisted above an hundred and ten Years from *Copenhagen* to *Altena*. That this appeared clearly from the very Project of Incorporation, which granted no new Power to the Company, but barely confirmed the old ones. That the Voyages proposed directly for *China*, could not be esteemed an Infraction of Treaties, any more than the Voyages formerly made by the Company's Ships from *Tranquebar*. That farther still, his *Danish* Majesty was not restrained by any Treaty whatever, from maintaining and supporting the Commerce of his Subjects to the *Indies*, either from their Establishments in that Part of the World, or directly from *Copenhagen*. That the Law of Nature and Nations, not only gave him a Right, but made it his Duty to promote the Welfare of his Subjects, and to extend their Trade as far as it was in his Power. And

that, finally, as he did not endeavour to encourage this Commerce with any View of injuring the *East-India* Companies in *England* or *Holland*, but purely with a Design to benefit and enrich his own Subjects, he could not discern how this should expose him to the Dislike or Repentment of any other Power whatever.

How clear and full soever this Answer might seem to the Court of *Denmark*, it was far enough from giving any Satisfaction to *Great-Britain* and *Holland*; and therefore a fresh Memorial was drawn up, to shew the Insufficiency of this Answer, and the Rights which the Maritime Powers had to expect, that his *Danish* Majesty should comply with their Demands, and withdraw his Protection from this Company. This Memorial was delivered by the Earl of *Chesterfield*, and the Deputies from their High Mightinesses the States-General, to Mr. *Grey*, his *Danish* Majesty's Minister at the *Hague*, in the Summer of the Year 1728, from which Time to the present, I do not find that any farther Applications have been made on this Subject, or that the Rights of the *Danish East-India* Company have been farther controverted.

9. It is, however, certain, that the Opposition made by the Maritime Powers to the Establishment of this Company, and their absolutely forbidding their Subjects to have any Share or Concern therein, affected the new Subscriptions to such a Degree, that they did not, by any means, answer the Expectations that were formed of them, when Mr. *Van Asperen*'s Scheme was first published; but they so far answered, as to enable the Company to enlarge her Commerce, and even to enter into a direct Trade from *Copenhagen* to the *Indies* and *China*, in which they were chiefly encouraged and supported by the Prince Royal of *Denmark*, now King *Christian VI.* under whose Auspice they have flourished ever since.

By the Advantages derived from his Favour, their Affairs are now in so good a Posture, that there seems to be no Doubt of their being able to pursue their Trade constantly, and with considerable Advantage both to the Proprietors of the Company's Stock, and the *Danish* Nation in general; for their Fund is considerable, their Credit good, their Ware-houses, Magazines, Yards, and Dock at *Copenhagen* in perfect Order, and their Sales are very large and regular, inasmuch as they generally send two or three Ships annually to the *East-Indies*, and receive as many, with rich Cargoes from thence: So that, on the whole, we may venture to assert, that this Company is effectually established, and that, in a very few Years, they will have a considerable Share in the Trade to the *East-Indies*.

SECTION XXXVIII.

A succinct History of the Swedish East-India Company.

Including an Extract of the Royal Charter.

1. The Crown of Sweden far less considerable at Sea than the Danes, yet in some Measure a Maritime Power, and always ambitious of a direct Trade to the East or West-Indies.
2. The Rise of the present Company, properly that of Henry Koning, but commonly styled, The Gottenburgh-Company, and an Abridgement of its Charter.
3. The Progress and present State of this Company, with some Remarks.

THE *Swedish* Nation, though not formerly distinguished by any great Share of Maritime Power, have nevertheless, always preserved the Character of skilful and intrepid Seamen, as appears both from their own and foreign Histories, more especially those of the *Danes* and the *Hanse Towns* in *Germany*, with whom they were engaged in frequent Disputes, that were, generally speaking, determined by naval Engagements. It does not, however, appear, that the *Swedes* had ever any Thoughts of carrying on a Trade to the *East-Indies* to the Time of the famous *Gustavus Adolphus*, the Glory

of their Country, and the most finished Hero of his Age. This great Prince, whose ruling Passion was the Welfare and Reputation of his Subjects, formed the Project of establishing a Trade to the *East-Indies* from *Sweden* directly, to which he invited his Subjects, by Letters Patents, under his Broad-Seal, dated at *Stockholm* the 14th of *June*, 1626: But the War in *Germany* prevented the Prosecution of that Design, which seems to have died with that glorious Monarch who formed it.

His Daughter, the celebrated *Queen Christina*, equally remarkable for her Love of Learning, and Contempt of

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Grandeur, which she manifested by resigning her Crown to her Cousin *Charles Gustavus*: That she did not prosecute her Father's Project, yet shewed the same Willingness he had done to encourage and extend the Trade of her Subjects; and therefore formed, and carried into Execution a Scheme for establishing a Colony in the *West-Indies*, which, in some measure, was brought to bear. The Place they fixed on was that Part of *North-America*, now in our Possession, and called the Province of *New-Jersey*, where they established three Towns, *Christina*, *Elfsburgh*, and *Gottenbourg*, out of which however they were soon worked by the *Dutch*, who bestowed upon this, and the adjacent Country, the Name of *New-Belgia*; so that the Design of fixing a Trade in this Part of the World from *Sweden*, was overturned almost as soon as it was formed.

We hear very little from this Time of any Attempts made by the *Swedes* in regard to Commerce, which might, very probably, be owing to the Wars, in which the Monarchs of that Country were engaged for many Years after, and which in a manner disabled both them and their Subjects, from thinking of, or, at least, undertaking any thing of this Kind; so that all *Europe* was surprized at the News of an *East-India* Company being set up in *Sweden*, about fourteen Years ago.

2. It was the Ruin of the *Offend* Company, that produced this Establishment, of which one *Henry Koning* was the chief Author, a rich Merchant, and one who had a true Notion of the *East-India* Commerce. He represented to the Ministry, that this was a very favourable Time to undertake a Thing of this Sort; that there were a Multitude of Places in *Africa* and the *Indies* neglected by the *Europeans*, who had constantly followed one the other, and had scarce ever undertaken to strike out of the common Road; that, besides all this, there were Numbers of Persons, that, by the Dissolution of the Imperial Company of the *Netherlands*, were thrown out of Business and Bread, and, which was worse, deprived of the Means of returning into their own Country, by the Steps taken to hinder the *Offend* Society from carrying on their Trade; that, consequently, there could be nothing easier than to procure proper People for carrying this Commerce on, and fixing it in such a Manner as not to be liable to any Hazard, either of Loss by Trade, or Opposition from other Powers.

This Proposition being maturely considered, it was resolved to authorize this *Henry Koning*, to associate such Persons as should be willing to contribute to his Design, and to grant them the following Privileges, by Virtue of a Charter, dated June 14, 1731. The King thereby concedes to *Henry Koning* and his Associates, the Liberty of navigating and trading to the *East-Indies* for fifteen Years, from beyond the *Cape of Good-Hope* to the Islands of *Japon*, where-ever they shall think proper or convenient, with this Restriction only, that they shall not trade in any Port belonging to any Prince or State in *Europe*, without their free Leave and Consent first had and obtained. The Ships employed in this Commerce, shall constantly take in their Lading, at *Gottenbourg*, to which Port they shall return with all the Merchandize they bring home from the *East-Indies*, and shall there cause the same to be publicly sold, as soon as conveniently they can. The said *Henry Koning* and Company, shall pay to the Crown of *Sweden*, during the said fifteen Years, One hundred Dalers per Tonn for every Ship they employ or freight, such Ships being measured before their Departure from *Gottenbourg*; which Money is to be paid within six Months after the late Return of the said Ship from the *Indies*; and they shall likewise pay two Dalers per Tonn, in full Satisfaction for the Town Duties.

The said *Henry Koning* and Company, may employ, equip, and arm as many Vessels as they shall think proper, provided that those Vessels are built or bought in *Sweden*, and whatever else is necessary for equipping and furnishing them be had in the *Swedish* Dominions. But in case this should be found at any Time impracticable, then the Company may provide themselves with Ships, or whatever else shall be found requisite for their Commerce, whenever they shall think fit, provided always that they give

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the Preference to, and promote as far as in them lies, the Building, Manufactures, and Produce of *Sweden*. The said Ships shall carry the *Swedish* Flag, and shall be furnished with Passports under the King's Hand, as also from the Republick of *Algiers*. The said Company shall be at Liberty to raise what Sum they think fit for the carrying on their Commerce, by a voluntary Subscription, or otherwise, as they think proper; and such as shall become Subscribers, shall be obliged to pay in their Money at the Times prescribed, on Pain of forfeiting their Interest in the said Commerce.

The Company may transport what Ordnance, or small Arms they think proper, as also Silver coined, or uncoined, *Swedish* Money only excepted; and may likewise bring from the *Indies* what kind of Goods or Manufactures they think fit, without any Restriction whatever; the Vessels of the Company, when freighted, ready to sail, shall not be stopped, or hindered on any Pretence whatever; nor shall they, at their Return, be impeded from entering into the Port to which they are consigned. The Goods of the said Company may be transported at their Pleasure, from Place to Place, within his *Swedish* Majesty's Dominions, being first furnished with proper Passports, without paying any other Duties than those before stipulated. The Captains of the Company's Ships, shall have the same Power for maintaining Discipline amongst their Crews, as the Captains of the King's Ships; and with respect to Trade, they shall conform to the Instructions given by *Henry Koning* and Company, provided always those Instructions are not repugnant to the Privileges granted by this Charter.

The Seamen and Soldiers entered on Board the Company's Ships, shall not be liable to be pressed into the King's, or any other Service; and on the other Hand, it shall not be lawful for the Company to take into their Service, any who shall have deserted that of the Crown. The Seamen and Soldiers belonging to the Ships in the Company's Service, and deserting from it, may be apprehended and detained; but according to the usual Forms of Law, and by the Hands of the proper Officers. The Ships belonging to the Company being returned, and having landed the Merchandize on Board them, the said Goods shall be Duty free, excepting only a very small Acknowledgment to be paid upon removing them.

The Persons acting under this Charter, shall constantly chuse out of their own Number, at least three Directors, who shall be all Men of distinguished Probity and known Abilities, of which the said *Henry Koning* shall be one; and in case of his Demise, the Members of the Company are directed and empowered to make Choice of another Person in his Stead, provided always, that these three Directors shall be Natives of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, at least naturalized *Swedes*, Protestants, and resident in the King's Dominions, unless necessarily absent in foreign Parts, for the Service of the Company; in which case the Proprietors may substitute another Director at Home. The said *Henry Koning*, and his Associates, may make such Regulations for the Management of their Commerce, as they shall think proper, provided they be agreeable to this Charter.

They shall render a faithful Account to all the Persons interested, as well of the Profit and Loss, as of the Capital of the said Company; but they shall not be obliged to discover the Names of their Subscribers, or the Sums they subscribed; nor shall they be obliged to produce, or suffer their Books to be inspected on any Pretence whatsoever. In case any of the Directors shall find, that the rest betray their Secrets, or are guilty of any other Fraud or Misdemeanour, they may apply to the Board of Trade for Justice and Reparation, and upon due Proof, such Offender shall be suspended or degraded from his Office of Director, and the Company shall be at Liberty to chuse another in his room.

In like Manner, if any of the Proprietors shall find, that the said *Henry Koning*, and the rest of the Directors betray their Trust, or are guilty of any Frauds, they may make the same Application, and obtain the same Redress. The said *Henry Koning* and Company, may employ what Number of Supercargoes, Officers, Mariners or Soldiers, they shall think fit, either *Swedes* or Foreigners, who, on their being so employed, shall enjoy the same Privi-

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ledges, as if they were born *Swedes*; and the Money employed, either by Natives or Foreigners, in the Capital of this Company, shall not be liable to any Stoppage or Seizure.

Such Persons as are interested in, or employed by the Company, shall be naturalized according to their respective Qualities, upon their applying themselves to the King for that Purpose. The said *Henry Koning* and Company, and such as are authorized, or employed by them, in case they are molested, or disturbed in their Commerce, by any Person, or in any Part of the World whatever, shall have full Power from his Majesty, to obtain ample Justice and Satisfaction, by all convenient Methods; and shall be at Liberty to oppose Force by Force, and to consider such Disturbers as Pirates and Enemies to the publick Peace.

His Majesty will grant them these Powers, especially in such Commissions as their Captains shall receive; and in case, notwithstanding they should be attacked, and suffer any Injury, or Injustice from any Nation whatever, in the carrying on of this Commerce, his Majesty, upon due Information thereof, will grant them his high Protection, and endeavour to procure for them speedy and ample Satisfaction, either by way of Reprizal, or otherwise. The rest of the Subjects of the Crown of *Sweden*, are expressly prohibited, and forbid to engage in, or interfere with the Trade of the said Company, under Pain of his Majesty's high Displeasure, and the Confiscation of their Vessels and Effects. The King promises to alter, or augment these Privileges, upon Application from the Company, as often, and in such Manner, as shall be found necessary for promoting the Trade to the *East-Indies*, and the Interest of the Persons concerned therein. This Charter is said to be granted by the King in the Senate, which Phrase I take to be pretty much the same with ours, of the King, by and with the Advice of his Privy-Council.

I have dwelt the longer upon this Charter of the *Swedish East-India* Company, because I have heard it admired as one of the best drawn, and best contrived Pieces of its kind, more especially, because all the Powers therein, are such as, strictly speaking, concern Commerce Abroad, and are not calculated to give the Company, or its Directors, too much Power at Home, because it subjects them to the Board of Trade, or, as it is called in *Sweden*, the Colledge of Commerce, which consists of the President of the Treasury, and four Counsellors, who hear and determine whatever comes before them in a summary Way, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, and the general Maxims of Equity. There were great Expectations formed of this Company for various Reasons; First, Because they had all the Powers granted them that they could reasonably expect, or desire. Secondly, Because they were not limited in their Capital, but allowed to raise such Sums, and in such a Manner, as they shall esteem most for their Benefit. Thirdly, From their being prohibited from interfering with the Commerce of other Nations, and thereby running themselves and their Country into Difficulties and Disputes. Fourthly, From their having the King's Protection secured to them, in such a Manner, and for such Purposes, as might serve to answer all good Ends, without involving the Crown of *Sweden* in any Controversies with the Maritime Powers, or any other of her Allies. And, Lastly, Because from the Nature of the present Constitution in *Sweden*, there seemed to be as high Security for the Properties of such as interested themselves in this Affair, as in any other Country whatever.

These Expectations were likewise heightened by the Company's Meeting with no Disturbance, or Opposition from foreign Powers, who neither knowing who the Subscribers were, or to what their Subscriptions amounted, were the less alarmed by this new Company; and besides, seeing themselves secure from any Apprehensions of their interfering with the Trade already established in the *East-Indies*, found it more difficult to assign any rational Cause of Complaint; to which we may add, that the Company going on very slowly at the Beginning, and being a long Time before they completed their Subscriptions, or prepared to fit out Ships for the *Indies*, it was generally believed, both in *England* and *Holland*, that the Design

would come to nothing, and the Company would vanish of itself.

3. But though the Author of this Design, *M. Henry Koning*, and his Associates, were not hasty in equipping Ships for the *Indies*, yet they took care to provide themselves in every respect with what might be found necessary for carrying on their Scheme with Success. They built, for this Purpose, two very large and strong Ships, one called after the King, the *Frederick*, the other by the Name of the Queen, the *Ulrica*. These they furnished in such a Manner, as to be equally fit for Trade, or for Defence. They made Choice of such Supercargoes as had not only established Characters both for Honesty and Abilities, but were likewise well versed in the particular Business in which they were to be employed, and Men of Experience in the Trade to *China*; they proceeded with no less Caution in the Choice of their Officers and Mariners; and tho' they spent full two Years in making Preparations, yet that Loss of Time was very well compensated by the Exactness with which those Preparations were made; so that at the Time their Ships left the Harbour of *Gottenbourg*, they were as well equipped, and in all respects as completely furnished for an *East-India* Voyage, as any that were employed in that Trade by the Maritime Powers, and the same Care and Diligence they have used ever since; so that it may, with great Truth be said, that as scarce any Company was better established at first, so the Affairs of none have been hitherto better conducted.

Their first Voyages, though not attended with so much Profit as might have been expected, were however tolerably successful, and the Company established their Factory on the River of *Canton* in *China*, with the Consent of the *Chinese*, who seem to be very well pleased with these new Comers, and every Way disposed to favour and promote their Trade; so that they were very soon on the same Footing there with other *European* Nations. At Home, indeed, they met with some Difficulties; for the Company being obliged to make Use of a great many Foreigners in all Capacities, for the better carrying on of their Trade, and there being no Nation in *Europe* naturally more jealous of Foreigners than the *Swedes*, this occasioned a great Clamour, especially among the common People, which, however, was in some Measure got over, by publishing an Order, that at least Two-thirds of the Mariners should be for the future Natives of the Kingdom; and as the Execution of this Order was apparently attended with Difficulties and Inconveniences, it convinced even the Vulgar, of their first Mistake, and that the Company had done no more than what they were warranted to do by their Charter, and what the Circumstances of their Affairs, more especially at the Beginning, rendered not only expedient, but necessary.

Since that Time, the *Swedish* Company have been very regular, both in fitting out their Ships, and in their Returns, which, by being sold to Foreigners, have brought in great Sums of Money to the Kingdom; yet, inasmuch as a great Part of this Money has been exported again, for the carrying on this Trade, a new Complaint has been created thereby, in respect to the Silver carried to the *East-Indies*. We need not wonder at this in *Sweden*, because, tho' the Trade of the Kingdom is not large, yet it produces annually a considerable Balance in ready Money, as is known experimentally here, since it is known, that Two-thirds of the Trade we carry on thither, is managed with ready Money only, and it is also pretty much the same Thing with other Nations who trade thither, the *French* only excepted, who have a Balance in their Favour from the *Swedes*, which, however, has gradually grown less and less, in Proportion as they have taken more naval Stores of late Years, than they did formerly, and as their Subsidy-treaties bring in considerable Sums to *Sweden*, or at least keep the Money there, that would otherwise be employed in discharging the Balance of Trade; so that the *Swedes* being used to see great Sums of Money brought in by every other Branch of Commerce, and being not to immediately acquainted with the Profits arising from this, are the less disposed to consider it as advantageous.

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Upon these Grounds, a Report has been lately raised, as if the Privileges of this East-India Company would be suffered to expire next Year, when their Charter determines, which, no doubt, would be agreeable, not only to the French and Danes, but to the Maritime Powers, who find this Company detrimental to them, by the Sale of its Commodities from the Indies, over all the North, tho' they do not interfere with them much, by their Manner of carrying on their Trade in the East. The Company, however, are said to have prepared a very long and curious Representation to the Senate, in order to ward off this Blow, and to procure the renewal of their Privileges for fifteen Years more, in which they insist, that this very Application is a sufficient Motive for obtaining their Request, and satisfying all who are to be satisfied, by reason of the Advantages resulting from their Commerce.

For, as they observe, very little, and indeed, scarce any of the Returns made by the Company have been dif-

posed of in Sweden; so that if the Proprietors of the Company are Gainers thereby, as they must be, or they would not be desirous of having their Charter renewed, this Gain, whatever it is, must be drawn out of other Countries, and as the Proprietors reside in Sweden, must consequently be so much clear Gain to the Nation. What the Issue may be of this Representation, and how far the Senate may be prevailed upon thereby, Time will shew; but we may venture to affirm, that if popular Notions should get the better upon this Occasion, and the Swedish Company shall be suffered to expire with their Charter next Year, it is highly improbable, that any Attempt of this sort should be again made in that Country, where, at the Beginning, it can only be undertaken by Foreigners, and where, after such an Example as this would be, no foreign Merchants would be so indiscreet as to undertake it, for fear of being treated a second Time in this Manner.

CONCLUSION.

AFTER having thus deduced the History of the East-India Commerce from the earliest Accounts that are preserved of it, down to the present Times, and pursued it through all the several Nations among whom it has flourished, there is nothing now left for me to do, but to perform the Promise I made of shewing, that the common and received Notion, that, taking all Things together, this Commerce is highly prejudicial to the Europeans in general, is very ill grounded, and no better than an erroneous Opinion, taken up for Want of thoroughly examining, or, at least, of perfectly understanding the Subject. But to place this Matter in a clear Light, it will be first of all necessary to state the Objection fully and fairly, that it may appear we know what we are about, and do not pretend to judge of what we have not thoroughly considered.

The Objection then, when set in the strongest Light, will stand thus. It is an incontestable Maxim with respect to Commerce, that Silver is the only true and certain Measure of Wealth; and as we export yearly vast Quantities of Silver from Europe for Indian Goods and Manufactures of little intrinsic Value in themselves, and which are all in a short Time consumed here, it follows that the Trade from Europe to the Indies, must be a losing Trade to the former, since we export Bullion and import Bubbles; wherefore, if the European Princes and States would seriously and impartially consider this, instead of encouraging the setting up new East-India Companies, they would abolish the old, and secure the Wealth of their Subjects, by banishing a Commerce so destructive as this is, out of their Dominions. This then is the Objection that I am to overturn, and, I must confess, that so far as I am acquainted with the Matter, I am the first who have thought it possible to overturn it; but, however, no Truth is less a Truth for being new, and the Argument from Authority against Reason and Experience, is so little agreeable to the Genius of the present Times, that if I have the latter in my Favour, I have no great Reason to be in Pain about the former. But, however, to make the Road the easier, it may not be amiss to premise somewhat as to the Origin of this Notion.

When some ingenious Persons undertook the Defence of the East-India Commerce in particular Countries, and found themselves pressed with the first Part of the Objection, that the Nation was impoverished by the Exportation of Silver, they, to shorten the Dispute, agreed that this might be true, as to the Commerce to the Indies in general, and yet was no sufficient Argument to prove this Trade prejudicial to any Nation in particular, because, if that Nation, by exporting to others a certain Proportion of their Returns from the Indies, brought in from the Balance of that Trade, a much greater Quantity of Silver than they carried out, then it was plain, that tho'

Europe in general might lose by this Trade, yet it might, and indeed must be, highly beneficial to the particular Nation by which it was carried on; because it proved the Means of producing a Balance in her Favour, which otherwise she could never have obtained. I do allow, that in arguing thus, they argued very right; but, I presume to say, that, in giving up this Point, they did what was frequently done, that is, they argued right from wrong Principles; and, as I do not blame them for taking this Method, because, with respect to their Subject, it was the shortest and most expeditious Method they could take; so, I hope no body will blame me, if, after taking so much Pains, and entering so deeply into the general History of this Commerce, I declare absolutely, that this Point ought not to have been given up, and that there is no better Foundation for asserting, that the Trade to the Indies in general is prejudicial to Europe, than for maintaining that it is disadvantageous to those particular Nations, such, for Example, as England and Holland, and who manifestly owe their Wealth and Maritime Power to their Success in this Trade.

In the first Place then, I say, that it is the same thing with regard to Europe, as with regard to any particular Nation in Europe, as to the total Balance of Commerce; and if a losing Commerce be absolutely requisite on one Side to produce a lucrative Commerce on the other, then the Loss sustained by that Commerce, is no good Argument against it. But most evident it is, that since the Europeans have carried on an extensive Trade to the East-Indies, their Manufactures, Shipping, and Commerce in general, have been very much extended; so that from the time the Portuguese discovered the Passage by the Cape of Good-Hope, the Face of Europe has been entirely changed, and we have grown infinitely more considerable in comparison of other Parts of the World, than we were before. But, to come closer to the Objection as to the Point of exporting Silver. If the Commerce to the East-Indies has drained us of many Millions of intrinsic Wealth, as I readily admit it has, I desire to know how we came by them? The Answer will be at every Reader's Tongue's End, from America and the West-Indies. But then, give me Leave to ask again, How came we to find out these? The Answer to this will unriddle the whole Mystery, since every Body knows it was by searching out a new Passage to the East-Indies. If therefore, by carrying on the Commerce of the East-Indies, we have fallen upon another Commerce, which not only supplies Silver sufficient for the East-India Trade, but likewise brings in annually an immense Treasure besides, what Pretence is there for saying that Europe in general has been, or ever can be, a Loser by carrying on this Trade? It appears from hence, that Providence excludes these narrow Notions, and by dividing the Treasures of this World in such a Manner as to make

make Commerce the Interest of all Nations, has provided effectually against this supposed Evil of trading till we have nothing left to trade with.

But, besides this, we owe many other great Advantages to this Commerce in the East. For, in the first Place, it is the great Support of the Maritime Power of *Europe*; it makes us Masters of all other Parts of the Globe, who, if it had not been for this Maritime Power, might, long ago, have been Masters of us. Let any Man consider the wide Difference, in Point of Dominion, Number of Subjects, and whatever else contributes to Grandeur, between the little Republick of *Holland* and the great Empires of *Turky*, *Persia* and *India*; and remember that this Commerce has rendered a Company in that little Republick, formidable to all those great and mighty Empires, and capable of maintaining herself, and protecting her Concerns against them all. And then let me ask him, does not this plainly shew the Importance of this Commerce, and that it was a very wise and right Thing to promote and encourage it: Can there be a clearer and stronger Demonstration than this, from Reason or from Experience? Or might we not safely rest the Point here, without running into any farther Considerations? I dare say, every rational and intelligent Reader, will confess, we might; and yet, for the better explaining the Matter, I am content to go still a little farther.

The only Answer that can be given to this, or, in other Words, the only Means left for supporting this Objection, is, to suppose, that instead of two or three, all, or the greatest Part of the Nations in *Europe*, should fall into this Commerce, by which Means the Exportation of Silver would be extravagantly encreased, and, consequently, the *Indies* be vastly enriched at the Expence of *Europe*. At first Sight this seems to be very clear and plain, but closely considered, the Supposition is very fallacious; for, if the Powers at present interested in this Commerce, bring home as much of the *Indian* Goods and Manufactures as serve all *Europe*, then there is already as great an Exportation of Silver as could happen, if this Supposition took Place, and the only real Consequence that could happen from the Extension of this Commerce would be this, that the present Possessors of the *India* Trade would be

deprived of their Profits, and every Nation would import as much as suited itself, and no more. This, I say, will be the only Consequence, with respect to the Evil apprehended; but other Consequences there might, and would be many, but particularly these. The rising of such a Spirit of Trade would necessarily produce new Discoveries, inasmuch as it would beget new Maritime Powers. The *Southern-Indies* would be then explored, as well as the *East*, and those Countries that are now hid from us, would become as well known as the Coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*. Various Nations would, in this Case, either find or force a Trade to *Japon*, and the Countries beyond it. The *Dutch East-India* Company would be obliged to open her secret Resourcés, and indemnify herself by a Trade to *New-Guinea*, for the Losses sustained by other Nations interfering in her Trade to the *Indies*. And thus, instead of weakening, or impoverishing *Europe*, this very Thing will prove the Means of making her infinitely richer, greater, and more powerful than she now is, and might take away the Temptations which mislead her Monarchs into quarrelling and destroying each others Subjects about Provinces, scarce worthy of being compared to the mighty Empires, that by the Help of Commerce and Maritime Power, they might share among themselves.

It is one Thing to consider the Trade of a particular Nation, to argue in Favour of it, and to point out the Means of protecting or improving it, and quite another to launch out into such wide Enquiries as these. The former may, indeed must, be conducted by the narrow and confined Notions of human Policy; for the Advantages of particular Societies must result from the Contrivances of particular Men. But when we quit these, and consider Things only in general, the Scene changes, the Prospect enlarges, and we find ourselves lost in the View of those prodigious Benefits, which the Wisdom and Goodness of an infinite Being has placed within the Reach and Capacities of human Kind. These, though we discern, it is impossible we should comprehend, and therefore we ought always to suspect such mean and narrow Principles as would persuade us, that right Measures may be pursued too far, or that the earnest Prosecution of Good should run us upon Evil.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.

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